METSÄNTUTKIMUSLAITOKSEN TIEDONANTOJA 916, 2004
FINNISH FOREST RESEARCH INSTITUTE, RESEARCH PAPERS 916, 2004



Nature-Based Tourism Research in Finland: Local Contexts, Global Issues

Jarkko Saarinen
C. Michael Hall
(eds)

ROVANIEMEN TUTKIMUSASEMA – ROVANIEMI RESEARCH STATION

METLA

METSÄNTUTKIMUSLAITOKSEN TIEDONANTOJA 916, 2004
FINNISH FOREST RESEARCH INSTITUTE, RESEARCH PAPERS 916, 2004

Nature-Based Tourism Research in Finland: Local Contexts, Global Issues

Jarkko Saarinen and C. Michael Hall (eds)

ROVANIEMEN TUTKIMUSASEMA – ROVANIEMI RESEARCH STATION

Jarkko Saarinen & C. Michael Hall (eds) 2004. Nature-Based Tourism Research in Finland: Local Contexts, Global Issues. Finnish Forest Research Institute, Research Papers 916. 166 s. ISBN 951-40-1911-3. ISSN 0358-4283.

Editors: Jarkko Saarinen, Department of Geography, P.O. Box 3000, FIN-90014 University of Oulu, Finland, tel +358 8 553 1716, fax +358 8 553 1693, e-mail: jarkko.saarinen@oulu.fi; C. Michael Hall, Department of Tourism, University of Otago, P.O. Box 56, Dunedin, New Zealand, e-mail: CMHall@business.otago.ac.nz.

Layout: Eija Virtanen
Figures: Raimo Pikkupeura
Cover photos: Ville Hallikainen

Publisher: Finnish Forest Research Institute, Rovaniemi Research Station, project "Tourism and sustainable use of natural and cultural environment", project number 3295.

Accepted to be published by Jari Hynynen, Director of Research. Authors are responsible for the contents of their papers.

Orders: Finnish Forest Research Institute, Library, P.O. Box 18, FIN-01301 Vantaa, Finland, tel +358 10 211 2200, fax +358 10 211 2201, e-mail: library@metla.fi.

Printed in: Gummerus Printing, Saarijärvi, Finland 2004

Contents

Preface 5

Seeing the trees in the forest: reflections on local connections for nature-based tourism
C. Michael Hall 9

Heritage and nature-based tourism: relationships and commentary
Stephen W. Boyd 19

The role of tourism in Finnish nature conservation from the Nineteenth Century to the present
Riikka Sorsa 33

The power of nature-based tourism: tensions between different understandings of nature at the peripheral tourist resort of Kilpisjärvi
Seija Tuulentie 47

Names and tales as a source of nature-based tourism development
Lasse Lovén 63

Appearances and meanings of nature in rural travel experiences
Monika Lüthje 71

Cultural and touristic significance of maritime wooden boats and ships in Finland
Marjatta Hytönen 99

Combining tourism planning and sustainable development in the Kalajoki tourism destination, Northern Finland
Anne Hynönen 113

Selling waterscapes?
Anja Tuohino and Kati Pitkänen 129

Regional variation in outdoor recreation in Finland
Tuija Sievänen, Eija Pouta and Marjo Neuvonen 151

Contributors 165

Acknowledgements

This publication is based on the sixth *Nature–Tourism–Recreation Symposium* held in August 27–28th 2003, Punkaharju, Finland. The special theme of the symposium was *Nature and Locality as Tourist Attractions*, and it was organised by Finnish Forest Research Institute, University of Lapland and Finnish University Network for Tourism Studies. The symposium was hosted by the Finnish Forest Museum Lusto. We wish to thank Jari Järviluoma, Arvo Peltonen, Eeva Virekoski, and all the organisations for their important support and co-work.

The role of the Finnish Forest Research Institute has been crucial. The institute provided major funding for the symposium and the medium to publish the presentations held by the invited keynote speakers, Prof. C. Michael Hall and Dr. Stephen Boyd, and the Finnish scholars. Without the contributors and Eija Virtanen as the layout editor of the volume and visualisation efforts by Rami Pikkupeura this publication would have not been possible: thank you!

Editors

Saarinen, J. & Hall, C.M. (eds) 2004. Nature-Based Tourism Research in Finland: Local Contexts, Global Issues. Finnish Forest Research Institute, Research Papers 916: 5–8.

Preface: local realities, global issues in nature-based tourism research

The history of tourism in Finland, in its modern sense, is largely based on the attractiveness of its nature and natural landscapes. However, a major part of tourism in Finland represents perhaps something else other than the present notion of nature-based tourism, which as usually conceptualised refers to tourism based on the attractiveness of the natural environment and on activities, such as hiking, skiing and biking conducted there. This kind of activity-oriented nature-based tourism is often regarded to be one of the fastest growing segments of the tourism industry. This is also the case in Finland, where the annual growth of nature-based tourism is estimated to be between eight and ten percent. This represents growth that is about two times higher than average, compared to conventional tourism development.

During the past decade or so, the booming role (or growth potential) of nature-based tourism has raised both realistic and over-optimistic hopes in peripheral and rural areas of Finland for regional development. As a result of such enthusiasm for the economic potential of nature-based tourism, there are numerous ongoing development projects which are funded by the European Union, regional and local authorities and other public or private organisations. In addition, the range of educational programmes related to nature-based tourism and tourism in rural or natural settings in general has also evolved tremendously.

In development projects, however, it has become apparent that tourism in practice is a highly polarised activity. The development possibilities and regionally positive impacts of tourism are not evenly distributed geographically, economically or socially. In addition, the development of nature-based tourism or other forms of the so-called 'new tourism', such as ecotourism and adventure tourism, is perhaps a more knowledge-based activity than the development of the industry in general. However, in Finland the production of appropriate and relevant knowledge has not developed as rapidly as the nature-based tourism and related touristic activities. This is especially the case with academic research.

In the past, the research on tourism and recreation in natural settings has been quite strongly related to the fields of nature sciences and has been essentially pragmatic in nature. An observation that applies equally to the development of more social and humanistic perspectives of nature-based tourism and recreation issues. In particular, studies related to the touristic use of nature conservation areas, which have formed the

dominant part of research in Finland and perhaps elsewhere too, have been management oriented. A management or marketing orientation by itself is not a negative aspect of research on nature-based tourism. But with limited resources available to researchers, including the usual problems of funding and time, it has led to a case study driven research rather than a discussion on wider and more theoretically informed issues, and generally a neglect in the development of academic research. Such considerations are significant as it may often mean that there is insufficient learning from one situation to another with respect to research issues because of a focus on providing immediate results for decision-makers (often so that further funding can be obtained) rather than being able to place issues and problems within a bigger picture. Arguably, academic research at times may be its own worst enemy in such a situation as in order to try and be 'relevant' as well as provide opportunities for graduate students, the focus may at times be on immediate achievable results for sponsors and stakeholders rather than worrying about the broader theoretical and academic frameworks. Although there is nothing so practical as a good theory, it may even be the case that seeking to develop theoretically informed work may be of concern to some researchers in case they are not being perceived as providing anything useful to the immediate clients for their research.

In an international setting nature-based tourism is undoubtedly one of the most significant areas of research on tourism studies today. Drawing upon the landscape and environment traditions within geography in particular, as well as broader environmental studies in the social and physical sciences, nature-based tourism research has grown to include not only discussions of the complex relationships between tourism and the physical environment in rural and natural areas but, gradually, also social, economic and political relations. Yet, despite the growth of research and publications on tourism in natural areas, our understanding of the role and effects of tourism in natural areas is surprisingly limited. Arguably, the majority of studies have examined the physical impacts of tourism and recreation on a particular environment or component of the environment rather than over a range of environments. There is substantial international research undertaken on tourism with respect to rainforest and whales for example, and very limited research undertaken on what are arguably less attractive environments, such as deserts, or animals, such as warthogs, even though they may also be part of wildlife viewing tourism. This is not to deny that research on particular environments or species is unimportant, rather it is too highlight the huge gaps that exist in our knowledge of tourism. But perhaps most importantly, nature-based tourism needs to be seen within the broader natural, socio-cultural, political and economic systems within which it is embedded and which determine its development.

Indeed, it is increasingly becoming recognised that without attention to the broader development context the potential contribution of academic research on nature-based tourism will not be realised. Fundamentally, while the conservation and maintenance of natural resources and environments remains important, it is the role of humans in utilising that resource, the distribution of its benefits, and the role of institutions, culture, and the relations between them that is the most crucial, yet understudied element of nature-based tourism. Nature is a cultural resource.

However, it would be unfair to state that there have not been academically oriented studies in the Finnish field of nature-based tourism or recreation research in the past. There have been prominent and innovative individual scholars, but the development of an academic research programme has been rather modest compared to the management oriented studies or the development of the industry itself. This notion was one of the basic reasons to continue, or start the Nature–Tourism–Recreation Symposiums in 1995 (after the first wilderness management oriented meeting in 1994). In addition to this, the second purpose was to activate the research field in general and to produce a social platform for scholars to interact and also to publish and develop ideas literally in the form of proceedings. Thirdly, the aim was to contextualise nature-based tourism and recreation research, i.e. to encourage researchers to take a broader view from outside the disciplines, specific projects, parks, etc. they were studying and to find out mutual issues and interests that are also relevant elsewhere. This, together with the academic orientation, has led towards internationalisation of Finnish nature-based tourism research, a manifestation of which this publication in English clearly is.

Naturally, the symposiums are – and have been – just one piece in the larger process of internationalisation and the wider emergence of academically grounded research questions in the field. However, the symposiums have been one critical actor in this process and also the only national 'institution' that has regularly provided open academic space for nature-based tourism researchers to meet, interact and publish. The publication in hand is the sixth volume based on the symposium presentations and the first one to be in English.

The theme of the volume is broadly nature-based tourism and its local connections. Outside the place specific environmental impacts, this perspective has been relatively lacking in nature-based tourism research in the Finnish context and also a rather narrowly approached issue in international studies. Quite often, nature-based tourism is approached in research, and also in development projects, as a separate activity from of the general tourism industry and other regional economies and activities – a kind of activity that takes place in a vacuum. However, nature-based tourism can be seen as an integrated part of the general tourism industry,

which needs partly, and usually mainly, the same infrastructure as 'average tourism' and which uses the same transportation systems in order to get customers to the peripheries, where the natural tourism resources are mainly located. Therefore, the economic impacts of nature-based tourism, for example, separated from other tourism (and related local economic) activities are rather difficult to estimate at a local or regional level.

There may be separate individual nature-based tourism activities, services and sites (which often are parts of regional and increasingly global tourism and economic systems), but the idea of nature-based tourism as an intrinsic phenomenon should be challenged by stressing the local connections in the study efforts of nature-based tourism. This is one of the major tasks of the volume in hand, which covers a variety of issues on nature-based tourism on local, national and international scales reflecting the idea of local realities and contexts influenced by global issues and processes in tourism and development. Such a situation not only serves to reinforce the central position of the experience of nature within Finnish society, but also demonstrates that, by placing the Finnish experience in a wider context we are better able to understand not only Finnish nature-based tourism research in an international setting and its academic legacy, but also ourselves.

Jarkko Saarinen
Oulu, Finland

C. Michael Hall
Dunedin, New Zealand

Saarinen, J. & Hall, C.M. (eds) 2004. Nature-Based Tourism Research in Finland: Local Contexts, Global Issues. Finnish Forest Research Institute, Research Papers 916: 9–17.

Seeing the trees in the forest: reflections on local connections for nature-based tourism

C. Michael Hall

Introduction

As tourism has developed in the western world, the travel market has appeared to have become increasingly segmented and specialised, with the development of new styles of leisure and tourism (WTO 1986). Faulkner and Walmsley (1998, p. 101) argue, that 'the increased diversity of highly specialised products designed to satisfy the needs of niche markets can be construed as a response to increased segmentation... Similarly, the emergence of "events" as a significant element of contemporary tourism is a further manifestation of the increasing relevance of the differentiation of the market into specific interest groups'. Since the early 1970s, for example, there has been a marked shift towards active holidays. Holloway noted that, 'Changing social patterns have given rise to new patterns in holiday-taking; special interest holidays to cater for the expanding range of interests of a leisure society, e.g. activity holidays for those whose sedentary occupations encourage more energetic forms of travel' (1985, p. 39). Similarly, Helber reported a trend towards 'experience oriented' holidays with an emphasis on action, adventure, fantasy, nostalgia, and exotic experiences (1988, p. 21). One element of such development has been recognition of the field of nature-based tourism, particularly for peripheral areas that are seeking to utilise tourism as a mechanism for economic development often as a response to the restructuring of 'traditional' industries such as agriculture and forestry and associated processing. The purpose of this paper is to outline some of the issues behind such developments and particularly focus on some of the critical concerns that many proponents of nature-based tourism do not address when it is touted as the answer to broader economic and social concerns.

Nature-based special interest tourism

The development of new and innovative product is of great significance to the tourism industry. If destinations are to achieve sustainable tourism growth and development, the industry must supply appropriate product to meet tourist demands. Moreover, new product offerings may give some destinations a competitive advantage. However, it is also important that 'new' forms of tourism are critically evaluated in terms of both their demand and supply elements. For example, several commentators are now starting to question whether the notions behind sustainable tourism and ecotourism are just new labels for old concepts (e.g. Wall 1994, Butler 1998, Hall 1998).

Many of the new forms of nature based tourism or at least forms of tourism which are strongly natural area dependent have been brought together under the rubric of special interest tourism (SIT). Figure 1 indicates the relationships between some of these domains; although it should be noted that these relationships and the strength of the domains as key areas of tourism discourse will change over time as well as over different scales of analysis. Nevertheless, as an 'umbrella' concept, nature-based special interest tourism has continued to have appeal since the 1960s and possibly earlier. According to Read (1980, p. 195) SIT is 'travel for people who are going somewhere because they have a particular interest that can be pursued in a particular region or at a particular destination. It is the hub around which the total travel experience is planned and developed'. SIT can therefore be said to occur when the traveller's motivation and decision-making is primarily determined by a particular special interest (Hall and Weiler 1992). Similarly, Derrett (2001, p. 3) defines SIT as 'the provision of customised leisure and recreational experiences driven by the specific expressed interests of individuals and groups'. However, she also related it to the development of 'new tourism', the 'phenomenon of large scale packaging of non-standardised leisure services at competitive prices to suit demands of tourists as well as the economic and socio-environmental needs of destinations' (Poon 1997, p. 47). Indeed, with much marketing zeal, Read suggested that the 'obscure' term of special interest travel be discarded and replaced by the notion of REAL travel: 'Travel with only four additives. That travel would be REWARDING; it would be ENRICHING; it would be ADVENTURESOME; and it would be a LEARNING experience' (1980, p. 202). Still, of even greater importance is the need to recognise that special interest tourism relates to the primary motivations of the tourist to participate in a trip or activity rather than just the provision of specialised or specific activities which may meet such motivations.

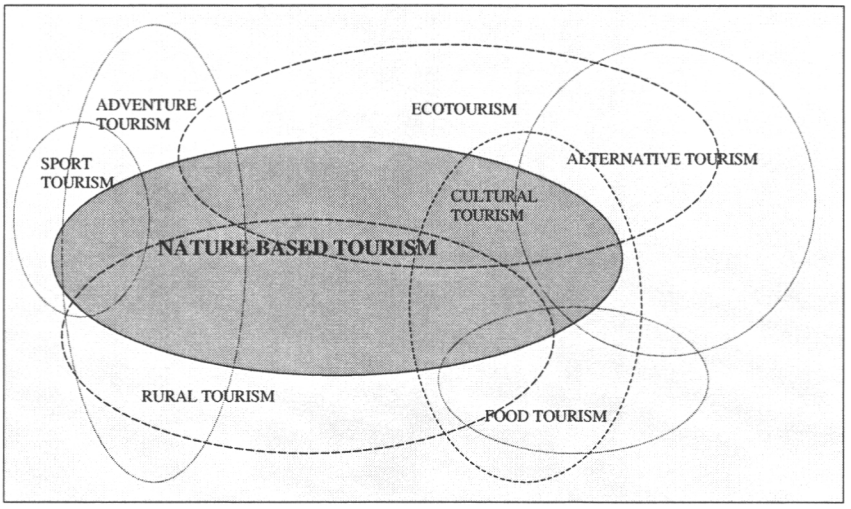

Figure 1. The domains of nature based tourism.

Special interest tourism therefore refers to when the traveller's motivation and decision-making are primarily determined by a particular special interest (the demand characteristics). Specialty tourism refers to the provision of more specialised tourism experiences within the context of either the setting, e.g. wilderness areas or rural/countryside alocations, and/or activities, e.g. adventure tourism (the supply characteristics). While there will clearly be an overlap between the two concepts, it is important to distinguish between the two because the size of the market that could be described under the rubric of special interest tourism is substantially smaller than that which participates in specialty tourism activities. Moreover, as Mathieson and Wall argued: 'Categories based on single travel motivations do little more than indicate very general tendencies in the choice of travel destinations. They do not explain the nature of tourist phenomena nor their manifestations' (1982, p. 19). Indeed, commentators such as Prishkin (2001, p. 639) have noted that 'nature-based tourists cannot be classified into a single group because their activities and hence profiles may overlap with other forms of tourism'. For example, during the course of a trip a tourist could participate in a number of specialty tourism activities with none of them constituting either the primary or even a secondary motivation to undertake the trip or choose a particular destination. Therefore, ecotourism as such is probably best appreciated as a relatively small market niche within the wider spectrum of nature-based tourism – most people who are described as ecotourists only want a brief sample or a look in at the environment rather than a seven-day walk through the wilderness (Figure 2). As Ryan et al. (1999, p. 158) astutely observe, 'The experience of ecotourism lies in the intensity of interaction with the site'.

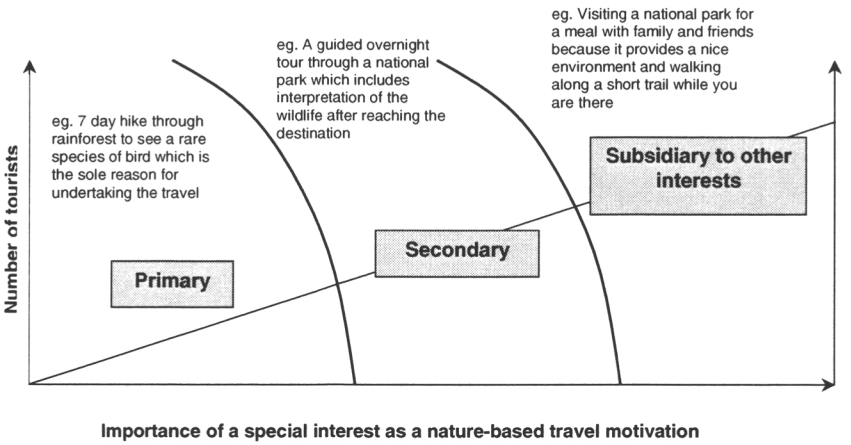

Figure 2. Special interests as a nature-based travel motivation.

Issues and concerns

The majority of recreation and tourism studies on specialty tourism have been directly linked to a wider concern with the need to cater for expanding demand. The analytical focus has tended to be on the consumption of tourism rather than its production and supply. Although tourism is market driven, equal consideration also needs to be given to ensuring that a viable product exists. It should be stressed that the development of a sustainable approach to tourism development would include attention to both the consumer and the producer of the tourism product as well as the resource itself. As Bouquet and Winter noted: '[T]he way in which host populations receive, promote, resist or incorporate various forms of tourism surely deserves much more considered appraisal' (1987, p. 7). Nevertheless, specialty tourism, such as nature-based tourism is often considered as being more beneficial to host communities than mass tourism and at times has fallen under the rubric of alternative tourism (Weiler and Hall 1992, Lindberg and McKercher 1997, Hall and Lew 1998, Derrett 2001). Figure 3 contrasts some of the perceived characterisations of specialty tourism and mass tourism, although it must be noted that the empirical evidence for regarding specialty tourism as being more sustainable is increasingly debatable (Butler 1998) given that it will greatly depend on the indicators which are used and the unit of analysis. Nevertheless, nature-based special interest tourism continues to be attractive for many communities particularly in peripheral regions, even though substantial issues arise in its development and questions about what it really means. For example, arguably ecotourism has

become one of the 'buzzwords' of the tourism industry to the point where its definition has become a matter of some confusion and debate and where it has, arguably, become a cliché (e.g. Hay 1992).

Yet despite the debate over exactly what they are, ecotourism and nature-based tourism remain important and influential concepts (Ross and Wall 1999, Fennell 1999, 2000). The discovery of 'the environment' by tourism marketers is no accident. Tourism is subject to broader shifts in societal values and the emergence of a conservation ethic in Western society has been commodified for the needs of the tourist industry. Conservation and the development of 'environmentally friendly' product has now become a major selling point of tourism destinations and specific tourist packages (Huie 1993). As Ryan et al. (1999, p. 148) note, 'Originally, ecotourism was proposed as a means to deal with negative environmental affects of mass tourism by encouraging to small groups to act in environmentally friendly ways'. Yet significantly the changing concept of ecotourism also reflects shifts in broader environmental attitudes by individuals and by society as a whole. In seeking to utilise nature-based tourism as a means of community development, changes in environmental attitudes may mean that some attractions and destinations are no longer as attractive as they once were to consumers and attractions and locations with a different set of environmental attributes may become increasingly visited.

Another factor with respect to nature-based tourism is its relationship to community planning. Although community-based planning is an important driver in academic and bureaucratic approaches to tourism development (Murphy 1985, 1988), it is important to recognize that such an approach does not automatically lead to either sustainable tourism development or even a reduction in the amount of conflict surrounding

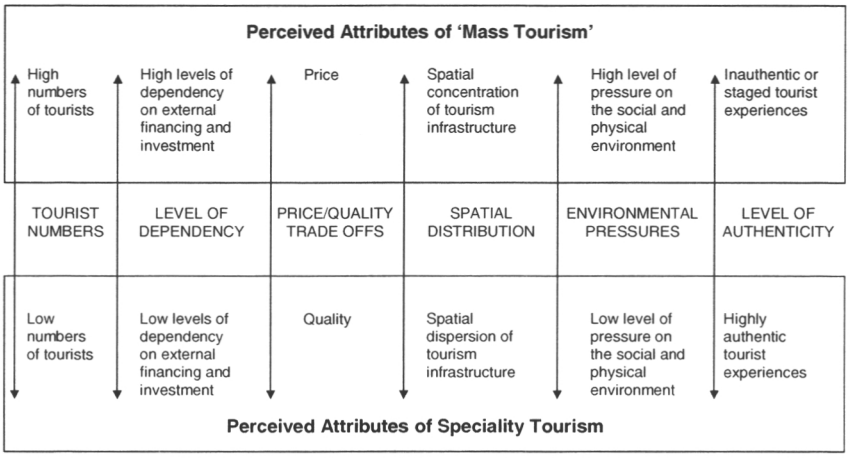

Figure 3. Perceived attributes of mass and specialty tourism.

tourism development. Instead, as Hall (2000) argued a local focus allows for the dynamics of the planning process to be altered as stakeholders face their interdependencies at a place-specific level. A key point being that we should not romanticize the local, as so often seems to be the case in discussions of tourism planning. As Millar and Aiken (1995, p. 629) observed,

> *Communities are not the embodiment of innocence; on the contrary, they are complex and self-serving entities, as much driven by grievances, prejudices, inequalities, and struggles for power as they are united by kinship, reciprocity, and interdependence. Decision-making at the local level can be extraordinarily vicious, personal, and not always bound by legal constraints.*

Nevertheless, a community-based approach provides the possibility that the necessity to consult over the use of shared resources and the needs of neighbours opens the way for resolution over conflicts over tourism. Perhaps more significantly with a reduction in the extent of formal government procedures in much of the Western world as part of a push towards 'smaller government' and 'public-private partnership', a community-based process of management and conflict resolution may provide for greater informality in personal relationships between stakeholders in which trust is able to develop (Hall 2000). When examining the role of the community in tourism it is impossible to separate the social, economic and political processes which operate in a community from the conflict which occurs between stakeholders. Therefore, any process of nature based tourism development cannot be divorced from the local cultural environment and institutional environment.

Perhaps most importantly nature based tourism cannot be divorced from the realities of economic geography. Indeed, while the idea that 'tourism carries within it the seeds of its own destruction' is often an overused notion, in the case of nature-based tourism, particularly in peripheral areas, it certainly holds true. Nature-based tourism is ultimately based upon the factors that allow an area to display the characteristics of 'naturalness' as determined within Western society. These factors include accessibility, numbers of visitors and the relative naturalness as defined by distance from permanent human structures and ecological integrity. Ironically, the smaller the number of visitors, and the harder an area is to access the higher is usually the perceived degree of naturalness (Figure 4). Such a situation therefore creates a number of difficult situations for tourism development, because if increasing number of tourists is the measure of success for nature-based tourism development so the greater the numbers of visitors so the lower the naturalness of the location will be.

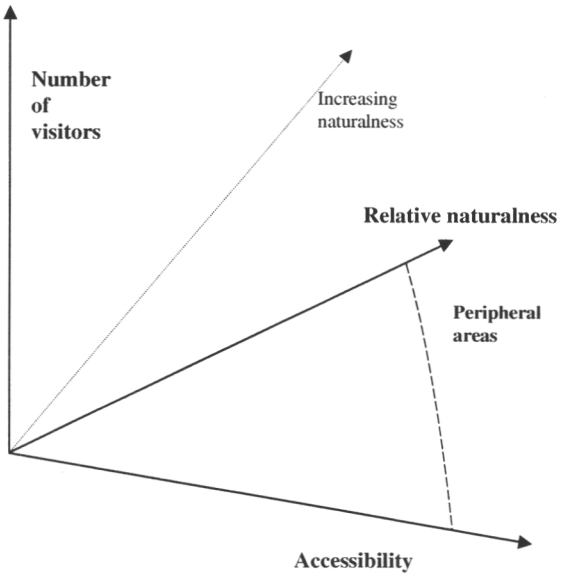

Figure 4. Derivation of nature-based tourism values in peripheral areas.

Conclusion

The development of nature-based tourism is therefore highly problematic. To develop tourist facilities and increase accessibility will mean a lowering of the values that attracted visitors in the first place. This situation is even more difficult for those peripheral areas that are seeking to use nature-based tourism as a means of development. Arguably, of course, such areas could concentrate on increasing the yield from a limited number of visitors but a) do such regions have such high quality and unique natural areas that they can attract such visitors and b) will local politicians be able to live with such limits to growth. In the majority of cases the answer will be no on both counts. Paradoxically therefore perhaps the best way to conserve nature in many peripheral areas may well be to, if possible, develop more mass forms of tourism that attract large numbers of tourist, or other forms of intensive industry, and minimise the number of visitors to natural areas.

References

Butler, R. 1998. Sustainable tourism – looking backwards in order to progress? In: Hall, C.M. & Lew, A. (eds). Sustainable Tourism Development: A Geographical Perspective. Addison Wesley Longman, London. p. 25–34.

Derrett, R. 2001. Special interest tourism: starting with the individual. In: Douglas, N., Douglas, N. & Derrett, R. (eds). Special Interest Tourism. Wiley, Brisbane. p. 1–24.

Faulkner, H.W. & Walmsley, D.J. 1998. Globalisation and the pattern of inbound tourism in Australia. Australian Geographer 29(1): 91–105.

Fennell, D. 1999. Ecotourism: An Introduction. Routledge, London. 315 p.

— 2000. What's in a name? Conceptualising natural resource-based tourism. Tourism Recreation Research 25(1): 97–100.

Hall, C.M. 1998. Historical antecedents of sustainable development and ecoturism: New labels on old bottles? In: Hall, C.M. & Lew, A. (eds). Sustainable Tourism Development: A Geographical Perspective. Addison Wesley Longman, London. p. 13–24.

— 2000. Rethinking collaboration and partnership: a public policy perspective. In: Bramwell, B. & Lane, B. (eds). Tourism Collaboration and Partnerships: Politics, Practice and Sustainability. Channel View Publications, Clevedon. p. 143–58.

— & Lew, A. (eds) 1998. Sustainable Tourism Development: A Geographical Perspective. Addison Wesley Longman, London. 236 p.

— & Weiler, B. 1992. What's so special about special interest tourism? In: Weiler, B. & Hall, C.M. (eds). Special Interest Tourism. Belhaven Press, London.

Helber, L.E. 1988. The roles of government in planning in tourism with special regard for the cultural and environmental impact of tourism. In: McSwan, D. (ed.). The Roles of Government in the Development of Tourism as an Economic Resource. Seminar Series No. 1, Centre for Studies in Travel and Tourism. James Cook University, Townsville. p. 17–23.

Holloway, J.C. 1985. The Business of Tourism. 2nd ed., MacDonald & Evans, Plymouth. 201 p.

Huie, J. 1993. Trends in tourism today: Their relevance to parks and heritage. Australian Parks & Recreation 29(1): 26–29.

Mathieson, A. & Wall, G. 1982. Tourism: Economic, Physical and Social Impacts. Longman, London. 208 p.

Millar, C. & Aiken, D. 1995. Conflict resolution in aquaculture: a matter of trust. In: Boghen, A. (ed.). Coldwater Aquaculture in Atlantic Canada. 2nd ed. Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development, Moncton. p. 617–645.

Murphy, P. 1985. Tourism: A Community Approach. Methuen, New York and London. 200 p.

Murphy, P.E. 1988. Community driven tourism planning. Tourism Management 9(2): 96–104.

Poon, A. 1997. Global transformation: new tourism defined. In: France, L. (ed.). The Earthscan Reader in Sustainable Tourism. Earthscan Publications, London. p. 47–53.

Priskin, J. 2001. Assessment of natural resources for nature-based tourism: The case of the Central Coast Region of Western Australia. Tourism Management 22: 637–648.

Read, S.E. 1980. A prime force in the expansion of tourism in the next decade: Special interest travel. In: Hawkins, D.E., Shafer, E.L. & Rovelstad, J.M. (eds). Tourism Marketing and Management Issues. George Washington University, Washington D.C. p. 193–202.

Ross, S. & Wall, G. 1999. Ecotourism: towards congruence between theory and practice. Tourism Management 20: 123–132.

Ryan, C., Hughes, K., & Chirgwin, S. 1999. The gaze, spectacle and ecotourism. Annals of Tourism Research 27(1): 148–167.

Wall, G. 1994. Ecotourism: Old wine in new bottles? Trends 31(2): 4–9.

World Tourism Organisation (WTO) 1986. The Role of Recreation Management in the Development of Active Holidays and Special Interest Tourism and the Consequent Enrichment of the Holiday Experience. WTO, Madrid.

Saarinen, J. & Hall, C.M. (eds) 2004. Nature-Based Tourism Research in Finland: Local Contexts, Global Issues. Finnish Forest Research Institute, Research Papers 916: 19–31.

Heritage and nature-based tourism: relationships and commentary

Stephen W. Boyd

Introduction

Heritage and nature-based tourism are two popular forms of tourism within destinations, and have emerged as themes around which destinations find appropriate to market opportunity and their attraction base. However, they are not new forms of tourism activity, but rather older forms, which are enjoying somewhat of a renaissance as of late. The association between heritage and nature–based activity is shaped around how both are defined. This paper offers an approach which puts forth thinking around heritage as a spectrum of activity, but also posits the question as to how different is nature-based tourism from ecotourism (see Hall and Boyd, forthcoming). This chapter offers a synthesis of natural heritage environments, and their suitability for nature-based tourism. Focus is directed at national parks, and other areas, which have been assigned with some 'protected' and or 'valued' label. This paper also provides discussion on the challenges of managing heritage environments where nature-based tourism is promoted. The paper concludes by offering some direction towards strategic thinking for heritage and nature-based tourism with reference to the development of a tourism strategy within the Catlins region in the South Island of New Zealand. Thinking about heritage and nature-based tourism starts with the challenge of defining heritage and its association with nature-based tourism.

Defining heritage and association with nature-based tourism

Definitions are needed and are helpful, but labels have been placed within tourism by the tourism industry and academics and not by tourists themselves. Tourists rarely categorise themselves as certain types of visitor,

yet destination marketing organizations identify certain types of visitor based upon the opportunities regions provide. Heritage has received many definitions, but simply put the term has been linked to thinking like linkages to the past, an inheritance, what society values, what society wants to keep, a selective concept but one subject to change (Hall and McArthur 1998, Timothy and Boyd 2003). Fowler (1989, p. 60) expressed it best when he stated that 'the past per se is emotionally neutral...neither exciting or dull, good or bad, worthwhile nor worthless, without our intercession'. Destinations increasingly are turning towards heritage as part of their brand, driven by the emergence of a new market for an essentially old form of tourism. Heritage, therefore is contemporary usage of the past and as such the value is a current one, and not one attached to the past (Graham et al. 2000). This value may be personal in the form of family heritage, or national/community where heritage is defined as 'ours' and having a collective identity, or it can be regional, encompassing an entire landscape, its people and their traditions. Timothy and Boyd (2003) in contextualizing heritage identified different types of environments, namely physical, behavioural and experiential, and argue that heritage tourism is all about creating experiences of places, which have moved through various filters set in place by society over time where heritage was first perceived (i.e., societal/cultural filter) and then valued (i.e., economic filter). Figure 1 provides an elaboration of how heritage can be contextualized.

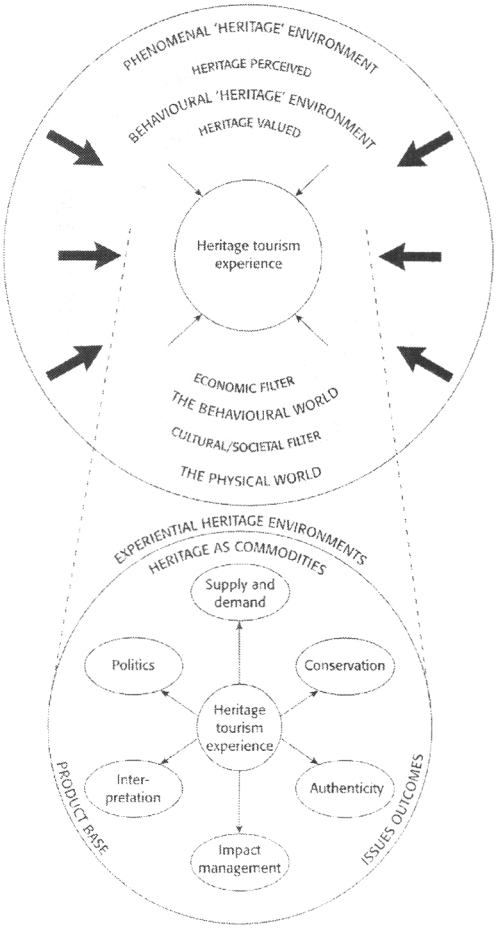

Figure 1. Modelling heritage and heritage tourism.

Heritage can be connected with nature-based tourism in a number of ways. First, if heritage is defined by type of attraction, then natural heritage finds expression in national parks, which operate as key environments for nature-based tourism. Other types of heritage such as living heritage, find expression in attractions like food and customs, built heritage through attractions like historic city cores, personal heritage through religious places, memorials, and dark heritage through places of death and atrocity, to name a few. Second, in defining heritage by context, then much of heritage existing in rural and protected areas has close association with nature-based tourism activity. A useful way of looking at the connection between heritage and nature-based tourism is through the development of a heritage spectrum (see Figure 2), where the type of tourism (eg., heritage, nature, ecotourism, cultural) is connected with certain types of heritage 'landscapes' that range from pristine and untouched to built and artificial. The association between heritage and nature-based tourism is represented in landscapes that fit within the left side of the spectrum shown in the figure. Given this connection between heritage and nature tourism, attention has focused on the role played by national parks as the key setting, with nature-based tourism being part of a larger and more popularized form of tourism, namely ecotourism.

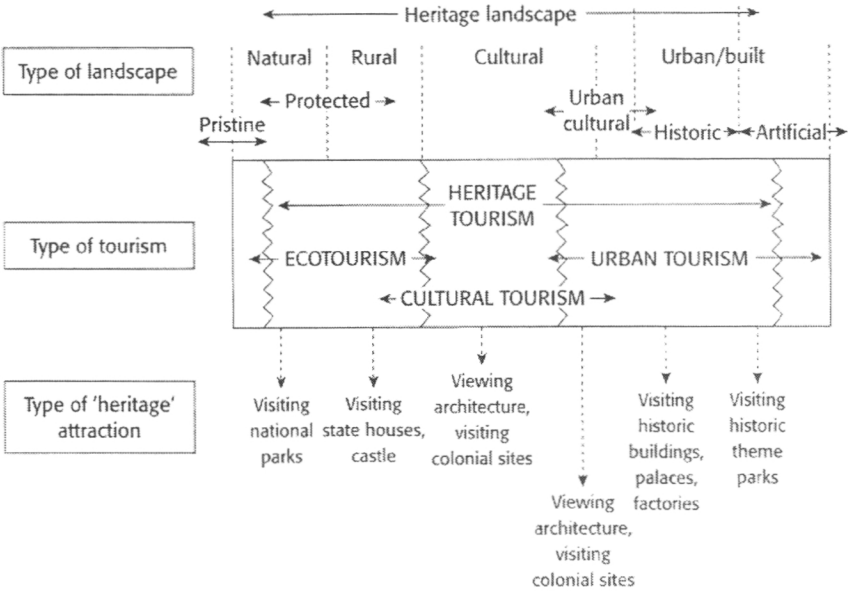

Figure 2. The heritage spectrum.

Focus on national parks, heritage and nature-based tourism

National Parks are usually portrayed as a North American ideal that quickly gained acceptance in New World countries, and since the latter part of the nineteenth century has spread to all continents with the exception of Antarctica. The Park Movement was started by accident, but a number of principal factors helped shape the establishment of early parks and the manner in how they were perceived in terms of value and use. Factors included:

- Imagery of landscape in writings and paintings of early 1800s
- Development of North America and concern over natural spaces
- Need for space to be put aside for relaxation, spaces that were initially viewed as worthless in terms of their economic value
- Development of early parks and their association with the first tourists
- Fortuitous events like railroad development, discovery of natural spas, the need to set aside regions from commercial use
- Insight of individuals and their initiatives in developing policy, establishing a management regime and the foresight to work towards Acts that defined parks, their mandate and use.

As such, protected spaces like national parks have a long association with tourism that is shaped around natural heritage settings. More recently parks are equated with types of tourism such as nature-based and ecotourism (Butler and Boyd 2000). This raises a number of issues. First, are they (nature-based and ecotourism) the same experience? Research has focused more on the latter form, identifying criteria for what we expect an ecotourism destination to offer, namely:

- Exotic, exceptional flora and fauna
- Strong educational component to the activity
- Evidence of benefits remaining in the local region
- Sensitive environments
- Settings that have a management regime in place involving clear policy and guidelines

In contrast, it may be argued that nature-based tourism differs from ecotourism in a number of ways:

- that there is greater linkages with peripheral regions and their economic development,

- that tourism activity is occurring in areas of varying degrees of naturalness, as well as within productive working environments
- that nature-based tourism is more activity based as opposed to ecotourism where observation of nature is often more dominant (Hall and Boyd, forthcoming).

A second issue relates specifically to national parks, namely what type of tourism do we want in parks? Recent policy developments in a number of the more established park systems within First world countries are outlining what are viewed as appropriate activities for parks. In Canada, for example, current park policy identifies preference for low-impact, self-propelled recreation activities and certain types of tourism, such as heritage, eco and sustainable. Today, tourism has consolidated itself as an important rationale in park development, and in many cases tourism usage is being balanced with a protection mandate. In the case of Canadian national parks, for example, policy development is proactive in addressing overuse and impact, as the priority in terms of mandate within this country's park system has shifted firmly towards ecological integrity over use and recent legislation requires the restoration of ecological integrity which parks may have lost as a result of over-use and inappropriate use (Boyd, forthcoming).

A third and final issue relates specifically to areas other than national parks, and what focus of tourism activity is appropriate. Nature-based tourism can easily function in environments which are less exotic (Hall and Boyd, forthcoming). Boyd and Butler (1999) argue that ecotourism environments can exist in a tiered structure where destinations can be viewed as primary, secondary and tertiary destinations, in which the myth and image of places is matched in reality as well as in terms of the extent to which human presence and activities have modified natural environments. If one accepts that the level of activity in terms of recreation can separate ecotourism and nature-based tourism environments, then areas outside of protective environments are more able to accommodate nature-based tourism activity. One of the limitations here, however, is the absence of institutional arrangements, policy and specific management thinking given that activities are undertaken outside of public sector responsibility. This raises a broader issue of nature based tourism set within natural heritage environments.

