Tourism Development in Resource Peripheries
Conflicting and Unifying Spaces in Northern Sweden

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“Opposition brings concord. Out of discord comes the fairest harmony”

-Heraclitus
Acknowledgement

For me, the process of writing a doctoral thesis has been an emotional roller coaster that somewhat resembles the state of bipolar disorder. It has involved insight and breakthroughs that has blown my hair back, before rapidly crashing down into theoretical confusion and uncertainty. As such, it has been an inner journey that on one hand has been rewarding and on the other quite challenging. Luckily, I did not go on this ride alone as several people in different ways guided me along the way.

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**Paper IV:** Byström, J., & Müller, D. K. (manuscript) Space Penetration in the Far North: Resource Extraction as Precondition for Tourism Development
Abstract

The northern Swedish inland is a sparsely populated area with a historical dependence upon natural-resource extraction. Therefore, this region has traditionally been defined as a resource periphery for extractive purposes. However, the rise of tourism challenges this narrative by producing a pleasure periphery for touristic purposes. A pleasure periphery in this context is linked to nature-based tourism that sells dreams of pristine nature and/or vast wilderness. This touristic “story” therefore becomes an antithesis to the region’s industrial past. The overlapping touristic and extractive spaces, and their seemingly conflicting development narratives, constitute the theoretical approach to tourism development in the scope of this thesis. Further, this thesis adds to theorizing tourism development in northern peripheries, by contesting established development theories against each other in a northern Swedish setting. Multiple methods using both quantitative and qualitative data are used to answer the questions in this thesis.

Three conclusions can be derived based on the empirical findings. Firstly, established tourism development theories are at risk of being invalid in more peripheral settings. As an example, protected areas constitute a poor development strategy, and are not producing tourism employment as shown in studies from more densely populated regions. Other destination-development theories presupposing urban-like infrastructure, which is absent in peripheries, also become invalid. Secondly, conflicts between tourism and extractive industries do occur at the discursive level where they tend to be described in dualistic terms. However, in terms of labor-market processes, findings show that tourism and resource extraction are actually rather interrelated. Within mining tourism, such a related diversification occurs due to the spatial distribution of mining and tourism skills and the interaction between them. Thirdly, the location of tourism destinations is broadly governed by resource-extractive infrastructure. Therefore, tourism destinations are normally located in places that have previously been made accessible via investments in the resource-extractive sector. Hence, resource extraction projects (unintentionally) produce accessibility to the touristic “wilderness”.

In summary, resource extraction becomes a precondition for tourism development in northern Sweden, rather than a conflicting land-use competitor. Therefore, planners and decision makers should consider incorporating aspects of tourism in future plans for resource extraction as these industries often spatially overlap, intertwine, and consequently form a development symbiosis in northern resource peripheries.
Introduction

During the 17th century, northern Sweden, which until then had largely been inhabited by the indigenous Sami, was colonized by the Swedish state to access natural resources such as timber and minerals. Ever since, the extraction of raw materials has continued to play a significant role in the industrialization of the region (Knoblock & Pettersson, 2010) and is thus somewhat responsible for its rapid population growth between the 1870s and 1950s (Håkansson, 2000). This extractive and export-based history has (re)produced a narrative of an industrial resource periphery for extractive purposes (Eriksson, 2010; Nilsson & Öhman, 2018). Today, however, this traditional “story” is being challenged by labor market restructuring processes. This structural transition includes the growth of tourism whose relative focus on conserving natural environments produces an alternative account compared to resource extraction. This alternative touristic narrative is that of a pleasure periphery for touristic purposes (Turner & Ash, 1975); a notion that sells dreams of “untouched nature” and can therefore be perceived as an antithesis to the industrial landscape associated with the region’s history.

Today, the greater region of northern Sweden can be divided into four broader categories of spaces, partly based on previous land-use classifications (Lawson et al., 2010): Dumping grounds are spaces associated with resource extraction and the notion of a resource periphery; Playgrounds are touristic hotspots associated with the idea of a pleasure periphery; Growth grounds are represented by a handful of cities with more diversified labor markets, while unseen grounds represent the rest – remote and depopulated areas that lack a significant resource extractive and/or touristic economic base. In this study, the focus is on the two former categories of dumping grounds and playgrounds associated with resource extractive spaces and touristic spaces. ¹

The thesis at hand considers the seemingly opposing development narratives associated with both tourism (e.g. playgrounds or pleasure peripheries) and

¹ A more detailed description of the region is found in the Setting section.
resource industries (e.g. dumping grounds or resource peripheries). The theoretical issue here is partly within the different agendas linked to various labor market segments, but also the rather diverse development theories associated with so-called resource peripheries.

According to classic regional science literature, there are two traditional doctrines at hand. Firstly, we have Harold Innis’ (1933) staple thesis theory, suggesting that resource peripheries are likely to constitute a leakage of capital and thus a marginalized development in relation to regions with internal control. Theoretically, such leaks appear as externally controlled interests normally tend to locate other parts in the chain of production, such as refinement and research, outside the periphery. From here, Innis (1933/1956) further describes the relationship between regions as one of “heartlands” to “hinterland” whereby the resource periphery is dominated by core regions (Watkins, 1963).

On the other hand, William Mackintosh (1953) describes peripheral staple-based economies as a possible development tool, due to the positive regional impacts on transportation and refining; employment that theoretically enables a diversification of regional labor markets. While a lot has been written on the subject since the days of Innis and Mackintosh, their ideas still has considerable impact in contemporary scientific discourses. Therefore, development preconditions in so-called resource peripheries continue to be disputed along the lines of Innis and Mackintosh.

In this thesis, the suggested development theories associated with Innis (1933/1956) and Mackintosh (1953) are further contested against each other in the context of northern Sweden. By doing so, this study also contributes to the broader scientific discourse on development processes in resource peripheries. Moreover, by assessing established tourism theories in a peripheral context, this thesis also underlines some of the inherent core biases in contemporary tourism research.
Aim and research questions

The aim of this thesis is to evaluate what promotes and hinders tourism development in non-core regions. The tourism industry in this region is considerably influenced by a path dependence on resource extraction. In other words, the touristic development of northern Sweden (i.e. the production of a pleasure periphery) evolves out of a setting shaped by resource extractive interests. Therefore, the approach has been to analyze the relationship between the tourism industry and resource extractive interests in northern Sweden.

The following research questions are addressed:

1. How has the process of tourism development in northern Sweden proceeded in relation to the region’s resource extractive history?
2. Is environmental protection in northern Sweden stimulating tourism employment and the diversification of regional labor markets?
3. How can the rise of mining tourism be comprehended, and does this tourism product constitute a threat to the broader tourism industry of the region?
4. How can the location of tourism destinations in “resource peripheries” be understood?

By looking into these questions, this thesis contributes to further knowledge of the potential role of tourism as a transition industry in the aftermath of labor market restructuring in a peripheral setting. The scientific contribution is primarily intended to be to the field of tourism geography, by underlining the core bias associated with tourism studies whose theoretical foundation tends to lean on studies in so-called core regions, which normally coincide with tourism-generating regions. Moreover, it is also intended to be a contribution to the field of economic geography, as various spatial economic theories are considered and contested against each other.

The papers presented in this thesis apply both quantitative and qualitative approaches, with the common denominator found in their consideration of the
production of touristic spaces. As such, the individual papers in this thesis partly approach the production of touristic spaces from a historical outlook (Papers I & II), while the others (Papers III & IV) interconnect it to other segments of the regional labor market, which of course also has a historical dimension. This rather broad and sprawling approached is applied to attain a more comprehensive understanding of the enduring labor market transformation in northern peripheries.

Outline of the thesis

This thesis consists of an introductory section (kappa) and four individual papers. Papers I and II are published and Paper III has been revised and resubmitted, while Paper IV is an unpublished manuscript. In the introductory section, key concepts, methodological considerations and limitations are further discussed. Thereafter, a theoretical discussion framing the individual papers is undertaken, to be followed by the paper summaries. The introductory section ends with a discussion of the findings, scientific contribution, and potential implications of this study.
• **Paper I: Making “Wilderness” in a Northern Natural Resource Periphery: On Restructuring and the Production of a Pleasure Periphery in Northern Sweden** (Published)


Here, my own contribution as an author is primarily within the context of current touristic trends, rather than previous planning paradigms and policies. As such, my personal involvement corresponds to roughly 20% of the final product.

• **Paper II: Tourism Labor Market Impacts of National Parks: The Case of Swedish Lapland** (Published)


In this paper, my own contribution as an author corresponds to approximately 65%. This work includes design, data collection and data analysis, as well as a majority of the produced text.

• **Paper III: Mines, Tourism and Related Diversification in the Swedish Far North** (Revised and resubmitted)


This paper was solely produced by me.

• **Paper IV: Space Penetration in the Far North: Resource Extraction as Precondition for Tourism Development** (Unpublished manuscript)


This manuscript was approximately half produced by me, which includes design, writing, and analysis of secondary data.
Figure 1. The region of northern Sweden (grey), located in upper Fennoscandia, with location for the individual case studies (paper 1, 2, 3 & 4) in this thesis.
Development processes in peripheries

In abstract terms, a periphery can be defined as the outskirts of any body. From a geographical outlook, it can thus be comprehended as the outer ring of the hinterland defined by a center. Hence, the term of periphery must also be seen as relational. Therefore, the concept of periphery is also regarded as highly useful in this thesis, as relational space is comprehended as a central explanatory variable when considering tourism development in a peripheral setting.

Peripheral regions, like northern Sweden, are disadvantaged by the fact that they are less attractive as locations for many of the more dynamic and innovative profitable activities normally located in core regions. The process of “cumulative advantages” tends to increase the economic magnetism or pull factor of core regions and therefore assist their continuous growth and diversification (Kaldor, 1970; Malecki, 1997; Martin & Sunley, 1998; De Souza, 2017). As such, this accumulation of capital to core regions becomes a component in the urbanization process that further strengthens core regions’ relative dominance over areas with more peripheral characteristics.

