MUUTTUVA MATKAILU
TOURISM IN TRANSITION

2/2003
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IAST Savonlinna Conference
30th June-2nd July, 2003

Dear delegates,

In 2003, The International Academy for the Study of Tourism (IAST) has its annual meeting in Savonlinna, Eastern Finland. This special issue of Muutuva Matkailu (“Tourism in Transition”) has been produced in order to provide you information on the host organization and on the current Finnish activities in the field of tourism research.

In the beginning, professor Arvo Peltonen outlines the functions and the special role of FUNTS (The Finnish University Network for Tourism Studies) in the Finnish academic system. This organizational foreword is followed by the main section of the publication with an assortment of texts describing current research activities on tourism in Finland. The projects have been arranged into five different categories according to their main research topic: the history of tourism, sustainability, theoretical and methodological innovations, tourism and rural development and tourism imagery.

Although far from all-inclusive, the selected texts bring out a variety of current research projects from universities to polytechnics, with somewhat heterogenous approaches to the concepts of “tourism” and “research”. Each author has been responsible for the style, content and language of her text. Please, try not to mind the occasionally less than perfect English.

On behalf of the editorial staff, we would like to welcome you to Savonlinna, the heart of Finnish lakeland. May your stay be both pleasant and productive.

Petri Hottola & Markku Laitinen
Arvo Peltonen

**Finnish University Network for Tourism Studies (FUNTS) – The Finnish Way of Scientific- cation of the Finnish Tourism Education at the University Level**

**Introduction – new ways for academic co-operation in tourism education**

The Annual meeting of the International Academy for the Study of Tourism (IAST) will be held in Savonlinna, administrative province of South-Savo in June and July 2003 hosted by the Finnish University Network for Tourism Studies (FUNTS). What kind of organisation the host(ess) is? What kind of environment it has sprouted up and what are the intellectual impacts that FUNTS disseminates the tourism education, research and industry?

Tourism is rather young as an academic inquiry in Finland, where tourism industry has not had any higher priority in the national economical development policy before the nineties. However, in some regions tourism was considered an important means for economical revitalisation. There were no departments for tourism studies at the Finnish universities. The Finnish University Network for Tourism Studies (FUNTS) is a “joint venture” of 17 Finnish universities for a study programme of tourism studies initiated in 1995.

The concept of the university network came out in the “congruence” of idea, time and space, and visionaries. Tourism as an industry has gained a higher priority in the national economies world-wide. Upgrading the academic education of tourism was a challenge for the Finnish universities as well. Network-like “architecture” for the co-operation was adopted. Capitalisation of the network based on the new financial opportunities for upgrading also the competence and knowledge building infrastructure by Finland joining to the European Union.

There was also a regional need for the academic educational facilities capable to transfer the higher competence of tourism from the “scientific cores” into peripheries, the more sparsely populated areas, “Less Favoured Areas” (LFA) of Finland for regional political reasons. And in the LFA provinces there were “intuitive futurists”, who could put the pieces together for launching the project of the university network.

The aims of the university network were twofold: (1) the study programme should be “academic” in scope; education should be based on scientific research, shared human resources (multidisciplinarity) and scholarly accepted educational criteria, and (2) the study programme should also possess a regional political scope; it should act as a regional political tool in transferring the scientific competence of tourism studies for the “less favoured areas” of Finland, where tourism was developing a driving force of the regional economy.
Synergy by networking - “Savonlinna case”

The paper examines the network architecture as an operational tool for co-operation between the Finnish universities in tourism research and education. Comparisons with the single unit educational environment have been implicitly drawn. The structure was adopted for upgrading the academic tourism studies and for gaining synergetic advantages with minor “bureaucracy”:

1) best expertise gathered together from 17 universities, which shared the same educational goals, and need to intensify the tourism studies by setting up a discipline or accept a multidisciplinary / interdisciplinary approach;
2) innovativeness created by academic climate at the various partner universities with their international linkages and unique regional challenges; in various educational environments teachers and students with different academic backgrounds will meet, and positive “clashes” of different cultures and academic traditions will burst out in class room and field situations providing the study team with innovative aspiration. Studying at the University Network doesn’t provide the students with the same scientific “language” (methodologies and methods) but they learn to understand different “languages”, an essence of teamwork, which tourism is all about.
3) cost-efficiency realised by the shared teaching with the partner universities’ resources (annually over 30 Finnish and 10 foreign teachers), small co-ordination unit, operational staff of 5 persons, and with lesser needs of permanent space for teaching (e.g. classes rented for intensive classes only);
4) wider regional and international orientation; the distribution pattern of the partner universities is scattered in Finland. Teachers and students attending the programme have different regional orientation and study challenges, but efficient educational logistics is a prerequisite.
5) university - regional tourism industry link supports the diffusion of challenges, new ideas and development impulses in both directions, which empower the regional “creative milieu” and transfer of competence.

Institutionalisation of the academic tourism studies sprouted up in late eighties from the provincial needs of enhancing the higher education generally in the regions (Savo and Lappi provinces). Tourism was emphasised in this context. So, the initial idea of the network of universities was initiated “from below”. Because of the scant regional human resources for launching an academic tourism programme, eight Finnish universities set up a network for starting the programme in the province of South-Savo, but serving whole Finland. The amount of the universities participating the network co-operation has increased to 13 in 1996 and 17 by 2001. The geographical coverage of the partners is nation-wide, and besides the ordinary universities (both Finnish and Swedish speaking), special schools of economics and also arts, design and music are attending.

The co-ordination unit of the Finnish University Network for Tourism Studies is located in Savonlinna campus of the University of Joensuu, where also major
part of the teaching takes place for about 230 students. Up to 1999 the programme has been funded by the Ministry of Education and from the European sources for “less favoured regions” (ESF, ERDF).

In 2001 a separate department, Centre for Tourism Studies, was founded at the University of Joensuu for the coordination of the Finnish University Network for Tourism Studies. The coordinating department is still located in Savonlinna University Campus of the University of Joensuu.

The Lake District as the rooting area of the FUNTS

Savonlinna is framed by the Finnish Lake District proper. It is a traditional manufacturing centre utilising the natural amenities of the district. Besides the forest industry (e.g. plywood companies), Savonlinna is also a base of making machinery and automation systems for pulp and plywood industry. As a provincial service centre Savonlinna is serving its own inhabitants (about 30 000) and living outskirts of it (40 000 inhabitants in East-Savo Region). Lake “labyrinth” provides the region with water-borne transportation for the cargo ships and tourist boats during seven or nine months of the year. The lake traffic is ice-locked during three to five months.

Savonlinna is also a smaller academic community of about 300 staff and 1500 students. The town is the site of the second campus of the University of Joensuu. In the campus, beside the FUNTS, there are operating also the Savonlinna Education and Development Centre (SEDC) as an institute for continuing education and regional policy for activating the regional economic development, and the Information Service for Tourism providing the higher education and research of tourism with library and information services (www.matkailu.org).

In Savonlinna Campus there is also located other faculty extensions of the University of Joensuu. The Institute of International Communications (educational facility for academic interpreters and translators) and the Department of Teachers’ Education diversify the academic environment of Savonlinna Campus all strengthening the academic aspirations of the FUNTS. New organ for innovative tourism development, the Expertise Centre for Tourism mostly initiated by the University of Joensuu (SEDC) and set by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, will be started also in Savonlinna in 2003 for providing tourism industry with innovative research and development knowledge at the highest national and international level.

Study programmes in the FUNTS

Annual enrolment of the FUNTS is 50. Students come from all 17 universities. Every student will preserve the identity and core competences of her/his own principal discipline (e.g. business management, anthropology, sociology, economics, German literature, geography, visual arts and design) and stu-
dent’s status also at her/his own university. The FUNTS programme will provide its students with strong minor of the multidisciplinary tourism studies, which ought to support student’s final examination based on her/his academic major. The total amount of students in the programme is about 200 in 2003.

The FUNTS programme covers basics of tourism and, at most, students can take 60 credits ("study weeks") arranged at four levels of requirements (from undergraduate up to the doctoral level). The programme is modular and includes long-distance learning, intensive courses and field works. In the class and field courses the students of different academic backgrounds and from different regions will meet in educational situations, where advantages of creative group dynamism will be gained for the versatile backgrounds of students.

Because of logistical requirements of the studies from the very beginning the essential educational environment has been the virtual network, www.tourismuninet.org, it is, beside a forum for administrative and financial management, also the environment for distance education and for communication between students, teachers, and study administration. The network environment has also been linked with the national and provincial networks for regional development and tourism promotion.

Besides the basic studies of tourism, there is also a programme for “professional development” (PD) on the continuing education basis for those, who are working in the tourism industry, and who would like to upgrade their knowledge of the field. The PD students attend partly the same classes as ordinary students, who would transfer new ideas into small and medium size tourism enterprises and promotion bodies.

Also the teachers have different academic backgrounds and skills, hence most qualified teachers of the country are at students’ disposal. Teachers are facing with the challenge to teach scholarly “multicultural” student groups. Annually some 30 Finnish and 5-10 foreign teachers are contributing the programme. Besides the academicians there are about 50 entrepreneurs and tourism administrators teaching in the FUNTS.

The multidisciplinarity of teachers and students is a very qualified academic resource for national and international field of tourism research. The FUNTS will support the researchers in the network especially in the topics dealing with developing the multiple methods of sustainable tourism, tourism development in the sparsely populated rural areas (e.g. “Learning Destinations”), seasonality issues, and urban and cultural tourism. In the context of the Expertise Centre for Tourism also the leadership of the value networks in tourism, new trends of tourism behaviour and industry, and e-commerce will be studied. The study cooperation will be realised e.g. in the context of European Union (e.g. in the Association of European Tourism Education ATLAS), in the Baltic and Eastern European regions (enlarging zone of the EU) and Russia.
Internal impact analysis of the FUNTS

The University Network has started a continuing internal evaluation of its impacts about the quality of teaching, students’ qualifications in the labour market and the intellectual and innovative impacts in the local communities and at regional level. The students have found it inspiring to study outside their host universities in multidisciplinary groups, but travelling has sometimes shown to be exhausting and getting the material for distant learning in their home places has shown to be difficult, although every one has an Internet access. Scheduling the programme and informing about it “JOT” has also turned sometimes to be “painstaking for the co-ordinating staff of four persons in Savonlinna”. The attitudes of the local entrepreneurs in the SMEs towards the “academic” study on tourism are changing into more supportive direction.

The programme also has intense links with the regional and national tourism industry and local communities for activating mutually beneficial transfer of experience and new ideas. Some ten entrepreneurs act as teachers in the programme and some 3-5 classes are held in tourism enterprises annually. About one-fourth of the annual expenses are used for buying services from local tourism industry especially during the “off-season”.

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While discussing about the phenomenon called globalization in recent years, attention has been often turned to its pros and cons. Among other matters such problems as environment or the forms and activities of tourism have been often mentioned as an example of the critical results, and actually globalization and tourism are often linked with each other. However, it seems that publications and studies concentrating on the problem of connections between globalization, travel and tourism are quite rare still today. (Few discussion on the theme can be found in e.g. the Annals of Tourism Research, Volume 29, 2002.)

The history of travel may be defined as the pleasure and vacation trips to other than home location in various time periods. Tourism can be seen as a period within it, including the growth of traveling masses, utilizing new technical innovations and organized by travel agencies. In the 19th century the travellers most often belonged to the middle classes, while from the 20th century even working classes became increasingly involved in modern tourism, which has been defined as mass-form of travel (Kostiainen 1998).

The second central concept for us is globalization. It may be defined as a growing interdependency in the world (Falt 2002). In general it has been seen as an economic or even neo-liberalistic form of economic activity. Globalization as such is seen as a modern, or even post-modern phenomenon. Manuel Castells has pointed out, that globalization - as most people define it - started actually in the 1960s and 1970s with the coming of the predecessors of modern computers and the new ideas of changing the societies (Castells 1996). The linking of international tourism and globalization is quite commonly seen from this period onwards.

While we have a look at the relationship between tourism and globalization, a wider time analysis is necessary.

The roots of the history of travel are much older than globalization - especially if we define the concept of globalization in the words mentioned above. On the other hand, it has also been stated that globalization started early: the colonization of the non-Western world is often taken as a kind of predecessor of the globalization. Actually that is a fact since in the late 19th century the expansion of Western powers resulted in a greater interdependency of the global areas. That interdependency was both economic and political, and even
cultural conflicts resulted quite frequently. (See Ferro 1997).

Some researchers have traced the history of globalization even into ancient history, referring to age-old migrations of peoples (Sihvola 2000: 293). That kind of definition is not very useful, since globalization includes the idea of certain kind of intercourse or dependency resulting from the globalization acts themselves. Nomadic movements hardly resulted in a large interdependency of various areas or nationalities or states. However, the migrations of peoples in the last couple of centuries have to be seen as a form of globalization, since they produced and/or were caused by mainly economic developments (Crafts & Venables 2001: 16-19).

The history of travel and tourism include many features which mark forms of increasing globalization. As an expression of that activity there occurred the gradual build-up of networks for the enlargement of travel activities. This was quite typical even in the earlier phases of travel, such as the pilgrimages of the late Middle Ages, and noticeably during the late Middle Ages and early modern history. (E.g. MacKay et al. 2000: 491-523). Also, it was very important in the Grand Tour -travel of the 16th - 18th centuries. Finally, when the predecessors of modern travel agencies began to emerge in the late nineteenth century, building of networks and co-operation with various actors involved in travel business became very important. The same tendency continued with an increasing speed during the 20th century. This is how international travel companies “conquered” and linked “every part” of the world into their efforts.

Therefore, when we consider globalization as the growing interdependency of the world, we may find out several features, which link globalization on the one hand and travel and tourism on the other hand together. The first area of dependency is within the sphere of economic relationships. As mentioned earlier, this process started early, actually from the enlarging merchant fleets looking for goods and relationships, from the turn of the Middle Ages and modern history. The real dependency, which included increasing amount of travels, began with the Western political, economic and cultural expansion of the nineteenth century. Travel was combined with this expansionism with the services it made to the colonizing powers, and also vice versa, when the elite and other peoples from, e.g. India, Japan and China were looking for information regarding the West. Active travel agents such as Thomas Cook made use of the growing interest, and expanded their networks from domestic travel to international travel. Cook even joined with British imperial politics and endeavors.

The activities of growing travel business began to interest more and more financing companies, banks, transportation, railroad and shipping companies, and later on airlines and expanding hotel and service chains. As a matter of fact the transportation industry as well as many international companies in the service of travel became from the 19th century an important part of the globalization as well as travel and tourism. Their companionship continues in the early 21st century. The technology of airlines developed into the long distance jet planes that made it possible to take longer trips, which at the same time became cheaper. In actual life, global regions were now possible to reach out. An
important limitation had to be remembered: did the consumer have the money and leisure time? Therefore, the globalization in the form of travel and tourism has been interpreted by a number of critics as a kind of neo-colonization, in which the Western powers continue their exploitation of other parts of the world.

The meeting of cultures is a typical feature of tourism as well as of globalization. A modern understanding of globalization maintains that it increases the contacts of people from various cultures, especially when they are more or less interdependent. The meeting of cultures has actually been a basic feature within travel and tourism throughout the ages. It has been one of the basic reasons for making a trip. While meeting with “others”, plenty of cultural information has passed from one region to another.

Special reference should be made to the international organizations, connected with each other. Organizations forming extensive networks are found in various fields of the human society. According to McGrew the number of state organization networks has increased from three dozens of the turn of the twentieth century into three hundred (such as the League of Nations) at the turn of the twenty-first century. The number of individual and independent organizations has grown from two hundred to five thousand (Red Cross etc.). (Figure 4.7., McGrew 2000: 140) They are a sign of globalization networks in non-economic fields and their history is related to the growth of travel and tourism. Among large global organizations are found both state-supported and individual organization networks. For example, the United Nations and its UNESCO-based World Heritage program from the year 1972 has built a network of heritage sites, which include several cultural and historical locations. The world wide heritage program by UNESCO has turned into a developer of international travel and has affected on the forms of activities of the tourist industry. Even other important networks operate internationally in an effort to direct the forms of increasing tourism, such as the friendship organizations. The World Tourism Organization established in 1971 in Madrid has tried to regulate and take various initiatives in order to guide the tourism operators all over the world.

Growth of information in a world wide scale is a typical feature of the globalization. Basically, Marshall McLuhan paid attention to the concept of “global village” and promoted its use. The central idea for McLuhan was that in a global village you may get grasp and follow the world wide information anywhere on the surface of the globe. Primarily his ideas concerned the revolutionary innovation caused by the radio in the 1920s. (McLuhan 1966). His ideas actualized in recent decades because of the fast information and digital revolution.