Heritage and management

There is a need for management of heritage resources. They are often irreplaceable as they are the tangible link between the past, present and future. Heritage management is often central to conservation and commercial success, is a means to address conflicting aspirations between conservation and tourism, and is a critical aspect of any heritage mission which can include aspects as diverse as conservation, accessibility, education, relevance, local community, and recreation (Garrod and Fyall 2000). Today many heritage managers have the following view: they do not see themselves in the tourism business, and responsibility is to be a guardian over natural heritage, ensuring that the public has access to it and that activities provided within natural heritage settings are appropriate for these spaces, and further their natural heritage qualities (Pearson and Sullivan 1995).

As such, visitor management of natural heritage environments have shifted over time from traditional thinking where resources and the resource base was more important than visitors and users, with managers adopting a leave us alone approach to manage the natural heritage setting to new thinking where visitors and users of natural heritage settings are valued and part of the ownership of places. Early thinking regarding management of heritage spaces was to adopt the approach of measuring the carrying capacity of areas for certain types and levels of activity. Research over the past 30 years has moved management approaches away from estimating carrying capacity to the development of various management procedures and frameworks that allowed for the choice of maximizing activity and choice within environments to imposing limits of use and acceptable change within settings (see Clark and Stankey 1979, Payne and Graham 1993 Boyd and Butler 1996, Hall and McArthur 1998). From a managerial perspective, there is still the need to recognize that maximum numbers have to be identified in order to manage the risks of tourism by managing visitors. Sustainability has emerged as a central theme within heritage management, and within the context of natural heritage regions. Sustainability goes beyond tourism activity, to making trade-offs between protection and appropriate uses and activities. Canadian research has revealed the variation that exists in trade-off made between use and protection for park activities by park superintendents and academics familiar with tourism within that country's park system. Sustainability is tied to establishing the balance between protection and use, and therefore the question of trade-off is fundamental in sustainability and managing tourism activity within natural heritage settings (Boyd 2000) (see Figure 3).

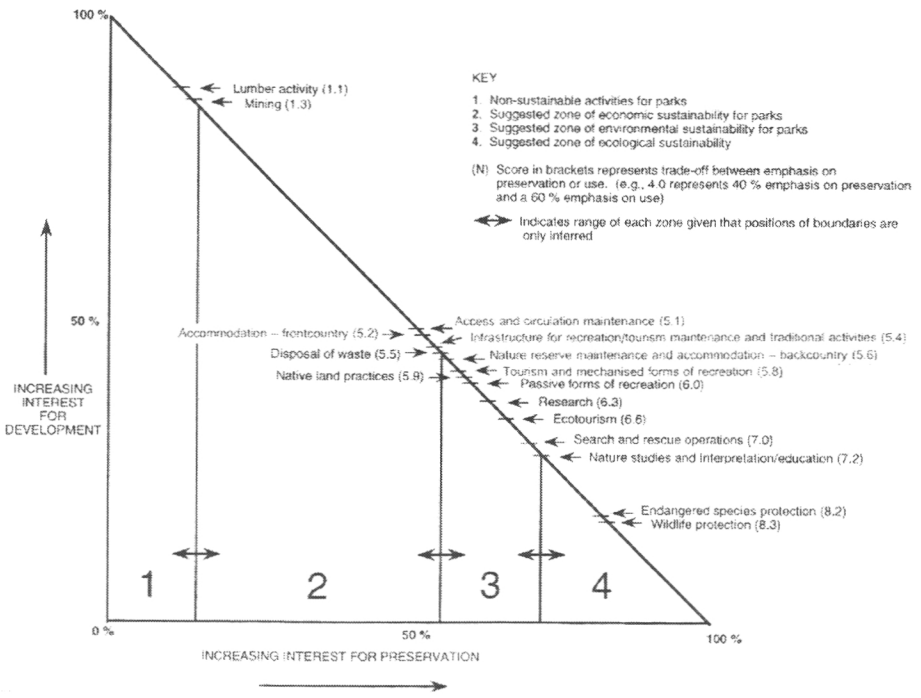

Figure 3. Trade-off model between use and protection: a Canadian example.

Some new thinking regarding impact management is the development of the Visitor Experience and Resource Protection (VERP) approach (Vaske et al. 2000) and its applicability for tourism within natural heritage environments. Key aspects of this approach include the following:

- It involves a combination of opportunity with setting of limits
- Stresses that managerial responsibility is not to create experiences, but rather create those opportunities for experiences.
- Gives managers with indicator variables and standards to match appropriate conditions for particular types of experience.
- It links actions with standards through strategies like the technical fix, education, regulation and imposing use limits
- Involves public and stakeholders in decision-making via a collaborative approach to natural resource area management, and it
- Offers a sequential process of assessing and managing visitor impacts

The existence of management approaches for natural heritage environments has been a reality for some time now, but the extent to which these approaches are adopted by managers is often in a piecemeal fashion, on an

ad hoc basis and very place specific. Management of types of tourism like nature-based within natural heritage settings is often as basic as ensuring the best mix of activity and opportunity is offered, where in many cases the natural heritage setting acts merely as the background against which specific tourism activity occurs. In light of this last comment, the remainder of the paper shifts to presenting some findings regarding nature-based tourism within a specific natural heritage setting within New Zealand. The purpose of doing so is to use the case study approach to tease out some of the above broader reflections as they play out within a specific place.

Case study of the Catlins, South Island, New Zealand

The Catlins (see Figure 4) is a region of outstanding natural beauty, with its rugged coastlines, beaches, waterfalls, bush, wildlife, rivers, lakes and estuaries. It is a region with isolated communities, limited public sector and tourism infrastructure and development. Economic development and growth is tied to agriculture and, more recently, tourism. The Catlins is a peripheral region that is undergoing change that has been discovered by the international tourist, but is still in the early stages of tourism development in terms of its life cycle. However, the Catlins region is changing as a result of tourism. The question is the extent to which tourism should be developed and for what market (domestic or international, budget or high quality). At present, the attraction is an uncomplicated, unhurried, natural experience, but there is danger of growing tourism at a level which current infrastructure can manage. Communities across the Catlins region favour tourism

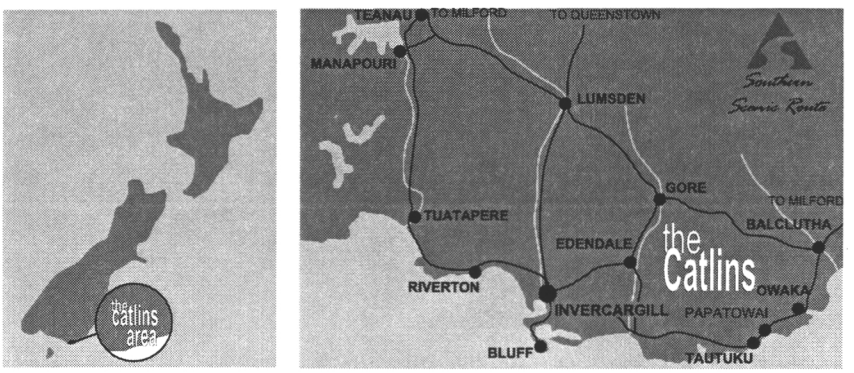

Figure 4: The Catlins Region, South Island, New Zealand (source www.catlins-nz.com).

growth but recognize that overcrowding, environmental degradation are realities that need to be addressed. There exists concern within the communities that too much tourism growth will result in the Catlins losing its peripheral features around which its attractiveness is based. The Catlins provide residents and visitors with the opportunity to enjoy recreation, leisure and tourism activity within a natural heritage setting.

In light of this change, a tourism strategy for the Catlins is being developed that is designed to meet a number of strategic objectives:

- To provide for the implementation of the Catlins Tourism Strategy through the development of an appropriate body (or bodies) with appropriate mandate, representation and funding
- To provide for the absolute protection of the natural and cultural resources that are integral to Catlins tourism from the negative physical impacts of tourism
- To optimize the value of tourism for local residents, including social and economic benefits
- To develop opportunities to enhance the visitor experience, in terms of attractions and activities
- To optimize information flow to visitors in the Catlins through the provision of appropriate signage, information, interpretation and associated services
- To cater for the hospitality service needs of the Catlins tourist through provision of appropriate accommodation and food services
- To increase knowledge of the visitor and their relationship with the community and the environment in the Catlins
- To ensure that the infrastructural requirements of the Catlins tourism industry are addressed
- To match the visitor with the Catlins tourism product through appropriate marketing and promotion
- To assist Catlins tourism operators (and associated services) to achieve an outstanding level of service to their clients (Lovelock and Boyd, forthcoming)

These objectives emerged as a result of visitor research, a residents survey, community workshops and stakeholder interviews. Discussion is presented here on the visitor research and the community workshops that were undertaken in 2003. 677 visitors were surveyed at key visitor attractions across the Catlins, 473 of these being international visitors and 204 domestic visitors. The survey captured information on demographics, travel characteristics overall and that relating to the time visitors spent in the Catlins, and overall visitor experiences of both visitor groups. The following is a précis of the significant findings:

Demographics

- The domestic visitor profile was predominantly married, older (>40 years) with lower (compared with the international visitor) overall income; and
- The international visitor profile was predominantly single, but bi-modal with both younger and older age groups represented, and with higher overall income (27 % having greater than NZ$100,000)

Travel characteristics

- Taking a holiday emerged as the dominant reason for traveling, 79% domestic, 91 % international (c.f. business travel or VFR);
- A relatively small proportion of overall trip is spent in the Catlins by visitors (3.6 days out of a mean of 18.3 days overall for domestic and 3.1 days for internationals out of a mean of 71.1 days overall for international visitors);
- There is a strong repeat market within the domestic visitors (40 %); and
- Traditional New Zealand markets are strongly represented (United Kingdom, Germany, United States of America, Netherlands, Switzerland and Australia) with some new markets emerging (e.g., Israel)

Travel to the Catlins region

- The main motivation to visit by both groups was to view wildlife (20 % of domestic visitors, and over 50% of international visitors);
- Domestic visitors expressed a preference for more broadly nature-related sites and activities (e.g., beaches and beach walking, bush and walking in the bush, exploring caves and the petrified forest); and
- International visitors had a preference for sites that offered the opportunity to see and interact with wildlife (dolphin, seals/sealions and penguin viewing)

Overall visitor experience

- The overall experience was good to very good for both domestic visitors (90 %) and international visitors (88 %);
- Natural attractions (heritage) and sites were viewed as more important than cultural attractions (heritage) and sites in shaping the overall experience

- A small percentage rated roading (especially international visitors), signage and public toilets as being poor or very poor; and
- The basic level (or lack) of infrastructure is not yet having a significant effect on the overall visitor experiences.

Responses from the community workshops held in key communities across the Catlins provided feedback on the type of visitor they desire, the type of tourist facilities they desire, views on special places within the Catlins and their overall vision for Catlins tourism. As to type of visitor, preference was for those that were environmentally aware, with a low volume, high yield model desired. Comments on tourist facilities acknowledged the need for better road maintenance, more toilets, better litter control and that new developments should be environmentally sensitive and small scale. Concerns were voiced over special places, particularly the beaches, and the lack of interpretation, signage and facilities at particular key sites to reduce impacts. Overall, residents taking part in the community workshops confirmed that nature-based tourism is the preferred vision, that Catlins tourism should be three things: a natural experience, benefit the environment and economy and be positive for residents as well as visitors.

From the previously mentioned strategic objectives around which the tourism strategy is set, it is clear that the overall strategy has wide reaching intentions, but for the purposes of this discussion, a number of these objectives can be viewed as critical in ensuring the development and maintenance of tourism that is fashioned within a natural heritage context. For instance, recommendations offered for the second objective serve to facilitate a number of approaches to visitor management, namely educating the visitor on the vulnerability of the resource, enhancing on-site interpretation, grow community stewardship of natural and cultural resources being a few. Further to this, under the fourth objective recommendations are provided that encourage the development of new and existing opportunities and experiences that are shaped around the existing connections to the outstanding natural qualities that the Catlins possess. Apart from the opportunity to observe nature-related sites (e.g., caves, bush, beaches, petrified forest and waterfalls) or visit sites and attractions where interaction with wildlife was possible (e.g., seals and sea-lions, dolphins, and penguins), new nature-related tourism opportunity is advanced in the form of rock of geological tourism, walking tracks and food, wine, arts and crafts-related tourism that demonstrate the cultural elements of this region. Space prevents a detailed discussion of all of these objectives, but the relevance of some of the others is useful to further show the connections between nature-based tourism and heritage. The fifth objective, for example, is designed to address the messages that visitors receive at

sites, ensuring that the natural and cultural heritage qualities of places is effectively interpreted. Lastly, the eighth objective focuses on the tourism infrastructure, offering recommendations that address the extent to which existing infrastructure can accommodate the level of tourism at present and what is projected for the next five years. Attention here is with provision of public and campground toilets, campervan waste disposal, solid waste management, road maintenance and safety, improving telecommunications and addressing access problems to some visitor attractions.

Conclusions

An obvious conclusion to draw is that heritage and nature-based tourism will be very much tied to natural heritage areas. The case study of the Catlins demonstrates this reality. The extent to which a happy marriage exists between heritage and nature-based tourism is based on how a number questions and challenges are answered and met. Questions include the old age problem of how many is too many, which in turn raises the question of how much change can natural heritage regions take. Is it fair to suggest that tourism that shifts beyond that of a passive use of the natural spaces, to the inclusion of other types of tourism and experience is not the best option for natural heritage regions? The key is to be able to develop strategies that are inclusive for residents, businesses, visitors and local government and local agencies. The Catlins Tourism strategy offers this type of thinking, but the greater challenge will be that the growth and development of tourism in areas like the Catlins will require local government commitment to put in place an adequate infrastructural base around which the growth of tourism can take place. In the case of the Catlins, the majority of residents desire more tourism but they favour this provided they are not asked to meet the costs to create the context in which growth can occur. There is the danger of over-using natural heritage areas for nature-based activities, but good planning and management can prevent this happening. The development of tourism strategies is one means to create balance in the type of tourism development and growth that takes places in natural settings.

References

Boyd, S.W. (in press). The TALC and its application to national parks: Canadian example. In: Butler (ed.). The Tourism Area Life Cycle: case examples and application. Channelview Publications, Clevedon.

— 2000. Tourism, national parks and sustainability. In: Butler, R.W. & Boyd, S.W. (eds). Tourism and national parks: issues and implications. John Wiley and Sons, Chichester. p. 161–186.
— & Butler, R.W. 1996. Managing ecotourism: an opportunity spectrum approach. Tourism Management 17: 557–66.
— & Butler, R.W. 1999. Definitely not monkeys or parrots, probably deer and possibly moose: opportunities and realities of ecotourism in Northern Ontario. Current Issues in Tourism 2 (2/3): 123–137.
Butler, R.W. & Boyd, S.W. 2000 (eds). Tourism and National Parks: issues and implications. John Wiley and Sons, Chichester. 352 p.
Clark, R.N. & Stankey, G.H. 1979. The Recreation Opportunity Spectrum: A framework for planning, management and research. USDA, Washington, DC.
Fowler, P. 1989. Heritage: a post-modernist perspective. In: Uzzell, D.L. (ed.). Heritage Interpretation, vol.1: the natural and built environment. Belhaven, London. p. 57–63.
Garrod, B. & Fyall, A. 2000. Managing heritage tourism. Annals of Tourism Research 27: 682–708.
Graham, B., Ashworth, G.J. & Tunbridge, J.E. 2000. A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy. Arnold, London. 284 p.
Hall, C.M. & Boyd, S.W. (forthcoming) (eds). Nature-based tourism in peripheral areas: Development or Disaster? Channelview Publications, Clevedon.
— & McArthur, S. 1998. Integrated Heritage Management: Principles and Practice. The Stationery Office, London. 300 p.
Lovelock, B. & Boyd, S.W. 2003. Catlins Tourism Strategy. Catlins Tourism Strategy Working Party.
Payne, R.J. & Graham, R. 1993. Visitor planning and management in parks and protected areas. In: Dearden, P. & Rollins, R. (eds). Parks and Protected Areas in Canada: Planning and Management. Oxford University Press, Oxford. p. 185–210.
Pearson, M. & Sullivan, S. 1995. Looking after heritage places: The basics of heritage planning for managers, landowners and administrators,.Melbourne University Press, Carlton. 384 p.
Timothy, D.J. & Boyd, S.W. 2003. Heritage Tourism. Prentice Hall, Harlow. 327 p.
Vaske, J., Donnelly, M. & Whittaker, D. 2000. Tourism, national parks and impact management. In: Butler, R.W. & Boyd, S.W. (eds). Tourism and National Parks: Issues and Implications. John Wiley and Sons, Chichester. p. 203–222.

Saarinen, J. & Hall, C.M. (eds) 2004. Nature-Based Tourism Research in Finland: Local Contexts, Global Issues. Finnish Forest Research Institute, Research Papers 916: 33–46.

The role of tourism in Finnish nature conservation from the Nineteenth Century to the present

Riikka Sorsa

Introduction

Tourism and nature conservation have a long common history in Finland, dating back to the nineteenth century when some scenic areas were protected from logging. This paper aims to explain how the role of tourism as part of the arguments for nature conservation and the use of protected areas has changed in Finland from the Nineteenth Century to the present. The general development of Finnish nature conservation and tourism in Finland is also discussed. Special attention will be given to national parks which are touristically the most important nature conservation areas.

The concept of nature conservation is not historically uncontested or unquestionable by nature. Nature conservation in a given time is influenced by the economic, political, and cultural structures of society and thus, it is a contested idea which accommodates new meanings and values. Similarly, the conceptions and valuations concerning nature in general have changed. The role of tourism in protected areas is influenced by changes in the meanings, management, and use of the areas as well as changes in the supply and demand of tourism. The conceptual transformation and changing contents of nature conservation can be understood as discursive structures that are constructed in a certain socio-cultural context and complex of historical power relations. *Nature conservation discourses* are ways of thinking which define, for example, the role of tourism in protected areas. Despite the several concepts of nature conservation, there exists a discourse that is a more dominant way of speech and thought than the others at a certain period of time (Saarinen et al. 2000, see Benton and Short 1999, Hall 1999). In this paper, three historical discourses concerning the relation between nature

conservation and tourism identified in the Finnish context are discussed (see Saarinen et al. 2000).

Touristic aspects as part of the nature conservation arguments

The rise of classical nature conservation ideology

Before the Nineteenth Century and the era of modern tourism, nature was not seen as a central tourist attraction or motivation for travel in Finland. However, societal and cultural values related to nature changed during the Nineteenth Century, and tourism started to be based on admiring landscapes and the special features of nature. In the 1880s travellers were started to be organised in a touristic manner. At the same time the national spirit strengthened in Finland, and the national identity was sought from Karelian wildernesses. The national meaning of tourism was to get to know the homeland, and by that way strengthen the patriotism. Thus, the growth of tourism served nationalistic purposes before Finland gained its independence in 1917 (Hirn and Markkanen 1987, Saarinen 2000, p. 96–98).

In the Nineteenth Century some of the most important nature-based attractions were started to be preserved from other land uses than tourism (Leino-Kaukiainen 1994, p. 43–44). The beauty of the esker has been regarded as a motive for Tsar Alexander I's order to preserve Punkaharju in 1803, but the reasons were in fact more practical, related to the safety of travelling along the esker by horse-drawn carriages. Later the state acquired also some other areas known for their natural beauty: e.g. Aavasaksa (1877), Imatrankoski (1883), Koli (1907) and Tolvajärvi (1910). Accordingly, before nature conservation in its modern sense began, aesthetic and touristic aspects were important reasons for preserving nature. Tourism and nature conservation were promoted hand in hand. This early phase of nature conservation is regarded as an era of natural beauty and romanticism: beautiful sceneries were sought, and famous Finnish artists visited them. In that way the areas became well-known natural sights and the symbols of Finnish nature serving national ideology (Borg and Ormio 1978, p. 42–43).

The beginning of the Finnish – and Nordic – ideological nature conservation discussion was A.E. Nordenskiöld's proposal to establish protected areas to the state land in 1880. The national parks of the United States – first was designated in 1872 – have been seen as unstated models for the proposal (Järvikoski 1993, p. 8). In his writing the famous explorer and scientist argued that the pieces of nature should

be preserved for future generations (see Blåfield 1980). Nordenskiöld understood nature reserves as some kind of museums and accordingly, he referred implicitly to the role of protected areas as tourist sights. Nordenskiöld's arguments for establishing state park were patriotic and cultural, related to the national identity and northern culture (Pekurinen 1997, p. 130).

After the proposal the preservation of single natural attractions for the purposes of tourism was left behind, and the new aim was to preserve larger areas of 'pristine' nature by establishing conservation areas. The arguments for nature conservation became more scientific: discussion started among scientists and foresters. In 1881 A.G. Blomqvist, the leader of Evo forest school, emphasised the importance of nature conservation areas for scientific research. The role of tourism was also discussed in the annual meeting of the Finnish Forestry Association. The location of railroads was considered important so the protected areas would be easily reached by tourists (Leino-Kaukiainen 1994, p. 44–45; Pekurinen 1997, p. 130–131).

In 1891 the Journal of the Geographical Society of Finland published Ragnar Hult's writing in which the term 'national park' was used for the first time in Finland. Unlike Nordenskiöld, Hult emphasised the dynamic nature of protected areas and their scientific and practical – also economic – meaning. Furthermore, Hult referred to the role of national parks as recreation areas which was a new perspective in the discussion. In 1904 Professor J.A. Palmén presented at the annual meeting of the Geographical Society of Finland. Palmén introduced the European, 'traditional nature conservation ideology' which was based on the ideas of German Professor Hugo Conwentz. It aimed to preserve single natural monuments, to prevent the extinction of species, and to establish nature conservation areas. Until 1960s Finnish nature conservation was based on the Conwentzian ideology (Järvikoski 1984, p. 163–164; 1993, p. 9–14; Pekurinen 1997, p. 131–138).

So-called classical nature conservation ideology was part of the development of national identity and patriotism in Finland. The national forest debate in the late Nineteenth Century was not only about the adequacy of forests, but also about the symbolic values of 'pristine' nature and their national meaning. National romanticism strengthened in the Nineteenth Century, and nature was seen to represent the Finnish identity, history and culture. Critique against civilisation and development was based on the idea that the destruction of nature threatens the vitality and identity of a nation (see Palmgren 1922). The romantic ideology aiming to preserve nature was eventually defeated by the expanding industrial ideology which was the other line of nationalism in Finland. After that, nature conservation was more clearly focused on preserving

single, economically marginal 'islands of nature' where as the areas outside these 'natural museums' were left for industry. Except for critical romanticists, the economic exploitation of nature was not opposed as such (Pekurinen 1997, p. 138–142).

The *Nature Conservation Act* and the first national parks

The proposal of the *Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica* -organisation in 1917 to establish a *Nature Conservation Act* was eventually successful in 1923 when the Act was passed. The touristic meaning of national parks was expressed in the Act, where as in other nature conservation areas the aim to preserve nature untouched was emphasised more clearly. Imitating the words of Ragnar Hult, the Legal Affairs and Commerce Committee of Parliament stated that national parks were meant for pleasure and enjoyment for all citizens, they should have value as an attraction and be easily reached by people (Blåfield 1980, p. 222).

Accordingly, nature conservation as an ideology had achieved some societal emphasis, but it was not yet considered a significant activity in economic and social life. In the 1920s and 1930s nature conservation was discussed in the shadows of industrial development, by which not only foresters but also hunting and tourism organisations were interested in preserving 'pristine' nature (Mikkeli 1992, p. 208). The chairman of the Finnish Tourist Association, Professor Theodor Homén, supported nature conservation and noticed the touristic role of Imatra rapids (Palmgren 1922, p. 310–313). In the 1920s, the meaning of Imatra rapids as a natural sight was not, however, regarded as a reason to resist harnessing the rapids (Kylämäki et al. 1980, p. 18–21).

After World War I tourism started to grow globally, and the influence of international tourist flow was also seen in Finland. Between the year of independence and the Winter War there was a successful era of tourism during which the basic structure of modern tourism was build in Finland (Hirn and Markkanen 1987). Outdoor recreation started in wider and organised sense in the 1920s and 1930s. In addition to the growing idea of national identity, the political changes and structures led to nature occupying a key role as a tourist attraction (see Saarinen 2000, p. 98). For example, Petsamo area by the Arctic Ocean was incorporated into Finland in 1920, and it became one of the most popular tourist destinations. The touristic role of Lapland and the Sami culture grew again, and the nationalistic eye started to search a new object in stead of Karelia (Hirn and Markkanen 1987, p. 211–212).

Eventually, four national parks and six strict nature reserves were designated in Finland in 1938. The Finnish Association for Nature Conservation was established in the same year. Basically the contents of nature conservation had remained the same since the beginning of the century, although they had completed and slightly changed. Scientific, cultural, social, and economic aspects were seen as the functional parts of nature conservation (see Kalliola 1941, Pekurinen 1997, p. 158–159). The aim of the Association for Nature Conservation was to increase the support for this ideology. The Swedish, anthropocentric model was followed with aspects of the protection of cultural landscape and recreation being included in nature conservation. From this perspective nature offered urban people a chance to receive new strengths in order to work again for the benefit of society (Leino-Kaukiainen 1997, p. 175). Kalliola (1941, p. 17) also regarded that tourism in protected areas was economically beneficial.

During the war time Lapland was destroyed, and Petsamo and some other important tourist destinations were lost. Nevertheless, tourism started to recover soon after the war (see Hirn and Markkanen 1987). However, only four of the ten designated nature conservation areas were left inside the new borders of Finland. To create an extensive nature conservation area network, twelve national parks and seven strict nature reserves were eventually opened in 1956 (Leino-Kaukiainen 1997, p. 180–181).

The role of tourism in the era of classical nature conservation

The era of classical nature conservation continued in Finland until late 1960s. Nature conservation has a common background with building conservation: nature conservationists simulated the antiquarian concepts of cultural history, such as natural monuments and historical evidences (Tuominen 2002). The *Nature Conservation Act* aimed to preserve "places of natural beauty" or "places which are in some other way remarkable as regards the nature" which illustrates the role of aesthetics in early nature conservation. Nature and conservation areas were understood as clearly defined, controllable entities situated 'somewhere there' – nature and society were dualistically separated. To counterbalance the utilisation of nature, some pieces of 'pristine' nature were wanted to be preserved. An important motive for nature conservation in Finland was that it was seen as a duty of 'civilized' states (Nieminen and Saaristo 1998).

The first phase of the relation between tourism and nature conservation was positive. In the Nineteenth Century natural sights were started

to be preserved for aesthetic and touristic reasons. Later especially national parks were often established in the areas which were aesthetically and scenically attractive. Since the 1920s and 1930s the meaning of protected areas as recreation areas was emphasised more explicitly, and natural monuments were popular sights. Nature conservation and tourism were seen to support and benefit each other: when preserving tourist attractions and establishing national parks, the protection of the areas from other, more harmful, land uses was considered.

Goals related to forming national identity were common for tourism and conservation in the era of classical nature conservation: they were used as ideological tools serving the development of independence in Finland. According to Nieminen and Saaristo (1998, p. 82), nature conservation was seen to have a notable educational meaning for citizens: an important justification for conservation was to make learning, civilisation and admiration possible. Domestic tourism was also seen to have a patriotic, educational purpose, and it formed part of the process of socialisation of the people to the idea of a new state (Saarinen 2000, p. 98).

Although touristic aspects were meaningful when designating first national parks and other protected areas in Finland, they did not achieve as much attention as in several other countries. This was due to the academic sense and natural scientific perspective of nature conservation which have also been regarded as a reason for conservation maintaining a hobby for only a small group of experts. In North America, on the other hand, support for nature conservation was sought by promoting tourism intensively in national parks (see Boyd and Butler 2000). In Finland the attitude towards tourism in protected areas was not totally positive which is illustrated by the criticism against the environmental impacts of tourism. For example, Rolf Palmgren (1922, p. 35) argued that a threat to preserving nature in the places of natural beauty was the modern tourist traffic. Palmgren (p. 216) did not conceive the sights protected by the Finnish Tourist Association as real nature conservation areas: the former were recreation areas for large public where as in the latter the excessive flow of tourists should be prevented.

Weakening of the close relation between tourism and nature conservation

Increasing societal meaning of conservation

After World War II the environmental impacts of expanding industrial development were criticised increasingly, and concern for the future of humanity grew. Since late 1960s, the goals of nature conservation

were redefined: the prevention of pollution and the conservation and management of natural resources became new goals. In stead of preserving only some parts of nature, conservation had to cover all the aspects of human life. Accordingly, classical nature conservation extended to more holistic environmental protection (see Järvikoski 1993; Leino-Kaukiainen 1994, 1997).

The concept of multiple-use of forests was introduced as a new goal of forestry, and conservationists wanted the increasing recreational demands to be taken into account in commercial forests (Leino-Kaukiainen 1997, p. 193). The extensive structural change in Finnish society in the 1960s and 1970s was followed by a fast growth in outdoor recreation and tourism: due to the industrialisation and urbanisation the standard of living rose and the amount of leisure time increased. Accordingly, there was an increasing need to establish areas for recreational purposes. As opposed to other forest uses, nature conservation and recreation were often understood as some kind of 'allies', for recreation was seen to exclude other forest uses. The rise of the environmental protection movement, the intensification of forestry and the increasing recreational use led to strong disputes concerning the use of forests, and the close relation between nature conservation and forestry turned into contradictory (Mikkeli 1992, p. 212).

The nature conservation area network was regarded as complete in 1956, but the need for new protected areas increased fast while the economic development continued. The growing tourism was also seen to pose a threat to nature (Leino-Kaukiainen 1997, p. 206). The report of the National Park Committee (Kansallispuistokomitean mietintö 1976) recommended the establishment of 42 national parks and 16 strict nature reserves. In the first phase of implementation in 1982 eleven national parks and five strict nature reserves were designated. The Committee was relatively positive towards tourism in national parks, but the economic meaning of tourism was not considered significant.

While the societal meaning of nature conservation increased, the criticism against the ideology strengthened. Establishing protected areas has been a contradictory process in Finland. The national park debate was very intense in the 1970s: the proposals of the National Park Committee (1976) were judged by private landowners, forest industry, local governments and local people (Tamminen 1981). Periphery and centre – north and south, countryside and city, own space and outsiders – have been placed against each other in the debate. Rural people have been afraid of increasing socio-economic problems and furthermore, the contested ideas of nature have influenced the arising of severe conflicts (see Lehtinen 1994). At the turn of the 1990s there were several environmental conflicts in Finland, and the attention was again focused on nature con-

servation issues, preserving 'pristine' nature and national cultural values (Rannikko 1994, p. 14–18). Due to increasing emphasis on the intrinsic value of nature, the use of 'biodiversity language' and the utilisation of scientific arguments, it has been difficult for lay persons to adopt conservationists' demands (Nieminen and Saaristo 1997, p. 86–87).

Observing the negative impacts of tourism

The harmful impacts of tourism in protected areas were widely noticed after World War II, in particular since the 1960s. Growing outdoor recreation and tourism were seen to threaten the nature in popular destinations. In North America, tourism in national parks had been promoted strongly and consequently, the critique against tourism was more abundant than in Finland. This led to the ecosystem-based management becoming the new goal of nature conservation in North America (see Boyd and Butler 2000).

The promoters of nature conservation, Reino Kalliola (1954) and Niilo Söyrinki (1957), noticed the environmental impacts of tourism in Finland. Even though, they supported tourism because the other uses of forests were even more problematic as regards nature conservation. Kalliola and Söyrinki believed that the problems, such as the inappropriate behaviour of tourists, could be resolved by increasing education. By 'the loyal rights of tourism' Kalliola meant the unavoidable changes in nature caused by building necessary infrastructure. He accepted these changes in national parks, although he emphasised the priority of conserving nature and the minimum level of building. Kalliola also stressed the need to preserve strict nature reserves untouched for research.

In the 1970s the observation of the negative impacts of tourism increased. For example, Pekka Kilkki (1970) criticised strongly the development of tourism in protected areas: he argued that tourism and related infrastructure building causes ecological as well as social problems. The problems of tourism were visible in Saariselkä in the beginning of the 1970s when the impacts of tourism on reindeer husbandry (Matkailu/porotaloustoimikunnan mietintö 1973) and the erosion of soil (Hoogesteger 1976) were studied.

Tourism and nature conservation during the environmental awakening

Since the 1960s and 1970s the close relation between tourism and nature conservation weakened for a couple of decades. On the one hand, tourism

in protected areas was seen to cause harmful environmental impacts. The reason for criticising the impacts was not only the increasing amount of them, but also the changing values of nature and conservation and the increasing knowledge of natural processes and their threats. Particularly during the 1970s and 1980s protecting threatened and rare species and their habitats was stressed in Finnish nature conservation. Human activities, such as recreation and tourism, were evaluated from a new perspective in protected areas: the attention given to esthetical aspects and economic and social benefits diminished. The increasing recreational use of nature was followed by contradictions between tourism and nature conservation, although they were also seen as 'allies' against the other uses of forest. Despite the decreasing meaning, recreation and tourism still maintained arguments for establishing protected areas (see Saarinen et al. 2000, p. 5–6).

On the other hand, establishing protected areas was seen to restrict the possibilities to develop tourism in those areas, and the national park status was not conceived as a special status promoting tourism. This was illustrated by the conflict of establishing Koli National Park in North Karelia at the turn of the 1990s. The town of Lieksa, landowners and some other local and regional actors supported the extensive tourism development of Koli, and opposed strongly the establishment of the park (Sankari 1994). Restrictions (e.g. building) followed by conservation were criticised, while the national park status was not seen to have a special meaning as a promoter of nature-based tourism – e.g. increasing popularity or improving the image. However, it must be noticed that Koli as a national landscape was already very well-known in Finland.

The increasing meaning of national parks as tourist destinations

The growth of nature-based tourism

Preserving old growth forests and protecting biodiversity became central issues in Finnish nature conservation in the middle of the 1980s. New demands for conservation were set by the international agreements related to biodiversity and sustainable use of resources, e.g. signing the *Convention on Biological Diversity* in 1992, and joining the European Union in 1995 (see Leino-Kaukiainen 1997, p. 214–222). A new *Nature Conservation Act* was eventually passed in 1997. According to Nieminen and Saaristo (1998), the Act has expanded the concept of nature, and nature conservation is no longer separated from other social activities. The idea of pristine, untouched nature still exists in some sense, and the

beauty of nature and landscapes is still protected by the Act. The role of tourism in national parks defined by the Act has not changed essentially since 1923.

In the 1990s nature-based tourism started to grow faster than the other sectors of tourism, and the meaning of tourism in forest use increased notably in Finland. This has been influenced by the structural changes in the supply and demand of tourism. The aspects of so-called 'new tourism' include more flexible, individual and consumer-driven demand of tourism and the stressing of environmental values (Poon 1993). As a result of the international change process of the tourism industry, several new forms of tourism and referring terms, such as eco-tourism, sustainable tourism and nature-based tourism, were created in the late 1980s and in the 1990s (Saarinen 2002).

The growth of nature-based tourism is estimated to continue. The Working Group for Recreation in the Wild and Nature Tourism (Ohjelma luonnon 2002, pp. 29, 39) estimated that with the help of the promoting steps, the annual growth of nature-based tourism will be 8 %, and the number of related jobs will double by 2010 in Finland. Accordingly, in recent years the economic and political significance of (nature-based) tourism for regional development has increased considerably. Tourism is seen to have favourable socio-economic impacts, and large amounts of public money are being spent on developing tourism. Particularly in Northern Finland tourism has a significant and still growing role in regional development (Saarinen 2003).

After 1982 national parks have been mainly designated one by one; there are now 35 parks in Finland. The mean average number of visits in national parks has doubled during the last ten years (see Saarinen and Vaara 2002, p. 8) while nature-based tourism has been widely developed in parks. In 2002 the total number of visits in Finnish national parks was almost 1.1 million (Luonnonsuojelun vuosikertomus 2002). However, the development has not been equally distributed among the areas. In the national parks close to major tourist destinations and routes the growth has been more visible than in the remote areas. In addition, the growth has been faster in Northern Finland than in other parts of the country.

The need to take into account tourism development is considered obvious particularly in the newly established and proposed national parks. Nowadays regional and local actors usually support the plans for opening parks, for the national park status increases the attractiveness of the area and promotes nature-based tourism. Consequently, national park has become a tool for regional development and positive image building in numerous peripheral areas (Saarinen and Vaara 2002, p. 7). Several municipalities and organisations have proposed that at least six national parks should still be designated in Finland (Cajander 2003, p. 21).

The growing meaning of tourism in national parks has meant for municipalities and other local actors a chance to benefit economically from nature conservation. This increases the positive attitude towards conservation, and improves the conditions for implementing it. However, the opposition to establishment of protected areas has not totally ceased which is illustrated, for example, by the conflicts related to Natura 2000 Nature Conservation Area Network. Emphasis on biodiversity and other scientific arguments makes it difficult for ordinary citizens to adopt conservation demands (see Lehtinen 1994). Furthermore, tourism causes also negative impacts, all local people do not benefit from the positive impacts of tourism, and all protected areas – or even national parks – are not popular tourist destinations.

The current meaning of tourism in conservation areas

Since the last decade the dominant discourse in nature conservation has been the protection of biodiversity. The perspective of conservation has expanded outside protected areas, and they are again more closely attached to human activities. Nowadays regional and local industries, such as tourism, are often part of the use of nature conservation areas.

The relation between tourism and nature conservation became positive again in the 1990s when the touristic role of national parks was emphasised. Currently the national park status is seen as a positive factor promoting tourism development, and the network of nature conservation areas is considered a central attraction for nature-based tourism. The need for new protected areas is justified by aspects related to developing nature-based tourism, and particularly in the areas of high unemployment the positive socio-economic effects of tourism are expected (see Saarinen et al. 2000, p. 6). Nevertheless, there have also been critical opinions concerning the development of tourism in national parks driven by municipalities (e.g. Finne 1989).

The positive relation between tourism and nature conservation does not mean that the critique against the environmental impacts of tourism did not exist. Especially the forms of mass tourism are considered highly problematic as regards ecological and social impacts, and the notions of nature in tourism industry has been judged utilistic. Despite their potential problems, certain forms of tourism, such as ecotourism, are usually regarded as suitable for conservation areas. In addition, the principles of sustainability are becoming part of tourism management in protected areas: the Finnish Forest and Park Service has recently formed the principles of sustainable nature-based tourism in nature conservation areas.

Conclusion

Three Finnish discourses concerning the relation between tourism and nature conservation were discussed in this paper. From the Nineteenth Century to the 1960s the relationship was positive: tourism and conservation were seen to support and benefit each other. During the environmental awakening the harmful impacts of tourism were observed, and the close relationship weakened. Since the 1990s the touristic role of national parks has been emphasised again. It has to be stressed that although the transformation of dominant discourses was analysed through separate discourses, it is rather a 'continuum'. The contents of different discourses change, and in addition to dominant meanings, there always exists features of other discourses (see Saarinen 2002, p. 254). The analysis of the historical discourses illustrates the contested idea of nature conservation, and makes it possible to understand the current contradictions concerning the use of protected areas.

References

Benton, L.M. & Short, J.R. 1999. Environmental discourse and practice. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford and Malden. 219 p.

Blåfield, M. 1980. A.E. Nordenskiöld ja kansallispuistoaate. Suomen Luonto 5: 219–222.

Borg, P. & Ormio, H. 1978. Perustiedot kansallispuistoista. Ihanteet ja käytäntö. WSOY, Porvoo. 112 p.

Boyd, S.W. & Butler, R.W. 2000. Tourism and national parks: the origin of the concept. In: Boyd, S.W. & Butler, R.W. (eds). Tourism and national parks: issues and implications. John Wiley & Sons, Chichester. p. 13–27.

Cajander, V.-R. 2003. Suomalaiset rakastavat suojelualueitaan! Ympäristö 3: 20–24.

Finne, A. 1989. Pitääkö kansallispuiston olla suosittu vai suojeltu? Suomen Luonto 1: 10–11.

Hall, S. 1999. Identiteetti. Translated and edited by Mikko Lehtonen and Juha Herkman. Vastapaino, Tampere. 285 p.

Hirn, S. & Markkanen, E. 1987. Tuhansien järvien maa. Suomen matkailun historia. Matkailun edistämiskeskus and Suomen Matkailuliitto, Helsinki. 376 p.

Hoogesteger, M. 1976. Kasvillisuuden muuttuminen Koilliskairan autiotupien ympärillä. Silva Fennica 10(1): 40–53.

Järvikoski, T. 1984. Luonnonsuojelu yhteiskunnallisena vaikuttajana Suomessa. Politiikka 2: 163–176.