Already in the 1950s, dependency theorists concluded that the conditions for profit-making are constantly decreasing in peripheral regions, meaning that such areas can also be assumed to be increasingly marginalized over time (Myrdal, 1957; Myrdal & Sitohang, 1957). This process, which Myrdal (1957) termed “cumulative causation”, simply suggests that a change in one form of an institution (e.g. urbanization and growth in core regions) will lead to successive changes in other institutions (e.g. depopulation and decline in peripheral regions). Hence, peripheral regions exhibit challenging preconditions because investments and economic activities avoid such settings against the background of profit maximization logic (Smith, 1984). Therefore, peripheral regions also act as distinct areas with particular characteristics that make them fundamentally different from core regions, and are therefore worth elaborating on.
Moreover, the arguably different development preconditions between core and peripheral regions rest upon an assumed proposition: namely the core-periphery dichotomy. Indeed, Walter Christaller’s (1933) core-periphery theory, inspired by the work of von Thünen (1826), laid the groundwork for the broader spatial understanding of regions and their development framework. As such, core-periphery theory tries to explain the uneven development between and within nations. Since then, the idea of core and peripheral regions has also been incorporated into dependence theory, and by thinkers such as Prebisch (1949), Singer (1949) and Myrdal (1957) as well as in Wallenstein’s (1974, 1983) world-system theory. Overall, these theories address the spatial process of capital accumulation from peripheries to core regions.

As suggested, another important contribution, in the context of resource peripheries especially, is Innis’ (1933) staple thesis theory. According to this thesis, the comparatively poor development progress in resource peripheries is explained by the spatial division of labor between core and peripheral regions. As such, Innes argues that resource hinterlands (or resource peripheries) act under a distinct development framework created by an export-led economy under external control, causing an economic leakage to core regions. Hence, it might be difficult for resource peripheries to diversify labor markets: a process strongly associated with the broader idea of “development” (Smith, 1984; Freeman, 1992; Massey, 2004; Harvey, 2005).

Against the backdrop of Innis’ and others’ rather negative assessment of peripheral regions’ opportunities to benefit from the development of their natural resources, the question arises as to what alternate opportunities for development are available. As previously stated, Mackintosh (1953) describes staple-based economies as a possible development tool for peripheries, due to the positive regional impacts on infrastructure investments associated with the large-scale extraction of natural resources. In the context of tourism development in resource peripheries, Lundgren (1982, 1984, 1995) supports such suggestions by concluding that tourism utilizes infrastructure that is financially motivated by other purposes to spatially expand into new regions.
Hence, there are two dominant spatial development theories associated with resource peripheries. On the one hand we have the Innisian idea of a negative lock-in effect caused by external control and decision-making, which theoretically could undermine all other forms of development, including tourism. On the other hand, we have Mackintosh’s ideas of a positive spillover effect. Therefore, whether or not the labor market characteristics of resource peripheries becomes a regional curse or blessing continues to be disputed.

**Spatial consideration**

The overall progress of spatial understanding in regard to development processes can be argued to include a transition from the notion of absolute space via relative space towards relational space (Couclelis, 1999; Thrift, 2003; Jones, 2009). The idea of absolute space is usually comprehended as space without regard to anything external, thereby creating a spatial perspective that stays the same. Relative space, on the other hand, includes movable dimensions of absolute space that can capture the more subjective qualities of space. Relational space, however, is composed of relations between objects, with the implication that it cannot exist in the absence of matter.

Still, this evolution of geographical comprehension has not been a linear process in which the former perspective is simply abandoned through a recognition of the new. Instead, the ontological point of departure seems to influence various geographers to incorporate different spatial perspectives, while others combine all three (Rönnlund & Tollefsen, 2016).

This thesis partly rests upon the relational perspective, as the relationship (history and proximity) between the tourism industry and other segments of the labor market entails central explanatory variables for understanding tourism development. Moreover, relative space is also recognized as the perception of peripheries in general; and northern Sweden in particular does not simply exist objectively on its own but rather as the result of human understanding, which by its nature is subjective. As such, the inner essence of relative space theory is that space is the result of human perception. This becomes highly interesting against
the background of structuralism scholars as Christaller’s, (1933), Innis’ (1933), Mackintosh’s (1956) and others’ seemingly paradoxical theories of peripheries as places suitable for or doomed to certain paths, which from a subjective position can be further valued and assessed.

Relational economic geography underlines the significance of interdependencies between various actors and institutions operating at different geographical scales. In essence, this means that places and their economies evolve not only as a result of local factors, but also as an effect of their links to the wider processes and structures of the division of labor and governance (Hassink et al., 2014). An extension of this reasoning means that the local setting does not have all the answers when it comes to understanding the local. Instead, it seems important to consider the broader institutional perspectives from various scales to understand the interdependencies between different firms and institutions, in order to explain the uneven economic development between regions (Hassink et al., 2014; Martin & Sunley, 2015).

Traditionally, the concept of geographical scale has been comprehended as a hierarchical relationship between different geographical levels: local, regional, national, international and global. Still, this strictly hierarchical notion has also been criticized by researchers who argue for a more horizontal, or flat, ontology angle in order to fully grasp the complex and intertwined relationship between places and scales (MacKinnon, 2011; Moore, 2008; Springer, 2014). Hence, the relationship between various scales could be interpreted as being interconnected to the degree that they cannot be separated in a realistic or constructive manner. These intertwined relations can be exemplified by linking the idea of scale to various labor market segments. Considered from the context of the northern Sweden, the mining industry can be associated with the global scale, as it is associated with multinational companies and external/international ownership structures (Innis, 1933; Chang, 1999; Chang & Huang, 2004).

Tourism, alternatively, can be argued to represent the local scale through its focus on place identity functions and heritage theming (Chang et al., 1996), as well as
local ownership and the use of local resources (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2004). As such, resource extraction can be perceived as relatively exogenous, as external forces largely stimulate the underlying development process. Tourism, instead, could be comprehended as a development process highly based on local needs and initiatives.

The local characteristics of tourism can also be argued based on the fact that tourism businesses in the region are normally small-scale (Lundmark & Müller, 2010; Åberg & Müller 2018). Consequently, the mobility of financial capital associated with these tourism businesses is likely to stay within the region to a significant extent. The mining and forestry companies, on the other hand, which are normally large-scale and externally controlled by global investors, can instead be expected to reinvest their capital outside the region to a significant extent.

Still, the local notion of tourism that derives from the use of local heritage theming could also be applied to mining, for example, whose occurrence in the region goes back hundreds of years. Moreover, even though it is undoubtedly the case that tourism experiences are linked to the local scale through place identity functions, tourism as an industry unquestionably operates on a global scale. Therefore, it should also be understood as a system that connects people and places globally across various imaginary scales through marketing and mobility. Still, from an economic perspective, it might perhaps still be valid to label tourism as relatively local and mining as relatively global.

The important difference between mining and tourism in this context is the economic leakage from the local (the site of production) to other geographical scales. In this way, the level of “scalar belonging” comes to be associated with the extent of economic leakage and to which other scale(s) the leak runs. This way, the seemingly conflicting narratives of a resource/pleasure periphery driven by conflicting economic interests (represented by different labor market segments) can be theoretically linked to networks and processes at different geographical scales.
Then again, even if it seems likely that tourism represents a smaller share of economic leakage than mining, tourism could still be less significant in terms of impact on local/regional economies. As such, mining could be expected to bring about a larger leak compared to tourism, but at the same time might contribute a higher net value due to the local taxation of high-income earners.

**Resource peripheries**

Previous research has concluded that peripheries are places that are suitable as dumping grounds: land use necessities that are generally unwanted in individuals’ vicinities (Lawson, et al., 2010). Natural resource extraction could easily be comprehended as such a dumping ground activity due to the economic, social and environmental controversy surrounding it. Indeed, Epp and Whitson (2001) suggest that dumping ground regions today are part of the global division of labor, wherein disadvantaged peripheral regions become weak actors in new rounds of corporate consolidation involving resource extraction.

Such dumping ground regions, areas with a resource-based economy located on the spatial outskirts of society, are sometimes referred to as “resource hinterlands” or “resource peripheries” (Hanlon & Halseth, 2005). The idea of resource peripheries is known to be demographically dynamic, subject to rapid and dramatic changes in both population size and composition as a result of fluctuating resource commodity markets and changing technologies and labor needs (Carson & Carson, 2011). Other definitions of resource peripheries often include a geographical variable, suggesting that they are distant from both markets and major centers of political and economic power, and are located beyond the rural-urban fringe zones (Nelson & MacKinnon, 2004).

The imagination of northern Sweden as a resource periphery is understandable against the background of the employment in and economic development of the region, which has a historical path dependence upon natural resources (Knobblock & Pettersson, 2010) and a colonial history (Sörlin, 1988). Especially minerals have been of substantial significance in the region’s industrialization, and are considered responsible for continued regional growth (Westin, 2006;
Tano et al., 2016). Arne Müller (2015), a Swedish investigative journalist, argues that this focus on resource extraction has been a curse rather than a blessing for the region, as a majority of the employment, refinement and economic surplus ends up outside the region. Moreover, wealth from resource extraction still features prominently in narratives about the region in the media (Avango et al., 2013). In turn, this has created a somewhat common notion of northern Sweden as a marginalized region that is comprehended as less sophisticated and progressive than its southern counterparts (Eriksson, 2010).