The expansion of information is also typical in the sphere of travel and tourism. The list of factors in this sense is a long one indeed: the multitude of travel literature, journals, periodicals, brochures, leaflets, advertising, and recently the expanding internet and digital material, all add to this huge amount of information. Thus, information on travel and tourism has increased particularly during the past couple of decades. Its growth has been intimately connected with the developments and expansion of the information technology, technical innovations and the information networks around the globe, which also take
many tasks regarding travel and tourism, they deliver information, offer new insights and even create virtual tours.

Mass culture is seen as a typical part of the globalization process. Even here we find the link to the travel history. The travel industry has made use of many types of mass or popular culture, their contents, ideas, images and other matters, thus building up networks of cultural impact.

Also, it should be stressed that globalization contains both the levels of international inputs and local activities. It has been pointed out that local (or regional) activity may increase at the same time as the international and world wide activity. Within the recent history of travel and tourism we may look at both levels. By the nature of their activities, the local level may work independently, but its activity may be explained because of the world-wide business of international tourism. Typically this kind of situation has prevailed within the spheres of new small scale tourist enterprises in e.g. non-developed tourist areas.

In conclusion, we may say that travel, tourism and globalization have a lot in common. Both of them have produced many kinds of active networks aiming at regional or global operations. Also, tourism may be seen as a kind of meter of globalization: the more activity is found in international business, the more likely are its “touristic” consequences. And even vice versa: the more activities there are at the local travel and tourism business generating new activities, the more likely it has attracted other global activities to join this local effort or even to develop new forms which may have grown international or even global.

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References

The First Strategies of Public Tourism Promotion

To-day “tourism” is a world-wide industry of major importance — In the United States and elsewhere, foreign nations employ for publicity purposes paid advertising in newspapers and magazines, posters, pamphlets, guidebooks, maps and other printed matter, motion pictures, lecturers, the radio, and news bureaus. Many countries maintain special tourist bureaus, some with branches abroad. — At least 50 national governments have actively participated in encouraging the visits of foreigners. This study of the tourist industry abroad reveals a high degree of organization and government-sponsored cooperation. (Bratter 1931: IV)

Messages about the excellence of various tourist resorts situated in almost every corner of the world filled the mass media after the First World War as Herbert Bratter described the situation in his report on tourism for the U.S. Department of Commerce in 1931. Promoting tourism on a national level had started during the final years of the Belle Epoque in certain countries, especially in Spain, France and Austria-Hungary, but the First World War turned out to be a watershed. In the poor economic conditions then ensuing, numerous countries were willing to experiment seriously as to whether tourism could be of use in solving their problems. In order to thrive in the international competition for tourists and their purses, a conscious, systematic, co-ordinated action to promote tourism was considered to be vital. Hence, in many countries a State tourist board was created to engage in tourist promotion - or as it was called then tourist propaganda - abroad immediately after the First World War.

The interwar period was the time when modern tourism witnessed a remarkable development. It became a consciously-promoted industry in many countries, and for example, in Italy it was one of the leading industries. It did bring the foreign currency to the country, which was expected and badly needed. Characteristic of these decades was the further consolidation of tourism as a serious industry. This “new” tourism differed from earlier travelling, because of its organized structure and because of the systematic usage of tourism promotion - or as it was then called propaganda. The State level of the tourist structure, in particular, developed between the wars. The increase in the importance of tourism and tourist propaganda was not a solitary phenomenon. It was, on the contrary, tightly linked to a more general level of a development of a mass society, a consumption society and an information society.

A number of years ago I started to study the Italian interwar tourist promotion. I was both fascinated and puzzled by the great similarities between the public tourist promotion of today and that of the interwar period. How did those promotional practices which seem to be self-evident today take form? And why? The nucleus of the study has been tourist propaganda which has been
contextualized by the Italian State tourist policy and administrative structure, by Italian tourism as an entity, by the conditions of interwar Italy, by international tourism and the international economic, political and cultural conditions pertaining in the decades in question. There is no short cut to the history of tourism, but it has to be constructed by using manifold material. The source material consists of circa 300 tourist booklets, dozens of posters, films, the annual reports of various institutions, statistics, the documentation and correspondence of the State administrations, postcards, manuscripts of radio programmes, guidebooks, discussions and reports presented in parliament, laws and decrees, interviews, educational material, contemporary literature and newspapers. In order to understand the phenomenon, it is important to make international comparisons as much as possible. The lack of reliable historical research, however, sets limits to it.

Here below are briefly summarized the main results of this research project which were published in my PhD-thesis “Visitez l’Italie. Italian State Tourist Propaganda Abroad 1919-1943. Administrative Structure and Practical Realization”. When the interwar period in which tourist propaganda came to the fore and was swiftly developed are studied in the Italian case, three main points occur: Firstly, the gradual shift from private initiative to State control; secondly, the stability of the message and, to some degree, even that of the methods of tourist propaganda; and thirdly, the separation between tourist propaganda and other forms of propaganda implemented abroad.

**State activity in the tourist promotion**

The shift from private action to State control means that the co-ordinating and controlling of the field of tourism was concentrated in governmental bodies, the position of which gradually became stronger. At the beginning of the century, a few private enthusiasts had preached the importance of tourism, emphasizing the economic benefit it could offer to counterbalance the deficit. They were convinced that to promote tourism State participation was also needed: this meant legislation and funds. But the ideal of a liberal State conflicted with the thought of intervention in the economic sphere. In the exceptional circumstances of the war, however, the State was then obliged to take a leading role in the national economy. During the latter part of 1918 and the year 1919, the concrete process which led to the founding of a State tourist board, ENIT, began—the new organization was founded in October 1919 under the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labour.

The State tourist board had in the beginning plenty of tasks, e.g. assisting the hotel industry, but right from the beginning one of its major tasks was making tourist propaganda to attract foreigners to come to Italy. Despite the scarcity of available funds and of professional experience, tourist-propaganda work soon swelled: a chain of offices was founded abroad, millions of booklets were printed and Italian attractions were also made known through posters, films
and exhibitions. The structure of the State tourist board was renovated in 1927 so that its commercial sector was established as a separate entity, and ENIT itself henceforward concentrated on non-commercial tourist propaganda and administrative tasks. This was not only an Italian problem, but the same difficulty of defining what public tourist promotion actually was and how it could be distinguished from the commercial tourist business was encountered also in many other countries.

At the turn of the decade, more difficulties were brought about by the world-wide economic crisis which soon made evident the need for new solutions. Tourist matters were transferred in 1931 to a separate department, the commission for tourism, which was under the direct supervision of Benito Mussolini. Thus, for the first time, tourist matters—or at least the greater part of them—were centralized into one administrative unit in the State administration, which was focused just on tourism. The change in the administrative framework did not, however, affect the practical implementation of tourist propaganda, which remained ENIT’s task. During the 1930s, a few changes were made in the State administration which dealt with tourism. At the same time, the supervision increased at the local level with the creation of a new hierarchical system of provincial tourist organizations. This tendency reached its culmination point in 1937, when an enactment was made according to which no tourist propaganda material could be sent abroad without the authorization of the DG of Tourism.

The process of organizational development led from one extreme to another. At the turn of the century, the State had had hardly any interest in promoting tourism. After the First World War, the change in principle was great: the State created a tourist policy, a rather loose one, but still a tourist policy. Later, in the 1930s the State tried to achieve total domination in the field of tourism. Concentrating power in the central administration never became perhaps as strict as it superficially might have seemed to be in the light of the legislation, but over the years the supervision was undoubtedly getting tighter in practice, too.

This same tendency to create a State-led tourist organization which controlled and supervised local activities was an evident development in numerous countries—although the degree of centralization could vary. Therefore, even though centralization fits well the Fascist pattern of society and State, Fascism does not explain a great deal. The necessities of practical work in the field of tourism led to centralization in many countries, not only in Italy: better results were hoped to be achieved by a nation-wide co-ordinated activity than if the local associations were competing with each other defending their tiny territories. It is quite another question whether the ensuing concentration was in everybody’s interest, as was stated by the functionaries of the central administration. The common interest could mean the trampling underfoot of the interests of some resorts or even of entire regions.
Long-lived attractions

After having dealt with the first main point, i.e. the shift from private action to State control, it is now time to look at the second one, which is the stability of the contents of tourist propaganda and even of the means applied. Private enthusiasts had created models of tourist propaganda before the First World War, although often the scarcity of funds had obstructed their use in practice. The State tourist board continued to follow the already-existing pattern. The various methods employed cannot be ranked in an exact order of importance, but the most central were the office-network abroad and publications. Other important methods were the production of posters and films, participating in exhibitions and fairs and organizing tours for some key groups such as journalists and physicians. Over the years, the means did not radically change. The major technical innovation, which created a totally new mass medium, was the radio; Italian tourist broadcasting was started during the latter part of the 1920s. The contents of the radio programmes, however, mainly followed what was transmitted via other media. Of other technical improvements can be mentioned, first, sound films and, later, colour films and colour photographs. They offered a wider choice of “tools” to the tourist promoters, but caused no real change in tourist propaganda while the attractions marketed to the public remained mainly the same. The scale of attractions was only enlarged when new pastimes, such as the above-mentioned golf, or others such as sun-bathing and winter sports gradually gained in popularity.

What was the image like which the promoters wanted to give about Italy? Their motives were bipartite. On the one hand, they were convinced that what the tourists wanted were beautiful landscape, sun, art and historical sights; and a professed opinion was that tourists had to be offered what they already wanted. To attempt to change their taste was a demanding, slow process which also contained many risks—either efforts would be wasted, yielding no results, or, even worse, the potential tourists could be irritated. Broadly, therefore, tourist promoters tried to offer an image of Italy which the potential tourists were considered to have already and which would most please them. On the other hand, the Italians wanted to make foreigners know the modern Italy better. New aspects were therefore sometimes included in tiny portions, but the traditional attractions clearly dominated.

The image of modern Italy or Fascist Italy never replaced the old image of Italy. The essential contents of the message did not change. Italy was presented as a land of a natural paradise, of countless historical treasures and of masterpieces of art, in which modern everyday life was only a shadow. The modern improvements in Italy, for instance, the autostrade, meant that it would be more comfortable to travel within Italy, but they did not replace the age-old attractions. This Italian choice was by no means unique: John R. and Margaret Gold have found a similar longevity of major attractions and ways of presenting Scotland, because the quality of ready association is very important in tourist promotion. (Gold & Gold 1995: e.g. 137-138, 201.)
Currency vs. ideology

The third main point is the separation of tourist propaganda from political propaganda and the paucity of political content in tourist propaganda-material. This point is related to two elements, firstly, to the basic motivation of why tourism on the whole was promoted, and, secondly, to the kind of strategies that could be applied to advance political aims.

In the earlier phase, from the Belle Epoque till the middle of the 1930s, economic motives were given much emphasis. To refer only to economic utility might have seemed somewhat “crude”, so that sometimes references to “moral” utility were added, though without explaining what kind of moral benefit was actually foreseen. In the 1930s, politics was increasingly used as an argumentation for the utility of tourism. Without denying the importance of the then rhetoric and the need felt by the promoters of tourism to awake the interest of the politicians, I would emphasize that during the latter part of the 1930s these promoters believed in the political utility of tourism. They did not expect that the tourists would turn into ardent blackshirts after their trip to Italy, but when the international situation was becoming more problematical and there was quite a lot of resentment against Italy and its aggressive foreign policy, tourists who spent a sunny, good vacation enjoying a tranquil Italy and the trains which were never late might become quite good propagators of a more friendly attitude towards Italy. Therefore it was considered important to attract even prejudiced visitors to the country: they would not only help the economy of the country by spending their currency there but they might view the place more favourably after the trip. To encourage travellers of this kind to arrive, it was very important not to irritate them with ideologically-flavoured brochures or other material. This is a plausible explanation of why in the tourist propaganda only the achievements of the new regime, the well-ordered Italy, were presented, not the ideology itself.

In Italy, tourism was such an important industry that it had a certain autonomy. Though political ambitions existed, they were fulfilled only in such a way that tourism would not suffer. Tourism was never reduced to the role of only a means of politics. Quite a number of times—even during the first years of the Second World War—this topic was also dealt with by tourist promoters, who, maybe feeling the pressure of the exceptional conditions, emphasized that politics should not enter the field of tourism. Only to the extent in which a co-existence was possible between political and tourist ambitions so that the latter did not suffer, could they be juxtaposed. In Italian tourist propaganda, Fascism did not proceed further than a set of decorative phrases, and even they did not appear until the 1930s.
Roman artichokes

Although tourism could not - and cannot - be constructed solely on tourist promotion, it was, however, a most decisive factor. However much a country possessed attractions, they were of no use if they were not to have been made widely known. The interwar decades were a period of quick development of the mass media from illustrated magazines to the radio and the film. In the consumption society which was full of messages transmitted constantly through the mass media, the consumer had to be alerted to a special case and thus to be persuaded to choose a specific destination. Hence, tourist propaganda had become a basic characteristic of the new ever-growing industry, tourism, but it did not exist or function in a vacuum. Instead, there was a circle: tourism was a way of promoting many other things: exports, good will towards the country in question, etc., but, conversely, almost all the other spheres might have been a means of promoting tourism. For instance, after having eaten Sicilian oranges or tasted Roman artichokes, the potential tourist might have found it more difficult to resist the idea of travelling to Italy. Courses on the Italian language or going to Puccini’s operas might have a similar off-spin. Everything together sustained the interest.

Through the study of a basic characteristic of tourism, the tourist promotion, I wished to arouse interest in the history of tourism in general, not just in Italy, not just in the interwar period, not just in tourist promotion. I still agree with that idea, but gradually my own interest in the history of tourism has moved to a slightly new direction. The above mentioned omnipresence of touristic themes,
a kind of permanent virtual tourism, in our consumer society is now the focal point (Syrjämaa 2000). This approach emphasizes even more the interrelation-
ship between tourism and the everyday life, our society, our culture. I hope that these kind of contributions will be steps towards a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of tourism - which does have its historical dimensions! - and its role in Western society yesterday, today and tomorrow.

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Leila Koivunen

Visualizing the Unknown: Exploration and Shaping of the Imagery of Africa in the Illustrations of Travel Literature (1850s–1880s)

Introduction

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, when almost all the corners of the world had already been “discovered” by white men, the inner parts of Africa still remained largely unknown. Due to various difficulties relating to the travelling in Africa, the information about the interior increased very slowly and the image of Africa as a “dark” and “mysterious” continent remained for a long time in Western thinking. The situation changed, however, as many of the obstacles to travel gradually disappeared in the course of the nineteenth century. Central Africa became an increasingly popular target for exploration, and, soon after that, for imperialist conquest. Following on these close encounters, a long process of image formation started. During this process, which still continues, the images and ideas of Africa and its inhabitants gradually took shape in Europe as well as those of Europe in Africa.

A wood-engraving of an African boy in Samuel W. Baker’s travel book Albert N’yanza (1866) is based on a watercolour sketch he made during his expedition to Africa.

Simultaneously with the exploration of Africa and the flow of new information, the Europeans experienced something that can even be described as a “visual revolution”. Due to the inventions in printing technology, the printed images began to appear in great amounts in books, journals, pamphlets and advertisements thus changing the everyday environment once and for all. In addition to causing a revolution in communication, the printed images also made it possible to redefine all the things in the world, now in a visual form. Also, in the case of Africa, the pictures had a tremendous impact in creating a notion of the “newly found” Africa. The impact was increased by the fact that
most of the Europeans had never seen a picture of black people, elephants or other astonishing things. The legacy of this impact can still be found everywhere in our “modern” ways of representing Africa visually. In fact, historical research on the practices of representation is essential for understanding, explaining, identifying, and possibly attempting to alter the images of “others” today.

My PhD research focuses on the problematic of this cultural encounter and the image formation from the European perspective. The shaping of the images and ideas of Africa is approached by using mainly European visual material on Africa. Until recently, the research of European ideas and images of Africa has been strictly separated from the research of its visual representations. The pioneers in studying historical pictures of Africa were mainly ethnographers and anthropologists. They were, however, primarily concerned about the “reality” that could be found reflected in the pictures than in the processes which gave them birth. The historians, for their part, have traditionally been more familiar with written sources and pictures have played a minor role as sources. Historians have studied the images of Africa by using texts as sources (e.g. Cairns 1965; Curtin 1965) but compared to this traditional research, visual material opens new perspectives into the cultural encounters. Very often, it gives new and contradictory information about an important phenomenon thus reminding us of the complex and manifold practices in the cultural interaction.