— 1993. Luonnonsuojelu ennen ympäristönsuojelua. Katsaus suomalaisen luonnonsuojelun varhaiseen aatteelliseen ja osin toiminnalliseenkin kehitykseen. In: Jokisalo, J. & Väyrynen, K. (eds). Ympäristökysymysten yhteiskunnallisia ja eettisiä näkökulmia. Aate- ja oppihistorian tutkimuksia no 25. Oulun yliopisto, Oulu. p. 5–32.

Kalliola, R. 1941. Luonnonsuojelusta ja sen tehtävistä. Suomen Luonto, 15–24.

— 1954. Matkailu ja retkeily luonnonsuojelun näkökulmasta. Suomen Luonto, 9–22.

Kansallispuistokomitean mietintö 1976. Komiteanmietintö 88. Helsinki. 199 p.

Kilkki, P. 1970. Turisteja Suomeen. In: Haukioja, M. & Lovén, L. (eds). Niin metsä vastaa... metsät ja luonnonsuojelu. Metsäylioppilaat ry. p. 94–96.

Kylämäki, J., Järvikoski, T., Haavio, A. & Kankaanpää, A. 1980. "Imatra, vallaton hurjapää." Sosiologinen tutkimus Imatrankosken valjastamisesta. Sosiologisia tutkimuksia 99. Turun yliopisto. 33 p.

Lehtinen, A.A. 1994. Satumetsiä ja metsäsatuja. In: Laaksonen, P. & Mettomäki, S.-L. (eds). Metsä ja metsänviljaa. Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja 73. Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, Helsinki. p. 151–163.

Leino-Kaukiainen, P. 1994. Luonnonsuojelusta ympäristökysymykseen. In: Kurki-Suonio, I. & Heikkilä, M. (eds). Kestävän kehityksen edellytykset Suomessa. Imatran Voima Oy:n 60-vuotisjuhlajulkaisu. Tammi, Helsinki. p. 29–101.

— 1997. Fontainebleausta Rioon. Luonnonsuojeluaate ja metsäluonto. In: Roiko-Jokela, H. (ed.). Luonnon ehdoilla vai ihmisen arvoilla? Polemiikkia metsien suojelusta 1850-luvulta 1990-luvulle. Atena Kustannus, Jyväskylä. p. 167–222.

Luonnonsuojelun vuosikertomus 2002. Metsähallitus. http://www.metsa.fi/luo/vuosikertomus/2002/index.htm. 16.5.2003.

Matkailu/porotaloustoimikunnan mietintö 1973. Komiteanmietintö 123. Helsinki. 79 p.

Mikkeli, H. 1992. Metsäturkki ja sen jurot parturit. Näkemyksiä metsäluonnon ja kansanluonteen suhteesta 1800–1900-luvulla. Historiallinen Aikakauskirja 90(3): 200–215.

Nieminen, M. & Saaristo, K. 1998. Suomalaisen luonnon lait. Alue ja Ympäristö 27(2): 72–89.

Ohjelma luonnon virkistyskäytön ja luontomatkailun kehittämiseksi 2002. Suomen ympäristö 535. Ympäristöministeriö. 47 p.

Palmgren, R. 1922. Luonnonsuojelu ja kulttuuri I ja II. Translated by Hannes Salovaara. Otava, Helsinki. 427 p.

Pekurinen, M. 1997. Sivistys velvoittaa. Klassinen luonnonsuojelu Suomessa. In: Roiko-Jokela, H. (ed.). Luonnon ehdoilla vai ihmisen arvoilla? Pole-

miikkia metsien suojelusta 1850-luvulta 1990-luvulle. Atena Kustannus, Jyväskylä. p. 129–165.

Poon, A. 1993. Tourism, technology and competitive strategies. CAB International, Wallingford. 370 p.

Rannikko, P. 1994. Ympäristökamppailujen aallot. In: Lehtinen, A. & Rannikko, P. (eds). Pasilasta Vuotokselle. Ympäristökamppailujen uusi aalto. Gaudeamus. p. 11–28.

Saarinen, J. 2000. Snapshots of the history of nature-based tourism in Finland. In: Lovén, L. (ed.). Responsible nature tourism. Proceedings of the conference at Koli National Park, Finland 3.–4. February 2000. Metsäntutkimuslaitoksen tiedonantoja 792. p. 95–105.

— 2002. Tourism in northern wilderness areas: wilderness discourses and the development of nature-based tourism in Northern Finland. In: Ecotourism, wilderness and mountains: issues, strategies and regional development. Conference proceedings. Department of Tourism, University of Otago, Dunedin.

— 2003. The regional economics of tourism in Northern Finland: the socio-economic implications of recent tourism development and future possibilities for regional development. Scandinavian Journal of Tourism and Hospitality 3(2): 91–113.

— & Vaara, M. 2002. Mökki kansallispuiston laidalla. Loma-asukkaiden näkemyksiä Pyhätunturin kansallispuiston käytöstä ja kehittämisestä. Metsäntutkimuslaitoksen tiedonantoja 845. 41 p.

— , Jortikka, S. & Virtanen, E. 2000. Luonnonsuojelualueet ja matkailu. In: Saarinen, J., Jortikka, S. & Virtanen, E. (eds). Luonto, matkailu ja luonnonsuojelu. Metsäntutkimuslaitoksen tiedonantoja 760. p. 5–12.

Sankari, E. 1994. Koli kolikoiksi vai kansallisomaisuudeksi? In: Lehtinen, A. & Rannikko, P. (eds). Pasilasta Vuotokselle. Ympäristökamppailujen uusi aalto. Gaudeamus. p. 31–54.

Söyrinki, N. 1957. Matkailu ja luonnonrikkauksien suojelu. Suomen Luonto 2: 1–3.

Tamminen, J. 1981. Kansa vastaan kansallispuistot. Kansallispuistokomitean esityksen vastaanoton sosiologista tarkastelua. Turun yliopisto. Sosiologisia tutkimuksia 101. 51 p.

Tuominen, L. 2002. Lainatut argumentit luonnon ja kulttuuriperinnön suojelussa. Alue ja Ympäristö 31(2): 14–24.

Saarinen, J. & Hall, C.M. (eds) 2004. Nature-Based Tourism Research in Finland: Local Contexts, Global Issues. Finnish Forest Research Institute, Research Papers 916: 47–61.

The power of nature-based tourism:
tensions between different understandings of nature at the peripheral tourist resort of Kilpisjärvi

Seija Tuulentie

Introduction

During the years of the birth of mass tourism, the sun and the sand were the main tourist attractions. However, changes in tourism have led to rural landscapes, mountainous regions and wilderness areas attracting more and more tourists. Furthermore, tourists are not necessarily any longer people who just want to go on a sightseeing tour; now they often also want to experience the environment with all of their senses. They may fall in love with the place and return the next year. In the next stage, they may buy a second home in the area, and some of them may even move to live there permanently.

Since tourism is often seen as a saviour of peripheral area where all other means of livelihood are diminishing, it has an important role in local development. In this article, I shall attempt to identify the various perspectives that different groups of locals and tourists have regarding the nature of a remote wilderness destination and the use of local natural resources. I shall also discuss how the boundaries between local people and tourists are becoming blurred in these situations. An important starting point is that neither the local community nor the tourists can be regarded as one coherent group. As Swarbrooke (2002, p. 123) has noted, the idea of host community is a difficult concept to define. Some features contributing to this difficulty are the divisions between indigenous people and people representing the dominant population, locally-born people and immigrants, and also those who have been forced to move to centres of population and those who are still trying to earn they livelihood in remote areas. In addition, there are those who are involved in tourism industry and those who are not. These are also examples of

the complexities that affect the ideas of how to use the local natural resources.

When viewed from this perspective, the power to decide how of if tourism is developed becomes a crucial question. As far as conventional ideas of tourism and power in relation to hosts and guests are concerned, power has been understood in terms of domination and repression. In tourism studies, the relationship between hosts and guests has often been described as a one-way street where the dominator industry and tourists face up against the dominated locals. This division has been drawn mainly from situations where there is great disparity in the socio-economic status between the tourists and the locals (Smith 1989, Cheong and Miller 2000). However, when following Foucault's view of the omnipresence of power relations, the power relations between locals and visitors, hosts and guests, do exist also in the industrialised world, but these relations should not been seen as being unilateral and merely repressive. For Foucault, power produces identities for both parties (Foucault 1980).

In the case of tourism at Kilpisjärvi, Finland, I am especially interested in the question of how the nature is used as part of the network of power. Kilpisjärvi is a destination that draws especially domestic tourists because of its wilderness areas and because it is the location of the highest peaks in Finland. In the field of tourism, this kind of a destination is often regarded as being a wilderness area, and little attention is given to the local communities – with the exception of the indigenous people's culture. When looking for pictures of Kilpisjärvi on the Internet, the search results in beautiful views of the landscapes in the surroundings of Kilpisjärvi. The village itself, or local people, are not present in these pictures. The Sámi people come into the picture only on the front page of the website of the municipality of Enontekiö which Kilpisjärvi is part of. The image dedicated to Enontekiö shows Saana Fell as seen from Kilpisjärvi and two Sámi girls in their traditional costumes. However, only about 7 % of the inhabitants in Enontekiö belong to the Sámi minority, and very few Sámi people live in the village of Kilpisjärvi. Thus, nature with the flavour of the indigenous people included is the feature that builds up this place. But what does the nature mean to the different groups of locals and tourists? And how does it build up the identity of place? I use the concept of place here to convey the idea that a place is not so much an objective fact in a cartographic sense but rather more the result of human interpretation and meaning making (Karjalainen 1997, p. 230). As John Urry (1995) has put it, some places only exist because of visitors.

In conflicts involving the use of nature, it is an advantage to be able to represent oneself as a "local." Being a local is the same as being a con-

cerned party. Hence, regular tourists and semi-locals regard themselves as interested parties. In these cases, different attitudes to nature-use are often contradictory since nature is used for different kinds of activities by different groups. As an empirical case, I have conducted a study of the discourses of nature use in the narratives of "traditional" locals, newcomers and visitors in the village of Kilpisjärvi.

The village, the data and the method of analysis

Kilpisjärvi is a fairly typical destination for tourists seeking nature and wilderness experiences. It is located in an extremely sparsely populated area that suffers from migration to the population centres in southern part of Finland. The land is owned by the state, but the indigenous Sámi people are making claims for land rights. These kinds of areas are politically quite weak since urban interests dominate the political system.

For tourists, the main attractions are activity holidays, such as hiking or cross-country skiing. Also some enthusiasts of more extreme sports such as telemark skiing have discovered Kilpisjärvi in recent years. When a tourist reaches the village of Kilpisjärvi, at the thumb, as it were, of Finland's northwest arm, it is likely that he/she will meet personnel of the Hiking Centre or of Hotel Kilpis. If this takes place in the summer, it is almost certain that the tourist will stay only one night in the village and then head for the wilderness tracks, or further up to Norway, and he/she will use no other services than one night's accommodation and perhaps buy something from the shop. If the tourist comes to the village in the winter, then he/she is likely to stay there for a week. The most common Kilpisjärvi tourist is one who has been there before. For the high season in winter, people have been known to make booking with the hotel as much as five years in advance. In addition to these two groups of tourists, there are the passers-by and the growing numbers of Norwegians, who stay in their caravans or cottages.

The village of Kilpisjärvi serves as an interesting and specific example of host and guest relations for several reasons. First, the origins of the Kilpisjärvi village, as it is known now, are in administration and tourism. It is a young village, and thus very few can claim to be natives of the area. There are only about 200 people living permanently in the village. Another 100 or so people live there part of the year. Second, the village belongs to the Sámi domicile region, and it has been part of the Sámi reindeer herding area for centuries. Third, the geographical

position of the village is a special one as it is where Finland, Sweden and Norway meet. From the Finnish point of view, it is a very remote place, but since the biggest fells in Finland are situated in the area, it is an important landscape from the national perspective. The nature of the area differs a lot from the rest of Finland. Tourism has been important for the village since the 1930s. At that time, the fells were "discovered" as providing excellent hiking terrain. Before that, only the Sámi reindeer herders had lived in these fells. Nature conservation has been a contested issue in the area as well, as it has in all of Lapland. There have been plans to construct a road to Saana Fell and ski slopes to other parts of the municipality of Enontekiö, but these plans have miscarried because of conservation regulations. More than 75 % of the municipality's area has been set aside to serve different kinds of nature reserves.

Kilpisjärvi has attracted domestic tourists and other visitors so much that the typical expression is that someone has "fallen in love with the place." Some Kilpisjärvi enthusiasts have even moved to live in the area. As one of the incomers has stated, Kilpisjärvi especially attracts academic women (Jäppinen 2001). Thus, many tourists have become locals or semi-locals, which is a common trend in the world of today. Also, as in other places in the industrialised world, most of the "locals" are sometimes tourists. Puijk (1996) has noticed that the local population has the same kind of 'modern' attitude, the same longing for the authentic, as the tourists have. Host populations are modern in many aspects, and they themselves are often tourists elsewhere. The category of 'Tourist' as well as 'Local' is extremely pliable, and over time visitors to a particular locale may transcend their positions as tourists and make the place a regular haunt or even "home" (Kohn 1997). In addition to the categories of host and guest, the categories of 'Work' and 'Leisure' are more and more blurred by such phenomena as teleworking or a working holiday (e.g. as a seasonal worker at a skiing resort). All these features have their effects also on the relationships between locals and tourists.

In this paper, the empirical analysis presented is based on interviews of those Kilpisjärvi villagers, who in one way or another are involved in the tourism industry (a total of 18 interviews conducted and reported by a research group from the University of Lapland in 2001; Haahti et al. 2001). In addition, I present an analysis of the interviews of both villagers and visitors published in some newspapers and magazines. Mainly the analysis of the guest perspectives is based on the web diaries kept by regular Kilpisjärvi visitors. They are either hikers or cross-country-skiers. These textual materials do not address exactly the same issues, but all of the texts do deal with the nature of the Kilpisjärvi area.

In the following chapters, I proceed to distinguish the different discourses of nature through three themes: 1) Development, 2) Nature con-

servation and nature experience, and 3) Tourist activities. The themes link the ideas of nature to wider cultural, social and political contexts. In addition, I shall deal with the categorisations mentioned in the texts. This theme is related to the idea of category entitlement, by which I mean that certain categories of actors are culturally treated as being entitled to know particular things. Thus, the reports and descriptions of the persons belonging to a specific category may be given special credence (Potter 1996, p. 114–115). For example, those regarded as belonging to the category "Locals" are supposed to have a kind of knowledge of the area that those categorised as "Visitors" do not have. I do not focus on the question whether or not the speaker really has the entitlement, but instead I focus on the social constructionist perspective, on the question of what kinds of category memberships different speakers construct and how they describe their entitlement to speak in that category.

Development

The issue of development is, in many ways, related to the question of the use of nature. Since there are no plans, nor possibilities, for the industrial use of natural resources among any parties involved in the development of the village, the contradictions in land use occur between the tourism industry, reindeer herding and nature conservation. There are different discourses of the tourists' expectations and of the future of tourist demand. Mainly the contradiction in discussions occurs between two traits. First, some want to maintain the existing situation and emphasise the peacefulness and authenticity of nature:

> *Kilpisjärvi should develop into a unique quality destination that cares about nature; it is good that Kilpisjärvi has not "developed" in the way other tourist destinations have, that it has stayed authentic. (Kaija Justander-Jacklin, hotel manager, originally from Eastern Lapland.)*

> *Sometimes working here [at the Kilpisjärvi Biological Station of the University of Helsinki] is frustrating as there is no understanding of the sustainable development of tourism; on the contrary, people want to make most of it without thinking of nature. (Rauni Partanen, assistant at the Biological Sstation, originally from Eastern Finland.)*

> *The lack of a ski lift appears to have turned into an advantage. "The people here are true campers, who enjoy skiing, not fancy*

> *people", Mr. Jehkonen [a regular male Kilpisjärvi visitor since 1968] observes. In fact, those who set out to ski can do so without listening to announcement from the local restaurant patio encouraging people to get up on tables to dance, which can definitely occur further South. (Repo 2002.)*

The first two excerpts represent the ideas of local people, and the third one shows how a regular visitor sees the place. They have a lot in common: peacefulness and "non-development" are appreciated in all of these three views. Both of the locals quoted here are newcomers – but so are the most of the villagers since there are only a few, whose families have lived in the village for generations.

The second discourse is used by those who want to have more tourists and more tourist activities in the area. Their tones are also often more pessimistic since they regard that they do not have enough possibilities to enhance tourism. This second discourse is present, for example, in the following comments:

> *The only possibility for the development of the village is to get an entrepreneur from outside the village to establish some big business enterprise since there is not enough potential within the village itself. As regards nature and wilderness tourism, however, the area offers peaceful surroundings. (Tuula Kultima, the owner of the Cafeteria Tuula, originally from Enontekiö municipality.)*

> *The future does not look bright. Young people are not interested in the area, because it is so remote. We need a water park, a ski slope and an airport. (Urho Viik, retired, had a cottage-rental business serving tourists, originally from Kilpisjärvi.)*

This pessimistic discourse is used only by those living in the village, not by the tourists. Although Tuula Kultima states that the place is good for nature-based tourism, she implies that this is not enough: it does not enhance the development of the village. According to this line of thinking, nature-based hiking tourism does not offer enough jobs for the locals. The pessimistic tone is also related to the lack of decision power. For example, Tuula Kultima says that the capital of Finland, Helsinki, is the source of direction and decisions determining life in Kilpisjärvi, and this takes place especially via the Biological Station run by the University of Helsinki: "The station obstructs progress for no reason. The Biological Station has itself spoiled the national landscape although it accuses others of that." Through the disputes on nature conservation and the use of nature, the Biological Station has become a metonymic

symbol of the power of Helsinki over local knowledge. "Why are the researchers allowed to go enter the Malla Nature Reserve [an area near the village with strict regulations, reserved mainly for scientific purposes] but reindeer are not?" asks one Sámi reindeer herder.

When discussing the development and the future of the village, the views of the locals and the tourists cannot be strictly separated. Some interviewees also adhere to both discourses since the sustainability of tourism is seen as an ideal from the ecological point of view, but from the economical perspective there are no imaginable alternatives to more intense tourism. The more efficient use of natural and landscape values are seen as being necessary to keep the village settled.

In addition, there is the third development discourse used by the hikers. In an ironic tone, they describe the changes in wilderness spirit:

> *Also the local herdsmen had remarked on the birch stand, since half of the trees had been cut to make open fires. – We met two herdsmen, and they had two ATVs and a dog. How wonderful is the life of contemporary reindeer herders! (Marko Ovaska, male hiker from Central Finland).*

> *We slept well. However, at 2 a.m. a helicopter fetched one hiker to the doctor's and then brought him back after some hours. That's what life in the wilderness is like! (Repe Hämäläinen, male hiker from Eastern Finland.)*

The hikers have a certain image of the Kilpisjärvi area, and for them it is, in the first place, wilderness without people. From this point of view, the wilderness should not change in any way. Thus, technical developments in reindeer herding are commented upon in an ironic tone. However, the hikers have also adjusted themselves to the idea that the "real wilderness" is hard to find. Experienced hikers refer to the hiking route from Kilpisjärvi to Halti Fell, the tallest peak in Finland, as the "highway", although it is only a path. Hiking traditions are also changing, and more and more helicopters and other vehicles are being used.

Nature conservation and nature experience

One concrete part of the theme of development is the discourse related to the question of nature conservation and the different modes of expressing nature experiences. A widely spread view in Finnish Lapland is that there are too many nature reserves in the province and that they are too large. This is the way one interviewee from Kilpisjärvi put it:

> *There is too much nature conservation in the area; if only the State would grant subsidies, then everything could be conserved; but since there are no subsidies, people have to earn their livelihood in other ways and then the only possible resource is to use the nature around them. (Kalle Mannela, boat operator on Lake Kilpisjärvi, 20 years in Kilpisjärvi, before that in Sweden and Norway,)*

Thus, if one wants to argue for nature conservation, one needs to provide more justification for one's argument. For example, as the next excerpt shows, it is not easy to say that nature conservation is a good thing, but instead one has to be more cautious:

> *Nature conservation also has its good points. What I am worried about is the use of ATVs in summer. Also, over-grazing by reindeer is a problem. (Ilkka Leinonen, has worked in the border guard detachment, later has concentrated on providing fishing, hunting and other programme services for tourists, originally from Central Finland, has liven in Kilpisjärvi since 1978,).*

Tourists do not address the topic of conservation directly. For them, it does not matter if the area is conserved or not; what matters are the views, the landscape, and the outdoor experiences they can hope to have:

> *How barren, but still beautiful, is this landscape of Kilpisjärvi! My soul rests here, and I always want to return here. Does such a gorgeous place as this really exist in Finland? (Repe Hämäläinen, male hiker)*

However, also the locals appreciate the local landscape. Many have moved to the area because of its scenery and nature. Rauni Partanen, assistant at the Biological Station, describes in the following way the long decision process before moving to Kilpisjärvi:

> *[She visited Kilpisjärvi first in 1981] Splendid fell scenery and the unique flora of the region drew me here again and again. (Partanen 2000.)*

Emphasis on the fine views does not mean that only the sense of vision is important. Also the soundscape, the peacefulness and silence of the nature, are important, both for hikers and other tourists. And since

tourists come to the area mainly because of the outdoor activities it offers, an important part of the experience is the physical dimension.

Tourist activities

What kinds of activities do tourists look for in the area as understood by the locals? And how do the tourists themselves describe their doings? From the development-oriented local point of view, snowmobiling is the foremost issue. Snowmobiling and cross-country skiing are often seen as contradictory activities: snowmobiles disturb the peace that the skiers are looking for. The increase in the number of snowmobiles has to be justified somehow:

> *Older people in Kilpisjärvi wish that nothing would change and they are against snowmobile trails being laid out, but the real ski hikers wish to have more snowmobiles in use in the wilderness as this includes a safety aspect for them. (Tuula Kultima)*

> *Snowmobiling should not be restricted since the use of snowmobiles is necessary for the villagers and it is part of their everyday life. (Ahti and Anja Saukkonen, originally from Southern Finland, bed & breakfast enterprise owners)*

> *Cross-country skiing and snowmobiles are the most important things for tourism in the village. (Taisto Vanhapiha, originally from Lapland, lives most of the year in Kilpisjärvi)*

This contradiction has its origins largely in the assumptions regarding the different demands of Norwegian and Finnish tourists. Finnish tourists assure all the time that they do not want anything to disturb the peace of nature in the region. In accordance with this view, those working mostly with Finnish tourists at Hotel Kilpis and in the Hiking Centre do not add to the number of snowmobiles. On the contrary, they support the traditional ways of enjoying the local nature:

> *Orvokki Pennanen [a guide at Hotel Kilpis], who has lived in Lapland for seven years, speaks of the Kilpisjärvi Spirit, which includes the nature as well as peace and quiet. On stepping out of a hotel or cabin, one is immediately in the middle of wilderness. (Repo 2002)*

> *Snowmobiles should be guided to their own routes in order to bring uncontrolled snowmobiling under control.(Eija Mannela, manager of the Hiking Centre, originally from Helsinki, in Kilpisjärvi since the early 1970s.)*

These discourses, as well as the discussions related to the themes of development and nature conservation, show that a balance between economic and ecological sustainability of tourism is hard to find. Seasonality and the lack of capital make the industry economically vulnerable. Also, the hiking tourists do not have to use much money in the area. The money from renting the cottages on the hiking routes goes to the State via the Park and Forest Service. Thus, the dilemma between the maintenance of the landscape, scenery and peacefulness necessary for attracting many regular visitors, and the development of new ways to earn one's living from tourism is a fundamental one.

Categories

From the perspective of power relations, an important question is that of determining who is entitled to what kind of knowledge. Is there one category of people (e.g. the biologists from Helsinki who visit the Biological Station of Kilpisjärvi) that has the kind of knowledge of nature enabling them to decide what is the best for the village? Or does the position of being a local person entitle one to decide how the tourism industry should be developed in the area? Does the nature of the "national landscape" also belong to the nation-state?

The discussion around categories and entitlement among locals in Kilpisjärvi is, in many cases, related to the role of the Biological Station:

> *The Biological Station is OK in the sense that the staff know the nature and they are experts in their own fields, but they should also realise that what works in Helsinki or in Southern Finland does not necessarily work at Kilpisjärvi and in Lapland. Thus, there should be more lay people represented in the planning processes. (Eeva-Sisko Tornensis, provider of programme services for tourists, originally from Central Finland, married to the local Sámi reindeer herder).*

> *The Biological Station is a "cancer" in r the village. They do not use local services or local labour force, and they do not keep the villagers informed of what they do. (Seppo Rousu, a shopkeeper)*

The Biological Station is regarded as an embodiment of the central system of administration, and it is seen as a contradictory factor from the viewpoint of local knowledge and local autonomy. One aspect of the criticism is that the Station is involved in the tourism industry by accommodating also visitors other than scientists. However, the deeper part of the criticism can be interpreted as involving power relations. The question of who has the power to decide what the environment of people's everyday life should be like is crucial. Ari Lehtinen (1994, p. 278–279) points out that the problem is related to the confrontation of two different images of nature; universal and terrestrial. The universal truths of nature are for many natural scientists still distinct from the local nature-use practices.

In regard to the different understandings of nature and locality, the question of the categories 'Local' and 'Incomer' is often raised:

> *There are only a few native residents in Kilpisjärvi. It is a settler village. Newcomers are welcomed. If there are problems in adapting oneself, the fault may be in the newcomers themselves. (Ilkka Leinonen)*

> *One problem is the lack of local guides, making it difficult for new residents to integrate with the village community. It also depends on whether one is a nature conservationist, as then this is even more difficult. (Esa Aidantausta, owner of the enterprise Aidantausta, originally from Lapland, moved to Kilpisjärvi in 1973.)*

Both of the speakers are incomers, who came to the area in the 1970s. That was a time when the most of the local inhabitants moved to the village, and now they comment on more recent newcomers as locals. However, one group, which (at least according to common sense) should be regarded as being the "most local" is that of indigenous Sámi people. Only one Sámi person was interviewed among the tourist entrepreneurs. This reflects the structure of population in the village: Kilpisjärvi in not an old Sámi village. Nevertheless, the surroundings have been important as reindeer pastures, and also the village has been part of an old Lapp village, a concept referring to a larger area than what the term 'village' is understood to mean nowadays. The Sámi interviewee, Juha Tornensis, emphasised the family history in the area. He has, for example, programme services on offer for tourists in an old Sámi tent, lavvo, that also his father and grandfather have used (Haahti et al. 2001, p. 43.) The ethnically Finnish people in the village are not so eager to give the status

of natives to the Sámi people. They are regarded more as a risk for the village and not even included in the category of locals:

> *The main risk is in the militant Sámi independence movement. The Sámi culture should be integrated with tourism, but only a few Sámi people dare to get involved in tourism because of the pressure of their community. The others take advantage of the Sámi aspect in tourism since the Sámi people do not do so themselves. (Ilkka Leinonen)*

> *One of the main problems in the development of this village is in the conflict between the locals and the Sámi people. (Elli-Maria and Hannu Rauhala)*

The Rauhala family makes a distinction between the locals and the Sámi. From the ethnically Finnish perspective, the Sámi belong to a category of their own. However, for the tourists, all the locals are regarded as Sámi – or as reindeer herders, which means the same for the people from South – but that does not mean that their local knowledge is appreciated. The next long extract shows how fellow hikers appear to be more trustworthy than the local people:

> *In Pitsus [a cabin along the hiking route that starts from Kilpisjärvi] there was only one man besides us. He appeared to be an experienced hiker, and he was keen on ice fishing. He told us that he had met local reindeer herdsmen. The local people are said to be worried about the holes in ozone layer, and they are afraid of skin cancer. The man told us that one of the locals really had a face that was totally red. However, the locals were suffering a hangover after their Easter festival, so maybe that explained the colour. [A long description of how the herdsmen wanted more spirits and made fools of themselves.] Later we talked about the animals in the area and the man told us that the fox had displaced arctic fox. (Esa Kleemola, male hiker from Southern Finland)*

In this story, the experienced hiker was allocated the position of an expert of local habits and the nature of the area. The locals, instead, were represented in a humorous light with the stereotype image of drunken Sámi people. According to Internet diaries, it can be stated that the hikers are primarily interested in hiking practices and the experiences of other hikers. This is the expertise that they seek, not so much local knowledge.

The common aspect among those belonging to the category of 'Tourists' is that they do not regard themselves as tourists; it is always the others that belong to that category. As one hiker writes: "In the manner of tourists, we had taken a helicopter ride from Kilpisjärvi to Poroeno." (Nyytiset-newsletter 2000). Also those staying year after year in Kilpisjärvi during the high season regard themselves "truly as guests, not tourists":

> *They know the personnel and especially the guides. Riitta and Hannu Nieminen started their yearly trips to Lapland 24 years ago. Now they have their children and grandchildren with them. With their friends they have an unofficial association called Ekotokka. (Nuutinen 2003.)*

Thus, also the regular tourists feel themselves in many ways to be 'the party involved' in matters pertaining to the nature use of the region. They have clear picture of the real wilderness, and (on the basis of long tradition) they know what they want their holiday resort to be like. They are also involved in the construction of the image of the place as well as in the construction of the identities of the locals. This process of identity construction evolves also out of the tourist histories of many newcomers: they have been visiting Kilpisjärvi as tourists for many years and have then decided to move there permanently or to have their second home there.

The network of nature, tourism and locality

Through the case of tourism at Kilpisjärvi, I have discerned some of the features that are typical of the relationships between tourism and nature in a contemporary world of movement. The forms of tourism are changing and becoming more complex. It is not self-evident who is a tourist and who is a local. The locals, at least in the tourism destinations of the industrialised world, cannot be regarded as being under the repressive power of the tourism industry. Tourism is an important industry for the many peripheral, remote regions, and it is especially the field where different groups of people interact and intermix. Also the boundaries between work and leisure are becoming more blurred.

What, then, are the parties that form the network of power in the case of Kilpisjärvi? First, there are the locals who want to enhance new touristic activities and who appear to think that there is plenty of peace and nature anyway in the area, despite the forms that tourism takes. Thus, they are not so interested in emphasising the sustainability of tourism. Second, there are those former tourists who have fallen in love with the place and moved to live in the area. They, as well as the third group, the

regular high season visitors, speak for the status quo: the place is good as it is and it should not be changed in any way. Fourth, there are the hikers and cross-country skiers seeking undisturbed wilderness experiences and for whom the local culture does not have much meaning. An interesting group from the power perspective is also that of the academic tourists at the Biological Station. They are teleworkers, and often biologists, who are presumed to have the correct knowledge of nature.

Although there are also other livelihoods practised in the area in addition to those based on tourism, with reindeer herding being the most important and also related to tourism, the nature and wilderness tourism and its prospects appear to be the features that define the village. Tourism very much constructs the locality as regards the image of the area and to the public opinion in the more central areas of Finland. The place is constructed through the landscape symbols such as the silhouette of Saana Fell or the status of Halti Fell as the highest peak in Finland.

References

Cheong, S-M. & Miller, M. 2000. Power and Tourism. A Foucauldian Observation. Annals of Tourism Research 27(2): 371–390.

Foucault, M. 1980. Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977. Gordon, C. (ed.). Pantheon Books, New York.

Karjalainen, P.T. 1997. Aika, paikka ja muistin maantiede. In: Haarni, T., Karvinen, M., Koskela, H. & Tani, S. (eds). Tila, paikka ja maisema. Vastapaino, Tampere.

Lehtinen, A. 1994. Ympäristökamppailut tutkimushaasteena. In: Lehtinen, A. & Rannikko, P. (eds). Pasilasta Vuotokselle. Ympäristökamppailujen uusi aalto. Gaudeamus, Helsinki.

Potter, J. 1996. Representing Reality. Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction. Sage, London.

Puijk, R. 1996. Dealing with the Fish and Tourists. A Case Study from Northern Norway. In: Boissevain (ed.). Coping with Tourists. European Reactions to Mass Tourism. Berghahn Publishers, Oxford.

Smith, V. 1989. Introduction. In: Smith (ed.). Hosts and Guests. Anthropology of Tourism. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Swarbrook, J. 2002. Sustainable Tourism Management. CABI Publishing, Oxford.

Urry, J. 1995. Consuming Places. Sage, London.

Articles in newspapers and magazines

Jäppinen, S. 2001. Arkea pakoon Käsivarteen. Helsingin Sanomat.

Nyytiset: a newsletter by the students of Polytechnic of Helsinki: http://www.tky.hut.fi/Nyytiset/Vanhat/2000/2000-09–18/poka.html

Partanen, R. 2000. Amanuenssina Suomen ainoassa Alppikylässä. Acatiimi 2/2000.

Repo, P. 2002. Skiing in Kilpisjärvi while the bird cherry blooms in the South. Helsingin Sanomat, International edition 28.5.2002.

Textual material

Interviews:

Haahti, A. et al. 2001. Kilpisjärven yrittäjien yhteistyö ja verkostoituminen. Lapin yliopiston täydennyskoulutuskeskus, The publication of the project Learning Sustainability 2/2001, University of Lapland:

- Esa Aidantausta
- Kaija Justander-Jacklin
- Tuula Kultima
- Ilkka Leinonen
- Eija Mannela
- Kalle Mannela
- Elli-Maria and Hannu Rauhala
- Seppo Rousu
- Ahti and Anja Saukkonen
- Eeva-Sisko Tornensis
- Taisto Vanhapiha
- Urho Viik

Internet diaries:

Repe Hämäläinen: http://kotisivu.mtv3.fi/repe.hamalainen/vael99.htm

Esa Kleemola: http://gamma.nic.fi/~esa2k/vaella.htm

Marko Ovaska: http://www.kolumbus.fi/ovaskakoti/house/house.html

Saarinen, J. & Hall, C.M. (eds) 2004. Nature-Based Tourism Research in Finland: Local Contexts, Global Issues. Finnish Forest Research Institute, Research Papers 916: 63–70.

Names and tales as a source of nature-based tourism development

Lasse Lovén

The spirit of the site

The 'spirit' of a site is currently regarded as an important issue in tourism development. It can be seen as an important attraction in nature-based tourism destinations, and even more so in connection to cultural tourism features. Ancient forests or wilderness environments in some national parks may have a special meaning to the visitor; for example they could be seen as holy sites or as a source of scientific interest. The same sites may also be interesting to the visitor because of someone's past visit to the site; this person may have had special motives or a special use for the site. For instance, a tourist may be interested in a site because the Tsar of Russia visited an esker and fished on a river or because a famous artist visited a hill for inspiration. After the mental revival experienced when at the site, the artists then created something that is still seen today as very important to the Finnish national culture. These visits to certain places have left memories, which have been registered in the cultural heritage of the people (Sepänmaa 1993). These memories are in the form of names of sites that have been created for the stories which are then told to visitors about the meaning of the site.

For the ancient people the name of a site indicated how much it meant to them. It is easy to see that names of places are a part of the common cultural heritage and of social capital (Coleman 1990). Names of places transfer a way of thinking and they also teach the younger generation how ancient people lived. The background information behind the name of a place creates extra value when it becomes a tourist attraction. In a typical scenic site the topography and natural elements form the attractions for visitors. This value is expected to increase when the cultural heritage is revealed to the visitor, with the new knowledge combining with the aesthetic experience (Hargrove 1989).

Names as symbols of meaning

The names for places, the tales told about the site, the real factual memories and the carefully created *lume-imago*, have introduced an extremely valuable social capital resource for tourism development. The name of the place has been created for a particular site, this can be for a house or a place in the terrain. The name of the place is an expression that individualises the site and distinguishes it from the surroundings. It is common that the name created for a place would be a combination of human history and the physical details of the site (see www.vyh...2002). It is also typical that a person would settle at a site and then the site would be nominated to him or her, with oral storyies often telling of such happenings. Indeed, the cultural heritage connected to the names of places provided a good motive when the European Year of Building Heritage was introduced in 2002.

The tales told about the historical roots of the sites and the real meanings behind the names of places have inspired people over many centuries to collect the oral heritage of tribes and people. In Finland the Finnish Literature Society (see www.finlit 2003), has collected this information for over 170 years. Geographical surveys and inventories in connection with the mapping and land-use reforms, also contain a vast amount of information about place names. In addition, several private organisations and local heritage associations have opened websites that collect place name data and other associated information electronically (see www.sakkola... 2003).

The nomenclature can be classified in two main groups: names of places and names of people. There is a strong interaction between these two groups, as the names of places, especially the names of the houses, are names of the people who previously lived there. In the Finnish language family names especially, are names that have come from place names. The concept of a place name can be defined as a 'real name', which includes the meaning of a special site in the terrain. Many of the place names in Finland have been given so far back in the history, that the meaning of the name today is unknown or very difficult to discover. New names have arisen according to new people and new occupations coming to the sites from other cultures. The names that have been given to the sites are also important to the community and to those that continue to live there. The hunters, gatherers, fishers, farmers, sailors, businessmen, surveyors, scientists and, more recently, tourists may have given different names to sites (see www.sakkola... 2003).

The levels of meaning in cultural tourism

It is a fact that tourism activities affect social change in the target areas. One important change is the connection with lifestyle and the meaning of different matters (Hemmi et al. 1987). In connection to cultural tourism tourists are willing to be informed about the local history, cultural specialities and the different approaches used in certain locations. The local people sensitively observe the motives and interests of the tourists and try to respond to their wishes. This interaction can strengthen some of the cultural features and may even change the basic details, therefore improving the selling strategy. This can create a very sensitive development process in which the issues of sustainable tourism are very visible (Ireland 1997).

The names and tales of the local people are therefore a new valuable source for tourist attractions. However, when the local people become accustomed to the demand, the content and the form of attractions may change. Activities, such as traditional singing and playing, may increase, and the rhythm, content and even the language may be changed when the 'customers' become the tourists. The conscious tourist seeks out a real experience but they may not always know if they have found it. When tourism contributes to the harmonisation of cultures, the tourist can find the local Finnish kantele-music playing on a modern electrical instrument, as the musician may think that the tourist prefer it. The traditional social village evenings of the autumn harvest feasts, have seen a new revival as the summer cottage owners are interested in them and tourism developers have also become interested in using them as a tourist attraction.

There has been noticeable social change in many local communities. If the model of social change introduced by Allardt and Littunen (1972) is functioning, the idealistic objectives of sustainable cultural tourism will be realised imperfectly in any scenarios (see also Lucas 1993). In the worst scenario the entire local cultural heritage will disappear completely and only the names and occasional tales may continue to live on without there being any connection to the original meaning. The scenario of cultural adaptation creates a mixture of heritages, where the older community members still remember their roots and the meaning of the names and the tales. Although there may be something which is not completely divided between the locals and the tourists, the content or the form of tales can be changed for the tourists. The third scenario, called the conflict scenario, can produce subcultures with high boundaries and social penalties for the trans-boundary attempts.

Cultural change due to tourism is considered to be asymmetric (Hemmi et al. 1986). Local culture adapts to the tourists far better than the tourists do to the local cultures. Therefore, a hypotheses about the transfer

of names and tales follows the stream of tourism and tourism developers. If the local people keep their names and mythical tales a secret to the visitors, then the tourists will therefore create their own tales and give their own names to the sites. The tourism developers have also been known to create tales in order to increase tourism to the attractions.

Imported cultural meanings are seen as powerful and influential just like the symbols of national identity and historical sites. Local people may give spiritual values to a site for a number of reasons; maybe they have buried their elders, or before the advent of Lutheran religious belief their tribe may have created a sacrificial site. The local people may also be extremely oriented to utilism. They adapt themselves to mass tourism so that they can appreciate the environment as a source of short term business management. At the same time the same site can be considered as a symbol of national identity, because the artists or politicians have understood it as that or have created it for that purpose. Regardless of its initial rationale for creation, the development process of a tourism site as a national symbol is creating an important social model because of the strong connection it has with the national socialisation process, especially the national education strategy.

The development of the meaning during cultural change: case Koli

A case of this phenomenon is given through the Finnish tourism resort Koli; which is the highest forest hill summit in southern Finland. Koli is a topographical centre-pole of the Finnish population representing the basic Finnish nature landscape, which has four classical natural elements. Today Koli-hill is the core part of the Koli National Park founded in 1991 in order to protect the geological structure, the old-growth boreal forests and the cultural heritage of the ancient Finnish slash-and-burn agriculture used in the boreal forests. Koli-hill is the viewpoint for the Finnish National Landscape. The hills have also carried important spiritual values for the people living around this site since the last glaciation. The story of the names of this region is often combined with the two native tribes which were occupying the same region at the same time

A millennium ago there were the ancient Lake-Saame people living around the Pielinen lake basin around Koli hills (Kilpeläinen et al. 1954), they were hunters, gatherers and fishermen. Their main sources of food that they depended on for their livelihood were reindeer and salmon. These Lake-Saame people used the words *kole* (= gold) and *kollið* (= to visit) (Sammallahti et. al. 1993). An ancient tale tells that the name Koli

was created in association with gold or an object with high value; it was seen as a very valuable site. Nobody lived there, but the site was a target for regular spiritually motivated visits that were carried out with respect. Another tale tells of the cave of shaman which is situated on the hill-side of Koli hill, today it is called somewhat paradoxically the *Pirunkirkko* (=Devils church), people used to visit the cave to honour the spirits of nature and seek their way to higher knowledge.