During the last half century, restructuring, rationalization and uncertainty in resource commodity markets have enhanced socio-economic issues such as demographic challenges and out-migration. This rather negative development is understandable under capitalism, since the logic of the free market means that places that fail to adapt will be eliminated. Hence, capital has the tendency to move to places with the highest profit rate, a process Smith (1984) explains as a seesaw movement of capital, which in turn explains the uneven development between places. According to research on labor market restructuring and industry evolution, regions that lack a more diversified labor market, such as resource peripheries, are especially vulnerable within this system (Paniagua, 2002; Fotopoulos & Louri, 2000). Massey (2004) argues that such regions, which are less favored in global processes of restructuring, typically suffer from social and economic issues. Hence, the rise of tourism in marginalized resource peripheries can be seen as an adaptation strategy enforced by a harsh reality.

Still, the development process in which tourism employment growth while employment in primary industries decline should not be comprehended as the end of the resource extractive era. Instead, it becomes a process in which the traditional development narrative is increasingly challenged by alternative paths.

In March 2012, Sweden’s senior official on the Arctic Council, Gustaf Lind, stated that “The Arctic is hot”. This comment did not refer to the warming climate but rather to the burst of commercial and political interest in the region, which in a Swedish context comprises the increasing interest shown by extractive resource
industries (Avango et al., 2013). As such, Lind’s statement serves as a hands-on example of an official policy perception that carries traces of a contemporary resource periphery agenda somewhat in conflict with the broader tourism agenda. Then again, land-use conflicts associated with extractive resource interest seems to be rule rather than exception. For example, Hilson (2002) suggests that no single industry has precipitated more disputes over land use than mining.

**Spatial economic leakage**

Previous studies argue that northern Sweden’s economy has been more or less reliant on an export-led growth based on northern staples such as timber, minerals and energy production, which has largely remained under external control (Westin, 2006). As mentioned, these economic structures can be problematic, as Innis (1933) suggested, while Mackintosh (1953) instead underlined positive spillover effects with included related diversification. In reality, however, this diversification has seldom taken place since linkage to regional industries remained undeveloped, causing a truncated economy under external control (Gunton, 2003; Müller, 2015).

Rather, due to high capital input, extraction companies have normally been large-scale and remained located outside the periphery. In addition, the other stages of the production process, including refinement and research, have rarely reached the periphery as universities and refinement facilities are often placed in core regions (McFarlane et al., 2016). As such, the external control of natural resources in northern Sweden, seized by shareholders elsewhere through the increasingly globalized economy, could theoretically constitute an obstacle for the region. Supposedly, many shareholders and fund investors have no relationship to the region, and are at times unaware that their pension is placed in a Finnish forestry company operating in northern Sweden, for example. Hypothetically, large-scale and externally located companies might enhance the pursuit of profit-making more significantly than a company with regional ties. In turn, intensified profit maximization theoretically increases rationalization processes including
lobbying, research and innovation (McMillan & Rodrik, 2011). As argued, much of the actual employment created within such rationalization processes is normally located in core regions rather than the periphery, which instead is negatively affected by such changes. At the same time, the periphery might not only lose employment due to the actual rationalization, but is also at risk of having “their” local environment transformed into dumping grounds: gravel pits, massive clear-cuts, dried out riverbeds, or a horizon dominated by windmills.

Then again, these high rollers do not only take but also give, as Mackintosh (1953) suggested early on. Infrastructure investments are often a necessity for large-scale projects, which also benefit local communities. Indeed, the work of Jan Lundgren (1982, 1984) clearly indicates that the tourism industry utilizes such infrastructure to make new destinations accessible to tourists. Hence, tourism seems to exploit capital investments motivated by extractive industries to expand spatially into new regions in a process Lundgren (1995, p. 22) describes as “space penetration”.

**Pleasure peripheries**

The Specialization Theory by Adam Smith (1776) argues that a division of labor will increase the economic surplus that drives the capitalist system. This understanding, in combination with an increasingly globalized economy, has resulted in a new international division of labor (Cutrini & Valentini, 2017). Therefore, specialization and globalization have caused new patterns of geographical specialization in which places play different roles (Amiti, 1999). As such, Smith’s insight can arguably be said to be a cornerstone for anyone trying to comprehend the spatial division of labor, including tourism. Also, the awareness of peripheries as places suitable for tourism can be traced back to Christaller’s (1964) conclusion that tourists are drawn to peripheries. In addition, Christaller also suggests that peripheries are suitable places for tourism development due to the different characteristics between core and peripheral regions. More specifically, the author underlines the relatively pristine nature as such a resource. As such, Christaller argues that the actual contrast between cores
and peripheries, which includes notions of nature, may indeed be a resource that the tourism industry could exploit. Later, Turner & Ash (1975) proposed that tourists are dedicated to pursuing pleasure. Joining these insights, the notion of a pleasure periphery for touristic purposes arises.

In contrast to the idea of “dumping grounds” previously discussed in relation to resource peripheries, pleasure peripheries can instead be linked to the idea of “playgrounds” (Lawson et al., 2010). Indeed, some peripheral communities engage with, and successfully undergo, restructuring as “playgrounds” for the middle and wealthy classes by attracting new investments in tourism (Beyers & Nelson, 2000).

In essence, the notion of a playground or pleasure periphery becomes an expression of desirable development paths that can be traced to the tourism industry through touristic profit maximization calculations. As such, this process of creating a pleasure periphery includes a spatial narrative associated with land use (e.g. the conservation of natural environments), which obviously challenges the more traditional “story” associated with the resource periphery narrative.

In this thesis, the term pleasure periphery is applied as an analytical concept to describe the dominant touristic development narrative on the spatial outskirts of northern Sweden. In this context, the pleasure periphery comes to be associated with the natural (conserved) landscape and nature-based tourism products such as hiking, skiing, fishing, snowmobile tours, dogsledding and Aurora Borealis chasing. Indeed, the broader imagination of northern Fennoscandia has previously been described as that of a “wilderness area” (Saarinen, 2004, 2012, 2016). This narrative makes sense, as a majority of tourism operators in the region offer a nature-based tourism product (Müller, 2011). Moreover, narratives and storytelling leading to social constructions (Sæþórsdóttir et al., 2011), which are further sustained by the tourists themselves (Sæþórsdóttir & Saarinen, 2016), have previously explained the notion of a perceived northern wilderness.

The Swedish state has supported this wilderness narrative, one could argue, by designating areas as national parks and nature reserves, which have partly been
designed for touristic/recreational purposes (Sandell, 2005). From this angle, one could suggest that national parks become the “crown jewel” of the pleasure periphery landscape, as such sceneries are under strong legal protection and are often communicated in touristic place marketing campaigns. Significant tourism spending around national parks in central Sweden suggests that the product is selling increasingly well (Fredman & Yuan, 2011). However, the sometimes assumed positive nexus between protected areas and tourism employment has been questioned in northern Sweden (Lundmark et al. 2010), and could therefore be seen as another example of how tourism fails to live up to expectations in more peripheral settings (Hall, 2007). However, national parks and nature reserves are still considered vital in regional tourism marketing schemes that tend to mimic the narrative of a wilderness area, with a focus on natural environments and nature-based tourism activities. Such touristic notions of a pleasure periphery are also dominant at the national level, which is obvious to anyone visiting the Swedish official marketing platform visitsweden.com.

**Tourism in resource peripheries**

The concept of path dependence is important when considering the establishment/introduction of new industries. One could argue that this is especially vital in regard to new industries that are considerably different from the traditional ones. The growth of tourism in remote peripheries that have traditionally relied on natural resource extraction can be regarded as such a scenario (Carson & Carson, 2017). Indeed, the rise of tourism in so-called resource peripheries is normally introduced as a new economic activity at times when the traditional primary industries are declining. As such, a transition into tourism in such settings can be comprehended as an adaptation strategy at times when economic diversification is urgently desired (Müller, 2013).

Still, the scientific interest in path dependence in relation to labor market transition from extractive resource industries to tourism has been rather low. Indeed, previous research has also stressed this disregard of history, which means that various structural, political, institutional and socio-cultural legacies of
resource-based economies on touristic development paths might be overlooked (Schmallegger et al., 2011; Carson & Carson, 2011; Brouder & Eriksson, 2013).

Obviously, tourism development in remote, sparsely populated areas such as northern Sweden is subject to a distinct development framework that constrains or steers various development paths. This includes specific peripheral characteristics, such as small-scale businesses located distant to markets and decision-makers and with a dependence on external capital (Hall, 2007; Müller & Jansson, 2006). As such, the preconditions for tourism development in peripheries differ from those in areas with less peripheral characteristics. Hence, historical institutional legacies are likely to create a form of path creation that influences the economic development of peripheries. This may also have an impact on the processes of tourism development and thus influence the adaptability of local/regional tourism systems (Carson & Carson, 2017). The concepts of adaptive capacity and resilience relates to this. These two concepts incorporate the capacity of places, systems, institutions and humans to adjust to potential damage, to take advantage of opportunities, as well as to respond to various consequences (Folke et al., 2002; Smit & Wandel, 2006; Gallopín, 2006).

The touristic development narrative

The proposal of a core preference or bias within development discourses is valid, and therefore requires more analytically penetrative ambitions (Shearmur, 2012; De Souza, 2017). With that said, however, it must be stressed that the core-periphery metaphor that reoccurs throughout this work is also continuously criticized for being too simplistic as an account of the complexity of distinguished development paths. Indeed, places with descriptions or labels such as economically challenged, deprived or weak also exist in so-called core regions and, correspondingly, economically dynamic and innovative places can be found in more peripheral settings (Polèse & Shearmur, 2006; Eskelinen & Fritsch, 2006). This is also true of northern Sweden, of course, which includes a number of localities with overlapping/interconnected labor markets, which can be described as more or less successful or dynamic. Indeed, regional urban centers
such as Umeå, Luleå and Östersund has fairly broad labor markets which also becomes a pull-factor.