The main material of my research consists of a selection of travel accounts written and published by British explorers during the classical age of African exploration from the 1850s to the 1880s. The illustration processes of these books is followed as closely as possible by starting from Africa and ending to Europe. At the time, the production of an illustrated book included various stages and several individuals that all had an effect on the resulting images. When planning to publish a travel account, the traveller offered the publisher his diaries and manuscript for the book. In addition, he was given free access to the visual material the traveller had produced during the journey: these sketches, paintings and photographs were meant to be used in illustration. However, none of the pictures could be used as such: in order to be printed they had to be copied by artists and engraved by engravers onto wood or redrawn into a lithographic stone by lithographers. These and many other specialists involved were advised and supervised by the traveller himself or by the publisher and his assistants. The illustration process often included frequent alterations and improvements of the image. In the end, the original picture was turned into a printed image which could be, at best, almost identical with the original. In the worst case, however, the resulting image turned out to be something quite different. As the travellers could not always offer any kind of visual material, the illustrations were often created only in Europe for instance by borrowing and copying other travellers’ visual material. It was, however, even more common that European artists who had never set foot in Africa were commissioned to produce suitable material. The production of an illustrated book was always an active process with an endless amount of choices, coincidences, uncertainties
and communications between different people. It required constant balancing between the possibilities and the limitations.

By analysing these complex processes from the beginning to the end the constructed nature of the images can be revealed. More than anything else, the stereotyped imagery representing Africa and its cultures was something that was created during the different stages of illustration. The research thus aims to take part in the current interdisciplinary discussion on various aspects of representing “others” and “difference” in a more general level. Especially interesting are the notions relating to the possibilities and limitations of documenting and representing the unfamiliar. This question has been discussed enthusiastically, and various notions on the issue has been presented. Several scholars see the sense of familiarity essential when dealing with the unfamiliar whereas others stress the importance of making the difference between “us” and “them” (see e.g. Moscovici 1981; Hall 1998; Pagden 1993; Mason 1998). Although neither of these approaches seem to explain the visual material produced by Europeans in Africa in the nineteenth century, they serve as important tools in analysing the complex nature of this historical material. In addition, methodological tools for analysis has been borrowed from disciplines familiar with the use of pictures as sources, especially art history and visual anthropology.

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Introduction

The growing impacts of tourism have led to a range of evident and potential problems in tourist destinations. These include environmental, social, cultural and economic issues, and the perceived problems and threats have created a need for alternative and more sustainable practices of tourism. The demand for environmentally more sensitive practices in tourism grew rapidly in the late 1980s (see Hall 1998; Mowforth & Munt 1998; Butler 1990), leading to the creation of new products and types of tourism, and also influencing the practices of mass tourism. The major concern over the negative effects of tourism dates back to the early 1960s, however, and the growing research tradition of carrying capacity in tourism. Over two decades the idea of carrying capacity formed the basis to approach the negative impacts of tourism and their management, but after the period of enthusiasm in 1970s and early 1980s the issue of carrying capacity was realised to be problematic both in theory and practice (see O’Reilly 1986; Wall 1982).

The Nature of Sustainable Tourism

Since the Brundtland Commission’s report “Our Common Future” in 1987, sustainability and sustainable development have been the central theme in discussions on tourism and the impacts of tourism development. The basic ideas and principles of sustainable development have been applied to tourism development, but perhaps as a result of conceptual problems, disagreements and the multidimensionality of sustainable development (see Redcliffe & Woodgate 1997; Lélé 1991), many tourism commentators have stated that there are no exact definitions for sustainable tourism (see Butler 1999; Mowforth & Munt 1998; Murphy 1994). Consequently, sustainable tourism has been defined broadly as “tourism which is economically viable but does not destroy the resources on which the future of tourism is depend, notably the physical...
environment and the social fabric of host community” (Swarbrooke 1999: 13).

There are many interpretational and practical problems involved in sustainable tourism, and especially in its relation to sustainable development (Sharp-ley 2000). One of the characterising problems is tied to the holistic nature of sustainable development, especially its spatial and functional scale. The focus of sustainable tourism development has mainly been on tourism practices in tourist destination areas. This is understandable, as it would be almost impossible to consider the whole tourism system, all the impacts of tourism and their relations to non-touristic processes and all other spatial and temporal scales involved in the production of tourism. However, in spite of the evaluation and management problems, it is also important to look beyond the present impacts and effects at the destinations in order to create tourism development that is truly sustainable (Butler 1998).

The reason why the focus of sustainable tourism development in practice (and partly in theory) has been narrow may lie in the tourism industry itself. The evolution of sustainable and other alternative forms of tourism and tourism development is related to our growing knowledge of the negative impacts of tourism and to societal shifts in production and consumption toward more environmentally friendly modes. Mowforth & Munt (1998: 96) recognise these elements, but they also describe sustainable tourism as the mainstream tourism industry’s attempt to invent a new legitimisation for itself: “‘sustainable’ and ‘rational’ use of the environment, including the preservation of nature as an amenity for the already advantaged.” Sustainable tourism is also an inseparable part of tourism and the tourism industry. To exist, it requires tourism, for without tourism there would be no new forms, whether sustainable or of any other kind tourism. Thus, tourism, tourism development and the tourism industry are the starting points and conditions for the conceptual basis for sustainable tourism: the objective and driving force of sustainable tourism seems to be to sustain tourism.

Therefore, the question of whether there should be tourism or not is an irrelevant one in the context of sustainable tourism. Rather, the issue is what kind of tourism there can be for tourism development to take place, and how much. This may conflict with the idea of sustainable development as a resource and community based process. However, in spite of the problematic relation between sustainable development and sustainable tourism these questions are important to discuss and they relate strongly to the earlier research tradition of carrying capacity in tourism (see Butler 1999): sustainable tourism in practice involves the recognition of negative impacts and the need to manage them in order to achieve the goals of sustainable development. Traditionally, carrying capacity has been one of the central framework within such issues could be considered (O’Reilly 1986; Getz 1983).
Carrying Capacity in Tourism

Carrying capacity has a long research tradition in nature and wilderness recreation research and especially among geographers studying tourism and recreation. McMurray (1930: 19), for example, saw the issue of carrying capacity as one of the “contributions geography can make” in the field of recreation and tourism research. The concept also occupies a key position with regard to sustainable tourism development, in that many of the principles of the latter are actually based on the theory and research tradition of carrying capacity (Tribe et al. 2000: 44–45). Carrying capacity is occasionally interpreted as an application of sustainable tourism development (Butler 1999: 9). Butler even questions whether there is anything new in the present idea of sustainable tourism as compared with the traditional idea of carrying capacity.

Unlike sustainable tourism or sustainable development in tourism, the concept of carrying capacity does not ideologically or rhetorically imply or promise global or generational solutions but more time and space-specific solutions at the local level. Even so, as a “local solution”, carrying capacity has wide theoretical and practical dimensions in relation to tourism development, planning and policy. However, there are numerous challenges and limitations with to concept of carrying capacity in tourism and in the context of sustainable development (see Fennell 1999; Lindberg et al. 1997; Wall 1982) and carrying capacity has shared some of the very same problems in the past as the idea of sustainable tourism development has nowadays, i.e. that of providing unrealistic expectations at times and being conceptually fragmented. The search for a magical objective calculation of the maximum acceptable number of tourists at a destination has failed, for example, because of the fact that carrying capacity is not related to only a certain resource and the numbers of tourists or the intensity of the impacts. It is also a question of human values and perceptions concerning the resource, indicators, criteria and the impacts of tourism (see Hughes & Furley 1996; Wall 1982).

There are probably as many definitions and categories of carrying capacity in the tourism literature as there are definitions of sustainable tourism. In generally, carrying capacity refers to the amount of tourism activity that can occur in a spatial unit without doing any serious harm to the natural and/or socio-cultural resources and tourist destinations. More than any single definition of carrying capacity, it is also important to recognise that behind the different definitions there lie at least two epistemological traditions that differ in focus and in their relation to space: how the limit(s) of carrying capacity can be set and related to the resource used by tourism.
Resource-based carrying capacity

The first perspective to the limits of tourism in space can be referred to as a resource-based carrying capacity. It is related especially to the early recreation studies (see Lucas 1964). The resource-based carrying capacity is derived from late 19th century livestock and wildlife management studies (see Pigram & Jenkins 1999: 90; Hendee et al. 1990) and is grounded deeply in the positivism and natural sciences. It implies the limit or stage of growth at which there is no room for any more individuals in a certain environment. In order to achieve further growth, individuals have to cope with the environment in a new and better way, e.g. by altering their behaviour. In recreation and tourism studies this has led to density, crowding, displacement and social carrying capacity analyses in recreational and wilderness areas (see Vaske et al. 1986).

Activity-based carrying capacity

The second tradition can be referred to as an activity-based carrying capacity. This is more in evidence in tourism research, but also in some recreational studies. It implies that certain touristic activities, or tourism itself, may have a limit of growth and capacity (see Wall 1982). Unlike the case of resource-based carrying capacity, individuals and human activities do not necessarily alter their behaviour in the first instance. In order to grow and develop, tourism, the industry and other actors will modify the environment, i.e. the resource(s). Thus, the evaluations of the limits of carrying capacity are not directly based on the resource but activities in spatial context. Activity-based carrying capacity is more industrially oriented than the resource-based concept, and in tourism studies it originates mainly from strategic planning and the notion of product life-cycle employed in marketing. In Butler’s (1980) tourist area life-cycle model, for example, the carrying capacity of a tourism region is grounded more in the idea of activity-based limits than in any resource-based carrying capacity. According to Butler, every tourist area has a limit to its growth. However, in this model the limit is not primarily based on the capacity of the destination and its natural and socio-cultural resources to absorb tourism but on the industry (activity) and its capacity. By changing the tourist product through marketing, and by introducing new types of tourist facilities and infrastructure etc., the destination and its limits of growth can be modified and moved on to a new, “higher” stage. All the touristic modifications based on these and other means will then require more effective and massive environmental changes, new land-use patterns and additional construction work, all of which can quite easily overstep some of the limits of the resource-based (e.g. ecologically, socially and culturally defined) carrying capacity. Therefore, the limits and perspectives of resource-based and activity-based carrying capacity may be conflicting.
Carrying capacity a social construction

The dual nature of carrying capacity can be re-evaluated by understanding and conceptualising the issue of the carrying capacity of tourism as a socially constructed limit(s) of tourism development (see Hughes 1995). As a social construct, carrying capacity refers to the maximum level of known and perceived impacts of tourism in a certain time-space context before they are considered to be too disturbing from the perspectives of specific social, cultural, political or economic actors who can use practices manifesting sufficient power over the chosen indicators and criteria for carrying capacity (Saarinen 2001). This complex definition indicates that the concept is (i) relative and (ii) laden with power issues. This determination of the limits of tourism carrying capacity is associated with power relations constituted by different discourses of capacity – the appropriate level of use – on local, national and finally global scales (see Munt & Mowforth 1998). For example, such questions as who can define and decide what is an ecologically acceptable practice and change, or what resources we should sustain in tourism and for whom, are all loaded with power issues. In most cases the answers to these questions are not derived directly from the touristic impacts themselves but from the practices and discourses of the power relations defining them. Through the discourses of economies and politics, different social groups define and contest the appropriate goal, method and level for the use of natural and cultural resources as well as different conceptualisations of nature and culture (see Macnaghten & Urry 1998; Wall 1996).

The carrying capacity of tourism can be understood as a dynamic, contested concept which is continually being constructed and reconstructed during the development process of tourism. The conceptualisation of carrying capacity as a social construct does not necessarily undervalue the realm of nature (see Sack 1992: 81–82) or ecological changes and their character in any objective or measurable sense. Impacts do exist in the physical world without human values and meanings, and tourism development may change ecosystems and indigenous cultures, destroy habitats and disturb wild life. But in the world of meanings and social forces, the question of whether these changes are acceptable or unacceptable depends on the perspective, the touristic discourses and our (societal) values, attitudes and priorities concerning the role and impacts of tourism. Naturally, the determination of carrying capacity also depends on the variables and indicators chosen, which have not yet been properly developed for the evaluation of tourism impacts (see Hall & Lew 1998; Wheeler 1993; Pigram 1990). This is especially the case with the social and cultural consequences of tourism development. Without any general or place-specific indicators and monitoring, however, both carrying capacity and sustainable tourism may become almost meaningless jargon without any real reference to the holistic and ethical idea of sustainable development.

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Transitional Features of Post-Apartheid South African Tourism

Introduction

The idea of the research project is to analyze the reconstruction of South African tourism during the transition period between the apartheid regime of the 1980s and today’s “nation of reconciliation”. The main research question is: Has reconstruction of tourism occurred alongside the reconstruction of the society? The dual focus of the project includes changes in tourism marketing and regional image, and critical analysis of the remaining colonial relationships in South African tourism, both as portrayed and as practiced. The first part of the project focused on the imagery of the main Satour (South African Tourism Board) tourism promotion brochures published in 1985 and 2002 - “A World in One Country” (Satour 1985) and “Our Wonderful World” (Satour 2002) - by which South Africa has been sanitized and packed for international tourism consumption.

Graham Dann has provided a framework particularly useful for the analysis of tourist images in the case of South Africa. Dann has used a dualistic metaphor of a “paradise controlled” and a “paradise confused” in his discussion of the role of the “natives” in tourism brochures. In a paradise controlled, the “natives” remain in the background and function as servants, entertainers and vendors, and as this article is going to point out, also as sights. In the “paradise confused”, on the other hand, the “natives” take a more active role and start to interfere with tourism, acting as seducers, intermediaries (guides, drivers, protectors), familiar figures or, in the end, as tourists. In tourism marketing, the first role is almost exclusively reserved for women and the second one for men. Attractive “native” women are there to seduce heterosexual male tourists, and masculine “native” men serve as the protectors of both men and women (see also McClintock 1995; Opperman & McKinley 1997). The familiar “native”, on the other hand, has adopted a role indicative of the originating culture of the tourists, for example as one of the colonial-style officials one meets in South Africa.

All the roles in the latter category confuse the touristic “paradise”, ideally based on homogenous existence and strict division of societal space, by bringing the “natives” on the MacCannellian (1976) front stage reserved for the visitors, much like the old order of South Africa has become confused since Mandela left Robben Island. The role of a “native” as a tourist is the final blow in this sense, and therefore rarely used in tourism brochures. The realization that the travel destination does not after all belong to the visitors is a dangerous one from the marketing point of view. The tourists going “native” are, however, relatively rare exceptions from the general rule, and as such a paradox be-
cause the “natives” of tourism brochures and the imagery of the tourist’s mind often are, as also Dann points out, caricatures based on old stereotypes rather than anything else. The tourists of the tourism brochures are almost equally stereotypic. They both serve as markers of collections of images rather than descriptions of reality (see also Markwick 2001).

Paradise confused

In South Africa, touristic power relations have for long been entangled with power struggle between the different ethnic groups living in the region. In fact, “paradise controlled” can be seen as a rather accurate metaphor of the ideal of South African life during the apartheid era, the time of the first sample, as seen from the viewpoint of the white minority. In general terms, apartheid sought to create stable, favorable conditions for the white minority - a kind of a hotel under the Southern sun - by spatial and societal segregation and discrimination, and to reserve the role of a servant to the non-white, the culturally different, and therefore “incompatible” majority. Given the colorful history of South Africa and the various human invasions in the region, the definition of “natives” and “visitors” may not appear to be a straightforward one. Nevertheless, due to the history of continuous adoption of colonialistic societal practices and the well known recent pronunciation of Us and the Other, it is possible to define the whites as “visitors”, and the non-whites as “natives”. A respective division of touristic roles can be found in the analyzed images as well, and particularly in the 1985 brochure.

Let us have a closer look at Satour’s Our World in One Country brochure of 1985. How does it agree with Dann’s ideas of “paradise controlled” and “paradise confused”? The tourists in the brochure are almost invariably whites who enjoy their nature-oriented hobbies and admire the beauty of the African landscape and its wildlife, relax by the beach, shop, or taste the local cuisine in comfortable restaurants. Only in two pictures, in scenes from Cape Town’s Grand Parade and a pedestrian mall in Bloemfontein, we can see “non-white” people in the roles of tourists (or shoppers). In both pictures, white tourists predominate and the “non-whites” appear more or less as “stage extras” (cf. Dann 1996: 70). Otherwise, the few “non-whites” present function as intermediaries, vendors, servants, entertainers or sights. There is no need to say who were the ones in control in the 1985 “paradise” of South Africa.

What about the Our Wonderful World brochure (Satour 2002)? First of all, there is a dramatic change to be discovered in the racial content of images. In the Satour 2002 brochure there is an equal number of white and “non-white” persons portrayed, whereas in the 1985 brochure there were five times more white than “non-white” people, and twenty-four times more whites than “non-whites” as “tourists”. Significantly, many of the “non-whites” have been portrayed as tourists (1400% increase), although much of the general increase can be explained by increases in the categories of “sights” and “entertainers”. What
is more, despite the often segregated reality of South African tourism (e.g. Preston-Whyte 2001), white and “non-white” people mix freely on the beaches of the brochure.

