Nordia
Geographical Publications

Volume 48:3

Towards a poststructural political economy of tourism

A critical sustainability perspective on destination development in the Finnish North

Outi Kulusjärvi

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

to be presented with the permission of the Doctoral Training Committee for Human Sciences of the University of Oulu Graduate School (UniOGS), for public discussion in the lecture hall L2, on the 12th of October, 2019, at 12 noon.

Nordia
Geographical Publications

Volume 48:3

Towards a poststructural political economy of tourism

A critical sustainability perspective on destination development in the Finnish North

Outi Kulusjärvi

Nordia Geographical Publications

Publications of
The Geographical Society of Northern Finland
and
Geography Research Unit, University of Oulu

Address: Geography Research Unit
P.O. Box 3000
FIN-90014 University of Oulu
FINLAND
heikki.sirvio@oulu.fi

Editor: Teijo Klemettilä

Cover image: Outi Kulusjärvi

Nordia Geographical Publications
ISBN 978-952-62-2380-0
ISSN 1238-2086

PunaMusta

Tampere 2019

Towards a poststructural political economy of tourism

A critical sustainability perspective on destination development in the Finnish North

Contents

Abstract vii

List of original articles x

Foreword xi

1 Introduction 1
- 1.1 Research problem 2
- 1.2 Research objective and approach 4
- 1.3 Research process and the articles 7

2 Local economic agency in sustainability transformations in tourism destinations 11
- 2.1 Tourism research on local tourism relations and sustainability 11
  - 2.1.1 Network cooperation and economic linkages 12
  - 2.1.2 Community-based approaches 14
  - 2.1.3 Roles of the public sector 15
  - 2.1.4 Destination transformation as regional change 17
  - 2.1.5 Structural critiques 18
  - 2.1.6 Cultural analysis of tourism change 19
- 2.2 Economic geography perspectives on economic change 22
  - 2.2.1 Attention to economic relations 22
  - 2.2.2 Interplay of continuity and change 24
  - 2.2.3 Structural critiques of power relations 26
  - 2.2.4 Building new economic relations 29
- 2.3 Call for a poststructural political economy view on tourism 33

3 Research design 37
- 3.1 Methodological notes 37
- 3.2 Ethnographically oriented case studies 39
- 3.3 Interview encounters 42
- 3.4 Grounded theory method 43

4 Case study areas 47

5 Examining sustainability in destinations in the Finnish North: focus on local tourism relations 51
5.1 Exclusive tourism cooperation 51
5.2 Multiple spaces of everyday identification 53
5.3 Alternative tourism paths 55
5.4 Conflictual coexistence 57

6 Rethinking local tourism relations 61
6.1 Value-driven politico-economic agency 63
6.2 Community building 66

7 Conclusions 71
7.1 Poststructural political economy view on destination change 72
7.2 Tourism research as political agency 74

References 77

Appendices

Original articles

Abstract

Towards a poststructural political economy of tourism – A critical sustainability perspective on destination development in the Finnish North

Kulusjärvi, Outi, Geography Research Unit, University of Oulu, 2019

Keywords: tourism destination development, tourism networks, economic change, political agency, path creation, poststructural political economy, economic difference, tourism geography

Tourism has developed into an important field of economy in the northern sparsely populated areas of Finland. State bodies of different spatial scales continuously put efforts to foster tourism growth and tourism is viewed as a prosperous economic path for the future. The prevailing tourism development is resort-oriented, which has transformed rural geographies in the North. Critical tourism geography research highlights that such market-driven tourism development has negative social and environmental consequences. Thus, tourism change needs to be examined from a broader perspective than economic benefits alone. It is required that tourism economy serves people and not vice versa.

To increase sustainability in destination localities, collective economic agency in destinations is encouraged in tourism research and development. To date, tourism research has tended to draw on multiple, often contradicting, theoretical perspectives in an attempt to clarify how collective agency in tourism destinations should be best organized in order to foster social justice and ecological sustainability. The aim of this thesis is to understand how sustainability can be facilitated through local economic relations in resort-oriented destination development contexts. Sustainability discussions in tourism research are advanced by drawing on economic geography and its critical takes. The thesis consists of three studies that each examine sustainability in tourism destinations from a different viewpoint.

The thesis first examines how (un)sustainability currently manifests in local economic relations and then discusses what changes are required to move towards more sustainable tourism futures. Ethnographically oriented case studies and a contemporary variant of the grounded theory method enables approaching tourism economies from the perspective of everyday tourism realities. The empirical part of the research is conducted in the Ruka and Ylläs destinations in the Finnish North. Insights were gathered by semi-structured in-depth interviews with local tourism actors in 2012 and 2015.

The study introduces a poststructural political economy approach to sustainability transformations in tourism destinations. The less growth-focused economic thinking that exists in destinations is brought to light. Tourism actors' motives and aims can differ drastically from the rationales of growth-focused tourism destination development that dominate in networked tourism governance. Many of the tourism actors desire conservation of natural and cultural environment in destinations. This creates conflict between the coexisting tourism paths. In the thesis, it is argued that economic difference

in tourism should not be conceptualized merely as a source of diversification of tourism supply and thus as beneficial for destination growth; it should be recognized as political agency in tourism economy. Tourism networking is already now often value-driven, and this needs to be encouraged. That is, transformative agency for tourism change can be gained and new tourism paths created also through incremental changes 'from below', not only via policy actions.

To contribute to the critical (economic) geography research on social and economic change, this thesis highlights that it is central to understand not only what new economic futures look like but also how to work towards them in everyday politics. Although the alternative and critical voices are valuable as they accurately state a socially just view of how things ought to be, these voices may not be the best way to bring about a change. This is because power hierarchies are not easily recognized in everyday tourism work. Each actor interprets the social from their subjective point of view. Even actors with the most power can have personal experiences of powerlessness. Thus, to foster change, it is necessary to facilitate the transformation of the existing conflictual inter-group relations. Dialogical everyday politics could work as a means to foster understanding of different groups' tourism realities and their mutual influence. Conflict could be regarded not solely as an innate feature of capitalist economic relations but also as moments where mutual understanding can be facilitated. This is a way to establish local economic relations that enable community building.

Destination sustainability touches not only firm-level practices but the mode of economic organization in tourism destinations. The thesis highlights that to advance social justice and environmental sustainability in destinations, destination development and planning should account for the possibility for a less growth-focused destination development path. As alternative tourism paths do not, as a rule, depend on new, large-scale tourism construction, they would likewise not foster growth in international tourist numbers and air travel. This unconventional view on economic path creation is to be encouraged as it is better in line with climate change mitigation needs and critical sustainability theorizing.

Supervisor

Professor Jarkko Saarinen
Geography Research Unit
University of Oulu, Finland

Pre-examiners

Professor Jan Mosedale
Institute for Tourism and Leisure
The University of Applied Sciences HTW Chur, Switzerland

Professor Kirsi Pauliina Kallio
Faculty of Management
University of Tampere, Finland

Official Opponent

Professor Edward Huijbens
Department of Environmental Sciences
Wageningen University & Research, Netherlands

List of original articles

Article I — Kulusjärvi, O. (2016). Resort-oriented tourism development and local tourism networks – a case study from Northern Finland. *Fennia* 194: 1, 3–17. (Special issue on Tourism and Development) (open access)

Article II — Kulusjärvi, O. (2017). Sustainable Destination Development in Northern Peripheries: A Focus on Alternative Tourism Paths. *Journal of Rural and Community Development* 12:2/3, 41–58. (Special issue on Communities and New Development Paths in the Sparsely Populated North) (open access)

Article III — Kulusjärvi, O. (accepted). Towards just production of tourism space via dialogical everyday politics in destination communities. Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space.

i. This is a reprint of an article originally published by Geographical Society of Finland in Fennia (open access). Available online: <https://fennia.journal.fi/article/view/41450>

ii. This is a reprint of an article originally published by the Rural Development Institute (RDI) at Brandon University in Journal of Rural and Community Development (open access). Available online: <https://journals.brandonu.ca/jrcd/article/view/1466>

iii. This is an accepted manuscript submitted to Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space.

Foreword

The moment of finalizing the PhD work seems to be at hand; the written thesis is ready. Hunches I could not at first express have found their academic articulations.

There may be only one author listed, but research is never done alone. I would like to acknowledge a group of people whose existence has been absolutely essential for me and this work.

Professor Jarkko Saarinen, your presence as the thesis supervisor and as a mentor in academic life has been an invaluable help and source of support. Your down-to-earth attitude to research work has had a calming effect on many occasions.

When I began as a doctoral student in 2014, the RELATE Centre of Excellence took off. I am grateful to Professor Anssi Paasi and the research group for providing the many occasions where researchers could meet face to face. (International) academic circles came closer.

This research has been funded by the Faculty of Natural Sciences at the University of Oulu and by the Academy of Finland through the RELATE Centre of Excellence. Thank you for the opportunity to complete this study. Here, I am grateful also to Professor Jarmo Rusanen, the head of the Geography Research Unit at the time.

I am incredibly thankful that in my home university I have got to meet and work with the nicest and most insightful group of people. In addition to offering help contentwise, you have, consciously or not, supported me in this sometimes difficult process of becoming a researcher. Thank you, past and current scholars in the tourism geographies research group: Mark Griffiths, Eva Kaján, Sini Kantola, Aapo Lunden, Maaria Niskala, Roger Norum, Mari Partanen, Kaarina Tervo-Kankare, Vilhelmiina Vainikka and Alix Varnajot. It has been important to have people around with the similar topics of interest. Thank you, other past and current colleagues at the Geography Research Unit: Jonathan Burrow, Gitte du Plessis, Jukka Keski-Filppula, Satu Kivelä, Cadey Korson, Marja Lindholm, Hidefumi Nishiyama, Eeva-Kaisa Prokkola, Juha Ridanpää, Heikki Sirviö, Joni Vainikka, Eerika Virranmäki and Kaj Zimmerbauer. A lot of what you have mentioned in passing, around coffee tables and elsewhere, proved to be invaluable in my moments of doubt. I am grateful for getting to know you, Tuomo Alhojärvi and Marika Kettunen, and for getting to share mutual enthusiasms in this often lonely research work.

During this research project, I have had a chance to visit places and meet new people. This has been most valuable. Thank you, all of you. Thank you, Maria Hakkarainen of the University of Lapland for kindly “taking me in” the tourism research community when I started out. Thank you Dr. Dianne Dredge and Professor Anniken Greve for the small words of encouragement at the very beginning of my work. Especially during my research visit at Umeå University, at the Department of Geography, I learned that the academic community we belong to extends further than our home departments. Thank you, Professor Dieter Müller, Andreas Back, Doris Carson, Jasmine Zhang, and others, for the time and thoughts shared.

My gratitude goes also to Mika Elovaara, who steered a high school student into the human sciences, demonstrated a little later in his doctoral defense that academic research can be accessible and even socially relevant, and, more recently, encouraged a young scholar to continue in research.

I want to thank Andrew Pattison and Nina Ravnholdt Enemark for checking the language of my work. Mikko Kesälä and Henriikka Salminen, thank you for making the maps. In the phase of finalizing the thesis work, a few individuals have had a central role. I am grateful to Professor Kirsi Pauliina Kallio and Professor Jan Mosedale for pre-examining the thesis. Thank you, Professor Edward Huijbens for accepting the opponent task.

The discussions I have had with the tourism actors in the two tourism destination communities, Ruka and Ylläs, have enabled me to grasp the problematics of tourism development in the Finnish North, and thereby to conduct this research. I am thankful for your interest to help and your time. Now, after finalizing this thesis, my next intention is to come to discuss my thoughts with you, on the spot.

My three colleague-friends, Miisa Pietilä, Fredriika Jakola and Katharina Koch. Thanks for sharing these years in and outside of this colorful building. Countless times you have been needed.

I am lucky to have caring friends around who have known me since long ago. My biggest thanks to you all. You have pulled me away from my own thoughts numerous times, often with the assistance of your lovely and cheerful kids.

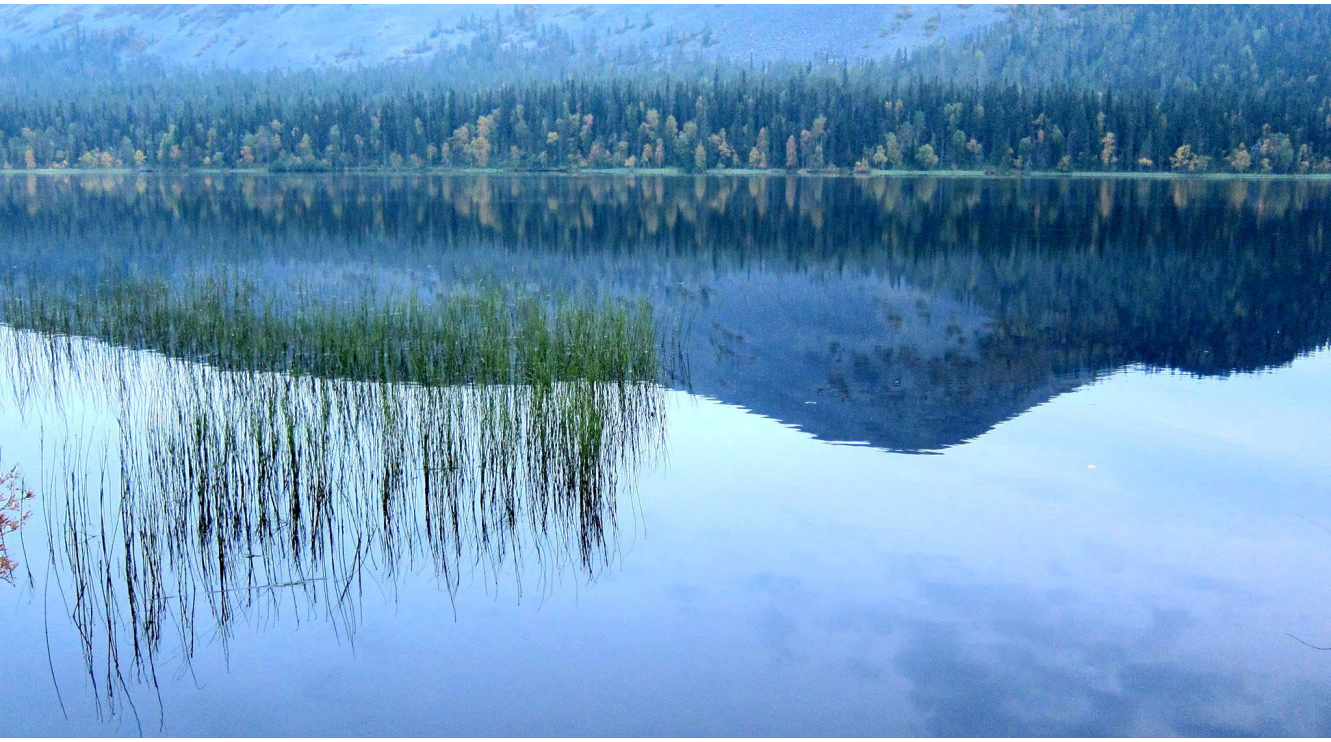
I want to acknowledge you here, Jussi. This study would have never taken the direction it has without the chats on life we have had.

I would not have had the courage and trust to begin this kind of work without my parents. Mum and dad, thank you for your endless interest and encouragement in whatever I am doing. It is easy to try your best when it does not make any difference how well you succeed.

Jonne, I am lucky to have you as my companion. Thank you for giving a clear practical perspective when I was overmagnifying things. Thank you for reminding me not only to look ahead but also to stop and appreciate the moments of joy.

And now, to you all, a collective toast, with a glass of something bright and bubbly!

Oulu, September 2019
Outi Kulusjärvi



1 Introduction

In the 1930s a village near the Ylläs fell in the Finnish North gained part of its livelihood through tourism. Some villagers offered accommodation and other services for Finnish and foreign visitors keen on seeing Lapland. These visitors were usually well-off citizens from Southern Finland who travelled north to enjoy the Lappish natural and cultural environment. The Ylläs fell was a popular travel destination for downhill skiers in its contemporary form (Niskakoski & Taskinen 2012). In 1937, there were only 30 bed-places in the Ylläs region. At that time, villagers welcomed travellers to stay in their homes (Hautajärvi 2014: 164). This short retrospective of the past illustrates how peripheral areas in the Finnish North have served as spaces of travel and recreation already before the present era of late-capitalism and global tourism. A view of past tourism development also helps us to recognize the intensive changes that have taken place with economic development in the Finnish North, similarly to many other northern regions. As they have increased, tourism operations have introduced changes in the local ways of life. In Northern Finland, for instance, tourism development manifests today as international, resort-style destination structures that transform local geographies. Tourism today is not an economic activity steered primarily by local economic actors.

Especially starting in the 1970s, the Finnish state has harnessed tourism work and income as a tool for rural and regional development in the country's northern sparsely populated areas. State bodies on different spatial scales have put considerable efforts into developing tourism into a prosperous field of economy. It has been considered necessary to link rural tourism economies with transnational tourism networks and their increasing tourism flows. Tourist numbers and income are grown by supporting resort-oriented development, increasing the share of international customers, and by attracting international investments such as transnational hotel chains in destinations (Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2010: 15, 19). In Finnish tourism planning (Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2010; Lapin liitto 2011; Pohjois-Pohjanmaan liitto 2011), it is given that resorts work as engines of tourism growth from which the surrounding areas can then benefit. In this way, tourism is hoped to alleviate locally and regionally the negative consequences of economic restructuring such as unemployment, out-migration and an aging population (Montanari & Williams 1995; Lundmark 2006; Kauppila *et al.* 2009). Today, tourism operates in Northern Finland alongside other rural livelihoods such as agriculture and forestry, fishery, handicrafts, and reindeer herding. Tourism economy can play a significant role especially locally. Regarding employment, tax income and services created in rural areas, initiatives to support tourism economies in Finnish peripheries have been important for regional economies (Saarinen 2003; Kauppila 2011). For instance, in the municipality of Kolari, where the Ylläs destination is located, direct tourism income represented almost half of the total turnover of all local livelihoods in 2011 (Satokangas 2013).

In tourism and public planning, trust is placed in further tourism growth. The strategic aim at the national level is to increase the number of international overnights in Finland by 70 percent between 2013 and 2025 (Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015). These hopes have been reinforced by the ongoing tourism growth in Finland. The year 2016 has been regarded as the beginning of a new tourism boom: in Lapland, the number of international overnights increased 18 percent from the previous year (Statistics… 2019). To Finnish government bodies on multiple spatial scales, the perceived unlimited amounts of international tourists-to-be appear as an attractive source of economic development. To facilitate economic growth through tourism, the public and private sectors attempt to attract new tourism investments to Northern Finland. In the current neoliberal, market-oriented development, the state bodies (e.g. local municipalities and regional councils) tend to take on the role of a promoter of the economy in destination areas (see e.g. Hall 1999; Dredge *et al.* 2011; Dredge & Jamal 2013). The role of the government as a regulator of economic initiatives is reduced (Mäntysalo & Saglie 2010; Maisala 2015).

1.1 Research problem

Research within the field of tourism geography has not taken the positive impacts of tourism growth as granted but has looked in detail at the diverse transformations that take place in destination areas and at the structural or agential causes behind negative changes at different spatial scales (see Butler 2004; Hall 2013). Concerns have been raised over the extent to which tourism actors who live and work in destinations can take part in, benefit from and steer destination development. Along with the growth and internationalization of tourism, local decision-making increasingly follows market logics that primarily serve the needs of the economy: tourists, non-local investors and organizations and their agendas (Arell 2000; Burns 2004; Saarinen & Rogerson 2014). The growth-focused tourism development operates in line with the dominant political regime which prioritizes economic growth, which is then expected to result in well-being. Viken and Granås (2014) explain that because rural tourism destinations are developed according to the aims of economic growth, the need to increase tourism profits has meant that it has been necessary to build 'more powerful production units' in rural areas. Carson and Carson (2017) note this is often not a novel development in sparsely populated areas; due to the path dependency of economic development, tourism tends to evolve into an industry focused on bulk resource export and large-scale investments.

In such circumstances, as Hjalager (2007) points out, "some segments of the industry will be able to benefit, while it is likely that others will face considerable hardship and increased competition" (p. 453). Saarinen (2004) analyses the related phenomenon of enclave tourism development in which tourists, and thus tourism income and employment, concentrate in tourism core areas and resorts typically then differentiate from their surroundings. In these circumstances, the positive economic impacts of tourism typically

remain mainly within these areas (see also Britton 1982; Walpole & Goodwin 2000). Moreover, community needs outside the core can be in conflict with the resort-oriented path that development has taken (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996; Arell 2000; Hakkarainen & Tuulentie 2008; Gill & Williams 2011). For instance, Tuulentie and Mettiäinen (2007) argue that in the Ylläs destination resort growth has come at the expense of local hopes about preserving rural villages and the natural environment. Luoto *et al.* (2014) describe that the processes of transnational economic development alter the composition of communities and can fundamentally change traditional ways of life. Although rural communities have often been interlinked with transnational economic flows already earlier (see Massey 2008), increased tourism development has resulted in more intense changes in rural communities and their traditional livelihoods. To sum up, tourism change requires approaching from a broader perspective than economic growth only.

Due to the illustrated uneven power relations and conflicts of interest, research has widely agreed that enhancing 'sustainability' in tourism destinations should be a goal (see Butler 1999; Saarinen 2006a; Bramwell 2015). It is through sustainability discussions that critical perspectives are most often currently brought forward in tourism research (see Bramwell & Lane 2014). That is, sustainability perspectives point out that local people should be considered as the central agents as well as the benefitters of tourism development (Goodwin 1996). Since the publishing of the Brundtland Report (WCED 1987), normative stances on tourism development have embraced forward-looking approaches; instead of searching for the limits of economic development, studies have highlighted the need to promote sustainable development (Viken & Granås 2014: 36). Although the definition of 'sustainable development' is far from clear (Butler 1999, 2015; Fullagar & Wilson 2012), such an approach can be seen as valuable as it brings people together to think and negotiate about how to take ethical concerns regarding people and the environment better into account in economic decision-making in tourism economies both locally and globally (see also Saarinen 2014a). Rather than local communities and their resources being used for the benefit of the capitalist system, the notion of sustainability entails looking in more detail at how to better work towards conditions where transnational tourism economy enables socially just and ecologically sustainable livelihoods in tourism communities (see Bianchi 2009; Fletcher 2011; Büscher & Fletcher 2017).

To facilitate socially sustainable and just development by increasing the extent to which local actors can benefit from tourism development, as well as the extent to which they can control the direction that destination development takes, past tourism research has highlighted the role of collective economic agency. Concepts such as participation, cooperation, governance or networking have been used (e.g. Jamal & Getz 1995; Bramwell & Lane 2000; Dredge 2006a, Beritelli 2011; Gill & Williams 2011, 2014; Brouder 2012; Marzo-Navarro *et al.* 2017). However, collective destination-scale agency is not in any wise straightforward in actual tourism practices. In research, various reasons for the lack of collective agency in tourism destinations have been identified: lack of a shared goal (Graci 2013: 39), conflicts of interests between groups, lack of trust (Koens & Thomas

2015), lack of leadership, lack of not knowing the benefit of networking, a general lack of capacity to develop networking and cooperation practices (Carson *et al.* 2013: 13–14), as well as tourism actors' competitive relations (Weidenfeld *et al.* 2010: 617). The identified networking challenges show there is a need to better understand the notion of collective economic action and destination development aims in a way that takes into account the diversity of local perspectives. As noted, there is no homogenous group of 'local tourism actors' who could in any simple way be heard or made to agree on issues regarding destination development (Messely *et al.* 2014; Mosedale 2014). Currently, there is no consensus on what kind of relational economic processes in tourism destination would support sustainability transformations. Bianchi (2018) states that sustainability studies in critical tourism research seem to include a variety of theoretical perspectives which "has resulted in a great deal of theoretical inconsistency and conceptual vagueness together with a lack of substantive engagement with the 'analysis of wider structural conditions'" (p. 89; see also Saarinen 2014a; Bramwell 2015).

1.2 Research objective and approach

The purpose of this thesis is to widen the theorizations on sustainability by offering an empirically informed perspective for investigating possibilities for individual and collective local economic agency in sustainability transformations in tourism destinations. In this thesis, the objective is to understand

> how sustainability can be facilitated through local economic relations in resort-oriented destination development contexts.

The aim is to empirically investigate issues related to cooperation as well as conflict between local tourism actors and examine them in relation economic relations, agency and tourism politics. In the current study, the ideal of economic growth as the primary driver and the aim of collective action is questioned. Through empirical analysis, I first examine how (un)sustainability manifests in economic relations between local tourism actors and, based on this empirical understanding, discuss what changes would be required to move towards more sustainable tourism futures. Destination transformation and evolution towards new development paths that deviate from enclave tourist resorts is a research topic that has been studied relatively little in tourism geographies (see Saarinen 2017: 432). To address this, my intention is to develop an empirically grounded method of critical inquiry, one that offers not only a description of existing injustices but also seeks to find ways to actualize changes in tourism communities.

In the study, I examine local economic relations in the tourism destination transformation process as they appear from the perspective of local economic actors who are involved in tourism economy. In other words, I seek to understand the everyday tourism realities of

local tourism actors; what the current circumstances are in destination economies; and how 'unsustainabilities' are experienced and reproduced in the everyday 'on the ground'. I am interested in the diversity of motivations that drive the economic relations and agency of local tourism actors. The research focus on economic subjects and their lived experiences coheres with the anthropological research perspective proposed by Heikkinen *et al.* (2016). To comprehend processes that operate in a local–global nexus, they recommend a context-sensitive, bottom-up view and a focus on lived realities. Furthermore, they argue it is necessary to bring forward local voices and counter-discourses that may otherwise be suppressed by global tourism-related discourses. In this way, it becomes possible to co-produce knowledge of tourism that is locally sensitive but also aware of global issues. Similarly, Salazar (2017) suggests that to change tourism economies, "we need fine-grained empirical analyses that disentangle who exactly is doing what, how it is being done, for what reason, and what can be done about it" (p. 705). He explains that this enables one to see how tourism-induced social injustices and power imbalances affect people differently depending on the subject's social positionality.

The current research perspective builds on an understanding of current real-life contexts. It is necessary to look into the diversity of ways in which tourism economy is currently viewed and practiced so that we can think of ways to actualize changes in economy. To work towards the research objective, I have defined three research questions (Figure 1). These questions have developed one after another over the course of the research process, each adding a new perspective on destination sustainability to complement the previous question, yet all contributing to the overall research objective. This set of questions also shows how, through their economic relations, local tourism actors confront the impacts of transnational tourism economy in their community, can participate in reproducing the resort-oriented destination development path or deviate from it, and, at least in principle, have agency in redirecting destination development.

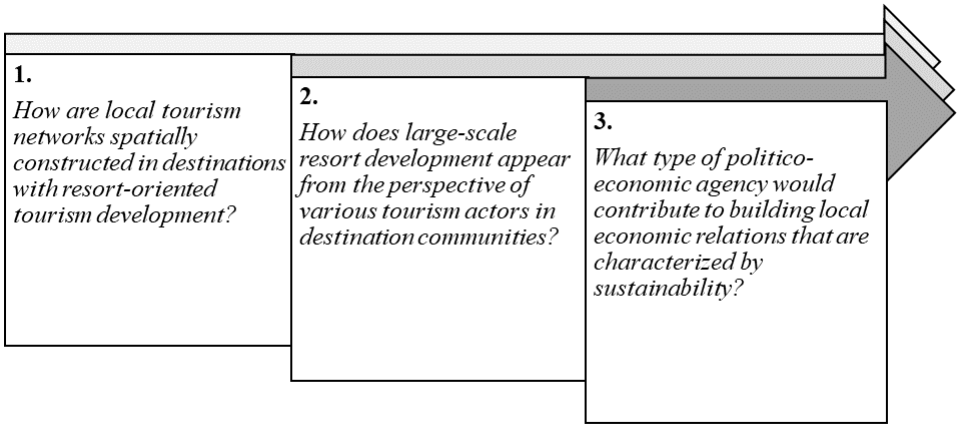


Figure 1. The process of question setting.