Highly developed ski resorts are sometimes offered as positive examples of labor market adaptation in more rural parts of northern Sweden (Nilsson, 2001). This is interesting, as such destinations are normally relatively disconnected from the broader regional economy while at the same time they can be regarded as an antithesis to the region’s resource-based history. The idea of positive development linked to the notion of tourism built on external markets could perhaps also be questioned, as very few places have the proper preconditions for such a development process.

Moreover, as previously argued, the notion of a northern pleasure periphery comes to be associated with the “natural” landscape, while a mine or tree plantation becomes something else; something artificial or industrial. As such, the current industrial labor market segments of the region, sprung out of a path dependence on an export-led growth based on natural resources, do not fit the current touristic development narrative. Tensions arise as the touristic space to some extent overlaps with the industrial layer. Therefore, the transition through which tourism takes employment shares from mining, forestry and energy production has not been without its problems. In fact, tourism in this region is to some extent perceived as a land use competitor of the traditional resource industries, rather than a labor market complement (Müller, 2016). The existence of overlapping resource extractive and touristic spaces means that spatial planning becomes important for facilitating various sorts of development processes, rather than just the dominant one. Indeed, a current study from Iceland highlights this issue, arguing that tourism operators perceive energy production as a negative land use competitor and therefore suggesting improved spatial planning to better handle the situation of overlapping resource extractive/touristic spaces (Sæþórsdóttir & Hall, 2019).

In place marketing promotions, especially those targeted at potential tourists, northern Sweden is commonly portrayed in images of natural landscapes,
including national parks. Related to this is the rather common notion of a nexus between “untouched nature” and economic growth through tourism spending. Hence, the driving force behind nature conservation not only incorporates notions of environmental protection for the sake of nature but also hopes for economic income. The idea that national parks will lead to economic income likely derives from meta-like studies in relatively densely populated parts of North America (Panayotou, 2016) and continental Europe (Mayer, 2014). Such a positive relationship has also been identified in central Sweden (Fredman & Yuan, 2011), while at the same time being questioned in the sparsely populated north (Lundmark et al., 2010). By looking into the impact of national parks on tourism employment, this study hopes to further investigate the extent to which the idea of a nexus between nature conservation and tourism employment is just another example of a notion attained through data collection in core regions before being presented as a “reality” in more peripheral locations.

Moreover, since a majority of the regional tourism entrepreneurs seem to capitalize on the idea of a “wilderness” (Saarinen, 2012; Sæþórsdóttir et al., 2011; Lundmark et al., 2014; Müller, 2011), they also (re)produce such a touristic narrative which over time has also become the dominant touristic narrative. As such, one could argue that the nature-based tourism businesses in the region have “kidnaped” the touristic notion of northern Sweden. In turn, such a dominant narrative will then reinforce various ideas of a conflict between tourism and the extractive resource industries, irrespective of whether or not this is applicable. As such, it can be argued that tourism advocates produce a rather dualistic embossed narrative without nuances. It is therefore important to emphasize that tourism products also evolve out of the established resource industries through regional path dependence.

**Touristic path creation and location**

Mining tourism is a rather “new” phenomenon in northern Sweden, and can be seen as a hybrid of skills/knowledge that originates from both mining and tourism. From a dialectical point of view, this form of tourism can be seen as a
sort of knowledge/path creation and thus be comprehended as a “logical” or “natural” process of thesis (mining), antithesis (tourism) and synthesis (mining tourism). As such, these regional skills and their merging and outcome are comprehended as an evolutionary labor market process. From this outlook, mining tourism becomes a product that blurs the distinction between the imaginary resource/pleasure peripheries. Hence, the dialectic approach to mining tourism differs from the alternative dualistic perception as it comprehends mining tourism as a unity of opposites, rather than simply an expression of opposites.

Through this relational perspective, which recognizes the importance of path dependence, the location of tourism is also considered. Based on previous research by Jan Lundgren (1982, 1988, 1995) conducted in Canada as well as the Swedish, it is argued that mining, as well as energy production, becomes a mandatory precondition for tourism development through the infrastructure it motivates. From this angle, extractive resource industries become a necessity for tourism development since accessibility is a necessity for tourism. Nevertheless, this relational circumstance can be regarded as an unholy alliance as the various landscapes they are associated with can be seen as each other’s opposites. Thus, the tourism industry can be comprehended as a land use competitor of regional extractive resource industries, while at the same time forming a development symbiosis. This link, which tourism agents seem to have a hard time recognizing (Müller, 2011), becomes evident when one considers the location of tourism destinations in so-called resource peripheries. Therefore, tourism hotspots in northern Sweden can be assumed to be located along transportation nodes financially motivated by mining, forestry and/or energy production.

Still, the argued conflict between tourism and extractive resource industries makes perfect sense, as landscape production is contested terrain. Therefore, it is partly comprehended as a conflicting process based on different ideas regarding the desirable utilization of natural resources, leading to diverse notions of preferred land use. Various land use positions are in turn seen as an expression of value-based landscape perceptions that can be furthered explained by social
exchange theory, an approach developed for the study of groups (Emerson, 1976) that argues that human relationships are formed through the use of a subjective cost-benefit analysis and the comparison of alternatives (Stafford, 2008).

Tourism based on pristine nature and a touristic wilderness, i.e. the major attraction of the region, lures visitors to the North. As such, the touristic wilderness becomes a precondition even for other tourism forms, which come to be complementary activities to nature-based tourism. An extension of this reasoning explains the rise of mining tourism in the Swedish North as a development involving three crucial steps: Firstly (i), mineral extraction, as this process introduces mining skills (an ingredient in mining tourism), creates a tourist attraction (a mine) and makes the region accessible to tourists (mining-motivated infrastructure utilized by tourism); Secondly (ii), nature-based tourism destinations emerge along the transportation nodes initially financed for extractive purposes; Finally (iii), tourism skills built around nature-based tourism are introduced to the mine (i.e. knowledge transfer) and the mine develops into a tourist attraction (path creation), side-by-side with the economic core activity, or in abandoned mines as a form of industrial heritage tourism. As such, mining tourism becomes a rather logical form of knowledge creation in mining communities with an established and spatially overlapping tourism sector. From this angle, one could argue that such tourism and mining skills are doomed to eventually merge when located in close proximity.
Methodology

The theoretical point of departure is the idea of an ever-present change being the fundamental essence of societal development; a notion suggesting that there is no fixed point, no stable or deterministic base for any society or region. From this angle, “development” is understood as a continuous evolutionary process in which any observation comes to be related/influenced by both location and time. This viewpoint means that tourism development is comprehended as spatially and historically intertwined with other occurrences within a region, including other segments of the labor market. Hence, this thesis also rejects dualistic ideas of tourism as a paradoxical counterpart to other segments of the labor market. Instead, this work embraces such seemingly contradictory perceptions as the unity of opposites.

This dialectical thinking process suggests that we can only see the absolute or the totality through a process of resolving opposing ideas: a line of thinking that can be traced back to Hegel’s metaphysics (1817), recognizing that change is shaped by time and arguing that societal development is driven by intrinsic conflicts (Jameson, 2009) whereby clashes between thesis and antithesis lead to a synthesis that constitutes the foundation for the next conflict (Mueller, 1958).

From this outlook, this work understands the notion of development as a process built on opposing ideas of desired development that over time (re)produces a certain “track” or “path”. According to path dependence theory, the current development path for any given place is influenced by previous decisions (Fuchs & Shapira, 2005), which thus becomes a sort of lock-in effect, for better or worse (Hassink, 2005). Thus, this thesis applies a spatial analytical framework that adapts the Schumpeterian standpoint that knowledge and innovation drive economic evolution, since knowledge within firms and individuals is constantly being created and is not a pre-given factor (Schumpeter, 1942), as is often argued in endogenous growth theory.
Inspired by these notions of change, this thesis approaches “development” by focusing upon the tourism industry’s role as a transit industry as well as the evolutionary interrelationship between the extractive resource industries and the tourism industry in a peripheral setting. These interrelationships, which at times appear to be conflicting, are essentially comprehended as a unit in motion, with the paradoxes creating a sort of consensus within a field of tension.

Derived from this reasoning is the selection of a multiple methodology in order to better comprehend the dualistic contradictions that form the unity of opposites. Hence, the methodology extracted from the research questions also rests upon a dialectic development framework to better capture the totality, rather than just the dualistic paradoxes that together form this unity.

Therefore, the general design of this study is a sequential multiple methodology. In essence, this means that a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods is employed to attain a broader understanding (Greene, 2008). Papers I and III rely on both quantitative and qualitative methods and Paper II is strictly quantitative, while Paper IV is more of a theoretical nature.

**Multiple methodology**

Previous research has concluded that an integration of quantitative and qualitative methods within the social sciences could be crucial in order to better comprehend the primary purpose of the study (Doyle et al., 2009; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2008). As the primary purpose of this study derives from the research questions, which in turn requires that different data collections be answered, the selection of a multiple methodology was perhaps more a deterministic logical consequence than a simple choice among other alternatives.

In addition, the individual papers and their somewhat different methodologies are not themselves dependent on the other parts. Hence, the separate papers could be ordered differently than they are in this thesis. Indeed, the papers are not ordered chronologically in regard to when they were produced (conducted) in time, but rather as a reasonable sequence in regard to the final product. In the
end, the current order of the individual papers can therefore be comprehended as an outcome of the ambition to divide this thesis into two parts for pedagogical purposes. As such, Papers I and II consider the rise of tourism and its seemingly contradictory relationship with other land-use interests. Papers III & IV, on the other hand, focus more on the intertwined relationship between tourism and other segments of the labor market that spatially and historically overlap in Northern Sweden.

Still, even though the individual papers can be seen as somewhat detached, they also constitute an intertwined story as various findings and premises within the separate studies are also compared and contested against each other to achieve a more total or absolute understanding of tourism development in a resource periphery.