In Dann’s (1996) own study, a clear majority of pictures with people portrayed the tourists themselves. As he says, pictures of the locals do in general present a minority of illustrations in tourism brochures, less than 10% of the photographs used. A larger share would threaten the tourists’ perception of control and risk their willingness to visit the destination marketed. Nevertheless, the increased inclusion of “natives” in the Satour 2002 brochure has partly been made possible by changing their status from host to visitor. By joining the tourists the “natives” become less threatening and more acceptable to the white majority of tourists. What is more, despite the impressive change, there are still twice as many white as “non-white” persons portrayed as tourists in Our Wonderful World.

The positive change towards equality, or at least political correctness, on the pages of the Satour brochures is but one detail of transition in South African tourism marketing. There are many others to be discovered of the pages of the brochures analyzed and in the everyday of South African tourism. On the other hand, there are also things which have not changed according to common expectations. One such case is the presentation and the role of the Zulu community in the tourism of the easternmost province of South Africa, KwaZulu-Natal. Unlike other ethnic groups in the region, the Zulus continue to be presented solely in terms of their colonial past, claimed to be “authentic” despite the quite different reality. As discovered in the streets of Durban, for example, many Zulus have left their rural settings, acquired themselves education and created innovative, touristically interesting culture in urban settings. This culture is, however, mostly excluded from tourism marketing because it does not fulfill the expectations of tourists. One has to ask: How would the whites of South Africa react if they were portrayed only as redcoats and voortrekkers in tourism brochures instead of the current portrayal which focuses on postcolonial culture?

**Conclusions**

There has been a rather remarkable change in the image content of Satour tourism brochures between 1985 and 2002. The “timeless Africa” of the brochures may not have changed, but the “paradise (strictly) controlled” has certainly become a “paradise confused”. The practically “whites only” 1985 brochure has evolved into an ethnically balanced one, and at least on paper, the role of a tourist has become a common property. The “paradise” of South Africa has become “confused” in a positive way and may eventually be “controlled” on a more balanced basis. The everyday of segregated tourism can not, however, be easily changed. Conventional tourists tend to avoid places where they do not expect to be in control of more or less everything. They avoid
danger, confusion and stress, and may actually prefer a certain degree of “apart-
heid”. Much of this may, however, change as soon as the “native” going tourist
of brochures becomes a fully established tourist in the everyday of South Africa.
At the moment, there is a marked discrepancy between the tourism sanitized
and the tourism observed.

Looking from Scandinavia, the “nation of reconciliation” remains in many
ways a British colony. There are many cultural, economical and political ties which
continue to exist in a rather colonial fashion. This fact is also reflected in tourism,
in its forms and attractions and in the relations between the hosts and the visitors.
It is not accident that Zulu “cultural villages” have been build for (British) visitors.
They long for their colonial past and are attracted to these places with their per-
formances, where the “wild” men and women of black Africa still wear the leop-
ard skins and carry spears. As Homi Bhabha (1994: 67) has noted, the construc-
tion of the colonial subject in the colonial discourse and the exercise of colonial
power through that discourse demand an articulation of the forms of the differ-
ence between the ones in power and the ones colonized. Strong stereotypes
continue to be created to underline “the white man’s right to rule the natives” (see
also Pieterse 1992; Duncan 1993; Said 1995), more so in tourism brochures
than in some other forums of representation.

A manuscript based on the study is currently under review in the South Afri-
can Geographical Journal. Another article with additional emphasis on the
(post)colonial features of the relationship between the Zulus, marketed and
consumed, and British tourists is under preparation for the Tourism and Cultur-

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Introduction

Although only one small patch, the Boubín Virgin Forest (Boubínský prales), is regarded as completely untouched, the Šumava’s (Boehmerwald) overall pristine state makes it a unique asset.” (King et al. 1998: 283).

Tourism has the potential to be the lynch-pin for economic prosperity. Undeniably, as an economic driver, tourism became one of the major industries contributing to the Czech Republic’s economic recovery in the 1990s (Cooper & Morpeth 1998: 2254). The economic impacts, as well as the importance of tourism in the Czech Republic have risen rapidly compared to the situation 14 years ago.

The Czech Republic has seen a boom period in the development of its tourism. However, the rising environmental consciousness and the increasing concern about sustainable development in recent years has brought the issue of the economic, social and cultural development of tourist destination areas, along with a concern for the environment, to the centre stage of the tourism-development debate (Sharma 2000).

This paper focuses on the development of tourism in the Czech Republic and former Czechoslovakia, particularly that of nature-based travel in the mountain areas. An effort is made to link mountain-based tourism to a broader environmental, economic and socio-cultural context. The aim is to discuss the central questions within a historical and socio-cultural context. Such an approach provides a way to explore the roots of mountain-based tourism and to highlight its effects and social impacts and implications.

The research material was taken from travel brochures, magazines, guidebooks, journals, statistics, studies, as well as Internet pages. I owe a heavy debt of gratitude to many people for collecting the research material. I would like to thank especially information specialist Mari Niemi for her invaluable help.

Historical perspective

Travel and later on tourism is in the Boehmerwald, or the Šumava Mountains, a tradition dating back to the 18th century. At the time its alpine Black and Devil Lakes became significant attractions (Moss et al. 2000: 100-101). The Age of Enlightenment and Rousseau’s ideas had a strong mental influence on educated people’s minds. This was also seen in the process the travel habits changed, as the way to look at and observe wild nature altered. (Withey 1998: 39-41, 45.)
In Šumava these early travellers could be characterized as the wealthy, artists, naturalists and adventurers. The attitude towards mountains and nature itself changed. This could also be seen in the Šumava region, which took part in the period’s growing vogue for alpine touring. Šumava’s landscape, commune with nature, delve into natural history and other pull factors formed an image, which still motivates the tourist gaze. (Moss et al. 2000: 100-101.)

However, most eighteenth-century Europeans found the mountains, in general, distasteful and even frightening. The main reason for these negative feelings were the practical difficulties of travel in mountainous regions, but there were still aesthetic reasons as well. Prevailing tastes valued order and symmetry. (Withey 1998: 21.)

German- and Czech-speaking alpine clubs were established in the 1880s. These promoted tourist activity through publishing tour guides and building tourist accommodation. The Giant Mountains Club helped to promote the mountain tourism from 1880 on, and The Czech Tourist Club was established in 1888. It created the network of Šumava hiking trails. The first natural preserve in the Giant Mountains was established in 1904. During World War II the Czech alpine clubs were shut down, and the communist regime didn’t appreciate these organizations either. (Moss et al. 2000: 101-102.)

The Communist party’s role in the growth of construction projects in natural parks and conservation reserves was a dominating one. The party gave its members a sense of power to approve these illicit construction projects in natural parks and conservation reserves. This approach was typical of the party’s decision-making in all areas of the society. (Zackova 1991: 24. See also Williams & Baláž 2001.) Czechs built second homes in the mountains to spend their leisure time more contentedly. Between the early 1970s and early 1980s, an estimated 14,000 second homes were built in the Šumava Mountains. (Glorioso 2000: 281-282.)

Before 1989 about 95 per cent of Czechoslovakia’s foreign visitors came from other socialist states, the rest came mostly from Germany and Austria (Hoffman & Musil 1999: 180-181). As it is well known, the post 1989 transition in Central Eastern Europe has had a major impact on tourism in the region (e.g. Williams & Baláž 2002: 37). Following the Velvet Revolution, the former communist Czechoslovakia became a target for many foreign tourists. This boom brought around 4 billion US dollars yearly without any major state investment in tourism promotion. Many new non-government tourism organizations were also established. (Burian 2000: 341). The appeal was high, and a large number of visitors were day-trippers from neighbouring Germany, Austria and Poland. In 1997 only from Germany arrived 41.9 million visitors, and the Czech Republic was ranked the sixth among the tourism destinations in Europe. (WTO 1998: 33, 81.)
The Impacts of mountain tourism

Almost every country in the world is now engaged in nature-based tourism and ecotourism, and the Czech Republic is not an exception. Indeed, the Czechoslovakian constitution was the first in the world to include clauses on nature protection. Unfortunately we have noticed that these points have applied only in theory, not in practice. E.g. during the communist era Slovakia’s precious national parks were destroyed to a large extent. (Zackova 1991: 24). Also, the forests of northern Bohemia were devastated by acid rain.

In the Czech Republic, like in any other popular tourist destination, the tourism industry and the supporters of tourism highlight the positive impacts of tourism to stress its importance. However, the changes presented due to the economic impacts of tourism do not generally include the benefits and costs of physical and socio-cultural impacts affecting the given destination. (Rátz & Puczko 2002: 52). Popular Czech tourist destinations need protection. Especially in sensitive mountain areas the protection of the landscape against erosion seems evident.

Around the world, ecotourism has been hailed as a general medicine: a way to protect sensitive and fragile ecosystems, fund conservation and scientific research, enhance cultural and ecological sensitivity, and instil environmental awareness and social conscience in the travel industry, as well as in an average tourist’s mind. Green travel has been quite aggressively marketed as a “win-win” solution for the travel industry and the tourist. However, close examination shows a far more complicated reality. (Honey 1999: 4). For critics, “ecotourism” means a way for the cash-strapped governments to open up precious national parks to environmentally destructive investment.

Various types of tourism, mountaineering, trekking, wilderness and culture, pleasure and sightseeing, resort tourism etc., are in tourism promotion and marketing, and almost in every suitable situation, expressed as “ecotourism”. Ecotourism awards and labels are used as marketing tools. (Honey 1999: 50.)

Tourism contributes to the general evolution of the economy, and the Czech Government regards tourism as one of the main sources of foreign currency and a major job generating industry characterised by its multiplier effects on the various economic sectors (Ahtola 2000: 206). However, “while the economic aspects of tourism are regularly assessed, the socio-cultural and community-related consequences have been largely neglected” (Lovel & Fauerstein 1992: 335-336; Cooper & Morpeth 1998: 2254).

Who takes care of the paradise?

As we know, mountain areas are environmentally and culturally sensitive regions and unprepared for the various impacts of tourism. Visitors have a range of negative environmental impacts. E.g. in Bohemia and Moravia it is hard to estimate and describe the natural and cultural values of the protected
Czech mountain areas. Concerning the Šumava area and other mountain areas, too, it is recognized that while inter-disciplinary research is highly desirable in this region, which is subject to many external pressures, from air pollution to changing agricultural policies and the construction of second homes, often by foreigners, little has been conducted or is planned. (Price s.a.)

Year 2000 was the concluding year of the “Šumava - Böhmervald, landscape of the year 1999 - 2000” project. The project contributed significantly to increasing awareness of Šumava at a regional and European level. Attention and financial means were devoted to environmentally sound means of transport; for the fifth year, up to five lines of regular vacation, environmentally sound mass transportation operated in Šumava, called “green” buses. For tourist regulation, provision was made for maintenance of marked paths and poles were installed with information texts. According to the Ministry of the Environment, in 2000 “significant progress was made in more extensive use of the tourist potential of Šumava, where visits were not limited to only a few of the most popular locations”. (Ministry of Environment, 2001).

In the Czech Republic most of the mountainous areas are part of protected areas - national parks, protected landscape areas, biosphere reserves, watershed areas etc. However, it seems that recreational activities do not yet exceed the acceptable levels, except for the Giant Mountains, in Czech the Krkonoše, National Park. An estimate of the number of visitors to Krkonoše National Park was 8 million per year six years ago. Thus, ecotourism is being developed, but we may also ask who owns the paradise and takes care of it? The Krkonoše and Šumava Biosphere Reserves took part in a project financed by the Global Environmental Facility, through the World Bank. The main objective of the project was to develop effective management techniques and model conservation programmes that would effectively address increasing threats, and allow control of the number of visitors. (United Nations, 1997). Sustainable environmental planning for tourism and the importance of mountain regions in the tourism development seem evident.

For tourists, the mountain areas, coasts, lakes, and towns are sold like consumer products. Indeed, the mountains are often attractive, as they are idyllic and picturesque. In travel guidebooks they are almost always described with superlatives. What foreign tourists appreciate about the Czech Republic is not so much the luxury resorts. Rather it seems to be the unfamiliar culture and unspoiled landscape. But is there either left, even if most of the foreign travellers are satisfied with trying some of the day hikes around the famous West Bohemian spas.

Conclusion

The aim was to explore the inter-relationships between the environment, tourism and recreation in a socio-cultural context. During the communist regime the burn of poor quality brown coal was devastating the forests with
acid rain. The pollution was and still is a remarkable factor as far as the image and the profile of an area as a tourist destination is concerned. This problem isn’t solved yet. Such issues as the relationship between rising tourism and heritage, planning for conservation, and the problem of conservation policy are still actual and need planning and careful consideration.

Before 1989 a highly-organized tourism industry existed in Czechoslovakia. In the mountain areas the communist regime built a number of structures mainly for domestic tourism. Second homes in the mountain areas are a specific phenomenon in Czech tourism, but in the fragile mountain areas there are also a lot of hotels, chalets, and other structures built for tourism purposes.

There is an urgent need to establish more sustainable forms of tourism. How can the adverse impacts of tourism in the mountain areas be avoided? In tourism planning the aim should be to develop mountain tourism alongside with the community well-being and environmental sustainability. The needs of environmental conservation as well as local communities and tourists should be in balance, whereas now it seems that the tourists’ needs are dominating.

The growing global interest in ecotourism and adventure tourism is well seen also in the Czech Republic’s mountain areas. The country has benefited from the new economic opportunities, as well as the global tourist trends. However, the international tourism market is very competitive, especially in sectors like ecotourism, adventure tourism, and wellness tourism. This is a special challenge, if the country is seeking to attract the well-to-do quality tourists who are looking for health and wellness services such as rehabilitation treatments and medical care in the mountain regions. In the tourism development the main aim should be to protect environmental, cultural and social resources through tourism. The preservation and protection of the heritage is evident, as sustainable tourism remains the future path for the tourism industry.


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Innovation is a key word of today. It is understood to be a core factor in most positive changes towards aims at various sectors and levels. This means that facilitating innovation is a most important skill needed in developmental processes. Therefore, understanding innovative processes is very important both managerially and academically. Much research has been done into various aspects of innovations in many sectors of economy. The role of tourism in innovative processes has not yet been a principal research focus, although some approaches to the theme have been made by this writer, for example (cf. Aho 2002a & b). They offer a background for this article.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss and clarify the specific role of tourism as an arena and facilitator of innovative processes. The task is then to answer two questions:

1. What kind of specific conditions can be defined for the appearance of innovative activities?
2. Can modern tourism offer some specific types of support for innovative activities? An attempt to answer these questions is made in this article. The nature and conditions of innovations are considered first. This is followed by a discussion on the specific characteristics of tourism as an arena for various activities. These considerations prompt a conclusion that tourism can offer various types of support for innovative activities.

The nature and conditions of innovations

Innovations can generally be defined as new practices, or ways of doing things, that represent improvements in comparison with the older practices. Innovations always include, by definition, some novelty. The type of innovative novelty can vary a lot but there is always a certain common feature in it: its introduction means a change of an old practice so as to achieve a functional improvement. Clear changes are thus essential in innovations; they introduce new structures for processes or new ways of doing things. These new structures
may influence work and quality of life, competitiveness, market situation, power structures, etc. essential activity frames of individuals, enterprises and society as a whole. In everyday language innovations represent new ways of doing things, in one way or another better than earlier. Another common feature in innovations is their functional practicality. An innovation always needs to be applied in practice so as to prove its worth as a functional improvement.

Innovation always needs an agent for its realization. Entrepreneurs, households, private persons, enterprises, communities and many other sufficiently independent actors are possible agents of innovation. Besides an active agent, certain other conditions are necessary for effective innovation.

It is also worth noting that although innovations are strongly advocated by various agents and they often seem to have a broad and unquestioned demand, they also breed resistance. This is due to the fact that innovations tend to change the existing “status quo” where the division of revenue, power or benefits is concerned. Some people and organizations fear structural changes; as potential losers, they prefer to maintain the existing patterns of production and consumption.

There are certain general factors or features regulating the scope of innovative activities. These factors are to be found partly in the would-be agents of innovation, partly in the environmental features of the place in question. Therefore, considerations are needed both on the internal features of the agent itself and at the level of its functional environment. The following four general internal conditions of innovation can be defined:

1) **Orientation to novelty**, i.e. interest in novelty in general.

2) **Idea life**, i.e. tendency and capability of producing and storing ideas for doing things otherwise and prospectively better.

3) **Entrepreneurial spirit**, including visions of improvements and an inclination to start introduction of changes towards improvements, even when it requires risk-taking.

4) **Managerial abilities**, including knowledge of efficient use of available resources and realistic evaluations of risks and prospective gains in alternative patterns of activity.

The Silicon Valley effect is probably the most common example where to the role of environment in innovative processes is concerned. It means that innovative processes are supported by the functional environment in the form of frequent informal meetings between competent professionals and other knowledgeable people in related fields of production. These meetings facilitate flows of most recent knowledge, ideas and information of available resources. However, it is appropriate to analyse functional environments in closer detail and to define the specific features that make each a certain condition for innovation. Following John Friedman's (1973) thoughts six essential features of functional environments that facilitate innovation can be defined:

1) **Demand for change**, i.e. a common (or at least recognized) feeling that something should be done to facilitate improvements.
2) Existence of different mental frames that provide basis for alternative solutions, critical comparisons, competing proposals and experiments.