To understand the everyday realities of transnational tourism development empirically, I decided to head for tourism destinations in the Finnish North and use ethnographically oriented case study research as the research method. The case studies were conducted in two sites: the Ruka tourist resort in the municipality of Kuusamo in Northeast Finland and the Ylläs tourism destination in the Kolari municipality in Western Lapland. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with local tourism actors in these northern tourism destination communities. These methods enabled a qualitative, in-depth understanding of local tourism actors' insights on the topic. Persons who manage a tourism firm or work in the public or third sectors and deal with tourism-related issues were considered to be local tourism actors. Most of the interviewed tourism actors live in the community at least part of the year. Some of them have been born in these communities while others are in-migrants. To study the everyday realities of these tourism actors, I utilize a contemporary variant of the grounded theory method. Charmaz (2006) explains that "we [grounded theorists] try to learn what occurs in the research settings we join and what our research participants' lives are like" (p. 2). In this narrow sense, the theory is 'grounded' in the empirical data and one's own theoretical background is continuously questioned. In the current study, a grounded theory approach means that I aim to understand the injustices in tourism economy from the full diversity of perspectives. Furthermore, I am interested in the coexistence of and conflict between these differing views. Here the present approach coheres with the situational analysis developed by Clarke (2012). Clarke focuses on understanding the multitude of lived realities and life experiences but in addition, and maybe more importantly, she studies how these perspectives meet in a specific place and time. In this way, Clarke has been able to theorize social action at a collective level, which is also the aim of the present work.

To date in tourism geography, there has been little attention to individuals' motivation and agency in tourism production and sustainability transformations. Scholars following the cultural turn in tourism research (e.g. Pritchard & Morgan 2000; Ateljevic *et al.* 2007, 2011) have moved their focus away from the uneven power relations on which tourism economy operates (Bianchi 2009; Debbage & Ioannides 2012; Gale 2012; Salazar 2017) whereas scholars interested in tourism development, planning and policies tend to treat tourism entrepreneurs as a social group whose agency is inconsequential in achieving sustainability transformation (e.g. Bianchi 2017: 41; Saarinen 2018: 338). Instead, in this study, I treat the so-called structural conditions of economy as operating within the reach of the individual; humans experience them in their everyday lives but can also gain agency to transform them. This insight is important for studying local agency in transnational tourism economy. Similarly, Yarker (2017) argues that the field of economic geography research should pay attention to the everyday life and aim to understand what meanings are given to everyday practices, what values actors attach to them, and how everyday realities are experienced. For her, the everyday "provides a meso-level analysis that is sensitive to the agency of economic agents without undermining the role of structural

forces" (p. 8). Barnes (2003: 95) also states that research should abandon the dualism of culture and economy.

1.3 Research process and the articles

This synopsis part presents research findings that have been published in three research articles in which I have investigated the thesis topic (Table 1). The present synopsis part of the thesis forms a background for the articles by first building a theoretical context and positioning the work in the intersection of critical economic geography and tourism research. The used theoretical approach as well as my understanding of what research is and what it should be has shifted over the course of the research process. This research process is characterized by movement across and between geographical research traditions that deal with economy, political agency, sustainability, and social justice. When beginning this doctoral research, I drew mainly from literature on tourism, sustainability and regional development (e.g. Burns 2004; Saarinen 2006b; Müller 2011). These perspectives on economic agency in destinations are discussed in article I, which examines the role of local economic relations in enclave destination development. Along the way, I began to think more about how to bring about change in the tourism communities. I adopted this research take because of the apparent climate change mitigation requirements in tourism, and the central role of tourism actors in the project increasingly began to inform the work (Hall 2009; Saarinen 2014a; Eijgelaar *et al.* 2015; Gren & Huijbens 2015; Gössling & Peeters 2015). In article II, a poststructural political economic approach is introduced in critical tourism geographies to highlight alternative perspectives on economic agency and local economic relations. Article III presents an analysis that is based on critical (economic) geography theories yet departs from the mainstream critical research stances by emphasizing the need for an alternative take on transformative politics.

In this synopsis part, I draw together the theoretical notions made in the three papers and build a novel approach to the role of local economic relations in destination transformations towards sustainability in the field of critical tourism geography. The novel perspective draws on critical economic geography, particularly on poststructural political economic and feminist economic geography perspectives (e.g. Castree 2006; Gibson-Graham 2006, 2008a, 2008b; Massey 2008). I will propose that a poststructural economy view on tourism and change can help to address the urgent calls for global sustainability in today's economies. This approach offers a novel way to reinterpret the heterogeneity of local economic agency in tourism destinations. Gibson-Graham (2006) aim at bringing to the fore the diverse forms of economic organization, relations and agency that presently exist but go unnoticed due to the hegemonic capitalocentric representation of the economy. By drawing attention to existing, unorthodox views that typically remain marginal or unseen, they (2008a: 614, 620) intend to highlight their potential as objects of policy and politics. When the aim is to advance socially just and ecological sustainability, it

is vital to discuss what the existing heterogeneity in tourism agency requires of destination decision-making. The poststructural political economy perspective I am building in this work aim to understand how the differing economic views and practices coexist, how social groups perceive their differences, and what kind of inter-group relations would facilitate empowering the marginalized economic views and practices.

By building a poststructural political economy approach to tourism destination change, this thesis contributes to the research fields of tourism research, particularly critical tourism geographies, as well as critical (economic) geography in three main ways. First, the thesis advances research on sustainability within tourism research by looking at what the calls for global sustainability entail for destination development and change. The work shows how solving issues of tourism-related local injustices in destinations is required in order to move towards global sustainability. Second, the thesis advances critical tourism geography research by building an approach that not only focuses on what critical sustainability in tourism economies (Saarinen 2014a; Brouder 2017; see also Rose & Cachelin 2018) would look like but also seeks pragmatic ways for creating those changes in destinations. By introducing a poststructural political economy perspective, the thesis adds to the past critical takes on destination change that have to date been concerned with institutional transformations in tourism. In so doing, the thesis builds bridges between critical tourism geographies and critical tourism studies. This poststructural view advances for instance the currently emerging evolutionary economic geography on destination change as it offers an empirically grounded, bottom-up, and real-time perspective on tourism path creation and sustainability transformations. Third, in making the above contributions in the field of tourism research, the thesis builds a take on transformative politics and economic change that is novel in the field of critical (economic) geography. I have drawn inspiration for my view on politics in local communities from Lefebvre's work *The Production of Space* (1991). In my reading of his work, I highlight how Lefebvre examines politics of space in a multifaceted way, one that moves beyond mere political economic critique. Drawing on his thinking on social change, I picture transformative politics as taking place in local (tourism) communities in everyday politics. That is, transformative politics happens here and now, not in collective efforts in a revolutionary future. This alternative view of politics is not solely based on critique of structural power but on establishing local economic relations that facilitate dialogue between different identity groups. Community building is introduced as a conceptual tool for thinking about and advancing socially just production of tourism spaces.

Table 1. The three research articles.

	Article 1	**Article 2**	**Article 3**
Title	Resort-oriented tourism development and local tourism networks – a case study from Northern Finland	Sustainable Destination Development in Northern Peripheries: A Focus on Alternative Tourism Paths	Towards just production of tourism space via dialogical everyday politics in destination communities
Core concepts	Tourism destination development; cooperation; enclave resorts; sustainable regional development	Tourism destinations; path creation; co-evolution; economic difference; community economies; networking, sustainability	Political agency; everyday politics; inter-group relations; economic subjects; tourism
Questions	Q1	Q2, Q3	Q2, Q3
Case study area	The Ruka resort	The Ylläs destination	The Ylläs destination
Theoretical background	Tourism and regional development, relational economic geography	Evolutionary economic geography, poststructural political economy	Critical geography, production of space, political agency research
Results significant for the thesis	Spatial identification of tourism actors influences their economic agency and hinders destination-level cooperative relations. Local tourism relations do not currently advance sustainability in tourism development in resort-oriented destinations.	There exists alternative economic knowledge on tourism development in the Ylläs tourism community that deviates from the strongly growth-focused tourism path. Currently, alternative tourism path creation is not heeded in destination decision-making.	Tourism-related injustices are caused by a mutual lack of attention to diverging perspectives between groups. Dialogical everyday politics is needed for facilitating mutual understanding across economic difference, and thus widening the perspectives from which local development needs are discussed.

2 Local economic agency in sustainability transformations in tourism destinations

Since the late 1980s the sustainability paradigm has served as a way to highlight the social and environmental concerns related to tourism development (see Bramwell & Lane 2014; Viken & Granås 2014). Still today, it is regarded as enabling a consideration of the negative impacts of economic growth in tourism development. Yet, as Bianchi (2018) states, sustainability studies in critical tourism research seem to include various theoretical perspectives which "has resulted in a great deal of theoretical inconsistency and conceptual vagueness" (p. 89; see also Saarinen 2014a; Bramwell, 2015). Neither is there agreement on what kind of relational economic processes in tourism destination would support sustainability transformations. Brouder (2017: 444) notes that it is currently not very well understood which processes facilitate or suppress bottom-up change in tourism destinations. For this reason, evolutionary economic geography scholars of tourism have recently called for including the study of sustainability transformations in evolutionary perspectives on tourism development (Brouder & Eriksson 2013; Brouder 2014, 2017; Brouder & Ioannides 2014). To address this lack of theory on the role of local tourism relations in economic change towards sustainability, in this chapter I first examine past sustainability discussions in the field of tourism research, particularly tourism geographies. Sustainability is discussed here particularly in the rural tourism context. In the second section, I reflect on and elaborate these theoretical takes on sustainability transformations in tourism destination economies by drawing on the existing and emerging theoretical takes on economic and social change within the field of economic geography. By reviewing past research in this manner, I intend to present a detailed justification for why I have moved between perspectives and why it is necessary to incorporate poststructural political economic takes in sustainability theorizing.

2.1 Tourism research on local tourism relations and sustainability

To facilitate socially sustainable and just development by increasing the extent to which local actors can benefit from tourism development as well as control the direction that destination development takes, past tourism research has highlighted the role of collective economic agency in destinations. It has been highlighted how collective economic agency (conceptualized for instance as participation, cooperation, governance, and networking) can contribute to sustainability in tourism destinations. In this theory review, I seek answers to the following questions: Through what mechanisms does collective agency enhance sustainability? Which actors should act for change in destinations? How should

local economic relations be organized to alleviate the negative impacts of tourism development? It is worth underlining that I acknowledge that the themes presented in the sub-chapters are not exclusionary; tourism researchers have supported many of these ideas concurrently in their research. In this study, however, the intention is to search for differences between the diversity of perspectives on sustainability.

2.1.1 Network cooperation and economic linkages

A prominent line of research touching collective tourism agency and sustainability is based on the idea that economic growth is a good measure of successful and sustainable tourism development in rural areas, where economic activity is generally lower than in urban areas. This perspective regards sustainability as referring primarily to the long-term economic viability of a destination (Crouch & Richie 1999; Abreu-Novais *et al.* 2016) which is in line with the 'tourism-first model'. The model pictures business activity as a good indicator of development (see Burns 2004). In such perspectives, local economic relations between tourism actors are regarded as necessary for intentional cooperation, which then fosters growth and competitiveness in rural tourism areas (Schmitz 1999; Williams & Copus 2005). As Koster (2007) describes, "development of tourism at a regional level means the various communities, which comprise a region, will cooperate and integrate their collective attractions, capital, infrastructure, and natural and human resources in such a way to promote the region as a destination to potential tourists" (see also Meyer-Cech 2005; Wang & Fesenmaier 2007).

Another line of research on tourism and sustainability has argued that tourism competitiveness does not suffice. For instance, Saarinen (2004, 2017) emphasizes that such a growth-focused tourism destination development follows a model of enclavization. He explains that when tourism grows and internationalizes, the leading tourism enterprises in resorts are typically, and increasingly, non-local operators. In consequence, destinations weaken their linkages with the local communities in their surroundings. At the same time, destinations tend to become spaces homogenous with each other. In these circumstances, the positive economic impacts of tourism typically remain mainly within the areas occupied by tourists and do not spread beyond the resorts into the surrounding peripheral areas (see also Britton 1982; Williams & Shaw 1998: 12; Hall & Page 1999: 1; Walpole & Goodwin 2000; Lundmark 2005). Tourism development "exacerbates existing and creates new economic and social divisions in the host communities" (Smith & Duffy, 2003: 138). Although such development is often associated with the Global South, a similar capitalist structure also exists in rural areas in the North. Tourism economy can grow without residents being able to guide development or benefit from it, thus making tourism development unsustainable (Saarinen 2008, 2017). If the economic needs are prioritized, economic growth does not automatically lead to increased well-being or

development, especially not in rural areas (see Ribeiro & Marques 2002; Smith & Duffy 2003: 138; Saarinen 2008; Müller 2011).

To address such challenges in tourism economy, research makes a distinction between economic 'growth' and 'development' (Burns 2004; Telfer & Sharpley 2007; Hall 2009; Saarinen *et al.* 2017). Development refers to qualitative aspects related to economic growth such as the quality of life and human well-being (Saarinen *et al.* 2017). The notion of 'sustainable regional development' emphasizes that economic, sociocultural, and environmental values have to be incorporated in regional development. Tourism should be understood as only one possible tool for sustainable regional development (see Burns 2004; Saarinen 2006b; Kauppila *et al.* 2009; Müller 2011; Wickens *et al.* 2015). One way to facilitate more sustainable development outcomes is to increase local economic linkages between tourism actors. Economic actors should increase their economic linkages at the scale of the tourism region, not only in the destination core. In this way, the economic benefits of development can be distributed outside the core to businesses operating in the surrounding areas (Saarinen 2004, 2017; Kauppila *et al.* 2009). This would also prevent economic leakages outside the region (see Murphy 1985). Similar thinking guides 'inclusive growth' research perspectives (Hampton & Jeyacheya 2013; Hampton *et al.* 2018). To facilitate sustainable destination development, inclusive growth addresses imbalances in wealth creation and requires that people contribute to and benefit from tourism growth. Inclusive growth requires distribution of monetary tourism income as well as fostering tourism employment (World Bank 2009). Locally owned businesses are viewed as a means of employment generation (Hampton *et al.* 2018). The research perspectives that focus on local relations in economic distribution bring to the fore the interconnections of economic and social sustainability. The concept of inclusive growth has been applied mainly in the context of the Global South for poverty reduction aims but it is also applicable in rural areas in the North.

Destination-level collective actions are likewise regarded as necessary for sustainability because networking enhances knowledge transfer; local knowledge is utilized for rural (economic) development. Arell (2000: 131) points out that when enterprises network effectively within a large area and utilize the local traditions and know-how of older generations for tourism development, the tourism region can become creative and successful. Similarly, Brouder and Eriksson (2013: 138) note that access to and utilization of local knowledge contributes to the survival of new micro-firms in the rural tourism industry. Through regional-scale cooperation, it is possible to diversify the supply of services in the destination and thereby attract a wider range of market segments (Viken & Aarsaether 2013: 38). In these studies, it is not articulated whether the primary target of such solutions is to foster socio-cultural sustainability in destinations or whether the use of local traditions is meant to increase economic growth and competitiveness. At least no contradiction is pointed out between the two.

2.1.2 Community-based approaches

Economic growth can be socially or ecologically unsustainable no matter how equally shared within a local community. Therefore, it is necessary to engage with local tourism actors as well as residents in destination decision-making. Tourism research on sustainability has proposed community-based models as a way to ensure sustainable development. These approaches diverge from the previously presented ideas which do not focus on whether tourism economy uses local resources in a socially acceptable manner. Community-based approaches trust in capitalist tourism economy's potential to create positive development locally when adequate attention is paid to its implementation. These approaches emphasize the direct relations between the tourism operators and local communities as potential channels for engaging the local community in destination decision-making without the need for governmental steering (see Scheyvens 1999; Saarinen 2006a; Okazaki 2008). As Okazaki (2008: 511) explains, this enables reducing the negative impacts of tourism while enhancing its positive effects. Crouch and Ritchie (1999) suggest that the goal of sustainable tourism is to seek the consensus of all segments of society (including local populations) so that tourism industry and other resource users can coexist together in a thriving economy (Camilleri 2016: 220). In these community-level decision-making processes, local actors such as conservationists or local heritage societies can support environmental conservation. In this way, community-based tourism can enhance ecological sustainability, although such effects are not axiomatic (see Saarinen 2006a).

Another example of a community-based tourism approach is integrated rural tourism (IRT). Its supporters Saxena and Ilbery (2008) recognize that the "economic need to 'act global'" (p. 238) can result in the commoditization of people and cultures by non-local actors. To remedy this, they suggest the notion of 'endogeneity', which means that rural development should be based on local economic, environmental, and cultural resources. They define IRT as tourism that is "mainly sustained by social networks that explicitly link local actors for the purpose of jointly promoting and maintaining the economic, social, cultural, natural, and human resources of the localities in which they occur" (p. 234). Saxena and Ilbery highlight that local networks need to be embedded in local sociocultural characteristics and identities for local tourism operations to be significant for actors and continue over time. IRT "encourages strong local participation in decision-making and enables local actors to adapt external opportunities to their own needs" (Saxena & Ilbery 2008: 238). The authors emphasize that in IRT tourism relations need to be empowering. This means that networks need to "enable a shared understanding and ownership of goals and objectives, helping members realize the 'network advantage'" (p. 239). The term refers to learning and capacity building, innovation, and use of the community's resources in tourism. These networks necessitate, at the same time, a degree of disembeddedness and scope beyond the locality. In this way, IRT can increase destination competitiveness and, in so doing, lead to sustainable tourism development (see also Saxena 2005). Jamal and Getz (1995) discuss community-based tourism planning at the local and regional

level, underlining the need for collective agency at the destination scale. A collaborative approach to tourism planning can help in solving problems and advancing a shared vision. Following Jamal and Getz (1995), creating such a vision might be motivated through tourism stakeholders' recognition that they have a high interdependence on each other and on the natural environment in the destination community. Thus, opposition to tourism development "may cause a local business association to initiate a collaboration on behalf of its members, in order to arrive at a level of tourism development which would satisfy everyone" (p. 199). The scholars also recognize that collaboration may be achievable only with some stakeholders and in some contexts.

The above shows how the guiding principle in community-based tourism seems to be to find a shared goal for destination development (see also Graci 2013). Frameworks like IRT cohere strongly with the idea of inclusive growth despite their emphasis on local participation in decision-making. This becomes clearly visible when supporting community-based tourism development models because "if the various agents who are involved in a proposed tourism product deem it to be suitable, then it follows that they will be more in favor of developing that product" (Marzo-Navarro *et al.* 2017: 589). This indicates that tourism growth is considered as the main goal. Community-based tourism development approaches do not guarantee that local participation leads to taking local voices into account in destination decision-making (see also Saarinen 2006a, 2016; Saarinen & Lenao 2014; Höckert 2018). Saarinen and Lenao (2014: 368–369) question the ability of the collaborative or partnership ideas and self-regulative models of the tourism industry to foster sustainable outcomes in tourism economies.

2.1.3 Roles of the public sector

From the state to the local level, tourism research has highlighted the role of governments as bodies who should act to transform tourism economy towards sustainability at the destination level. These takes are closely linked to community-based approaches but nevertheless diverge from them. Critical tourism geography has emphasized that although the state and local municipalities currently have the role of both regulator as well as promotor of the economy, the latter role tends to predominate in destination development (see e.g. Hall 1999; Dredge *et al.* 2011; Dredge & Jamal 2013; Wickens *et al.* 2015). Beaumont and Dredge (2010) write that since the 1970s, neoliberal tendencies of development have had affected "the capacity of local government to govern" (p. 7) as the emphasis has moved to increasing tourism growth and competitiveness. Burns (2004) states that ecological problems should not be considered 'acts of nature' but "as a result of unchecked and weakly regulated capitalism" (p. 30). Multiple overlapping perspectives have been taken on the role of government in transforming tourism towards a more sustainable direction.

Despite the noted challenges inherent in neoliberal tourism governance and policies, networked tourism governance with its public-private partnerships is often considered as a relevant means towards sustainability transformations. These perspectives rely on the idea that the public sphere can operate in a more participatory, just and sustainable manner when acting as a body that manages local actors and networks through open and fluid tourism governance arrangements. An indicator of the perceived benefits of governance is resistance to central guidance. For instance, Gerbaux and Marcelpoil (2006) highlight the value of the governance network approach in the ski resort context: if the decision-making concerning destination development is done solely in the local municipal council with a strong governmental role, local organizations and smaller businesses do not have possibilities to directly take part in decision-making. Burns (2004) emphasizes that the different sub-sectors of tourism need to be recognized in planning, since a few leading sub-sectors (e.g. international hotels and ground tour operators) tend to gather the majority of tourism benefits. The overall goal of networked tourism governance is the mutual satisfaction of all stakeholders, which reflects "the possibility of a destination having several different types of tourism (mass tourism, ecotourism, cultural tourism, to name but three" (p. 36). For him, the peaceful coexistence of all stakeholders is indicative of sustainable tourism planning.

Similarly, Beaumont and Dredge (2010) discuss the role of networked tourism governance in achieving sustainability transformations. They trust there is room for manoeuvre within tourism destination governance to turn tourism towards a more sustainable direction. At their best, the networks of public and private interests that form local tourism governance arrangements can empower local participation and provide a forum for information-sharing, negotiation, and learning, which facilitates holistic sustainability. Dredge (2006a) values the networked governance approach as it enables embracing the complexity and the dynamic nature of tourism destinations, which she sees as a requirement for moving closer to sustainable development ideals. 'Softer' social and cultural aspects of networks should be studied through in-depth qualitative inquiry (Dredge 2006b: 279). Some studies have favoured governance perspectives also for their ability to foster sustainability in destination decision-making, as groups with sustainability agendas are encouraged to participate in destination development. Gill and Williams (2014) show how tourism entrepreneurs in Whistler were able to advance their social sustainability aims through individual and collective agency. The goals of environmental conservation can also be fostered through participatory governance (see Burns 2004; Bramwell & Lane 2011). The above shows how the governance models tend to rely on the 'local' views on sustainability and do not follow some top-down-formulated idea about how 'sustainable destinations' should function. Governance perspectives seem to support public-private partnerships for their ability to foster inter-group communication rather than for their ability to strengthen the regulatory role of the state per se.

Yet, Dredge (2006a) notes that cooperation and negotiation may not be possible for all topics. She emphasizes that tourism governance should not rely solely on the

collaborative model but that attention in tourism governance should be paid to "the role of the state in promoting and protecting certain public interests" (p. 566). Amore and Hall (2016) also note how "many studies of governance in tourism have tended to focus on the techniques or methods of governance rather than the values that may underlie the selection of particular interventions." (p. 118). They note that there is no such thing as ideological or distributional neutrality in tourism governance. It has been emphasized that it is not governance but rather governmental regulation that is needed to assure that sustainability goals are included in development work. Saarinen (2014a) insists that "stronger governmental and inter-governmental policies and regulations are most probably needed" to set the limits of tourism growth in a manner that diverges from short-term tourism-focused evaluations (p. 11). He considers it unrealistic that the private sector would voluntarily share its benefits and distribute the power that it holds. Saarinen argues that while there may exist a few tourism businesses that operate along ethical and sustainable premises, the majority respect only the economic aspects of sustainability in their operations.

2.1.4 Destination transformation as regional change

To take account of uneven development, the role of human agency, and sustainability in tourism development, tourism geography research has focused on studying tourism change from spatial, often regional, perspectives. These perspectives offer open-ended views on economic change in tourism areas. For instance, Bramwell (2006) highlights the role of economic actors not only as reproducers of structural economic forces (pressures to attract capital in the face of global competition) but also as active agents who can manoeuvre such structures and solve problems. To similar ends, Saarinen (2004, 2014b) draws on new regional geography (see Paasi 1986) and structuration theory (see Giddens 1984) in studying tourism destination transformation as a discursive process of regional production and reproduction. This approach emphasizes "the role of history, culture, social identities and power relations in the constitution of socio-spatial reality" (Saarinen 2014b: 50). His perspective maintains that destination change is guided not only by economic process but human agency, in the form of governmental regulation for instance, influences the direction of regional change in tourism areas. Gale (2012) also points out that the use of the structuration theory in tourism studies helps to emphasize the human agency in social and economic transformation. This strand focuses on looking into the inseparability and mutual constitution of human agency and structure and is valuable for studying the role of tourism agency in sustainability. In addition, drawing on critical realist methodology, Gale (2012) points out that tourism destination development is not an inevitable process: economic structures "may be a by-product of human action, but it does not determine it" (p. 42; see also Gale and Botterill 2005). Such takes diverge from the market-driven Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model (Butler 1980) that has become

a prominent theory of destination change in tourism research. Gale criticizes the TALC model for reproducing past tourism development as a historical fact that cannot take any other form in future and for leaving human agency outside the model, at least until the stagnation stage. Gale (2012) notes that, for instance, falling tourist numbers do not always indicate a crisis as destinations can also choose to step back from a development path that depends on increasing tourist numbers.

Recently, tourism scholars have increasingly utilized Evolutionary Economic Geography (EEG) for analysing change in regional tourism economies. These takes recognize geographically uneven development of tourism economy while supporting an open-ended version of capitalist development. EEG approaches highlight that "the evolution of tourism areas is a complicated multiple-level co-evolution rather than a simple curve with different stages" (Hassink & Ma 2017). These studies have conceptualized the co-existence of heterogeneous tourism paths and their mutual influences as tourism path co-evolution (Brouder 2014; Brouder & Ioannides 2014). Evolutionary takes also emphasize the role of economic actors as path creators towards new tourism futures (e.g. Gill & Williams 2014). Due to this open-ended view on economic change, EEG is conceptually broad enough to transcend the usual growth-centric and monetary approaches to development (Brouder & Ioannides 2014; Brouder & Fullerton 2015). Brouder and Fullerton (2015) underscore that more attention needs to be paid to the marginal development paths of tourism to foster sustainability in destinations. This is because "the laggards of today may be the leaders of tomorrow" (p. 153).

2.1.5 Structural critiques

As the theoretical frame has demonstrated, most tourism research has adopted governance and regulation approaches for critical studies on tourism production (see also Mosedale 2014). However, a few scholars have taken a more radical stance to studying economic relations and economic agency regarding sustainability. This line of critical tourism geography focuses not on thinking about how to create change in tourism economies (e.g. through government regulation) but on offering critique of the internal logic of capitalism by drawing on Marxian geographical political economy (Fletcher 2011; Bianchi 2017; Büscher & Fletcher 2017). These scholars question the predominant position of capitalism as the desired form of economic organization. The noted injustices and uneven power relations in tourism development are regarded not only as externalities of a capitalist tourism system but as examples of the inequitable social relations on which on which capitalist economy inherently rests. For instance, Büscher and Fletcher (2017) interpret 'negative tourism impacts' as the 'structural violence' that is always inherent in capitalist (tourism) economy. For these scholars, 'the structural' refers to the harmful consequences of tourism economy "to which many people contribute indirectly but for

which no particular person is directly responsible" (p. 2). Fletcher (2011: 448) explains that over the course of history, tourism and capitalism have co-evolved, with the former often serving the needs of the latter. He argues that sustainable tourism is 'an environmental fix' which ensures that natural resources are sustained not for their own sake but for sustaining capitalism also in future (see also Britton 1991).