Much of the actual data is of a descriptive nature. This sort of data is selected and used to illustrate various developments and/or preconditions, and thus functions as a descriptive foundation for continuous analysis. How and why the actual data was selected is further discussed below as well as in the individual papers.

**Quantitative data**

Paper I relies on official documents and descriptive statistics to illustrate the broader development, planning and governance of tourism in a setting traditionally dominated by resource extraction. As such, this paper discusses how spatial planning at different geographical levels has been applied in various ways to ‘handle’ the rise of tourism in such a setting. Still, this rather bombastic ambition to explain the current situation through historical processes should also be critically assessed, as such an approach naturally involves various considerations, selections and limitations. Or in other words, it must be stressed that it is challenging to assess and value the impact or importance of various historical decisions.

Paper II is based strictly on quantitative longitudinal and geo-referenced data in an aim to understand the labor market impacts of environmental protection. The
actual level of tourism employment has been analyzed through the use of buffer zones centered on the workplace to illustrate spatial variations. In essence, this means that a spatial analysis has been conducted in order to identify variations in tourism employment at different locations and in different periods. As such, this paper explains the local impact of environmental protection on tourism employment in the context of peripheral Fennoscandia. With that said, however, it should not be taken as a general principle in regard to environmental protection in other regions with peripheral characteristics.

**Qualitative data**

Paper III, which addresses mining tourism, is mainly based on interviews with so-called key respondents representing various labor market interests. To identify spatial differences, three different study locations have been included: Kiruna, Pajala and Jokkmokk, three communities in Norrbotten County. These three localities were selected because they are all regarded as peripheral settings as well as have an ongoing mining discourse. Kiruna is the established mining community, with a strong dependence upon the local mining company. Pajala is a rather newly established mining community, while Jokkmokk is a potential mining community as significant ore deposits have been found here. Moreover, descriptive visitor data provided by a mining company supplements the interview findings with descriptive longitudinal data on mining visits (ordinary tourists) in Kiruna.

There are several methodological limitations to this study. Firstly, a greater amount of visitor data for several mines would have been fruitful for understanding the diverse development progresses of mining tourism at the spatial level. However, collecting data from mining companies turned out to be problematic, as some were not interested in taking part in the study while others did not have reliable data, or had data sets that combined technical visitors with traditional tourists. It would also have been beneficial to include mining company representatives among the respondents. This turned out to be challenging as well, with only one of the mining companies agreeing to participate. As a result, their
voice is not included in this study. Additionally, several respondents declined to answer questions related to mining companies’ influence over local/regional development issues, suggesting that this is perceived as a sensitive topic.

**Secondary data**

Paper IV, which considers the location of tourism in resource peripheries, is a qualitative systematic review that derives data from previous observations and studies. Here, the theoretical point of departure is based on previous research conducted by Jan Lundgren (1995), who argues that tourism has ‘piggybacked’ on infrastructure investments linked to extractive resource industries.

This idea, which is much in line with Mackintosh’s (1956) development theory, is further assessed against the location of four different tourism destinations in northern Sweden. The selection of these four destinations derives partly from a spatial outlook to include a broader and more diverse regional perspective. In addition, the individual cases also represent different destinations in terms of touristic profile.

**Ethical considerations**

According to the Swedish Science Council, research ethical considerations largely concern finding a reasonable balance between various legitimate interests (Hermerén, 2011). The interest in knowledge is one of these, while interests in privacy and protection against various forms of injury and the risk of injury are other examples.

The empirical data upon which this thesis is built consists partly of visitor statistics and data on touristic employment. Behind these numbers are real individuals – ordinary tourists and tourism entrepreneurs/employees. Still, all visitor statistics (Papers I, II and III) are anonymous beforehand, which in turn minimizes the risk of connecting data to specific individuals.
Moreover, Paper III involves interviews with so-called key respondents. These respondents are perceived as key individuals due to their function as representatives of various labor market segments. As such, the interviewees are comprehended as functions rather than persons, and have therefore been kept anonymous. Furthermore, this means that some potential ethical issues have been avoided. In addition, the guarantee to keep these respondents anonymous can also be seen as positive from a data collection viewpoint due to the somewhat controversial nature of the research topic.

The main controversy identified in this study, as suggested above, is linked to Paper III and the mining industry. Although the respondents in this paper were assured anonymity, some respondents still declined to answer some questions related to regional mining companies. Yet, the actual impact of this caution remains unknown. Perhaps such caution is nothing more than an expression of a more general anxiety in regard to sensitive topics at large. Or, it might be the result of a more legitimate fear of ‘bad standing’ in relation to powerful regional actors.

The sensitive nature of mining in this setting is possibly further illustrated in the unwillingness of regional mining companies to participate in this study. Some claimed they did not have time, while others had no interest in taking part in the study. Again, we can only speculate as to the reasons behind this disinterest.

The setting

Northern Sweden, commonly referred to as Norrland, is the northernmost and largest of Sweden’s three lands. It is a sparsely populated area that stretches from the boreal forests of central Sweden to the arctic tundra north of the Arctic Circle, and covers an area roughly the size of the UK. Still, while the UK has a population density at about 268 inhabitants/km², Northern Sweden has roughly 4.7 inhabitants/km², making it one of the most sparsely populated regions in Europe.

The historian Sverker Sörlin (1988) has previously described the societal development of northern Sweden as a colonial process aimed at taking control
over natural resources. Indeed, mineral extraction, forestry and energy production are said to have been of significant importance for the industrialization of the region (Westin, 2000; Knobblock & Pettersson, 2010; Keskitalo, 2019). As part of this development process, which took off during the 17th century, Northern Sweden experienced population growth. This growth was especially rapid between the 1870s and the 1950s (Håkansson, 2000), thus coinciding with the era normally referred to as “the second industrial revolution” (Mokyr, 1998). In light of this development, which involved a clear focus on resource extraction that in turn industrialized the region and created significant in-migration, the narrative or imagination of a “resource periphery” or “dumping ground region” is rather fair.

During this second industrial revolution, however, the Swedish welfare state also developed, which involved increasing incomes and labor market rights as well as growing numbers of individuals experiencing meaningful leisure time (Bohlin et al., 2014). In the 1930s, the emergence of the welfare state resulted in the first paid vacation rights for the broader public. In turn, this created a need for large-scale planning in regard to tourism. Moreover, this development also included the need for recreational spaces, and the idea of a northern pleasure periphery started to emerge.

Tourism as a broader mass activity, however, continued to develop as the welfare state proceeded to grow. At the same time, the economy was becoming increasingly globalized, which began to have a negative impact on the traditional extractive industries due to worldwide competition and rationalization processes (Bohlin et al., 2014). As a result, the positive population growth in Northern Sweden stagnated around the 1950s and has continued to slightly decline ever since (Aronsson et al., 2001).
Figure 2. Population trend for the four northernmost counties of Jämtland, Västernorrland, Västerbotten and Norrbotten (Statistics Sweden, 2019a).

The depopulation trend might appear to be a rather undramatic stagnation when the combined regional-population trend is illustrated in a figure. Still, this is largely due to significant internal regional migration, which tends to mimic the broader urbanization trend in the global north (Sandow, 2008). When one instead considers population trends at the municipal level, it becomes evident that a handful of coastal cities are continuing to grow while several inland municipalities have lost around 40% of their population since the 1970s (Statistic Sweden, 2019b).

Hence, this depopulation trend that first occurred during the 1960s can indeed be comprehended as a development setback for the region as a whole. However, other development processes, such the right to a certain minimum of paid vacation having been continuous and today being five weeks or 25 days annually for individuals employed full-time, are also an undisputed reality. Thus, this positive leisure-oriented process in combination with the industrial setback (and out-migration process) has most likely strengthened the tourism industry’s
relative position in northern Sweden. Therefore, it is also reasonable to interpret this relative shift towards tourism as an adaptation process in an increasingly globalized economy characterized by place-bound completion.

Moreover, the National Physical Planning Act, implemented during the 1960s and designating the northern Swedish part of the Fennoscandian mountain range a Continuous Mountain Area (SOU 1971:75), prohibited natural resource extraction as well as any other “invasive” activities. This planning paradigm can therefore be perceived as conservative in the sense that it aims to conserve the natural landscape by hindering other activities. Then again, from another horizon it might appear as a modern or up-to-date planning act that aims at facilitating a smooth transition into tourism, which then becomes a newer and more “progressive” way of utilizing natural resources. Later, in 1989 and 1999, this “progressive” planning paradigm was further strengthened through the designation of the mountainous area as a space of national interest for nature conservation and outdoor recreation (SOU 1989:61).

Whether or not these planning acts are to be considered “conservative” or “progressive” continues to be disputed. What is clear, however, is that they involve a much stricter development framework and thus offer fewer options. Lundmark & Stjernström (2009) argue that this has resulted in concerns in populated mountain valleys, including local tourism operators. Still, some forms of tourism, such as nature-based tourism, have likely experienced certain positive effects as the planning acts fit such tourism products. In addition, the disqualification of competing land-use interests (e.g. mines or windmills) could also be comprehended as a competitive advantage.

Obviously, the rural and peripheral characteristics of Northern Sweden have been somewhat problematic in a time associated with the urbanization process and a new economic reality, with jobs normally being created in so-called core regions. Still, being such a huge region, northern Sweden also contains islands of population growth and capital accumulation, in an ocean otherwise characterized by a negative discourse of decline (Carson et al., 2017). These “growth grounds”
include a handful of coastal cities and towns, with the growth normally explained by “economic doping” through publicly funded universities, hospitals and other public bodies. In addition, there are a few ski-resort destinations (e.g. “playgrounds”) in the mountain range that have also managed to show positive population figures in recent decades.