3) Attractiveness to competent agents of change, i.e. availability of people and organizations fulfilling the above-mentioned internal conditions of innovation.

4) Flexibility of the unit structures to allow for reasonable changes without major functional disturbances that could end up in severe conflicts.

5) Access to other resources needed in the proposed innovation processes.

6) An inspiring atmosphere of rewards that motivates work for success.

These can be considered as the main features of innovative environments and also represent conditions of innovation at the level of functional environment. Some other features have been proposed in special cases (e.g. Aho 2002a), but these six can be considered to be applicable rather generally. They are the main components of the environmental system regulating the degree of innovative activities. These factors (conditions) are largely interactive, which means that the situation as a whole is most important. The lack or deficit of these features in a functional environment hampers innovative processes in various ways. Growth in them increases the likelihood of innovative activities.

A model of innovative environments

Conditions of innovation in functional environments can be elaborated further by considering various types of capital. A general model consisting of five main components of innovative processes is presented in Figure 1. The model has both material and abstract components: capital (dividing in six categories), mental frames and process structures. The numbers of categories in mental frames and process structures vary between times and agents. The pressure for change is one (resulting) aspect of mental frames.

Real capital includes all the man-made structures - buildings, channels, equipments, etc. - that are used as tools of production or frames of welfare in the unit considered. It can be described as material wealth (that usually is visible). Finance capital is the liquid and non-visible form of material wealth. Its accessibility is based more on control than ownership and it can be transformed into various forms of new real capital. Knowledge capital includes the information, experience and skills embedded in the people immediately available in the unit. A main part of this is in the local labour force, but not all; there are knowledgeable retired and other non-working people still presenting significant knowledge capital. Social capital is defined here to include those valuable human resources outside the labour force of the unit that have some kind of mental link and affective attachment to it so that they can be socially activated to contribute in varying measure to various purposes of the unit depending on the type of networks of the unit. Networks, in fact, are an important component of social capital. It is worth noting that social capital can be found both inside (internal social capital) and outside (external social capital) of the unit considered.
FIGURE 1. Components of innovative processes

Nature and cultural heritage are specific types of capital, ones often very valuable in tourism. The distribution of these various categories of capital is very uneven in regions and between various actor units. Therefore, they provide rather uneven conditions for production in general and for innovations, too. Moreover, their role in innovative processes is strongly dependent on the two other main component types: mental frames and process structures. In the long run these can either compensate for or strengthen further differences in both productive capacity and capital resources.

Mental frames regulate ways of thinking, also and in particular with respect to new solutions. If there is only one dominant mental frame of figuring out the future situation, potentially valuable innovative aspects may remain undisclosed. Two or more mental frames present alternative ways of thinking, comparison of various alternatives (of future situations, solutions, etc.), competition between them and, in optimal cases, selection of the best alternative for the purpose after a critical evaluation. This may happen in independent enterprises also despite of any common approval from the outside. Pressure for change (for improvements) as such is a normal result of competing mental frames. Mental frames are partly associated with process structures, some of which are inter-
nally developed by reflecting on the values and practices of a certain mental framework. However, there are also externally imposed process structures (directives, programs, etc.) that indicate how certain things have to be processed. Both internal and external process structures may exert pressure for change. Innovations may take place in both but only internal structures can be improved within the unit.

The role of tourism in innovative processes

New aspects of available resources and process structures help to increase pressure for change. Comparisons between various realities add to this pressure. In offering rich forums for comparisons between various realities as well as views on different practices tourism may provide plenty of useful information and impetus for new ways of seeing things. Tourism can thus provide inspiration for innovation.

Tourism has some specific features that may be conducive to innovative activities if suitably activated and utilized. There are three main potential sources of inspiration for innovation in touristic environments. Tourism usually offers plenty of new experiences and impressions; these are a source of new ideas for various purposes. This basic raw material for innovations is better discovered and enriched thanks to processes prompted by two other components typical of touristic environments: touristic atmosphere and social contacts. As known from earlier research touristic environments inspirit people by opening their minds and senses to feel and receive things in way other than what would be the case at home. Nelson Graburn (2001) uses the term “liminality” referring to this specific atmosphere. Tom Selänniemi (2001) calls a tourist destination “limnoid” if it is able to carry the tourist’s mind effectively away from thoughts about everyday life. Social contacts in tourist destinations increase and enrich new impressions in many ways. Touristic atmosphere helps getting in touch with people and vice versa. This is considered an arena for collecting ideas and inspiration for innovations. The three factors may be (and often are) interconnected. The model presented in Figure 2 emphasizes the joint effect of the three factors as inspiration for innovations. It is worth noting that innovations thus stimulated may take place in any field of activity anywhere wherever the travelling agents want to apply the new ideas and insights produced on their trips.
FIGURE 2. Sources of impetus for innovation in touristic environments

The degree of inspiration for innovation in various touristic destinations depends primarily on three factors: process structures of the trip, knowledge capital of the tourist, and the ways in which different mental frames meet. The style of the trip is one important process structure: some trips are for complete relaxation and not for gathering ideas, information or new insight.

The process structures of the trip also regulate the tourist’s access to various peculiarities and other sources of new ideas and insights in the destination. The tourist’s knowledge capital offers the basis for discovering and understanding different aspects of destinations. Diversity in practices is easy to observe in tourist destinations, not only between the host and the tourist but also between various groups of tourists. These varieties reflect different mental frames, and there where they meet the result may be mental challenges, fruitful comparisons and impetus for innovation. The receptive readiness of the tourist is a significant aspect of mental frames, and it may vary a lot between different trips.

The components presented above in Figures 1 and 2 can be incorporated into a unified model describing tourist destinations as sources of innovation. Considerable innovation potential can often be found where forms of real capital and cultural heritage abound, while richness of the nature as such is less likely to offer it. Tourism tends to increase the knowledge capital of the tourist. An increase in his social capital through tourism is also possible, and this is likely over time. A new potential for social capital is created at the first stage, but its utilization (activating) may be a long process. The potential for social capital may increase for both partners: the tourist and the destination (or a part of it).

It can be concluded that tourism includes several features that may facilitate...
innovations, by making immediate contributions to current development processes or by offering new potential for various resources over time. With respect to the categories of innovation defined by Joseph Schumpeter (e.g. 1987) contributions of tourism to innovations are possible in all of them: product and process innovations, organizational improvements, conquering of a new source of input, and opening of new markets. The support of tourism for innovation can thus be described as general and wide in its character.

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Intercultural Adaptation in Tourism: The Culture Confusion Approach

Introduction

Four decades have passed since Kalervo Oberg (1960) presented his hypothesis of the U-curve of culture shock as an explanation of human intercultural adaptation. The theoretical model of culture shock underlines the emotional U-curve from depression to recovery through the stages of euphoria, disillusionment, hostility, adaptation and assimilation. Much the same pattern has been found to occur whenever one is deeply and successfully involved in a learning experience of emotional significance, often during transition periods in our lives (marriage, change of job, tourism). Today, people commonly use the term “culture shock” in their everyday language as a general indicator of various difficulties we experience while visiting another culture as tourists. The same can unfortunately be said about academics, too, although the concept should not be used separate from its theoretical framework.

During the past decades, several authors have noticed significant shortcomings in the culture shock approach in a number of case studies (e.g. Lundstedt 1963; Gullahorn & Gullahorn 1963; Adler 1975; Pearce 1982; Hofstede 1984; Kealey 1989; Ward & Kennedy 1993; Hottola 1999). As often happens to popular theories, also the culture shock approach has become outdated. In fact, empirical studies have never supported the popular hypothesis as a general explanation of Other culture experiences. In the context of international tourism and sojourning, it has been found out that the U-curve is but one possible course of intercultural adaptation, and certainly not the most common one. Less than 10% of individual cases agree with the model.

Euphoria often does not exist in the very beginning. Even when it exists, it is frequently not the dominant emotion. On the contrary, the majority of difficulties, illnesses and other drawbacks are usually encountered during the first days after arrival in the travel destination. There is neither motivation nor time to assimilate. There are many cases where adaptation does not occur at all but people return home - 15% in one sample. On the whole, the variety of human responses can not adequately be explained by a simple linear model, a relic of modernism which does not easily fit into the postmodern paradigm and its focus on details and variety. Moreover, a genuine emotional shock is rarely experienced in postmodern intercultural situations.

In the globalizing world with its various metaspatial nichés, there is less and
less uncontrolled exposure to cultural difference, especially when we travel within cultural regions. We become confused, tired and disoriented, but in most cases not depressed in the sense anticipated by Oberg (1960). Textbooks on intercultural adaptation are, however, usually based on the theory incompatible with empirical reality. Consequently, those who lecture in tourism or train people for short-term work abroad have problems in preparing them to real-life situations. It is high time to start looking for a more comprehensive approach which does not exclude the majority of cases.

Intercultural adaptation in South Asia

A five-year research project focusing on intercultural adaptation was launched in 1994. The aim of the study was to discover a comprehensive and reliable theoretical framework on intercultural learning processes in tourism, sojourning and other short-term exposures to the Other. The project also planned to produce an up-to-date view to the phenomenon of backpacking and its history on the Indian subcontinent, as a continuation to Pamela Riley’s (1988) work. In the peripheral regions of tourism, such as South Asia, independent travelers rather than package or business tourists dominate the tourism scene. It is estimated that half of international tourism to India, for example, consists of Western backpackers.

A total of eight months in the field was spent in Bharatpur (Rajasthan), India, and Kandy (Central Highlands), Sri Lanka, among Western backpackers representing 15 nationalities. A combination of participant observation and interviews (interview guide & thematic discussions) produced a new theoretical model grounded in qualitative field material. The interview sample was accommodation based, with 130 backpackers staying in 5 € per night guesthouses favored by “Lonely Planet travelers”. Field material and analysis were reflected against the existing theories of intercultural adaptation and psychology of control.

The dynamic model of culture confusion

The main result of the project is a new and comprehensive explanation to intercultural adaptation in tourism, the dynamic model of culture confusion, which can only be briefly described in the present text (for more, see Hottola 1999). In the culture confusion approach, the focus is on learning and the confusion which precedes the adoption of new realities, as we constantly have to give up our familiar habits and adopt new ones (see also Ward & Kennedy 1993). An intercultural adaptation process is not merely a pathological shock which should be avoided, but as Kealey (1992) has suggested, a necessary and valuable process of learning. It is a chance to meet Other people and to gain Other knowledge, and to reconsider the knowledge we already have. Neither is cultural distance only a hindrance to tourism. It is also a tourist
attraction, a reason to travel to Other nations (e.g. McKercher and So-Ming 2001).

During an intercultural learning process, we search for control as an ability to increase the predictability of our personal and interpersonal existence (cf. Goffman 1963; Burns & Buckley 1976; Baum & Singer 1980; Langer 1983; Friedman & Lackey 1991). One part of this process is uncertainty reduction, which has been a subject of much theoretical debate in sojourner studies (e.g. Gudykunst 1988; Gao & Gudykunst 1990; Hullett & Witte 2001). Being able to seek the fulfillment of our personal goals and motives, to control the course of events involving us, and to predict and regulate the outside interferences which make us vulnerable in a foreign environment, is not only vital for our psychological well-being but it is also the very thing which keeps us going on as tourists or sojourners.

In the context of tourism it seems that the feelings of euphoria are most prominent at home, before departure. Few tourists travel against their will. As Colin Campbell (1987) suggests, postmodern hedonism is to a considerable extent based on the anticipated quality of pleasure. Instead of the euphoria anticipated, the backpackers had both positive and negative experiences straight after arrival, and feel them especially strongly at this point. This is normally the most difficult point for an intercontinental traveler, who is jet lagged, and has to confront not only cultural but situational and ecological differences. The very first experiences have an effect which may define the direction of visitors’ attitudes for the rest of the visit (see also Suvantola 2002). A few people develop either a very positive or a very negative stance already at the start of their visit, and may stick to their first impressions.

The initial experiences of euphoria and disappointments soon become attached to the respective emotional stances of adaptation and opposition, a combination of which creates confusion. People have both positive and negative feedback during their visit, and manage the process by repeated travel between the Other reality and the secluded metaworlds of tourism. This is the escape to the metaworlds pattern, which defines much of international tourism (Hottola 1999). The majority of us learn fast from failure and success by living in the new environment. In the long run, the process tends to lead to some kind of equation, adaptive or oppositional. We decide to return some day, or can not wait to get back home; in most cases something in-between. There are no stages but a continuum of developments. What is more, there are sudden changes as positive or negative surprises change our relation to the Other place. There is individual, situational and contextual variety, not to mention different results of the process. Culture shock may be a part of the process, or it may not. Confusion is always there.
Conclusions

The U-curve model of culture shock was created five decades ago, prior to the current change of paradigm and in a world in some ways quite different to the present one. Today, the discourse of intercultural adaptation in tourism and other short-term transitions has become a stagnant one and needs to be revitalized. In principle, the dynamic model of culture confusion is thought to cover human intercultural adaptation in tourism and sojourning. It is hoped to be, or evolve into, a theory which reflects the complexity of empirical reality in an all-inclusive way, without losing the grasp of what is common to us, in order to help us to better understand and enjoy these situations.

Much of the material and conclusions of the study have been discussed in a 443-page doctoral dissertation (Hottola 1999). One manuscript with theoretical and conceptual discussion on the topic is currently under review (Annals of Tourism Research) and another one focusing on the metaspatial features of control and stress management in tourism is under preparation and should be completed in June 2003.

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Introduction

Lakes and lake districts have been important destinations for tourism along the history. However, the lakes themselves in most maps compiled by professional designers or layer men have seldom got any other symbolic presentations but blue tint just depicting the lake as a pond of water. The lakes are physical features of the world seen by e.g. the natural scientists, without any cartographic clue of opening the meanings of it constructed by the myths and traditions.

Operationally interpreted maps describe e.g. routes on water shade showing connections or missing of them, disconnections between symbols of settled places and distribution patterns of tourist services across and around. Maps are mediating the functional properties of a lake region depicted in the map. However, all the maps have also the third level of interpretation. The lakes in maps, at most, create e.g. an illusion of eternal summer, aesthetic scenery, pristine clear nature and open space to come and go. Every lake has also many stories to be told. How lake maps will tell these stories for a traveller? The final tourism product comes just about, how expectations, partly created by maps, and experiences, partly provided by maps, will correspond with contributing to satisfaction of the trip.

Questions to be answered

Mapping for tourists, leisure activists, and travellers by profession is a big business in the map production. But how well have the mapmakers been serving the tourists’ needs and expectations?

How powerful media maps will be in communication between the tourists and the tourist business? Are the tourist maps (loose printed sheets, maps in brochures, guide maps along the streets, maps in the web sites of the tourist firms and promoters etc.) designed especially for tourists and travellers so that tourists with different map skills can utilise maps for better preparedness of their actions and for getting deeper experiences? A map is one of the most effective way of packing spatial information for rationale decision making but also intelligent visual carrier of connotations deliberately or unintentionally produced for persuasive affections and emotions about the destination (e.g. Wood & Fels 1986; Urry 2000).

This paper deals with some semiotic aspects of the tourism maps depicting
the lakes and lake lands. Lakes and lake districts are important tourism destinations in many countries (e.g., all Nordic countries, the British Isles, Poland, the Alpine countries, the Great Lakes of the U.S.A. and Canada).

In most cases the professionally produced maps and even atlases serving the tourism industry and tourists in the lake destinations are based on general terrain maps, where the physical, functional and symbolic features are overlain on terrain model. Lakes themselves are depicted as homogenous blue surfaces only, sometimes with isobases in it. Thematic overlays of dot, line, area, and pictorial icon symbols are locating and showing various water activities, sports, traffic facilities and tourist services. Elemental map symbols are explained in the map legend, if any.

Although the basic data for this survey has been composed of over 300 loose maps, brochures, and internet maps of the lakes and lake districts, the material here concentrates on the Finnish printed hybrid maps, general terrain map as a base with thematic overlays on them. The Finnish base maps of various scales have been compiled by public and semi-public mapmakers of Finland: Board of Survey (Maanmittauslaitos) and former Karttakeskus [Map Centre]. Information for tourists has been produced by public or private tourism promoters, cartographic producers and the tourism industry itself. In this connection, I skip the Internet maps and maps of the tourist brochures, which have not drawn “to the scale” and according to the conventions of “scientific” cartographic design.