At the same time the ancient Karelian-Finns lived in the same region around the Pielinen lake basin, but they called the Koli hills by the name *Mustarinda* (= Black Hills). This name was written on the map of Karelian-Finns, at the time that they were under the regime of the orthodox Novgorod nation in the Pielisjärvi and the Käkisalmi region until the year 1650 (Saloheimo 1976). The Karelian-Finns had cultural and economic connections to the core Finnish population on the shores of the Baltic Sea via the waterway of lake Saimaa. In the language of Baltic-Finns *musta* had the meaning of dead ones or meant ghost and *rinda* meaning a hill (Kokla et.al. 1972). *Mustarinda* was associated with the hilly site of departed souls, the "hill of the dead ones", the site which people respected also created a form of fear. The ancient tales tell of the sacrificial traditions and offerings held for the spirits of the hill in order for a favourable future or greater knowledge about matters of importance. The sacrificial areas such as the *Uhrihalkeama* (="sacrificial crack in the rock") are still available to visitors as a protected cultural site within the National Park. The tales of the sacrificial traditions were told and collected as late as the year 1884 (Nimimerkki "r" 1884), about 10 years before any tourists started visiting the Koli hills.

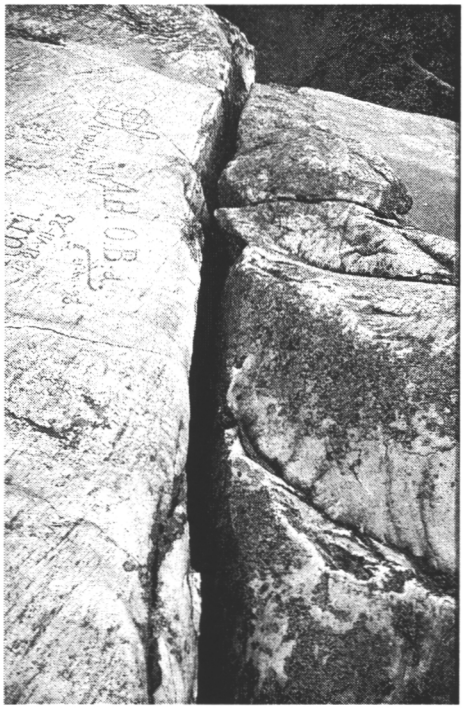

Figure 1. The Uhrihalkeama – Sacrificial crack in the rock of Koli Hill (Photo: Metla, Ismo Hyttinen).

Around the year of 1750 the Swedish kingdom conquered the Black Hills under the regime of the Lutheran protestant religion and west-

ern civilisation, and the name of the area was rewritten. The name *Koli* was introduced to the official papers (Saloheimo 2000), but the meaning was completely different from that of the Lake-Saame period. In the Swedish-Finnish community the core word *koli* was used in association with a number of concepts such as fire, fights, vagabonds, bogeymen, outlaws and outlying district or colonising remote frontiers. The name *Koli* was the symbol of the colonisation of this remote and inhospitable region, a task that was not completed without severe cultural conflicts, tales from this time are still told by people living today.

The main actor during this period of new occupation, was a strong Finnish personality called Jaakko Stenius, also known by the name of "Korpi-Jaakko" (="Jacob of backwoods"). He represented the religious and earthy power of the Swedish kingdom in this region (Cederberg 1928). He conquered the Black Hills, won over the old wizards of the region with spiritual and physical terror, and then settled on the land and he brought over working farmers in order to start building up the western civilisation through educating the people to read and write. Today the elders of Koli community are still telling the tales of this cultural collision, where local wizards and the new vicar were testing their forces like the duel of Väinämöinen and the Joukahainen in the Kalevala (Lönnrot 1849).

During the Finnish National Romantic Karelianism period, which was at the end of the 1800s, the name *Koli* gained the public's attention again when the Finnish nationalists were seeking and creating the symbols for the Finnish identity. The *Koli* hills were then nominated as the symbol of the Finnish national identity in the form of solid white quartzite rock and the other basic natural elements in Finland (Aho 1893). The image also included the historical tales of the spirit of the mountain and the sacrifices that were made to the spirits of the nature when people were seeking a prosperous future.

The renowned and meaningful name of Koli and also the tales around it triggered the interests of early tourism developers, which was remarkably supported by the Finnish authorities. When the lifecycle of Koli tourism reached the phase of mass-tourism, at the end of 1970s (Saarinen & Lovén 2000), the cultural heritage was nearly forgotten and the spirit of the site was remarkably devalued. The tourists however were still interested in the name of *Koli*, but the tourism entrepreneurs had created new simplistic explanations for it. For example, *Koli*'s name came from the sound of coins (*koli-koli or clink-clink*). This tale was created as it would increase tourism to the area, for example the tourists could drop the coins into the sacred crack in the rock as a ritual offering to the spirits.

Summary

Cultural tourism exploits local cultural heritage in many ways. The demands for the experiences include the tourist's interest to find a deeper knowledge into the meanings of the local names of places and tales. The basic problem created when developing culture-oriented tourism is the issue of sustainability. There are so many examples of severe erosion of culture, when cultural heritage comes into connection with mass tourism. Another issue is the process which the tourism industry is now creating; the new heritage of the present tales.

In Finland several good examples can be found on sustainable and non-sustainable development processes which concern the local cultural heritage. Culture itself depends on the tribes and the people occupying the site. Especially on the frontier areas, where there have been several occupations and rapid cultural changes, it is difficult to say what the original native culture actually is and what the culture of the conqueror or the new culture is concerned with. The tourism industry can introduce cultural phenomenon such as names and tales, which for the customer can be very difficult when trying to distinguish which ones are real. A case study on the different meanings of the names is presented for *Koli*; today this is the name of one of the oldest nature and cultural tourism resorts in Finland.

References

Aho, J. 1893. Kolivaara. Kauniita näköaloja Suomessa I. Uusi Kuvalehti n:o 29.

Allardt E. & Littunen. Y. 1972. Sosiologia. WSOY, Porvoo. 510 p.

Cederberg, A. R. 1928. Jaakko Stenius vanhempi. Helsingin Uusi Kirjapaino Oy, Helsinki. 285 p.

Coleman, J. 1990. Foundations of social theory. Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 993 p.

Hargrove, E.C. 1989. Foundations of Environmental Ethics. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs. 229 p.

Hemmi, J., Lehtinen, J.R. & Vuoristo, J.-V. 1986. Matkailu ja matkailijat. WSOY, Porvoo. 353 p.

Ireland, M. 1997. Tourism and Social Responsibility: A Philosophical dream or achievable reality? In: Stabler, M. J. (ed.). 1997. Tourism and Sustainability: Principles to Practice. CABI, Wallingford.

Kilpeläinen, A.S., Hintikka, A.L. & Saloheimo, V. (eds). 1954. Pielisjärven historia I. Kuopio. 420 p.

Kokla, P., Laanpere H., Mäger, M. , Pall V. & Pikamäe, A. 1972. Eestiläis-suomalainen sanakirja. Kustantamo Valgus, Tallinna. 650 p.
Lucas, J. R. 1993. Responsibility. Oxford University Press, Oxford. 298 p.
Lönnrot, E. 1849. Kalevala. 2 ed. SKS, Helsinki. 368 p.
Nimimerkki "r". 1884. Kolinvuorella. Kyläkirjaston kuvalehti.
Saarinen, J. & Lovén, L. 2000. Sata vuotta nousuun lähdössä. In: Lovén, L. & Rainio, H. (eds). Kolin Perintö; kaskisavusta kansallismaisemaan. Geologian tutkimuskeskus ja Metsäntutkimuslaitos, Helsinki. 160 p.
Saloheimo, V. 1976. Pohjois-Karjalan historia II; 1618–1721. Joensuu. 464 p.
Saloheimo, V. 2000. Kolin korkeat isännät. In: Lovén, L. & Rainio.H.(eds). Kolin Perintö; kaskisavusta kansallismaisemaan. Geologian tutkimuskeskus ja Metsäntutkimuslaitos, Helsinki. 160 p.
Sammallahti, P. & Morottaja, M. 1993. Säämi-Suomâ sänikirje. Inarinsaamelais-suomalainen sanakirja. Girjegiisá Oy, Vaasa. 165 p.
Yrjö Sepänmaa, Y. 1993. The Beauty of Environment: A General Model for Environmental Aesthetics, 2nd ed., Environmental Ethics Books, Denton. 191 p.

Internet-references

www.finlit.fi/seura. 2003.
www.vyh.fi/aluekayt/kulttymp/psa/kylilla/kknimi.htm. 2002.
www.sakkola.fi/museo/nimikeruu.html. 2003.

Saarinen, J. & Hall, C.M. (eds) 2004. Nature-Based Tourism Research in Finland: Local Contexts, Global Issues. Finnish Forest Research Institute, Research Papers 916: 71–98.

Appearances and meanings of nature in rural travel experiences

Monika Lüthje

Introduction

Nature is commonly considered one of the essential attractions of the countryside and an important element of rural tourism. Seeing the countryside as nature and talk about rural nature are one perspective (Capone and Venturi Ferriolo 1999) from which the countryside can be approached, experienced and perceived. We give this nature various meanings. Our experiences of nature are shaped by our conceptualisations of it, and we have formed these conceptions in discourse with others (Bruner 1986). We have various ways of thought and action concerning nature, and they change along with time and space. Our conceptions of nature are culturally bound and affect how we define nature and talk about it. At the same time, we renew these ways of definition and talk in our actions. (Tuan 1974, Vilkuna 1997.)

In this paper, I analyse how nature appears in the talk of Finns when they discuss travel experiences, various travel destinations and rural tourism. I look at how nature is defined in this talk, where it is seen to be situated, whether it is something positive, negative or neutral and what kinds of opposites, qualifiers and meanings it acquires. My data consist of eight conversational interviews in which the interviewees tell about their travelling and travel dreams as well as their experiences and images of rural tourism. The interviewees are Finns with varied educational and travelling backgrounds and relations to the countryside (i.e., dwelling places, roots, contacts, and attitudes towards the countryside). The youngest is 20 years old, and the oldest 83 years of age. When selecting them, my aim was to get as versatile as possible a picture of rural travel experiences and the ways in which they are given meanings. In the following, all the interviewees appear under pseudonyms.

I have conducted the interviews for my doctoral thesis, in which I study the countryside as a travel destination and experience, and this is a working paper for one part of the thesis. Here, I concentrate only on

the nature-related data. I look at those passages in the data where nature is referred to explicitly using the word *nature* (in Finnish *luonto*); that is, I do not look for nature behind other words used in the interviews that potentially denote nature or refer to it. I begin with the locations of nature, after which I analyse the nature experiences of the interviewees.

In the city, town, countryside and forest

In the interviews, nature is connected with both the countryside and the city/town (the Finnish word *kaupunki* means both). It takes shape as an element or a substance (see Lakoff and Johnson 1981) that can be found in different places in different quantities and qualities, and its quantity and quality affect the quality and value of the place in question. Although nature can be found both in the city/town and the countryside, it differentiates these two. Whether one feels that one is in a city/town or in the countryside is affected by the quantity of nature; there is more nature in the countryside than in the city/town. In the case of a big city, the difference in the quantity of nature compared to the countryside is clear, but in the case of a smaller town, the situation may be quite different, as Kristian explains:

...

Monika: *[...] have you ever made any trips to the countryside? Has it been any kind of travel destination for you?*

Kristian: *... Well, I haven't had to go many kilometres there [in Jämsä] in order to feel like I'm in the countryside. ... But ... Maybe, if I had lived in Helsinki, then it would be different, but ... but, but ... since I have lived in Jämsä, there is, however ... so much ... more nature there that, that ... there ... in my opinion, there isn't any big difference compared to being in the town itself.*

Monika: *You mean any difference between being in the countryside and in the town. ...*

...

The original Finnish version:

...

Monika: *[...] oletko sä sitten koskaan niinku maaseudulle tehnyt mitään matkoja? Onko se sulle ollut minkäänlainen niinku matkakohde?*

Kristian: *... No, ei mun siellä [Jämsässä] ole paljon tarvinnut, montaa kilometriä mennä, että ... mä koen itseni maaseudulla olevaksi. ... Öö, mutta ... Siellä, jos mä ehkä olisin asunut Hesassa, niin se olisi hieman eri homma, mutta ... mutta, mutta ... kun Jämsässä asunut, niin se on kuitenkin ... niin paljon ... enemmän sitä luontoa siellä niin, niin ... ei siellä ... ei mun mielestä mitään hirveää eroa siihen itse kaupungissa olemiseen ole siellä.*

Monika: *Niin, että onko maaseudulla vai kaupungissa. ...*

...

As Kristian's hometown Jämsä (app. 15,000 inhabitants) has much more nature than Helsinki (app. 560,000 inhabitants), Kristian does not see any big difference between being in the town or in the countryside there, whereas in Helsinki the difference between being in the city and in the countryside is greater, because there is quantitatively less nature. In the administrative area of the town of Jämsä, there is town space and country space, and, at least in terms of the quantity of nature, these two spaces are close to each other; being in them feels by and large the same. Nature affects the feeling of where one is, but Kristian's talk does not specify in what way; nor does he specify what he means by nature. I suppose that at least forests are nature, but are, for example, the parks and plantings of the town area and/or the fields of the countryside nature? Kristian does not distinguish between the quality of nature in the town and in the countryside, only between the respective quantities.

Kylli gives a somewhat more specific picture of the difference in nature between the town and the countryside as she compares nature in her hometown Kajaani (app. 36,000 inhabitants) and at her summer cottage, which is located in the countryside:

> *"But there [at the summer cottage] it's like a world of its own. I mean that there ... nature is close, which isn't the case here [in Kajaani] in a block of flats, in that way. Of course you can get there [to nature] here, too, but it isn't as easy to go ... for example, to have morning coffee in the yard. Here you can't just up and go the way you can there, and ... stand on the stairs in your nightdress checking to see what the weather will be like today and all things like that ..."*

The original Finnish version:

> *"Mutta siellä [kesäpaikassa] on sellainen, se on niin kuin sellainen oma maailmansa. Että kun siellä on ... se luonto lähellä, jota ei ole täällä [Kajaanissa] kerrostalossa, sillä lailla. Tietenkin sitä täälläkin pääsee, mutta ei ole niin helppo lähteä ... esimerkiksi aamukahvilla vaikka pihalle, että. Ei sitä täällä lähdetä niin kuin siellä, ja ... rappu-, rappusilta yöpaita päällä katsastella, että minkälainen päivä on tänään ja kaikki nämä, että ..."*

At Kylli's summer cottage in the countryside, nature is close in a different way than in a block of flats in Kajaani; it is easier to get into nature at the cottage. In a block of flats in the centre of Kajaani, you cannot, for example, go into the yard to have your morning coffee or stand in your pyjamas at the front door checking the day's weather. In the countryside this is possible when you have a yard and house of your own – stairs of your own – and the neighbours live farther away. The town/block of flats and the countryside/one's own cottage take on opposite positions in Kylli's talk, and the difference between them is the closeness of nature. The examples Kylli gives of nature's closeness in the countryside specify nature as a yard and a garden of one's own and as open air with which, in her view, one can associate meanings of peace and freedom; that is, it is a space of one's own.

The accessibility of nature varies from place to place. Places where nature is close are constructed as valuable in the interviews. Closeness to nature is an important meaning of the countryside for Kylli. She talks about the closeness of nature in the countryside also in connection with rural tourism:

> *"[...] the closeness to nature is there [in the countryside] ... important, and I perfectly understand those who come from a big city to enjoy the peace and quiet and, for example, get into the forest, how they enjoy it. It's really ... really such a place that ... I rest there also myself."*

The original Finnish version:

> *"[...] se luonnonläheisyys on siellä [maaseudulla] ... tärkeää ja oikein täysin ymmärrän noita, jotka tulee suurkaupungista sinne hiljaisuuteen ja, vaikka metsään pääsee, niin miten ne nauttii siitä. Että se on todella ... todella sellainen, että ... siellä niinku itsekin lepää."*

As the owner of a summer cottage, Kylli does not see herself as belonging to the target group of rural tourism and thus when asked about rural tourism talks not about herself but people in big cities, people for whom the countryside, in her opinion, is an attractive travel destination. According to Kylli, the people of the big cities come to the countryside for peace and quiet and enjoy it when they have a chance to get into the forest, for example. Kylli says that she, too, rests in the countryside. The countryside thus presents itself as a quiet resting place close to nature, whereas the big city is not such a place. Nature is close in the countryside, and the forest is at least one environment that is associated with the countryside, is close to nature and gives enjoyment. Kylli gives the countryside meanings of quiet and rest, and as nature is close in the countryside, (rural) nature can also be interpreted to mean quiet and rest. Above, Kylli associated the closeness of nature in the countryside with having a yard of one's own, and this link can be applied here as well in connection with the people from the big cities. In big cities, one lives in blocks of flats; that is, one has no yard of one's own, and that is why people there must seek closeness to nature outside the cities; that is, they must come to the countryside – provided that closeness to nature is what they want.

At least to the interviewees nature is an environment where they want to be; it is perceived as something positive and valuable. It can even be so valuable an environment that it is longed for and the lack of it is distressing. Not just any kind of nature will meet this need, however; instead, a specific kind of nature may be sought. Varpu, who lives in Kajaani, discusses this kind of lack and search when she was living in Brussels temporarily:

...

Varpu: *[...] the thing that distressed me there somehow enormously was the lack of nature, or the lack of such a natural nature environment and forests [...]*

Monika: *Yes. Yes. ... Did you then need to get to a forest or to nature or ...*

Varpu: *Well, I had there such a feeling, such a terrible one; sometimes, I got such a terrible longing to be in a place where ... such a place which is completely ... one you can get to here [in Kajaani], you need to walk only ten minutes and you are in such a place, but there it was somehow ... the distressing thing was that there were so many snags involved, I mean that you really needed to leave and go in order to get some-*

where. There are also such places there then, but ... what was really typical was, it is after all it's the most densely or second most densely populated country in Europe, that there you could never, so to say, escape, and what was amazing was, in my opinion, that when you are there even in the countryside, when one village ended, another began right there, there was no space.

...

The original Finnish version:

...

Varpu: *[...] mua jotenkin siellä ahdisti suunnattomasti sellaisen niinku luonto-, luonnon puuttuminen, tai sellaisen luonnollisen luontoympäristön ja metsien, tällaisten [...]*

Monika: *Joo. Joo. ... Pitikö sun sitten päästä käymään jossain metsässä tai luonnossa tai ...*

Varpu: *Öö, tota, siellä tuli sellainen olo, sellainen hirvittävä, välillä, tuli sellainen hirveä niinku kaipuu siihen, että olisi voinut olla sellaisessa paikassa, missä niinku ... täysin niinku sellaisessa niin kuin sä pääset täällä [Kajaanissa], sun ei tarvitse kuin kymmenen minuuttia kävellä, niin sä olet sellaisessa paikassa, mutta siellä se oli jotenkin ... se ahdistava homma siinä, siellä, oli se, että se oli niin monen mutkan takana, että sun piti oikein lähtemällä niinku lähteä, että sä pääsit jonnekin. Kyllähän se, kyllähän niinku sielläkin sellaisia paikkoja sitten, tuota noin, on, mutta ... kyllähän siellä oli hyvin niinku leimaa-antavaa se, sehän on kuitenkin, onko se Euroopan tiheimmin vai toiseksi tiheimmin asuttu maa, ettei siellä ikinä päässyt sin-, niin sanotusti pakoon, ja se oli ihmeellistä niinku mun mielestä se, että kun, että kun sä olet siellä maaseudullakin, niin, kun kylä loppui, niin toinen alkoi heti, siellä ei ollut sellaista niinku tilaa.*

...

Varpu found the lack of nature in Brussels, i.e., the lack of *natural nature environment* and forests, rather distressing and she longed for a place like the one she can walk to in ten minutes in Kajaani. This place is a good example of a particular kind of place, presumably a *completely* natural nature environment or a forest that was more difficult to get to

in Brussels than in Kajaani (cf. Kylli's talk above concerning the ease of getting into nature in the countryside compared to the town). According to Varpu, escape was not possible in Belgium, because the country is so densely populated, which can be interpreted to mean that she wanted to escape populated areas and people into a completely natural nature environment. Even in the Belgian countryside there was no space for Varpu, because where a village ended, another began. This is Varpu's space experience, an experienced space. Nature, forest and the countryside get mixed in Varpu's talk and share the same meanings of a space where there is little or no settlement; they are a space where there are no numbers and densities of people such as those found in cities, but settlement and the population are sparse and in between there is "empty" space, that is, space where there are few or no people. Varpu does not say directly what this empty space means to her, but in another part of her interview she talks about the countryside as a quiet space for being alone and detached and as a place offering a peaceful and harmonious state of mind. It is a place where she can be herself the most, and these meanings can be assumed to be connected also with the empty space and nature she is talking about here.

Varpu does not explain specifically what she means by the qualifier 'natural' she has ascribed to the nature environment, but it can be understood as referring roughly to the same thing as Aini's talk about the *natural state* of an environment in the following excerpt:

> *"And exactly the ... banks of the river ... Kajaani, I find them [...], such well designed areas, although there is ... there are the houses, and there is that construction there and park ... areas all the way, it's by no means in a natural state, but it creates the impression that it still pretty much is ..."*

The original Finnish version:

> *"Ja just se, niinku se ... Kajaanin ... joen varsi, että se on musta, [...], niin hirveän onnistunut, vaikka siinä on ... siinä on sitä asutusta ja siinä on sitä rakentamista ja puisto- ... alueitakin ylejään, se ei ole mitenkään luonnontilaista, niin, se luo sellaisen vaikutelman, niin kuin se olisi aika pitkälti vielä luonnontilainen ..."*

Aini talks about Kajaani through the eyes of a tourist and a temporary habitant and makes a distinction between an environment that is in a natural state and one that is not. According to Aini, Kajaani has succeeded in creating the impression of a natural state along the banks of

the river Kajaani running through the town, although there are elements in the river area that are in a non-natural state: settlement, construction and park areas. An environment that is in a non-natural state takes shape in Aini's talk as something less valuable than an environment that is in a natural state. The word 'still' used with 'natural state' refers to an order where the natural state comes first and the non-natural state follows it. This non-natural state of the environment can be found at least in the town/city. Aini does not say what the natural state of nature means to her or where, in her opinion, this kind of nature can be found – or whether it can be found anywhere anymore.

At the boundary of the countryside and the forest: wilderness?

We have worked and built nature and non-worked and non-built nature. This kind of division turns at least my thoughts automatically to the countryside and forest. Above, the countryside and forest got mixed in Kylli's and Varpu's talk and it remained unclear whether they both are of the same kind or two different kinds, that is, whether the forest is part of the countryside or something else and, thus, non-countryside. The same happens in the other interviews I have conducted. When I have explicitly taken up the question, some of the interviewees have seen the forest as a self-evident part of the countryside, whereas others have defined at least part of the forest as something other than the countryside. This forest is uninhabited and without (significant) traces of people. Nature inhabited by people is thus something different from nature where people do not live. With Kristian, this distinction comes up as we talk about the difference in the countryside and nature of Southern Finland and Lapland:

...

Monika: *... How do you mean, then, in Lapland, is it exactly the nature or*

Kristian: *Yes.*

Monika: *a reindeer farm there or*

Kristian: *Well*

Monika: *a farm or something?*

Kristian: *It's, actually, not any farm; it's the nature, actually, more. That makes it different.*

Monika: *Yes. Is also it [the nature of Lapland], in your opinion, countryside?*

Kristian: *... Well ... ... On the other hand, I start to think here that I wouldn't call a place where there is no settlement at all countryside. Where there are, however, some cottages, that kind of place I would call countryside, but if there is no settlement, just plain forest, that kind of place I wouldn't call countryside anymore. It's fell [laughs] or forest [laughs]!*

...

The original Finnish version:

...

Monika: *... Miten tarkoitat sitten Lapissa, onko se nimenomaan sitten se luonto vai*

Kristian: *Joo.*

Monika: *siellä joku porotila tai*

Kristian: *No*

Monika: *maatila tai joku?*

Kristian: *E-ei oikeastaan mikään maatila, se on se luonto, oikeastaan enemmänkin. Mikä tekee siitä erilaisen.*

Monika: *Mm. Onko sekin sitten sun mielestä niinku maaseutua?*

Kristian: *... Noo ... ... Toisaalta sitä alkaa ajatella tässä niin, en mä sanoisi sellaista maa-, sitä maaseuduksi, missä ei ole ollenkaan asutusta. Kyllä siellä kuitenkin jotain mökkejä, kyllä mä sitä sanon maaseuduksi, mutta, jos ei ole mitään asutusta, ihan pelkkää metsää, sitä mä en sano maaseuduksi enää. Se on sitten, se on sitten tunturia [naurahtaa] tai metsää [nauraa]!*

...

Before the passage cited above, Kristian had said that Lapland differs from the countryside in Southern Finland because of its nature, and I ask

him to specify what distinguishes the countryside in Lapland from that in Southern Finland. I suggest that the distinguishing feature is nature, which Kristian has already mentioned, and give as alternatives reindeer farms and normal agricultural farms. In Kristian's opinion, it is nature that makes Lapland (its countryside) different, but he does not specify what he means by nature in this context. Is it a landscape for example? I ask if this nature of Lapland is countryside, after which Kristian makes a distinction between the countryside and *plain forest*: in the countryside there is settlement or at least there are cottages, but when these are missing, we are dealing with something else, that is, a *fell* or a (plain) *forest*. The countryside is thus nature inhabited by people, and the forest and the fell are nature where people have not built dwellings.

With Tiina, the boundary between the countryside and the non-countryside forest comes to the fore when we talk about various types of travel destinations:

...

Monika: *What if you compare the countryside and a plain nature or wilderness destination or such a place, do you think that it's part of the countryside or, and does it interest you, or, or what do you think of it?*

Tiina: *Well, that countryside I would perhaps see as always having something built there and it's ... there is activity there and there is, there are animals, there are domestic animals there and so on, I mean that it's in a certain way harnessed for some use. And wilderness can be forest; it can of course also be a desert of lava [...]*

...

The original Finnish version:

...

Monika: *Mitenkäs sitten , jos ajattelet niinku taas, että vertaat niinku maaseutua ja sitten joku tällainen ihan niinku luonto- tai eräkohde tai sellainen, niin onko se sun mielestä osa sitten sitä maaseutua vai, ja kiinnostaako se sua, vai, vai mitenkä sä sitten tällaisen ajattelet?*

Tiina: *No, sen maaseudun mä ehkä kokisin niin, että siellä on aina jotain rakennettua ja se on niinku ... siellä on toimintaa ja siellä on, siellä on eläimiä, kotieläimiä ja tällä lailla näin, että se on tietyllä tavalla valjastettu johonkin käyttöön. Ja*

erämaa voi olla metsää, se voi tietenkin olla jotain niinku laava-aavikkoakin [...]

...

I ask Tiina if in her opinion *plain nature destinations* or wilderness destinations are part of the countryside. The qualifier 'plain' I use for the nature destinations implies that in the countryside there is nature but also something else, whereas in a plain nature destination there is only nature, nothing else; thus I suggest to Tiina a distinction between the countryside and (plain) nature and wilderness destinations. Tiina does not oppose this distinction, but constructs her response on it by explaining what the countryside and wilderness – "plain nature" – include. In the countryside there is always something built and activity, in other words, people; there are also farm animals, or agriculture, meaning that the countryside is *harnessed for some use*. If this is interpreted as the difference between the countryside and wilderness on the principle that the wilderness is a non-countryside and the countryside a non-wilderness, there are no buildings, activity or farm animals in the wilderness and it is not harnessed for any particular purpose. In other words, it does not fall within the sphere of productive or other human activities. The wilderness can be forest, but it can, in Tiina's opinion, also be something else, such as a desert of lava.

With Kylli, the non-countryside forest and nature come up when our talk shifts to the hiking area of Hossa managed by the Finnish National Board of Forestry and situated south of Kuusamo:

...

Monika: *... Do you think that something like, for example, the area of Hossa is ... do you see it as countryside or is it something else?*

Kylli: *Well, I don't, I don't perceive it as countryside at once, although it's there, in Suomussalmi, but somehow ... oh, how would I perceive it, but it's like a hiking destination, something like that, and there is that forest nature there and all that, lakes and rivers and these things around, but ... rural tourism, in my opinion, Hossa and rural tourism somehow don't go together. It's a tourism destination, but I wouldn't necessarily call it a rural tourism destination. It's wilderness tourism or something like that, primarily [...]*

...

The original Finnish version:

...

Monika: *... Onko sun mielestä joku, niin kuin esimerkiksi Hossan alue, niin ... katsotko sä, että se on niinku maaseutua, vai onko se jotain muuta?*

Kylli: *Niin, mä en niinku, minä en äkkiä miellä sitä maaseuduksi, vaikka sehän on siellä, mutta, Suomussalmella, mutta jotenkin niinku ... voi, miksi minä sen mieltäisin, mutta se on ihan niinku sellainen retkeilykohde, joku sellainen ja, ja se metsäluontohan siellä on ja kaikki tämä, vesistöt ja nämä ympärillä, mutta ... maaseutumatkailua, minusta se Hossa, ei niinku jollakin lailla minusta sovi ne yhteen. Se on matkailukohde, mutta en välttämättä minä käyttäisi maaseutumatkailukohde siitä. Se on tällainen erämatkailu tai joku tällainen lähinnä [...]*

...

According to Kylli, Hossa has forest nature, lakes and rivers, but it is not countryside. Kylli calls Hossa a hiking and tourism destination, primarily a *wilderness tourism destination*. Thus, at least part of forest and forest nature is in Kylli's view something other than countryside (cf. Kylli's talk about the closeness of nature and peace and quiet of the countryside and forest above), and Hossa is an example of this kind of non-countryside forest. However, it remains unclear in Kylli's talk what makes Hossa this kind of forest. Is it the wilderness character of its nature? On the other hand, there are roads, cottages and other structures in Hossa. One possible explanation for the non-countryside forest status of Hossa is that Hossa is a special, marked forest with clear boundaries, a hiking area, and thus comparable to national parks and other protected nature areas, which most Finns hardly perceive as countryside but as some other kind of nature.

In the Finnish terminological jungle of tourism, nature, wilderness and rural tourism overlap and in the same way the boundary between the countryside and nature/forest/wilderness drifts in my interview data. In Finland, the area of fields is small and that of forests large, and forestry is an important source of income to farms. Finland has several other kinds of forests besides forests managed for timber production: old forests, primeval forest reserves, wilderness reserves, *Natura* areas, etc. According to Jarkko Saarinen (2002), the Finnish wilderness concept can presently be divided into at least three contradictory discourses. These three discourses are a traditional wilderness discourse emphasising economic utilisation of the wilderness, a protection discourse that desires an unin-

habited wilderness in a natural state, and a touristic discourse selling wilderness as tourist products. Although Kristian and Tiina do not say anything about the protection of nature, their countryside/wilderness distinction comes closest to the discourse of protected wilderness, according to which people are in the wilderness only as visitors, not as permanent inhabitants (Saarinen 2002). On the other hand, Kylli's talk of destinations borrows words from the touristic discourse. According to the interviews, wilderness can be found at least in Northern Finland: in Lapland and Kainuu.

Kristian, Tiina and Kylli distinguish the countryside and the wilderness when I ask about the distinction, but they do not impute any values to the rural and wilderness nature vis-à-vis each other, nor do they relate the distinction to themselves. The potential meanings of the distinction thus remain open. Kristian says in his interview that it may be a source of experience that nature is different in Lapland, but my interpretation is that by different nature he means differences in landscape, flora and the like when comparing nature in Lapland and Southern Finland rather than the wilderness-like features of nature in Lapland, that is, the lack of human settlement in the forests and fells of Lapland. Kristian distinguishes "plain forest" and the countryside on the basis of human habitation instead of the quality of the nature itself, that is, for example, on the basis of whether or not the forest has been treated for timber production purposes (i.e., whether or not it has, for example, been cut down and/or planted). Tiina does not mention forestry directly in her distinction either, but her talk about the countryside harnessed for use may include forest treated for timber production purposes. In any case, Kristian and Tiina do not speak explicitly about untouched, but uninhabited nature, which means that at least on the basis of the interview data they cannot be classified as romantics who cherish the myth of a pristine wilderness (see d'Alfonso 1999, Francescato and Indelli 1999, Milani 1999). Varpu's talk above concerning natural nature could be understood as talk about untouched nature, but Varpu cannot get to that kind of nature in Kajaani by walking ten minutes, and wilderness did not come out in her interview in any other way either, which makes it difficult to draw any conclusions about her view concerning the quality of nature in various kinds of forest.

Nature experiences: beautiful and deep

Various kinds of trips are made to nature in the interviews. Nature is the object of the gaze and other perceptions and observations of the tourist, a view seen from a distance, a landscape and a *sight*. It is also a shaper of the sights of the countryside:

...

Monika: *What types of, what do you think, what kinds of sights could there be there [in the countryside]?*

Maili: *... Well, in different places there are different sights. ... ... There can be some special buildings, old buildings, it can be ... ... that ... nature has shaped something really speacial that can't be found elsewhere ...*

...

The original Finnish version:

...

Monika: *Minkä tyyppisiä, mitä sä ajattelet, että mitä siellä [maaseudulla] voisi olla niinku nähtävyyksiä?*

Maili: *... No, eri paikkakunnilla on erilaisia nähtävyyksiä. On-, onhan siis ... ... voi olla jotain erikoisia rakennuksia, vanhoja rakennuksia, voi olla ... ... että ... luonto on muovannut jotain aivan erikoista, mitä muualla ei ole ...*

...

In Maili's opinion, the tourist sights of the countryside can be, for example, special and/or old buildings, or nature (instead of people) may have shaped something special. It remains unclear in Maili's talk what these special features of nature are, but, as above in connection with the distinction between the countryside and forest, the countryside is constructed in Maili's talk here as a space where there is, besides nature, something else, i.e., buildings. Maili gives nature the role of an active agent: nature shapes sights; it is an active force.

The interviewees attach to nature such qualifiers as *beautiful*, *splendid* (in Finnish *upea*) and *attractive* (in Finnish *viehättävä*), which can be interpreted as referring to aesthetic experiences (see Milani 1999). In these cases, the interviewees evaluate primarily the appearance of the nature they have seen, and scenes pleasing their eyes give them various sensations of pleasure (see Tuan 1974). Beautiful nature is something positive and valuable and increases the pleasantness of a place, as when Aini evaluates the small places she has seen when she was travelling in Kainuu:

> *"And then there is, then [in summer], also the nature is there so splendid that ... If you go, for example, somewhere ... to Paltaniemi or ... Suomussalmi or ... Hyrynsalmi or, whatever so*

called almost asshole communities there are, you have to admit that they are just so beautiful there then ..."

The original Finnish version:

"Ja sitten siellä on niinku, silloinhan [kesällä] siellä on myöskin luonto niinku aivan upea, että ... Että lähti johonkin ... Palta-, tai Paltaniemelle tai ... Suomussalmelle tai ... Hyrynsalmelle tai, mitä näitä niin sanottuja melkein peeläpikuntia siellä on niin, siis kyllä ne vaan niinku niin kauniita on sitten siinä ..."

Splendid nature makes beautiful even the asshole communities mentioned by Aini. She does not specify what she means by an asshole community, but in any case it is something negative, whose quality is improved by beautiful nature. Beautiful nature is found in the interviews especially in the countryside, but usually it remains unclear what exactly this beautiful nature is. An exception is Kylli's description of her tour in France:

...

Kylli: *It really was. A bus tour. We went from Germany to Southern France and then by bus to Paris. And it was, it was in spring ... but anyway, that turnip rape was already, the turnip rape fields were then really splendid. Also that has remained in my mind as something interesting – that all the nature was splendid, yellow, so different from Finland, if you think that in Finland summer was just beginning.*

Monika: *Yes. So, so there the turnip rape was already in flower.*

Kylli: *Yes.*

...

The original Finnish version:

...

Kylli: *Että se oli kyllä. Bussimatka. Joka mentiin Saksasta sinne Etelä-Ranskaan ja sitten busseilla kuljettiin Pariisiin. Ja se oli, se oli jotain kevät- ... -tä, mutta kuitenkin että rypsi oli jo, silloin se oli aivan upeita ne rypsipellot. Se on jäänyt kanssa mielenkiintoisena mieleen, kun kaikki oli upeita, keltaista se luonto, niin erilaista kuin meillä, kun ajattelee, että meillä vasta on kesä aluillaan.*

Monika: *Joo. Niin, niin siellä jo rypsi kukkii.*

Kylli: *Joo.*

...

Kylli recalls how nature was splendidly yellow in France while, at the same time, summer in Finland was just beginning. Here nature becomes specified as fields of yellow turnip rape (*Brassica rapa oleifera*) and points out the difference in the seasons between France and Finland. The interviewees talk about how nature is *different* in different rural areas (e.g., Southern Finnish nature vs. Northern Finnish nature, as in Kristian's talk above), and this different, other kind of nature is what they want to see and experience. Nature is part of the experience of a place, one element that makes countries, areas and localities different from each other; they become unique places, which have their own identities (see Relph 1986).

Nature is constructed in the interviews also as an environment of activity (being and doing things outdoors) for rural tourists. One part of the rural tourism package is an *activity in nature;* when holidaying in the countryside, you do something in nature. In Varpu's opinion, this *moving in nature* is an essential part of a countryside holiday:

...

Monika: *What kinds of elements or things should, in your opinion, be part of such a countryside holiday or trip?*

Varpu: *Well, it depends a lot, if it was in Finland, then absolutely ... of course it also depends on the season, but these basic elements like swimming, sauna ... and moving in nature ... that kind of thing. But then ... abroad ... maybe the environment there or how you could get to move in that nature environment ... would be.*

...

The original Finnish version:

...

Monika: *Miten, tota, minkälaisia elementtejä tai asioita sun mielestä sellaiseen maaseutu-, maaseudulla vietettävään lomaan tai matkaan pitäisi kuulua?*

Varpu: *No, se riippuu hirveästi, että jos se olisi niinku Suomessa, niin ehdottomasti tällainen ... riippuu tietenkin vuodenajoistakin, mutta tällaiset ihan peruselementit, että joku*

uiminen, sauna, joku ... tota ... ja luonnossa liikkuminen ... sellaiset. Mutta sitten ... ulkomailla, niin ... ehkä se, se ympäristö siinä tai se, että miten siinä pääsisi niinku liikkumaan siinä luonnonympäristössä niin ... se olisi.

...

Varpu does not specify what she means by nature in this context, that is, where she precisely wants to be outdoors in the countryside. Does she, for example, want to wander in a forest and/or perhaps on narrow roads in the middle of fields? Varpu not only locates nature in the countryside but talks in her interview about the countryside as a travel destination that offers culture and history as well. Cities/towns also offer tourists culture and history in Varpu's talk, but she does not locate any nature in these spaces in the context of tourism. Thus, for Varpu the factor differentiating the countryside and the city/town as travel destinations is nature: culture and history can be found both in cities/towns and the countryside, but if one wants to enjoy nature, one must go to the countryside.

When speaking about her own rural tourism interests, Tiina specifies rural nature as *plants* and *animals* and contrasts it with museums:

...

Monika: *But to you it's that you like the countryside more than the city because there are the people, I mean that there you get closer to that culture and the people?*

Tiina: *Yes, and you see that nature, you see what kinds of plants there are, what kinds of animals there are, that's what I find interesting. Sure, it's interesting to visit ... once, twice in your life a fine museum to see these kinds of things, but I mean that ... ... maybe ... my favourite travel destination is a rural place.*

...

The original Finnish version:

...

Monika: *Mutta että sulle on kuitenkin se, että se, se maaseutu on just sen takia, niinku, tykkäät enemmän kuin kaupungista, että siellä on ne, ne ihmiset, että sä pääset niinku siihen kulttuuriin ja niihin ihmisiin niinku lähemmäksi?*

Tiina: *Joo, ja, ja niinku näkee, näkee sitä luontoa, näkee, minkälaisia kasveja siellä on, minkälaisia eläimiä siellä on, ne on niinku, ne, ne kiinnostaa. Toki on mielenkiintoista käydä ...*

kerran, kaksi kertaa elämässään jossakin hienossa museossa näke-, näkemässä tällaisia, mutta että, niinku ... ... ehkä se sellainen ... mielimatkakohde kuitenkin ennemmin on jossakin niinku maaseutumaisessa paikassa.

...