**Study area and time frame**

The four individual papers can be argued to address local development issues, as the various cases in this thesis can indeed be comprehended as representing the local/municipal scale. Then again, as these case studies all occur within the greater region of northern Sweden, this thesis could also be argued to address development processes at the regional scale. More specifically, the settings addressed in the individual papers are all located in the inland of northern Sweden, which also happens to be the most “peripheral” area within the region.

The concept of path dependence (time) is central in this work, as tourism development is comprehended as an evolutionary process intertwined with the region’s past. Therefore, historical processes are also seen as a central explanatory variable. As a consequence, Paper I considers the origin of tourism in Northern Sweden in regard to spatial planning and governance. Paper II, which addresses the labor market impacts of protected areas, is also longitudinal in its character as the data considers the development between 1990 and 2010. This time frame was selected because the early 1990s involved a new era, with changed preconditions in tourism development due to several reasons. The fall of the Berlin Wall, the expansion of the European Union, and the increasingly globalized economy are some important factors associated with this period. These changes all involved newfound place competition, but also newly introduced tourism-generating regions. In addition, the economic crisis around this time likely rushed structural change, which also incorporated newfound expectations on tourism.

Paper III, which deals with mining tourism, relates to the region’s history, as the incubation of mining tourism is seen as a process explained by time, location and
the proximity of various skills. In a similar manner, Paper IV understands the location of current tourism destinations as the outcome of previous infrastructure investments financed by extractive purposes.

**Combined analysis**

As previously argued, the individual papers can be comprehended as somewhat independent of/detached from each other. Still, when they are compared and contested against each other in regard to Innis’ (1933) and Mackintosh’s (1956) rather paradoxical development theories, some interesting unities can be found.

Thus, Papers I and II can be said to underline some of the challenging preconditions in regard to tourism development in a peripheral setting. This is done partly by highlighting the seemingly challenging contradictions between tourism and extractive interests. As such, Papers I and II also recognize the Innisian notion of negative lock-in effect associated with the region’s history.

Papers III and IV, on the other hand, highlight the positive interrelationship between resource extraction and tourism development. In Paper III this is done in relation to new touristic products, while Paper IV considers the location of tourism in a resource periphery. As such, Papers III and IV can also be argued to support the development theory associated with Mackintosh (1956), which is generally perceived as the antithesis to Innis’ (1933).

Such conclusions can indeed be seen as contradictory. Further, contradictory findings can be associated with notions of unclearness that in turn could be perceived as a sort of scientific failure. However, the Hegelian notion of change as a process built on opposing ideas that over time produces a certain “path” embraces such contradictions as the unity of opposites. From this angle, the fact that the different papers move in different theoretical directions can be seen as a logical outcome explained by the research questions rather than a paradoxical problem.
Main findings

As previously argued, local/regional tensions arise in regard to land use as the labor market transforms. Still, the premise of “change for the better” is likely an initial common ground. Then again, the notion of “better” likely varies between different labor market segments. As such, the core of the perceived conflict exists within the overlapping spaces of the regional labor market in which touristic spaces to some extent overlap with the industrial layer. Therefore, a co-existence between extractive industries and tourism requires actions that regulate land use through spatial planning.

The rise of tourism in Northern Sweden occurred around the mid-19th century, but was not accessible to the wider working class. Instead, it was picked up by a relatively exclusive part of the population that both could afford and had the possibility to take part in touristic activities. Tourism as a broader mass activity, however, emerged later as the welfare state developed, with increasing incomes and labor market rights as well as growing numbers of individuals experiencing meaningful leisure time (Bohlin et al., 2014). The first paid vacation rights in Sweden, introduced in the late 1930s, stated that workers were to have two weeks’ paid vacation annually. Today, an individual employed full-time has the right to a minimum of five weeks’ or 25 days’ paid vacation annually. Hence, the expansion of the welfare state created a need for large-scale spatial planning in regard to tourism.


Paper I, which engages with the rise of tourism in a setting traditionally dominated by extractive resource industries, also serves as an introduction to tourism development in northern Sweden. As such, it addresses the history, planning and governance of mainly nature-based tourism in a setting where touristic spaces overlap with other economic interests. Hence, the question asked
is how the process of tourism development in northern Sweden has proceeded in relation to the region’s resource extractive history.

To answer this question, a policy and literature review was conducted. The results of this review show that the Swedish approach, along with that in a number of Western countries, evolved towards a system of comprehensive planning at various administrative scales during the 1960s and 1970s (Albrechts, 2004). As part of this process, and of particular interest in the context of this thesis, the Swedish Government implemented the National Spatial Planning in the 1960s, in which the Swedish part of the Fennoscandian mountain range was designated a Continuous Mountain Area (SOU 1971:75). In this declaration, natural resource exploitation, infrastructural investments, private investments and second homes, along with a number of other “invasive” activities, were largely prohibited. Later, in 1987, the mountain area was declared an area of national interest for nature conservation and outdoor recreation. During the establishment phase, this planning approach was particularly disputed in relation to populated mountain valleys and the tourism industry interests, which feared that an emphasis on conservation and prohibition would be a threat to local commercial interests (Lundmark & Stjernström 2009). More specifically, local inhabitants feared that an overly general restriction would cause future problems for investments in ski facilities, second homes, snowmobile trails and other forms of touristic infrastructure.

Moreover, the National Spatial Planning approach governs touristic development not only through the implementation of the Continuous Mountain Area and various outdoor recreation aspirations, but also in relation to other forms of land use such as reindeer herding and mining. Indeed, such land-use interests have spatially overlapped with touristic spaces, which has repeatedly entailed conflicts over which interests are to be considered primarily and secondly. In addition, different land-use interests are normally organized under different government departments, which at times drive conflicting agendas. Therefore, planners are now expected to protect for regional sustainable growth, which involves an economic growth dimension that is somewhat in conflict with the conservation
agenda (Müller, 2013). This rather contradictory element within spatial planning likely finds its explanation in the opposing perceptions of what this region is, and should be.

In addition, various agents with an interest in land use apply tactics and form alliances in order to influence the planning process in their favor. In the case of a proposed national park in northern Sweden, it has been shown that Sami reindeer herders and so-called “environmentalists” joined forces in order to argue for a national park, while forest owners and the mining industry were the potential winners in the case of abandoned implementation plans (Müller, 2013). Indeed, such conflicting positions in regard to land use can easily be comprehended as a hands-on example of conflicting development ideals. In turn, such opposing notions of these types of development processes can further be linked to the different narratives of the region: the idea of a pleasure periphery associated with tourism and nature conservation on the one hand, and the idea of a resource periphery for extractive purposes on the other.

Obviously, the idea or imagination of the North and the northerners themselves plays a part in the process of spatial planning. As such, it is also evident that some segments of the labor market “fit” this spatial narrative better than others. Consequently, the spatial planning of especially the northern mountainous region has been beneficial for nature-based tourism, while functioning as a drawback for resource extractive interests.

**Paper II: Tourism Labor Market Impacts of National Parks: The Case of Swedish Lapland**

Paper II considers the economic impact of environmental protection, measuring longitudinal data on tourism employment in so-called gateway communities to national parks and nature reserves. The question asked is whether environmental protection contributes to tourism employment. In turn, this question derives from previous studies in more densely populated areas in continental Europe (Waltering, 2012; Mayer & Job, 2014) that seem to suggest that national parks in particular appear to have a positive impact on tourism spending. Moreover,
previous studies from a national park in central Sweden suggest a similar positive relationship between environmental protection and tourism spending (Fredman & Yuan, 2011).

The hypothesis here, however, is that such a positive nexus between environmental protection and economic income is built upon a core-region bias that might not be valid in settings that are more peripheral in their characteristics. This, in turn, could be of central importance for tourism development in places like the northern Sweden due to the fact that environmental protection is believed to attract visitors, with no data to fully support such a claim. In fact, one of the few studies to actually consider the economic impact of environmental protection in northern Sweden questions the presumed positive relationship in such a peripheral setting (Lundmark et al., 2009).

However it may be, expectations on nature-based tourism seem to endure in northern Sweden, even though previous research has warned that this type of tourism might fail to live up to expectations in more peripheral settings (Hall, 2007). Such a failure in regard to development driven by tourism based on environmental protection becomes rather likely in the context of remote localities in northern Sweden, as the findings in this study question any proposed positive trends in relation to tourism employment. Instead, this study argues that growth in the tourism sector is in fact associated with proximity to skiing facilities. In turn, ski resorts could easily be perceived as the counterpart to environmental protection: one being “natural” and linked to stagnation while the other becomes “artificial” and associated with growth.

**Paper III: Mines, Tourism and Related Diversification in the Swedish Far North**

Paper III examines the phenomenon of mining tourism in northern Sweden. The research question asks how mining tourism can be comprehended and whether this tourism product constitutes a threat to the broader tourism industry of the region.
The approach involved conducting a qualitative study in which so-called key respondents representing municipal officials, hotel managers, nature-based tourism operators and reindeer herders were interviewed.

The notion that mining tourism can actually be a threat to tourism while simultaneously being a form of tourism derives from the dominant position of nature-based tourism advocates, who seem to perceive mines as a land-use competitor rather than a complement. As such, mining tourism is seen as problematic as it is believed to justify mines as a form of land use through its location to such sites. Hence, the industrial location in combination with mining companies acting as tour operators is perceived by some as a challenge that (re)produces a narrative of a resource periphery. Nature-based tourism advocates, on the other hand, produce an alternative account, namely the notion of a pleasure periphery associated with a more “natural” landscape.

With that said, however, this paper comprehends mining tourism as the outcome of a historical path dependence upon mining in combination with an established tourism sector. As these different components (mining and tourism) are located in close proximity, they are also destined to eventually merge. As such, mining tourism can be understood as the result of the local/regional knowledge base and thus a logical form of path creation.