Recognizing this internal structure of the tourism economy, Fletcher (2011) draws attention to the uneven relations that exist between tourism actors in destinations. He conceptualizes this as a manifestation of the dominance of the 'transnational capitalist class' in the global tourism industry. This class refers not only to tourism operators but also to "other important tourism promoters, including international development agencies and national governments" (p. 445). This argument shows how the Marxian scholars do not treat governments as regulative bodies dedicated to the common good but rather emphasize the co-constitution of the capitalist economy and nation states. Similarly, Bianchi (2017) points out that in tourism research, "there remains a tendency to conceive of the state as an autonomous actor capable of effective intervention in the market in order to avert market failure and/or arbitrate between competing interest groups" (p. 11). He calls for research to recognize the structural and systemic conditions of tourism and to analyse how powerful discourses manifest themselves materially in space and, in this way, enforce path-dependent economic and institutional development.

2.1.6 Cultural analysis of tourism change

Another body of critical tourism research draws on the cultural turn that took place in tourism research in the 2000s (e.g. Aitchison 2000; Ateljevic *et al.* 2007, 2011; Hannam & Knox 2010). Critical tourism studies (CTS) have adopted poststructural methodologies from the social sciences. They reject grand theories in their analysis and do not consider materialist and institutional perspectives as sufficient. Importantly, this stream of research regards tourism not solely as an economic activity but emphasizes cultural and symbolic power in their analyses of tourism ethics and justice (Aitchison 2000, 2005). In attempting to work towards a more just tourism economy, these poststructural studies draw attention to economic actors, identities, and encounters in tourism. For instance, gender relations are a source of difference in local communities that tourism economy has failed to appreciate sufficiently (Tucker 2007; Pritchard & Morgan 2000). These studies have also focused on examining the uneven power relations in host–guest relationships in tourism communities. Local hosts but also tourists have agency in developing just and sustainable forms of tourism (see e.g. García-Rosell *et al.* 2007; Höckert 2018).

The described shift from material to cultural analysis is a move from conceptualizations of social justice to an ethics of care (Smith & Duffy 2003). What is ethical or just is not a matter of a universal and context-free theory but a question of relations and encounters between individuals. Smith and Duffy (2003) write:

"Since difference ethics requires us to recognize and respond on a very personal level, this ethical relation to the other cannot be spelled out in formulaic terms, in codes or regulations or in the apportioning of rights and duties. Like an ethics of care, it requires us to be aware of the needs of others and to embody this awareness in our actions. It is, then, an ethic for the individual tourist rather than a means of regulating the tourist industry or tourism development" (p. 113).

The quote illustrates the logic of why with the incorporation of poststructural methodology the analytical focus of critical tourism studies has moved its focus away from the economic organization of tourism. Political economy-focused scholars have accused critical tourism studies of being insufficiently critical. Bianchi (2009) notes that

"whilst this [CTS] has perhaps resulted in a more nuanced appreciation of the social and cultural dimensions of power manifest in tourism (particularly into its dominant discourses and representative frameworks), the emphasis on the latter at the expense of production and material aspects of tourism and mobility, has meant that tourism often appears detached from the forces of structural power that characterize twenty-first century capitalism and globalization" (p. 484).

It is argued that while 'critical tourism studies' has sought a new focus of tourism analysis, these poststructural perspectives have moved their analytical focus away from the local economic relations on which tourism economy operates (see Bianchi 2009; Debbage & Ioannides 2012; Gale 2012; Salazar 2017). The same happens when 'responsible tourism' is treated as the way to implement sustainability in tourism destinations (e.g. Goodwin & Francis 2003).

However, within CTS some researchers have addressed the implications of poststructural analysis of tourism governance and policy research. For instance, Aitchison (2005) points out that studies informed by the cultural turn should not forget the social context in their analysis. She warns against ignoring material aspects in poststructural research on tourism (especially in the context of research on tourism and gender) and argues for positioning studies in the social-cultural nexus. To work towards ethical tourism economy, it is necessary to pay attention to "the ways in which systemic economic power serves to oppress subaltern groups" (p. 213). She explains that incremental transformations in tourism economy take place over a period of time and in different places, and are not initiated top-down by an authority. With similar aims, Jamal and Camargo (2014) propose a joint framework of justice and an ethic of care to advance theorizing and development of 'just destinations' (p. 23). The authors (2014) write that

"Principles based solely on Rawls's theory of justice and fairness are inadequate because its discourse of distributive and procedural justice is predominantly rights-based and economically oriented toward capitalistic values that favor political liberalism, privilege reason and eschew emotion, as feminist critiques also note."(Fraser, 2003) (p. 24).

Jamal and Camargo call for "performative resistance to a globalized culture of consumption and market capitalism" (p. 27). Here, virtues and values related to local tourism relations such as plurality, voice, social action, political agency, democratic participation, inclusiveness, tolerance, and valuing difference can help to create just destinations.

The poststructural perspective on tourism economies has also been applied through actor–network theory (ANT) (e.g. Franklin 2004; Jóhannesson 2005, 2012; Ren *et al.* 2010; Van der Duim *et al.* 2017). ANT studies have highlighted how tourism knowledge is always relationally constructed by a multiplicity of actors. Tourism is a meeting place of multiple and interfering values (Van der Duim *et al.* 2017). Jóhannesson (2012) importantly points out the implications that such a poststructural network approach has for studying tourism actors and their economic agency. He states that

> *"With regard to research on entrepreneurship, a relational approach such as ANT provides a way to trace the ways different motivations and drives for action interweave throughout the entrepreneurial process. Entrepreneurs who strive for a certain kind of lifestyle rather than for economic gains are not perceived as deviant and at the same time people are not described as robots programmed to follow a universal economic logic or disempowered victims of cultural institutions. It follows that economic logic is not thrown out with the bathwater as economic gains surely are important for most entrepreneurs to some extent. Instead of choosing beforehand between sets of explanatory variables to cast light on entrepreneurship, it has been argued that it is more fruitful to trace the work through which these emerge in each case. Endorsing a view of reality as multiple implies that there* is *no general world and there* are *no general rules.'* (Law, 2004, p. 155, original italics)" (p. 193).

Jóhannesson (2012) notes that research should not expect tourism actors to share aims in tourism development. Thus, searching for "overarching concepts that undeniably are often desired by policy-makers" (p. 193) may not be effective when attempting to actualize change in tourism economy as these may not meet the reality of tourism practices in the destination. Van der Duim *et al.* (2017) explain that a relational ANT approach enables viewing the existing complexity as 'matters of concern' rather than issues that can be quickly fixed through tourism policies.

To sum up, the above review of tourism research on sustainability well illustrates how the current critical takes diverge in their views on how heterogeneity is produced in tourism economies. The perspectives focused on (regional) economic development rely on inclusive and participatory models of capitalist development, critical tourism studies (CTS) draws on cultural analytical perspectives while critical tourism geographies draw on political economic approaches when studying how to create new, more just and sustainable development paths in tourism economy. Although tourism geography takes offer valuable critical knowledge on tourism production, they seem to offer little guidance on how to actualize changes in tourism economies in practice. On the contrary, part of CTS and its cultural takes seem to lose some of their critical rigour when engaging closely with

perspectives on tourism actors. While all the approaches bring in some valuable knowledge that can be applied to enhancing sustainability in tourism destination economies, it seems little dialogue exists between these theoretical approaches.

2.2 Economic geography perspectives on economic change

In this second theory section, the notions of local economic agency, relations and change made in the field of tourism research are reflected and elaborated on in light of the existing and emerging theoretical takes within the field of economic geography. Along with past developments in economic geography, diverse perspectives have been taken on economic development, and this plurality of economic knowledges characterizes the field today (Barnes & Sheppard 2010). With the help of economic geography literature, especially its more recent developments, I intend to demonstrate why is it necessary that tourism research as well seek new ways for enhancing sustainability transformations in tourism economies. The review on economic geography shows that the difference between research perspectives touches not only on *how* or *by whom* change should be created in tourism economy. The crucial question is also what the desired change is.

2.2.1 Attention to economic relations

The 'new economies' of late capitalism such as technology, the creative industries, and tourism economies were born in the wake of the processes of globalization and industrial restructuring (characterized by a turn from Fordism to post-Fordism) during the 1980s. Such new forms of economy were considered knowledge-based and thus as relying on individuals and firms as economic agents more than before in industrial production. These changes in economic organization also gave rise to 'new economic geography' that moved away from spatial science and quantitative analysis (Barnes 2009: 322; see also Fairclough 2002: 163). In the 'new economies', competitive advantage was to be based on "creative knowledge and economic learning" as different firms together would form the product and service chains (Boggs & Rantisi, 2003: 111). As a continuation of these changes since the late 1980s, a 'relational turn' took place in economic geography at the beginning of the 2000s. In this new field of research, relational economic geography, "Actors and the dynamic processes of change and development engendered by their relations were to be central units of analysis" (Bathelt & Blückler 2003: 119). Such relational takes on economy are useful when studying tourism economy as it consists of a multitude of firms.

Relational economic perspectives bring to the fore the economic actors who take part in economic activities and emphasizes their agency. Firms are considered to be central actors; these economic units can develop habits, routines, and learning that then assist in sustaining their economic activities in the business environment in which they operate.

That is, relational research perspectives pay attention to the bottom-up organization of economic change. However, Boggs and Rantisi (2003) point out that relational perspectives do not study economic actors per se, which would mean missing the influences from outside the firm. Instead, the focus of study is economic actors' inter-relations and networks, since economic agents' ability to act is "co-constituted by the relations with other actors" (p. 112). As Sunley (2008) explains, the term *relational* is often used to refer to the mode of economic coordination and governance. He explains that "networks here are conceived of not just as long-term cooperative relations, but in a much broader way that does not exclude any form of organizational link, transfer, and social connection" (p. 8). Furthermore, Sunley adds that 'the relational' refers here not so much to the object of research but is a conceptual lens through which study can be organized. In the field of tourism research, studies on tourism growth and cooperation often draw on relational economic geography perspectives.

Relational perspectives have also been used for bringing 'the social' into studies on economy. Boggs and Rantisi (2003) argue that insufficient attention is paid to the human agency in economic behaviour. Usually, studies assume that "capitalism is acting on or spreading over an isotropic plain and therefore neglect the rage of socio-political constellations with which economic forces engage and by which carried outcomes develop" (p. 110). Relational economic geography perspectives pay attention to the location of actors in their social networks. Relation proximity plays a crucial role in economic change by way of cognitive, organizational, social and institutional proximity (Boggs & Rantisi 2003: 113; Boschma 2005: 71). Bathelt and Glückler (2011) maintain that "individual preferences, norms, values, ethics, tastes, styles, needs, and objectives emerge from and are co-constituted through the social embedding of economic action and interaction" (p. 235). The term 'embeddedness' is used for pointing out how the cultural sphere influences the economic. For instance, Ettlinger (2003) adopts a micro-level approach to social embeddedness. She illustrates how the interpersonal relations inside as well as outside a firm have a crucial role in influencing how actors can realize changes in economy. These notions of social embeddedness are linked to community-based approaches to tourism destination development.

It is noteworthy to highlight here that relational perspectives treat economic relations and agency as central not only analytically but also as important for advancing economic development. As stated, "relational resources are important for economic innovations, competitiveness, and growth" (Bathelt and Glückler 2011: 237). This rationale also guides research that holds that it is necessary for firms "to embed themselves geographically" and be co-located with other firms. Past research has identified local or regional proximity of firms as central since co-location enables capacity-sharing, pooling of resources such as labour, and knowledge spillovers from one actor to another, creating 'economies of scale' (Boggs & Rantisi 2003). These concentrations of firms are called business clusters or agglomerations (see also Barnes 2009: 322). Such theories also inform thinking on tourism destinations growth and competitiveness. Relational perspectives to economy also

deal with the non-local economic relations. Actors that are geographically more distant can have a central role in assisting learning and creating competitive advantage for a firm's location. Fairclough (2002: 163) points out that the rise of the so-called new economy in late capitalism is linked to a change in how local and global are perceived. He describes that in late capitalism it is characteristic "how immediately and deeply global processes affect local processes and vice versa – the changed nature of the global/local dialectic" (p. 114). It may be difficult to define some relational processes as either local or global. Thus, networks operate on a local–global nexus.

2.2.2 Interplay of continuity and change

A focus on relations in economy is undoubtedly useful for getting an analytical hold on contemporary economic organization and for drawing attention to the agency of economic actors. Still, it seems that the relational view does not sufficiently recognize the role of existing institutional conditions' effect on economic change or the existing limitations of individual 'free' agency. Sunley (2008: 19) emphasizes that network dynamics alone cannot explain how economy develops. He argues that research has to pay attention to other processes that influence local economic relations and agency. Boschma and Martin (2010: 3) share this opinion and note that new economic geography lacks perspectives that are interested in how local and regional economies evolve over time. For this reason, a focus on economic relations cannot adequately help in explaining why there is economic growth in certain places or regions but economic decline. These observations cohere with the tourism research that has emphasized the role of governance and government in enacting economic change.

Evolutionary economic geography (EEG) research has paid attention to the role of history in regional development and the tendency of economy to develop unevenly in space (Martin & Sunley 2015: 713). In other words, EEG studies have adopted a process view of economic change. As capitalism is a system in constant transformation, capitalism is evolutionary by its nature (Martin & Sunley 2015: 714). Research needs to consider the common institutional frameworks when analysing economic change since the institutional context influences local economic and interpersonal relations (Sunley 2008: 10–11). This attention to institutions also recognizes the downward influence of processes from 'higher' spatial scales (Sunley 2008). EEG research offers a coherent conceptual framework with which to analyse economic change. The term *path dependency* highlights the role of past events. It illustrates how past events and current institutional settings tend to be self-reinforcing. Once an economic path is selected, it tends to continue. In addition, EEG studies are interested in understanding how economic agents alter the direction of an economic path through their individual and collective agency.

At the same time, researchers have used the concept of *path creation* to emphasize the role of intentional human agency in economic change (see Martin & Sunley 2006;

Boschma & Martin 2010). The term brings into focus the role of economic actors' (individuals, firms, and organizations) micro-scale agency and their self-transformation in economic development. These notions show how EEG research coheres also with relational economic geography despite their differences. MacKinnon *et al.* (2009: 131) explain that evolutionary processes require human creativity and innovativeness. This view thus offers an agent-focused and real-time approach to economic change. In their study on path creation processes, Garud and Karnøe (2001) found that 'mindful deviation' is a mental and social process that is central to the creation of new economic paths. Here, entrepreneurs become conscious of their disadvantageous routines, reframe their thinking, use existing resources meaningfully, and act at the right juncture to create novel paths (Garud & Karnøe 2001). Yet, Garud and Karnøe (2001) and Karnøe and Garud (2012) recognizing the role of path dependency in path creation processes and note that "entrepreneurs are embedded in structures that they jointly create and from which they mindfully depart" (2001: 3) and thus "continuity and change are both preserved in the act of path creation" (2001: 25). They maintain that self-reflection is needed to escape path-dependent development. Economic actors that reflect on their paths are considered "boundary spanners" (Garud & Karnøe 2001: 14). In addition to the need for economic actors to be self-aware of their agency, mindful deviation in path creation involves the ability to mobilize a collective despite any resistance that may arise when the existing order is challenged (Garud & Karnøe 2001).

However, as Martin and Sunley (2006: 408) stress, path dependence never occurs automatically but is always argued against as well as resisted. They emphasize that the processes of destruction of old paths and the creation of new ones are always latent in the processes of path dependency; this means that path creation and path dependency co-exist. Martin and Sunley argue that when examined from a geographical perspective, there may exist multiple *co-evolving* paths. This notion of heterogeneity within a geographical business network rightly brings to the fore that, because economic actors evaluate and understand the past and current development in multiple ways, all actors do not reproduce the same economic path. Martin and Sunley (2005) further stress that economic paths may produce new features when they are co-located, which means that novel and locally *emergent* properties are not always mindfully intended by economic agents. In other words, economic evolution is *place dependent*. This notion importantly stresses the role of space and geography in economic change. Based on their idea of emergence, Martin and Sunley (2015) highlight that uneven geographical development is not intended by individual economic actors but emerges through the economic system instead.

This notwithstanding, Martin and Sunley (2015: 722–728) state that even though the economic system tends to reproduce itself (including its power hierarchies), economic actors can become aware of the uneven conditions that are created and, in this way, gain intentional agency for achieving economic changes towards justice in economic relations. The assumption here and more widely in EEG is that despite the uneven character of capitalist development, the capitalist economy should be promoted as the preferred

mode of economy for creating positive change in society. Thus, EEG research seems to be motivated to explain why certain places or regions develop while others do not, and to examine how positive development could be strengthened in places that are 'lagging behind'. Martin and Sunley (2015) explain that

> *"Ultimately, economic development is about the capacity of an economic system – be it a firm, an industry or a local economy – to adapt over time in response to or in anticipation of a changing market, technological and regulatory conditions and opportunities."* (p. 727)

This quote shows explicitly how economic change and evolution refer to the ability of an economy to adapt and prosper in changing societal and economic conditions. Thus, despite its intention to highlight the role of agency in economic change, I see it necessary to highlight that evolutionary economic geography perspectives on their own do not assist in elaborating economic agency and change from a broader perspective than economic development (see also Oosterlynck 2012: 159).

There have been recent calls in EEG to include *geographical political economy* perspectives so as to better account for uneven power relations in the analysis. In geographical political economy, "the spatialities of capitalism co-evolve with its economic processes and economic, political, cultural and biophysical processes are co-implicated with one another" (Sheppard 2011: 319). The proponents of this subfield of economic geography caution that evolutionary theories should recognize the wider structural conditions that steer economic agency (e.g. MacKinnon *et al.* 2009). Yet, Pike *et al.* (2016: 127) emphasize that this does not mean that capitalist development would deterministically end up in a certain outcome. Instead, their geographical political economy approach adopts an open-ended version of capitalist evolution; its development over space is seen as contingent and pluralistic due to human agency in the process. It recognizes the "coevolution of economic, social, political, cultural, and biophysical relations and processes" (p. 129). They seem to see imply that if this tendency is recognized, economic development need not implicitly serve capital growth and cause injustices. That is, neither economic evolution nor related spatial change is predefined. When economic paths evolve, "*moments* for engagement and intervention" are opened up in which economic actors can consciously influence and shape path trajectories such that they deviate from the usual development of capitalism (Pike at el. 2016: 138, original emphasis). This perspective pictures change in economy from a broader perspective than capitalist growth.

2.2.3 Structural critiques of power relations

As already illustrated, it is agreed by economic geographers that capitalist development has created benefits for human societies in certain places but that these positive impacts touch people, natural environments and geographical locations unevenly (see Le Heron 2009; Sheppard 2011: 320). However, the trust in state institutions to fix the uneven

tendency of the capitalist system is not shared by scholars in the field of geographical political economy. Studies in Marxist geographical political economy have argued that the mode of economic organization needs altering to foster positive change in society (see Barnes 2009; Jones 2009; Le Heron 2009; Oosterlynck 2012). These scholars have drawn on Marxist-inspired analysis (e.g. Harvey 1973; Brenner 2004). This theoretical take is based on the argument that uneven development is characteristic of the capitalist economy itself, and therefore its causes cannot be fixed by altering certain processes within the system. In Routledge's (2011: 176) political economic formulation, "capitalism refers to a set of economic and legal institutions that together make the production of things for private profit the normal course of economic organization". From this radical stance, the uneven character of economic development is not accidental; instead, the noted uneven power relations in economic development are regarded as the injustices and power hierarchies in social relations on which capitalist economy inherently rests. Drawing on Harvey (2011), Parker *et al.* (2014) succinctly note that "capitalism is an economic system whereby capital is invested in order to make more capital" (p. 3). As accumulation of capital requires human and natural (if they are to be separated) resources, gaining 'positive' impacts and capital growth *necessitates* negative consequences elsewhere (i.e. social and environmental injustices). Marxist perspectives call social and economic relations in capitalism 'exploitative' and interpret them to be caused purposefully by powerful actors whereas in economics these negative consequences would be called as externalities that can be avoided when attention is paid to their minimization (see Patel 2009). These radical perspectives also note that state bodies are increasingly withdrawing from their regulatory role as a redistributor of wealth and protector of the environment. This tendency is seen as manifestations of 'neoliberalism' (Brenner 2006; Zanoni *et al.* 2017: 576). Oosterlynck (2012) argues that governmental institutions can only stabilize the inherent contradictions of capitalism "temporally, partially and in specific spaces" (p. 159).

Following these Marxist radical takes, economic change does not refer to further economic development but to change in the mode of economic organization. The change needed in 'the economy' is a *social* change. In order to achieve social transformation in society, revolutionary collective agency is required (Oosterlynck 2012). The conflict between different class positions (e.g. social struggle or resistance) is thus treated as necessary (see Jones 2009: 477). These structural critiques have been argued against on various grounds, some of which will be discussed in detail below. Yet, Marxist political economic stances carry a clear and important message: the capitalist economy and its most powerful practices need to be altered in order to achieve a form of economy whereby diverse actors would be involved and able to steer the direction of economic actions. Due to the environmental and social costs of contemporary capitalism, societies should consider other options. As Sheppard (2011: 320) states: "while capitalism may be hegemonic, it is neither necessarily superior to alternatives nor the only form of economy worthy of serious consideration".

Lefebvre (1991) has theorized capitalist processes from a critical perspective emphasizing the role of space in the reproduction of capitalism. The message that has most often been taken from *The Production of Space* is Lefebvre's spatial triad which illustrates the three ways through which individual and group subjectivities are reproduced in capitalist societies. Today's economic organization transforms not only society but also individuals' identities and lived experiences. As Kipfer (2008) well explains this idea, "processes and strategies of producing social space can be looked at in their material (perceived) aspects, their representational, institutional, and ideological (conceived) aspects, and their affective-symbolic (lived) aspects" (p. 200). The dominant mode of production of space (i.e. in today's societies capitalism and the intersecting forces of the commodity, the state, technocratic knowledge, and patriarchy) guides social relations into homogenous, repetitive forms, which then enables its reproduction (Kipfer 2008: 200). Lefebvre (1991) describes this as the (re)production of 'abstract space'. However, it is noteworthy that Lefebvre regards everyday life and lived experience also as an active site of social transformation that can lead to structural changes (see also Goonewardena *et al.* 2008; Kipfer *et al.* 2012). In my reading of *The Production of Space,* Lefebvre examines the politics of space in a multifaceted way, one that moves beyond mere political economic critique towards offering insights on how to enact transformative politics here and now. Even though abstract space with its perceived, conceived and lived processes and strategies has a hegemonic position in capitalist societies, there remains space *in lived experience* that can refuse, coexist with and contradict the dominating abstract space (Lefebvre 1991: 94). Lefebvre sees transformative potential in the alternative ways of imagining and producing space.

Similar thinking has been advanced by feminist economic and political geographers who have aimed to disclose marginalized voices, spatial practices and imaginaries, to reveal the injustices produced by capitalism or in conjunction with it, and, in so doing, to destabilize the dominating forces (see Derickson *et al.* 2017). For instance, Mitchell *et al.* (2004) call for a recognition of how there are no boundaries between the economic and non-economic. The mode of production is secured through social reproduction in a wide array of practices and relations in the everyday life of subjects even though traditionally only the processes of production have been noted as central for capitalism and other subjects have been marginalized. This means that there is no division between production and social reproduction or work and home. Subjects are *life workers.* Massey (2008) has also highlighted the uneven development of capitalism. She (2008) uses the idea of 'power geometry' to show that when a group, or a path they support, has power in deciding the mode of development in their area, this transforms space in a way that denies other coexisting development paths. Her (2008) poststructural spatial theory directs us to conceive of space as consisting of multiple concurrent histories and development paths.

With respect to resisting the dominant economic paths, class-based identity alone does not inform agency for social change (see Jones 2009: 483) as 'economic actors' have multiple intersecting identities such as gender and race that influence their politico-

economic agency. This means we can possess multiple and differing subjectivities and identities, derived from everyday life, which then influence our politico-economic agency. Through our politico-economic subjectivity we reproduce space but can also contest the dominant spatial order. In Routledge's terms (2011: 184–185), local and situated knowledges can inform oppositional politics. Here it is necessary to highlight not only that such transformative politics includes collective resistance to official political economic decision-making but that subjects can possess politico-economic agency in their everyday lives (see e.g. Gilbert 1999; Häkli & Kallio 2014, 2018). Similarly, Michell *et al.* (2004) argue that the everyday is not only a site of social reproduction of capitalist relations but an active site of social change. Individuals can contest the normativizing understandings of, for instance, what work is. They note how capitalist and non-capitalist practices can exist in the same space.

This thesis builds upon the above feminist economic notion that even if we live in the same geographical space, our lived spaces differ. Even if a certain mental and social mode of producing space dominates, alternative spatial practices can exist simultaneously. In other words, subject formation and subject agency do not straightforwardly follow the hegemonic processes reproducing them. Instead, as individuals' lived experiences and everyday lives always happen in certain places and in certain points in time, each individual is positioned differently socially and temporally. Therefore, there exist multiple and diverse spaces that inform individual identification. These intersecting identities influence the formation of economic subjectivity. That is, economic subjectivities do not simply reproduce 'the mainstream' economic discourses and practices but are informed by identities formed in everyday life at work and leisure, identities that can deviate from the subjected identities. These notions are important for building the present research approach which aims to widen the perspectives from which human agency within 'the economic' is discussed.

2.2.4 Building new economic relations

Unlike in tourism research, the cultural turn has not shifted the research in economic geography away from power relations, but the notion of the ethics of care has been utilized to argue for ethical socioeconomic relations. In the mid-1990s, poststructural political economy emerged as a new subfield in economic geography. This development was linked to the cultural turn in the field, bringing to light the idea that cultural analysis and poststructural theory can be used for explaining economic geographical phenomena. No separation was seen between the cultural and the economic (Barnes 2001: 555–557, 2009: 319). Poststructural political economy takes reject the idea that homogenous entities like 'the economy' or 'the capitalism' exist and need altering (see Jones 2009: 477). Or, even if a structural entity is considered to exist, critical structural analysis offers limited help for thinking about how to actualize social change because it has predetermined

capitalism and related alternative structural forces as the causes of injustices (see Parker *et al.* 2014: 237). As noted, "this constrains what politics is possible because emergence is circumscribed by assumptions about the immutability of capitalism" (Le Heron 2009: 241). Such poststructural lines of thought are visible also in Castree's work (2006) as he points out that in theorizing neoliberalism as a global structural force, it is implied that "there is a scale or scales where geographical difference ends and spatial similarity begins" (p. 4). Disagreeing with this, he holds that 'neoliberalism' itself can never cause anything. Instead, different actors enact 'neoliberalism' in different places. There is no 'really existing' global-scale neoliberalism of which we would know only empirical variants. Therefore, Castree views that "it becomes impossible to use the term neoliberal in any meaningful analytic sense" (p. 5).

Writing under the pen name Gibson-Graham (2006), two poststructural political economists and feminist economic geographers have questioned the traditional structural logic of the economy. They call for a recognition of how the logic of capitalism is typically "elevated as universal principles (sometimes represented as natural 'laws') of economic evolution" (p. 166). Gibson-Graham (2006) highlight the consequences of doing mainstream economics and critical research: if it is empirically described as well as theorized that social reality follows a certain logic, the research work takes part in reproducing the path dependency of such development. Therefore, they are interested in understanding how epistemology and theory could be used in order to advance the positive change they want to create in the world. One of the methods used by Gibson-Graham (2008a) is "reading for difference rather than dominance" (p. 623), which indicates an ethical rather than structural perspective on economy. Their approach is rooted in the performativity of knowledge: as researchers construct the world through their work, they can also help to create new realities. Poststructural analysis enables looking into the plurality, complexity and difference that exist in any topic of study, thus moving the search focus from the general development paths and structural explanations to the coexisting particularities, and to the possibility of alternative development. Such analysis has been referred to as "weak theorizing" (see Sedgwick 2003).