Tiina compares the countryside and the city as travel destinations and connects nature with the countryside: in the countryside you see nature, i.e., plants and animals. From this, it is possible to conclude conversely that in the city you cannot see these things. It remains unclear in Tiina's talk what exactly she means by seeing plants and animals. Does she mean various species and their identification? Does she observe them from a headland and/or forest? Does she mean wild and/or cultivated, domestic species? As the opposite of nature, plants and animals, Tiina mentions museums, which in this way become constructed as non-nature. Tiina does not specify what she means by fine museums, but it does not matter how fine they are; Tiina is personally more interested in nature. Tiina does not say directly where these museums are located, but her talk suggests that they are in cities (not in the countryside), which, on the basis of the interview, are not otherwise her favourite travel destinations either. In addition to nature, local culture and people are, in Tiina's opinion, more approachable in the countryside than in the city.

Tiina comes from the region of Kainuu. When she was studying in Southern Finland, she understood that nature is what gives *content* to her life:

...

Tiina: *[...] then, when I went ... to study in Jyväskylä, and, especially, when I went to study in Helsinki, it only strengthened that feeling that this city environment isn't my environment. I mean that I don't find, find content in those cultural hobbies and those urban environments, but the things close to me, although I had then [before being a student] not yet really realised it, but the nature hobbies were what was important to me. I mean that now, now when I'm older, it has become so that, I have become conscious that this is the way things are.*

Monika: *Yes. Yes. You mean that you had to go to Helsinki or Jyväskylä to notice it*

Tiina: *Yes, yes.*

...

The original Finnish version:

...

Tiina: *[...] sitten, kun lähti ... lähti opiskelemaan Jyväskylään, ja varsinkin, kun lähti opiskelemaan Helsinkiin, niin se vaan vahvistui niinku se tunne siitä, että tämä kaupunkiympäristö ei ole mun ympäristö. Että mä en niinku löydä, löydä sisältöjä niistä kulttuuriharrastuksista ja niistä sellaisista urbaaneista ympäristöistä, vaan että ne mulle läheiset jutut, vaikka mä en ollut sitä niinku silloin [ennen opiskeluaikaa] niin vielä oikein tajunnut, mutta ne luontoharrastukset oli mulle niinku se tärkeä asia. Että nyt, nyt niinku vanhemmiten se on tullut sillä lailla, että on tiedostanut sen, että tämä asia on näin.*

Monika: *Niin, joo. Joo. Että piti sitten käydä niinku siellä Helsingissä tai Jyväskylässä se huomaamassa*

Tiina: *Kyllä, kyllä, joo.*

...

In Tiina's talk, the cultural offerings of the cities and nature take on opposite aspects, with nature situated outside the cities. Nature is personally the more valuable of the two to Tiina. Tiina does not define this nature more specifically or tell about her nature hobbies, but in the course of the interview it comes out that she at least hunts, which would locate nature at least to the forest. In Tiina's talk, nature cannot be found in cities, but only outside them, or at least it is not possible to find in cities the kind of nature that would give content to one's life or interest a tourist.

To the interviewees, nature is a source of positive experiences and an element with which they want to have a connection, with which they even want to *merge*, as Aini expresses her desire:

> *"But then, and this is maybe connected with what we have, I'm by race [laughs], by race [laughs], by tribe Karelian, I mean that really, both my parents were evacuees ... and to them it's really important to be in nature. I mean to have an all-embracing connection with nature. That it has even, nature has many times been that ... [...] I could swim so that I swam quite in the middle of the lake [laughs] ... and in this way, on my back [laughs] ... I'm good at floating. So that somebody thinks that I've drowned when [laughs] ... I may be even half an hour [laughs] ... So ...*

Also that is, maybe, such an element that is really important ... to merge ... in such a way ..."

The original Finnish version:

"Mutta sitten, ja tämä nyt ehkä liittyy siihen, että meillä on, minä olen rodulta- [naurahtaa], rodultani [naurahtaa], heimoltani karjalainen, siis oikein mo-, molemmat vanhemmat oli evakkoja ... ja niillehän on kauhean tärkeää olla niinku luonnossa. Siis sellaisessa aivan täydellisessä luontoyhteydessä. Että se on jopa, luonto on monesti ollut sitä, että ... [...] mä saatoin uida sillä lailla, että mä uin aika keskiselälle [naurahtaa] ... ja tällä lailla, selälläni [naurahtaa], niinku ... olen hyvä kellumaan. Että joku luulee, että mä olen hukkunut, kun [naurahtaa] ... mä saatan olla siis ihan puoli tuntiakin niinku [naurahtaa] ... Niin, tota ... Se on ehkä joku sellainen elementti sitten myös, joka on hirvittävän tärkeää ... sulautua ... sillä lailla ..."

Aini connects being in nature with her Karelian roots: an *all-embracing connection* with nature is important to Karelians. This all-embracing connection is merging into nature, which in Aini's example is represented by water, a lake. By merging I understand Aini to mean that she becomes one with nature, joins a larger entity as its part, as when she is floating in the middle of a lake. Aini's merging can also be an adaptation experience: adaptation to the movement of the water and the rhythm of the waves, drifting, adaptation to the water as the element of one's being. It remains unclear what this merging experience gives to Aini, why it is important to her. In another context she mentions nature, however, as a source of *strength*, and this strength of nature can be acquired, for example, from the forest, from a skiing track or a footpath.

Floating in water is a strongly corporeal experience. It is possible to interpret Aini's desire to merge with nature by floating in the middle of a lake, following Ann Game (1991), as a desire to be embodied, as a desire to feel and touch and lose the self in a blurring of boundaries between the lake and the body. Game calls this a bodily attachment and a being-there. In addition to bodily feeling, floating in the lake can be connected with quietness, peace and meditation – staring at the sky and letting the mind wander. In the manner of the Romantics, Aini's search for a connection with nature can also be seen as a return to the original, early experiences from which culture has alienated us, and as a return to a connection with those elements of the self that consumption and other aspects of modern life have tainted (see Thrift 1997, Keskinen 2000). In

a similar vein, Aini's talk about the all-embracing nature connection of the Karelians can be thought to refer to the mythical forest origin of the uncivilised Finns and a connection with that origin.

Aini tells also that she makes *experience trips* to nature in her home city of Tampere (app. 200,000 inhabitants):

> *"When I think of such tiny experience ... trips you can make here all the time in this life, that I, for example, have a boat here on the shore of the lake and, it is such a ... that ... I ... enjoy ... enjoy rowing just a little bit right here and, changing my mood in that way ... And then here ... [...] some kind of playing in nature. There is quite a nice phenomenon here on the shore, in spring, that water goes quite down, low, so that we always get to examine the bottom. It is nice [laughs], I mean that we find surprising things, a lot of shells, but also all kinds of other things ... The environment close to us ... changes its form suddenly. Here in Finland it is the seasons that always do it, but these things that are in a little bit more special areas ... such phenomena emerge there, then, that you haven't ... realised at all ..."*

The original Finnish version:

> *"Kun mä mietin niitä sellaisia pikkuruisia elämys- ... trippejähän tässä voi tehdä niinku koko ajan tässä elämässä, että mulla nyt on esimerkiksi vene tuossa rannassa ja, se on sellainen ... että ... mä ... nautin ... nautin sellaisesta, soutamisesta vähän tuossa vaan ja, mielialan muuttamisesta niinku sitä kautta ... Ja sitten tuohon ... [...] jostakin tällaisesta luonnossa leikkimisestä. Tuossa on aika kiva tuossa rannassa sellainen, keväällä, ilmiö, että se menee aika alas tuo vesi, matalalle, niin päästään tutkimaan aina niinku pohjaa. Niin se on kivaa [naurahtaa], että yllättäviä asioita löytyy; simpukoita paljon, mutta sitten kaikenlaista muutakin ... Se oli niinku, että se, lähiympäristö ... muuttaa yllättäen muotoaan. Täällä Suomessa vuodenajat on aina sitä, mitkä tekee sen väistämättä, mutta tällaiset niinku, jotka on vähän tällaisilla erikoisemmilla alueilla, niin ... tulee sitten sellaisia ilmiöitä, mitä ei ole... tajunnut ollenkaan ..."*

Aini makes experience trips by rowing in her home lake and examining its bottom. Nature is a place to play; it becomes specified as a lake and, still more particularly, as its shore and bottom, as well as shells. It means a source of experiences. These experiences change one's mood

and arise, for example, from finding new, surprising things in one's own, familiar home environment. Nature can be close even in a city, and this city nature offers various experiences during the different seasons of the year. Moving and acting in nature is embodied, multi-sensory experiencing, but the mind is also part of this body and its experiences: nature is the giver or source of various moods and feelings.

Conclusions

The interview data I have analysed above offer some perspective on what the Finnish "going into nature" is. In the data, nature becomes constructed as an element that is (or is not) somewhere; as an environment where it is desirable to be and act; as a source of experiences; and as an object of observation. It is also an active force. In many places in the interviews, it remains unclear what exactly nature is, but nature also becomes concretised in many ways: it is open air, plants, animals, a yard, garden, field, lake and its shore, forest, fell and desert. On the other side, there is culture, which represents non-nature. Nature is something positive and valuable, and its quantity, distance and quality vary along the axis city/town - countryside - forest/wilderness. Nature can be found in the city/town, countryside and forest, but generally speaking the quantity of nature is smaller in the city/town than in the countryside and forest. In practice, this depends, for example, on the size of the city/town. Usually, nature is closer in the countryside than in the city/town; it is more difficult to get to nature in the city/town than in the countryside. You do not travel to a city for nature, but take the opposite direction: in order to get to nature, you head towards the countryside.

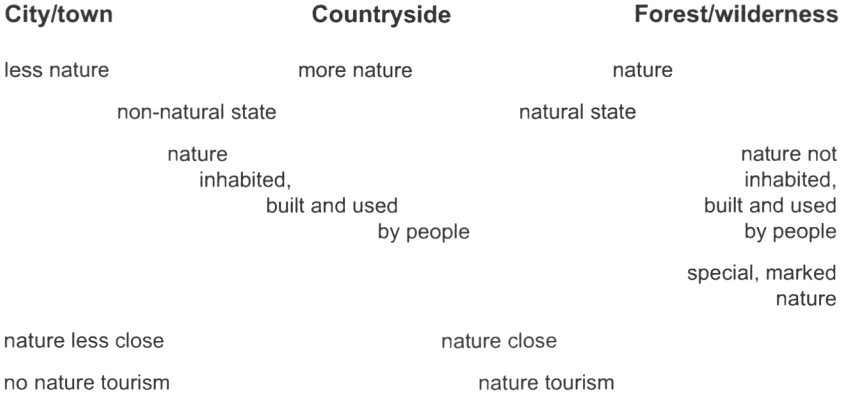

Figure 1. Quantity, quality and distance of nature in the data.

Forests and a natural nature environment can be lacking especially in bigger cities. Inhabited and built environments and parks are examples of environments that are in a non-natural state. Inside the administrative borders of cities/towns there is, however, space for many kinds of areas including even nature reserves, and in Finland it is possible to find also "wilderness towns" (in Finnish erämaakaupunki), which is the name by which at least Kuhmo and Nurmes call themselves (see www.kuhmo.fi; www.nurmes.fi). In the interviews, the countryside is nature that is inhabited, built and used by people, and also forest is attached to this nature as a part of it. Forest nature not habited or used by people can be defined as being outside the countryside, which can also be the case with special, marked forests, such as conservation and hiking areas. In the data, these inclusions and exclusions of various kinds of forest in relation to the countryside, as well as their meanings, remain, however, indefinite and variable.

According to Yi-Fu Tuan (1974), the countryside is widely accepted as the opposite of the city, regardless of the actual living conditions of these two dwelling environments. On the other hand, Tuan says that it is clear that the opposite of the completely man-made city is not the countryside but the wilderness: pristine nature. The countryside is the "middle landscape"; tamed, other nature (Häyrynen 2003).

Traces of human activity can be seen in most Finnish landscapes; they are not in a natural, untouched state (Härö and Mansikka 1993). Maybe the indefiniteness of the (conceptual) boundary between the countryside and forest in the interview data reflects a more general indefiniteness of this boundary in Finland. Both the interviewees and Finnish dictionaries (see Nykysuomen sanakirja 1978, Suomen kielen perussanakirja 1990, 1992, Nurmi 1998) differentiate the countryside and wilderness on the basis of human habitation: the wilderness is an uninhabited area, whereas the countryside is the opposite of the densely populated city/town; inhabited, but more sparsely than the city/town. A sparse population means that in the countryside there are uninhabited corners and areas, whereby we begin to approach the definitions of wilderness. For example, in the population statistics of Statistics Finland (Tilastokeskus 1997, 2003) this indefiniteness has been solved by not separating the uninhabited areas from the inhabited areas at all. In the statistics, Finland is divided into *localities* (in Finnish *taajama*) and *sparsely populated areas* (in Finnish *haja-asutusalue*), and these sparsely populated areas contain both inhabited and uninhabited areas situated outside the localities (the sparsely populated areas are classified more specifically in Tilastokeskus 2000, but this publication does not distinguish completely uninhabited areas from the inhabited areas either). Moreover, Finnish rural policy (see e.g., Maaseutupolitiikan

yhteistyöryhmä 2000) does not distinguish "plain" nature (i.e., forests or uninhabited areas) from the sphere of the countryside, which is of course advantageous for the policy; if forests were not included in the countryside, the area of action of the rural policy would shrink by tens of thousands of square kilometres, which would certainly not be an advantage in the allocation of money and other resources among the various branches of administration.

In the interviews, nature is not only natural and in a natural state, but also special, different, beautiful, splendid and attractive. It is experienced aesthetically and bodily, and looked at as sights, views, places and species. It functions also as a setting for various activities ranging from having morning coffee to floating and rowing. Nature also affects one's state of being and is a source of experiences, enjoyment and pleasure. In the interviews rural nature (including forests) acquires meanings of space: it means peace, freedom, few people and being alone. It also takes on meanings of quiet and rest. The lack of nature and forest can result in a longing and distress, while being in nature changes one's mood and gives strength. Depending on the experiencing person (and the city/town), this can be achieved even in city/town nature.

Peace and quiet have been associated with the countryside and its nature since ancient times (see Tuan 1974). In Finnish arts, the countryside has been constructed as a site of quiet for at least two centuries (Maaseutupolitiikan yhteistyöryhmä 2000). On the other hand, noise and hurry are usually associated with the city. More and more of us seem to live nowadays in a hurry, as if we were asleep on our feet or in a fog. According to Kirsi Virtanen (2003), our senses become dulled in the flow of stimuli, and independent perception and choice cease, demands coming from outside alienate us from our selves, and our inner landscape becomes hazy. The peace and quiet of nature give us an opportunity to look at this inner landscape, listen to and clear it, and this is one way to interpret the meanings of stillness, peace and being alone that were given to rural nature in the interview data presented above. In the interviews, the tranquillity of nature is a positive soundscape, which is sought after, but silence can also be a negative experience. It does not necessarily bring calm to the mind (Virtanen 2003). The stillness of nature does not mean soundlessness either, because nature is never completely soundless. Talk about the peace and quiet of rural nature thus does not mean the absence of all sounds, but that there are no undesired sounds in nature. These undesired sounds are often caused by people (Itkonen 2003), which connects quietness with being alone or with, at most, a few people, that is, with the meanings that rural nature gets in the interviews besides quietness.

The selection of the interviewees has been guided by the aim of getting various experiences of and relations to the countryside in the data instead of having the nature experiences and relations of the interviewees as the basis for selection. Nature was not a special perspective or topic in the interviews; rather, it emerged as one component when the interviewees talked about their travel experiences and the countryside. This may be one reason why nature remained unspecified in many places in the interviews. What also has to be borne in mind is that this paper analyses only those passages in the data where nature is talked about explicitly using the word *nature*. Talk connected with nature can, however, also be found in other words in the data, depending on the interpretation, which makes it possible to specify and widen how nature is constructed in the data in various directions, e.g., plants, forest, fells, mountains, and lakes.

Nature is constructed in the interviews in relation to the lives of the interviewees, their experiences, dwelling places and travel destinations. The data have been generated in interaction between the interviewees and me. With other interviewees – and another interviewer – the data would have been different depending on such factors as the interests, travel destinations and nature relations of the interviewees, but, presumably, the same issues would have come out as did in these interviews, because, regardless of the person, in the background there are the same Finnish cultural ways of talking about nature and these affect the ways in which nature is discussed in the interviews. Among the possible ways of talk in a culture, the talk of even one person can include various points of view and ways of meaning-making concerning nature (see Suoninen 1993a, 1993b).

An example of the common cultural ways of talking about nature and the countryside in Finland is the closeness of nature in the countryside that comes up in the interviews. It is an important attraction also in discussions and studies of the countryside as a dwelling place (see e.g., Maaseutupolitiikan yhteistyöryhmä 2000, Working Group on ... 2001). On the other hand, the purity of rural nature does not come up in the data, although it is emphasised in various contexts, including tourism (see e.g., Suhonen 1998, Maaseutupolitiikan yhteistyöryhmä 2000, Rouhiainen 2001, Virkkunen 2002). Healthiness is another meaning often connected with rural nature (see e.g., Eskola 1963, Tuan 1974, Maaseutupolitiikan yhteistyöryhmä 2000), but lacking in the interviews. On the other hand, it may be that behind the meanings of rest and quiet given to nature in the interviews there is a meaning of healthiness, for both rest and quiet are needed for the health of the body and mind. The fact that a meaning usually attached to rural nature is lacking in the data does not mean that the interviewees could not give this particular mean-

ing to nature; it merely did not occur in the interviews I have conducted. On the other hand, we may be dealing with empty words and meanings that the interviewees simply do not see in nature, at least not in the context of tourism.

The interviews form a sample or selection of Finnish ways to construct nature and give meanings to it as part of talk about travel experiences and destinations. This talk world reflects our mental images and ways of thought. It is important, because the ways in which we represent the world to ourselves and to others affect our choices and actions (Case 1999). Talk about nature and the countryside as travel destinations affects our choices and actions as tourists, and these in turn have an impact on what the countryside and its nature are like now and will be like in the future, in Finland as well as elsewhere where we do or do not travel.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my interviewees for giving me their time and sharing their travel experiences with me. Thanks are also due to Soile Veijola, Jarkko Saarinen and Suvi Ronkainen for tutoring, Anne Keskitalo for valuable comments, and to the Academy of Finland, the Committee for Rural Policy (Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry) and the Foundation of Economic Education for financing my research work.

References

Bruner, J. 1986. Actual minds, possible worlds. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 160 p.

Capone, P. & Venturi Ferriolo, M. 1999. Introduzione. In: Capone, P. & Venturi Ferriolo, M. (eds). Paesaggi. Percorsi tra mito, natura e storia. Kepos Quaderni II. Guerini e Associati, Milano. p. 7–9.

Case, P. 1999. Remember reengineering? The rhetorical appeal of a managerial salvation device. Journal of Management Studies 36(4): 419–441.

d'Alfonso, E. 1999. Paesaggio. In: Capone, P. & Venturi Ferriolo, M. (eds.). Paesaggi. Percorsi tra mito, natura e storia. Kepos Quaderni II. Guerini e Associati, Milano. p. 49–55.

Eskola, A. 1963. Maalaiset ja kaupunkilaiset. Kirjayhtymä, Helsinki. 207 p.

Francescato, G. & Indelli, G. 1999. L'occhio del falco e la *wilderness*. In: Capone, P. & Venturi Ferriolo, M. (eds). Paesaggi. Percorsi tra mito, natura e storia. Kepos Quaderni II. Guerini e Associati, Milano. p. 29–31.

Game, A. 1991. Undoing the social. Towards a deconstructive sociology. Open University Press, Milton Keynes. 210 p.

Härö, E. & Mansikka, M. 1993. Saatteeksi. In: Putkonen, L. (ed.). Kansallismaisema. Ympäristöministeriö, Helsinki. p. 4–7.

Itkonen, P. 2003. Hiljaisuus luonnonsuojelualueiden ja retkeilypalvelujen suunnittelussa. Kide (1): 8–9.

Keskinen, M. 2000. Kuultava kirjallisuus: ääni ja puhe kirjallisuudessa. In: Kajannes, K. & Kirstinä, L. (eds). Kirjallisuus, kieli ja kognitio. Kognitiivisesta kirjallisuuden- ja kielentutkimuksesta. Yliopistopaino, Helsinki. p. 159–193.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. 1981. Metaphors we live by. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 242 p.

Maaseutupolitiikan yhteistyöryhmä. 2000. Ihmisten maaseutu – tahdon maaseutupolitiikka. Maaseutupoliittinen kokonaisohjelma vuosille 2001–2004. Osa I. Maa- ja metsätalousministeriö, Helsinki. www.mmm.fi (> maaseudun kehittäminen > maaseutupolitiikka Suomessa).

Milani, R. 1999. Estetica del paesaggio. In: Capone, P. & Venturi Ferriolo, M. (eds). Paesaggi. Percorsi tra mito, natura e storia. Kepos Quaderni II. Guerini e Associati, Milano. p. 23–27.

Nurmi, T. 1998. Uusi suomen kielen sanakirja. Gummerus, Jyväskylä. 1344 p.

Nykysuomen sanakirja. 1978. Lyhentämätön kansanpainos. Osat I–VI. 6th edition. WSOY, Porvoo. 735 and 840 p.

Relph, E. 1986. Place and placelessness. 3rd edition. Pion, London. 156 p.

Rouhiainen, V. 2001. Maaseutu suomalaisten mielikuvissa. Prosum 1(2): 20–23.

Saarinen, J. 2002. Erämaan muuttuvat merkitykset: pohjoisen luonnon traditionaalinen käyttö, moderni suojelu ja turistinen tulevaisuus. Alue ja ympäristö 31(2): 25–36.

Suhonen, P. 1998. Maaseudun lumo ja lemu. Suuren maaseutukyselyn tulokset. City 14 (10.7.–7.8.1998): 10–13.

Suomen kielen perussanakirja. 1990. Ensimmäinen osa. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 55. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus, Helsinki. 646 p.

— 1992. Toinen osa. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 55. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus, Helsinki. 699 p.

Suoninen, E. 1993a. Kielen käytön vaihtelevuuden analysoiminen. In: Jokinen, A., Juhila, K. & Suoninen, E. Diskurssianalyysin aakkoset. Vastapaino, Tampere, p. 48–74.

— 1993b. Mistä on perheenäidit tehty? Haastattelupuheen analyysi. In: Jokinen, A., Juhila, K. & Suoninen, E. Diskurssianalyysin aakkoset. Vastapaino, Tampere, p. 111–150.

Thrift, N. 1997. "Us" and "them": re-imagining places, re-imagining identities. In: Mackay, H. (ed.). Consumption and everyday life. Sage, London. p. 159–212.

Tilastokeskus. 1997. Taajamat 1995. Väestölaskenta 1995, osa 4. Tilastokeskus, Helsinki. 284 p.

— 2000. Maaseudun aluerakenteen muutos 1985–1995. Väestö 2000:4. Tilastokeskus, Helsinki. 107 p.

— 2003. Tilastolliset taajamat 2000. Väestölaskenta 2000, osa 2. Tilastokeskus, Helsinki. 234 p.

Tuan, Y-F. 1974. Topophilia. A study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs. 248 p.

Vilkuna, J. 1997. Kaupungin eletyt ja institutionaaliset luonnot. In: Haarni, T., Karvinen, M., Koskela, H. & Tani, S. (eds). Tila, paikka ja maisema. Tutkimusretkiä uuteen maantieteeseen. Vastapaino, Tampere. p. 163–178.

Virkkunen, E. 2002. Maaseutumatkailu hyödyntämään valmiita resursseja ja paikallisia osaajia. Lomalaidun mainostaa maaseutua. Alimenta 95(3): 4–6.

Working Group on Urban-Rural Interaction. 2001. Urban-rural interaction. Report of the Working Group on Urban-Rural Interaction. Sisäministeriö, Helsinki. 34 p.

Oral communications

Häyrynen, M. 2003. Maaseutu näyttämönä. Lecture. Satakunnan Kesäkorkeakoulu "Silmän ja korvan maisemat", Pori, 14.6.2003.

Virtanen, K. 2003. Hiljaisuuden retriitti – 'niin saatte vähän levätä'. Lecture. Satakunnan Kesäkorkeakoulu "Silmän ja korvan maisemat", Pori, 14.6.2003.

Saarinen, J. & Hall, C.M. (eds) 2004. Nature-Based Tourism Research in Finland: Local Contexts, Global Issues. Finnish Forest Research Institute, Research Papers 916: 99–112.

Cultural and touristic significance of maritime wooden boats and ships in Finland

Marjatta Hytönen

Introduction

Wooden boats and ships have become a popular hobby in Finland during the past decade. Cultural activities have started to evolve especially around traditional wooden vessels. Simultaneously the general appreciation of cultural heritage has increased. People are increasingly looking for inspiration for leisure activities from history and traditions.

The aim of this article is to shed light on this phenomenon and touristic potentials embedded in it. The first section contains a description of the historical development of boats and ships to demonstrate the richness of traditions and an overview of the most important landmarks in the revival of the Finnish wooden boat culture during the 1990s. The following sections describe some recent efforts to define the cultural significance of traditional water-craft as well as examples of the cultural and touristic activities occupying wooden vessels in today's Finland. Some aspects of nature experiences and local culture for developing touristic activities are also discussed. Finally, the wooden boat culture and its touristic prospects are related to the overall leisure boating situation in Finland.

The article focuses primarily on traditional wooden sailing boats and ships because they are typical to the coastal areas, have long roots in Finland's history, and have become popular restoration and rebuilding objects. Their touristic utilisation is also increasing. An important target group for the touristic services provided by and connected to the wooden vessels in the future may be the increasing number of people interested in maritime traditions and way of life worldwide.

Origins and revival of wooden boat culture

The earliest wooden boats in Finland were flat-bottomed paddle boats made of one stock. Bigger clinker-built boats developed gradually on the basis of them. Sails became common starting from 800 A.D. Since then, the Baltic Sea and the coasts of Finland have been visited by Viking ships, Hansa cogs, local peasant ships, and the military and merchant fleets of various nations. The amount of wooden sailing ships decreased by the end of the Nineteenth Century, when steamers and steel and iron ships started to replace them. Motors were installed in sailing ships starting from the turn of the Twentieth Century, which decreased the use of sails further (National Board of Antiquities 1985, Vesillä - elämää... 2003).

The last wooden sailing ships were built during the 1940s. After the Second World War, 91 big wooden schooners were constructed as war indemnity for the Soviet Union. Farmers returning from the war also built dozens of sailing ships, the last ones of which were used as cargo vessels until the beginning of the 1970s (Matikka 1995, Traditional Sailing Ship Association in Finland 2003, Vesillä - elämää... 2003).

Also smaller boats were used alongside the ships. Farmers and boat masters built boats according to the local needs and circumstances. The Finnish seagoing boats have been classified into the northern and southern types, which differ from each other, for example, by the shape of bow and stern (Itkonen 1926). The use of motors starting from the 1920s affected the shapes of boats: bows became narrower, sterns broader and the boats became higher. However, traditional peasant boats were still being made during the 1950s, for example in the Åland Islands (Koskinen 2003). In addition to using boats to earn living, the leisure boating culture started to take shape; the first Finnish yacht clubs were founded just after the middle of the Nineteenth Century (Navis Fennica 1995).

The boom of Finnish wooden leisure boat building lasted from the end of the Nineteenth Century to the beginning of the 1950s, when the industry produced boats also for export, especially to Sweden, Russia and the USA (Rovamo and Lintunen 1995, Barck 2003). The amount of wooden boats started to decrease in the 1960s when fiberglass displaced wood as the most popular building material (Myllykoski 1989). However, the building of wooden boats did not end completely. One-offs ordered by customers and classical sailing boat types such as the Finnish Hai-boats and Nordic Folkboats were still being built here and there by the coast. A boatyard on the west coast started to produce roomy Scylla sailing boats, which have amounted since then up to 70 custom-made vessels (Rovamo and Lintunen 1995).

The new wooden boat enthusiasm and the revival of building and repairing wooden vessels started in Finland by the beginning of the 1990s, this time as a result of increased free time and economic wealth. The new craft were made first of all for private leisure boating or for businesses serving the leisure industry. Also the willingness to restore old vessels increased. Wooden boats came back to serve people as leisure craft, hobby, cultural heritage and cultural attractions.

The important events in the revival of the Finnish wooden boat culture include:

- Establishment of the association of builders of wooden boats in 1990.
- Wooden boat fairs in the town of Kotka 1992, 1995, 1997, 2002.
- "Education of wooden boat builders and its development needs" -study by the National Board of Education 1994 (Puuveneveistäjien koulutus ja alan kehittäminen 1994).
- Establishment of the register of the traditional ships in Finland 1994.
- Establishment of the harbour for traditional sailing ships in Helsinki 1994.
- "Finnish wooden boat" -book 1995 (Rovamo and Lintunen 1995).
- Finnish wooden boat -magazine 1995- (Puuvene 1995-).
- "Handbook for restoring wooden ships" 1998 (Holmström and Asunta 1998).
- Opening of the internet portal "www.puuvene.net" for people interested in wooden boats 2000.
- "Building wooden boats as business" -study by the Finnish Forest Research Institute 2002 (Elovirta 2002).
- Establishment of the Traditional Sailing Ship Association in Finland 2002.
- dozens of new associations, museums and happenings by wooden boat and ship enthusiasts.

In the other western countries, the interest towards maritime traditions and wooden boats began about 20 years earlier than in Finland (e.g. Council of Europe 2001). Pioneer countries in Europe have been France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. In the USA, a sign of the emerging interest in wooden vessels was the establishment of the *Wooden Boat* magazine in 1974. In England, the corresponding magazine, *Classic Boat*, has been published since 1987.

A large part of the written material of the coastal wooden boat culture in Finland has been produced in Swedish, because many of the coastal regions are Swedish speaking in the bilingual Finland. For example, the

boating magazine Frisk Bris has been published since 1900, the versatile wooden boat culture of the Åland Islands has been documented extensively (e.g. Högnäs and Örjans 1997), and Finnish wooden vessels have also appeared in the Nordic context (e.g. Människor och båtar i Norden 1998). The new wooden boat boom is leading to the lowering of language barriers and the strengthening of the Finnish language maritime wooden boat culture.

Cultural significance of wooden boats and ships

Wooden vessels are an essential component of maritime heritage. However, the concept of maritime heritage has not been established into Finnish language. Maritime traditions are dealt with under various other titles such as maritime history or coastal culture (e.g. Navis Fennica 1993). The direct translation of maritime heritage (merellinen perintö) has until now been applied only in few cases. In the most recent national archipelago action plan, wooden vessels are included in the chapter titled "Archipelago, coastal and waterway culture" (Saaristo-ohjelma 2003).

At the European level, the cultural significance of traditional ships is being defined within the concept of maritime heritage. The First Common European Maritime Heritage Congress, which was organised in Amsterdam 1992, can be considered to be a starting point for defining the cultural significance of traditional ships. The Congress was organised by the Netherlands Maritime Museum with the support of the European Union and the Ministry of Culture of the Netherlands. The next step was the founding of the European Maritime Heritage – EMH organisation in 1995 (European Maritime Heritage 2003). During 2000–2001, the Council of Europe produced together with the EMH an overview and recommendations concerning maritime and fluvial cultural heritage in Europe (Council of Europe 2001). The recommendation urges, among other things, the European states to support the privately owned historically valuable ships which are still in active use. In 2002, the fourth international EMH congress led to the signing of the Barcelona Charter for the conservation and restoration of traditional ships in operation (The Barcelona Charter 2003).

The Barcelona Charter (2003) describes the cultural significance of historically valuable ships in the following way: *"The concept of maritime heritage afloat embraces the single traditional ship in which is found the evidence of a particular civilisation or significant development*

as well as traditional sailing, seamanship and maritime workmanship. This applies both to larger ships and to more modest craft of the past, which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time". The Charter states also that *"the intention in preserving and restoring traditional ships in operation is to safeguard them whether as works of art, as historical evidence or for perpetuating traditional skills"*.

The full national representative of Finland in the EMH is the Traditional Sailing Ship Association of Finland which was established in 2002, the Maritime Museum of Finland being an advisory member. All the about 20 traditional wooden sailing ships in Finland are members in the association. The Finnish association aims to offer 1) information on traditional sailing ships, the Finnish tradition of sailing, and life in the archipelago for interested groups and the public, 2) a chance to participate for everyone interested in sailing, 3) information about ships and services for customers, 4) information, training and contacts for mariners, and 5) better operation conditions in the future for the member ships (Traditional Sailing Ship Association in Finland 2003).

The Barcelona Charter deals first of all with the preservation of traditional ships, but it can also be applied to replicas of historically valuable vessels. Just these replicas offer good possibilities to achieve the objectives stated in the Charter and can effectively engage new people in traditional and also more modern navigation and boating hobby. A successful example of a wooden ship promoting cultural heritage is the first Finnish replica, the galeasse Albanus, which was launched in the Åland Islands in 1989. A book has been written describing the building of the galeasse and the local maritime culture, and the ship is actively used to accommodate camp schools of children (Högnäs and Örjans 1989, The Albanus Ship Society 2003).

The above mentioned definition of the Barcelona Charter can also be applied to smaller craft, but wooden boats constitute a much more versatile and numerous group. Finnish boats are not represented by an interest group like the ships. There exists the association of wooden boat builders established in 1990, but it has concentrated mainly to serve its own members and to promote the marketing of their products (e.g. Veneenveistäjä 2003).

In addition to traditional boats and ships, also the new boat models developed on the basis of traditional boats and completely new boat types are culturally significant (see e.g. Puuvene 1995–). They are cultural heritage of the future, with historical roots and evolution shaped by the circumstances. In practice, genuine traditional methods are nowadays seldom used in constructing boats; modern tools, glues and sealants are commonly used also when making or repairing traditional boat types.

Individuality is a common characteristic to both old and new wooden boats. They are personal alternatives to industrially produced plastic and metal boats. Wooden boat building has increasingly been regarded as artistic handicraft or industrial art (Puuveneveistäjien koulutus ja alan kehittäminen 1994, Rovamo and Lintunen 1995, Elovirta 2002). In a modern society which appreciates creativity, maintaining and developing craftsmans' skills is considered as vital to cultural heritage and even as an intellectual resource increasing adaptability to today's economic demands (Luutonen and Äyväri 2002).

Wooden boat culture forms a part of the broader maritime heritage. The Regional Council of Ostrobothnia has compiled so far a unique overview of the region's maritime traditions (Pohjanmaan merellinen perintö 2001). The survey shows how large and many-sided cultural phenomenon maritime heritage is, and also how central role boats and ships, and the livelihoods connected to them, have played in the life of the region.

Wooden boat culture in practice

Although the handy "maritime heritage" -concept has not established itself in Finnish language, the maritime wooden boat culture has started to flourish and develop in practice also in Finland. Wooden boats and ships have come back to be a part of Finnish cultural landscape and way of life.

The present traditional sailing ship fleet of Finland consists of the cargo ships built in the 1940s in the regions east from Helsinki. These ships, Astrid, Helena, Inga, Inga-Lill, Ingeborg, Kathrina, Marita, Svanhild, Valborg, Vivan and a little older Olga, work nowadays as charter vessels. Wooden museum ship Sigyn attracts tourists in Turku. After the galeasse Albanus, four more replicas have been built: Linden, Jakobstads Wapen, Eugenia ja Alexandra. Presently ongoing building project in Loviisa aims to construct a replica of an old passenger sailing ship Österstjernan, which used to transport people between Finland and Sweden in the Nineteenth Century. Some traditional ships serve only their private owners. A few ships originating from abroad also sail in Finnish waters, the most active participants of which in the cultural and touristic activities have been the Danish schooner Nordboen based in the Åland Islands and the Swedish-built schooner Ferder from Pietarsaari.

A festival tradition has developed around the wooden ship culture; for example the Sailingship Days in October in Helsinki have established themselves as a follow-up to the Baltic Herring Fair originating from the year 1743. The launching of replicas always cause big celebra-

tions. Finnish wooden ships also play a visible role when the Tall Ship Race visits Finland and during the Åland Sea Days.

A lot of cultural activities have evolved to accompany wooden boats as well. There are about 10 wooden boat museums by the coast of Finland and boats and ships are also presented in many other coastal museums. The largest collections of traditional peasant boats can be found in the countryside in the museums created and maintained by local associations: the Archipelago Museum of Rönnäs in Pernaja, the Lappo Archipelago Museum in Brändö in the Åland Islands and in the Kvarken Boat Museum in Maalahti. Wooden boat exhibitions can also be found in the boat halls of the Provincial Museum of Kymenlaakso in Kotka and the Maritime Museum of Finland in Helsinki as well as in the new Forum Marinum in Turku. Since summer 2003, the Maritime Museum of Finland has offered cruises with an old restored pilot cutter Pitkäpaasi.

Especially important from the point of view of living maritime heritage are the various building projects of traditional sailing boats carried out by private individuals and associations (e.g. Karlsson 2003). A summer festival tradition has also emerged to occupy the old restored peasant boats and the new replicas of them. The most famous festivals are the Small Ships Race in Loviisa, the Mail Boat Races across the Åland Sea and the Gulf of Bothnia, and the peasant sailing competition of Naantali. Furthermore, there are an abundance of local sailing competitions in connection to summer festivals and hard races of certain construction class boats even at the world championship level (e.g. Koskinen 2003). Raid Finland, a one week long race for small traditional open craft powered by sail and oar, and the Nordic Vinden Drar gathering for traditional peasant boats are international happenings.

Wooden boat culture and tourism

Touristic utilisation of ships and boats

Almost all Finnish wooden sailing ships and a few wooden trawlers work in tourism business as charterships. The ships are owned either by associations, private persons or small enterprises. To maintain the ships is so expensive and laborious, that almost all ships have to earn money for the costs of maintenance. The situatiation is the same in other countries. The Barcelona Charter refers to these difficulties by stating that "*making use of traditional ships for some socially useful purpose always facilitates their preservation*" (The Barcelona Charter 2003).

Wooden boats have so far not been utilised much in coastal tourism. However, some examples can be found: the Forum Marinum in Turku rents its museum boats for day cruises, the St. Nikolaus association in Kirkkonummi organises charter cruises with its big traditional peasant boats when they are free from their main duty which is cruises for young people, and the Archipelago Folk Academy in Houtskär arranges summer courses in peasant sailing attracting tourists. An illustrative example of the role of wooden boat sailing in the context of rural tourism service supply are the peasant sailing cruises offered by the Monäspasset association; the sailing opportunity is one within the 50 different leisure activities offered through the rural tourism internet portal compiled by the Regional Council of Ostrobothnia (Elämyksiä! Ostoksia! 2003).

Nature experiences as boating motives

The homepages of Finnish wooden boats and ships are full of sentimental descriptions telling about the feelings of merging with the landscape and nature. When rowing and sailing one moves according to the conditions set by nature and faces sometimes even rough natural forces. When using small and simple boats the water is close and especially the low-keeled boats enable coming ashore in natural harbours. In larger vessels, the encountered forces of nature are often bigger and teamwork is needed to cope with them.

Wooden boat enthusiasts and professionals encounter nature when handling and touching wood when building and repairing boats. The naturalness of the experience is increased when the builders go to standing forest to choose timber, fell the trees and transport them to the building site (e.g. Jahti Alexandra... 2003). Builders of wooden boats often tell about the feelings of enjoyment and gratification caused by working with hands and by the improvement of skills.

It is not easy to find research-based information on the nature experiences dealing with maritime boating. However, the results of the Lake Tourism -project of the Finnish University Network for the Tourism Studies probably apply to maritime tourism as well (Lake tourism project 2003). Studies on rowing tourism have revealed that the main motives for having rowing as a hobby are the lake nature, exercise, the sociability of rowing and escape from everyday routines. The tourists participating in rowing happenings are physically active and have positive attitudes towards environmental protection. When using wooden boats, the nature experience is strengthened by the idea of using ecological and environmentally friendly equipment (Ryhänen 2002, Ryhänen and Vänttinen 2003).

Sievänen and Neuvonen (2003) sum up earlier research in their study on Finnish boaters. In accordance with the findings of the Lake Tourism -project, they state that the most important motives in leisure boating are the possibility to see beautiful landscapes and to be near the nature. Also the general motives for recreational activities such as getting away from daily routines and being together with friends and family members are common. The possibility to experience both peace and exitement are essential motivations particularly in boating.

A classic in the the field of research on sailing experiences is the study of Macbeth (1988) dealing with the motives and feelings of ocean cruisers. The results of the study may be applied to draw conclusions concerning also more modest sailing cruises by the coasts. The ocean adventurers experienced sailing as rewarding because of its intellectual, emotional and physical challenges. Especially the use and improvement of skills gave them satisfaction. However, the strongest experiences of the interviewed sailors were connected to nature and the feeling of merging with it in both storm and calm weather.