Cartography of tourism is an “interdisciplinary” inquiry, which has been studied by the cartographers, researchers of tourism, and - geographers from both directions. But in all of these disciplines tourism cartography seems to be on “side path” only, and there are not very many researchers devoted to the topic, so far. However, e.g. P. L. Pearce (1977; 1981), Anthony Seaton (1996) and J. Schewe (1992) have dealt with, why and how tourist and map encounter from the point of view tourism studies. And from cartographic perspective tourist maps have been analysed by e.g. Forrest & Castner (1985), Clarke (1988; 1989), Yarnal & Coulson (1982). There are only few contributions about the tourism cartography of lakes although there are more and more lake maps for e.g. fishing tourists. Dennis Wood and John Fels (1986: 91-93) deal partly with the maps as “instruments of persuasion” exemplifying signifying procedure by elemental signs of lake.

Tourist’s gaze on lakes on maps

Is the conventional tourism cartography of the lakes and lake districts satisfactory contribution of the cartography and map design for the lakes and lake districts from the point of tourism? How efficiently these maps will assist post-modern tourist’s gaze for getting deeper experiences and fulfilled satisfaction out of her/his stay in the lake land?

In this paper I do not give ready-made semiotic solutions for the “better”
map design for the lake tourism and tourists, but rise up some challenges for
the tourism cartography of lakes and lake districts and just “deconstruct” some
illusions which contemporary cartography of the lakes might still produce.

J. Urry (1990; 1995) defines “postmodern tourist” as a “product”, shaped
by media and fashion for carrying money to the destination. But in the same
time tourist “gazes” the destination as a product, which tourist’s gaze changes
and forms for tourist commodity. In both processes visual communication has a
crucial role. Visual tourism promotion is changing tourist’s needs, motivations
and expectations and acts as “instrument of persuasion” (Wood & Fels 1986).
Maps as means of “mediated seeing” permit tourists to (fore)see, in pro-ac-
tion, places in which they are not physically present (Fremlin & Robinson 1998).

During the action in the destination a map helps tourist in constructing her/
his own cognitive map of the area for path finding and orientation (Ross 1994:
54-60). From point of view of local tourist industry the promotional maps are
intended to canalise and persuade the streams of tourists (“products”) in ac-
cordance with the tourism business’ wishes and expectations.

Lakes and lake districts are in some countries internationally attractive tour-
ism destinations, e.g. in the Cumbrian Lake District there are annually over 17
million visits (Urry 1995: 193). In Finland “The Lakeland” concept has a very
high priority of international tourism marketing of the country.

In the signifying process of the regions the lake districts have always been
important as the national symbols. In England the image of the Lake District
was mostly created by the literature, which gave to it a “place-myth” of English
pristine, aesthetic countryside (op.cit.). The constructed image of the Lake Dis-
trict then draws tourists and leisure activists into the area from the eighteenth
century on.

Literature and visual art has created a mythical image also for the Finnish
Lake District during over a century (e.g. Pöykkö 1984). The sceneries of the
Lakeland have become a nationalistic icon and metaphor of Finland as the
“Land of Thousand Lakes”, and has got an important position in the Finnish
tourism development, in which also mapping of the Lakeland for tourists has
contributed through maps of various scales and slightly different uses in bro-
chures, web pages, tourist guides, and printed loose maps.

The printed maps have mostly been published for lake tourism in showing
subjective viewing points (spots for taking photos) and scenic routes, and plac-
es for out-door recreation: canoeing, fishing, sailing. So besides the thematic
“summer” aspects also the terrain model of the base map is emphasising sum-
mer season bluish lakes and green forests. However, in some of these maps
there are trials of visualisation for winter sports: skiing, skating, ice fishing,
snowmobile riding and for other purposes. The maps have served tourists in
finding paths to destinations and destinations in the destinations in summer
and winter. But maps themselves are, at most, also carrying connotations of
eternal summer, clear pristine nature, open spaces and accessible land and
sea. How rational denotations and emotional connotations are actually being
mediated through these “scientifically” accurate and conventionally accepted
maps from the tourism promoters and industry to the tourists?

Of course, the motivation and needs of using map vary according to the phase of the decision making of touristic act and on-site of a destination and still afterwards, when the tourist has returned back from the journey. Following figure describes hypothetically the situation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTIVATIONS AND NEEDS OF TOURIST TO USE MAP</th>
<th>Phases of visit and Use of map</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Map-properties</td>
<td>Pre-action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical, features</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sign systems</td>
<td>general view</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functional</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sign synthesis</td>
<td>planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>scheduling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associative and Emotive</td>
<td>+++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning and Significance</td>
<td>selecting of destination, positive/negative attitudes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The importance of map properties in the various phases of the visit:
+ matters, ++ important, +++ very important

The tourist promoter and industry have strong motivations of publishing and delivering maps; for pre-action use maps are showing the diversity of area and act as instruments of persuasion. For on-site actions maps are used for describing the palette of the commodities in the destination and for navigation, and way-finding of visitors. For post-action phase maps ought to function in showing still further opportunities and unfilled needs and tempt to come back and strengthen customer ties.
Mapping lakes – four illusions

Olaus Magnus in his Carta Marina of 1539 has been free of the visualisation conventions and codes, into which contemporary “scientific and objective” cartography has to anchor its cartographic representations. It is amazing to notice, how creatively Olaus Magnus used the visual symbolism in describing the functional and meaningful properties of the seas and lakes in various seasons in “squeezing” the seasons and historical times in his map to a cartographic narrative, which had enormous influence on world image and politics of the North in its own time, when the Roman Church lost “so prosperous Lands” for the Reformation. Olaus Magnus depicted that in the Nordic regions, according to Carta Marina, also winter does exist, and also during the cold season people can utilise winter conditions in many economically meaningful ways. Have the contemporary cartography lost something meaningful of its descriptiveness for layer man map readers, which most of the tourists are?

Illusion of eternal summer

The conventional symbol for a lake (or water body) is a blue tint, which derives from reflection of the blue sky on water table with a connotation of eternal summer. This signifier limits foreign tourists in comprehending the real meaning of the lake, which is almost six months covered by ice, and which provides the tourists with completely different out-door activities and sports than during the summer.

And even accurate scientific out-door or tourist maps of the Finnish Lakeland have difficulties in providing the maps with “anachronic” (seasons specific) symbols. For example, in the recreation map of the Lake Inari there is on blue tint a black line depicting boat route and on it a purple dashed pair of lines for snowmobile track. Purple areas on blue show the places of weak ice. Anachronical mixing of tourist seasons is common in the Finnish tourist and recreational maps. In Finland there are only few printed tourist maps, in which there have been tried to respond the challenges caused by the visualisation of winter conditions for advocating winter sport of the Lakeland. However, maps and panoramas for the resorts of down hill skiing are numerous.

Illusion of free access

Finnish maps for tourism purposes are mostly printed on the terrain model of various scales, and signs of the buildings and property borderlines have been depicted. But in Finland e.g. most of the over 400,000 summer cottages are located along the sea and lake shores. And as private properties the shores of the summer cottages are closed for the public access. However,
tourist and out-door maps very seldom clearly show the shores of no trespassing. There are also limitations for summer and winter sports in various parts of lakes (e.g. fishing restrictions, water scooter riding etc.). However, majority of the out-door maps show the areas closed for natural conservation purposes.

**Illusion of clear, pristine nature**

The satisfaction of the tourist after her/his experiences of the holiday in the Lakeland is also depending on the expectations she/he has got through “mediated seeing” about feeling being alone in the midst of the forests by a lake. – But how about e.g. sound and smell scapes? Also the blue tint in the map does not make any difference about the quality of the lake water, but just creating an impression of pure, crystal clear water. However, also antitheses of these features should be challenging to be visualised in the tourist maps for avoiding wrong expectations and post-action disappointments, but there are just no Finnish maps for tourists, where also these features would be openly represented by map symbols.

**Illusion of unhistorical, “scientific” environment**

Lakes and lake lands have strong symbolic meanings in the local people’s minds, and as literature and visual art tells. Also these meanings and also myths of lakes could be mediated through tourist maps for bigger audience. Loch Ness is “nothing” without its loved monster. Local hosts know many stories about the Finnish lakes for enriching the tourists’ emotional experiences of the areas, as e.g. Olaus Magnus’ *Carta Marina* still do. But most of the out-door maps only reflect pale, “objective, scientific” conventions of mapping without scarcely any visual or even textual challenges of representations for these narratives and myths in the map itself (but, in the back side or margins as texts or figures). So tourist maps could also show that lakes are not just ponds of water, but also ponds of meanings at many levels of conception.

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Emotional experiences have an important role to play in enriching our daily lives (Heikkilä 2002: 13). They may in fact be a precondition for happiness. They are also the basic motivation for travelling, have always been. An increasing number of travellers seem to be searching for something different. A tourist is an individual consumer looking for alternative and personal ways of consuming. He or she wants fresh and different tourist experiences. Experiences rather than location determine the future of many tourism markets. (Alternative Destinations 2002: 4-5) According to Pine and Gilmore experiences are a fourth economic offering after commodities, goods and services (Pine & Gilmore 1999: 2).

During the last years both the media and researchers have devoted increased attention to the experiences in Finnish tourism. According to the pilot-surveys, some of the entrepreneurs have already got tired of the very word of experience and some of the informants perceive the concept of experience in tourism as being related to extreme or adventure tourism. It is probable that we have turned the word into a cliché and commonplace, forgetting the spirit and the meaning of the concept of experience (see Abrahams 1986: 48). Despite the fierce discussion of experiences in tourism, it is still the question of the day, what the inherent content of the concept is.

The purpose of this article is to clarify the concept of an experience by highlighting the key components dealt with in the future research and to provide a possible, even though initial tool for the use of the industry. First, the conceptual basis of an experience is considered using the definitions. Then one framework based on the consumption-as-experience perspective is shortly presented. Next, a brief qualitative research is completed to provide insights into the practitioners’ perspectives of their customers’ experiences. Finally, the implications of the findings are discussed. The non-commercial experiences are ignored in this article.

Conceptual background and a framework

Experiences are personal and derive from the interaction between the circumstances and the individual’s prior state of mind and being. They occur if an individual has been engaged on an emotional, physical, intellectual or even spiritual level. (Pine & Gilmore 1999: 12) According to the Contemporary Finnish Dictionary experience is a very strongly affecting incident that has great influence on a person (Contemporary Finnish Dictionary: 214). Every experience does not affect strongly and that is why it could be better to use the term emotional experience to separate an emotional experience from a mun-
dane one. The emotional experience is only one form of experience.

There are three important features in the definition of Pine and Gilmore to emphasize. First, the emotional experiences are subjective mental states felt by participants. Second, emotional experiences need a suitable, interactive setting in relation to the background of a person. Third, the focus is on the physical involvement in the emotional process when experiencing something. Nobody can experience on behalf of another person.

The consumption-as-experience perspective focuses on the subjective and emotional reactions of consumers to particular consumption objects (Holt 1995: 2). Two decades ago, marketing and consumer researchers awoke to the importance of hedonistic consumption and the experiential aspects of consumer behaviour. The consumers were viewed less as rational decision makers, but more as humans who daydream about pleasurable adventures and respond emotionally to consumption situations. But the idea that value inheres in the consumption experience is even much older. (Holbrook 2000: 178) The marketers are moving away from traditional features-and-benefits marketing toward creating experiences for their customers (Schmitt 1999: xiii).

Lately, Bernd Schmitt (1999) has built up a conceptual model for designing, managing, and integrating consumption-based experiences. The aim of the experiential marketing is to create holistic experiences for the customers. Experiential marketing has four key characteristics: focus on customer experience, examining the consumption situation, presumption that customers are rationally and emotionally driven, and the research methods are eclectic. According to the conceptual framework of Experiential Marketing, there are five relevant aspects of experience as the strategic experiential modules (SEMs), which form the underpinning of marketing. The modules aim to help consumers sense (the objective of creating multi-sensory experiences), feel (marketing appeals to customers’ inner feelings and emotions), think (appeals to the intellect), act (aims to affect bodily experiences) and relate (relate the individual to his or her ideal self, other people, or cultures). In addition to the SEMs, there are experience providers, ExPros as tactical implementation components for achieving the SEMs in consumers’ state of mind. The ExPros are communications, identities, products, co-branding, environment, Web sites, and people. (Schmitt 1999: 26, 71, 73).

The methods

The study using qualitative methods was carried out in the Häme region. The target group was selected especially among the rural tourism entrepreneurs in the Häme region, because it is presumable that they impact on the product development and in that way on destination marketing. The Häme region is one of the southernmost provinces of the district of The Thousand Lakes. The purposeful sampling was used to select the interviewees and to find the typical representatives of the practitioners (see Maxwell 1996: 71). There
were 21 entrepreneurs representing the regional rural tourism business, 3 informants from the hospitality industry, 1 entrepreneur representing a travel agency, 4 informants represented the attractions providing various activities and 1 interviewee was from the tourist information service.

One open–ended question was used to encourage the respondents to express themselves more freely. The idea was that the practitioners describe the concept of emotional experiences reflecting the perceived emotional experiences felt by the end-customers. The data were collected using interviews during June to December in 2002. When analysing the responses, first a concept map was formed following the interview transcripts, and second the categorizing strategy called thematic analysis was used. The pre-established set of categories following the definition and the framework presented above was applied. The definition formed the level called the characteristic of the concept in this article. Strategic experiential models constitute the objectives and underpinnings of marketing efforts (e.g. product development), and experience providers are the tactical tools to achieve the goals. Even though the primary objective of the qualitative research is not to generate frequency counts of the items in each category (see Maxwell 1996: 78), the frequencies are presented in Figure 1. for highlighting the most common categories mentioned in the responses.

**FIGURE 1.** The spontaneous ideas of strongly affecting incidents felt by the tourist, expressed by the tourism industry practitioners in Häme (the numbers in parentheses show the frequency).
The informants mentioned some items that have been categorized into a subjective concept and a holistic perspective on level one. Compared to the definition by Pine and Gilmore the findings of the study support the personal perspective and also the holistic standpoint presented by Schmitt. On level two, the categories of sense, feel, act and relate were mentioned. Interestingly, the main category measured by the frequency was the feel component. The findings support the previous definitions and a framework, which highlight the significance of feelings and emotions. There were no responses, which could have been suitable for the category of think on the strategic goal level. On the experience providers’ level, the product, the environment and the people categories were mentioned by the interviewees. The environmental component is the second most common response in the study. This may also be an indication of the importance of interaction and a view of service-as-process. Nobody mentioned communications, identities, co-branding or Web sites on that level. This could be due to the formulation of the question or some other reason.

Conclusions

The concept of an emotional experience is subjective and includes the interaction process with the personality of each tourist with various backgrounds, the setting and the properties of the tourism products provided. The feelings and the emotions are essential aspects in experiences and therefore it is more illustrating to use a term emotional experience to separate them from every day experiences. The results of the present research will shed light on the enhancement of customer-orientated research and especially the emotions involved in the consuming process. Research on emotional experiences without the customer’s perspective is insufficient.

Based on the categorizing of practitioners’ responses the argument is that the presentation introduced by Schmitt highly focuses on the aspects of tangible products, not the emotional experiences. To see if the experiential grid is a feasible strategic planning tool and to benefit from it, the grid should be applied more to the service environment and to highlight the characteristics of intangibles. In addition, the grid should be tested in practise to see the points, which need improvement. However, with the help of the framework, it is possible to extend the breadth of the concept and to be one step further to contribute to the product development and destination marketing providing holistic emotional experiences in the tourism industry. The fact is that the competitive edge of the tourism companies is measured by the skills of innovation to refresh the range of products continually, to maintain demand and to add value to be profitable. As far as the emotional experiences are concerned, the innovations stemmed from the creativity related to the customer-experience relationship (Ridderstråle 2002) and further research knowledge is needed to be innovative. The real challenge for the tourism industry is to create the right psychological environment, in other words, to take care of the subjective personal reac-
tions and the feelings of tourists, not just to worry about technical things (Otto et al. 1996: 165).

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my appreciation to Senior Lecturer Leena Öfversten, who kindly helped me revise the language of this article. I would also like to thank Tourism Co-ordinator Monna Alatalo in Traves and Information Specialist Eija Räisänen for helping me with the data collection.

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TOURISM AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Raija Komppula

Rural Tourism Micro-Businesses in Finland: Financial or Lifestyle Objectives?

Introduction

The estimated number of rural tourism establishments in Finland is about 3600. Three quarters of these businesses have originally been farms. However, today tourism is a major source of income for only 15% of these entrepreneurs. (Finnish Tourist Board 1994, 1-2). The average turnover of a full-time rural tourism business in Finland is about 120,000 € (Maaseutu-politiikan yhteistyöryhmä 1997; Ahlgren 2000) and the profitability of full-time tourism business is weak (Puurunen 2001; Kupiainen et al. 2000). The rural tourism industry in Finland is characterised by part time tourism entrepreneurship, limited financial resources, limited entrepreneurial skills and a low level of commitment to long term development of the businesses (Komppula 2000).