Drawing inspiration from the feminist movement, Gibson-Graham aim to bring to the fore the diverse forms of economic organization, relations and agency that exist already now but go unnoticed due to the hegemonic capitalocentric representation of the economy. The focus is on disclosing the alternative forms of economy (e.g. household production, social entrepreneurship, and voluntary labour) that exist as constitutive elements of economic exchange and that cannot be labelled exclusively as capitalist. By drawing attention to existing, unorthodox views that typically remain marginal or unseen, Gibson-Graham (2008a: 614, 620) aim to increase their potential as possible objects of policy and politics. Such ideas can serve as examples of economic organization that are more socially just and ecologically sustainable. Gibson-Graham do not focus per se on the role of government in advancing transformations towards justice and sustainability but emphasize that a change needs to take place in how we perceive and perform 'the

economy'. They (2006) call for new economic relations that recognize "economic interdependence" (p. 165); how resources for economic activities are used and benefits shared in a just and sustainable manner is something that should be negotiated by the community members. In this way economic relations are re-socialized and re-politicized. Gibson-Graham have put these ideas into practice in communities in their action research project and attempted to construct what they call 'community economies'. There, ethical economic decision-making does not follow any predefined idea of the capitalist mode of economic organization (Gibson-Graham 2008b: 662).

The poststructural political economy approach to economic and social change has also received much criticism by economic geographers. For instance, Kelly (2005) argues that the project fails to address the power that the dominant economic and governmental actions have in limiting the possibilities of alternative economic activities in local economic development (see Gibson-Graham 1996: xxv). It is argued that Gibson-Graham fail to convince how such 'marginal' grassroots-level changes can make a difference worldwide when capitalism continues to thrive. Their reply is that a movement can achieve global coverage without relying on the creation of global institutions but by creating webs of signification that unite shared values and interest. Using feminism as an example, they argue there are as many chances for economic transformation as there are places of capitalism (e.g. occupations, workplaces, localities, or regions). Their (1996) theoretical approach entails "a flat spatial imaginary" (pp. xxvi–i) where there is no separation between local and global economic relations and agency. This means that social change can start from everyday practices, not solely from a large-scale revolution at a certain point in time in future. A multiplicity of "ethico-political moments of transformation" can take place in different places and together can constitute an "everyday revolution" where decisions regarding the well-being of people and the planet are made (Gibson-Graham 2014: 147, 152). Social transformation starts and coexists with the current form of capitalist economic relations. Thus, individuals and groups have politico-economic agency in their everyday practices, not only in institutional contexts.

To foster economic practices that diverge from capitalist economic relations, Gibson-Graham (2008b) emphasize that it is necessary to intentionally cultivate alternative economic subjects. Building new economic identities is possible as a subject is not equated with its current subjectivity but treated as "the space of identification" (p. 663). Gibson-Graham (2006: 152) have even proposed that "to work against that which blocked receptivity to change and connectedness, we need to move 'beyond' identity and the insights of poststructuralism." Gibson-Graham and Roelvink (2009) value posthumanist ontologies for their recognition of being-in-common of humans and the more-than-human world. Here, they draw on Latour and the idea of relational ontology (as also pointed out by Sarmiento and Gabriel 2011). I see these insights as holding the greatest possibilities for building new economies as they invite a rethinking of the notion of 'the economy' as a space where a subject should act for individual gain. The recognition of relation ontology also seems to mark a distinction from some of the previously introduced

feminist economic research stances which rely more on the structural economic critique (e.g. Mitchell *et al.* 2004).

In this thesis, I have revisited Lefebvre's theory of the production of space and reinterpreted how he pictures transformative politics. In his vision of transformative politics, Lefebvre (1991) seems to highlight similar ontological sources of human solidarity as Gibson-Graham (2006). A central argument in Lefebvre's spatial theory of revolution is that transformative politics should realize 'differential space' that undermines the current divisions in society (see also Kipfer 2008: 204). Lefebvre (1991) maintains that whereas 'abstract space' categorizes individuals into predefined groups based on their positionality in capitalist societies, differential space would "restore unity to what abstract space breaks up" (p. 54). He (1991) uses the term 'absolute space' (e.g. p. 169, 236) to refer to a mode of human coexistence where the current alienating categories that produce distance between groups do not straightforwardly signify permanent divisions. Transformative political agency needs to be based on new economic subjectivity, one that mirrors not only the individual identities but the living that we as beings share. In my interpretation, the recognition of absolute space invites us to extend the posthumanist notion of the co-constitution of humans and other living beings to refer also to human–human relations. It needs to be recognized that just as humans are inseparable from the natural environment, so too are they from each other.

In *The Production of Space* (1991), Lefebvre mentions what the notion of 'differential space' entails for transformative politics. In my interpretation, he asks us to focus on looking into the relations between social groups. Lefebvre (1991) states that "transformation of society presupposes a collective ownership and management of space founded on the permanent participation of the 'interested parties', with their multiple, varied and even contradictory interests" (p. 422). He (1991) maintains that "political action will not result in the elevation of either the state or a political formation or party above society. This is the meaning generally given to the 'cultural revolution'" (p. 421). This shows how for Lefebvre "difference is transformational-dialectical, not affirmative or deconstructive" (Kipfer *et al.* 2012: 120). I take this to mean that no one social group should consider itself alone to hold the keys to the differential space, but that the transformation requires altering inter-group relations. To transform the production of space, "interaction between plans and counter-plans, projects and counter-projects" is necessary for politics (Lefebvre 1991: 419). The above shows how Lefebvre's (1991) spatial theory is not a political economic analysis only but a theory of revolution of *space* (see also Goonewardena *et al.* 2008: 10).

In this thesis, I draw on the above notions of transformative politics in order to elaborate an alternative approach to political agency and socioeconomic relations, one that does not treat politics as inherently agonistic and conflictual. A similar approach to politics has been proposed by Bregazzi and Jackson (2018), who argue that

> *"Looking for violence and calling it critique will not reveal peace. We need in addition to look for the relational conditions that are always already producing peace as a positive ontology of being alive*

in the everyday sociality of human and non-human interaction; in other words, we need to be able to recognize theoretically, as well as empirically, the practical grounds that make peace thinkable." (pp. 74–75)

Bregazzi and Jackson (2018: 86) propose that the practices of respect, care, and cooperation should be considered political forces that are coexistent with and independent of conflict. They argue that "critique is only one part of the political undertaking if we want to try and reduce harmful ideas and promote enabling ideas" (p. 86). They seek out such "alternative political ontologies of life" (p. 86). To date, it is seldomly discussed in critical economic geography what kind of local politico-economic agency might contribute to building such economic relations that are characterized by socially just production of space.

2.3 Call for a poststructural political economy view on tourism

In this thesis, I am seeking a pragmatic research perspective to socio-economic change, one that can assist both in theorizing and realizing sustainability transformations in tourism economy. In the field of tourism, as in other fields of economy as well, there are growing concerns about ongoing global warming due to anthropocentric climate change. On the global level, the limit for growth has been faced and exceeded. We live on a planet where the planetary boundaries pertaining for instance to climate and biodiversity have been crossed or are coming closer (Rockström *et al.* 2009; Castree 2015: 304). Therefore, I argue that the approaches that rely on tourism planning and regulation as a method of economic change are not sufficient. While governments increasingly embrace the role of promoter of economy in line with neoliberal logics (see e.g. Hall 1999; Dredge *et al.* 2011; Dredge & Jamal 2013), it may not be wise *only* to remain waiting for sustainability transformations via policy actions that are urgently needed.

To foster sustainability transformations in tourism in research and practice, I see it crucial to build bridges between the two critical research strands of critical tourism studies (CTS) and critical tourism geographies. Poststructural approaches have argued that current challenges in tourism economies cannot be addressed merely by new tourism policies. Respectively, as the literature review on sustainability transformations in the field of tourism studies showed, critical tourism geography perspectives offer political economic critiques that rightly acknowledge the social injustices and unsustainabilities related to tourism development. Yet, to date, most research on tourism planning and governance has neglected the informal structures such as social norms, conventions, and customs that guide economic and political decision-making due to a focus on regulation as a tool for achieving sustainability (Mosedale 2014). To fill this research gap in tourism theory, I apply and elaborate poststructural political economic perspectives (e.g. Gibson-Graham 1996, 2006) in the study of tourism development and destination governance. As shown in the

literature review on economic geography, poststructural political economy perspectives offer a way to acknowledge the role of the individual's economic identity, agency, and the everyday not only in 'the cultural' but also in 'the economic', as well as a way to recognize their political potential. As there is no one capitalism, similarly there is no one tourism economy. I find poststructural political economy research fruitful for envisioning more socially just and environmentally sustainable tourism destination economies as it focuses on economic relations and practices in local communities similarly to tourism research yet adopts a critical social theoretical view.

There have recently been a few other calls for incorporating a poststructural political economy approach for the study of sustainability in tourism research (Mosedale 2011, 2014; Hillmer-Pegram 2016; Cave & Dredge 2018; Brouder 2019). Almost a decade ago, Mosedale (2011) stated that "tourism scholars have to date not discovered poststructural political economy" (p. 24). He recommends this line of research in tourism, arguing that poststructural political economy would be a way to advance the vast study of 'alternative' forms of tourism (e.g. sustainable tourism, eco-tourism, or green tourism) that currently are treated cautiously as environmentally sustainable and socially just forms of economic organizing. To date, the poststructural political economy perspective has been applied in only a few case studies in tourism research. Hillmer-Pegram (2016) studies tourism in indigenous communities and argues that tourism development is sustainable only if its political economy succeeds in supporting the traditional cultural values of the local community. He holds that "when capitalistic tourism is thoroughly enmeshed in community-oriented values, its exploitative nature is reduced, social–ecological alienation is minimized, and positive change (i.e., sustainable development) can occur" (p. 1206). In a special issue on diverse tourism economies, Cave and Dredge (2018) have similarly drawn on poststructural political economy thinking to discuss economic diversity in tourism economies. The case examples offered by the special issue contributors illustrate that already now there exist forms of economic organization that differ from the 'ideal' capitalist economic organizing (e.g. Amoamo *et al.* 2018; Pécot *et al.* 2018). Cave and Dredge (2018) ask, "how can we incorporate and value these and other dimensions of progress in our social and economic organization given the dominance of twentieth-century capitalism?" They suggest that "a reworking of the traditional ways we conceive the economic organization of tourism (and the economy more broadly) is needed" (p. 473).

Thus, poststructural political economy offers a needed theoretical frame for elaborating the existing theories on tourism development and change (see also Brouder 2019) that currently rely at least to some extent on the mainstream notions of economic and regional development. To do this, poststructural political economy stances need to be discussed not only in the study of alternative economic practices but also in the context of tourism *destination* development. This brings in a geographical and institutional perspective that enables comment on how not only economic practices in tourism enterprises should be altered but tourism governance structures as well. In other words, research should focus on studying what the notion of economic difference entails in tourism spaces where

change is currently dominated by market-driven rationales. As argued by Gibson-Graham (1996) outside the tourism context, "while there exists a substantial understanding of the extent and nature of economic difference, what does not exist is a way of convening this knowledge to destabilize the received wisdom of capitalist dominance and unleash the creative forces and subjects of economic experimentation" (pp. xi–xii).

3 Research design

3.1 Methodological notes

I see that sustainability research necessitates a research methodology that enables an understanding of human intentions and agency in economy in their plurality and as they appear from the perspectives of the economic actors themselves. This view takes as its starting point the widely accepted notion of the world as essentially socially constructed (Hsu & Huang 2017). In this study, I intend to understand the ways in which tourism economy is currently viewed and practiced in destinations so that we can think of ways to actualize changes in tourism economy. In other words, through understanding the current social relations on which economy rests, it is possible to think about how to create knowledge that could help and motivate tourism actors to transform them. Castree's (2015) work has inspired this research motivation. He calls for the integration of human geography in global change research and politics and advocates having social transformation on the top of research agendas. He (2015) states that

> *"We need a wider range of voices to speak up with authority (and passion) about the sort of Earth we wish our descendants to inhabit. At base, geoscience concepts like a 'safe operating space' are an incitement to ask deep questions that admit of plural answers rather than clever solutions – questions such as 'how should we live?' and 'what is it to be human?"* (p. 312).

Here, Castree argues it is not enough to model certain science-based thresholds for sustainability or to have social theories to prove how past societal changes link to the crises that the Earth is now facing. Instead, it is crucial to foster social transformations and study how to make individuals and groups alter the ways they think and behave.

Such a research methodology allows for studying agency and path creation in economy. This notion seems to have its roots in Giddens' structuration theory (1984), who highlights the interplay of structures and agency. He sees structures not as ever-existent entities but as built and rebuilt in human agency. Thus, I want to emphasize, these structures can also be transformed by agents. This methodological stance also resonates with research on the performativity of knowledge. I recognize that the selection of such a research position has implications for the study results, and in what way the urgently needed change in economic organization is presented. Despite the ambition to foster social change, research often continuously produces representations of capitalism that stress its monolithic, all-encompassing character, paradoxically contributing to its continued hegemony (see Gibson-Graham 1996). I see it necessary for a researcher to open up her theoretico-methodological assumptions. Gibson-Graham (2008: 614) hold that as we construct the world with our research, we can also help to create new realities or disclose already existing ones. A researcher can never be an outside agent operating from

a neutral position. Which issues to focus on in the research is always an ethical question. Barnes (2001) also discusses the implications of the cultural turn in economic geography, noting that one consequence of the turn was a shift from epistemological to hermeneutic theorizing. Theories were no longer regarded as holding the one and only truth; theories are made in scientific practice and by certain people and thus represent one perspective on reality. A hermeneutic take on theory highlights reflexivity in theory making and interpretation. It notes that social and geographical position influences knowledge creation; knowledge is 'embodied'. In making a new perspective visible, a theory can be speculative and denaturalize a phenomenon rather than explain it. In so doing, a novel theoretical approach with a new vocabulary can alter people's beliefs and practices by disclosing new perspectives (Barnes 2001: 547–548). Barnes (2009) explains that in poststructural approaches, "theory should be conceived as a vocabulary to achieve new ends, rather than mirroring the object of investigation" (p. 319). In this thesis, I have attempted to find a research position that can contribute to creating a positive social transformation in tourism destinations and local economic relations.

I apply and elaborate Gibson-Graham's idea of diverse economies in the present study not to build new ethical economic relations or alternative economies outside capitalist tourism processes. Instead, to transform economy, I see it necessary to build new ethical economic relations *inside* capitalist processes and *in connection to* them. Although the work of Gibson-Graham focused on fostering non-capitalist forms of economic organization, their research approach of seeking economic diversity is applicable in the context of transformations inside capitalist enterprises. In a commentary on Gibson-Graham (1996), Lee highlights that "even within capitalist practice, a wide variety of notions of value are always simultaneously at work, always informing economic action" (Lee *et al.* 2010: 118). Gibson (personal communication, 22 April 2016) agrees that 'economic difference', the way they understand it, can also be sought within capitalist enterprises. Gibson-Graham (2014) argue that an economic subject can possess other motivations for economic agency and value creation than "individual self-interest, competition, efficiency, freedom, innovative entrepreneurship, exploitation, and the pursuit of private gain" (p. 151). For instance, economic actors' relationship with nature can create difference in their economic action (Gibson-Graham 2008a: 616). This means that researchers cannot expect that persons who are engaged in business have a shared basis and logic for their economic agency. As Parker *et al.* (2014 explain, "capitalism is more a goal than a system of social organization" (p. 28) and thus there exists diversity within capitalist firms. They agree that entrepreneurship should be regarded as a social force and not strictly as an 'economic' action. It is "unstable and contested: a set of potentially transformative practices of invention for communities as well as for individuals" (p. 237). North (2016) similarly points out that changes towards more sustainable economies (beyond the so-called greenwashing) can take place especially in small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). The notion of diverse economies offers research a wider range of possibilities for alternative tourism agency than seen in mainstream economics or geographical political

economy approaches that rely mainly on governments' regulatory role in actualizing changes in tourism economies.

Furthermore, I see it crucial to acknowledge that even if we disclose economic difference analytically, we cannot deconstruct the dominant economic ideas independent of everyday tourism realities. Thus, I see it crucial to also study the different forms of economic organization that coexist in a certain time and place. Currently there exist those economic actors who see the capitalist growth ideal as the only existing economic rationale and therefore perform it in their own economic practice. Thus, I view it as essential to look in detail to where today's unsustainable tourism reality meets with the practices of as well as desires and demands for more ethical economies. The poststructural political economy perspective I am building in this work aims to understand how the differing economic views and practices coexist, how social groups perceive their difference, and what kind of inter-group relations would facilitate empowering the marginalized economic views and practices. This approach differs from mainline critical theories that often seem to have a predefined idea of how social justice is achieved and which actors are to blame for the injustices (see also Bednarek-Gilland 2015).

3.2 Ethnographically oriented case studies

In the empirical part of this thesis, I seek to understand how tourism economies are viewed, experienced and practiced by actors who are involved in creating economic paths in tourism destinations. I wish to look into how tourism spaces are produced by the tourism actors involved. The aim is to examine how 'the global tourism economy' is viewed by those individuals and groups who gain their livelihood from tourism. The term 'local' refers to tourism actors who operate and primarily also live in the destinations (this means that I include in-migrants in the study focus). This viewpoint allows for studying 'the economy' and its linkages to the everyday life of tourism actors. It enables studying the duality of roles the tourism actors have in this juncture; they are at the same time local residents as well as economic agents. They can be seen as passive receivers of both negative and positive impacts of globalization and transnational tourism mobilities as well as active agents in transforming this economy. By employing this research focus, I intend to examine the local–global nexus, or continuum, on which tourism economy operates.

To gain empirical understanding of the everyday tourism realities of local tourism actors, I utilize an ethnographically oriented case study method. I aim to gain a qualitative understanding of the tourism realities of economic agents in tourism destinations. As Hardwick (2009: 444) explains, the case study method allows capturing the lived experiences of people. The method enables one to understand the particular characteristics of a place and helps to disclose the large social processes in their everyday local manifestations. I consider these qualities as necessary for researching economy from a poststructural perspective; the method should enable seeing the particularities and diversity

and, in this way, offer new insights on more general social phenomena. In this study, I analyse tourism economies with a focus on relational processes as they are experienced, viewed and produced in everyday tourism realities in the empirical context of tourism economies in the Finnish North. I have selected case sites in which there exists a diversity of economic views and practices. As the past tourism-related change has been intensive especially in the largest destination areas, I find the Finnish North a fruitful geographical context for the study of relational economic processes, economic diversity, and agency as well as related questions of sustainability.

I have taken an ethnographically oriented perspective on tourism production; during the fieldwork, I was interested in gaining an in-depth understanding of how tourism is viewed, experienced and practiced as a livelihood in the case study area. Following Till (2009), "ethnographers pay attention to, and may partake in, everyday geographies to become familiar with how social spaces are constituted in various settings. Observation contexts and knowledge production include social interaction, emotions, and embodiment" (p. 626). I have been interested in learning how tourism economy is understood locally, and what differences exist in the everyday life of local tourism actors. Although this study does not claim to be an anthropology of tourism livelihood, I see this approach as colouring the used case study method. This approach likely derives from my background starting university as an anthropology student before becoming familiar with the field of geography.

For this thesis, the first case study was conducted in the Ruka tourism destination in the municipality of Kuusamo in Northeast Finland. This case study served as a pilot research for more extensive fieldwork later. In 2012, I spent a week in the Ruka tourist resort interviewing ten tourism actors. I had conducted a postal survey before doing the interviews. The gained information on the views and practices of tourism actors in Ruka informed the fieldwork by giving some preliminary knowledge on the topic. The interviewees were selected based on purposeful sampling out of the earlier contacts. Nine of the interviewees were either management-level employees or entrepreneurs in local tourism businesses and one represented the Ruka-Kuusamo Tourism Organization. Due to the geographical focus of this preliminary study, all the enterprises were located in the Ruka resort core area. With this case study, I intended to look into how local tourism relations are constructed in a tourist resort that has already differentiated from its surrounding areas as a result of past tourism development (see discussion on tourism destination transformation by Saarinen 2004).

To get a broader view on tourism-related change in the Finnish North, I included another case site as the primary study area. I wished to explore tourism-related change in the context of a tourism destination that had a more diverse spatial tourism structure. I was interested in understanding tourism in an area where a highly developed tourism infrastructure is co-located with older local geographies. The Ylläs destination, located at the foot of a chain of mountains in the municipality of Kolari, was selected as the case study area. In Ylläs, the tourism resort has developed in the near vicinity of two

local villages, Äkäslompolo and Ylläsjärvi, and nearby smaller villages, which are all part of the Ylläs destination. In 2015, I spent a week in January and five weeks in June and July in Ylläs staying in the Äkäslompolo village with an aim to move around the area and meet local tourism actors. I contacted the actors by phone. I was positively received by them; only two of the reached persons refused to be interviewed, while a few others could not meet as they lived away during the summertime. During the stay in Ylläs, I met with 37 tourism actors. The interviewees were tourism entrepreneurs and representatives from third sector organizations as well as representatives from the local municipality. The interviewees were selected based on purposeful sampling in order to reach tourism actors from enterprises of different sizes, different fields of business and different parts of the destination. The interviewed actors were located not only in the core resort area of Ylläsjärvi and Äkäslompolo but also in the nearby smaller villages. Diversity in terms of the gender, age, and place of birth of the informants was considered. Through this sample, I was able to understand the diversity of perspectives on tourism development. It was hoped that this case study would offer a more diverse view of tourism livelihoods and everyday realities as the interviewed tourism actors came from a variety of backgrounds and operated not only in the highly developed tourism core area of Ruka.

It is worth highlighting that it has been vital for this thesis that I use not only interview data but also other material to inform the study. I experienced my stay in Ylläs as a whole as necessary for the research. During my short stay in the village of Äkäslompolo, I was able to observe the everyday of the people who live there. Casual talks with a neighbour, planning a joint trip to some nearby open-air dances (a traditionally Finnish summertime activity), and chatting about Finnish politics with a local truck driver in a pub were ways through which I experienced the everyday in Ylläs and got to talk about the research topic. Joining a day trip tour to the southern parts of the municipality and its local villages, arranged by a network of villages in Kolari municipality for locals as well as to tourists, was an event through which I gained perspectives about the area outside the resort core. Being invited to witness the summer reindeer roundup gave a quick view of the traditional economic practices that coexist with tourism in the destination community. It was also meaningful that I spent free time in the area going for walks in the villages and on the nearby trails and went shopping in a local supermarket. Together the above experiences, which later became memories, were important for the analysis in this study. The experience of staying in Ylläs in the off-season differed from my previous experiences in the area; I had visited the place several times since the early 2000s and therefore related to the area not only as a researcher. As a tourist, I had been an active downhill skier at the Ylläs fell and occasionally wandered on the trekking paths in the surrounding forest and fell areas. Since the case study period in 2015, I have been actively following discussions and discourses on current tourism developments in Northern Finland, especially in the case sites, in social and traditional media. In this way, I have read about local actors' opinions on current changes and tried to stay updated about future tourism development plans.

3.3 Interview encounters

Qualitative interview is the main method for research material collection in this study. My take on the method is semi-structured in-depth interviewing. In the preliminary study conducted in the Ruka resort, the interviews represented a more the semi-structured model; I followed a prepared set of questions in detail, altering their order as the discussion required (Appendix I). I attempted to maintain the so-called 'objective' researcher's position in which I would not bring in my personal characteristics or opinions. In these interviews, I focused primarily on discussing the state of local tourism networking: the interviewees were asked about their views on the current state of cooperation, its importance and benefits, challenges and hopes about the future. The average length of an interview was 40–50 minutes. Three years later, I conducted the fieldwork in the Ylläs destination. Via the interview method, I aimed to gain an understanding of the topics of collective agency in tourism, influence opportunities, participation in decision-making, and desired destination development (Appendix II). That is, I approached economic agency from a wider perspective than in the Ruka destination. At the time of data collection, the future of Ylläs destination development and the need for local cooperation proved to be a topical issue for local tourism developers and also a common topic of discussion among local tourism entrepreneurs and other actors. The average length of an interview was 68 minutes. All interviews were conducted in Finnish, which is a native language for the participants and me. All interviews were recorded.

In the Ylläs case study, the interviews were more in-depth and theme-based than in Ruka and they did not follow a clear, predefined structure as much as earlier. Before going into the field, I had designed a set of interview questions, thinking that through them I could achieve the best possible interview data. In the first interview, I had two A4 sheets in front of me on the table when I switched the recorder on as a sign of officially starting the interview. As I simultaneously also changed my style of talk from relaxed chat to planned interview, the atmosphere of the encounter changed immediately. The easy flow of talk was over. When walking back to the cottage after the interview, I decided to trust my intuition and forego the list of questions as well as the idea that I need to ask the questions the same way with each interviewee (see also Luker 2008: 177). From then on, I conducted the interviews with A5s of approximately 10-word bullet point lists as a guide. I prepared that separately for each interview since I wanted to think beforehand about the sub-themes I would discuss with each person. This interview method did not mean I would have abandoned the prepared set of questions; instead, I trusted I would be able to cover the same themes without the exact question formulations.

With the theme-based and almost unstructured form of interviews, I succeeded in adjusting my role as an interviewer; the unofficial and relaxed direction reflected my personality and the gained experience of doing interviews. With this interview style, I experienced that I could better create an atmosphere in which the interviewee could lead the discussion and bring forward issues she/he felt might be relevant to the theme of

discussion. I focused on covering set themes, directing the conversation only when needed. This open method resulted in fruitful coincidences during the interviews: some points that were ultimately central to the research and analysis emerged when the discussion turned to unexpected topics. I showed a genuine interest in their views and experiences. Although I recognize the dangers of subjectivity and positionality of the researcher influencing the way an interviewee responds (Longhurst 2009: 583), I also see it is possible to let interviewees feel self-confident in the interview situation by appreciating them as they are. Luker (2008) calls rapport a state in which both sides "feel comfortable with each other" (p. 177). She admits that building rapport is not always easy, but she still holds that "if you listen to the person you are interviewing with respect and deep attention, rapport usually emerges anyway" (p. 177). As an individual, I was able to sympathize with the multiple motivations and aims of the interviewees and noted the deep professional expertise that each tourism actor held in their field of tourism. This attitude holds despite my critical perspective as a researcher. In the interviews I adopted the position of a learner; I want to hear about the interviewees' experiences to learn from them. In my experience, this also lessened my role as an outsider professional or powerful evaluator and, I hope, at least temporarily lowered the power hierarchy between the researcher and the researched. For instance, one outspoken tourism actor stated that "I cannot believe you are writing a doctoral thesis!" This may signify that I had not emphasized my knowledge of the topic but also directed the discussion to the interviewee and his/her expertise and experiences.

3.4 Grounded theory method

To start the analysis, I transcribed all the interviews and coded the data. I attempted to look into the interview texts in more detail in order to identify general themes, phenomena, and processes in the interview data. This was done with the help of the Nvivo program for qualitative analysis, which enabled easy data storing as well as coding into subfields. Within these sub-codes, I also sought the unfamiliar and deviant views. The codes were drawn both from literature and from the interviewees' insights. This take coheres with Till (2009), who discusses 'open coding' and defines this as "a form of brainstorming, whereby the researcher revisits materials in order to think about possible ideas, themes, and issues" (p. 629).