Above are some ideas and examples of research results telling about the positive elements related to boats and ships. They can be applied when developing boating with wooden vessels as an attraction for nature tourism. Also many other studies dealing with, for example, traveling motives, nature recreation or the scenic significance of forest contain valuable information on the preconditions for tourism utilising wooden boats and ships.

Local wooden boat culture as a resource for cultural tourism

In Finland there are about 70 coastal municipalities, each one of which has its own special history and culture concerning wooden boats and ships. Wooden vessels tell concretely about the way of life in the coastal regions; the boat and ship types built for various purposes and their evolution illustrate local economic and cultural history. The familiarity with the origin of the wood raw materials and with the construction processes are links to local nature and the ways of utilising it.

The traditional local boat building culture disappeared almost completely after the Second World War. Since then various associations have started to revive the boat building traditions of the municipalities mainly in rural areas. On the other hand, through the increased popularity of traditional boats among city dwellers, also they get a chance to experience locality represented by their boat types and to get insight into the boating habits of the past during the summer cruises in the archipelago.

Coastal boat museums, harbours and the happenings arranged in their premises such as municipal summer festivals with their sailing and rowing competitions attract local inhabitants, but to some extent also summer inhabitants and tourists. These events are first of all parties of the people of the communities and the near-by regions. They are usually not even meant to attract tourists in a large scale. They are effectively prevented from becoming mass tourism happenings by their simultaneity; during the short summer season dozens of festivals are held each weekend all along the coast.

Guest boat harbours and quays in the centres of villages and towns are modern meeting places for the locals and visitors, and increasingly also multifunctional activity venues. Some of them especially serve wooden vessels and people interested in them. Examples of such harbours are the Maritime Quarter in Mariehamn in the Åland Islands and the Laivasilta Marina in Loviisa. For example, the association managing the Laivasilta area aims to encourage the cooperation between local enterprises and associations, to develop the area in accordance with its historical roots and to enhance cultural tourism also during winter time (Loviisan... 2003). The harbour has become a popular recreation area. In summer 2003, the harbour accommodated the Seafaring Museum, cafe, restaurant, sauna for rent, minigolf, park, normal guest harbour, wooden boat harbour, art exhibitions, a wooden ship building project and a summer shop selling local maritime souvenirs.

From the point of view of cultural tourism a speciality with traditional wooden boats and ships is that they are not built and maintained only for tourism. At its best the building of wooden vessels and the leisure activities connected to their utilisation improve the quality of life of the local people. Karlsson (2003) describes the social significance of the boat building enthusiasm in the west coast of Finland, where the building projects have stimulated the life in the villages and increased the interaction between people. The builders of the boats have got a chance to "have good time together in the dark and gloomy winter time". After the boats have been completed, more people have joined into the activities organised around them.

The amount of research-based information which can be applied to maritime tourism utilising wooden boats in Finnish rural waters is increasing. For example, the risks in the work of local and outside developers and marketers of tourism products in coastal areas have been analysed (e.g. Siivonen 2002). A research project on sustainability of cultural tourism in the south-western archipelago of Finland summarises the preconditions for socially and culturally sustainable tourism the following way: developers should prioritise the needs of the local people

and respect the local culture as a source of mental and social well-being (Nurminen 2002).

The concept of "sense of place", which has been widely discussed in the western world for decades, has recently entered also the Finnish discussion on water-based tourism (e.g. Tuohino 2003, Ventelä 2003). It has been used to describe the feelings of belonging and affection towards a familiar place. "Sense of place" enables dealing with the abstract mental aspects of well-being connected also to the boating experiences of the local people as well as of the visiting tourists.

Conclusions and future prospects

This article has discussed wooden boat culture, which constitutes a part of maritime heritage, which for its part forms a part of national cultural heritage. Wooden boats and ships have so far been regarded as part of Finnish cultural heritage only to a limited degree. The national cultural heritage has usually been demonstrated by old churches and iron works, castles, mansions, buildings designed by famous architects and homes of famous artists, etc. (e.g. Louhenjoki-Schulman and Hedenström 2003). Boats and ships are presented in museums, but their value as cultural artefacts has not been elaborated by the cultural heritage professionals. Especially the social and cultural value of traditional boats and ships in operation is a little known and analysed field of maritime heritage.

Most of the information available in Finland on the traditional as well as modern wooden boats and ships has been produced by non-governmental organisations and individual enthusiasts. Also in other countries the civil society has been the initiator of the revival of the traditional boating culture. One reason for the lack of the official sector involvement in the research, information production and development work concerning boating culture may be the commonplaceness and everydayness of boating in Finland. Researchers of lake tourism have noticed the same blind spot. For example Ryhänen (2002) notes that boating may be so common activity in Finland, that it is difficult for Finns to perceive the touristic potentials within it.

During the past century Finland has become a prominent boating nation. It is estimated that there are about 700 000 boats in the country. In the year 2000, almost half of the population; 47 % of the 5 200 000 persons, participated in boating activities. The total length of the shoreline, including the shores of islands, is 314 000 km, out of which 46 000 km consist of the coastline of the Baltic Sea (Saaristo-ohjelma 2003, Sievänen and Neuvonen 2003). A speciality which increases the possibilities of boating and its significance as a leisure activity is the Public

Right of Access. The amount of leisure boats and the popularity of boating as a hobby has grown steadily for decades and is still increasing (Navis Fennica 1995, Saaristo-ohjelma 2003).

The amount of wooden boats in Finland is not known, but their share is small compared to other boat types. The amount of ships is known better. However, despite the relatively limited amount, wooden boats and ships are socially and culturally important. This is evidenced by the increasing popularity of wooden boat culture as well. Their economic significance within the tourism branch is also increasing little by little.

It has been forecasted that the demand for cultural services and the amount of free time will continue to increase in the future, and the motives for tourism will be diversified further; for example nature-based, exercise-seeking, self-education and cultural tourism are becoming more popular. Concurrently boating is becoming a hobby with various sub-cultures. Wooden boat sailing is one sub-culture in boating, around which it is possible to develop small-scale target group nature-based tourism respecting the local cultures.

References

Barck, P. 2003. Finlands segeljakter: en bok om fritidsseglingen i Finland från 1850-talet till 1920. Litorale, Esbo. 294 p.

Council of Europe. 2001. Maritime and fluvial cultural heritage. 2001. Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly, Doc. 9182, 27 July 2001. 2 p. (Http://assembly.coe.int/Documents/WorkingDocs/Doc01/EDOC9182.htm, 15.10.2003).

Elovirta, P. 2002. Puuveneenveisto yritystoimintana. Metsäntutkimuslaitoksen tiedonantoja 870. 42 p.

Elämyksiä! Ostoksia! 2003. Pohjanmaan Liitto, Vaasa. Http://www.osterbotten.fi/landsbygdsturism/, 15.10.2003.

European Maritime Heritage (EMH). 2003. (Http://www.european-maritime-heritage.org/, 15.10.2003).

Frisk Bris. 1900–. Finlands seglarförbund, Helsingfors.

Holmström, M. & Asunta, A. 1998. Puulaivan korjaajan käsikirja. Viaporin Telakka ry, Helsinki. 143 p.

Högnäs, P.-O. & Örjans, J. 1989. Galeasen Albanus: ett åländskt skeppsbygge och dess historiska bakgrund. Skeppsföreningen Albanus, Mariehamn. 142 p.

Högnäs, P.-O. & Örjans, J. 1997. Med folk och fisk över Ålands hav. Ålands Skötbåtsförening rf, Mariehamn. 142 p.

Itkonen, T. 1926. Suomen kansanomaiset veneet. Suomen museo XXXIII: 34–57.

Jahti Alexandra - a wooden ship building project in Borgå. 2003. Skutbyggarna - Jaalanrakentajat rf, Borgå. (Http://www.kulturfonden.fi/alexandra/e_aindex.html, 15.10.2003).

Karlsson, Ö. 2003. Hur träbåtsboomen i Västra Munsala började. Purjehtija 5: 14.

Koskinen, H. 2003. Talonpoikaisveneet Lounaissaaristossa. (Http://www.wakkanet.fi/%7Eharro/index.html, 15.10.2003).

Lake Tourism Project. 2003. University of Joensuu, Savonlinna Institute for Regional Development and Research. (Http://www.matkailu.org/jarvimatkailu/eng/indexeng.htm, 15.10.2003).

Louhenjoki-Schulman, P.-L. & Hedenström, K. 2003. Suomen kultuurinähtävyydet. Otava, Helsinki. 332 p.

Loviisan Laivasilta ry. 2003. (Http://www.linnunrata.net/users/laivasilta/, 15.10.2003).

Luutonen, M. & Äyväri, A. (ed.). 2002. Käsin tehty tulevaisuus – näkökulmia käsityöyrittäjyyteen. Sitran raportteja 24. 246 p. (Http://www.sitra.fi/Julkaisut/raportti24.pdf, 15.10.2003).

Macbeth, J. 1988. Ocean cruising. In: Csikszentmihalyi, M. & Selega Csikszentmihalyi, I. (eds). Optimal Experience: Psychological Studies of Flow in Consciousness. Cambridge University Press, New York. p. 214–231.

Matikka, H. 1995. Sailing Ships used to carry sand in Eastern Uusimaa. Nautica Fennica 1994: 68–79.

Myllykoski, H. 1989. Soutuvene – soutuveneen materiaaleissa, rakentamisessa ja käytössä tapahtuneita muutoksia 1900-luvulla. Suomen kotiteollisuusmuseon monisteita 6. 32 p.

Människor och båtar i Norden. 1998. Föreningen Sveriges Sjöfartsmuseum i Stockholm, Sjöhistorisk årsbok 1998–1999. 338 p.

National Board of Antiquities. 1985. Sea Finland: Finnish seafaring in pictures. National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki. 118 p.

Navis Fennica - Suomen merenkulun historia. Osa 1: Puuruuhista syvänmeren purjelaivoihin. 1993. WSOY, Porvoo, Helsinki, Juva. 440 p.

Navis Fennica - Suomen merenkulun historia. 1995. Osa 4: Meren aalloilla ja sisävesillä. WSOY, Porvoo, Helsinki, Juva. 352 p.

Nurminen, H. 2002. Kulttuuritapahtuma ja kestävä matkailu. In: Nurminen H. (toim.). Elämää ja elämyksiä saaristossa - näkökulmia kestävään matkailuun. Kirja-Aurora, Turku. p. 177–191.

Pohjanmaan merellinen perintö. 2001. Pohjanmaan liitto, Vaasa. 32 p.

Puuvene. 1995–. Klippi Design Management Oy, Helsinki.

Puuveneveistäjien koulutus ja alan kehittäminen. 1994. Opetushallitus, Helsinki. 52 p.

Rovamo, P. & Lintunen, M. 1995. Suomalainen puuvene. WSOY, Helsinki. 190 p.

Ryhänen, H. 2002. Kehittämis- ja tutkimuskohteena soutumatkailu – Supisuomalainen järvielämys. Muuttuva matkailu – Teemana järvet ja matkailu 2/2002: 54–56. (Http://www.matkailu.org/index_muuttuva_matkailu.htm, 15.10.2003).

Ryhänen, H. & Vänttinen, K. 2003. Vesille venhosen mieli – soutumatkailututkimuksen loppuraportti. Savonlinnan koulutus- ja kehittämiskeskuksen julkaisuja 3/2003. 117 p. (Http://www.matkailu.org/jarvimatkailu/pdf/julkaisut_souturaportti.pdf. 15.10.2003).

Saaristo-ohjelma 2003–2006 – Saaret, meri, järvet, joet ja rantavyöhyke aluekehitystekijöinä. 2003. Sisäasiainministeriön julkaisu 1/2003. 132 p.

Sievänen, T. & Neuvonen, M. 2003. Boater's profiles as outdoor recreationists. In: Härkönen, T. (ed.). International Lake Tourism Conference, 2–5 July, 2003, Savonlinna, Finland. Publications of the Savonlinna Institute for Regional Development and Research 5: 73–83.

Siivonen, K. 2002. Kulttuuria kestävästi matkailun tarpeisiin. In: Nurminen, H. (ed.). Elämää ja elämyksiä saaristossa – näkökulmia kestävään matkailuun. Kirja-Aurora, Turku. p. 177–191.

The Albanus Ship Society. 2003. The Galeasse Albanus. The Albanus Ship Society, Mariehamn. (Http://www.aland.net/albanus/eng/mall.htm, 15.10.2003).

The Barcelona Charter – European Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Traditional Ships in Operation. 2003. European Maritime Heritage Newsletter No. 14 April 2003. p. 2–3. (Http://www.european-maritime-heritage.org/EMHsite/Cultural/barcelona%20charter.htm, 15.10.2003).

Traditional Sailing Ship Association in Finland. 2003. Skutföreningen Kustkultur i Finland r.f., Västanfjärd. (Http://www.skutforening.org/index_en.html, 15.10.2003).

Tuohino, A. 2003. In search of the spirit of the lake – Lakes as an opportunity for tourism marketing. In: Härkönen, Tuija (ed.). International Lake Tourism Conference, 2–5 July, 2003, Savonlinna, Finland. Publications of the Savonlinna Institute for Regional Development and Research 5: 305–316.

Veneenveistäjä. 2003. Puuveneveistäjät ry. 62 p.

Ventelä, A.-M. 2003. Lake quality and sense of place: a comparison of Finland and the United States, with implications for tourism development. In: Härkönen, T. (ed.). International Lake Tourism Conference, 2–5 July, 2003, Savonlinna, Finland. Publications of the Savonlinna Institute for Regional Development and Research 5: 159–170.

Vesillä – elämää ja historiaa. 2003. Opetushallitus, Helsinki. (Http://www.edu.fi/projektit/tammi/vesi/index.htm, 14.10.2003).

Saarinen, J. & Hall, C.M. (eds) 2004. Nature-Based Tourism Research in Finland: Local Contexts, Global Issues. Finnish Forest Research Institute, Research Papers 916: 113–128.

Combining tourism planning and sustainable development in the Kalajoki tourism destination, Northern Finland

Anne Hynönen

Introduction

Sustainable tourism and its socio-cultural, economic and environmental aspects create challenges for regional tourism planning. Combining tourism planning and the principles of sustainable tourism requires looking at three different aspects. First is the demand for a holistic approach, meaning integrating tourism into other industries in the area and looking at tourism destinations in relation to a larger regional perspective. The equity principle includes the opportunity for all citizens and stakeholders to participate in tourism planning and development. The third aspect, futurity, is a time perspective and demands such things as long-term planning and commitment to tourism development.

Combining these principles of sustainability in tourism is a challenging task. Traditionally, tourism planning has focused quite narrowly on the tourism sector itself and thus the principles of sustainable tourism have been difficult to achieve. Another "tradition" in sustainability is the nature-based approach where the history of sustainable tourism lies in tourism and nature protection. Instead of focusing on the relationship between humans and nature, the new approach looks at the relationships between different human groups and their interests. Spatiality is relevant, as people and their activities take place in certain social and natural environments and that the environment has its own limits. The final challenge in sustainable tourism is how local or regional tourism planning is integrated into the broader planning system.

This paper focuses on tourism development in the Kalajoki tourist destination, Northern Finland. Tourism development and sustainable principles are discussed in general and then are illustrated in the situation

of the Kalajoki case. This study is part of a larger research and development programme of the area and aims to bring basic knowledge about combining tourism planning and sustainability for further development for local actors and stakeholders. One aim of this ongoing research is to create a model illustrating sustainable regional tourism planning.

Tourism in Kalajoki

Kalajoki has an over one-hundred year history in tourism and now is one of the three main tourism destinations in the Province of Oulu. Tourism is an increasingly important sector in Kalajoki's economy. The tourism strategy in Kalajoki has been prepared and the objective of the strategy is for the Kalajoki tourism destination to be one of the leading year-round tourism destinations in Finland (Nordinfo 2003). Thus, there is an urgent need to develop new products and to increase the amount of tourists in order to improve local employment and economic well-being. At the same time special attention must be paid to Kalajoki's sensitive and fragile nature. At this stage it is very important to recognise all consequences and impacts of tourism. The tourism resources can be damaged by inappropriate development, so demand for sustainability in planning is highly emphasised in the Kalajoki tourism strategy paper.

Even though tourism has a very strong positive impact on Kalajoki's economic situation by providing jobs and well being, the local people's opinions of tourism are not always so positive. The (over)dependence on tourism, the plans for new investment and the lack of local people's participation in planning process cause negative attitudes. So, besides the economic dimension, social and further environmental dimensions need to be improved in the plans for tourism development in Kalajoki.

Special challenges in tourism development include seasonality, the community's role and local participation in planning. One key question deals with empowerment: what kind of development will improve tourism in Kalajoki and, at the same time, how can local people's participation in tourism planning be increased. The paper suggests that there is a diversity of interests, motives and values of different groups as well as institutional differences in the planning process. Balancing the different interests and integrating tourism into the regional development process is essential. Thus, this paper focuses on giving an overview of tourism planning and sustainability by identifying stakeholders and their roles and giving a regional perspective of the planning process.

Stakeholders in tourism planning

In several tourism studies it has been emphasised that the stakeholders and the restructuring of relationships in the tourism system needs to be known to be able to achieve sustainability in planning. Stakeholders include the tourism industry, authorities (e.g. in planning, protection, culture, industry and land use) and local people (e.g. Hardy & Beeton 2001, McCool et al. 2001). According to Hassan (2000) it is relevant to identify the present planning and management system of tourism (figure 1).

The other essential parts are the partnership and cooperation systems and especially what kind of obstacles there might be in these relationships. Last but not least is the dilemma of the concept of 'sustainable' itself. The general notion in the recent tourism literature is the abstract meaning of sustainable tourism. According to many researcher there has been confusion and disagreement over what the principles of sustainable tourism really are in the context of tourism and how they may put into practise (e.g. Hall and Lew 1998, p. 30, Mowforth and Munt 1998, Saarinen 2001). So it is obvious that the knowledge of sustainable tourism among stakeholders plays an important role in its implementation.

Sustainable tourism involves collaboration and partnerships; they are both tools for achieving sustainable outcomes. At the same time they are symbolic of new ways of working (Robinson 1999).

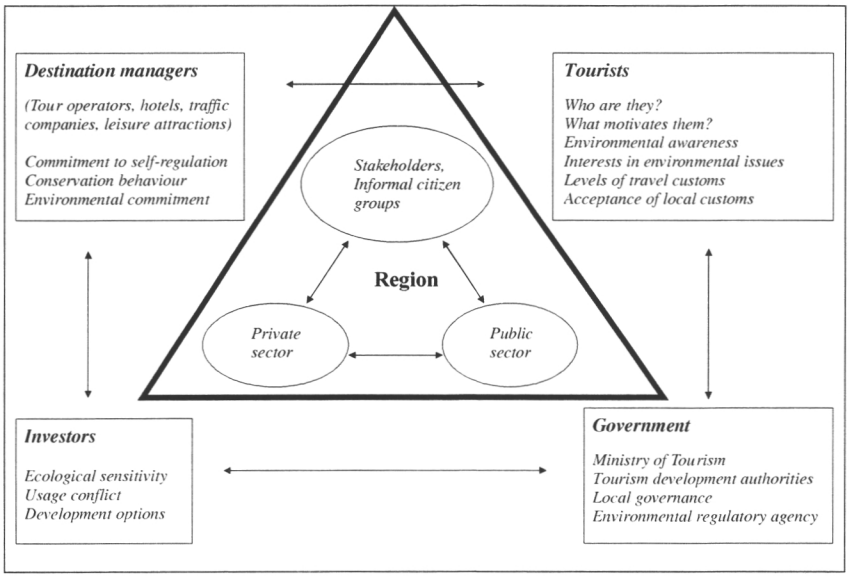

Figure1. Relationship-based paradigm of sustainable tourism (Hassan 2000).

According to Hall (2000) and Hall & Page (2002), sustainable development principles in planning and in operation need a cooperative and integrated control system, development of industry, a coordination mechanism, raising consumer awareness, raising producers awareness and strategic planning to supersede conventional approaches.

With regard to these principles there are several points which this research focuses on in the Kalajoki case:

i. What is the tourism control and coordination system in Kalajoki?
ii. What is tourism relationship to other industries in the area?
iii. How can local residents participate in tourism development?
iv. Different stakeholders' awareness of sustainable tourism and their different motivations for commitment.

Research method

The survey in this study used quantitative data gathered in Kalajoki in spring 2003. This research was made together with another study, which examined the economic impacts of tourism, image and marketing in Kalajoki (Kutilainen 2004). Stakeholders were identified in four major groups: the tourism industry, local authorities, local residents and people who own summer cottages in Kalajoki.

The questionnaire consisted of three parts:
a) general opinion of tourism, for example:
   – positive and negative impacts of tourism
   – local peoples attitudes to tourism and how attitudes have changed
b) development and planning of tourism, for example:
   – tourism planning process
   – respondents' opinions of sustainable tourism
   – importance of developing environmental issues in companies
   – interest in the geographical quality/environment system
c) suggestions for development, for example:
   – using protected areas in tourism

Each stakeholder group had customised questions and statements. The questionnaire was sent by post to tourism entrepreneurs (hotel, restaurants, programme services, traffic, booking offices etc.), and to other industries connected with tourism (shops, other services etc.). All together some 160 companies were selected to study. After a second posting, 42 answers were received. Even though the response rate is not very high, 26 %, all the leading tourism companies were involved in the

research. The total number of tourism companies in the Kalajoki area is around 60.

The questionnaire was sent to authorities and stakeholders in the municipality. Stakeholders were officers in the city and in the municipal council, regional planners, training institutes etc. The demand side was addressed by people who own summer cottages in the area and that group constitutes the biggest respondent group with a total of 200 respondents. The questionnaire was sent to local people selected by a random sample of all residents 18 years of age or older in the Kalajoki municipality (table 1).

Kalajoki tourism destination

The Kalajoki tourism destination is situated on the northern reaches of the Gulf of Bothnia. There are 9 097 residents. The branches of industry are divided into agriculture and forestry 20 %, industry and building 28 % and services 48 %. Thus, the main industry is services. The strength of the municipality is its diversified industries, good connections and location and positive municipality image. The weakness include too few jobs for females, indebtedness of the municipality and lack of accomplished population (Kalajoen kaupunki 2003).

The number of overnight stays in Kalajoki in 2002 was some 220 000 of which over 90 % occurred in summertime. The camping site is one of the most popular camping sites in Finland with 100 000 overnights. Tourism is mostly concentrated on the shore of the Hiekkasärkät area, some 8 km from the centre of Kalajoki (figure 2). Beside the core area, Hiekkasärkät, there are protected areas e.g. a bird area in Letto, Rahja archipelago, an old fisherman community in the Kalla islands, and a cultural area in Plassi (Rautiainen 12.5.2003).

Municipality of Kalajoki has made extensive development plans to increase the amount of tourism in the area. As the tourism season is

Table 1. Research groups and data in Kalajoki.

Groups	Number of questionnaires		Data
	Sent	Answered	%
Entrepreneurs (tourism and others industries)	163	42	26
Authorities	27	14	52
Owners of summer cottages	518	209	40
Local people	385	124	32
Total	1039	389	35

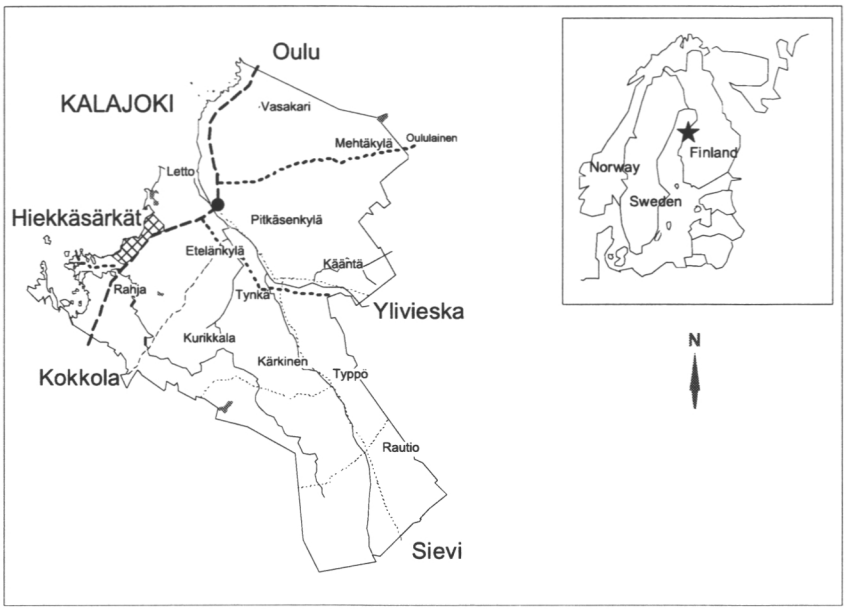

Figure 2. Kalajoki tourism destination.

highly concentrated in summertime, this seasonality has been seen as one of main targets to develop. The problems are overuse of nature and the environment in the summer season.

Tourism is one of the main developing industries in Kalajoki's municipal development plan. The total turnover in tourism is 17 million euros. It is the fifth biggest industry creating employment for some 128 people full-time, 26 part-time and 302 seasonal workers (Kutilainen 2004). The Municipality of Kalajoki has made a tourism development strategy, the "Marepolis-strategy", which has the main aim to increase overnights from the current 220 000 to 350 000 by the end of 2006 and further up to 560 000 overnights by the end of 2010. To achieve this, the accommodation capacity is planned to increase from the current 3 200 to 7 500 beds by the year 2013 (table 2) (Nordinfo 2003).

Even though this table was not included in the most recent tourism strategy (2003), the numbers show that there is a new stage in tourism in Kalajoki. This stage includes a huge investment in tourism infrastructure, mostly accommodation, and the development of the core tourism area in Hiekkasärkkä. At the same time the municipality and developers have to consider the impacts of tourism development on the sensitive nature and moreover, to maintain and manage the main attraction: nature. The demand for sustainable development is not strongly emphasised in the Kalajoki tourism strategy for nothing.

Table 2. Tourism development plans in Kalajoki 2001, 2006 and 2010 (Marepolis 2001).

	Present situation (2001)	Target 2006	Target 2010
Overnights	220 000	350 000	560 000
Accommodation capacity in commercial use	2 000 beds	3 000 beds	4 500 beds
Tourism turnover	17 million euros	24 million	40 million

Previous tourism studies from Kalajoki

Previous research at the end of the 1990s has focused on specific areas or segments in Kalajoki. The Hiekkasärkät area has been researched in quite a lot of detail, e.g. tourism in Hiekkasärkät (Kemi and Mäkinen 1995) and the nature of Hiekkasärkät (Jämbäck 1995). Other tourism studies made recently have focused on residents' attitudes towards tourism in Kalajoki (Vesterinen 1995) and the archipelago of Rahja (Mikkilä 2000).

The companies in Kalajoki have made follow-up studies of quality by interviewing tourists in summertime and the local tourism institute's students have made several small-scale studies of tourism in Kalajoki. However, what is needed is a study that would give a comprehensive view of tourism in the Municipality of Kalajoki and guidelines for future development work.

Tourism and local participation in Kalajoki

The impacts of tourism were considered in the context of a sustainable framework – tourism impacts on the economy, culture and environment in the Municipality of Kalajoki. The most significant impact according to respondents was the positive publicity and, connected to that, the positive image which tourism creates for Kalajoki (figure 3). The second-most important impact is the positive effect on the economy, and the overall regional development in Kalajoki.

All the respondents emphasised the economic importance of tourism. Tourism provides jobs for over 200 people and is an essential part of the service industry in the whole community giving recreation facilities for local people as well. Tourism creates employment possibilities especially for female and young people in summertime. The basic industries

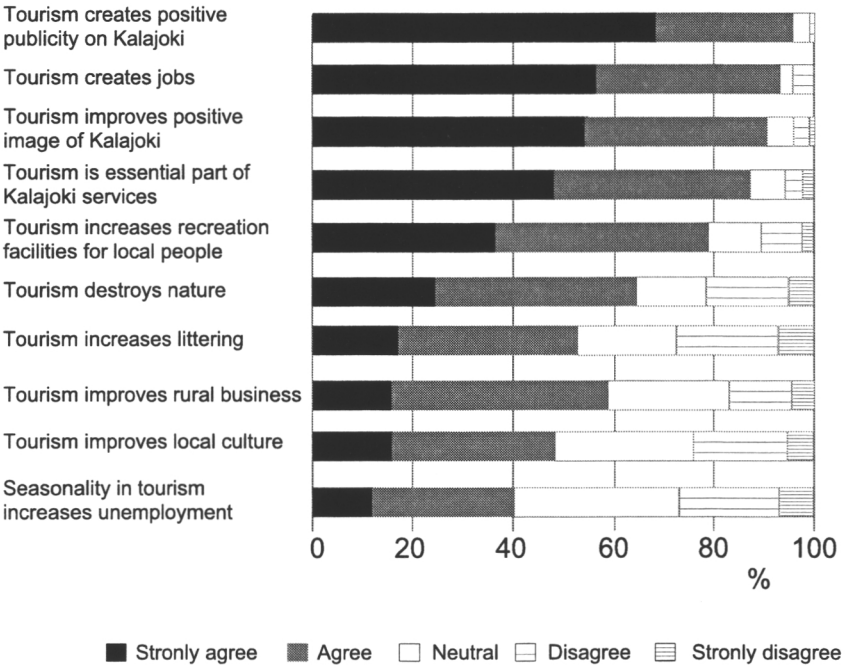

Figure 3. Impacts of tourism in Kalajoki.

in Kalajoki are agriculture and forestry, so employment possibilities for females are a most welcome addition.

Tourism's influence on local culture or, in a wider view, on other industries in the area has not been very considerable. Especially the local people's opinion was that tourism has been developed separately from other services and, moreover, the local knowledge and resources have not been used enough. Perhaps one reason for this is that the development work occurs in projects and, as usual, not enough knowledge is transferred from previous projects to new ones. The other feature is that the project managers come from outside the municipality and contact with local experts and essential persons may take a long time.

Altogether, even though local people had critical opinions about tourism development, their attitude toward tourism was overall very positive. Only 10 % of local people had a negative attitude toward tourism. This kind of situation provides a good basis for cooperation with authorities and tourism industry in future.

Besides positive impacts, respondents were asked to give negative impacts of tourism. The most common answer was the concern that tourism destroys the sensitive nature in the Hiekkasärkät area. Local people and summer cottage owners feel that this huge tourism construction and increased tourist volume will have a negative effect on the nature and landscape in Hiekkasärkät.

The other concern, especially among local people, was the municipality's strong economic investment in tourism at the cost of other services. Investment into Hiekkasärkät during 2001–2002 was around 25 million euros; the municipality's share was 7 million euros. The tourism strategy for 2010 includes a 125-million-euro investment (Rautiainen 2003). At the same time basic services, e.g. maintenance of public roads or suspension of village schools, are under serious discussion.

The planning of tourism was studied in relation to sustainability; equal participation in planning and use of local tourism resources of nature and culture. Special attention was given to tourism's geographical and seasonal concentration (figure 4).

One of the interesting features of tourism in Kalajoki according to respondents is the strong regional concentration on Hiekkasärkät. This can been seen to be ecologically and socially problematic. All the main companies and activities are in the tourism core area, Hiekkasärkät. Especially local people mentioned that the tourism services in the centre of Kalajoki and in other villages should be developed too. Rural areas and culture heritage should be more integrated with tourism in order to have a comprehensive view of tourism planning and development in Kalajoki.

The other significant feature is that the local people feel they have not been heard in tourism development. This is quite a justified opinion as the municipality has the essential role in tourism planning and along

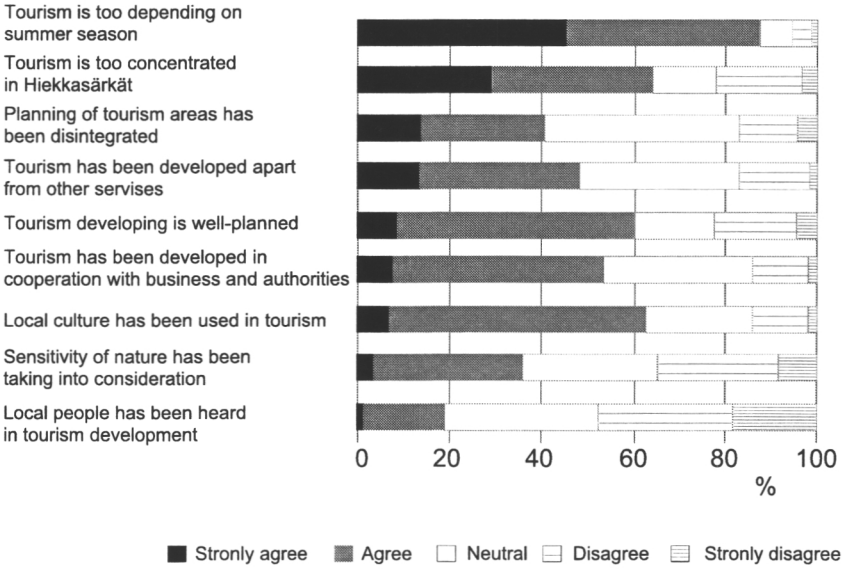

Figure 4. Tourism planning and development in Kalajoki.

with that public tax money is used for tourism. A common answer was *"that all the development happens just for the tourists."*

Respondents were asked to give opinions about sustainable tourism. The term "sustainable tourism" was defined as " tourism that takes into consideration the impacts on economy, environment and local culture. Sustainability emphasises long-term, comprehensive and equal participation." These answers were studied in more detail in order to find whether there are differences between the respondent groups.

Less than half of all respondents felt that tourism has been developed in a sustainable way (figure 5). The authorities were most likely to agree that tourism in Kalajoki has already been developed in a sustainable way. Local people and entrepreneurs had the most disagreeable opinions. Overall, the respondent groups agreed on the benefits of sustainable tourism: competitive advantage over other tourism destinations.

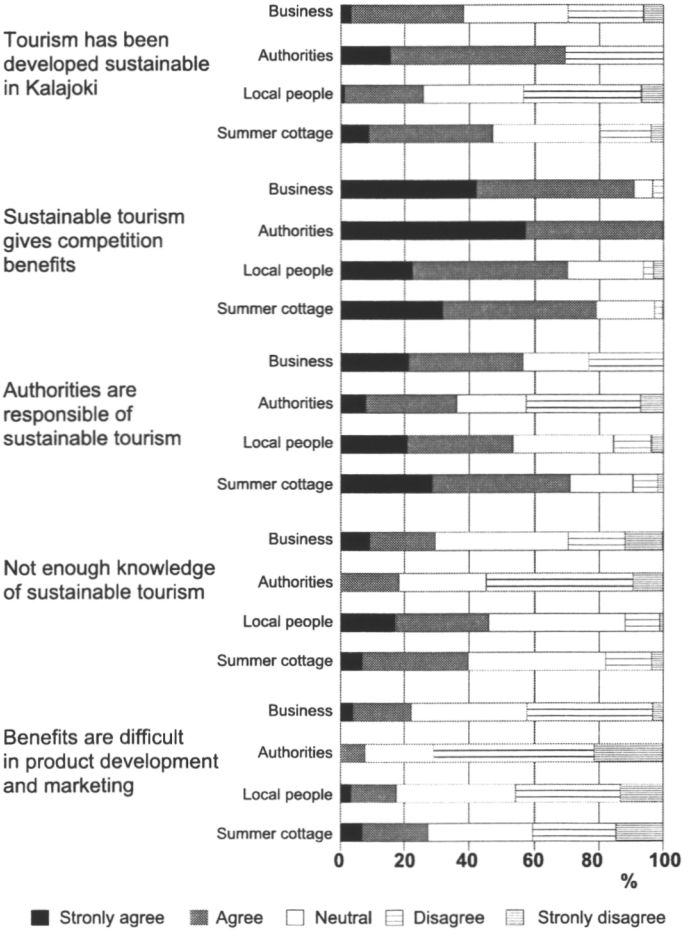

Figure 5. Respondents'opinions of sustainable tourism in Kalajoki.

The common difficulty in sustainable tourism, the knowledge of sustainable and the usage on sustainable tourism benefits in marketing, are not as wide as might be. Tourism entrepreneurs and summer cottage owners agreed more often than other groups that authorities are responsible for sustainable tourism. Corresponding to that, knowledge of sustainable tourism seems to be biggest among authorities respondents.

Tourism development dilemma in Kalajoki?

Figure 6 illustrates one of the basic development dilemmas in Kalajoki. In order to have a viable tourism industry in Kalajoki and economically sustainable development, there is a need to extend the tourism season as the high peak season lasts only about 8 weeks. The main attraction in Kalajoki is the Hiekkasärkät beach area and (almost) all the activities are connected to the summer season. The seasonality of tourism has further impacts in employment and income. There are investment plans to develop new tourism products such as theme activities for off-peak seasons, or to market the quality surroundings for congresses and meetings. These plans mostly include new accommodation capacity, like hotels and new holiday cottages. When planning new buildings and other tourism infrastructure in the area, the environmental dimension and carrying capacity of the fragile environment, such as the Hiekkasärkät dune landscape, should be considered.

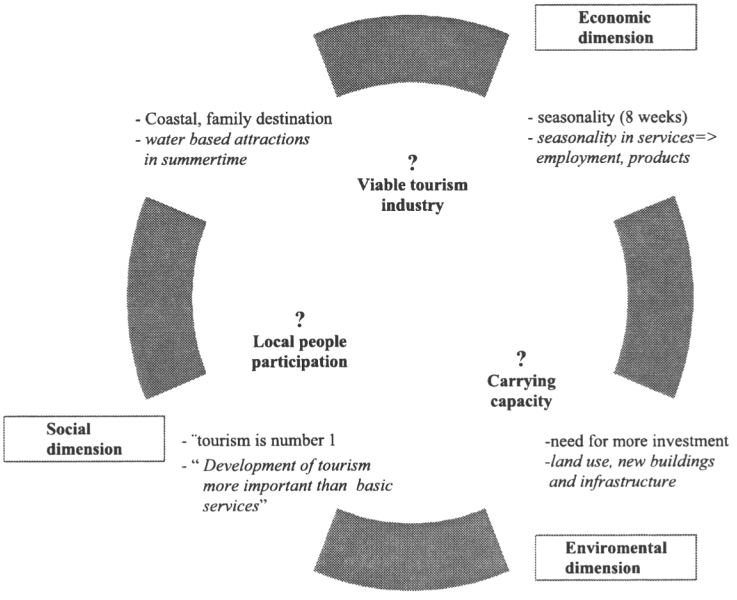

Figure 6. Sustainable dimensions in Kalajoki tourism development.

The Municipality of Kalajoki is a part owner of one of the biggest tourism companies, the limited company Hiekkasärkät, which includes a camping site, amusement park and spa. The role of the municipality in the tourism business has been seen to be confusing, especially in local people's answers. "*The municipality's task is to support all industries equally and not to act as 'entrepreneur'*" was one common comment.

The other concern is that the municipality has made a tourism development budget and is thus using a lot of public tax income for tourism. This causes a critical attitude among local people. They feel that the municipality is spending too much effort on tourism and that the economy is becoming too dependent on a sensitive industry, as tourism is. This mistrust is partly because local people feel that they do not have the possibility to participate in tourism development or that they do not know enough about the tourism development plans.

Conclusion and discussion

The paper has presented the diversity of interests of different stakeholder groups in tourism planning in Kalajoki. The ability of local planners and actors to respond to sustainable principles – well being of local the community and a viable tourism industry – is essential and thus tourism development has to be viewed in a boarder context. Sustainable tourism is about maximising economic returns while minimising negative cultural and environmental impacts. In Kalajoki's present development stage, which aims to increase tourism volume, one important aspect is to consider carrying capacity. This means not only the physical capacity of how much accommodation can be built but also the wider social capacity. Even though the attitude among local people is mainly positive, in this development stage it is only with local participation, local know-how and effective communication of information about tourism plans to locals that the antagonism can be overcome in Kalajoki.

The aim of this research was to study the tourism planning and stakeholders' roles in the tourism development process. In table 3 there are some key findings in the sustainable framework. In the economic aspect the development target in Kalajoki seems to be now growth-orientated and there is an urgent need for proactive planning in order to manage the environmental, economic and socio-cultural impacts of this tourism development. The scale of tourism development and infrastructure versus the limits of resources and carrying capacity is one of the most critical aspects in Kalajoki. The present growth in tourism has been done without any detailed environmental impact assessment.

Table 3. Sustainable development dimension of tourism planning in Kalajoki.