However, the merging of these two skills can still be regarded as something of a paradox due to the different landscapes they are associated with. As such, various attitudes towards mining tourism could be understood as an expression of landscape perception. In turn, various landscape perceptions are analyzed through social exchange theory, which proposes that individuals’ attitudes about and subsequent level of support for various developments will be influenced by their evaluation of the outcomes for themselves and their community.

In conclusion, this study suggests that mining tourism is a logical outcome of the knowledge base found at mining communities with an established tourism sector. Still, it is not recognized as a tourism product by the broader tourism industry due to its location to an industrial site. Moreover, the apparent problem
associated with industrial characteristics seems to suggest that touristic spaces in this region are to some degree associated with the “natural” environment, or at least not “industrial” environments.

**Paper IV: Tourism and Space Penetration: Touristic Utilization of Resource-based Infrastructure**

The question here is how the location of tourism destinations in so-called resource peripheries can be understood. As such, Paper IV focuses on the location of tourism destinations in relation to infrastructure projects motivated by extractive purposes in northern Sweden.

The approach is to analyze secondary data on the location of tourism, as well as in relation to the infrastructure associated with these destinations.

The theoretical point of departure is the Mackintoshian suggestion that resource-based economies contribute to the broader idea of development through infrastructure projects (Mackintosh, 1956). Such a suggestion can indeed be seen as the antithesis to the argument by Innis (1933) and others that resource peripheries lead to economic leakage and thus a marginalized development curve.

Moreover, previous studies by Lundgren (1982, 1984) imply that the tourism industry indeed utilizes infrastructure initially intended for other purposes to expand into new regions. Lundgren (1995) labels this touristic free ride “space penetration” and thus supports Mackintosh’s suggestion of a positive nexus between natural resource extraction and tourism development in peripheries.

In this paper, the notion of such a positive relationship is further investigated by considering four destinations with different characteristics in Northern Sweden. More specifically, the paper considers why these destinations were first made accessible. This consideration is in turn comprehended as central when studying the development of tourism, as accessibility serves as a precondition for tourism, which depends on the mobility of individuals. As such, the production of accessibility is also recognized as a key aspect of tourism development regardless
of why such investments were made, and of who was initially responsible for them. An extension of this reasoning is that extractive resource companies in northern Sweden are in fact (unintentionally) creating the foundation for touristic spaces and thus come to be a co-producer in the shift towards a pleasure periphery.

Hence, this study also argues that resource extraction is a precondition for touristic spaces in northern Sweden. As such, the paper also supports the Mackintoshian notion of a positive nexus between resource extraction and “development” in its wider sense, by exemplifying the processes behind the expansion of touristic spaces and the location of tourism destinations in northern Sweden.

**General conclusions**

In essence, this thesis tackles the intertwined relationship between tourism development and resource extraction in northern Sweden. However, these suggested interrelationships are often disregarded as the tourism industries relations to other land-use interests are frequently portrayed in dualistic terms, with the attention instead on differences or deviation. The “othering” in this context comes to be associated with land use and the different spaces produced by various stakeholders. Traditionally, northern Sweden has been seen as a natural resource periphery for extractive purposes. Tensions arise as tourism advocates promote the production of pleasure periphery for touristic purposes. The idea of a conflict between “the old” and “the new” is therefore understandable, as various labor market segments profit from different forms of land use. Still, the labor market restructuring process is a continuous transition, often described as an evolutionary process (Boschma et al., 2009; Eriksson, 2011; Broader & Eriksson, 2013). Hence, tourism cannot be seen as a separate entity. Thus, it is also incorrect to portray this transition in dualistic terms whereby tourism is placed in opposition to the region’s extractive path. Instead, this thesis argues for a dialectic understanding in order to incorporate the highly relational
and historical path that intertwines tourism development with other occurrences within the region.

Based on the work in this thesis, the following conclusions are made:

The rise of tourism in northern Sweden contains an alternative development narrative that seems to challenge the traditional “story” associated with the region’s industrial and extractive past. This transition, which is ongoing, is explained by the emerging welfare state, EU regulations, and the increasingly globalized economy (Paper I).

The presumed positive nexus between national parks and economic impacts previously shown in studies from south-central Sweden (Fredman & Yuan, 2011) and Finland (Hutala et al., 2010) is not valid in more peripheral settings like the Swedish northern inland (Paper II). As such, these findings confirm those in prior research conducted by Lundmark et al. (2009) questioning the economic effects of environmental protection in more peripheral locations. Therefore, this thesis argues that the “crown jewel” of the northern touristic landscape is in fact a dead hand and not a producer of economic income, as shown not only in the context of southern Fennoscandia but also in meta-like studies from continental Europe (Mayer et al., 2010). As such, the rather common notion of a positive relationship between nature conservation and tourism spending seems to rest upon research from more densely populated areas of continental Europe and North America. Hence, it is therefore possible to imagine that such ideas are in fact nothing more than just another example of core-bias conclusions wrongfully adapted in more peripheral settings.

Mining tourism is comprehended as a logical outcome of the knowledge base (labor market composition) located in mining communities with an established tourism sector (Paper III). Therefore, mining tourism is predestined to evolve in one form or another when tourism and mining are located in close proximity. Still, it is a controversial tourism product as it challenges the dominant touristic narrative of a “wilderness area” due to its location to an industrial site. Hence, this thesis understands mining tourism as a form of related diversification
explained by the proximity and interaction of various skills. In addition, the hybrid nature of mining tourism also means that it is difficult to fit with the narrative of a pleasure/resource periphery. Instead, it becomes an in-between product that on the one hand (re)produces the notion of a pleasure periphery through its touristic nature, but on the other (re)produces the idea that in a resource periphery, due to its location to an industrial site.

Furthermore, this thesis also concludes that mining operations, forestry and the expansion of energy production form a precondition for tourism development through the touristic accessibility that accompanies the physical infrastructure associated with such projects (Paper IV).

Hence, the industrial “footprint” caused by extractive resource industries in fact produces accessibility to the “wilderness”. This sort of paradoxical symbiosis is most likely accidental rather than planned, and seems hard for the broader tourism industry of the region to recognize. Nonetheless, the transport infrastructure motivated by these extractive industries is increasingly utilized by the tourism industry, and destinations are normally located along these transportation nodes. As such, the segments of the labor market that produce an industrial landscape seem to constitute a development framework that determines the location of tourism by (unintentionally) governing infrastructure investments. In turn, infrastructure enables the accessibility that becomes a precondition for touristic spaces in the peripheral North.

**Unity of opposites**

Paper I clearly suggests that land-use competition between extractive resource interests and tourism has created a need for large-scale planning to avoid conflicts between different interests. In Paper II, the proposed positive economic impact of this spatial planning is further questioned in regard to tourism and environmental protection, which in turn are seen as counterparts to resource extraction. Hence, Papers I and II to some degree focus on the seemingly contradictory aspects of tourism and resource extraction. The root of this suggested contradiction is found within the seemingly conflicting development
narratives associated with resource extraction and tourism. Resource extraction, which from a historical outlook can be perceived as the thesis, comes to be associated with the idea of a resource periphery (Carson & Carson, 2011) and/or dumping grounds (Lawson et al., 2010).

Tourism, on the other hand, which is linked to the idea of a pleasure periphery (Ash & Turner, 1976) and/or playgrounds (Lawson et al., 2010), becomes the rising antithesis. Obviously, these two imaginary spaces co-exist within the greater region of northern Sweden. Hence, this study also rejects the idea of a single narrative representing a universal truth, reality or identity. Instead, this work embraces the different spatial narratives as the unity of opposites that together form the synthesis that represents the current reality. In this way, the unity of opposites becomes the central category of dialectics, related to the notion of non-duality in a deeper sense (Ball, 1979). It thereby defines a situation in which the existence or identity of a thing (e.g. labor market segments or space itself) depends on the co-existence of at least two conditions that are opposite to each other (e.g. mining and tourism, dumping grounds and playgrounds), yet are dependent on and presuppose each other, within a field of tension. As such, the spatially overlapping nature of extractive spaces and touristic spaces is comprehended as the spatial totality through its unifying characteristics in both time and space.

With that said, however, the respective sizes or significances of resource extraction and tourism are not measured or contested against each other. Rather, the important contribution here is within the notion of the unity of opposites. In Paper III, this unified idea is further elaborated on by comprehending mining tourism as a hybrid of mining and tourism, and thus as a product that blurs the distinction between the two main narratives. This is done by concluding that mining tourism is located to an industrial site, which brings to mind the idea of resource peripheries, while at the same time offering a touristic product linked to the notion of a pleasure periphery. From this angle, the existence or identity of mining tourism also depends upon the co-existence of both tourism and mining, which in turn is perceived as something of a paradox. Moreover, such a co-
existence can only be realized at locations with mining and tourism skills located in close proximity. Or, in other words, mining tourism is by definition a product of the unity of opposites made available through the overlapping spaces of tourism and mining.

In Paper IV, the intertwined nature of resource extraction and tourism is further dealt with by considering the location of tourism destinations. Here, it is concluded that tourism utilizes infrastructure motivated for extractive purposes to expand spatially into new areas. This is also the case for pronounced nature-based tourism destinations, which are often portrayed as the antithesis to the region’s industrial past. Hence, the industrial “footprint” created by extractive resource industries in fact produces accessibility to the “wilderness”. In essence, this means that extractive spaces (resource peripheries or dumping grounds) become a precondition for touristic spaces (pleasure peripheries or touristic playgrounds) in northern peripheries.

**Theoretical implications**

The notion of the unity of opposites, as discussed above, suggests that the imagined spatial totality of the Swedish northern inland primarily seems to consist of overlapping extractive and touristic spaces. As such, the notion of overlapping spaces linked to various labor market segments therefore becomes something of a physical unity of opposites. Still, dialecticians claim that the unity or identity of opposites can also exist in thought (Skoll, 2014). Therefore, the two dominant theoretical development paradigms associated with resource peripheries can also be placed within the framework of dialectic thinking.