However, the analysis started already in the field. During the five-week stay in Ylläs, I reflected on what I had heard in the interviews so far and modified the future interviews based on the gained knowledge. My understanding social processes likewise changed during the stay. In the beginning, I attempted to find *the* state of tourism networking and *the* process of tourism destination development based on the interviewees' insights. On an evening walk at the Kukas fell trying to understand what I had heard, I realized that there is no one tourism destination reality, that is, that the local tourism actors do not have a shared understanding of the issues that create challenges in the destination. This

'on the go analysis' had a strong impact on this thesis, inspiring me focus exactly on these differences in views and how they come together in local tourism relations. Over the course of the fieldwork, when walking, cycling and driving around the Ylläs destination area, it became clear that the central task in the thesis would be to open up the diversity of everyday tourism realities that exist in the destination. I began to understand the multiple subjective viewpoints on everyday tourism politics. As a researcher, I was able to relate with originally local tourism actors with alternative views on tourism destination development. This connection may have been facilitated by my family roots in Northern Finland or by my approach to work and economy in my own life. At the same time, my background as a typical 'winter sport enthusiast' may have facilitated trust with interviewees whose businesses were closely connected to the ski resort operations. At the time of the fieldwork, I identified strongly with this peer group. To sum up, during the fieldwork the most important analytical realization was that my critical research perspective should be based on an empathetic understanding of the divergent perspectives and that this would serve as a method for seeking to realize new tourism futures.

The ethnographically oriented case study approach coheres with contemporary grounded theory methods. I have focused on gaining insight into social processes, especially sustainability transformations, which are imperative in our present world. That is, I aim to consider the actual social and everyday realities and to start thinking about change based on this understanding. Charmaz (2006) explains that "we [grounded theorists] try to learn what occurs in the research settings we join and what our research participants' lives are like" (p. 2). In this sense, the theories are 'grounded' in the empirical data. In line with grounded theory, I have also returned to the empirical data during the research process and re-checked whether the theoretical frame I have used captures the phenomena that I see in the data. I have tried to make my experiences in the field visible also in the analysis and theory elaboration. However, I recognize that even a junior researcher cannot have a theory-free mind which she would then fill with grounded theory insights. As Charmaz (2006) also importantly highlights, theory does not emerge out of data. Results are not discovered. Rather, as she explains, "we are part of the world we study and the data we collect. We *construct* our grounded theories" (p. 10). That said, I believe it is enough that a grounded theorist aims to learn from the situated knowledges of the informants and is ready to mould or alter her theoretical perspective if the empirical evidence necessitates this. Another grounded theorist, Clarke (2012) defines that in grounded theory what is studied emerges during the analytical process and it not designated before starting the study. In the current study, this is visible in the change in ways in which local tourism relations are framed in terms of their role in sustainability transformations; the study started as a research on tourism networks but moved on towards discussing everyday tourism politics. Clarke (2012: 5) calls this as a 'developmental research design'.

Due to having a grounded theory-inspired take on qualitative analysis, I have had challenges to present the analysis of the present study in a coherent and 'objective' manner. I have experienced that any presentation of the data leaves something out and is only a

partial view of a more complex reality than one story can tell. I have found it difficult to make any clear categorization in the analysis, a characteristic problem of grounded theory analysis. Drawing on postmodernism, Clarke (2012) discusses grounded theory and dismisses the need to make one coherent conceptual picture out of the data. Clarke supports the idea that "all readings are temporary, partial, provisional, and perspectival – themselves situated historically and geographically" (p. 8). She holds that grounded theory enables the researcher to fracture data and multiple analysis on the same issue; a capacity that has not been typical for Western science. She wishes to emphasize theorizing that does not aim at simplification. The empirical world, and theories that are grounded in it, never follows classifications. Clarke (2012) states that "we need to grasp variation *within* data categories" (p. 19).

In order to build a context-sensitive research approach that *at the same time* looks into the coming together of different perspectives in a certain point in time and place, I have found inspiration from the idea of situational analysis developed by Clarke (2012). In her research approach, she focuses on understanding the multiple lived realities and life experiences ('social worlds', inspired by Haraway's (1991) notion of 'situated knowledges') but in addition and maybe more importantly focuses on studying how these perspectives meet in a specific place and time (she calls these 'arenas'). In this way, Clarke has been able to theorize social action at the collective level. With this approach, she combines poststructural insights with grounded theory. Such a research approach can be seen as pragmatist in that it emphasizes "actual experiences and practices – the lived doingness of social life" (p. 6).

4 Case study areas

The tourism destinations of Ruka and Ylläs, where the two case studies have been conducted, are located in a northern, peripheral region on the national scale. Northern Finland is a sparsely populated area where the natural environment is characterized by wilderness. The pilot case study area, the Ruka resort, is in the Kuusamo municipality in Northeast Finland, whereas the Ylläs destination is located in the Kolari municipality in the western part of the Lapland region (Figure 2).

In Northern Finland, the natural environment is utilized for multiple livelihoods. The major fields of economy are metal industry, forestry, tourism, and mining (Lapin luotsi 2018). Tourism is the fastest growing economy in the Finnish North; in the Lapland region (including Kuusamo municipality), the number of total overnights has increased by 23 percent between 2015 and 2017. The region received 3 496 770 overnight stays in 2017, 46 percent of which came from international visitors (Statistics… 2019). It is noteworthy, however, that tourist flows mainly concentrate on tourist resorts located near fells as the tourism industry has primarily been developed around winter sport activities. In Figure 3, past tourism is illustrated numerically as total overnight stays in the four largest ski resorts in Northern Finland. Ruka and Levi are the two resorts with the most overnight stays while the number has remained smaller in Saariselkä, and especially in Ylläs. Tuulentie and Mettiäinen (2007) also note that Ylläs has not grown as intensively as some other resorts in Lapland, such as Levi and Ruka, and the place has a reputation of a quieter and less 'urban-like' destination. However, the masterplans for the Ylläs resort area aim at building altogether 19 000 new bed-places close to the mountain area, along with additional building plans. The success of this path of 'intense growth by new tourism construction' is perceived to be dependent on an increase in international tourist numbers.

Due to the resort-oriented tourism development, the economic benefits of tourism similarly concentrate in these areas. For instance, in the Kuusamo municipality, the Ruka tourist resort attracts the most tourists. A significant number of the tourism businesses active in Kuusamo are in Ruka. While the development of Ruka has created income and employment, the Kuusamo municipality still faces the common challenges of the so-called less-favoured areas: the population of 16 000 residents is decreasing and the unemployment rate of 14.7 percent (2013) is higher than the national average (Kuusamon kaupunki 2011; Pohjois-Pohjanmaan… 2013). Similarly, the Kolari municipality is dependent on Ylläs tourism development as a formal livelihood. In 2011, direct tourism income represented 48 percent of the total turnover of all local livelihoods (Satokangas 2013). There as well, tourism development is spatially concentrated: most tourism jobs are located in Ylläs, mainly in its two local villages, Äkäslompolo and Ylläsjärvi, which together have 900 residents. In 2009, there were 126 enterprises in Ylläs (Kauppila 2011), the majority of which were small enterprises. In the villages of Ylläsjärvi and Äkäslompolo, the population is growing, unlike elsewhere in the municipality. The unemployment rate

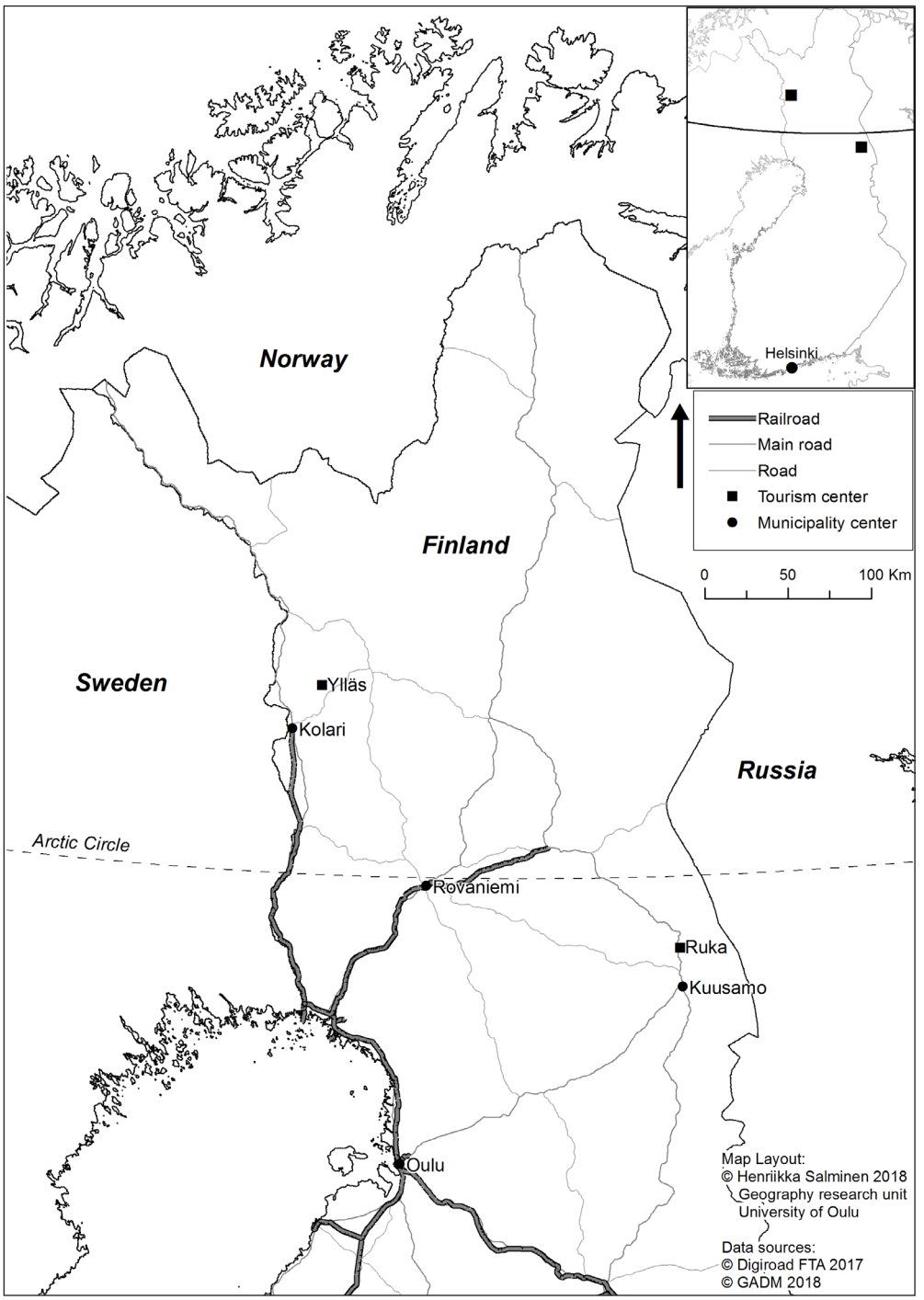


Figure 2. Map of Northern Finland showing case study locations. Map layout ©Henriikka Salminen.

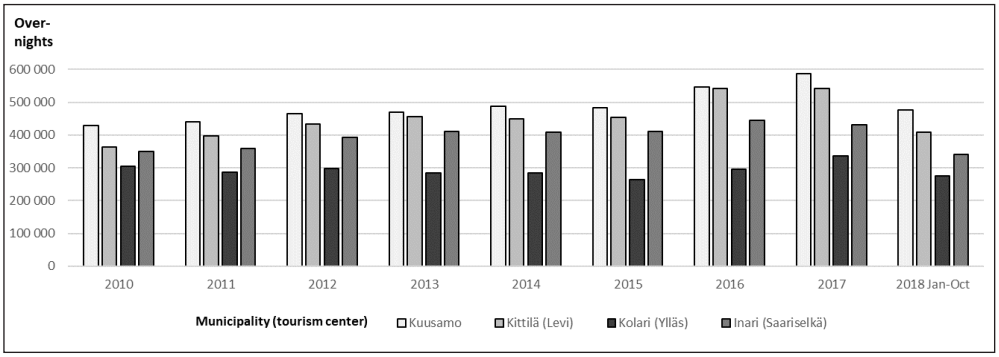


Figure 3. Change in overnight stays in four ski resorts in Northern Finland 2010–2018.

in Kolari was 14.9 percent in 2013, which is above the national average (Statistics Finland 2017).

The villages in the southern parts of Kolari derive their livelihood primarily from agriculture, forestry, and reindeer herding. In the interviews, it was related that there exist political and cultural divisions between the parts of the municipality: in the southern parts of Kolari tourism work and entrepreneurship is often not considered a desired source of income in contrast to the two tourism villages in the northern corner. Today, this is visible also in the local land use conflict between tourism and mining in Kolari; the permit procedure for a planned iron-ore mine 10 kilometres away from the Ylläs fell started in 2015 and is currently ongoing. Based on the interviews, it seems there exist both mine supporters and opponents among local tourism actors, but proponents of nature-based tourism have been active in resisting the mine. For instance, four new municipal representatives were elected in the local council via a new, issue-based list of candidates; two of them were tourism entrepreneurs and all engaged with the Äkäslompolo village. Currently, the official municipal strategy in Kolari is to create 500 new jobs by 2015 through facilitating local livelihoods, including both tourism and mining. Thus, tourism economy and its possible development paths is a hot topic of discussion in the municipality.

5 Examining sustainability in destinations in the Finnish North: focus on local tourism relations

In this empirical part of the study, I intend to examine local tourism relations in terms of their contribution to sustainability. The analysis is based on an analysis of everyday tourism realities and draws on the insights of interviewed tourism actors in the destinations of Ruka and Ylläs. The analysis illustrates the ways in which (un)sustainability is reproduced in local economic relations between tourism actors. The analysis presented here is based on the work done in three articles that are the foundation of this thesis. In this chapter, the aim is to make a concluding empirical analysis of the insights presented in the three papers. The main analytical points from the papers are gathered in a summarizing style and then advanced to create a more in-depth analytical perspective. The analysis shows how I have shifted my theoretical understanding of sustainability over the course of the research process. Thus, the empirical analysis illustrates what it means in tourism practices if we deviate from ideas that rely on the growth paradigm in economic change.

5.1 Exclusive tourism cooperation

Past research on local tourism networks and sustainability emphasizes that local economic relations enable the distribution of tourism benefits from the core to the surrounding areas (Saarinen 2004, 2017; Kauppila *et al.* 2009). Such relational processes of benefit-sharing can indeed be seen as necessary in the geographical context of Finland, where tourism development is resort oriented. In article I, I have examined local and regional tourism networks based on empirical knowledge of tourism actors' views and practices related to tourism networking in the Ruka tourist resort. According to Kauppila (2011: 27–28), due to its polarization and enclavization alongside intensive development in past years, Ruka has become a core located in a periphery in the northern national periphery. In article I, my interest was to examine *how the local tourism business cooperative networks of a tourist resort are spatially constructed within the regional tourism destination.*

During the fieldwork, I noted that although tourism actors considered local economic relations between tourism actors as vital, they had diverging opinions about which kinds of cooperation were best for achieving the desired benefits as well as which areas to cooperate on. I paid attention to how collective agency was currently done mainly through joint marketing on the scale of the Ruka tourism region. Even the largest companies do not have enough resources to gain an international reputation on their own and thus need other firms to gain extra resources. However, not all interviewers saw smaller tourism firms outside the core resort area as crucial partners in marketing, due to their small monetary resources, and many called for international joint marketing on a larger scale than just the municipality of Kuusamo (e.g. Northern Finland) to gain enough visibility internationally.

In contrast, the cooperative production networks, the ones that entail actual contact and joint actions with other businesses, are clustered in the Ruka pedestrian village which is the very core area of the Ruka resort. The interviewed actors in the core seem to perceive the operational environment of their businesses as being concentrated in the pedestrian village. This spatial focus of tourism production networks also manifests in the model of destination management: cooperation in tourism production is organized through the Ruka Pedestrian Village Organization, which aims to improve the attractiveness of the core area, increase customer numbers there, and make operational preconditions better for tourism actors in the village (Rukan… 2014). In other words, the intentional agency of local tourism actors seems to focus on maintaining tourist flows within their space of operations and firms. This spatial concentration of cooperation and tourism benefit-sharing was evident in the comments of one interviewee as he viewed the pedestrian village as the primary space for cooperation:

> *"Absolutely, it is important that the tourism entrepreneurs cooperate in Ruka. Otherwise, we would not have founded this kind of Ruka Pedestrian Village Organization in the area. Around 90 percent of all the businesses in the village are now members. The only way to succeed is to cooperate."*

This organization has succeeded in building a tight tourism cluster in the immediate core area. Yet, at the same time, many of the interviewed actors operating outside that area see business connections with the Ruka pedestrian village as beneficial. They consider it problematic that the cooperative production networks of the village are mainly concentrated in that area. An entrepreneur from outside the village illustrated his experience of cooperation with the village by relating that "they are so big and strong companies and they cooperate. It is challenging to get in. I have tried it, with very bad results, though". These experiences are indicative of the exclusiveness of tourism networks in the core area. This exclusiveness touches especially those enterprises that offer services similar to the businesses in the core.

In the Ylläs destination, the resort structure is not as clear-cut as in Ruka as businesses are located in a wider area and core areas similar to the Ruka pedestrian village are only in their development phase or in the masterplans for the future. Yet, similarly to Ruka, the interviewed tourism actors shared experiences of a lack of economic linkages to the largest tourism corporation, which owns a number of firms in Ylläs as well as one of the two lift companies. This tourism corporation does not need to engage with or include other firms in its business networks as it can offer tourism services in house. It was mentioned that production cooperation with enterprises outside the core does not always seem essential even if these would offer complimentary services. This is because firms in the core can capitalize on the natural environment of the surrounding areas without cooperation, for instance by locating their accommodation and safaris facilities there. Yet, some small firms maintain business relations with big players due to their special skills (e.g. reindeer herding traditions). A native-born tourism actor shared that even in these cases

of production cooperation, the smaller firm is reliant on the decisions of the firm that buys their services; he explained that, for instance, small programme service providers often cannot plan their operations long term due to short contracts with some buyers. This is another example of challenges in local economic networks.

The above analysis shows how the cooperative production networks, the ones that require actual contact and joint actions with other businesses, are concentrated particularly in the immediate core area of the resort whereas production cooperation with the surrounding areas is not essential to the large enterprises in the core. This illustrates how the core–periphery structure in tourism (Britton 1982; Saarinen 2004, 2017) often manifests as an exclusive system of local tourism relations: the networked resort-oriented destination development processes primarily support those tourism actors whose enterprises are located in the focus area of development. A Marxian political economy perspective offers one way to interpret this: challenges are created in local tourism network due to hierarchical power relations between the actors who make large investments in tourism destination development and the smaller tourism businesses that depend on these larger firms. Although ostensibly the processes of developing tourism clusters in northern Finnish destinations are meant to foster destination competitiveness and consequent 'rural' development (Schmitz 1999: 468–469; Williams & Copus 2005), such regimes are practices that mainly benefit the immediate core resort areas. Local cooperation in destinations with resort-oriented development currently prioritizes the aim of resort growth over destination-scale tourism benefits. Currently, in neither Ruka nor Ylläs do local tourism relations ensure that the economic benefits of resort growth are distributed to the tourism firms located outside the resort areas, where theories on inclusive growth (Hampton *et al.* 2018) and sustainable destination development (Saarinen 2004, 2017) predict they should go. Furthermore, due to the hierarchical relations between tourism firms of different sizes, there can be challenges also in production cooperation. Although the smaller firms certainly benefit from the overall economic situation, such hierarchical processes in local tourism networks also create challenges for endogeneity and integrated tourism development (Saxena & Ilbery 2008).

5.2 Multiple spaces of everyday identification

In articles I and III, I have looked into local tourism actors' spatial identities which are constituted in their local economic relations and agency. This analysis increases understanding on *how local tourism networks are spatially constructed in destinations with resort-oriented tourism development*. The fieldwork experiences in the Ruka resort and the Ylläs destination highlight how the process of resort-oriented destination development is directed by the everyday identifications and agencies of the tourism actors. The illustrated exclusive character of tourism operations cannot be explained merely by the so-called economic rationales of benefit maximization (i.e. structural causes); the formation of

economic identities has a role to play in the construction of local economic subjectivities, agency and relations. This view stresses the role of agency in economy. While the core tourism area has differentiated socio-spatially from the surrounding areas along with the resort-oriented tourism development (Saarinen 2004, 2017), it is a differentiated area also in a sociocultural sense.

New tourism construction based on the resort model creates new spatial economic processes in the destination, altering local everyday geographies. The core resort area in Ruka appears to function as a basis of spatial identification of tourism actors in their everyday. Tourism actors operating in the immediate core area tend to distinguish the pedestrian village, built at the foot of the front slopes, from the other parts of the resort. The tourism actors refer to the core area as 'the Ruka village', 'the upper village' or 'the centre of Ruka'. The village borders namely refer to the pedestrian village, which the interviewees described as being situated 'high up' and 'on top'. For instance, the upper village is clearly marked as separate from the business area located away from the slopes further downhill, which is referred to as 'down' in comparison to the pedestrian village. Tourism entrepreneurs operating in the immediate core of the resort perceive the area as the principal area for their operations, and therefore, they do not particularly engage with the surrounding areas and businesses or with other actors located there. Thus, the core is a differentiated area not only measured by its economic characteristics or number of network linkages but also in mental constructions. A similar bordering of the immediate core area is evident also in the Ylläs destination. On neither side of the Ylläs fell were the core ski resort areas treated as belonging to the local villages situated downhill. The newly introduced economic changes alter locality spatially but also socio-culturally.

However, it is worth highlighting that not only the more recent changes but also past local geographies influence economic agency in destinations. The path-dependent local geographies such as villages also function as spaces of identification through which everyday tourism work tends to be primarily organized. In Ylläs, the local villages of Äkäslompolo and Ylläsjärvi form the main spaces within which the everyday tourism work is practiced. Although many tourism actors also have business relations outside their village, the primarily space for their everyday tourism work is often the village where their business is located. Tourism actors do marketing together with other businesses, organize events, or produce services cooperatively within a village. For instance, some tourism actors in Äkäslompolo use the village's name in their marketing instead of labelling themselves under the Ylläs destination. One interviewee justified their actions by saying:

> *"Some people say there needs to be only one Ylläs. But it is very artificial, Ylläs is as Levi and Ruka, they are tourism resort concepts. These villages, Äkäslompolo and Ylläsjärvi, are much more: they mean different things for a tourist than this ski resort way of thinking."*

This quote indicates how this tourism actor considered Ylläs a fictitious concept and associate it with two other major tourist resorts in Northern Finland.

The above shows how actors' spatial economic subjectivities bring together both their 'non-economic' identities as well as their 'economic' intentions. Tourism actors are not only 'entrepreneurs' but do their tourism work within the frame of their intersecting identities and operate in space that is not only a 'business environment' but often also their home or the location of their family histories. The local geographies visible in tourism operations can also be seen as linked to the physical geographies of the destination area. One of the interviewees explained that the Ylläs fell used to be a physical barrier between the villages; only by hiking to the top could one see the other village. As spatial practices took place mainly within each village, no shared economic subjectivity was built. Although the Ylläs fell has turned into a unifying element around which local actors should interact for destination development, the village identities are utilized to make a distinction in tourism operations in other parts of the destination and in dominant economic discourses.

To sum up, the idea of transforming local relational (economic) geographies into a coherent destination or business cluster seems to not coincide with the multiple spaces of everyday identification. Due to this, local economic agency is fractured. In tourism research it has been typical to emphasize regional- or destination-scale identities and see local geographies as a potential hindrance to more integrated tourism development, namely with respect to destination-scale tourism development aims (see e.g. Lenao & Saarinen 2015). Although this viewpoint holds in some cases, I suggest that the tendency to prioritize one's local village area should also be understood as a genuine wish – and spatial practice – to operate in a tourism economy that supports these local geographies. The analysis shows how prioritizing a specific area leaves other areas and actors with less attention; for instance, actors in the Ylläsjärvi village experience that they are left out of destination development practices when the village of Äkäslompolo is the focus of attention in development work. This shows how some areas and actors can be left with less attention when the destination development is resort oriented and growth in the core is seen as the primary tool for benefit creation. Massey (2008) identifies such 'power geometries' as characteristic of capitalism; economic development in a certain places reduces the relative power of other places. The analysis shows how capitalist economic processes are linked to uneven development also on a local and regional level (Sheppard 2011).

5.3 Alternative tourism paths

As shown above, everyday identification creates a barrier between local tourism actors in tourism destinations. Besides this, however, there exists a different type of heterogeneity within tourism actor groups. In article II, the resort-oriented large-scale destination development practices are reflected against the everyday tourism realities. I ask *how large-scale resort development appears from the perspective of various tourism actors in the destination.* In doing so, I intended to see to what extent the goals of the dominant destination development are

shared locally in the Ylläs destination. During the fieldwork in Ylläs, profound differences in economic agency became visible.

Currently, in Ylläs, mainstream tourism politics are predicated on expanding the local tourism economy via resort-oriented destination development focused on downhill skiing and related services. There are both in-migrant and native-born tourism actors as well as small and large enterprises that support this path. They aim at strong destination growth and view new tourism construction (i.e. new skiing slopes and accommodation) as the best way to achieve this. As one of the interviewees explained:

> *"I absolutely don't see large numbers of tourists as a threat. There is so much space. Even if we had an intensively developed core area, like maybe 1 x 1 kilometres, we would still have so much wilderness left. As soon as you exit, you'll be in the middle of nature."*

As the quote shows, the actor approaches the Ylläs resort primarily as a business environment and justifies the local changes by viewing them from the perspective of the larger geographical area. The success of this development path of 'intense growth through new tourism construction' is dependent on an increase in the number of international tourists. These growth aims are strongly supported by the local municipality as well as local destination management and marketing organizations.

However, as the tourism livelihood in Ylläs has its roots in small-scale, community-driven activities, some of the interview actors disagreed with the dominant tourism development scheme. Many of the native-born local tourism actors considered smaller-scale and more nature-based forms of tourism desirable and compared current changes to the past decades of tourism in Ylläs. Some of the interviewed actors had memories of hosting visitors in their homes when they were children. Many interviewees rejected the dominant, strongly growth-focused path of destination development. The actors with alternative views did not have a desire to be involved in growth plans that require new, large-scale tourism construction in the resort area. They emphasized the negative effects of 'mass' or 'bulk' tourism, and of 'tourism as an industry'. They justified their alternative views by the need for natural conservation and the perceived intrinsic value of the natural environment. I paid attention to how many of the interviewees seemed to possess alternative ecological understandings that have formed while growing up or living in the rural community. Their tourism work is also informed by their close relations with the local natural environment. A native-born entrepreneur from one of the large businesses stated that

> *"The environment is being destroyed around the world, and there are only a few places left where there are no mines or polluted areas or waters or bad air. Such places will be in great demand. Also, tourism should not destroy these either; a cap should be put here too, not to construct over a certain limit."*

This quote is representative of an idea that many interviewees shared: the requirements of conservation should limit the tourism development practices in the destination should

take conservation into account more than they currently do. Values guide the economic agency of many tourism actors. Economic benefits were not considered to justify all economic decision-making. The municipality's decision to open a mine in Kolari was often pointed out as an example of how alternative tourism paths dependent on nature conservation are not acknowledged or appreciated in local governance.

Tourism organization was similarly said to be guided by the strongly growth-focused thinking supported by the local municipality officials. For this reason, tourism actors with alternative tourism knowledge create alternative paths mainly through their tourism operations in cooperation with like-minded partners. It is noteworthy to underline that these alternative practices do not constitute a uniform tourism path but take place across differing tourism products, scales of operations, market segments and peer groups. Such alternative directions to destination development are also supported by some in-migrant tourism actors . Some of them had built close cooperation with native-born locals and worked to build the path they desired. The above analysis indicates that the multiple spaces of everyday identification of local tourism actors give rise to economic identities that resist the homogenizing logic of transnational tourism economy on the local scale. Already now there exist economic actors who create ecologically more sustainable destination development pathways through their tourism work. There exists a diverse basis for economic subjectivities, agency and relations (Gibson-Graham 2006) also in tourism destination economies.