Dimension	Positive impact	Negative impact	Develop interest	Relationship (Stakeholders)
Economic	– Tourism generates local employment and well being – Tourism gives directly and indirectly positive impact to other industries – Increased tax income – New investments	– Seasonality in employment and income – Use of too much tax money on tourism (basic services suffering) – Services focusing on core area in Hiekkasärkät – Demand for new investments	– Distributing wealth fairly – New products (more local attractions and having a sense of place) – Scale of tourism development and infrastructure versus limits of resources and carrying capacity	*Tourism industry*
Socio-cultural	– Community well known – Revitalises life in summertime – New services – Creates recreational facilities for local people	– Local people's opinions are not heard – Irresponsible visitors (littering, crimes) – Overcrowding	– Participation – "Limits of growth" – Quality of life – Revival of local culture and heritage – Impact assessment	*Local people*
Environmental	– Increased awareness and concern for the nature and environment	– Erosion of sensitive nature on seashore – Littering – Overuse	– Management and preservation of nature resources – Limits of construction in Hiekkasärkät	*Management*
Political	– Political support for tourism industry	– Role of community authorities in tourism business -now as a "company"	– development for whole community (other villages) – shared definition of sustainability – guidelines and indicators – proactive planning, – training, education (use of tourism knowledge)	

There is a need for wider participation, more diverse opinions, and greater consideration of the needs and attitudes of tourism stakeholders in the planning process. The socio-cultural dimension emphasises that local authorities in the Kalajoki municipality should make participation of local people more possible. The role of the municipality in developing tourism and the use of public tax income causes negative opinions. Respondents argued that the knowledge from the outcomes of earlier tourism projects could be used more appropriately in present-day projects. Local experts and local know-how are not used very effectively. Increasing the use of local experts and local people would bring a more positive attitude and trust in tourism.

There is a need to assess tourism impacts regularly. The monitoring should include indicators to measure positive and negative impacts. This would include not only physical impacts but also tourism impacts on the local culture and heritage. And what is especially needed is to collect these results and to inform all the relevant stakeholders about tourism. One problem in development is the fragmentation of knowledge about tourism and the insufficient flow of information.

In terms of the political dimension, long-term planning and management are needed. Even though the tourism strategy is made for the next 10 years, there are only a few notions of cooperation with the public and private sector. In particular, cooperation between tourism and environmental policies and culture policy as well are needed. Training institutes and projects have an important role in this.

The question of the quality of tourism underlies this development process. That is, ensuring a quality experience for tourists in well-maintained nature and having the local people and their culture benefit from tourism rather than having tourism destroy it.

One of the most important features is to achieve a situation where tourism resources can be maintained properly: to offer tourists quality surroundings and to encourage local people's well being equally. The tourism planning mechanism in Kalajoki is shifting towards a more collaborative direction. The Marepolis strategy was made in cooperation with authorities and the private tourism sector, and the results and experience was seen to be very successful. One concrete finding from studying the attitude of local people is the importance of making authorities and planners understand the complexity of tourism.

References

Hall. C.M. 2000. Tourism planning, policies, processes and relationships. Pearson Education Limited, Essex. 232 p.

— & Lew, A. 1998. Sustainable Tourism. A geographical perspective. Pearson Education Limited. Essex. 236 p.

Hardy, A.L & Beeton, R.J.S. 2001. Sustainable tourism or maintainable tourism: managing resources for more than average outcomes. Journal of Sustainable Tourism 9(3): 162–192.

Hassan, S.S. 2000. Determinants of market competitiveness in an environmentally sustainable tourism industry. Journal of Travel Research 38: 239–245.

Kalajoen kaupunki 2003. Elinkeinostrategia vuoteen 2010 ja kehittämisohjelma 2003–2006. Kaupunginvaltuustolle 30.1.2003. Kalajoki.

Kemi, T. & Mäkinen, A. 1995. Kalajoen hiekkasärkkien matkailu. Tutkimusraportti I. Nordia tiedonantoja 1: 2–74.

Kinnunen, I. 2001. Ympäristönsuunnittelu – ongelmallinen kokonaisuus. Arvio kuntien ympäristöm suunnittelun tilasta ja kehityksestä. Acta Universitatis Ouluensis A 368. 183 p.

Ko, J. T.G. 2001.Assessing progress of tourism sustainability in Annals of Tourism Research 28(3): 817–820.

Kutilainen, S. 2004. Kalajoen matkailun kehittäminen: Matkailun aluetaloudelliset vaikutukset vuonna 2001 Kalajoella. Nordia Tiedonantoja (in press).

Jämbäck, J. 1995. Kalajoen Hiekkasärkkien alueen luonno tila. In: Riikkonen, H. (ed.). Kalajoen Hiekkasärkkien luonto. Tutkimusraportti II. Nordia tiedonantoja 2/1995. Oulun yliopisto, maantieteen laitos. p. 3–61.

Marepolis 2001. Kalajokiseudun matkailun kehittämissuunnitelma. Kalajoki 1.10.2001.

McCool, S. F. & Moisey R. N. & Nickerson, N. P. 2001. What should Tourism Sustain? The Disconnect with Industry Perception of Useful Indicators. Journal of Travel Research 40: 124–131.

Mikkilä, T. 2000. Perämeren Rahjan saariston virkistyskäyttö. Pro gradu tutkielma. Oulun yliopisto, maantieteen laitos.

Mowforth, M. & Munt, I.1998. Tourism and sustainability – new tourism in the Third World, Routledge. London. 363 p.

Nordinfo 2003. Kalajoki mahdollisuuksien mukaiseen kuntoon 2020. Kalajoen Hiekkasärkkien ydinalueen toiminnallinen suunnittelu. Strategiapäivitys kesäkuu 2003 (unpublished report).

Rautiainen, V. 2003. Matkailu Kalajoen kaupungin elinkeinorakenteessa. Esitelmä Matkailun verkostoyliopiston kurssilla 12.5.2003. Kalajoki.

Robinson, M. 1999. Collaboration and Cultural Consent: Refocusing sustainable tourism in Journal of Sustainable tourism 7(3&4): 379–397.

Saarinen, J. 2001. The Transformation of a Tourist Destination. Theory and Case Studies on the Production of Local Geographies in Tourism in Finnish Lapland. Nordia Geographical Publications 30(1). 105 p.

Vesterinen, N. 1995. Attitudes of residents towards tourism in Kalajoki. KKTOL Matkailuinstituutti with Svenska handeshögskolan I Vasa.

Saarinen, J. & Hall, C.M. (eds) 2004. Nature-Based Tourism Research in Finland: Local Contexts, Global Issues. Finnish Forest Research Institute, Research Papers 916: 129–150.

Selling waterscapes?

Anja Tuohino and Kati Pitkänen

Introduction

> *Water – the ace of elements. Water dives from the clouds without parachute, wings or safety net. Water runs over the steepest precipice and blinks not a lash. Water is buried and rises again; water walks on fire and fire gets the blisters. Stylishly composed in any situation – solid, gas or liquid – speaking in penetrating dialects understood by all things – animal, vegetable or mineral – water travels intrepidly through four dimensions, sustaining, destroying and creating. Always in motion, eve-flowing, rhythmic, dynamic, ubiquitous, changing and working its changes, a mathematics turned wrong side out, a philosophy in reverse, the ongoing odyssey of water is virtually irresistible. (Robbins 1976)*

Increasingly, individuals are finding active participation and self-fulfilment an important part of their everyday lives which, in turn, is reflected in their consumer behaviour whereby people seek experiences and emotions (see Opaschowski 1995, Jensen 1999). Arguably, traditional values related to physical well-being have been replaced by values based on feelings and knowledge. Therefore, tourism constitutes an ideal environment for such experiences. Conceivably, through travel, the inner world of consciousness and the outer world of experience can be reconciled (Graburn 2002).

The purpose of this study is to identify how a landscape can be translated into a memorable experience. To achieve this, we will identify and explore some human perceptions, concepts and values associated with landscape. The focus of the study is water landscapes, later referred to as *waterscapes*. The study uses a semiotic approach to analyse the meanings attached to water. According to Saussure's (see Culler 1994) semiotic theory, water can be seen as a sign constructed from an abstract signifier, namely the word "water", and the meanings added to it. Using

signs is cognitive as well as social in nature. People learn to associate images and meanings with the abstract signifiers and use the formed signs according to the rules of the society and the culture they live in. Besides being cultural, the use of signifiers is also contextual. Different signifiers are used to signify the same object depending on the discourse (Tarasti 1990, Veivo and Huttunen 1999). In this paper the semiotic approach is applied by addressing the cognitive and value-related elements of the meanings in addition to the perceptual and spiritual ones.

In this paper we are trying to answer the questions: How are the meanings attached to water similar and how are they different? How do people create personal bonds to the landscape? Do people have strong personal attachments to waterscapes? These questions will bring new information on water-related human values as well as on people's relationship to waterscapes. These perspectives can be seen as applicable for the needs of tourism marketing in the Finnish Lakeland. The results will help tourism management and marketing to better respond to the emotional and value-related needs of the tourists.

Waterscapes as a human experience

"Waterscapes"

The word 'landscape' is polysemous. In the geographical landscape research in the last few decades most attention has been paid to interpretations and descriptions of the landscape. The discursive landscape construed through descriptions as well as landscape experiences have been raised to the same level with the 'objective' landscape observable through the senses (Karjalainen 1995, 1996). The observed landscape is based on what is seen, heard and smelled. A perception cannot, however, be a mere physical, objective experience; it is rather created through our interpretation of what is observed and is therefore inseparable from subjectivity (Karjalainen 1995, Kanninen 1993). Similarly, all interpretation is arguably not only individual but also cultural (Karjalainen 1995, 1996).

Landscapes are all about meanings individuals and cultures attach to them. The routines of our daily lives concentrate in the space surrounding us and the originally neutral environment becomes a meaningful place (Stedman 2002, Haarni et al. 1997, Karjalainen 1986, Tuan 1979, 1977, Relph 1976). Outsiders and participants experience the same landscape differently. To the participant, the landscape is a place, part of the participant, while the outsider looks at the landscape from a distance. The outsider pays attention to the visually prominent aspects of

the landscape without a personal relationship with what she sees. What is important in the interpretation of a landscape experience is how the elements of the landscape are seen, not what particular elements a given landscape contains (Raivo 1995, Park 1994, Hudman and Jackson 1990, Tani 1996, Relph 1976, Meinig 1979).

Water is a unique material in nature. It is a different element from land and takes the central role in many myths regarding the shape of the world. Water is necessary and, at the same time, mysteriously dangerous (Barthes 1957/1994). The ability of water to form vistas has made it a desirable element of the landscape. As a primary element of the landscape, water can attain a number of different forms, waterscapes. These include, for example, the sea, lake, river, well, pond, waterfall or even a glacier.

Waterscapes are comprehended through our thinking that utilises their historical forms and deeper meanings. In the Finnish context, for example, sensing a lake landscape imbues it with a sense of familiarity that in turn reinforces the experience. "*You can meet your lake over and over again, different but still similar, where it should be, in the same place*". (Lehtinen 2001). Interaction creates the spirit of the lake and puts the lake landscape somewhere between culture and wild nature (Pitkänen 2003).

Since the late 1960s, perceptual preference research has described the presence of water as a strong positive contributor to perceived landscape attractiveness (Burmil et al. 1999). There has also been a lot of research on landscape aesthetics on the meaning of water and different waterscapes. For example, Appleton (1996) notes that waterscapes offer ideal compositions of prospect and refuge and thereby have an "aesthetic potential."

Besides preference research, waterscapes have been researched as tourism destinations (e.g. Morgan 2002, Dredge 2001). Waterscapes are globally important as tourism attractions. Today beaches are the main focus of global holiday tourism and have become an icon of 'dreams', a 'paradise' consisting of an unspoilt environment with beautiful people (Holden 2001). The first International Lake Tourism Conference, held in the summer 2003, looked more closely at the dilemma of lakes in tourism. In the conference, lakes were approached as destinations, setting for different destinations as well as destination resources, while the marketing of lakes and lake images was also discussed (see Härkönen 2003).

Tourism and recreation in waterscapes have also been researched as a human experience. For example, Bricker and Kerstetter (2002) and Schroeder (1996) have focused on the meanings the tourists add to the environment when they use it. Hudson (2002) has researched

the fulfilment of tourist expectations of a waterfall from the historical perspective. Tuohino and Pitkänen (2003) have studied the images and meanings potential tourists add to waterscapes represented in photographs. In general, water as a part of the landscape can be both a source of aesthetic attraction and a primary support for recreation activities. Besides various water-based activities, experiencing water can also be relatively passive, as in viewing the scenery or enjoying a cool, shady respite (Burmil et al. 1999).

Waterscapes are the result of interpretation of what is perceived through different senses. Experiencing a waterscape may involve a bodily experience, like swimming or rowing, but a waterscape experience can also be originated through memories and feelings. It can be said that like landscape, waterscape is a complex entity of meanings attached to the different elements it consists of. The meanings vary from place to place, from time to time and from person to person. Thus, waterscape is a human phenomenon, emerging from the interplay between the observer, the water and the use of water and it can be experienced and interpreted in many different ways, as nature, cultural activities, dwelling-place, system, problem, welfare, ideology, history, location, or aesthetic experience (see Raivo 1995, Park 1994, Hudman and Jackson 1990, Tani 1996, Relph 1976, Meinig 1979).

Attachment to waterscapes

Understanding the meanings of landscape involves understanding the value constructs hidden in them. It has been stated, that by addressing the meanings humans overlay upon physical environment researchers can gain knowledge as to how humans relate to or value nature (Bricker and Kerstetter 2002). In geography, the values and meanings humans relate to the environment have often been addressed by the concept of the "sense of place."

Yi-Fu Tuan (1974) defined the sense of place as a special bond originating from the interplay between an individual and a particular place. This bond, according to him, "*takes many forms and varies greatly in emotional range and intensity*" (Tuan 1974, p. 247). The sense of place has been interpreted as a social concept which, however, can also be seen as an individual phenomenon because of its strong relation to individual values. It refers to an identification of a person with the place she interacts with, thus to a positive sense of oneness, feeling of attachment to the place.

While the "sense of place" can be also equated with the identity of a place, we will use "place attachment" as the focus of our study (see

Moisey and McCool 2001, Meyer 2001, Walsh et al. 2001, Hall and Page 1999, Shamai 1991, Eyles 1985, Tuan 1979, Relph 1976, Tuan 1974). According to Stedman (2002), place attachment, or the meanings of a place and attachment to it held by an individual, is increasingly garnering attention in academic writing. People attribute meanings to places and in turn become attached to the meanings. Like Tuan (1974), Stedman also interprets place attachment as a bond between people and their environment, but adds that the bond rests mainly on cognition and beliefs. Similarly, Bricker and Kerstetter (2002) see place attachment as being generated through a variety of individual and social perceptions and experiences. Hence, attachment and meaning are considered as the central elements of the sense of place. They are empirically separable but intertwined in individuals' comprehension as well as in academic research. According to Stedman (2002), however, both attachment and meanings deserve academic interest individually as well.

In the context of place attachment, water gains special environmental meanings and tends to be highly desired by humans. Places with water can be seen, for example, as refuges, though not only for humans, but also for aquatic creatures, birds and wildlife. The juxtaposition of water and land creates contrasts and high diversity (Burmil et al. 1999). In our study of waterscape meanings we suggest that, like in the case of place attachment, there is a special bond between a person and the landscape. Thus, we assume that by attaching meanings to the landscape an individual creates a special bond between her and the waterscape.

Selling waterscapes to tourists

Travel is movement in space from one place to another. Travel then responds to an individual's longing for freedom and identity, separating him from his everyday environment, while at the same time it is connected with hopes and expectations that the destination would become a meaningful place. People look for places that differ from their usual surroundings physically as well as socially. On the other hand, they look for the secure and well-known, for a 'home away from home' (Tuohino and Uusi-Illikainen 1997, Hemmi and Vuoristo 1993, Uzzell 1984, Crompton 1979, Tuan 1977).

People's needs to escape from the everyday life into a (new) meaningful place are responded to by the travel industry, which markets places for recreational purposes. Tourism marketing sells trips and images of places that are considered attractive. According to Uzzell (1984, p. 84), the image communicated to a potential traveller "*...is an image of something he wants to be, to have, to experience, or to achieve.*"

The role of meanings and place attachments in tourism marketing can be considered through the concept of a mental image. The images play a more and more important role in choosing a destination. According to Morgan and Pritchard (1998), they serve many functions on many different levels. Firstly, images can be used to communicate messages about particular places and products. Secondly, they can be used to redefine and reposition places and products. Thirdly, images can be used to counter negative, and enhance positive, perceptions of products, places and peoples. Finally, images and representations of products, places and peoples can be used to specifically target key market areas.These are all practical areas where promotion, through tourism imagery and representation, plays a vital role on the highly competitive and constantly changing market. Such images and representations are also, however, at work on a much deeper, and, arguably, much more significant level. Tourism processes have broad cultural meanings, which extend far beyond the actual consumption of tourism products and places. Tourism identities are packaged according to particular dominant value systems and meanings.

The messages conveyed through tourism marketing may contain various meanings and they can be interpreted in different ways using various interpretation strategies. In the marketing of landscapes, the scope of possible interpretations is limited by culturally determined expectations of how, for instance, different waterscapes should be interpreted (Lüthje 2001, Laws 1995). What we see, for example, in a tourist brochure is not determined by a picture or an item, but our need of interpretation, which is closely connected to our culturally biased individual values and thoughts (Kuusamo 1990).

Waterscapes represent an important venue for tourism because of their pleasantness as an environment and attractiveness as a landscape (see Burmil et al. 1999, Appleton 1996). Tuohino (2003) and Tuohino and Pitkänen (2003) have studied the images foreign tourists have on Finnish lakes and have argued that no matter the versatile meanings people attach to waterscapes, the marketing of tourism usually prefers to represent the Finnish lakes as free wilderness. Hence, the tourist is left outside the marketing images. Tuohino and Pitkänen suggest that adding subjective meanings, experiences and activities to the waterscape would help the potential tourist become more attached to the lakes. In their research on the history of marketing of Finnish Lakeland landscape Pitkänen and Vepsäläinen (2003a, 2003b) note, however, that conveying the wanted meanings is not that straightforward. The meanings have to be based on the physical reality as well as prevailing cultural and social interpretations of it.

Interviews

The data used in this study is a sample of a larger study called "Lakes and Images" that focuses on Italian and German respondents' images and thoughts on the Finnish Lake District. The survey, involving a sample of 152 interviews, was undertaken on the streets of Rome, Bologna and Milan in Italy on March 2003. In an attempt to get a representative cross-section of respondents, the surveys were completed at different times during the period. Systematic sampling (every third) was used. 53.9 % of the interviewed were female and the mean age of the respondents was 41 years. The survey instrument was a self-administered, four-page questionnaire that consisted of 35 questions. In the present study, only one Likert scale question and two open-ended questions are analysed.

In the first question of the analysis the Italian respondents were asked to rate on a 5-point scale the importance of water near their home/permanent place of residence. The alternatives ranged between very important and not important at all. The meaning of the question for this paper was that it outlined the degree of attachment the respondents had to waterscapes and thereby was useful in the further analysis of the meanings of water.

To find out what waterscapes meant to them, the respondents were asked the following question: "*Please describe in a few words what water means to you. You can describe your thoughts, feelings, memories and associations which come to your mind when you think of water near your home/permanent place of residence*". The question originated from Schroeder's (1996) research on residents' and visitors' place attachment in Michigan's Black River area. Later the same question was used, for example, by Bricker and Kerstetter (2002) in their research on special place meanings whitewater recreationists connect to the South Fork of the American River. Both Schroeder and Bricker and Kerstetter found the question useful in identifying the effective components forming the bond between the individual and the environment. In this paper, besides the effective components, the degree of affection was also taken into account. Thus, the results of the first question were analysed as a part of the second one.

Finally, because of the abstract nature of the word (signifier) 'water', we had to come up with another question to "locate the responses on the map". Therefore, in the third question, the respondents were asked to specify the type of landscape they had attached the thoughts, feelings, memories and associations to. The references to the different types of waterscapes were then added to the meanings the respondents gave to water.

Water as a signifier of the landscape

What we found, as well as what we looked for, was not any concrete place locations or features of the landscape, but the meanings and values that the respondents associated with water. In the analysis, following Saussure's (see Culler 1994) semiotics, "water" is seen as an abstract signifier, a simple word, with which the respondents associated certain environmental images, meanings and values. The signifier and the meanings then originated a sign that intertwined landscape and water in a historical way. Thus, the meanings and values apparent in the responses were individual as well as cultural. The historical and individual nature of the sign was taken into consideration in the study. The focus of the analysis, however, was the sign itself, which means that the meanings referred to in the responses were analysed in reference to water and, moreover, to the landscape.

One of the most descriptive observations of the data is that water is seen as a very important element of human surroundings. As Burmil et al. (1999, p. 103) states, *"places with water, in the context of place attachment, gain special environmental meanings and tend to be highly desired by humans"*. In the study the respondents found having water near their home/residential area important. Altogether 27.6 % replied that water was very important, 17.1 % relatively important, 9.2 % couldn't say and 12.5 % replied water was rather meaningless. No one replied that water would have no significance at all and one third did not answer the question.

In the coding process, the responses were coded into categories that described the meanings they reflected. Each response was coded into all suitable categories. Out of all the nodes, a node standing for a singular coding of a response, 94 connoted to an emotional attachment with the landscape (see table 2), 90 to a sensory perception (see table 3), 58 to an intellectual comprehension (see table 4), 40 to certain activities done in the landscape and 26 to a memory or a dream (see table 5). Each response usually belonged to more than one of the categories, but especially the categories of emotions and physical sensations were likely to occur together (altogether in 51 responses).

In general, the Italians had a very emotional attachment to water. The attachment, however, was also affected by sensory perceptions. Out of all the respondents who thought water was a very important element of home/residential area, one fourth described the landscape with emotional terms and equally many with references to sensory perceptions. Many of those who thought water was relatively unimportant also used different sensory perceptions to describe the meanings water had for them. The strength of the attachment, however, cannot be considered to

have differed noticeably between the categories.

The only exception was the category of memories. Namely, to those who had a strong attachment to landscape memories played a bigger role than to those whose attachment was not so strong. Ohta (2001) has also confirmed the importance of memories in relation to landscape attachment. He studied the interaction between the landscape and memories of scenes in the past and observed that memories influence associations, impressions and aesthetic evaluations of the landscape and thereby regulate the landscape cognition as a whole.

Table 1. Categorisation of waterscapes.

	Responses (n=152)	
	All	Only
Sea	122	111
Lake	23	11
River	14	7

Besides the categories of attachment, categories of different type of landscapes were formed in the analysis. Meanings of sea, lake and/or river landscapes were coded from 143 responses out of 152 (see table 1). As expected, most answers proved to relate to sea landscape. From the 143 responses 122 connoted sea, 23 lake and 14 river so some of the responses could be associated to more than one type of waterscape. 111 answers referred only to sea, 11 to lakes and 7 to rivers. The salience of sea in Italian culture becomes obvious also when we look at the appreciation of the different types of waterscapes more closely. To the respondents, the closeness of sea was relatively more important than the closeness of other types of waterscapes. Similarly, the lake landscape was rated relatively more often as unimportant and rating its importance was also thought to be more difficult than with sea or rivers.

Emotions

The category of emotions was divided into 18 sub-categories (see table 2), which consisted of various positive and negative emotions the respondents reported to feel when they thought of water. The feeling of tranquillity was an especially common way of describing the feelings sea, lakes or rivers aroused. It was also often supplemented with mentions of physical relaxation. Tranquillity was equally often connected to all types of landscape. The second most often mentioned emotion, namely the feeling of freedom, however, was associated most often with the sea landscape. Responses like *"freedom, tranquillity"* were a common way of expressing the emotional attachment to the sea landscape.

Italians' attachment to water on the emotional level was very positive; for example, the respondents often simply mentioned that they

liked sea, rivers, lakes or water. The different types of landscapes were also seen as arousing the feelings of joy and happiness. The landscapes were also seen as socially important by conveying feelings of togetherness, friendship and love. One respondent summarised the social role of sea: *"Waterscape reminds me of summer holidays, sea, beach and family. Later, from the adult age, it brings to my mind the first loves and the feeling of freedom which only sea can convey"*.

Because of the ambiguity of the responses, some of the meanings were difficult to code into any special category. Such were, for example, responses like: "*peace, well-being*" or "*I feel well also on the seaside*",

Table 2. Classification of emotions.

Emotions	94	
Tranquillity	49	*"I like water[scape], because it makes me think peaceful and relaxing thoughts."*
Freedom	19	*"Landscape with water is impressive, infinite, gives freedom."*
Liking	18	*"I like sea a lot, because I was born in Albania on the seaside."*
Well-being	7	*"I feel very good [in the waterscape]."*
Melancholy	7	*"It makes me sad."*
Joy	6	*"When I look at the waves of the sea I forget everything around me and joy washes through me."*
Cleanness and healthiness	5	*"A beautiful river reminds me of cleanness and the fish. It's not very clean here."*
Family	3	*"Waterscape reminds me of summer holidays, sea, beach and family. Later, from the adult age, it brings my mind the first loves and feeling of freedom which only sea can convey."*
Love and romance	3	*"Serenity, melancholy, scent of sea salt, love."*
Friendship	3	*"Water is life, richness, friendship and an irresistible desire to swim."*
Happiness	2	*"For me it is important, beautiful, relaxing, reminds me of happy holidays."*
Vitality	2	*"Well-being and vitality."*
Solitude	1	*"Waterscape reminds me of peacefulness, loneliness and melancholy."*
Dislike	1	*"I don't like sea or lakes too much, because I don't sail, dive or swim."*
Nervousness	1	*"Waterscape makes me nervous."*
Uneasiness	1	*"I'm out of my element, sea doesn't make me feel good."*
Birth and motherhood	1	*"The infinity [of the landscape], motherhood, birth, tranquillity."*
Exuberance	1	*"It [Waterscape] is relaxing…lakes and rivers remind me of exuberance and tranquillity."*

that refer to the meaning of well-being without, however, clearly referring to any special emotion, physical sensation or intellectual meaning. Besides the sub-category of well-being, also the categories of birth and motherhood as well as cleanness and healthiness proved too difficult to categorise. Therefore, at least for the present, they were coded into more than one of the categories.

The few respondents who expressed negative feelings often commented that the landscape made them feel sad and melancholic. In addition, one respondent said that waterscape brought her the feeling of loneliness, one described the feeling of nervousness and one mentioned it made her feel bad. Many of the respondents attached their feelings to a particular landscape or a landscape experience, but some expressed feelings attached to water in the broader sense of the word. These included meanings and feelings of cleanness and healthiness, exuberance as well as birth and motherhood. In general, it can be stated, however, that Italians' attachment to waterscape was emotional – derived from very personal feelings and/or experiences.

Sensory perceptions

The second most frequent way of describing the meanings of water was through sensory perceptions. The amount of the direct references to sights, smells and sounds do not, however, give the right picture of the importance of senses in the creation of an affective bond between an individual and the landscape. As Gretzel and Fesenmeier (2003) state, sensory information is usually very subconscious and is often less noticeably mentioned or described by individuals. Therefore, in our analysis the category of sensory perceptions was expanded to comprehend meanings which, one way or another, could be seen as originating from a sensory input. These included aesthetic valuation (sight) and landscape experiences (multiple senses). Also meanings of different seasons were included as sensory perceptions as they often seemed to refer to the sensations of summer and sun: *"For me it (waterscape) means summer, warmth, sun."*

The category of sensory perceptions had 15 sub-categories (see table 3) referring to the different sensations resulting from the respondent's interaction with the landscape. The most common way of describing the effect water had was relaxation of mind and body. One respondent described the effect of the sea: *"The sea relaxes me, I like water and feel well when there is moisture in the air."* The relaxing effect of water can be seen as a part of the image of water as a therapeutic landscape. Gesler (1993, p. 171) defines therapeutic landscapes as places with *"an endur-*

ing reputation from achieving physical, mental and spiritual healing". According to Wilson (2003) such symbolic aspects are often associated with places like spas, baths, destinations of pilgrimages and hospitals. In our data, water was obviously seen as symbolising healing and therapy. Besides the frequency of mentions of relaxation, also of well-being, cleanness and healthiness, exuberance and refreshment were associated with water.

Sight was, as it was expected, the most important sense in perceiving water and waterscapes. The sense of sight appeared in the answers as references to seeing or looking at water as well as images of a special sight or scenery. Seeing water was usually combined with other senses or emotions: *"A view of sea gives me a feeling of freedom and tranquillity which I cannot reach in any other place. This applies to calm as well as stormy sea landscape."* Very often, seeing the landscape also meant evaluating it with aesthetic terms. These included beautiful, lovely, inexplicable and sweet. The aesthetic evaluations appeared often together with the category of intellectual comprehension.

Even if seeing was a common way of perceiving water or any waterscape, some of the respondents commented how they smelled, tasted or heard water and some said they touched it or felt its movement. Experiences based on more than one of the senses were also common and some of the respondents even described a full experience or an atmosphere. One respondent described her attachment to sea with a dream: *"Water is life, movement and change. In my dreams I swim slowly in the livid sea towards the shoreline full of little lights. The miracle of sunrise above the sea makes my heart beat faster and I dream on."* Besides dreams, landscape experiences were often connected to a special memory of a certain location.

Sensory experiences were often connected to the sea landscape. Over 60 % of the responses both in the category of sea and river landscapes referred to some kind of sensory experience, whereas in the category of lake scenery less than half of the respondents described a sensory experience. Relaxation was the most frequent of all sub-categories. Individually, however, the sea landscape was relatively more often described as something to be seen whereas perceiving lakes and rivers involved a more multi-sensory landscape experience. As an interesting detail, time – in this case, season – was associated only with the sea landscape that was often seen and felt in the sunshine in summer.

Table 3. Classification of sensory perceptions.

Sensory perceptions	90	
Relaxing	31	*"The sea relaxes me, I like water and feel well when there is moisture in the air."*
Aesthetic valuation (positive)	22	*"I like the sea when the sun is setting, beautiful fountains also come to my mind."*
Sight	19	*"A view of sea gives me a feeling of freedom and tranquillity which I cannot reach in any other place. This applies to a calm as well as stormy sea landscape."*
Landscape experience and atmosphere	18	*"The freedom of the sea, walking on the sea side/ shore? in the evening, lots of people and events, also harbours with ships, seagulls and fishermen come to my mind.."*
Time experience (summer or winter)	10	*"For me it (waterscape) means summer, warmth and the sun."*
Smell	8	*"Serenity, melancholy, scent of sea salt, love."*
Sound	7	*"It is lovely to listen to the sound of the sea when it's quiet around, also during a storm."*
Well-being	7	*"Well-being and vitality."*
Cleanness and healthiness	6	*"Clean lakes, fresh wind, mountains and their reflections."*
Movement	5	*"Water is life, movement and change..."*
Touch	3	*"Softness, melancholy."*
Dirtiness	1	*"Too monotonous, dirty beaches, however, I really like the sea, lakes and rivers and canals."*
Moistness and mosquitoes	1	*"Moistness, mosquitoes."*
Refreshment	1	*"Waterscape reminds me of refreshing moments and having fun with the family."*

Intellectual comprehension

On the philosophical and spiritual level, water can be seen as a critical element of human existence. It is an essential part of our mythology and has historically been a part of rituals associated with the most fundamental aspects of human life such as birth, marriage and death (Burmil et al. 1999). Most of the intellectually comprehended meanings described by the respondents were connected to the symbolic and mythical dimension of water.

The category of intellectual comprehension had 20 sub-categories (see table 4). Meanings originating from a psychological or an intellectual interaction with water were coded into this category. Coded attributes included qualities of the landscape or water, symbolic mean-

ings attached to it as well as the psychological stimulation originating from a landscape experience. Most of the responses in this category can

Table 4. Classification of intellectual meanings.

Intellectual meanings	58	
Life	15	*"The sea, for me, is like the source of the perpetuity of life. It's always in motion."*
Self-perception	12	*"I feel that the sea can appeal subconsciously to my soul and feelings. The sea landscape makes me think and reminds me of the importance of life."*
Infinity	9	*"Infinity, peace, life, joy, the sunrise and sunset."*
Extraordinary	6	*"Waterscape is unexplainable, without words, extraordinary."*
Cleanness and healthiness	6	*"The town on the river or sea side, cleanness."*
Well-being	6	*"Peace, well-being."*
Profundity	4	*"Calmness, peacefulness, profundity, peace."*
Power	3	*"Definitely (brings to my mind) freedom, power and sweetness."*
Openness and clearness	2	*"Openness (of the landscape), a positive image."*
Harmony	2	*"A harmonious balance with nature."*
Out of one's element	2	*"I'm not "a man of the sea" but of the mountains. However, water is the source of life."*
Poetic	1	*"Poetic, relaxing."*
Unpredictability	1	*"The feeling of infinity. (Waterscape) is unpredictable, majestic, unexplored, relaxing. I've lived 10 years on the coast, so I can say that the sea is part of my life. When I want to relax I go to the sea."*
Change	1	*"Water is life, movement and change. In my dreams I swim slowly in the livid sea towards the shoreline full of little lights. The miracle of the sunrise above the sea makes my heart beat harder faster and I dream on."*
Birth and motherhood	1	*"The infinity (of the landscape), motherhood, birth, tranquillity."*
Richness	1	*"Water is life, richness, friendship and an irresistible desire to swim."*
Depth	1	*"(It reminds me of) the deepness and greatness of the world, how small a part of it we are. The moments of play and happiness."*
Uninteresting	1	*"The sea doesn't interest me at all. Lakes maybe a bit more."*
Perpetuity	1	*"For me, the sea is the source of the perpetuity of life, it's always in motion."*
Monotonous	1	*"Too monotonous, dirty beaches, however, I really like the sea, lakes and rivers and canals."*

be considered to reflect the abstract nature of the word 'water'. Therefore, the most common intellectual meaning mentioned was life. To many respondents, water meant the source of life: *"The sea, for me, is like the source of the perpetuity of life. It's always on the move."*

Almost as common as associating water with life were references to self-fulfilment and self-perception. The respondents felt that sea, lake and river landscapes were powerful psychological stimulants and perceiving them could direct their thoughts and feelings: *"I feel that the sea can appeal subconsciously to my soul and feelings. The sea landscape makes me think and reminds me of the importance of life."* Psychological stimuli was also apparent in some of the respondents' descriptions as a thought of becoming one with the landscape or being in one's element while being near water.

The qualities of sea, lakes and rivers were the source of meanings for some of the respondents. Waterscapes were described as infinite, inexplicable, open, clear, unpredictable, deep, harmonious, continuous, monotonous and even poetic. Quite surprisingly, the lake landscape was relatively more often described using intellectual or abstract terms than the sea or river landscapes. Lakes were seen inexplicable, clean and harmonious: *"A harmonious balance with nature."* In comparison, seas where thought to mean life, self-perception and infinity: *"Infinity, peace, life, joy, the sunrise and sunset."*

Active participation and memories.

The category of active participation had three sub-categories (see table 5). Vacation was coded as a way to actively participate in the landscape because of its ability to engage an individual in a special time-space relation. Thus, we decided to approach vacation as an active way of participating in the landscape. Vacation, as mentioned before, was usually hard to separate from the meaning of a memory. The respondents, while talking about vacation, usually referred to a past vacation: *"vacations on the sea shore when I was a child."* Besides vacation, active participation in a waterscape usually meant a water-based activity like sailing, diving or fishing or then having fun with friends or the family: *"Waterscape reminds me of refreshing moments and having fun with the family."*

In the attachment to a landscape, the role of memories is essential. Ohta (2001, p. 400) argues that *"childhood memories are given a considerable weight in landscape cognition."* Similarly, according to Gretzel and Fesenmaier (2003), memories of trips are a function of trip-related experiences. Vacations involve cognitive and sensory stimulations as well as affective responses to certain events and activities. The

conclusions of Gretzel and Fesenmeier applied to our findings as well. Namely, from the different activities mentioned by the respondents a big part was connected to a particular memory or even to a special holiday memory.

Besides the holiday, the memories of the respondents were usually connected to childhood and youth. They were often very nostalgic and happy. Some of the respondents seemed to have a nostalgic longing for the "good old times", whereas others mentioned their memories while describing how the meanings attached to the landscape had changed throughout the years: *"In my memories there's the sea where we used to go as children and which brought us joy. Nowadays I prefer the sea when there isn't anyone on the beach, because it makes me peaceful."* It is an interesting detail that the nostalgic longing was often a part of memories of childhood holidays. This indicates that some of the respondents had a very touristy attachment to sea, lakes and rivers. According to Dann (1996), tourism, by applying to the nostalgic emotions of the tourists, tries to recreate a past of childhood divested of responsibilities and an imagined landscape invested with all they (travellers) find missing in the modern world.

Meanings of active participation were most often connected to the sea and river landscapes. On the level of different activities, however, holiday was almost only associated with the sea landscape whereas the activities connected to lakes and especially to rivers were more specialised. In a similar fashion to activities, memories were also relatively often connected to rivers and seas. Interestingly, all the responses reflecting a special activity in the river landscape were also coded into the category of memories, which indicates that rivers were best remembered through certain activities, like fishing or sailing.

Table 5. Classification of active participation and memories.

Active participation	40	
Other activities	20	*"Relaxing, sports, passion for surfing, flying a kite on the beach."*
Holiday	19	*"Vacations on the sea shore when I was a child."*
Fun making	4	*"Waterscape reminds me of refreshing moments and having fun with the family."*
Memories	26	
Memories and dreams	26	*"In my memories there's the sea where we used to go as children and which brought us joy. Nowadays I prefer the sea when there isn't anyone on the beach, because it makes me peaceful."*

Waterscape as a challenge for tourism marketing

The analyses indicate that the meanings attached to water were complex. There is, however, an important theoretical point to be noticed before drawing any conclusions. Namely, our choice to use a semiotic approach highlights the importance of language as the transmitter/originator of the meanings as sign systems languages are culturally biased. In our research the original questionnaires were carried out in Italian and the responses were later translated into Finnish. The analysis was based on the translated versions. Therefore, it can be assumed that the analysed nuances of meanings are not necessarily the original ones meant by the respondents. Consequently, the categories formed in the analysis can only be considered as our interpretation of the complexity of meanings that the respondents associated with water.

The almost countless meanings the respondents associated with water reflect the ambiguity of landscapes. Contextualised by Italian culture and individuality, the meanings encompassed everything from remembering happy holidays on the seaside into pondering water as a mythical source of life. The one thing uniting all the meanings, however, was that water was seen as a very important element of human surroundings. Our findings show that the attachment the respondents had to all types of waterscapes was relatively strong.

The ways of becoming attached to waterscapes were diverse, too. The respondents bonded with waterscapes through their feelings, sensory perceptions and memories. Very often, however, the bond was highly emotional. Even if lived through senses, waterscape experiences were later translated into emotions. This was especially obvious in the descriptions of memories of such experiences. Therefore, it can be argued that the respondents had a personal relationship with water. Consequently, it can also be said that the relationship was that of a participant rather than an outsider (see e.g. Relph 1976).

As a conclusion of this study it can be stated that for Italians waterscape means primarily the sea landscape. The results also suggest that the meanings connected to lakes differ from those connected to the sea or rivers. Responses connected to the sea were slightly more often emotional than those connected to other waterscapes. Also, sensory perceptions were more often connected to the sea and river landscapes than to lakes. Lakes were relatively more often described with words connoting abstract intellectual meanings than the sea or rivers. Even though the meanings of the sea, river and lake were different, there were also several connective meanings. All the waterscapes were regarded as silent conveying the feeling of tranquillity as well as helping the perceiver to

relax. Relaxation, however, was attained in a different manner in a different waterscape.

The Italians saw lakes as inexplicable, clean and harmonious. Thus, lakes presented a natural landscape that could be perceived rationally. Listing different elements of a lake landscape and their qualities was common: *"Clean lakes, a fresh wind, mountains and their reflections"*. The sea, in contrast, meant a space of special memories of a holiday and personal history. For the Italians, the sea landscape was something to see, smell and hear until the perceiver reached the state of freedom and self-knowledge. One of the respondents said, describing her feelings: *"Water is a synonym of life. When I see the infinity of the sea in front of my eyes, I feel free. And almost immediately I feel the desire to dive and turn into the shades of green and blue."*

The meanings the Italians gave to lakes can be seen as a two-fold challenge for the tourism marketing of the Finnish Lakeland. Firstly, the respondents' comprehension of the lake landscape as natural supports the traditional marketing images, which consist of wilderness and activity experiences. The wilderness image of lakes, however, is an image of an outsider. Thus, the Italians' attachment to the landscape was created through sensory perceptions (esp. sight) and the bond became weak. Quite surprisingly, also water-related activities were comparatively unimportant in the place attachment process.

Secondly, in contrary to the lake meanings, the meanings attached to water and waterscapes in general highlight the importance of emotions. Waterscapes were perceived very personally, from the participant's point of view. The respondents experienced especially the sea landscape as part of themselves and their attachment to the landscape was deep, including also subconscious emotions and memories.