The purpose of my on-going research project is to develop a kind of categorisation based on the continuum for small-business owners lifestyle and growth orientation suggested by Dewhurst and Horobin (1998). They note that in the tourism industry there is a great number of entrepreneurs “who are not motivated by a desire to maximise economic gain, who operate business often with very low levels of employment and in which managerial decisions are often based on highly personalised criteria” (ibid.: 25) Based on this notion, they have suggested a model of owner-manager tendencies, a model of a continuum for small-business owner managers that lie between commercial and lifestyle goals and strategies. The intended categorisation might help Finnish authorities to direct their development support in the most appropriate form to different kind of businesses. In this paper, I will present the results of one part of this research project. This aims at investigating the barriers of growth in the Finnish rural tourism industry. In this paper, I concentrate on the rural tourism entrepreneurs’ definitions of success, and try to find factors that affect the potential differences in these definitions. I argue that an entrepreneur’s definition of success is comprised of his/her attitudes towards the need for growth in business, needs and expectations for continuation of the firm and various quality aspects, i.e. quality of life, quality of service, quality of the product and so on.

Success is often equated with the achievement of clearly defined and meas-
urable performance targets (Chell & Baines 1998: 118), which on the other hand may be of a subjective nature as well as financial. An alternative to pure financial measures are affective or subjective measures, such as lifestyle and personal freedom, and a balance between work and domestic responsibility. According to Keats and Bracker (1988), small firm performance is substantially influenced by the individual characteristics and behaviour of the owner, and task environment characteristics. There is a wide range of literature on small firm performance and growth.

Lynch (1998) as well as Carlsen and Getz (2000) argue that there are good reasons to believe that in rural tourism motives and goals in running the businesses will be somewhat different from other sectors and from non-family businesses in general. Growth of the business is not considered as important as enjoying the job and keeping the business manageable in size. A desire to maintain close personal contact with the customers is typical for rural tourism entrepreneurs. Seasonality is a big operational problem. Business plans are not common. A conflict between business goals and goals for the family are evident. Another important issue is a lack of succession planning in rural tourism family business (Carlsen & Getz 2000; Getz & Carlsen 2000). Similar results have been reported by Ateljevic and Doome (2000), and Hall and Rusher (2002) in New Zealand, as well as by King, Bransgrove and Whitelaw (1998) in Australia. In a Cornish study (cited in Shaw and Williams 1990: 77-78), a desire for a better way of life might be a motivation for those 55% of entrepreneurs who were in-migrants to Cornwall.

Research method

The empirical data was collected in two phases. The first part of the data was collected during autumn 2001 as a part of a more extensive study on the characteristics of rural tourism entrepreneurship in four regions in Eastern Finland. In this paper, I concentrate on the data collected in North Karelia. The population of the study consists of 160 businesses, which produce tourism services either on a full-time or part-time basis outside the main cities or tourism centres. For the first part of the study, the 45 interviewed businesses were then selected from this population on a random sampling basis. Personal interviews comprised of open as well as structured questions. The responses to the open questions were recorded and transcribed.

The second part of the study was carried out in the form of personal thematic interviews during spring 2002. Fourteen businesses, which were considered to be typical representatives of their own category, were selected amongst the population of 160 businesses, taking into account that none of the businesses interviewed in the first part of the study would be in this sample.
Discussion of research findings

First of all, it should be noted that the results are in accordance with many other studies conducted in the tourism field (see Ateljevic et al. 2000; Carsen & Getz 2000; Getz & Carlsen 2000; Busby & Rendle 2000; Clarke et al. 2001; Dewhurst & Horobin 1998; Grolleau 1996; Hall and Rusher 2002; King et al. 1998; Lassila 2000a, 2000b; Lynch 1998; Morrison et al. 1999; Thomas 2000; Shaw & Williams 1990; Walker 2000).

From the in-depth interviews, it became evident that for the rural tourism entrepreneurs in general, success was primarily measured by affective and subjective measures. This result is also supported by the results of the structured interviews. Customer satisfaction and the creation of long-term customer relationships seems to be the most important indicator of success. For those four who mentioned the quality of life as measures of success, a couple of common factors could be found: three of them were run or operated by the wife and three of the businesses were also full-time operators. Four of the businesses were owned by a person or couple in the age category of 30-40 years. Three of them had started the tourism businesses by coincidence or by chance, but this was the only factor which was common from the other factors. For those few who mentioned profits as a measure of success a couple of factors were common: they were all businesses which had been operating for about 10 years, two of them had invested a lot in assets and the third was planning to invest.

In terms of growth, two important results can be drawn from the research. Firstly, when discussing the issue of growth with rural tourism entrepreneurs, the measures of growth must be clearly defined. For the data based on the structured interviews, the classification into established and growth-oriented was made according to growth intention measured by turnover. The purpose of the interviews was to collect data on objective and subjective factors that influence growth motivation (see Davidsson 1991).

However, during the in-depth interviews it became evident that according to the entrepreneurs this financial measure of success was not necessarily considered as a measure of growth! Increasing the turnover is, in most cases, possible and even probable without an increase in employment or investments in the setting or equipment, which the entrepreneurs in most cases count as measures of firm growth. Growth in turnover was desirable in all businesses but in most cases without any growth in labour or investment. This means that while the data in structured interviews was analysed by distinguishing the respondents by their desire to increase their turnover, this distinction probably gives more or less misleading results, which are not relevant in terms of the original problem setting. The distinction does not offer a correct picture of the factors that affect motivation for growth.

The next step in this study project is to go back to the data and to the respondents with a new definition of growth. This future research must concentrate on finding factors that affect the goals for increasing employment or investment in expanding capacity. Investments in the quality of existing capacity
(e.g. renovation of the accommodation living quarters) may increase the capacity utilisation rate as well as turnover, but not the capacity itself, which means that the business will not expand by the entrepreneur’s definition.

A second interesting result is that reasons for a minor desire for growth in this data are, in most cases, related to the entrepreneurs’ age and state of health: the entrepreneur near retirement does not have the motivation to invest more in the business, especially if there is no possibility for succession or other means of continuity. This suggests that in order to discover the real growth potential of the rural tourism industry in-depth research on growth potential should concentrate on younger proprietors, who, at the moment, are a clear minority in the rural tourism businesses in Finland. On the other hand, research on the promotion of succession might also be a fruitful field of study in Finland as well as on the international level.

It is also easy to agree with Mäki and Pukkinen (2000), who argue that the needs and abilities for growth are easier to differentiate in theory than in practice. They argue that in order to design more appropriate policy measures for small businesses it is more important to differentiate between the factors that can be affected by SME policy and those that cannot. I also strongly agree with Shaw and Williams (1990), who suggest that future research on tourism and economic development will need to more closely examine the relationships between the nature of entrepreneurship, the structural characteristics of the tourism industry and its impact on economic change. The affective and financial performance of local entrepreneurs also holds the key to developing stronger benefits from tourism.

Dewhurst and Horobin (1998) argue that a new approach is needed in the small tourism business support policy and its implication. Many of the support systems in rural tourism development currently necessitate a high degree of commitment and involvement on the part of small firms. In most cases, the financial support is allocated on condition that the business may commit to growth objectives. Nevertheless, many of the lifestyle-oriented owner-managers may be reluctant to make such a commitment and they may be unwilling to participate in development programs (Dewhurst & Horobin 1998: 33; Komppula 2000). Watts et al. (1998) also emphasize that growth should more usefully be placed within an environmental context and should not be confused with progress. Growth can be characterised as symbiotic with environments, i.e. growth is not an “imposition” but rather an adaptation (Watts et al. 1998: 109-110). In the development programs, the acceptance for “growth in quality but not in volumes” might be the way to balance the divergence between common development policy and private interests.

In Finland, the national development goals for rural tourism are set on state level. Nevertheless, local involvement in all stages of the tourism strategy process is crucial for local commitment to the strategy (Komppula 2000a). This argument is also supported by Clarke et al. (2001), who have reported a case study from the development of rural tourism in the Slovak Republic. They suggest that rural tourism development projects are more likely to succeed if there
is strong local leadership from the community itself, and if there is a national framework. (Clarke et al. 2001: 201).

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Learning Destinations in Rural Tourism

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to introduce the research project “Learning Destinations in Rural Tourism” conducted within the Finnish University Network for the Tourism Studies. The research is financed by the Finnish Ministry of Agriculture from September 2002 until August 2003.

The research derives from two basic notions. Firstly, from the structural changes taking place in Western nations; societies are shifting from the agricultural and industrial mode of production towards knowledge-based societies (e.g. Webster 1995; Castells 1996; Karvonen 2001). Although being multi-level, multi-temporal and multi-factored, the process has one common feature: knowledge. Its production and transfer by means of the modern information technology have become an important force of development and strategic resource in economy.

The transfer towards a knowledge-intensive economy means that the relative importance of classical development resources (capital, land, engine and labour) as basic factors of production are becoming less important, and the economic growth is based on the increase in immaterial properties in products. In order to gain durable competitive advantage, enterprises, including tourism enterprises, should learn to increase and manage knowledge effectively in constantly changing circumstances, and thus, continuously produce such new competitive innovations and value-added services which their competitors are unable to provide. Accordingly, knowledge itself has become a crucial competitive resource, and learning the most important process in the creation and acquiring of it (e.g. Foray 1996; Morgan 1997; Maskell et al. 1998; Boekema et al. 2000).

The concept of learning is ambiguous and has different connotations. The basic premise is that learning is what any individual, institution or entity does to change, adapt, survive and fit in changing circumstances (Burgoyne 1996: 14). At this point learning processes are always constructive because humans or enterprises have to somehow react to their environment, adjust their course all the time in such a way that makes sense to themselves (e.g. Aarsaether & Bærenholdt 2001: 23). The only way enterprises can cope with uncertainty in today’s competitive world is that they increase the use of reliable and current knowledge, i.e. construct continuous learning processes. Accordingly, enterprises able to learn faster than their competitors, are in a stronger position. (e.g. Maskell & Malmberg 1999).

In practice, looking for the competitive advantage by creating successful learning processes in a single small or micro tourism enterprise or in a network of enterprises, raises many crucial questions. What is the core competence
which a single enterprise or a network of enterprises possesses, and how should it be developed to guarantee durable competitive advantage? If the core competence is dependent on certain individuals, how could their knowledge capital be developed and transferred to be part of collective knowledge and operations? Furthermore, are the enterprises capable of specialising in activities and technologies which form the basis of their core competence, and what consequences this has in terms of effective networking and mutual communication? (e.g. Lundvall 1992; Maskell & Malmberg 1999; Maskell 1998; Maskell et al. 1998; Boekema et al. 2000).

In terms of information society, another crucial question is how it is possible to create, share, process and use different types of human knowledge, and especially so called tacit knowledge, which requires tense social interaction in order to become common property? Moreover, what kind of new ICT technologies can advance the building up of learning processes, and how to organize efficient knowledge and learning management to guarantee continuity in these processes? Important contextual question is what role does the local institutional and cultural environment, especially its knowledge infrastructure, play in the construction of enterprises’ competitiveness (ibid.).

Knowledge and learning have traditionally been studied in pedagogics and psychology. In the past decade, however, interest in them has been increasing especially in the business and regional studies. The answer to the differences in enterprises’ or regions’ innovativeness, networking and success in the ever-increasing international competition is being sought from their learning processes. (e.g. Morgan 1997; Fischer M. et al. 1999; Boekema 2000). In the tourism studies, the perspective of entrepreneurial learning processes combined to the development of a destination is rather new, even though the many fields of it, especially studies on tourism networks, touch closely to the research theme (e.g. Lynch et al. 2000).

As far as Finnish tourism research is concerned, Saarinen (2001) has conducted research in the transformation of a tourist destination but in the context of Finnish Lapland and without the learning dimension. Studies have also been conducted in the networking of Finnish rural tourism enterprises as well as in the problems in entrepreneurial success (Komppula 1998, 2000; Lassila 2000a, 2000b). However, less attention has been given to the learning processes of rural tourism entrepreneurs as a basis for a new co-operative culture and success of destinations.

The second notion inspiring the present study is the fact that even though lakes have played a central role in the operational environment of the Finnish tourism business ever since the 19th century, and the country is often being promoted as “The Land of a Thousand Lakes” (Figure 1.), it is surprising how uncapitalised the overall potential of the Finnish lake resource remains. Focusing on the networks of rural SMTEs, the research seeks to shed some light on what role the learning processes of entrepreneurial networks play in the success of Finnish lake districts as tourist destinations.
Objectives

The basic aim of the study is to develop methods for defining, both in theory and in practice, a learning destination as a field of cooperation and innovative learning environment for small and micro tourism enterprises. Special attention is paid to SMTE-led rural tourism, i.e. to entrepreneurs’ ability to find uncompelled and creative solutions for the development questions under continuously changing circumstances. Benchmarking of international examples of similar cases will be an integral part of the study.

The primary purpose of the research is to investigate and compare the development of the learning processes taking place in the networks of locally organised rural tourism enterprises with the aim of identifying the best approaches and practices in order to succeed in the peripheral operational environment at the heart of the Finnish Lake Region. Accordingly, the main question of the study is how, and under which endogenous and exogenous conditions, are the rural SMTEs able to build a successful network through a collective learning process?
Special attention will be given to the modern ITC technology as a support for collective learning processes and as a tool for efficient knowledge management. Emphasis will also be placed on the role of different stakeholders and their knowledge in enhancing SMTEs’ learning in the rural communities.

Research cases

The research cases comprise three locally organized entrepreneurial networks, all situated in the province of Southern Savo (Figure 2): Puulataival in the Puula-Kyyvesi lake district, Saimaan Sydän in the Haukivesi-Joutenvesi lake district and Norppa Team in Kolovesi lake district. Organisationally, each network forms an association. Founded as recently as at the end of 1990s, each of these networks is only at the beginning in developing their own success. As far as the research is concerned, the learning destinations are defined neither by the researcher nor tourism organisations or other parties involved in the tourism development in the areas concerned, but by the entrepreneurs themselves.

FIGURE 2. The Province of Southern Savo and the three lake districts focused in the study.
Methods

The research is not based on one solid theory but, to start with, empirical and secondary data is collected and analysed against several potential theories, on the basis of which complementary empirical data will be collected. Close interaction with and learning processes within the entrepreneurial networks contribute to refining the accumulated empirical data into a more compact theory. Accordingly, the methodological approach of the study can be defined as adaptive.

As described above, the research can be categorised as a case study. The researcher takes part in the meetings in which the entrepreneurial communities discuss the barriers of cooperation, problems of the tourism industry as well as how to influence the supply and demand of tourist services. The researcher’s role is mostly to be a participatory observer but, at times, also more active a developer. Working methods include teamwork and participatory planning.

All the enterprises of each network were interviewed during the autumn of 2002. If needed, complementary interviews and inquiries will be made in the spring of 2003. All meetings and interviews will be recorded, and in addition, a research diary is kept. Accordingly, the focus of the study is on collecting and analysing qualitative data although statistics on regional and entrepreneurial development as well as domestic and international literature related to the subject matter will also be studied.
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Helena Turunen

Rural Tourism Going International: Internationalisation by Chance or Through a Strategic Planning Process?

Introduction

Internationalisation is a widespread phenomenon in the modern world. In science, arts, education and many other areas international contacts have increased and become an essential part of everyday life. This is also the case in business operations; internationalisation of a company can be defined as a process of developing foreign business operations. It is said that all companies meet the challenges of globalisation, either in an active or a passive way. (Åijö 2001: 8). Small tourism enterprises may, however, face particular problems in marketing their products to potential consumers who may be scattered in distant locations and may speak different languages and be of different cultures (Wall 2002: 23).

In this article I aim to discuss the concept of internationalisation of a small service company, especially that of a tourism enterprise or a network of companies producing and marketing tourism products in active co-operation. What is the concept of internationalisation of a tourism company or a network of companies, what are the elements of the process? Do all the tourism companies have to go international and if they do not, why is that?

Rural tourism in Finland has growth potential

International tourism in Finland is estimated to grow 3-4 per cent in 2003. According to the border interview survey, financed by the Finnish Tourist Board, almost two million foreign tourists visited Finland between June and September year 2001. The number of foreign visitors has been growing each year. Nearly 90 per cent of the foreign tourists came from Europe, half of them came from the European Union countries. One fifth of the foreign tourists were Russians, the second highest number of visitors came from Sweden. The next most common incoming countries were Germany, Norway and Estonia. Foreign tourism demand accounted for 31% of the total tourism demand. (Finnish Tourist Board 2002; Finnish Tourist Board 2001).