5.4 Conflictual coexistence

In articles II and III, I have discussed conflicts in local tourism politics. The intention has been to understand *how actors with alternative views on development are able to create the tourism paths they desire for destination development*. In the Finnish North, official tourism development and planning on the local scale is organized through public-private collaboration in tourism governance networks. To some extent, tourism-related decision-making takes place within democratic political processes through local politics, where tourism actors have traditionally rarely been involved. The local municipality has implemented tourism master plans via consulting companies, meaning that the development work is steered non-locally and outside direct democratic decision-making. In addition to official politics, a great deal of local tourism governance is done through the Ylläs tourism organization. It coordinates between the various cooperative groups, two lift companies and the villages of Ylläsjärvi and Äkäslompolo, with an aim to unite its approximately 150 members (Ylläksen… 2018). The primary responsibilities of the organization are path maintenance and planning of transportation within the destination. Initially, joint marketing of the Ylläs destination was also conducted by the organization but was later outsourced to a separate marketing company in 2016, in which approximately 20 of the local enterprises

are stakeholders. Due to this change, the power to influence the destination development path via marketing operations has increasingly focused in a small number of enterprises.

Such tendencies of the concentration of power in local tourism politics were visible in 2015, at the time of the fieldwork in the Ylläs destination. In the interviews, it was repeatedly shared how the key tourism actors work in partnership with the municipal officials to create the strongly growth-focused destination development path. Some mentioned how the head of the municipality at the time would hold private meetings with tourism actors from the largest enterprises to discuss the development of the Ylläs area. At the same time, actors with alternative views felt that their tourism knowledge was not valued by the more powerful tourism actors or the local municipality. As the dominant tourism path – materially as well as discursively – focuses on transforming the destination in a direction that is not in line with their values or with the desired environment for their tourism operations, many tourism actors felt frustration and social dissatisfaction with the mainstream economic decision-making. One interviewee expressed that it is difficult to get her concerns heard. She explained: "Our resistance has only ever been considered as opposition on principle; it has never been recognized that these are our concerns … that we are interested and that we want to speak up and share our thoughts."

Not all local tourism actors actively take part in tourism community politics. Some of the actors with alternative views related that they are not interested in "political development talk" and are not involved for this reason. Some actors focus on their everyday tourism work and do not pay attention to destination-scale practices. It also appears that it can be difficult for the actors themselves to raise the topic of the negative impacts of tourism since they too have benefited from destination growth. Many of the tourism actors with alternative views were willing to participate in destination development but felt they had no power to influence the decision-making processes. Collective decision-making was experienced as frustrating and emotionally consuming by many of the interviewees. Some who had previously taken part in destination development felt that they had no influence and thus had stepped back from active participation since it was experienced as futile. For instance, some had resigned from the local tourism organization, and a few interviewed current members were planning to do so. One interviewee explained that "those who have gone through that fight once do not have the energy to be involved anymore, so we just go along and see what happens". Some interviewees described how the decision to abandon the mainstream collective actions had increased their well-being, as they could then dedicate their efforts to actualizing their own paths. One interviewee explained:

> *"For instance, in the Ylläs development meetings, I have always been an underdog there. I have realized that my energies go to waste there when I try to bring out my own ideas. My ideas are so different. All the effort goes to convincing and negotiating. It is much easier to act on my own straight away if I get an idea."*

It became evident that local tourism actors have more diverse ways for politico-economic agency than only taking part in destination-scale decision-making. For instance, many local actors were able to make meaningful connections on "the international scale" through alternative means. For instance, they contacted international bloggers and created personalized Facebook pages to build the firm's reputation nationally. Some local actors had also made their political views heard: one interviewee had contacted politicians and newspaper journalists to share thoughts on tourism development.

The dominant tourism actors deemed such opposition to new tourism construction and resignations from the tourism organization as inappropriate practices. Not taking part in joint marketing was called "free-riding". One of the key proponents of the growth-focused path opened their thoughts saying:

> *"In Ylläs there are quite many of those who are not originally local. When I think about it, this is where the difference emerges. The 'holdouts' are native-born locals who have a bit different way of thinking. Probably it is because this is their home, and their parents' and grandparents' home, that is why they think differently. For instance, in the Åre destination the village has changed, and local people have moved away. Of course, if I think from another perspective than tourism, maybe their thinking is justifiable then. In any case, for tourism, it is a hindrance, an obstacle."*

Nevertheless, the interviewee added that they were dedicated to keeping these actors with differing views as members of the Ylläs tourism organization. Some of their businesses are large and thus pay a significant share of the yearly budget; the operations of the organization would suffer from their membership withdrawal.

To sum up, the above analysis shows how not all the co-evolving tourism paths are equally promoted in the networked destination governance. Although the agents of economic change are diverse, the path that destination decision-making selects is not. Local tourism governance models do not afford an equal voice for diverging tourism actors, which means that the less growth-focused tourism paths do not become officially recognized. Adopting a poststructural relational view on space (see e.g. Lefebvre 1991; Massey 2008), it is evident that while the tourism path that aims at tourism growth by new tourism construction in the ski resort core area is advanced in destination governance, it at the same time takes away possibilities to advance alternative tourism paths in the same space. One interviewee explained that the complex conflicts in the destination have led to a situation where the topics of disagreement are not openly discussed. Tourism-related injustices were described as staying "under the surface" most of the time but still hindered local well-being. The prevailing tourism politics is not successful in advancing the production of such a tourism space in which the diversity of voices is heard and considered. An interviewee who was native-born local wished that

> *"We should just understand that the natural environment is number one for us all, and get these rifts solved. We would become a wonderful place."*

This quote illustrates the frustration about the ongoing conflicts of interest that many of the interviewees shared, across actor groups. Alongside the calls for new directions in tourism politics, there was hope for a more peaceful way of negotiation in everyday tourism politics.

6 Rethinking local tourism relations

In the empirical analysis, the relational character of tourism economy became evident; multiple economic actors locally shape destination economies through their work in firms, local tourism organizations and official politics in the municipality. In this sense, destination economies are examples of the so-called 'new' post-Fordist relational economies (cf. Fairclough 2002; Boggs & Rantisi 2003). However, even if destination economies may appear as relational and coherent totalities when viewed top-down from an institutional perspective, when understood from the perspective of everyday tourism realities they are far more complex. There are a variety of coexisting processes that create difference and power imbalances between local tourism actors. Massey (2008) identifies such 'power geometries' as characteristic of capitalist economic processes; economic development in a certain place reduces the relative power of other places. Capitalist (tourism) development is uneven also on a local and regional level (Sheppard 2011). The current mode of resort-oriented transnational tourism development and related tourism relations and local tourism politics does not engender socially and environmentally sustainable livelihoods in destinations in the Finnish North. It is necessary to recognize that the currently dominant mode of economic organization guided by the growth paradigm depends on – but also maintains – local economic relations that contribute to experiences of social injustice and unsustainable use of the local environment. Therefore, to transform tourism destination economies towards a more socially just and environmentally sustainable basis, the existing tourism-related conflicts in the local community should be acknowledged. Tourism research needs to interrogate more critically whether the multitude of voices are recognized in local decision-making and whether transnational tourism economy is creating livelihoods that allow people living in sparsely populated areas to gain economic agency.

The empirical analysis of current tourism development in the two destinations in the Finnish North illustrates well the path-dependent processes of the growth-focused tourism development in ski resort destinations. Carson and Carson (2017) note a similar phenomenon and explain that in sparsely populated areas tourism tends to develop into an industry focused on bulk resource export and large-scale investments with an aim to attract non-local investors in line with earlier Fordist production. Therefore, I recognize that a total transformation is not possible in tourism spaces that have developed into resorts over the course of decades. Yet, there are possibilities to do things differently despite the current political circumstances and physical infrastructures. I wish to highlight the changes that can be made today in local tourism relations (i.e. cooperation practices and governance) so that the destination economy can be made more socially just and environmentally sustainable. A focus on local economic relations in tourism communities reveals that unsustainable tourism may not be best understood as reproduced within tourism firms and in their products and services but in the *relations* between the tourism

firms in the destination. This is a conceptual difference, but it highlights the differences in how tourism firms contribute to social injustices and environmentally unsustainable destination development. Thus, although the empirical analysis illustrates the path dependency of tourism destination change so far, at the same time it highlights the role of local politico-economic agency in that process. It is crucial to recognize that tourism growth (here primarily seen as growth in the number of tourists that the destination can accommodate) is not an automatic process; it is a path created in the agency of certain tourism actors and not supported by all. The growth process is dependent on power relations inside the economy.

Although I do recognize that no destination is an isolated separate entity that can be steered and changed solely from within, I nevertheless see it necessary to adopt an agential research perspective that focuses on the existing opportunities of local actors to deviate from the dominant path. It is necessary to seek new ways to understand and approach local tourism actors, their agency and relations in destination development. Although structural critiques tend to treat capitalist economy as such as the root cause of injustices, local economic actors still hold agency that can maintain the current development path or create new ones. A focus on local economic agency is also valuable in that the destination governance and public–private partnerships currently seem to uniformly support the growth-focused destination development rationales (see also Hall 1999; Dredge *et al.* 2011; Dredge & Jamal 2013). It is therefore necessary to facilitate the tourism path creation of those economic actors who are already motivated to act for alternative political economies in their communities. Based on this notion, I argue that sustainability in tourism destinations can be advanced by recognizing 'economic difference' in tourism and by fostering 'ethical economic relations' (Gibson-Graham 2006, 2008a) in tourism destinations. Following an ethical rather than structural perspective of economy (Gibson-Graham 2008a), 'sustainability' can be sought not only in future forms of tourism but in the present form of economic organization.

The above focus on local injustices calls for deviating from the economic growth paradigm in destination development (see also Hall 2009; Saarinen 2014; Brouder 2017, 2019). Moreover, the current study indicates that social justice in destination communities and global sustainability are interlinked. As alternative tourism paths do not, as a rule, depend on large-scale new tourism construction, they would likewise not foster growth in international tourist numbers. In this way, they would support more environmentally sustainable tourism also at the scale of the global tourism system, while at the same time being less dependent on increased carbon dioxide emissions. As tourism research on climate change mitigation underscores, local tourism economies should alter their operations in order to stay within a climatically safe operating space (see Eijgelaar *et al.* 2015; Gren & Huijbens 2015). Saarinen (2014a: 9) emphasizes that not only the local limits of growth but also global sustainability challenges, in which tourism economies are involved, need to be considered in tourism development. In other words, 'critical sustainability' theorizing is needed (see also Rose & Cachelin 2018). I argue that a

poststructural political economy view on tourism is a way to advance critical sustainability theorizing. One way to gain political agency for global sustainability in tourism is to link climate change mitigation efforts with the existing concerns for social justice and more sustainable use of local resources in destinations. Although the tourism actors supporting less growth-focused destination development do not currently intentionally argue collectively for less air travel, their concerns and less growth-focused economic agency fosters this aim. For this reason, the alternative, less growth-focused tourism paths that are already present in tourism communities like Ylläs need to be recognized as valuable forms of economic practice also with respect to overall destination development.

Viewing tourism networks and destination economies from a poststructural political economy perspective may raise concerns and doubts. It may seem idealist and remote from the currently dominant economic growth discourse. In the context of the Nordic welfare states, critiquing growth seems to be particularly problematic as taxation as a redistributor of economic profits is perceived to minimize economic injustices. However, as this thesis has demonstrated, attention should be paid to the resources with which this economic growth has been generated in the first place. As noted, the accumulation of capital requires human and natural resources, gaining 'positive' impacts and capital growth necessitates negative consequences elsewhere (see Castree 2006: 80). I see this as meaning not only that the ideal of continuous economic growth needs to be rethought but also that the conception of the resources on which growth is predicated needs to be reconsidered as well. Although tourism growth creates benefits in economies on different spatial scales, this does not straightforwardly mean that local well-being would be advanced. Drawing on heterodox economies, McGregor and Pouw (2017) have discussed this and call for a move from welfare towards well-being. They argue that "people are different and pursue different priorities in life ... their views of what constitutes well-being differs, as do their views of what they should do to achieve that well-being" (p. 1132).

6.1 Value-driven politico-economic agency

A common way for tourism research to deal with local heterogeneity in tourism destinations is to see tourism destinations as being constructed through the interaction of different tourism stakeholders in their mutual relations. It is expected that the conflicts in destinations can be solved through participation and negotiations in destination decision-making. The actors are expected to find a shared goal for destination development, to steadily walk the same path towards destination growth. Although such dominant views recognize destination development as political to some extent, they fail to look deeper into the politics of selecting the growth-focused capitalist development path. The preconditions that have led to the current situation in the destination are not recognized. To date, in tourism research heterogeneity of economic agency has been labelled 'lifestyle entrepreneurship' for instance (see Ateljevic & Doorne 2000) and treated as valuable for

diversifying the supply of services in a destination. That is, economic diversity has been primarily seen as important for enhancing tourism growth in destinations (Gardiner & Scott 2014; Komppula 2014). In that sense, tourism economy is currently not regarded as a space of politics (see Gibson-Graham 2006). Swyngedouw (2013) similarly states that such views operate "within a given neoliberal order that remains beyond political dispute" and calls this convention a "post-political consensus" (p. 5) which precludes radical change.

In article II, I have examined the heterogeneity inside tourism economy by drawing on poststructural political economy perspectives and discussed what implications this has for destination development practices. As the empirical analysis illustrated, local tourism actors have very differing spatial imaginaries of the destination space and its cultural and natural environment despite the close interlinking and coexistence of tourism paths in the destination. Many of them do not experience that they are supporting the same tourism path as the dominant actors. Thus, even if tourism firms are located in a shared destination space, it does not entail that they would all uniformly benefit from resort growth. Likewise, tourism actors can have valid reasons for not participating in destination decision-making and collective actions, for instance to prevent their monetary resources being used for purposes that they wish to resist. Neither should research categorize the agency of all local tourism actors under the same destination 'project'. The alternative paths should not be viewed as a self-evident part of the large-scale, growth-focused destination development path.

Therefore, following the poststructural political economy thinking and deconstructive method, it is crucial to recognize in tourism research and practice that heterogeneity in tourism can be 'economic difference' within capitalist relational economy. Economic agency in tourism destinations is diverse and political (Gibson-Graham 2006). It is unreasonable to force tourism actors to search for one homogenous tourism path towards destination growth. Based on such poststructural perspectives on economy, I see that the linkages between local tourism relations and sustainability need to be viewed *concurrently* from two perspectives. Local economic relations are needed in tourism destinations in order to distribute the created benefits of ongoing tourism practices to those who wish to be involved. However, at the same time, and more importantly, destination decision-making should take account of marginalized economic thinking as valid economic rationales. Accordingly, research and practice should allow for more *value-driven tourism cooperation* within and outside the destination. This idea coheres with the idea of 'differential space' presented by Lefebvre (1991). He argues that to transform the current capitalist economic system, it is necessary to disclose differential space, meaning that the multiplicity of spatial imaginaries becomes better actualized.

In Figure 4, local politico-economic agency for sustainability transformations in tourism destination economies is illustrated from the perspective of an economic subject. It shows that the intention in this thesis is not to picture economic actors as being motivated simply by ethical aims. Instead, economic aims are diverse also at the level of the economic subject. Economic actors can concurrently wish to draw benefits from the current development

path in order to maintain one's livelihood but may also hold alternative rationales that aim at ecologically more sustainable tourism and thus their actions align with other motives such as conservation of local surroundings. These two modes of politico-economic agency are distinct from one another but not exclusionary. The negotiation of which modes of agency are prioritized takes place also within an individual, not only in the social. Thus, poststructural political economic approaches are necessary not only to disclose the existing diversity but also to frame the less growth-focused economic rationales as valid, desired, and respected modes of economic behaviour, even if the dominant economic discourse does not do this. In so doing, the repositioning of growth-orientation can be facilitated also on the level of the individual.

A rich body of sociological environmental research has focused on studying the geographical particularities of the Finnish North concerning economic, political and cultural characteristics. Alternative economic thinking driven by humans' relationship with the natural environment has also been noted in these studies. Autto (2003) has studied humans' relationship with nature in Finnish Lapland, pointing out how individuals can base their nature conservation aims not on modern nature conservation discourses but on their everyday knowledge of living in the northern natural environment. Their economic motives and practices can be interlinked with their ecological values. Autto (2003) underlines that although local actors in the Finnish North are often pictured in environmental conflicts as individualistic agents defending only their economic gains, this is not a truthful illustration and lacks understanding of the cultural particularities

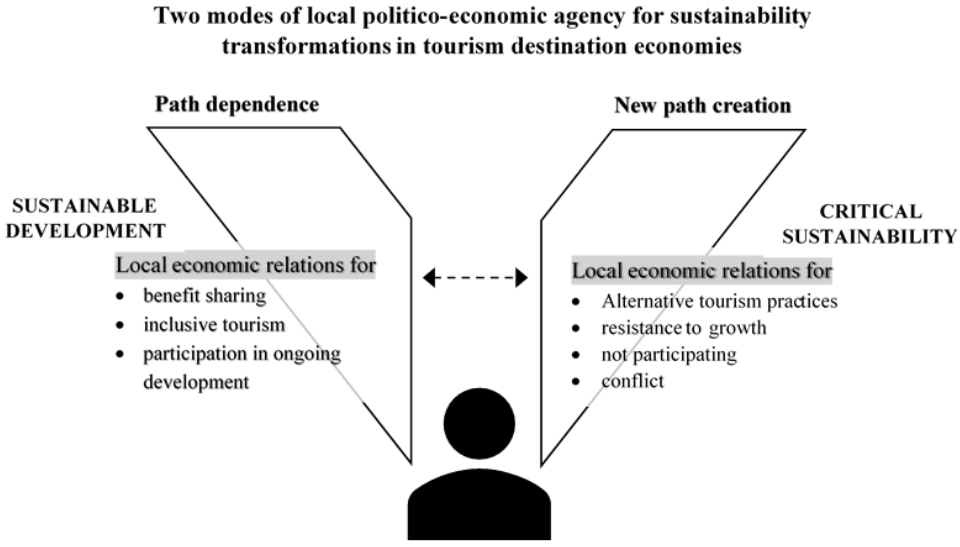


Figure 4. A model of politico-economic agency in tourism path creation.

and traditional northern ways of living. Similarly, Valkonen (2008) believes that when native-born locals have grown up in the local natural environment and have learned the traditional ways of living, they give multiple, concurrent meanings to the natural environment and perceive it not only as a source of economic gain. Such meaning-making is thus more diverse than the spatial imaginaries of homogenous regions produced through environmental governance regimes. That is, the causes of environmental conflicts in Finnish Lapland can be seen as having their foundations in cultural differences (Valkonen 2003: 206).

Cohering with the above perspectives, Zhang (2016: 164) has highlighted the diversity of subjectivities that can drive the nature conservation aims of individuals in tourism livelihoods. She emphasizes that (eco)tourism should not be framed solely via the modern sustainable development paradigm as tourism actors themselves can simultaneously draw on premodern, modern and postmodern frames in their economic agency and value-making. Similarly, drawing on Gibson-Graham (1996), Hillmer-Pegram (2016) states that tourism development should be considered sustainable only if its political economy supports the traditional cultural values of the local community. He writes that "when capitalistic tourism is thoroughly enmeshed in community-oriented values, its exploitative nature is reduced, social–ecological alienation is minimized, and positive change (i.e. sustainable development) can occur" (p. 1206). That is, socially just destination development requires appreciating local traditional ideas on the economy and its aims.

6.2 Community building

In the previous chapter, I have described the politics of economic difference from a poststructural view in which I have brought to the fore the alternative tourism knowledges and spatial imaginaries that exist but currently are not recognized in destination-level decision-making. Value-driven collective agency in tourism production is vital in order to shift tourism economy towards a more sustainable direction; the ideal of collective action should not obscure the conflicts that exist in local economic relations regarding the use of local resources in tourism development. However, in addition to empowering alternative tourism paths, it is equally crucial to better understand the coexistence of these less growth-focused tourism views and practices and the demands for strongly growth-focused destination development intentions. Even if we disclose economic difference analytically through deconstruction, we cannot remove the economic ideas that dominate in destination communities. Therefore, in article III, I have discussed not only what the desired, more ethical economic relations might look like but also how to move towards such economic organizing in tourism communities where diverse economic paths coexist. The aim was to envision a type of politico-economic agency that would contribute to building local relations that are characterized by socially just production of tourism spaces.

For an analytical interest as well as for the sake of seeking a practical approach to social change, I see it necessary to recognize that everyday experience can differ from the perspective of social critique. Power hierarchies are not easily recognized in local tourism relations and everyday tourism politics. During the fieldwork in Ylläs, I began to realize that this is because even the actors who had the most power in terms of being able to execute large-scale plans driven by tourism growth aims had personal experiences of a lack of power and of being treated unfairly in local economic relations. This stemmed from the times when their development plans had faced strong opposition and their economic views were not appreciated. In other words, structural power imbalances are not easily recognized in everyday life as each actor, maybe self-evidently, views the social from their own subject position. With these insights, I want to highlight how each tourism actor evaluates local development against their own background as an economic actor or in-migrant/originally local resident, for instance. Although critical theory importantly recognizes that certain actors of the local power elite are able to actualize the largest changes in destination space, and in this sense direct the destination development path, this is not the experience that these actors have. During the fieldwork in Ylläs, I clearly noted that most interviewees shared the feeling of not being able to steer the development in the direction they wanted and felt that others had more power to actualize their plans. These experiences seem to be closely intertwined with the mutual experiences of not being locally appreciated as economic actors.

The empirical analysis also showed that, due to the material and discursive differences between the tourism actors' spaces of identification, the actors learn to perceive the desired change in the local cultural and natural surroundings differently. For instance, what was understood as "an unspoiled village environment" varied considerably depending on the tourism actors' place of living. This process reinforces the situatedness of local tourism knowledges, creating differences in perspectives. Similarly, Häkli and Kallio (2014) observe that "politics is not about the whims and vagaries of the liberal sovereign individual, but rather the subjectivity that empowers political agency is conditioned by the social and spatial settings where matters of importance get politicized" (p. 189). Even if the agency of a group appears irresponsible when observed from the outside, justice may be the goal of their subjective approach. Horowitz (2013: 2357) notes the same phenomenon pointing out that each group may have an argument "grounded not in selfish irrationality but in clear, if distinct and mutually incompatible, reasoning processes" which causes 'moral microboundaries' between groups. Thus, local tourism conflicts can be considered as being caused not solely by certain actors but due to a mutual lack of attention to diverging perspectives. One of the interviewees in Ylläs looked at the causes of local tourism conflicts similarly. He believed that the local conflicts stemmed from the fact that tourism actors "do not see each other's everyday life and the different scale at which their tourism work tasks and concerns operate." Currently, there exists a gap between the local tourism actors: in local economic relations, others' experiences are not discussed or understood.

By bringing out the previous analytical points, I do not intend by any means to justify the injustices created by tourism development. Instead, I wish to highlight that although the alternative and critical voices are valuable (they accurately state a socially just view of how things ought to be), these voices may not be the best way to bring about a transformation of the other side in everyday tourism politics in local communities. Therefore, it is central to focus on thinking about how to bring the dominant actors to recognize the value in the different views as well as understand the experiences of others. A similar stance is taken by Horowitz (2013: 2358), who writes

> *"Emotions such as empathy and concern are crucial features of social interactions. Yet for healthy debate to occur, it is not enough to limit our expressions of these emotions to those with whom we are familiar or with whom we identify."*

This quote seems to be in line with the argument that it is necessary to focus on facilitating the transformation of the existing inter-group relations between the tourism actors. As Lefebvre (1991) maintains, "transformation of society presupposes a collective ownership and management of space founded on the permanent participation of the 'interested parties', with their multiple, varied and even contradictory interests" (p. 422). This means that no single group holds the keys to socially just production of tourism spaces.

In tourism destinations there exist possibilities for *community building* in local economic relations (Figure 5), official tourism politics as well as in everyday tourism politics as local tourism actors most often live in the place of their work alongside other co-located actors. Such *host–host encounters* can work as a valuable means through which to foster mutual understanding of different groups' everyday tourism realities and their mutual influence. Transformative (tourism) politics could be understood as a process through which economic actors share their perspectives and aim to understand how differences in views have come to exist. Such *dialogical everyday politics* in local communities can facilitate understanding across difference, and thus widen the perspectives from which local development needs are discussed. In such politics, the goal is not to start to agree but to understand affectively how the differences in opinion have been formed.

By highlighting the above view on everyday tourism politics and local economic relations, I suggest that critical (tourism) geographies could regard 'conflict' not solely as an obvious feature of capitalist economic relations but *also* as moments where mutual understanding can be facilitated. It is also useful to have an interest in the standpoint of the powerful if one aims to realize social change. Bednarek-Gilland (2015) has similarly discussed the 'paradox of feminist bias', explaining that "this means subscribing a priori to a specific political and moral order in which who is to 'blame', as it were, is no longer a matter of inquiry but predetermined" (p. 56). Instead, through the present approach to transformative everyday politics in tourism destinations, it might be possible to start building the 'intentional community economies' called for by Gibson-Graham (2006: 165) in which 'economic interdependence' is recognized, direction of economic paths is

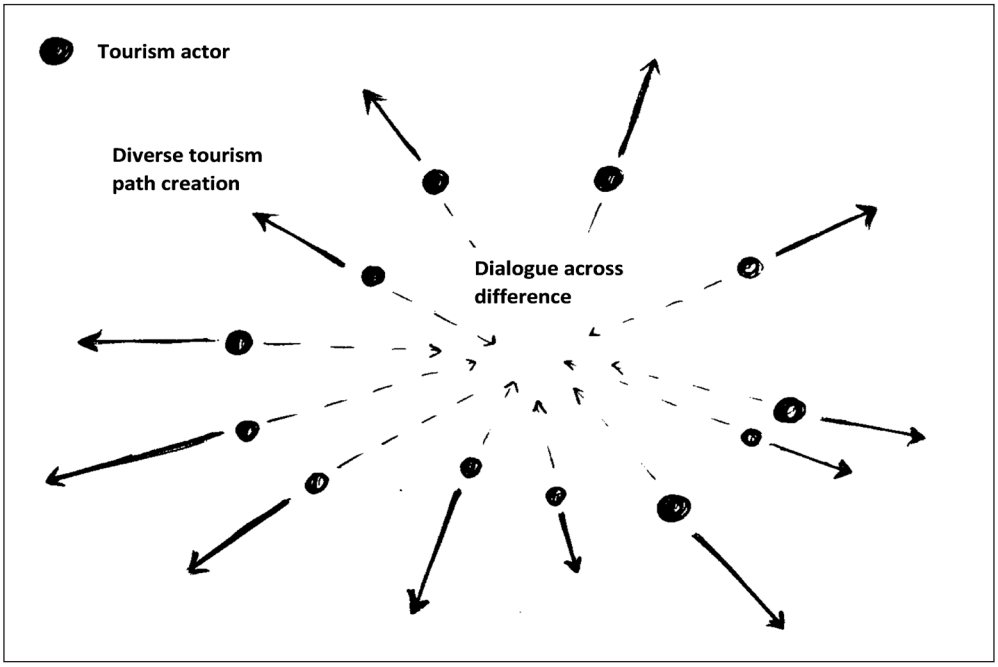


Figure 5. Community building in local economic relations.

collectively negotiated by community members, and the social and environmental origins of economic growth are appreciated. In this way, economic relations are re-socialized and re-politicized. I see this as a positive and pragmatic way of gaining agency for building new economic futures and not only as a focus for critiquing the currently dominating economic processes.