Nevertheless, even if the marketing image of the Finnish lakes appeals to the obvious expectations of the Italians, there seem to be a lot of unexplored meanings that could be used in the marketing. The strong attachment the respondents had to the sea landscape was partly due to the more general symbolic meanings of water. This indicates that also lakes could be seen as something more emotional and symbolic than merely nature or the wilderness. The analysis indicates that waterscapes have turned into a meaningful place through the feelings and memories of the respondents. Thus, the challenge for tourism marketing is to modify the marketing efforts in order to better correspond to the meanings of water that are related to emotions and human values.

References

Appleton, J. 1996. The Experience of Landscape. Revised Edition. John Wiley & Sons, Chichester. 282 p.

Barthes, R. 1957/1994. Mytologioita. Gaudeamus, Tampere. 218 p.

Bricker, K.S. & Kerstetter, D.L. 2002. An interpretation of special place meanings whitewater recreationists attach to the South Fork of the American River. Tourism Geographies 4(4): 396–425.

Burmil, S., Daniel, T.C. & Hetherington, J.D. 1999. Human values and perceptions of water in arid landscapes. Landscape and urban planning 44: 99–109.

Crompton, J.L. 1979. Motivations for Pleasure Vacation. Annals of Tourism Research October/December VI(4): 408–424.

Culler, J. 1994. Ferdinand de Saussure. Tutkijaliiton julkaisujasarja; 77. Helsinki. 141 p.

Dann, G. 1996. Tourists´ Images of a Destination – An Alternative Analysis. Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing 5(1/2): 41–55.

Dredge, D. 2001. Leisure lifestyles and tourism: socio-cultural, economic and spatial change in Lake Macquarie. Tourism Geographies 3(3): 279–299.

Eyles, J. 1985. Senses of place. Warrington, Silverbrook. 162 p.

Gesler, W.M. 1993. Therapeutic landscapes: Theory and a case study of Epidauros, Greece. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 11: 171–189.

Graburn, N. 2002. The Ethnographic Tourist. In: Dann G.M.S. (ed.). The Tourist as a Metaphor of the Social World. Wallingford. CABI. p. 19–40.

Gretzel, U. & Fesenmaier, D.R. 2003. Experience-based Internet Marketing: An exploratory Study of Sensory Experiences Associated with Pleasure Travel to the Midwest United States. In: Frew, A.J., Hitz, M. & Connor, P.O. (eds). Information and Communication Technologies in Tourism 2003. Springer Computer Science. Springer Wien New York. p. 49–57.

Haarni, T., Karvinen M., Koskela, H. & Tani, S. 1997. Johdatus nykymaantieteeseen. In: Haarni, T.& Karvinen, M., Koskela, H. & Tani, S. (eds). Tila, paikka ja maisema. Tutkimusretkiä uuteen maantieteeseen. Vastapaino, Tampere. p. 9–34.

Hall, C.M. & Page, S.J. 1999. The Geography of Tourism and Recreation. Environment, Place and Space. Routledge. London and New York. 309 p.

Hemmi, J. & Vuoristo, K-V. 1993. Matkailu. Profit. WSOY, Porvoo. 322 p.

Holden, A. 2001. Environment and Tourism. Routledge Introductions to Enviroment Series. Routledge, London and New York. 225 p.

Hudman, L.E. & Jackson, R.H. 1990. Geography of Travel & Tourism. Delmar Publishers Inc. New York. 479 p.

Hudson, B.J. 2002. Best after rain: waterfall discharge and the tourist experience. Tourism Geographies 4(4): 440–456.

Härkönen, T. (ed.) 2003. International lake tourism conference. 2–5 July, 2003. Savonlinna, Finland. Publications of the Savonlinna Institute for Regional Development and Research 5. 316 p.

Jensen, R.1999. The Dream Society. How the Coming Shift from Information to Imagination Will Transform Your Business. McGraw-Hill, New York. 242 p.

Kanninen, V. 1993. Maiseman lukeminen: kartografia, valokuvaus ja kirjallisuus mielikuvien muokkaajina. In: Karjalainen, P.T. (ed.). Maantieteen maisemissa. Aiheita kulttuurimaantieteen alalta. Joensuun yliopisto. Kulttuuri- ja suunnittelumaantiede. Tiedonantoja 25. p. 19–28.

Karjalainen, P.T. 1996. Kolme näkökulmaa maisemaan. In: Häyrynen, M. & Immonen, O. (eds). Maiseman arvo[s]tus. Kansainvälisen soveltavan estetiikan instituutin raportteja 1. Gummerus kirjapaino Oy, Saarijärvi. p. 8–15.

Karjalainen P.T. 1995. Mahdollisten maisemien sematiikkaa. Terra 107(2): 123–125.

Karjalainen, P.T. 1986. Geodiversity as a lived world: on the geography of existence. Joensuun yliopiston yhteiskuntatieteellisiä julkaisuja 7. 190 p.

Kuusamo, A. 1990. Kuvien edessä: esseitä kuvan semiotiikasta. Gaudeamus, Helsinki. 259 p.

Lehtinen, A. 2001. Järvimaiseman lukeminen.[Interpreting the lake landscape] Presentation at the Spirit of the Lake Symposium on 22 November, 2001.

Laws, E. 1995. Tourist Destination Management. Issues, Analysis and Policies. Routledge, London and New York. 208 p.

Lüthje, M. 2001. Matkailutuotteen tulkinta: Tapaus Irrottele MaaseutuSuomessa. In: Lassila, H. & Aho, S. (eds). Matka maaseudulle – Näkökulmia maaseutumatkailun tutkimukseen. Pohjois-Savon ammattikorkeakoulu. Matkailu- ja ravitsemusala. 7/2001. p.101–114.

Meinig, D.W. 1979. The Beholding Eye. Ten Versions of the Same Scene. In: Meinig, D.W. (ed.). The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes. Geographical Esseys, Oxford University Press, Oxford. p. 33–48.

Meyer, J. 2001. Nature Preservation, Sense of Place and Sustainable Tourism: Can the 'Yellowstone Experience' Survive? In: McCool, S.F. and Moisey, R.N. (eds). Tourism, Recreation and Sustainability. Linking Culture and the Environment. CABI Publishing. New York. p. 91–104.

Moisey, R.N. & McCool, S.F. 2001. Sustainable Tourism in the 21st Century. In: McCool, S.F. and Moisey, R.N. (eds). Tourism, Recreation and Sustainability. Linking Culture and the Environment. CABI Publishing. New York. p. 343–352.

Morgan, D. 2002. A new pier for New Brighton: resurrecting a community symbol. Tourism Geographies 4(4): 426–439.

Morgan, N. & Pritchard, A.1998. Tourism Promotion and Power. Creating images, creating identities. John Wiley & Sons, Chichester. 266 p.

Ohta, H. 2001. A Phenomenological approach to natural landscape cognition. Journal of Environment Psychology 21: 387–403.

Opaschowski, H. W. 1995. Freizeitökonomie Marketing von Erlebniswelten. Freizeit- und Tourismusstudien. Leske + Budrich, Opladen. 306 p.

Park, C. C 1994. Sacred worlds. An Introduction to Geography and Religion. Routledge, London. 332 p.

Pitkänen, K. 2003. Järvimaiseman mytologioita. Saimaan järvialue 1900-luvun matkailu(elo)kuvissa. Unpublished masters thesis. University of Joensuu, Department of Human Geography. 118 p.

— & Vepsäläinen, M. 2003a. Sinisen Saimaan Savonlinna. Vesistöjen merkitys Savonlinnan matkailuimagolle. Alue ja Ympäristö 32(1): 33–45.

— & Vepsäläinen, M 2003b. Savonlinna – the pearl of lake Saimaa. The importance of lakes in the tourist image of Savonlinna. In: Härkönen, T.(ed.). International lake tourism conference. 2–5, July, 2003. Savonlinna, Finland. Publications of the Savonlinna Institute for Regional Development and Research 5. p. 277–286.

Raivo, P. 1995. Kulttuurimaiseman käsitteellistyminen maantieteellisessä tutkimuksessa. In: Karjalainen P.T. & Raivo, P.J. (eds). Johdatusta kulttuurimaantieteelliseen maisematutkimukseen. Oulun yliopisto, maantieteen laitos. Opetusmoniste No 21. Oulu. p. 7–20.

Relph, E. 1976. Place and placelessness. Pion, London. 156 p.

Robbins, T. 1976. Even Cowgirls Get the Blues. 1993 Bantam Books, New York. 416 p.

Schroeder, H. 1996. Voices from Michigan´s Black River: Obtaining Information on "Special Places" for Natural Resource Planning. General Technical Report NC-184. St. Paul, MN: US Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, North Central Forest Experiment Station. 26 p.

Shamai, S. 1991. Sense of place: an empirical measurement. Geoforum 22(3): 347–358.

Smith, M. 2003. Holistic Holidays: Tourism And The Reconciliation of Body, Mind and Spirit. Tourism Recreation Research 28(1): 103–108.

Stedman, R.C. 2002. Toward a social psychology of place. Predicting Behavior From Place-Based Cognitions, Attitude, and Identity. Environment and Behavior 34(5): 561–581.

Tani, S. 1996. Aistit, muistot ja media: näkökulmia henkilökohtaisiin ja kollektiivisiin mielenmaisemiin. Terra 108(2): 103–111.

Tarasti, E.1990. Johdatusta semiotiikkaan. Esseitä taiteen ja kulttuurin merkkijärjestelmiin. Gaudeamus, Helsinki. 317 p.

Tuan, Y-F. 1974. Topophilia. A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, And Values. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. 260 p.

— 1977. Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience. University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis. 235 p.

— 1979. Thought and Landscape. The Eye and the Mind´s Eye. In: Meinig, D.W. (ed.). The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes. Geographical Esseys, Oxford University Press, Oxford. p. 89–102.

Tuohino, A. 2003. In search of the spirit of the lake. In: Härkönen, T. (ed.). International lake tourism conference. 2–5, July, 2003. Savonlinna, Finland. Publications of the Savonlinna Institute for Regional Development and Research 5. p. 305–316.

— & Pitkänen, K. 2003 Järven henkeä etsimässä – Järvi-Suomen markkinointikuvat italialaisten ja saksalaisten tulkitsemina. Savonlinnan koulutus- ja kehittämiskeskuksen julkaisuja 2. 100 p.

— & Uusi-Illikainen, M. 1997. Kulttuurimatkailu Ateenassa ja Roomassa. Unpublished master´s thesis. University of Oulu, Department of Geography. 125 p.

Uzzell, D. 1984. An anternative structuralist approach to the psychology of tourism marketing. Annals of Tourism Research 1: 79–99.

Walsh, J.A., Jamrozy, U. & Burr, S.W. 2001. Sense of Place as a Component of Sustainable Tourism Marketing. In: McCool, S.F. and Moisey, R. N. (eds). Tourism, Recreation and Sustainability. Linking Culture and the Environment. CABI Publishing, New York. p. 195–216.

Veivo, H. & Huttunen, T. 1999. Semiotiikka. Merkeistä mieleen ja kulttuuriin. Edita, Helsinki. 195 p.

Wilson, K. 2003. Therapeutic landscapes and First Nations peoples: an exploration of culture, health and place. Health & Place 9: 83–93.

Saarinen, J. & Hall, C.M. (eds) 2004. Nature-Based Tourism Research in Finland: Local Contexts, Global Issues. Finnish Forest Research Institute, Research Papers 916: 151–163.

Regional variation in outdoor recreation in Finland

Tuija Sievänen, Eija Pouta and Marjo Neuvonen

Introduction

Regional, research-based information on outdoor recreation has been lacking in Finland until recently, when the National Outdoor Recreation Demand and Supply (LVVI) study collected data concerning the whole country (Sievänen 2001). The large population survey data on recreation demand allowed regional analysis of outdoor recreation. The regional analysis has provided information both on each region and also on comparisons between regions. This article offers a review of three studies concerning regional information on outdoor recreation in Finland (Pouta and Sievänen 2001, Sievänen et al. 2002a, 2002b, Sievänen et al. 2003).

There are several reasons why it is enlightening to analyse regional variation in outdoor recreation. It is important to recognize regional differences in order to understand the varied demand for recreation services, and also to be able to balance demand and supply of recreation services in the region. Also for the regional development of nature-based tourism, it is good to have a detailed picture of the recreational behaviour of the population in the region. It would also be beneficial for the tourist industry to have a common target for recreation service provision together with regional and local authorities. If recreation services are planned and managed for local people as well as for visitors, the same recreation services are available for and used by both groups. In many cases, and particularly from the perspective of society, it is cost-effective to provide recreation services that are used both by local inhabitants and by visitors.

This article offers an overview of outdoor recreation from a regional perspective. In the following we describe the reasons why outdoor recreation behaviour can be assumed to vary between different parts of the country. The data used in regional analysis are then briefly presented. In the results we first review how participation in outdoor activities has been shown to vary between different parts of the country (Pouta and

Sievänen 2001, Sievänen et al. 2002a, 2002b). Secondly, we describe a division of recreational regions based on the differences in outdoor recreation participation among the populations of different regions (Sievänen et al. 2003). Thirdly, we come back to those reasons that have been found to differentiate outdoor recreation behaviour between regions (Sievänen et al. 2003).

Grounds for regional similarities or differences in outdoor recreation behaviour

Regional differences and similarities

The attempt to understand the regional differences and similarities in outdoor recreation behaviour is based on an array of factors related to natural, cultural and social environment and their relationships that direct the recreational behaviour of individuals and populations as a whole. On the population level, one may assume that there is a certain hierarchy of factors that explain differences in behavioural patterns between regions. First, the individual makes choices between recreational activities and decisions on participation occasions in time and space. These decisions are based on the individual's knowledge of the supply of recreational resources, both the recreational (natural) environment and recreation services. Secondly, choices of recreational activity are affected by the social and cultural environment in which the individual lives; for example, the values and attitudes of the community have an influence on recreational behaviour. The outdoor recreation behaviour of individuals is explained to a notable degree by socioeconomic factors (Manning 1986). On a regional level, the population structure in the region can be assumed to reflect behaviour patterns and activity choices considerably. In sum, the natural, cultural and social environment of a region offers a basic framework for people's recreational activity choices, and the population structure determines to a great extent what form recreation takes in the given circumstances of the region concerned. In the following we point out those factors related to recreation opportunities and socioeconomic structure that can be assumed to affect the regional variation of recreation, particularly in Finland.

Social and cultural environment

Recreational behaviour patterns are directed by the cultural and social determinants that influence all the manners and habits of a population.

Previous research, from the early 1960's, has found evidence of the relationship between people's recreational activity choices and socioeconomic variables (Clawson and Knetch 1966, Knudson 1984, Manning 1986, Hall and Page 1999). The most important socioeconomic variables are age, sex and education level. An important factor is the disposable leisure time, which varies according to the person's stage of life and position in the labour market. The influence of these factors may be significant when the population structure differs notably between regions.

In Finland, some differences in the population structures of different regions already exist today, and more differentiation is anticipated to take place in the future (Myrskylä 2001). The proportion and number of people active in the labour market is the highest in the southernmost, urbanized part of Finland, the Uusimaa region, but also in western Finland, the Pohjois-Pohjanmaa region, which includes Oulu, one of the strongest growing cities of the high technology industry. By 2030 the number of people belonging to oldest age groups and retired people will increase in all regions, but the highest proportions are anticipated to be in Eastern Finland. The average level of education varies only slightly in different regions. The degree of urbanization is highest in the south and lowest in eastern Finland, which together with northern Finland are also the regions with the highest unemployment rates (Statistical Yearbook of Finland 2001).

In countries where the population is ethnically heterogeneous, ethnicity is in focus and offers a strong explanation for differences caused by cultural environment (Walker et al. 2001, Shaull and Gramann 1998). Even though Finland has rather a homogeneous population compared to many other countries, there is regional variation of cultural aspects. For example, in eastern, western and northern rural areas people still speak their own dialects. Historically also habits of spending leisure time, the kind of games played and the places where they are played have differed. These regional differences create regional identity and also regional consciousness (Paasi 1984, Sarmela 1994). It is evident that traditions and historical processes have an influence on recreational behaviour even today.

Natural environment

Outdoor recreation and nature-based tourism are highly dependent on the natural circumstances, as well as on the supply of recreational services provided by society (Knudson 1984, Hall and Page 1999). The natural environment either supports or limits the possibilities for participation

in different types of outdoor activities. However, the environmental characteristics of the residential area can also have an influence on the preferences for a recreational environment.

A strong relationship has been found between recreational demand and supply of a high quality recreation environment (e.g. Patmore 1973, Cordell 1999). The natural environment and recreational services create recreational opportunities, in terms of both possible activities and recreation habits. Indicators of climate, length of seasons, soil and topography, access to water-areas, and flora and fauna are the most important characteristics of the natural environment that seem to influence recreational behaviour.

In Finland, the natural environment varies a lot between north and south, but also between east and west. Furthermore, the type of municipality and the density of population affect the supply of recreational services, as towns with larger populations are able to provide more recreational areas, trails and other services compared to smaller municipalities.

Essential aspects of the natural environment in Finland are strongly related to the geographical location. Finland is located in northernmost part of Europe between the 60th and 70th latitudes; one fourth of the country lies north of the Arctic Circle. The coastlines with the Baltic Sea, the Gulf of Finland and the Gulf of Bothnia are about 1000 km in length, including 20,000 islands. Most of the country is low lying. Finland also has vast inland water areas (about 56,000 lakes of over one hectare). The proportion of lakes of total land area is highest in eastern Finland and lowest in western Finland. A forest covered landscape is typical of the Finnish countryside, but the proportion of forest covered land varies regionally, being highest in eastern and northern Finland and lowest in southern Finland. The climate varies considerably between southern and northern Finland. The ground remains covered with snow for about three-four months of the year in the south and seven months in the north. Variation in the number of daylight hours is also typical of Finland, being strongest in northern Finland (Statistical Yearbook 2001, Ilmastotilastot 2002).

Regional variation in the natural environment has been used as a source for creating regional classifications or divisions. A division of regions according to landscape forms and characteristics is one example of classification that could be applied to nature-based recreation (Raivo 2002). The division of tourism regions in Finland is also based on the regional differences in attraction factors (Vuoristo & Santasalo Ky 1991). From the perspective of outdoor recreation, the classifications are based mainly on supply factors. The adoption of these classifications for regional division in recreation research is, however, problematic,

because differences in the recreational behaviour of populations in different regions are not only caused by supply factors, but also by demand factors.

Data and analysis

The results presented in this review article are based on three publications by Sievänen, Pouta and Neuvonen (2002a, 2002b, 2003), and Outdoor Recreation Statistics (Pouta and Sievänen 2001) published in Sievänen's (2001) report 'Outdoor Recreation 2000'. These studies are all based on the same population survey data collected for the National Outdoor Recreation Demand and Supply Inventory (LVVI) study. The data was gathered in two phases through telephone interviews and mail-in questionnaires. These surveys were targeted at Finns within the age range of 15 to 74 (Virtanen et al. 2001). The total sample size was 12,649 persons. The Survey Research Unit of Statistics Finland collected data between August 1998 and May 2000. The interview data was gathered from 10,651 respondents (84 % of those sampled). Information relating to participation in recreational activities and some of the socioeconomic variables were based on this data. The mail-in questionnaire was sent to those respondents who expressed their willingness to participate. Two thirds (65 % or 5,535 persons) of them responded to the questionnaire. Information about recreation close to home and nature trips were collected by mail questionnaire. An occasion of outdoor recreation close to home was defined as lasting one day at maximum (no overnight stay). A nature trip refers to a trip including at least one overnight stay, the main purpose being to participate in one or more outdoor recreation activities.

In the studies referred to here, Finland was divided into 15 regions and four groups of regions. In the different studies, the regional estimates of behavioural patterns were produced by descriptive statistics. Several statistical methods were used when formulating groups of regions and making comparisons between regions and groups of regions (Sievänen et al. 2002a, Sievänen et al. 2003). In interpreting the division of regional groups, information from different statistical sources such as climate statistics and population statistics was used (Ilmastotilastot, Suomen tilastollinen vuosikirja 2001). Information concerning the municipal based supply of different types of recreational services was gathered from the LUOVI databank managed by the University of Jyväskylä (Hänninen 2001, Suomalaisen liikunnan... 2003).

Results

Regional differences in outdoor recreation participation

Regional variation in some of the most popular recreational activities is briefly described on the basis of a report by Sievänen et al. (2002a). Many of the most common outdoor activities, such as walking for fitness, walking a dog or rowing a boat were equally popular in all regions, but some other activities, such as swimming in natural waters, picking berries and mushrooms, skiing, hunting and fishing were activities that displayed rather notable differences in participation rates and frequencies.

As regards forest-based activities, picking wild berries was the most popular activity in eastern and northern Finland, in Lappi, Kainuu, Pohjois-Pohjanmaa, Etelä-Savo and Pohjois-Karjala (Appendix 1). There, two out of three participated in berry picking, but even in southern Finland, almost every second adult is accustomed to picking berries at least once a year (Appendix 1, figure 1). The participation rate was 56 in the whole country. The frequency of occasions varied also, being lowest in southern Finland and highest in Lappi and Kainuu. The differences in rates of mushroom picking are interesting since the rate was highest in the east, where half of the population participated in it, and lowest in the west, where only one out of five participated (38 % in the whole country) (Appendix 1, figure 2). However, the frequency of occasions per participant did not differ much between east and west. Hunting was more popular among rural people than among urban people. The urbanization rate reflected negatively on the rates of participation in hunting. Participation in eastern and northern Finland was many times more active than in southern Finland. For example, the rates of participation in bird shooting were 6% in the whole country, but 18 % in Kainuu and 13 % in Pohjois-Pohjanmaa and Lappi.

Regional differences in participation in snow-based activities were also to a great extent subject to the division between north and south. Cross-country skiing was more actively participated in the east and the north (participation rates over 40 %) compared to the south (participation rates less than 30 %) (Appendix 1, figure 3). The same applies to the number of skiing occasions per year. Downhill skiing participation varied in the same direction with the exception of the Uusimaa region, which is the most urbanized region. Snowmobiling (Appendix 1, figure 4) and ice fishing were also distinctively north-eastern activities. In Lapland, one in three participated in snowmobiling compared to fewer than one of ten in many of the southern regions. The number of snowmobiling occasions varied in the same manner. Participation in water-based activities varied the other way round, being highest in the south. Particu-

larly in swimming in natural waters, and motor and sail boat cruising participation was most active in the south, whereas, for example fishing with nets was most popular again in the eastern and northern regions of the country (more than 30% in the east and north, 22 % in the whole country).

One of the special features of outdoor life in Finland is the popularity of spending time at leisure homes. The average participation rate was 57 % in the whole country. Spending time at a leisure home measured by participation rate was most popular in southern Finland (Uusimaa 63 %), and lowest in western Finland (Etelä-Pohjanmaa 46 %). The number of days spent varied in the same direction, the lowest number in western Finland being 17 days, and the highest in eastern Finland (Etelä-Savo). In general, however, the differences between time spent at leisure homes were not as high as in many other activities.

Recreational regions

Sievänen et al. (2003) have further analysed the recreational behaviour patterns for the purpose of forming groups of regions that have similarities in the recreational behaviour of the population. In the study by Sievänen et al., fifteen regions formed four groups of recreational regions: 'Urban Finland', 'Lake Finland', 'Western Finland' and 'Wilderness Finland'. The variables used for grouping the regions were the participation rates for the most popular and common recreational activities, both in the summer and in the winter seasons.

Urban Finland consists of nine regions located in southern and coastal Finland. Its population participated more actively in swimming in natural waters and spending time at leisure homes than people in other parts of the country (table 1). It was also typical of the 'Urban Finns' that they participated less than others in hunting, picking wild berries, cross-country skiing and snowmobiling.

In 'Lake Finland', the choices of recreational activities seemed to reflect the abundance of opportunities for water-related activities, such as fishing and boating, but also to activities relating to forested land, such as picking berries and mushrooms. 'Lake Finland' is basically located in eastern parts of the country, where the climate is more continental than in the southern or western parts of the country. Snow-based activities, such as cross-country skiing and snowmobiling, were also popular in 'Lake Finland'.

Most parts of 'Western Finland' are characterized by a flat landscape with fields, forest and rivers, but fewer lakes. The most typical outdoor activities in 'Western Finland' were cycling, and surprisingly, downhill

Table 1. Regional differences of outdoor recreation demand and supply indicators. Outdoor recreation activities and opportunities in regions (either estimated group means and analysis of variance or proportion of participants and chi-square test).

	Urban Finland	Lake Finland	Western Finland	Wilderness Finland	Chi-square[a] / F-statistic[b]	p-value
Recreation demand indicators						
Participants in leisure home activities, %	59	54	53	54	28,89[a]	0,000
Participants in boating activities, %	44	53	38	47	80,58[a]	0,000
Participants in swimming in natural waters, %	71	70	60	52	152,41[a]	0,000
Berry pickers, %	49	68	65	74	389,67[a]	0,000
Mushroom pickers, %	40	48	23	33	255,03[a]	0,000
Hunters, %	4	12	12	22	356,85[a]	0,000
Fishers, %	43	57	42	56	154,85[a]	0,000
Downhill skiers, %	16	16	19	18	14,24[a]	0,003
Cross-country skiers, %	34	49	49	52	239,67[a]	0,000
Participants in snowmobiling, %	6	13	15	32	468,38[a]	0,000
Cyclists, %	54	53	63	56	49,72[a]	0,000
Recreation close to home, number of occasions per year	162	184	151	159	6,13[b]	0,000
Nature trips, number of days per year	27	18	25	32	3,03[b]	0,029
Recreation supply indicators						
Maximum snow depth, cm	40	62	52	98	3500,68[b]	0,000
Snow cover days	136	163	156	203	4239,55[b]	0,000
Number of rainy days	68	82	77	88	640,72[b]	0,000
Water area of the total area of municipality, %	7	22	3	8	2204,03[b]	0,000
Forest area of the total area of municipality, %	54	62	73	81	1754,85[b]	0,000
Trails in the municipality, km	1881	150	76	150	145,93[b]	0,000

skiing. The less active participation in some recreational activities, such as boating, fishing, swimming and picking mushrooms, also contributed to the distinctness of 'Western Finland' from other regions. The northern parts of 'Western Finland' already have more high land than the southern parts, and there are several downhill skiing centres providing excellent opportunities for downhill skiing activities.

The most northerly parts of Finland are here described as 'Wilderness Finland'. The population density in the northern regions is very low, and there are very few large towns. Northern Finland is heavily forested, with the exception of the fell areas. The most popular recreational activities were snowmobiling, hunting, fishing, picking berries and cross-country skiing. The differences compared to other regions were the lower activity in swimming and picking mushrooms.

The number of recreational occasions close to home and the number of days of nature trips also differed regionally (table 1). People in Lake

Finland spent more days on recreation close to home, while people in Wilderness Finland spent more days on nature trips than people in other recreational regions.

The available recreation areas and their use also differed between recreational regions. People in Urban Finland used most recreational areas managed by the municipality for their close-to-home recreational visits. In southern Finland and in most urbanized communities, the supply of recreational areas, trails and other services is the best and most readily accessible. The recreational use of state managed areas is most common in Wilderness Finland – the state land being located for the most part in northern and eastern Finland. Privately owned areas were most frequently used for recreation in Lake Finland and in Western Finland. Inhabitants of Lake Finland have an access to a leisure home on a regular basis more often than in other regions. This may partly explain the intensive recreational use of private areas.

Recreational areas were more often within walking distance for people in Urban Finland and Lake Finland compared to other regions, where transportation by car was more often used in order to enter a recreational area for a day visit. The destinations of nature trips also differed to some extent. Nature trips in Lake Finland and Wilderness Finland more often took place in state managed areas than in the other regions. Inhabitants of Urban Finland, more often than those in other parts of the country, made a leisure home the destination of their nature trip.

In the study by Sievänen et al. (2003), the factors explaining the observed regional differences appeared to be a combination of factors relating to population structure and natural environment. Of the population-related factors the proportion of densely populated areas, the unemployment rate of the municipality, the proportion of inhabitants with higher education and the proportion of retired inhabitants explained the observed variation. Of the factors relating to the natural environment, some of the most influential are collected in table 1. The number of days of snow cover and the depth of snow, the total land area, the proportion of water areas of the total area of the municipality and the proportion of forested land in the municipality explained the differences between regions.

Discussion

Regional variation in recreational behaviour can be analysed and described from many perspectives. In the studies reviewed here, the main focus has been on looking at the participation in different types

of outdoor activities and finding explanations for the differences in participation. The natural environment provided many, very obvious explanations. Particularly the duration of winter and the amount of snow cover were natural and also self-evident reasons for differences in participation in winter activities. The supply of water areas, the length of sea coast and particularly the number of lakes seemed to be a natural reason for participation in boating and fishing activities.

Also, certain institutional resources seem to offer some explanations for participation. The availability of state managed land, which offers public hunting rights in northern Finland, seemed to be related to the popularity of hunting in that region. Naturally, the existence of large forested land areas was also important for the supply of hunting opportunities. In southern Finland, the abundant supply of recreational services managed by municipalities increased activity in the use of close to home recreation areas.

In the north and east, the natural environment is easily accessible due to the right of public access. In the south, urbanized people are mobile, and they use leisure homes more and more all the year round. Leisure homes, which one could often call second homes, are 'a gate to nature'. Many traditional recreational activities such as fishing and picking berries and firewood were more common among those who have access to a leisure home than among those who do not (Sievänen & Pouta 2002). It is also noteworthy that as many young people as older people visited leisure homes. This means that traditional recreational activities may keep their popularity among urban people, and regional differences may not increase as much as might be the case in the future without the 'leisure home culture'.

It is predicted that the economic development and population structure will become even more differentiated in various parts of the country in the future. In eastern and northern Finland the population will 'age' and the number of population will decrease to a great extent in the coming decades. The urbanization of southern Finland will continue, and the development gap between east and north compared to the south will grow wider in terms of age structure, education and income level and wealth. It is obvious that regional differences in outdoor recreation participation will also partly become stronger because of those societal changes.

Even though, many of the regional similarities and differences are expected and 'natural', the benefit of analysing regional similarities and differences is evident when describing and making prognoses of recreational behaviour in the future. Regional predictions about recreational participation and predictions about other aspects of recreational behav-

iour are expected to be more valid when a recreation-specific division of regions is used in the analysis.

References

Clawson, M. & Knetch, J.L. 1966. Economics of Outdoor Recreation. Resources for the Future. The John Hopkins University Press. 328 p.

Cordell, K.H. 1999. Outdoor Recreation in American Life: A National Assessment of Demand and Supply Trends. Sagamore Publishing. 449 p.

Hall, M.C. & Page S.J. 1999. The Geography of Tourism and Recreation. Environment, Place and Space. Routledge, London. 395 p.

Hänninen, S. 2001. Valtakunnallinen luonnon virkistystarjonnan tietojärjestelmä LVVI-LUOVI. In: Sievänen, Tuija (ed.). Luonnon virkistyskäyttö 2000. Metsäntutkimuslaitoksen tiedonantoja 802. p. 179–184.

Ilmastotilastot 2002. http://www.fmi.fi/saa/tilastot.htm, 30.8.2002 and 31.10.2002.

Knudson, D.M. 1984. Outdoor recreation. Revised edition. Macmillan Publishing Company, Basingstoke. 568 p.

Manning, R.E. 1986. Studies in Outdoor Recreation. A review and synthesis of the social science literature in outdoor recreation. Oregon State University Press, Corvallis. 166 p.

Myrskylä, P. 2001. Yhä oudompia väestörakenteita odotettavissa. Hyvinvointikatsaus 2001 (4): 11–17.

Paasi, A. 1984. Alueellinen identiteetti ja siihen vaikuttavat tekijät: esimerkkinä alueellinen kirjallisuus. Terra 96(2): 113–120.

Patmore, J.A. 1973. Recreation. In: Dawson, J. A. & Doorkamp, J.C. (eds). Evaluating the human environment Essays in applied geography. Edward Arnold, London. p. 224–248.

Pouta, E. & Sievänen, T. 2001. Ulkoilutilastot. In: Sievänen, Tuija (ed.). Luonnon virkistyskäyttö 2000. Metsäntutkimuslaitoksen tiedonantoja 802. Liite 1: p. 207-335.

Raivo, P.J. 2002. The Finnish landscape and its meanings. Fennia 180(1–2): 89–98.

Sarmela, M. 1994. Suomen kansankulttuurin kartasto. Atlas of Finnish ethnic culture. Suomen perinneatlas. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Osa 2: 24–28 + appendix maps.

Shaull, S.L. & Gramann, J.H. 1998. The effect of cultural assimilation on the importance of family-related and nature-related recreation among Hispanic Americans. Journal of Leisure Research 30(1): 47–63.

Sievänen, T. (ed.) 2001. Luonnon virkistyskäyttö 2000. Metsäntutkimuslaitoksen tiedonantoja 802. 208 p. + appendixes.

— & Pouta, E. 2002. The summer cottage – a gate to nature. In: Barros, S. (ed.). Collaboration and Partnership in Forestry, All Division 6 IUFRO Meeting, Valdivia, Chile 2002. CDR-julkaisu. p. 294–305.

— , Pouta, E. & Neuvonen, M. 2002a. Luonnon virkistyskäyttö maakunnittain. Metsäntutkimuslaitoksen tiedonantoja 885. 29 p. + appendixes.

— , Pouta, E. & Neuvonen, M. 2002b. Ulkoilutilastot maakunnittain. Metsäntutkimuslaitos Metinfo Metsätietopalvelut, www.metla.fi/metinfo/monikaytto/lvvi/11.2.2003.

— , Pouta, E. & Neuvonen, M. 2003. Suomalaisten ulkoilukäyttäytymisen alueelliset yhtäläisyydet ja erot. Regional similarities and differences in Finnish outdoor recreation behavior. Terra 115(4): 259–273.

Suomalaisen liikunnan tietopankki, LUOVI-tietojärjestelmä 2002. http://www.sport.jyu.fi/31.10.2002.

Statistical yearbook 2001. Statistics Finland. Otava, Keuruu. 699 p.

Virtanen, V., Pouta, E., Sievänen, T. & Laaksonen, S. 2001. Luonnon virkistyskäytön kysynnän väestötutkimus. In: Sievänen, Tuija (ed.). Luonnon virkistyskäyttö 2000. Metsäntutkimuslaitoksen tiedonantoja 802. p. 19–31.

Walker, G.J., Deng, J.Y. & Dieser, R.B. 2001. Ethnicity acculturation, self-construal and motivations for outdoor recreation. Leisure Sciences 23(4): 263–283.

Vuoristo, K-V. & T. Santasalo Ky. 1991. Suomen matkailun aluerakenne 1991. MEK A:74.

Appendix 1. Participation in picking wild berries, picking mushrooms, cross-country skiing and snowmobiling in different regions in Finland. Source: Sievänen, Pouta & Neuvonen 2002.

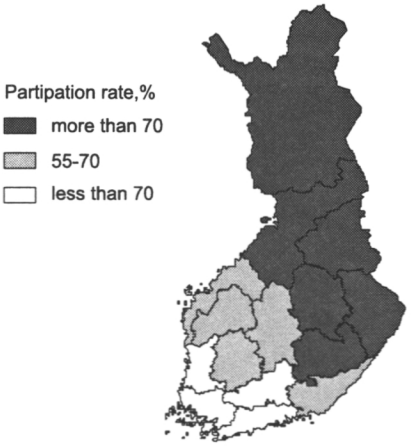

Figure 1. Picking wild berries.

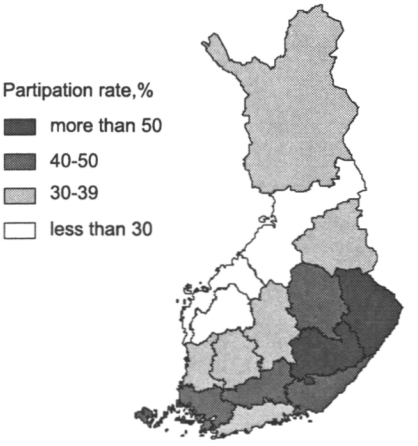

Figure 2. Picking mushrooms.

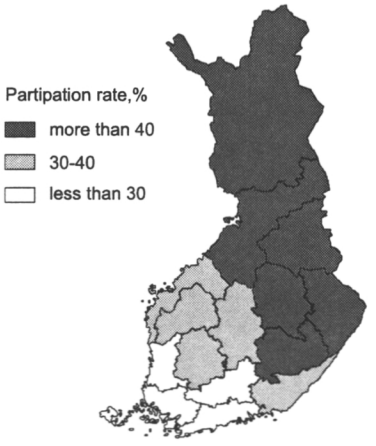

Figure 3. Cross-country skiing.

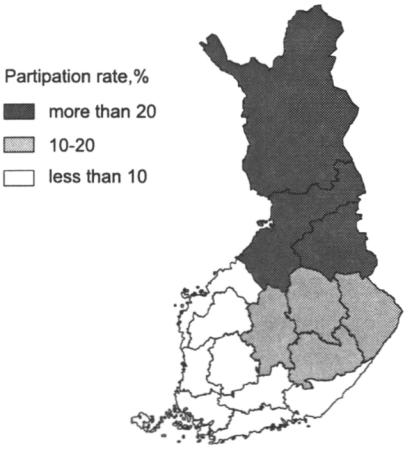

Figure 4. Snowmobiling.

Contributors

Stephen W. Boyd
Department of Tourism, University of Otago, P.O. Box 56, Dunedin, New Zealand
SBoyd@business.otago.ac.nz

C. Michael Hall
Department of Tourism,University of Otago,P.O. Box 56, Dunedin, New Zealand
CMHall@business.otago.ac.nz

Anne Hynönen
University of Oulu, Department of Geography, P.O. Box 3000, FIN-90014 University of Oulu, Finland
anne.hynonen@oulu.fi

Marjatta Hytönen
Finnish Forest Research Institute, Unioninkatu 40 A, FIN-00170 Helsinki, Finland
marjatta.hytonen@metla.fi

Lasse Lovén
Finnish Forest Research Institute, Joensuu Research Centre, Koli research area, Ylä-Kolintie 22, FIN-83960 Koli, Finland
lasse.loven@metla.fi

Monika Lüthje
University of Lapland, Department of Business, Economics and Tourism, Faculty of Social Sciences, Box 122, FIN-96101 Rovaniemi, Finland
monika.luthje@urova.fi

Marjo Neuvonen
Finnish Forest Research Institute, Unioninkatu 40 A, FIN-00170 Helsinki, Finland
marjo.neuvonen@metla.fi

Kati Pitkänen
University of Joensuu, Savonlinna Institute for Regional Development and Research/ Lake tourism project, P.O. Box126, 57101 Savonlinna, Finland
kati.pitkänen@joensuu.fi

Eija Pouta
University of Helsinki, Department of Forest Economics, P.O. Box 27, FIN-00014 University of Helsinki, Finland
eija.pouta@helsinki.fi

Jarkko Saarinen
University of Oulu, Departmant of Geography, P.O. Box 3000, FIN-90014 Oulu, Finland
jarkko.saarinen@oulu.fi

Tuija Sievänen
Finnish Forest Research Institute, Unioninkatu 40 A, FIN-00170 Helsinki, Finland
tuija.sievanen@metla.fi

Riikka Sorsa
University of Joensuu, Department of Geography, P.O. Box 111, FIN-80101 Joensuu, Finland
sorsa@cc.joensuu.fi

Anja Tuohino
University of Joensuu, Savonlinna Institute for Regional Development and Research/ Lake tourism project, P.O. Box 126, 57101 Savonlinna, Finland
anja.tuohino@joensuu.fi

Seija Tuulentie
Finnish Forest Research Institute, Rovaniemi Research Station, P.O. Box 16, FIN-96301 Rovaniemi, Finland
seija.tuulentie@metla.fi

Nature-based tourism is often regarded to be one of the fastest growing segments of the tourism industry. This is also the case in Finland, however, it has become apparent that nature-based tourism in practice is a highly polarised activity. The development possibilities of tourism are not evenly distributed, and the business of nature-based tourism is perhaps a more knowledge-based activity than the development of the industry in general.

This publication focuses broadly nature-based tourism and its local connections. This perspective has been relatively lacking in nature-based tourism research in the Finnish context and also a rather narrowly approached issue in international studies. Nature-based tourism can be seen as an integrated part of the general tourism industry, regional economics and social systems. This is one of the major perspectives of the volume in hand, which covers a variety of issues on nature-based tourism on local, national and international scales reflecting the idea of local realities and contexts influenced by global issues and processes in tourism and regional development.



ISBN 951-40-1911-3
ISSN 0358-4283