From this angle, the influential staple thesis theory developed by Innis (1930/1956), suggesting that resource peripheries cause economic leakage and thus marginalized development, can be comprehended as the Hegelian thesis. This idea, that resource peripheries basically become a negative condition due to risks associated with marginalized internal control, is often used as a critical argument among Marxist-inspired geographers such as Smith (2010), Massey (2005) and Harvey (2007).
In the other corner, we have the ideas of Mackintosh (1939/1964), which propose that resource peripheries could have a positive impact on regional economies, diversifying labor markets through their infrastructure investments. As such, the Mackintoshian stance could therefore be understood as the theoretical antithesis to Innis’ staple thesis. In addition, the work of Lundgren (1995) clearly supports Mackintosh’s position in regard to tourism development by stressing that tourism in resource peripheries seems to “piggyback” on infrastructure financed for extractive purposes to expand into new regions.

The combined findings in this thesis, viewed from a higher abstract perspective, seem to lean on both Innis and Mackintosh, while at the same time recognizing their seemingly contradictory positions in the broader scientific discourse. From a dialectical position, however, this makes perfect sense as the theoretical unity of opposites. The level of support in regard to Innis/Mackintosh and their seemingly contradicting development theories seems to depend upon the context and how the research question is formulated. In this work the research questions do not address these development theories directly, but certainly indirectly.

This is done by evaluating the findings of the individual papers in regard to these development theories. By doing so, this work also recognizes Innis’ (1930/1956) suggestion that resource peripheries involve economic leakage due to weak local/regional influence over capital investments and decision-making, by recognizing the external ownership structures associated with mining, for example. Still, this recognition of Innis’ ideas might not be evident in the empirical data upon which this thesis partly rests, but certainly in the other regard – the theoretical core-periphery foundation associated with Walter Christaller (1933/1964). There is simply no way around the fact that remotely located single-industry towns under external control are less attractive to capital investors or as places for in-migration than are core regions with more diversified labor markets and a higher degree of internal control. At the same time, the common extended argument – that these spatial power relations associated with Innis per se lead to a marginalized development curve for so-called resource peripheries – cannot be supported.
This dismissal of the reasoning by Innis and others is based partly on the fact that resource peripheries clearly produce accessibility, which is a fundamental form of “development”, at least when it comes to tourism, which normally demands mobility. Therefore, tourism in particular seems to utilize this extractive-motivated infrastructure to expand into new regions, which in turn creates a sort of development symbiosis. Moreover, mining tourism offers a current example of labor market transformation that intertwines ideas of playgrounds and dumping grounds, and by doing so exemplifies development sprung out of a resource periphery setting. Hence, this thesis also recognizes Mackintosh’s (1956) notion of a positive nexus between resource extraction and “development” in a broader sense, by interconnecting tourism development with natural resource extraction.

This recognition of Mackintosh entails that touristic spaces in northern Sweden are initially produced by external and extractive interests through their infrastructure investments. Or, in other words: mines, forestry and hydropower have unwittingly laid the groundwork for tourism development in Northern Sweden. As such, there is a resource extractive linkage within tourism development in northern Sweden whose relational traits are evident both in the location of tourism and within touristic products.

At the same time, there are obvious tensions within the broader regional development process, as it involves opposing ideas and interests that in turn seem to end in dualistic standpoints that tend to reproduce ideas of conflict. As such, a failure to recognize the relational development traits of the northern labor market might very well be the result of a narrow, short-term reasoning that simply misses or ignores the current and historical interrelationship between various labor market segments. In fact, this thesis argues that tourism cannot be fully separated from the more traditional extractive industries of the region, as they have the same origin and co-exist, intertwine, and today form a sort of development symbiosis whose inner tensions and common path become the unifying totality in constant motion.
Applicable implications

Today, the notion of societal development is often associated with buzzwords such as “urbanization” (Mokyr, 1995; Krätke, 2012), “creative spaces” (Evans, 2009; Martin et al., 2010) and “the creative class” (Florida, 2002; Peck, 2005). Since such concepts normally come to be associated with development processes in core regions, sparsely populated peripheries become the outdated antithesis; a pattern further emphasized by the relatively low interest in public and private investments in such settings. Northern Sweden can be comprehended as such an outdated region, as it incorporates many of the challenging preconditions associated with such settings. This includes a colonial history (Sörlin, 1988), significant out-migration (Niedomysl, 2008) and demographic challenges (Carson et al., 2017). In addition, the media tend to portray Northern Sweden as a place of relative decay (Eriksson, 2010) as well as a location for natural resource extraction (Avango et al., 2017).

This situation raises questions related to adaptation strategies, development responsibility, and the preconditions of local/regional influence over decision-making. In light of this situation and the need to diversify the northern labor market, this thesis considers how tourism is used as a tool in the pursuit of future employment, the diversification of regional labor markets, and the chase after “regional development”.

Indeed, this thesis identifies several problems associated with tourism development in northern Sweden. Firstly, the Swedish Government’s implementation of the National Spatial Planning in the 1960s, in which the Swedish part of the Fennoscandian mountain range was designated a Continuous Mountain Area (SOU 1971:75), was likely a negative declaration for the broader tourism industry, as natural resource exploitation and infrastructural investments, among other things, were labeled “invasive activities” and therefore largely prohibited.

Hence, this rather “conservative” spatial planning paradigm also hinders extractive interests from reaching parts of this setting. In doing so, it also hinders
tourism development and the diversification of peripheral labor markets, as tourism seems to “freeride” on resource-based infrastructure to expand into new areas (Lundgren, 1995).

Still, this planning paradigm and its intended protection were designed partly to attract visitors. Thus, in 1987, the mountain area was declared an area of national interest for nature conservation, outdoor recreation and nature-based tourism. The region hence developed into a recreational area where environmental protection and nature-based tourism were encouraged. In terms of environmental protection, it could be perceived as a successful planning act. However, in terms of stimulating local/regional economies through tourism spending, it must be considered a failure. Still, it simply seems like an established notion to connect nature itself with a more general idea of “development” in northern Sweden, without any hands-on scientific evidence for such a claim.

In addition, such a development mindset can perhaps also explain the rather negative attitudes towards mining tourism illustrated in this work. As such, negative attitudes towards mining tourism, which is partly criticized for its location to an industrial site, could possibly be associated with the more established notion of northern tourism associated with a “natural” landscape.

In turn, this can be comprehended as rather limiting, as it thereby disqualifies other forms of tourism that theoretically could contribute to a more diversified labor market. Hence, by limiting the notion of tourism to nature-based tourism, northern Sweden risks following a pronounced development path that limits future tourism development to places that have already been made accessible to visitors. This also means that less developed and inaccessible mountain valleys are likely to stay relatively undeveloped, as large-scale investments driven by extractive resource interests are largely hindered from reaching these valleys.

If the aim were truly to develop tourism in remote parts of the northern inland, a broader and more inclusive notion of “proper tourism” that moves beyond nature-based tourism would be beneficial. In addition, as significant touristic growth in this region seems to some extent to be associated with ski resorts, such
destinations should also be encouraged through a more benevolent planning act in order to facilitate such processes. Furthermore, as the production of new touristic spaces are interconnected with resource extraction through infrastructure investments, such bans should be lifted in order to enable the expansion of tourism into new regions that otherwise offer few options to local communities. Finally, the intertwined development symbiosis between resource extraction and tourism development in so-called resource peripheries implies that decision-makers should coordinate spatial planning to better facilitate both resource extraction projects and future sites for tourism development side-by-side.
Sammanfattning (Swedish summary)


Tre generella slutsatser kan dras baserat på resultaten i denna avhandling. 1) Etablerade teorier inom turismutveckling riskerar att bli ogiltiga i mer utpräglade periferier. Detta blir tydligt i relation till naturskyddsområden, vilka i praktiken utgör en dålig utvecklingsstrategi som inte producerar sysselsättning inom turism, vilket ofta är fallet i studier från mer tätbefolkade regioner. Denna kritik av etablerad teori gäller också utvecklingsteorier som förutsätter befintlig urban- lik infrastruktur, vilket vanligtvis saknas i periferin. Sådana kritiska invändningar blir i sin tur ett exempel på hur utvecklingsteori härledd från studier i tätbefolkade områden felaktigt tillämpas i en mer glesbefolkad kontext. 2) Konflikter mellan turistindustrin och naturresursindustrin tycks framförallt förekomma i diskursen kring markanvändning, där de olika intressena ofta framställs som varandras motpol. Samtidigt framträder en mer sammanflätad bild då regionala arbetsmarknadsprocesser behandlas. Detta blir särskilt tydligt inom gruvturism, vilket i denna avhandling ses som en hybrid som uppstår av den rumsliga fördelningen av gruv- och turismkunskap, samt interaktionen dem
emellan. 3) Turistdestinationers lokalisering i norra Sverige regleras i stor utsträckning av naturresursbaserad infrastruktur eftersom dessa platser tidigare öppnats upp och gjorts tillgängliga under naturresursexploatering. Detta innebär vidare att gruvetableringar, vattenkraftsutbyggnad och/eller skogsindustrin ofta är en förutsättning för turismen, eftersom de (oavsiktligt) skapar tillträde till den turistiska ”vildmarken”.

Sammanfattningsvis är naturresursexploatering en grundförutsättning för turistutvecklingen i norra Sverige, och inte en motstridig konkurrent i markanvändningsfrågor. Därför bör också planerare och beslutsfattare överväga att inkludera turismaspekter i framtida naturresursprojekt, då dessa intressen överlappar i geografin, sammanfogas på arbetsmarknaden, och därmed utgör en utvecklingssymbios i nordliga resursperiferier.
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