Finland as a rural tourism destination offers plenty of possibilities to an international traveller. A variety of terms are employed to describe tourism activity in the rural areas: agro-tourism, farm tourism, rural tourism, soft tourism, alternative tourism, eco-tourism. The meaning of these terms varies from one country to another and also from one user to another. The term “rural tourism” has
been adopted by the European Community to refer to all tourism activity in a rural area. (Rátz & Puzckó 2001: 285; Roberts & Hall 2001: 15). The Finnish rural tourism has great possibilities to grow and develop even internationally. The business is more and more aware of the higher quality requirements among the domestic and foreign customers. When these requirements are met and when customer service is of high level, the rural tourism enterprises can attract more customers also from the demanding foreign markets. Culture and heritage can be considered an essential element of rural tourism, its infrastructure and products. However, while the Finnish rural tourism business is run by Finnish rural dwellers and strongly rooted in them, co-operation, coordination and a sense of professionalism are required at all levels before the products and services can become internationally competitive. (Nylander 2001: 81).

According to the Rural Tourism Working Group of the Finnish Government, the total turnover of the Finnish rural tourism companies can easily be increased in the near future. There also seems to be room for new enterprises in the market. The number of rural tourism companies has not grown recently, but there has been a slight increase in size. Furthermore, the number of employees has increased about 10 per cent. The companies have laid great emphasis on product development. (KTM 2002). Internationalisation and gaining new foreign customer groups may be one of the most significant growth factors among the Finnish rural tourism companies.

The special features of Finnish tourism are often said to be culture and nature. More specifically, the water bodies, forests, landscapes and four distinct seasons are the main elements creating the image of rural tourism. The Finnish way of life and the society itself are important reasons for visiting Finland. As many as half of the foreign tourists come to Finland because of Finnish culture and society. A visitor who comes to Finland wants to meet the people and wants to go where the real, authentic Finns are. (Nylander 2001: 81; Finnish Tourist Board 2001; Kolbe 2002). This is what rural tourism in Finland can offer to a foreign customer: Finnish way of life, heritage, experiences, history and a personal contact with Finnish life and society.

But are the Finnish rural tourism companies ready to serve international customers and meet other cultures? Do they have the right products and quality to offer to the demanding foreign customers? And first of all, are the rural tourism companies going international by a pure chance or are they doing it through a careful strategic planning?
Theories of internationalisation – can they be applied to the internationalisation process of a service company?

Several theories have been introduced to describe the internationalisation process of a company. However, the theories of internationalisation very successfully describe the foreign operations of an industrial company, producing and marketing goods in the international market. But what are the phases of internationalisation of a small or even a micro sized company operating in the service market, such as rural tourism companies, producing services and experiences to their customers? Can the theories of a company’s internationalisation be applied to these cases as well?

Traditionally the internationalisation aims of SMEs have been seen as an incremental process, including certain phases. However, the traditional phase models can often be seen as useless when explaining the reason-result relationship from one phase to another. It is also difficult to define degree of a company’s internationalisation. The figures indicating the level of internationalisation have traditionally been the following: (Ahokangas & Pihkala, 2002: 63)

- share of exports of total turnover
- share of export revenues of total revenue
- number of export personnel of total personnel
- company’s experience in foreign operations
- amount of foreign investments compared to the company’s total investments

Many researchers have described the internationalisation models from different points of view. Porter has described the internationalisation process as a result of the competitive advantage. Luostarinen and Hellman, again, describe a holistic internationalisation process, where not only the traditional export operations but also the foreign purchasing operations form an important element in going international. This model recognizes four phases of internationalisation: domestic phase with no foreign action, import of raw materials or technology, joint processes with foreign co-operation companies, and finally active co-operation and network in production, purchasing or product development. According to the Swedish researchers Johanson and Mattsson the internationalisation process is due to the developing of business relations. This, so called network model, introduces three ways of international networking: expanding of network, deepening of network and integration with other networks. (Johanson & Mattson 1993: 303-321; Ahokangas & Pihkala 2002: 90)

The network theory is based on the following ideas: companies are independent and joining a network is their own choice. Companies expect to get advantage out of the network operations, such advantage that they would not be able to gain alone. All networks have four main features: interdependence, shared values, control and capability. (Ahokangas & Pihkala 2002: 90).

The network model seems to be one of the most suitable models for describ-
The internationalisation process is very often initiated with joint product developing or marketing efforts of neighbouring tourism companies. According to the network model, the expanding of the network seems to be the first phase of internationalisation. A tourism company can succeed in foreign markets alone, but in most cases active co-operation with other companies, both vertically and horizontally, improve the results. There are several tourism co-operation organisations in the market capable of serving the SMEs in the tourism business very well. Co-operation in export operations can comprise marketing efforts, but very often it includes joint sales operations with the distribution channel. (Finnish Tourist Board 2002: 16).

An important part of a company’s internationalisation comes from internal capabilities. The theories and models of internationalisation seem to describe and analyse the external issues in the internationalisation process very carefully. The emphasis is mostly on concrete foreign operations abroad, such as export sales, sales offices, franchising operations etc. It is also very important to realise the role of the internal factors, such as competitive advantage, core competence, know how of personnel, capabilities, management etc., when describing the concept of internationalisation of a service company. The company’s competitive advantage is due to its core competence, which is strongly based on the company’s resources and capabilities. (Äijö 2001: 24). In the tourism business the internal capabilities are based on the entrepreneur’s attitudes and are directly experienced by customers through the level of customer service, quality and communication.

However, the internationalisation of a small sized rural tourism company can be very modest. If there are only a few foreign tourists visiting the company every now and then and no greater action in the foreign market is taken, one can hardly talk about internationalisation. It can also be a strategic choice to put the emphasis on operating in the domestic market. But if a company wants to go international the role of strategic planning becomes very important. Strategic planning is a holistic view of a company’s long term targets, a vision of internationalisation and competitive advantage. (Äijö 2001: 49).

**Conclusions**

The internationalisation process of a small or micro sized rural tourism company very often starts by chance. The first random foreign customers may have arrived without a lot of effort into international marketing. An internationalisation process should, however, be a result of a careful strategic planning process including a clear vision of co-operation and ways of networking with other tourism organisations both vertically and horizontally. The internal factors of internationalisation form the basis of successful customer service, quality and communication. It all starts from the entrepreneur’s attitudes towards international customers and the different cultures. The Finnish rural tour-
ism companies are on different levels in many aspects but their possibilities of going international are improving through successful product development, better customer service and communication as well as a controlled and creative long term planning process. The theories of internationalisation explain the process of a service company to a certain extent. Especially the network model seems to be well suited for explaining the internationalisation process of a rural tourism company. However, plenty of special features still remain to be researched and described when defining the phases and process of internationalisation of the rural tourism companies.

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Travels of Russian painters in the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland within the Russian Empire were no new phenomenon in the beginning of the twentieth century. During the previous century many artists had exhibited landscape paintings, watercolours and drawings depicting Finnish themes in exhibitions in capital St. Petersburg. Imatra rapids were known among St. Petersburg artists throughout the nineteenth century and the Karelian Isthmus had been discovered as a summer holiday destination in the second half of the century. The opening of a new railway connection from St. Petersburg through the Isthmus to Viborg and onwards to Helsinki in 1870 had remarkably increased the number
of travellers.

Anna Petrovna Ostroumova-Lebedeva (1871-1955), an esteemed Russian graphic artist, had spent the summer of 1908 in Finland, most likely on the Karelian Isthmus. Before returning to St. Petersburg in the autumn she decided to visit Punkaharju, which could be reached from Viborg on a one-day ferry trips (Ostroumova-Lebedeva 1974: 403). The trip took place on the 16th of August 1908, and Ostroumova-Lebedeva was accompanied by her friend Klavdia Truneva from St. Petersburg (SRM, The Collection of Watercolours and Drawings, Card file; Ostroumova-Lebedeva 1974: 403).

A small and fast boat carried the passengers through the Saimaa Canal and further on Lake Saimaa until it reached the “blessedly beautiful” landscapes of Punkaharju. “The views which opened from the height of the ridge were so exceptionally beautiful and so original, that they can not be compared to anything else in the world” writes the widely travelled artist in her memoirs. (Ostroumova-Lebedeva 1974: 403-404)

Ostroumova-Lebedeva describes Punkaharju as a narrow ridge covered by brown-trunk pines, sad spruces and bluish junipers and surrounded by deep, clear lakes. The placid water mirrors the view and awakens a state of peace in the artist’s soul. She was completely enchanted by the beautiful scenery and worked eagerly until the evening, when the ferry was to return to Viborg (Ostroumova-Lebedeva 1974: 404).

Later in the autumn Anna Ostroumova-Lebedeva persuaded her husband, the chemist Sergei Lebedev, to travel to Punkaharju again. This time the journey lasted several days. In the collections of the State Russian Museum there is one watercolour dated on the 19th of September and five with the notation “Punkaharju, 22 September” (SRM). The local pension had already closed for the winter, but the owners granted the couple’s request and accommodated them for a few nights. The days Ostroumova-Lebedeva spent working on the ridge. The forest seemed thinner without even yellow leaves in the birches, the scenery
lighter, airier, even translucent. The last day was very cold and before the departure the first snow covered the landscape in its white and sparkling veil. (Ostroumova-Lebedeva 1974: 404)

Anna Ostroumova-Lebedeva: Punkaharju 16th of August, 1908. (Suslov 1967: 56)

Travelling has traditionally been viewed as the experiencing of places or the consuming of goods and services in search for pleasurable experiences. For an artist, and especially for a landscape painter, travelling was also a natural source of visual information for future work. Anna Ostroumova-Lebedeva was constantly seeking harmonious views to capture in her sketchbook. Lakes surrounding Punkaharju were essential for her visual experience as she captured the reflections of the forests and islands on the lakes. As a graphic artist she used the technique of watercolour in a particular way: clear lines and tonal surfaces simplified the landscape and served as a sketch for a woodcut. Such woodcuts, as far as is known, she never made, but at least one of the motives she used later in a letter to a friend and travel companion Klavdia Truneva. The influence of old Japanese graphic art, one important source of inspiration for Ostroumova-Lebedeva (Suslov 1967: 15), can be felt in her Punkaharju watercolours. Thirteen of the watercolours (approximately 18 x 24 cm) painted during these two journeys belong to the State Russian Museum’s collections, three of them acquired by the museum before 1924 (Benois & Ernst, 70) and the rest bequeathed to the museum by the artist.

Anna Ostroumova-Lebedeva returns to the Finnish landscapes on the 3rd of December, 1908, in her letter to Klavdia Truneva, a close friend and travel companion of the artist during the first trip. (NLR. Manuscript department. Fond 1015, opis 6932, No. 277)
In Russian artists’ paintings Finland had always been seen as a country of deep-blue lakes, grey rocks and dark forests often appearing somehow sad or depressive. The same elements took place in Anna Ostroumova-Lebedeva’s paintings also, but now they were seen through different lenses: her Finnish forests were invitingly airy and light and her lakes bright and serene.

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Literature
American Images -Tourism, National Stereotypes and The Media

Introduction

A series of studies on the stereotypic images of the Americans and the United States has been going on since 1995 under a collective label of American Images. The issue first surfaced in the analysis of intercultural adaptation in Indian tourism, where the stereotypes of Westernity (i.e. USA) in the media significantly affected the experiences of Western backpackers, irrespective of their actual nationality. If a nation of one billion inhabitants such as India could be misguided to believe that the idols of popular culture are representative of the everyday in the West, the effect of the media in the rest of the world should perhaps not be underestimated, but studied as well. Later on, additional material and case studies have been conducted within a loose framework of three interrelated studies, first of which has already been completed.
1. A multi-method study on the stereotypic image of Western visitors (especially the Western Woman) and its consequences in South Asian tourism.
2. Seven nation comparative study on the stereotypic image of an American woman, man and their everyday surroundings in the United States.
3. A questionnaire survey on the cartographic (and general) knowledge of the United States among Finnish college and university students.

Research methods

In the field in South Asia, and especially in India, the main focus of the research was on intercultural adaptation. It was soon discovered that unwanted sexual advances towards female Western travelers were the single most important source of conflicts and intercultural confusion between the visitors and the hosts. 97.2 percent of the women travelers had been sexually harassed during their stay in India, on a quite frequent basis. Despite the suggestions of certain feminist authors, who prefer to explain situations such as this by the “evil nature of men”, a detailed analysis of the situation and an attempt to understand the behavior followed. The combination of field methods included interviews and thematic discussions with the local men and the women targeted, field observations comparing the behavior and appearance of women travelers to the prevalent customs, traditions and norms, and the analysis of information available to the host population. The search and analysis of information sources covered education, printed materials, television, movies and videos.

The seven nation study includes university student samples from Finland, Spain (Pais Vasco), Zambia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Japan and the United States. The students were asked to give detailed descriptions of the physical

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and mental characteristics of a typical American man and woman, their dress and typically American everyday surroundings. Basically a questionnaire survey with open-ended questions, the survey seeks to develop a new qualitative technique to efficiently collect and analyze material on international stereotypes, according to a method tentatively called as the “collage method”. In this approach, the questionnaire material is cumulatively organized to visual and textual presentations according to a certain ranking order, with a final goal of as rich and inclusive conclusion as possible. At the moment, the project is looking for a small grant for the completion of visual conclusions. The idea is to produce iconic portraits as well as detailed textual descriptions in the form of short descriptive stories, both to be commented by outsider and insider specialist representing the seven nations of the study.

In the cartographic survey, four samples of college and university students, the latter with studies in geography, have been completed in Helsinki, the capital of Finland, and Joensuu, a regional capital in Eastern Finland. In the first part of the questionnaire, the students were asked 24 questions related to their general knowledge of selected categories of American society, culture and natural features. The questions were directly connected to the second part, where the students were asked to locate the 24 places mentioned on a map of North America, with visible state borders but no separation between Canada, the United States and Mexico. As an example, in the question number one the students were asked: What is the well-known center of the American film industry? Later on, they were asked to place Hollywood on the map, as accurately as possible. A correct location yielded three points, a correct state two points, and a close by marking one point.

Conclusions

In India, the main focus was on the stereotype of the Western woman, often labeled as the American woman. The amoral Western woman stereotype discovered was a rational creation based on the information available and interpreted according to the local norms and tradition. For the majority of Indians, the European woman is a breaker of traditional social codes (see also Ahuja 1993). In the fantasies of local men, Western women were considered to be sex goddesses; powerful, experienced, ready and available, and equal to men in sexual relations as much as the local unmarried women are unreachable and wives passive and submissive. An ethnic Otherness seems to provide additional excitement in sexual relations both in the East and the West. On the other hand, Western women are treated with less consideration than the local women would normally be treated, because they have no social status in the local network of kinships and castes. At the time of the field work, the main source of information of gender relations in the West were erotic videos, American B-movies and television series such as Baywatch. The same stereotypic views were reproduced in many fields of Indian culture. For example, in South Asian popular films Western dress indicates not only amorality but also a juve-
nile status, generally considered to be negative or inferior (Joshi 1992).

According to the preliminary results of a seven nation comparative study on the international stereotype of the Americans, there is a high level of consensus between the descriptions given by Finnish, Spanish, South African, Zambian, Sri Lankan, Japanese and American students. With certain reservations, we can speak about an international sociotype of an athletic jock and a buxom blonde with an attitude, agreed both by those who stereotype and those who are stereotyped (cf. Gannon 1994: 115; Triandis 1994). It is a characteristically Janus-faced stereotype with a certain degree of admiration (physical appearance, positive mental features, the material wealth of the United States) and a respective degree of disapproval and distrust (negative mental characteristics, strange and shallow values, the social failures of the American society). It is also very similar to the stereotype discovered in South Asia; a combination of Western media information and its local interpretations. American media does globally distribute images of a man and a woman who are superior to an average human being, much like the United States is often portrayed as something more than it actually is. Large number of interesting details is expected to surface as the analysis of the research material advances.

The first conclusions have also been made in the survey of cartographic and general knowledge of the United States among Finnish students. Once again, media information has an important role in the production of student perceptions, perhaps more so than college or university education. Indicatively, the location of Roswell, New Mexico, was more well known among college students than for example Los Alamos in the same state, even though the first nuclear tests in the latter location are often considered more important than the claimed alien encounters in the former one, well present in popular media (Roswell, X-files etc.). Regarding factual information, there was quite an interesting bias in favor of men students, which would require further investigation. In any case, it is clear that teaching practices could be improved by the inclusion of more visuality and up-to-date links to popular culture in order to awake the interest of media age students (see also Houtsonen 1997). Further conclusions can only be made after a full analysis of the material has been completed.

Most of the results of the first part of the study series have been published in a doctoral dissertation (Hottola 1999). Moreover, two articles have been published in Gender/Tourism/Fun? (Hottola 2002a) and in the Tourism Recreation Research journal in 2002 (Hottola 2002b). At the moment, two more texts are under preparation, one for the Tourism and Cultural Identities conference in Eastbourne, September 2003, and another one on the cartographic survey, together with Dr. Pauliina Raento (Dept. of Geography, University of Helsinki). Certain conclusions of the first phase of the project are also going to be referred to in the forthcoming book of Jeannette Belliveau (2003), Romance on the Road.

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