Dialogical everyday politics also entails disclosing new politico-economic identities. Such new economic identities would no longer serve the individual or the social group in question solely but work as a means of conducting collective agency and developing the community in such a way that differing needs become heard and acknowledged. This idea refers back to Lefebvre's (1991) notion of 'absolute space' which refers to a mode of human coexistence where the current, alienating categories that produce a distance between groups do not straightforwardly signify permanent divisions. In a similar vein, Gibson-Graham (2006) maintain that it is only if "the function of identity as ego support can become virtually irrelevant that a politics of becoming (communal) can emerge" (p. 130). They believe that although it does not happen easily or suddenly, the nurturing of new economic subjectivities is possible. Short moments of affection towards the other could be extended to a more permanent state of being. I wish to highlight here that the idea is not to demand economic subjects simply alter their thinking. As Koch (2018) argues, "one would succumb to a 'scholastic fallacy' when expecting heterodox

practices and social change to be accomplished by the 'raising of consciousness' alone" (p. 24). Instead, everyday politics is precisely the space where such transformations can be practiced and learned. If absolute space is recognized first in mental activity (invention) and empowered in social activity (realization) (Lefebvre, 1991: 28), the focus of politics is then not on conflict and critique but on building new, more just space. It is necessary to highlight here that when social change is examined in capitalist economic processes, there seems to be no clear-cut empirical distinction between a subjectivity that only reproduces predefined, subjected identity categories and a subjectivity that is based on new economic identities (Gibson-Graham 2008b) and thus can create social transformations. Making a distinction between these two modes of agency empirically requires careful examination and affective understanding of individual perspectives; what may seem like actions that contribute to path dependence may be transformative agency when individual motivations are better understood. It seems that transformative agency can also be 'hidden' in this sense: some actions are not as visible as open opposition, for instance, and may not create immediate changes.

7 Conclusions

In this thesis, I have examined the role of local tourism relations in sustainability transformations in destinations with resort-oriented tourism development. I have sought to gain knowledge on local tourism relations in tourism destinations in the Finnish North both theoretically and empirically. First, I have reviewed past theoretical approaches to local economic agency, relations and sustainability in the field of tourism research (particularly in critical tourism geographies). Second, I have reflected on the different approaches present in tourism theory by examining literature in the field of economic geography, particularly its critical approaches, and by learning from the different understandings of 'desired economic change' that its subfields encourage. Third, in the empirical section of the thesis, I have studied local tourism relations in two tourism destinations in Northern Finland. To gain a qualitative understanding of the everyday tourism realities of local tourism actors I have used an ethnographically oriented case study method. The main research questions have been 1) How are local tourism networks spatially constructed in destinations with resort-oriented tourism development? 2) How does large-scale resort development appear from the perspective of various tourism actors in destination communities? 3) What type of politico-economic agency would contribute to building local economic relations that are characterized by sustainability? By answering these questions, the thesis has increased understanding of *how sustainability can be facilitated through local economic relations in resort-oriented destination development contexts.*

In this thesis, I have advanced research on sustainability in tourism by examining what global sustainability requirements entail for destination development and change. The implemented novel, poststructural political economy perspective on destination change demands that it is taken seriously both in research and practice that there exists a possibility for a less resource-intensive and more locally led destination development path. Large-scale, resort-oriented tourism destinations should not be treated straightforwardly as manifestations of successful tourism practice. To ensure socially just and environmentally sustainable development in northern tourism destinations, development practices should break away from the current development path that aims at destination growth by new tourism construction. To do this requires a thorough re-examination of local economic relations. Socially just and sustainable destination development paths are not achieved solely by ensuring that local tourism actors cooperate and network, because this does not question the overall regime that destination development follows. It needs to be accepted and encouraged that local economic relations are fractured, forming sub-nodes in the local tourism network driven by value-based individual and collective agency. This view on local tourism relations requires that local economic agency is recognized as a source of social change, not only economic development. In tourism research, agents in relational tourism economy should not be regarded solely as 'economic actors' but individuals with multiple intersecting identities. The role of local tourism actors in destination change is

not only to create profit and employment but to influence what *kind* of economy and livelihood is created and how everyday life is lived in destination communities.

7.1 Poststructural political economy view on destination change

To a certain extent, the focus on the local scale has been instrumental in this thesis; it has set the limits for the study and supports the chosen case study method. However, the focus on local agency in tourism change has also enabled global tourism economy to be viewed from the perspective of economic agents. The study shows that economic difference in tourism destinations can be created not only by political economy regimes in state institutions or new tourism development discourses on the destination level but also on the level of the individual. 'Economic difference' in capitalist economic processes can be fostered in place-based economic subjectivities, local economic relations, and tourism community politics. The poststructural political economy approach to tourism enables new directions for destination change to be envisioned: local tourism actors, including the ones with the most power, could take a more active role in deciding what kind of tourism they wish to see taking place in their community instead of developing it to fulfil so-called 'international standards' and global tourism trends. This approach coheres with Massey (2008), who argues that in economics there is no one globalization to which local agents merely respond; actors participate in creating the forms globalization takes (see also Featherstone *et al.* 2012). Neither does there exist 'one' tourism industry. To date in tourism research on destination development and change, critical tourism geography perspectives have primarily emphasized agency for total structural-level transformations. For instance, structural-level change has been the primary focus in the research on tourism area life cycles (Butler 1980), tourism-related regional change (Saarinen 2004, 2014b) and in structural critiques of capitalist tourism economy (Bianchi 2009; Fletcher 2011; Büscher & Fletcher 2017). While these institutional-level studies have importantly emphasized the path-dependent character of economic evolution, at the same time they miss a view of an economic agent, the incremental change these actors can create, and the significance this economic diversity holds for destination governance regimes.

Combining evolutionary economic geography conceptualizations of destination change with poststructural political economy has deepened the EEG accounts of new path creation by building an agential, bottom-up, real-time perspective on change. The path dependence of growth-focused development in tourism destinations can be altered not only through collective agency and policy intervention (see Brouder & Eriksson 2013; Gill & Williams 2014) but also through individual decisions not to accept the mainstream practices. If approached from an ethical rather than a structural perspective on economy (see Gibson-Graham 2006), structures and path-dependent processes can be weakened simply by not participating. The change towards sustainability can already be affected

at the micro-scale through individuals' practices. The novelty that is today needed for achieving a socially just and ecologically sustainable destination development path may require 'negative inertia,' even 'backwardness,' meaning an opposition to change (i.e. destination growth).

A common criticism of poststructural, bottom-up change in political economies is to highlight its lack of effectiveness due to its focus on local-scale practices (e.g. Kelly, 2005). Similarly, in tourism research, minor, alternative tourism forms have been regarded as small-scale and trivial compared to 'the' global, market-driven tourism economy (cf. Wheeller, 2007: 73; Bianchi, 2017: 41). This argument seems to rest on the notion that transnational flows of new tourists and international investors are self-evidently forcing destination economies to grow. This is perceived as a justification for why agency for tourism change needs to take place on 'the' international scale. Here, it is necessary to rethink the separability of the local scale from the global. Is there any place or tourism destination where practices would be only 'local' in nature? The current approach that values local-level actions draws on Gibson-Graham (1996: xxvi–i), who suggest that a movement can achieve global coverage without relying on global institutions by creating joint action for shared values and interests.

Furthermore, my motivation to highlight the economic diversity in tourism destinations is to make this diversity known in mainstream analyses of tourism development and policy. It is crucial to disclose the alternative economic thinking and practices that exist already now in northern destinations so that local tourism governance frames can better recognize and support these alternative economic forms. As called for by Gibson-Graham (2008: 620), currently hidden or alternative economic activities should not be treated as haphazard, accidental or merely temporary modes of economic organization but be focused on as potential objects of official policy and politics. To me it seems necessary to start building a coexisting tourism system next to the existing one, through which the already existing environmentally more sustainable tourism practices can be supported. This means that alternative tourism path creation on a 'local' level can be supported also by individuals and organizations at regional or national 'scales', within the public, private and third sectors. From a poststructural perspective of change, it is not a central issue to try to define which actors in which institutions should first act for change. Although my focus has not been on picturing what new tourism futures would look like, it seems that such alternative tourism networks should be based on travelling near home (i.e. proximity tourism) (Jeuring & Haartsen 2017), less air travel (Eijgelaar *et al.* 2015), slow tourism (Hall 2009), limiting new tourism construction in destinations (primarily accommodation), using alternative organizational forms (e.g. cooperatives) to govern tourism destinations and organize individual economic agency (see Parker *et al.* 2014), as well as on developing tourism products that help maintain traditional livelihoods and ways of life.

7.2 Tourism research as political agency

The tourism researcher also holds political agency. The social scientific stories we create highlight some perspectives on the topic while leaving other views with less attention. My search for new perspectives on tourism, development and social change is driven by a need to do academic work that is in a way it is in line with my personal, not only work-related, worldview. Thus, in the same manner as I see it necessary to make economic difference recognized in tourism destinations, I see it crucial also in academia. Yet, at times I have experienced that being a truly critical tourism scholar means not trusting that transformations towards more just and sustainable tourism economies are possible or that working towards such aims is reasonable. Instead of adopting such a 'critical' stance to sustainability transformations in tourism, I find it more useful to draw on approaches that encourage political agency. For instance, Huijbens and Jóhannesson (2019) note that we as tourism scholars are always positioned within, not distant from, tourism networks and thus we have a responsibility to affect and interfere with the dominant structural forces which are, after all, relationally produced and thus unstable. Others have suggested that tourism researchers should consider themselves activists (see also Swarbrooke 2015; Hales *et al.* 2018; Hall 2018).

It is laudable that sustainability has been a concept that has worked as a means of bringing together critical stances in tourism research. Bramwell and Lane (2014) view that "it would be unfortunate if sustainable tourism research – and tourism studies in general – became driven by schisms or knowledge divides, as this entails a danger that scholarship becomes entrenched in its views, unable to welcome others, and closed to many potential future developments" (p. 6). I too support the idea of 'engaged pluralism' (Barnes & Sheppard 2010) which denotes that people should be able to respond to conflicting ideas with an open attitude and flexible practices and have "a willingness to listen and to take seriously other people's ideas" (p. 209). Yet, at the same time, it would also be necessary in tourism research to recognize that people can hold strongly diverging research stances, even if they all operate under the umbrella of sustainability discourse. The notion of 'critical sustainability' is a way to do this.

I see poststructural political economy as one way to build bridges between critical tourism studies and critical tourism geographies (see also Kulusjärvi, 2018). To acknowledge the urgent calls for global sustainability in tourism economy, future research in critical tourism geographies should acknowledge the cultural analyses advanced in critical tourism studies and vice versa. For instance, poststructural political economy could be used for thinking about what the ongoing lively research on actor–network theory in the field of tourism research (e.g. Jóhannesson 2005, 2012; Ren *et al.* 2009) entails for envisioning how to create changes within the currently dominant, growth-focused economic processes. Huijbens and Jóhannesson (2019) recently employed a similar take in their critique of the dominant economic growth paradigm in tourism development by drawing on ideas of relational ontology. They state that "more people, more varied

knowledge practices, more ways of doing, bring and sense making" must be admitted in tourism decision-making (p. 11).

To advance the study of critical sustainability in tourism destinations, a number of research perspectives are valuable. Future research in tourism geography should conceptualize in more detail the notion of 'growth' in tourism firms. 'Growth' can be diverse; it may be necessary to let some forms of tourism increase in a certain way while others need to be discouraged. For instance, how can the ideal of seasonality be made to align with critical sustainability instead of turning it into a tool for more economic growth? If approached from a diverse and community economy perspective, many tourism actors (currently, at least entrepreneurs) appear already to be busy with economic activities such as berry-picking, firewood work and rest in the 'low-season'. In addition, research should better understand what implications the notion of economic difference in tourism has for tourism management, governance, and planning. How could collective agency in tourism destination spaces be organized through value-based networks and organizational structures? This needs to be examined also on the level of the regional or national tourism system. It would enable envisioning the webs of signification that exist between tourists, tourism entrepreneurs, municipality officials, and tour operators specialized in land-based travel, for instance. Likewise, it needs to be better understood how economic diversity can be accounted for in municipal land-use planning. If pluralistic economic politics (Gibson-Graham 1996: xxii) is encouraged and the dominance of market-driven tourism masterplans questioned, how could public planners advance the creation of new development pathways? Similarly, research needs to focus on examining what less-growth focused, or even degrowth tourism economies (see Hall 2009; Kallis *et al.* 2012), would require from national-level policies and planning. The public sector could advance transformations towards critical sustainability not only through new regulatory frames per se but by facilitating the creation of new, less-growth-focused and ecologically more sustainable tourism paths. Future research in critical tourism geography could also broaden the perspectives from which local agency is approached in tourism contexts: how to understand as well as advance local political and economic tourism agency not merely as a manifestation of the neoliberal order but as a form of 'progressive localism', meaning social change from below (see Featherstone *et al.* 2012: 179).

To gain actual political agency through research, I see it crucial to engage in action research in tourism destination communities. We as tourism scholars need to create spaces where tourism development and economic agency would be discussed from more diverse perspectives than is usually done in local tourism governance and tourism development projects. This requires working with local tourism actors with differing views, from the public and private sector alike. I feel there is a lot for tourism developers and scholars to learn from people who experience transnational tourism economies first-hand in their everyday lives. In this work, researchers could at the same time be interested in understanding the motivations and worldviews of tourism actors as well as use insights from critical social theory to bring in perspectives that may not be recognized

in everyday tourism work. Here, it is crucial that empirical realities in tourism production are not interpreted only based on the mainstream ideas of economic development. In this way, it becomes possible to take seriously the full diversity of local economic desires. Furthermore, and maybe more importantly, a researcher can help to share understanding between differing views in a tourism community. By encountering each other, local economic actors can acknowledge the differences between their views and, possibly, learn from each other.

References

Abreu-Novais, M., Ruhanen, L. & C. Arcodia (2016). Destination competitiveness: what we know, what we know but shouldn't and what we don't know but should. *Current Issues in Tourism* 19:6, 492–512.

Aitchison, C. (2000). Poststructural feminist theories of representing Others: a response to the 'crisis' in leisure studies' discourse. *Leisure Studies* 19:3, 127–144.

Aitchison, C. (2005). Feminist and gender perspectives in tourism studies. The social-cultural nexus of critical and cultural theories. *Tourist Studies* 5:3, 207–224.

Amoamo, M., Ruckstuhl, K. & D. Ruwhiu (2018). Balancing indigenous values through diverse economies: A case study of Māori ecotourism. *Tourism Planning & Development* 15:5, 478–495.

Amore, A. & C.M. Hall (2016). From governance to meta-governance in tourism? Re-incorporating politics, interests and values in the analysis of tourism governance. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 41:2, 109–122.

Arell, N. (2000). The evolution of tourism in the Tärna Mountains. *In* Brown, F. & D. Hall (eds.): *Tourism in peripheral areas: case studies*, 91–100. Channel View Publications, Clevedon, UK.

Ateljevic, I. & S. Doorne (2000). 'Staying within the fence': Lifestyle entrepreneurship in tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 8:5, 378–392.

Ateljevic, I., Morgan, N. & A. Pritchard (2011). *The critical turn in tourism studies; Creating an academy of hope*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.

Ateljevic, I., Morgan, N., Pritchard, A. & C. Harris (eds.) (2007). *The critical turn in tourism studies: Innovative research methodologies.* Elsevier, Oxford.

Autto, J. (2003). Modernin luonnonsuojelun ja pohjoisen luontosuhteen kohtaaminen. *In* Suopajärvi, L. & J. Valkonen (eds.): *Pohjoinen luontosuhde. Elämäntapa ja luonnon politisoituminen.* Lapin yliopisto, Rovaniemi.

Barnes, T.J. (2001). Retheorizing economic geography: From the quantitative revolution to the "Cultural turn". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 91:3, 546–565.

Barnes, T.J. (2003). Never mind the economy. Here's culture. *In* Anderson, K., Domosh, M., Pile, S. & N. J. Thrift (eds.): *The handbook to cultural geography*, 89–97. Sage, London.

Barnes, T.J. (2009). Economic geography. *In* Kitchin, R. & N. Thrift (eds.): *International encyclopedia of human geography*, 315–327. Elsevier, Amsterdam.

Barnes, T.J. & E. Sheppard (2010). 'Nothing includes everything': Towards engaged pluralism in Anglophone economic geography. *Progress in Human Geography* 34:2, 193–214.

Bathelt, H. & J. Glückler (2011). *The relational economy. Geographies of knowing and learning*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Beaumont, N. & D. Dredge (2010). Local tourism governance: A comparison of three network approaches. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 18:1, 7–28.

Bednarek-Gilland, A. (2015*). Researching values with qualitative methods. Empathy, moral boundaries and the politics of research*. 130 p. Ashgate, Farnham.

Beritelli, P. (2011). Cooperation among prominent actors in a tourist destination. *Annals of Tourism Research* 38:2, 607–629.

Bianchi, R. (2009). The 'critical turn' in tourism studies: A radical critique. *Tourism Geographies* 11:4, 484–504.

Bianchi, R. (2017). The political economy of mass tourism and its contradictions. *In* Harrison, D. & R. Sharpley (eds.): *Mass tourism in a small world*. CABI, Oxford.

Bianchi, R. (2018). The political economy of tourism development: A critical review. *Annals of Tourism Research* 70, 88–102.

Boggs, J.S. & N.M. Rantisi (2003). The 'relational turn' in economic geography. *Journal of Economic Geography* 3:2, 109–116.

Boschma, R.A. (2005). Proximity and innovation: a critical assessment. *Regional Studies* 39: 1, 61–74.

Boschma, R. & R. Martin (2010). The aims and scope of evolutionary economic geography. *In* Boschma, R. & R. Martin (eds.): *The handbook of evolutionary economic geography*, 3–39. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, England.

Bramwell, B. (2006). Actors, power, and discourses of growth limits. *Annals of Tourism Research* 33:4, 957–978.

Bramwell, B. (2015). Theoretical activity in sustainable tourism research. *Annals of Tourism Research* 54, 204–218.

Bramwell, B. & B. Lane (2000). *Tourism collaboration and partnerships: Politics, practice and sustainability.* Channel View Publications, Clevedon.
Bramwell, B. & B. Lane (2014). The "critical turn" and its implications for sustainable tourism research. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 22:1, 1–8.
Bregazzi, H. & M. Jackson (2018). Agonism, critical political geography, and the new geographies of peace. *Progress in Human Geography* 42:1, 72–91.
Brenner, N. (2004). *New state spaces: Urban governance and the rescaling of statehood*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
Britton, S.G. (1982). The political economy of tourism in the Third World. *Annals of Tourism Research* 9:3, 331–358.
Britton, S.G. (1991). Tourism, capital, and place: Towards a critical geography of tourism. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 9:4, 451–478.
Brouder, P. (2012). Creative outposts: Tourism's place in rural innovation. *Tourism Planning & Development* 9:4, 383–396.
Brouder, P. (2014). Evolutionary economic geography and tourism studies: Extant studies and future research directions. *Tourism Geographies* 16:4, 540–545.
Brouder, P. (2017). Evolutionary economic geography: Reflections from a sustainable tourism perspective. *Tourism Geographies* 19:3, 438–447.
Brouder, P. (2019). The end of tourism? A Gibson-Graham inspired reflection on the tourism economy. *Tourism Geographies,* DOI: 10.1080/14616688.2018.1519721
Brouder, P. & R.H. Eriksson, (2013). Tourism evolution: On the synergies of tourism studies and evolutionary economic geography. *Annals of Tourism Research* 43, 370–389.
Brouder, P. & C. Fullerton (2015). Exploring heterogeneous tourism development paths: Cascade effect or co-evolution in Niagara? *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 15:1–2, 152–166.
Brouder, P. & D. Ioannides (2014). Urban tourism and evolutionary economic geography: Complexity and co-evolution in contested spaces. *Urban Forum* 25, 419–430.
Burns, P. M. (2004). Tourism planning: a third way? *Annals of Tourism Research* 31: 1, 24–43.
Butler, R. (1980). The concept of the tourist area life-cycle of evolution: implications for management of resources. *Canadian Geographer* 24:1, 5–12.
Butler, R. (1999). Sustainable tourism: A state-of-the-art review. *Tourism Geographies* 1:1, 7–25.
Butler, R. (2004). Geographic research on tourism, recreation, and leisure: Origins, eras, and directions. *Tourism Geographies* 6:2, 143–162.
Büscher, B. & R. Fletcher (2017). Destructive creation: Capital accumulation and the structural violence of tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 25:5, 651–667.
Camilleri, M.A. (2016). Responsible tourism that creates shared value among stakeholders. *Tourism Planning & Development* 13:2, 219–235.
Carson, D.A. & D.B. Carson (2017). Path dependence in remote area tourism development: Why institutional legacies matter. *In* Brouder, P., Anton Clavé, S., Gill, A. & D. Ioannides (eds.): *Tourism destination evolution*, 103–122. Routledge, Milton Park, England.
Carson, D.A., Carson, D.B. & H. Hodge (2013). Understanding local innovation systems in peripheral tourism destinations. *Tourism Geographies* 16, 457–473.
Castree, N. (2006). Commentary. *Environment and Planning A* 38, 1–6.
Castree, N. (2015). Changing the Anthropo(s)cene: Geographers, global environmental change and the politics of knowledge. *Dialogues in Human Geography* 5:3, 301–316.
Cave, J. & D. Dredge (2018). Reworking tourism: Diverse economies in a changing world. *Tourism Planning & Development* 15:5, 473–477.
Ceballos-Lascurain, H. (1996). *Tourism, ecotourism and protected areas*. IUCN, Gland, Switzerland.
Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory. A practical guide through qualitative analysis.* SAGE Publications: London.
Clarke, A.E. (2012). Feminism, grounded theory, and situational analysis revisited. *In* Hesse-Biber, S.N. (ed.): *Handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis*, 388–412. SAGE Publications: Thousand Oaks.
Crouch, G.I. & J. Ritchie (1999). Tourism, competitiveness, and societal prosperity. *Journal of Business Research* 44:3, 137–152.
Debbage, K.G. & D. Ioannides (2012). The economy of tourism spaces: a multiplicity of "critical turns"? *In* Wilson, J. (ed.): *The Routledge handbook of tourism geographies,* 149–156. Routledge, Oxon.

Derickson, K. D., Dowler, L. & N. Laliberte (2017). Advances in Feminist Geography. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies.* <https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-116> Accessed 9.7.2019.
Dredge, D. (2006a). Networks, Conflict and Collaborative Communities. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 14:6, 562–581.
Dredge, D. (2006b). Policy networks and the local organisation of tourism. *Tourism Management* 27, 269–280.
Dredge, D. & T. Jamal (2013). Mobilities on the gold coast, Australia: Implications for destination governance and sustainable tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 21:4, 557–579.
Dredge, D., Jenkins, J. & M. Whitford (2011). Tourism planning and policy: Historical development and contemporary challenges. *In* Jenkins, J. & D. Dredge (eds.): *Stories of practice: Tourism policy and planning,* 28–43. Ashgate, Farnham, UK.
Eijgelaar, E., Amelung, B. & P. Peeters (2015). Keeping tourism's future within a climatically safe operating space. *In* Martin, G. & E.H. Huijbens (eds.): *Contemporary geographies of leisure, tourism and mobility: Tourism and the Anthropocene,* 17–33. Routledge, Florence, US.
Ettlinger, N. (2003). Cultural economic geography and a relational and microspace approach to trusts, rationalities, networks, and change in collaborative workplaces. *Journal of Economic Geography* 3, 145–171.
Fairclough, N. (2002). Language in new capitalism. *Discourse & Society* 13(2): 163–166.
Featherstone, D., Ince, A., Mackinnon, D., Strauss, K. & A. Cumbers (2012). Progressive localism and the construction of political alternatives. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series* 37:2, 177–182.
Fletcher, R. (2011). Sustaining tourism, sustaining capitalism? The tourism industry's role in global capitalist expansion. *Tourism Geographies* 13:3, 443–461.
Franklin, A. (2004). Tourism as an ordering. Towards a new ontology of tourism. *Tourist Studies* 4:3, 277–301.
Fraser, N. (2003). Social justice in the age of identity politics: Redistribution, recognition and participation. *In* Nancy, F. & A. Honneth (eds.): *Redistribution or recognition? A politicalphilosophical exchange,* 7–109. Verso: London.
Fullagar, S. & E. Wilson (2012). Critical pedagogies: A reflexive approach to knowledge creation in tourism and hospitality studies. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management* 19, 1–6.
Gale, T. (2012). Tourism geographies and post-structuralism. *In* Wilson, J. (ed.): *The Routledge handbook of tourism geographies,* 37–45. Routledge, London.
Gale, T. & D. Botterill (2005). A realist agenda for tourist studies, or why destination areas really rise and fall in popularity. *Tourist Studies* 5, 151–174.
García-Rosell, J.-C., Haanpää, M., Kylänen, M. & V. Markuksela (2007). From firms to extended markets: A cultural approach to tourism product development. *Tourism* 55:4, 445–459.
Gardiner, S. & N. Scott (2014). Successful tourism clusters: Passion in paradise. *Annals of Tourism Research* 46, 163–184.
Garud, R. & P. Karnøe (2001). Path creation as a process of mindful deviation. *In* Garud, R. & P. Karnøe (eds.): *Path dependence and creation*, 1–38. Lawrence Earlbaum Associates, Mahwah, NJ.
Gerbaux, F. & E. Marceipoil (2006). Governance of mountain resorts in France: the nature of the public-private partnership. *The Journal of Alpine Research* 94:1, 9–31.
Gibson-Graham, J. K. (1996). *The end of capitalism (as we knew it). A feminist critique of political economy.* 299 p. Blackwell, Oxford.
Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2006). *A postcapitalist politics*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2008a). Diverse economies: Performative practices for 'other worlds'. *Progress in Human Geography* 32:5, 613–632.
Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2008b). Remarx. *Rethinking Marxism* 20:4, 659–664.
Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2014). Rethinking the economy with thick description and weak theory. *Current Anthropology* 55:9, 147–153.
Gibson-Graham, J. K. & G. Roelvink (2009). An Economic Ethics for the Anthropocene. *Antipode* 41, 320–346.
Giddens, A. (1984). *Constitution of society: outlife of the theory of structuration.* University of California Press, Berkeley.

Gilbert, M., (1999). Place, politics, and the production of urban space: a feminist critique of the growth machine thesis. *In*: Jonas, A.E.G. & D. Wilson (eds.): *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives Two Decades Later,* 95–108. State University of New York Press, Albany.
Gill, A.M. & P.W. Williams (2011). Rethinking resort growth: Understanding evolving governance strategies in Whistler, British Columbia. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 19:4&5, 629–648.
Gill, A.M., & P.W. Williams (2014). Mindful deviation in creating a governance path towards sustainability in resort destinations. *Tourism Geographies* 16(4), 546–562.
Goodwin, H. (1996). In pursuit of ecotourism. *Biodiversity and Conservation* 5:3, 277–291.
Goodwin, H. & J. Francis (2003). Ethical and responsible tourism: Consumer trends in the UK. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 9:3, 271–284.
Goonewardena, K., Kipfer, S., Milgrom, R. & C. Schmid (2008: eds.). *Space, difference, everyday life: reading Henri Lefebvre*. New York: Routledge.
Graci, S. (2013). Collaboration and Partnership Development for Sustainable Tourism. *Tourism Geographies* 15:1, 25–42.
Gren, M. & E. H. Huijbens (2015). The Anthropocene and tourism destinations. *In* Martin, G. & E.H. Huijbens (eds.): *Contemporary geographies of leisure, tourism and mobility: Tourism and the Anthropocene,* 189–199. Routledge, Florence, US.
Gössling, S. & P. Peeters (2015). Assessing tourism's global environmental impact 1900–2050, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 23:5, 639–659.
Hakkarainen, M. & S. Tuulentie (2008). Tourism's role in rural development of Finnish Lapland: interpreting national and regional strategy documents. *Fennia* 186:1, 3–13.
Hales, R., Dredge, D., Higgins-Desbiolles, F. & T. Jamal (2018). Academic activism in tourism studies: Critical narratives from four researchers. *Tourism Analysis* 23:2, 189–199.
Hall, C.M. (1999). Rethinking collaboration and partnership: A public policy perspective. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 7:3–4, 274–289.
Hall, C.M. (2009). Degrowing tourism: Décroissance, sustainable consumption and steady-state tourism, *Anatolia* 20:1, 46–61.
Hall, C.M. (2013). Framing tourism geography: Notes from the underground. *Annals of Tourism Research* 43, 601–623.
Hall, C.M. (2018). Anarchism and tourism: coming sometime and maybe. *Tourism Recreation Research* 43:2, 264–267.
Hall, C.M. & S. J. Page (1999). *The geography of tourism and recreation: environment, place and space*. Routledge, London.
Hampton, M. & J. Jeyacheya (2013). *Tourism and inclusive growth in small island developing states.* The World Bank, Washington, D.C.
Hampton, M.P., Jeyacheya, J. & P.H. Long (2018). Can tourism promote inclusive growth? Supply chains, ownership and employment in Ha Long Bay, Vietnam. *The Journal of Development Studies* 54:2, 359–376.
Hannam, K. & D. Knox (2010). *Understanding tourism: A critical introduction.* Sage Publications, London.
Haraway, D. J. (1991). Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspectives. *In* Haraway, D. (ed.): *Simians, cyborgs, and women: The reinvention of nature*, 183–202. Routledge, New York.
Hardwick, S.W. (2009). Case study approach. *In* Kitchin, R. & N. Thrift (eds.): *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 441–445. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
Harvey, D. (1973). *Social justice and the city.* 336 p. Edward Arnold, London.
Harvey, D. (2011). *The enigma of capital and the crisis of capitalism*. Profile Books, London.
Hassink, R. & M. Ma (2017). Tourism area research and economic geography theories: Investigating the notions of co-evolution and regional innovation systems. *In* Brouder, P., Anton Clavé, S., Gill, A. & D. Loannides (eds.): *Tourism destination evolution*, 65–80. Routledge, Milton Park, England.
Hautajärvi, H. (2014). Autiotuvista lomakaupunkeihin: Lapin matkailun arkkitehtuurihistoria. *Aalto-yliopisto julkaisusarja. Doctoral dissertations* 31/2014. Unigrafia: Helsinki.
Heikkinen, H.I., N.A. García, N.A., Sarkki, S. & E. Lépy (2016). Context-sensitive political ecology to consolidate local realities under global discourses: A view for tourism studies. *In* Saarinen, J. & S.K. Nepal (eds.): *Political ecology and tourism.* Routledge, Basingstoke.
Hillmer-Pegram, K. (2016). Integrating Indigenous values with capitalism through tourism: Alaskan experiences and outstanding issues. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 24:8–9, 1194–1210.

Hjalager, A-M. (2007). Stages in the economic globalization of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(2), 437–457.
Horowitz, L.S. (2013). Toward empathic agonism: Conflicting vulnerabilities in urban wetland governance. *Environment and Planning* A 45:10, 2344–2361.
Hsu, S. & T.M. Huang (2017). Social constructionism. *In* Richardson, D., Castree, N., Goodchild, M., Kobayashi, A., Liu, W. & R.A. Marston (eds.): *The international encyclopedia of geography*, 1–6. John Wiley & Sons.
Huijbens, E.H. & G.T. Jóhannesson (2019). Tending to destinations: Conceptualising tourism's transformative capacities. *Tourist Studies,* 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797619832307>
Häkli, J. & K.P. Kallio (2014). Subject, action and polis: Theorizing political agency. *Progress in Human Geography* 38:2, 181–200.
Häkli, J. & K.P. Kallio (2018). On becoming political: The political in subjectivity. Subjectivity 11: 1, 57–73.
Höckert, E. (2018). *Negotiating hospitality: Ethics of tourism development in the Nicaraguan highlands*. 208 pages. Routledge, Oxon.
Jamal, T. & B.A. Camargo (2014). Sustainable tourism, justice and an ethic of care: toward the Just Destination. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 22:1, 11–30.
Jamal, T. & D. Getz (1995). Collaboration theory and community tourism planning. *Annals of Tourism Research* 22:1, 186–204.
Jeuring, J.H.G. & T. Haartsen (2017). The challenge of proximity: the (un)attractiveness of near-home tourism destinations. *Tourism Geographies* 19:1, 118–141.
Jóhannesson, G.T. (2005). Tourism translations: Actor-Network Theory and tourism research. *Tourist Studies* 5:2, 133–150.
Jóhannesson, G.T. (2012). "To get things done": A relational approach to entrepreneurship. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 12:2, 181–196.
Jones, A. (2009). Marxism/Marxist geography II. *In* Kitchin, R. & N. Thrift (eds.): *International encyclopedia of human geography*, 474–485. Elsevier, Amsterdam.
Kallis, G., Kerschner, C. & J. Martinez-Alier (2012). The economics of degrowth. *Ecological Economics* 84, 172–180.
Karnøe, P. & R. Garud (2012). Path creation: Co-creation of heterogeneous resources in the emergence of the Danish wind turbine cluster. *European Planning Studies* 20:5, 722–752.
Kauppila, P. (2011). Cores and peripheries in a northern periphery: a case study in Finland. *Fennia* 189:1, 20–31.
Kauppila, P., Saarinen, J. & R. Leinonen (2009). Sustainable tourism planning and regional development in peripheries: A Nordic view. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 9:4, 424–435.
Kelly, P. (2005). Scale, power, and the limits to possibilities. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 26:1, 39–43.
Kipfer, S. (2008). Hegemony, everyday life, and difference: How Lefebvre urbanized Gramsci. *In*: Goonewardena, K., Kipfer, S., Milgrom, R. & C. Schmid (eds.): *Space, difference, everyday life,* 193–211. Routledge. New York.
Kipfer, S., Saberi, P. & T. Wieditz (2012). Henri Lefebvre: Debates and controversies. *Progress in Human Geography* 37:1, 115–134.
Koch, M. (2018). The naturalisation of growth: Marx, the regulation approach and Bourdieu. *Environmental Values* 27, 9–27.
Koens, K. & R. Thomas (2015). Is small beautiful? Understanding the contribution of small businesses in township tourism to economic development. *Development Southern Africa*, 32, 320–332.
Komppula, R. (2014). The role of individual entrepreneurs in the development of competitiveness for a rural tourism destination – a case study. *Tourism Management* 40, 361–371.
Koster, R. (2007). A regional approach to rural tourism development: towards a conceptual framework for communities in transition. *Loisir et Société / Society and Leisure* 30:1, 133–156.
Kulusjärvi, O. (2018). Muutosvoimaisen tutkimuksen pohdintaa pohjoisella konferenssimatkalla. *Matkailututkimus* 14:2, 73–76. <https://journal.fi/matkailututkimus/article/view/77255> Accessed 12.1.2019.
Kuusamon kaupunki (2011). Talousarvio 2012. Taloussuunnitelma 2013–2014. Kuusamon kaupunki.
Lapin liitto (2011). Lappi – Elämänvoimaa. Lapin matkailustrategia 2011–2014. <http://www.lappi.fi/c/document_library/get_file?folderId=2265071&name=DLFE-28016.pdf> Accessed 14.1.2019.
Lapin luotsi (2018). Elinkeinorakenne. <http://luotsi.lappi.fi/elinkeinorakenne> Accessed 14.1.2019.

Lawson, V. (2007). Geographies of care and responsibility. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 97:1, 1–11.
Le Heron, R. (2009). Political Economy, Geographical. *In* Kitchin, R. & N. Thrift (eds.): *International encyclopedia of human geography*, 234–242. Elsevier, Amsterdam.
Lundmark, L. (2005). Economic Restructuring into Tourism in the Swedish Mountain Range. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 5:1, 23–45.
Lundmark, L. (2006). *Restructuring and employment change in sparsely populated areas. Examples from Northern Sweden and Finland*. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Social and Economic Geography, Umeå University, Umeå
Law, J. (2004). *After method: Mess in social science research.* Routledge, London.
Lee, R., Leyshon, A. & J.K. Gibson-Graham (2010). Classics in human geography revisited: Gibson-Graham, J.K. 1996: The end of capitalism (as we knew it): a feminist critique of political economy. Oxford: Blackwell. *Progress in Human Geography* 34:1, 117–127.
Lefebvre, H. (1991 [1974]). *The production of space*. Blackwell, New York.
Lenao, M. & J. Saarinen (2015). Integrated rural tourism as a tool for community tourism development: exploring culture and heritage projects in the North-East District of Botswana. *South African Geographical Journal* 97:2, 203–216.
Longhurst, R. (2009). Interviews: in-depth, semi-structured. *In* Kitchin, R. & N. Thrift (eds.): *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 580–584. Elsevier, Amsterdam.
Luker, K. (2008). *Salsa dancing into the social sciences.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
Luoto, T., Heikkinen, H. & A. Rautio (2014). Globalising challenges of well-being in the Finnish North. *Nordia Geographical Publications* 43:1, 45–57.
MacKinnon, D., Cumbers, A., Pike, A., Birch, K. & R. McMaster (2009). Evolution in economic geography: Institutions, political economy, and adaptation. *Economic Geography* 85:2, 129–150.
Maisala, P. (2015). Markkinoihin sopeutuvan maankäytön ohjausjärjestelmän esimerkkitapaus. *Yhdyskuntasuunnittelu* 4. 62–75.
Marzo-Navarro, M., Pedraja-Iglesias, M. & L. Vinzón (2017). Key variables for developing integrated rural tourism. *Tourism Geographies* 19:4, 575–594.
Martin, R. & P. Sunley (2006). Path dependence and regional economic evolution. *Journal of Economic Geography* 6, 395–437.
Martin, R. & P. Sunley (2015). Towards a developmental turn in evolutionary economic geography? *Regional Studies* 49:5, 712–732.
Massey, D., Lehtonen, M., Rantanen, P., Valkonen, J. & J. Rovio (2008). *Samanaikainen tila.* Vastapaino, Tampere.
McGregor, J.A. & N. Pouw (2017). Towards an economics of well-being. *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 41, 1123–1142.
Messely, L., Dessein, J. & E. Rogge (2014). Behind the scenes of place branding: Unraveling the selective nature of regional branding. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 106:3, 291–306.
Meyer-Cech, K. (2005). Regional cooperation in rural theme trails. *In* Hall, D., Kirkpatrick, I. & M. Mitchell (eds.): *Rural tourism and sustainable business*, 137–148. Channel View Publications, Clevedon, UK.
Mitchell, K., Marston, S.A. & C. Katz (2004). *Life's Work: Geographies of Social Reproduction.* Blackwell, Malden, MA.
Montanari, A. & A. M. Williams (1995). Introduction: tourism and economic restructuring in Europe. *In* Montanari, A. & A.M. Williams (eds.): *European tourism*, 1–15. John Wiley & Sons, Chichester.
Mosedale, J. (2011). Thinking outside the box: Alternative political economies in tourism. *In* Mosedale, J. (ed.): *Political economy of tourism: A critical perspective,* 93–108. Routledge, London.
Mosedale, J. (2014). Political economy of tourism: Regulation theory, institutions and governance networks. *In* Lew, A. A., Hall, C.M. & A.M. Williams (eds.): *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Tourism*, 55–65. John Wiley & Sons, Chichester.
Murphy, P. (1985). *Tourism: a community approach.* Methuen, London.
Müller, D.K. (2011). Conclusion: Polar tourism for regional development? *In* Grenier, A.A. & D.K. Müller (eds.): *Polar tourism: a tool for regional development*, 251–255. Presses de l'Université du Québec, Québec.
Mäntysalo, R. & I.-L. Saglie (2010). Private influence preceding public involvement: Strategies for legitimizing preliminary partnership arrangements in urban housing planning in Norway and Finland. *Planning Theory & Practice* 11:3, 317–338.

Niskakoski, K. & K. Taskinen (2012). Äkäslompolo – Seitsemän tunturin kylä ajan virrassa. Bookwell, Porvoo.
North, P. (2016). The business of the Anthropocene? Substantivist and diverse economies perspectives on SME engagement in local low carbon transitions. *Progress in Human Geography* 40:4, 437–454.
Okazaki, E. (2008). A community-based tourism model: Its conception and use. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 16:5, 511–529.
Oosterlynck, S. (2012). Path dependence: A political economy perspective. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36, 158–65.
Paasi, A. (1986). 'The Institutionalisation of regions: A theoretical framework for understanding the emergence of regions and the constitution of regional identity'. *Fennia* 164, 121–122.
Parker, M., Cheney, G., Fournier, V. & C. Land (eds.) (2014). *The Routledge companion to alternative organization*. 369 p. Routledge, Oxon.
Patel, R. (2009). *The value of nothing.* Portobello Books, London.
Pécot, M., Gavilanes, J. & A. S. De Viteri (2018). Tales of informality: Tourism development in four Ecuadorian beaches. *Tourism Planning & Development* 15:5, 584–599.
Pike, A., MacKinnon, D., Cumbers, A., Dawley, S. & R. McMaster (2016). Doing evolution in economic geography. *Economic Geography* 92:2, 123–144.
Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ELY-keskus (2013). Työllisyyskatsaus 06/2013. <http://www.ely-keskus.fi/documents/10191/235106/Tyollisyyskatsaus_kesakuu_2013.pdf/effbbcc6-4349-4221-9ae0-d8d9418c9234> Accessed 19.08.2014.
Pohjois-Pohjanmaan liitto (2011). *Pohjois-Pohjanmaan matkailustrategia 2015.* Pohjois-Pohjanmaan liitto, Oulu.
Pritchard, A. & N.J. Morgan (2000). Privileging the male gaze: Gendered tourism landscapes. *Annals of Tourism Research* 27:4, 884–905.
Ren, C., Pritchard, A. & N. Morgan (2010). Constructing tourism research. A critical inquiry. *Annals of Tourism Research* 37: 4, 885–904.
Ribeiro, M. & C. Marques (2002). Rural tourism and the development of less favoured areas. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 4, 211–220.
Rockström, J., Steffen, W. & K. Noone, et al. (2009). A safe operating space for humanity. *Nature* 461, 472–475.
Rose, J. & A. Cachelin (2018). Critical sustainability: incorporating critical theories into contested sustainabilities. *Journal of Environmental Studies and Sciences* 8:4, 518–525.
Routledge, P. (2011). Capitalism and social justice. *In* Leyshon, A., Lee, R., McDowell, L. & P. Sunley (eds.): *The SAGE Handbook of Economic Geography*, 175–188. SAGE, London.
Rukan kävelykyläyhdistys ry (2014). Rukan kävelykyläyhdistys ry. <http://www.rukankavelykylayhdistys.fi/index.asp> Accessed 21.03.2014.
Saarinen, J. (2003). The regional economics of tourism in Northern Finland: The socio-economic implications of recent tourism development and future possibilities for regional development. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 3:2, 91–113.
Saarinen, J. (2004). 'Destinations in change'. The transformation process of tourist destinations. *Tourist Studies* 4, 161–179.
Saarinen, J. (2006a). Traditions of sustainability in tourism studies. *Annals of Tourism Research* 33: 4, 1121–1140.
Saarinen, J. (2006b). Tourism in peripheries: the role of tourism in regional development in Northern Finland. *In* Müller, D. & B. Jansson (eds): *Tourism in peripheries: perspectives from the Far North and South*, 41–52. CABI Publishing, Wallingford.
Saarinen, J. (2008). Contradictions of rural tourism initiatives in rural development contexts: Finnish rural tourism strategy case study. *Current Issues in Tourism* 10: 1, 96–105.
Saarinen, J. (2014a). Critical sustainability: Setting the limits to growth and responsibility in tourism. *Sustainability*, 6, 1–17.
Saarinen, J. (2014b). Transforming destinations: A discursive approach to tourist destinations and development. *In* Viken, A. & B. Granås (eds.): *Tourism destination development. Turns and tactics,* 47–62. Ashgate, Surrey.
Saarinen, J. (2016). Political ecologies and economies of tourism development in Kaokoland, north-west Namibia. *In* Mostafanezhad, M., Norum, R., Shelton, E.J. & A. Thompson-Carr (eds.): *Political ecology of tourism*: *Community, power and the environment,* 213–230. Routledge, Oxon.

Saarinen, J. (2017). Enclavic tourism spaces: territorialization and bordering in tourism destination development and planning. *Tourism Geographies* 19:3, 425–437.
Saarinen, J. (2018). Beyond growth thinking: the need to revisit sustainable development in tourism. *Tourism Geographies* 20:2, 337–340.
Saarinen, J. & M. Lenao (2014). Integrating tourism to rural development and planning in the developing world. *Development Southern Africa* 31:3, 363–372.
Saarinen, J. & C.M. Rogerson (2014). Tourism and the Millennium Development Goals: Perspectives beyond 2015. *Tourism Geographies* 16:1, 23–30.
Saarinen, J., Rogerson, C.M. & C.M. Hall (2017). Geographies of tourism development and planning. *Tourism Geographies* 19:3, 307–317.
Sedgwick, E.K. (1990). *Touching feeling: Affect, pedagogy, performativity*. Duke University Press, Durham.
Salazar, N.B. (2017). The unbearable lightness of tourism … as violence: an afterword. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 25:5, 703–709.
Sarmiento, E. & N. Gabriel (2011). Food, actor-networks and "the transatlantic destiny of Michel Foucault. Presented at the annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers. < http://nategabriel.com/GabrielandSarmiento.pdf> Accessed 10.7.2019.
Satokangas, P. (2013). Matkailulla maakunta menestyy. Matkailun tulo- ja työllisyysvaikutukset 12 lappilaisessa kunnassa vuonna 2011. Rovaniemi, LUC matkailu.
Saxena, G. (2005). Relationships, networks and the learning regions: case evidence from the Peak District National Park. *Tourism Managemen*t 26, 277–289.
Saxena, G., & B. Ilbery (2008). Integrated rural tourism a border case study. *Annals of Tourism Research 35:*1, 233–254.
Scheyvens, R. (1999). Ecotourism and the empowerment of local communities. *Tourism Management* 20, 245–249.
Schmitz, H. (1999). Collective efficiency and increasing returns. *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 23, 465–483.
Sheppard, E. (2011). Geographical political economy. *Journal of Economic Geography* 11:2, 319–331.
Smith, M. & R. Duffy (2003). *The ethics of tourism development*. 208 p. Routledge, London.
Statistics Finland (2017). Kolari. <http://www.stat.fi/tup/kunnat/kuntatiedot/273.html> Accessed 9.1.2019.
Statistics Service Rudolf. (2019). Yearly nights spent and arrivals by country of residence. <http://visitfinland.stat.fi/PXWeb/pxweb/fi/VisitFinland> Accessed 4.1.2019
Sunley, P. (2008). Relational economic geography: A partial understanding or a new paradigm? *Economic Geography* 84:1, 1–26.
Swarbrooke, J. (2015). Are we going to use tourism or be used by tourism? *In* Singh, T.V. (ed.): *Challenges in Tourism Research*, 358–362. Channel View Publications: Bristol, UK.
Swyngedouw, E. (2013). The non-political politics of climate change. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 12:1, 1–8.
Telfer, D.J. & R. Sharpley (2008). *Tourism and development in the developing world*. Routledge, London.
Till, K.E. (2009). Ethnography. *In* Kitchin, R. & N. Thrift (eds.): *International encyclopedia of human geography*, 626–631. Elsevier, Amsterdam.
Tucker, H. (2007). Undoing shame: Tourism and women's work in Turkey. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 5:2, 87–105.
Tuulentie, S. & I. Mettiäinen (2007). Local participation in the evolution of ski resorts: the case of Ylläs and Levi in Finnish Lapland. *Forest, Snow and Landscape Research* 81:1/2, 207–222.
Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö (2010). Suomen matkailustrategia 2020. Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö, Helsinki.
Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö (2015). Yhdessä enemmän – Kasvua ja uudistumista Suomen matkailuun. Matkailun tiekartta 2015–2025. *TEM raportteja* 2/2015.
Valkonen, J. (2003). *Lapin luontopolitiikka*. Tampere University Press, Tampere.
Valkonen, J. (2008). Eletystä luonnosta funktionaalisiin ympäristöihin. *In* Karjalainen, T.P., Luoma, P. & K. Reinikainen (eds.): *Flows and networks of environmental sociology*, 245–264. Oulun yliopisto, Oulu.
Van der Duim, R., C. Ren & G.T. Jóhannesson (2017). ANT: A decade of interfering with tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 64, 139–149.
Viken, A. & N. Aarsaether (2013). Transforming an iconic attraction into a diversified destination: the case of North Cape tourism. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 13:1, 38–54.
Viken, A. & B. Granås (2014). Dimensions of tourism destinations. *In* Viken, A. & B. Granås (eds.): *Tourism destination development. Turns and tactics,* 1–17. Ashgate, Surrey.

Walpole, M.J. & H.J. Goodwin (2000). Local economic impacts of dragon tourism in Indonesia. *Annals of Tourism Research* 27:3, 559–576.
Wang, Y. & D.R. Fesenmaier (2007). Collaborative destination marketing: a case study of Elkhart county, Indiana. *Tourism Management* 28, 863–875.
WCED (1987). Our common future. Oxford university press, Oxford.
Weidenfeld A., Williams, A.M. & R.W. Butler (2010). Knowledge transfer and innovation among attractions. *Annals of Tourism Research* 37:3, 604–626.
Wickens, E., Bakir, A. & M.D. Alvarez (2015). Sustainable destination development: Issues and challenges. *Tourism Planning & Development* 12:1, 1–5.
Williams, F. & A. Copus (2005). Business development, rural tourism, and the implications of milieu. *In* Hall, D., Kirkpatrick, I. & M. Mitchell (eds.): *Rural Tourism and Sustainable Business,* 305–322. Channel View Publications, Clevedon, UK.
Williams, A.M. & G. Shaw (1998). *Tourism & economic development. European experiences.* John Wiley & Sons, Chichester.
World Bank (2009). What is inclusive growth? World Bank note. 10 February. <https://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTDEBTDEPT/Resources/468980-1218567884549/WhatIsInclusiveGrowth20081230.pdf> Accessed 13.11.2017.
Yarker, S. (2017). Everyday economic geographies. *Geography Compass* 11:8. DOI: 10.1111/gec3.12324
Ylläksen Matkailuyhdistys Ry (2018). Ylläksen Matkailuyhdistys Ry. <http://www.yllas.fi/yllaksen-matkailuyhdistys-ry.html> Accessed 8.10.2018.
Zanoni, P., Contu, A., Healy, S. & R. Mir (2017). Post-capitalistic politics in the making: The imaginary and praxis of alternative economies. *Organization* 24:5, 575–588.
Zhang, J.J. (2016). Rethinking ecotourism in environmental discourse in Shangri-La: An antiessentialist political ecology perspective. *In* Mostafanezhad, M., Norum, R., Shelton, E. J. & A. Thompson-Carr (eds.): *Political ecology of tourism*: *Community, power and the environment*, 151–168. Routledge, Oxon.

Appendix I

Interviews in Ruka: Questions [translated]

Background information
- What products and services does your business provide?
- Where is your business located?
- How long have you been working in this firm? What about in Kuusamo?
- What is your current position in the firm?

Current state of cooperation
Motives for cooperation
- In your opinion, do tourism businesses need to cooperate in Kuusamo?
- Why is cooperation important? / Why not?
- Please give an example of a situation when cooperation had benefits for your firm

Cooperation practices
- How would you describe the amount of cooperation that your firm does?
- Who are the most important partners in cooperation? How about in the Kuusamo region?
- What kind of cooperation do you do?
- How often are you in contact with the mentioned / other businesses?
- Are there businesses in Kuusamo that many businesses in Ruka cooperate with?
- Within which area do you cooperate?

Challenges and good practices in tourism cooperation
- How would you describe the current state of tourism networking in Kuusamo?

Good practices
- What kind of business it is easy to cooperate with?
- How did the cooperation start with the firms you mentioned?
- Is it your firm or the other firm(s) that has more active efforts in continuing cooperation in the cooperation network that you described?
- Are there other such firms in Kuusamo who actively foster tourism cooperation in Kuusamo?

Challenges
- What kind of problems do you see in local tourism cooperation?
- Could you mention one negative experience that you have had of cooperation?
- Is it difficult to cooperate with certain kinds of firms?
- Does seasonality influence tourism networking? If so, how?

Future of cooperation

- Would you like to have more / less cooperation in future?
- Would you like to start to cooperate with certain firms in Kuusamo? Which firms?
- Would you like to have more cooperation partners in the current production of services or would you like to develop new products?

- Would you like to have partners in cooperation that are located in some other geographical areas in Kuusamo?
- What characteristics do these areas have which your firm could benefit from through cooperation?

- Should there be more services in Ruka that serve local residents especially?
- What kind of ideas do you have for developing tourism cooperation in future?
- Do you ever think that, as an entrepreneur, you foster the prosperity not only of your own business but that of the Kuusamo region?

Tourism and other livelihoods

- What kind of attitudes do the entrepreneurs in other fields of business in Kuusamo have about tourism livelihoods?
- What kind of impacts does tourism have on the development of other fields of business in Kuusamo?

Tourism and mining industry

- Is there something that you would like to mention related to the mining issue in Kuusamo?
- If a mine were founded in Kuusamo, what would the best / the worst impacts be?
- Has the discussion concerning the mining industry affected the atmosphere in the field of tourism? If so, how?
- Has the mining issue had an influence on your work in tourism? If so, how?
- Have you thought about what kind of changes you would need to make in your business operations if mining is initiated in Kuusamo? If you have thought about this, what changes have you considered?

Appendix II

Interviews in Ylläs: Questions [translated]

Background information

- Could you tell something about your firm?
    - Field of operations
    - Year of starting the business
    - Location
    - Staff
- Were you born in Ylläs/Kolari/somewhere else?
    - How long in Ylläs and in the current business?
    - How you ended up coming to work in Ylläs

- Firm's cooperation currently and in future
    - With which tourism actors does your firm cooperate the most in Ylläs?
    - Where located
    - What kind of cooperation
    - Relations outside Ylläs, to entrepreneurs elsewhere in Kolari
    - How it started
    - More active partner
    - Winter and summer season
    - Participation in tourism projects
- What benefits do you see in tourism cooperation?
    - For the firm, tourism, region
- Would you like to develop your firm's cooperation practices in some way?
    - With whom
    - Why
    - Surrounding areas

Current state of cooperation in Ylläs

- What kind of atmosphere is there in Ylläs for tourism cooperation?
    - With whom is it easy, difficult
    - Sufficiency
    - Development needs
    - Within the village
    - Between villages
    - Surrounding areas
    - The influence of the shortcut road

- Is there a need to facilitate cooperation between certain tourism actors in Ylläs?
    - In sales
    - Regional view
    - Who is responsible?
    - Which actors create good atmosphere?

Tourism development in Ylläs

- What thoughts do you have on the current tourism development in Ylläs?
    - What has been done right?
    - What has been done wrong?
    - Which issues raise the most discussion related to tourism development in Ylläs?
    - How has Ylläs changed?
    - What good things have been abandoned?
    - What is good in new developments?
    - How do you hope tourist numbers will grow in future? How do you expect them to grow?
    - Central development needs?
    - What things have not been utilized in tourism in a way they could have been?
    - Internationalization, combining local characteristics and international viewpoints
    - Utilizing the surrounding areas
    - Does Finnish tourism politics support the tourism development in Ylläs?

Power to influence in tourism development

- Do you feel that your opinion as a tourism entrepreneur is heard in Ylläs?
    - How can you influence
    - Motivation to participate
    - Past participation
    - Perceived possibilities to influence
    - What would you change if you could?
- Are the opinions of some other actors taken better into account?
    - Key tourism actors
    - Why can they influence more
    - Communication with these actors
    - Where to get information to help in business operations? Discussions with others

Tourism development in future

- Describe what kind of tourism destination you would like Ylläs to be in future?
    - How long into the future do you think?
    - Things to preserve?

Conception of the Ylläs tourism area

- Where are the geographical borders of Ylläs?
- Core areas
- Ski lift areas
- What is 'the Ylläs tourism area'
- Villages