

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

”FINLAND – WHERE EVERYTHING IS
EXTRAORDINARY”

Representations of Finland in tourism brochures between
1973 and 2008

A Pro Gradu Thesis in English

by

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2009

HUMANISTINEN TIEDEKUNTA
KIELTEN LAITOS

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FINLAND - WHERE EVERYTHING IS EXTRAORDINARY
Representations of Finland in tourism brochures
between 1973 and 2008

Pro gradu -tutkielma

Englannin kieli
Marraskuu 2009

80 sivua + 2 liitettä

Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää, kuinka Suomea maana, kulttuurina ja kansana kuvataan valtiorahoitteisissa matkailuesitteissä. Tutkielman aineisto koostuu Matkailun edistämiskeskuksen julkaisemista englanninkielisistä Suomen yleisesitteistä vuosien 1973 ja 2008 väliltä. Tutkielmassa pyritään sisällönanalyysin keinoin selvittämään minkälaisia representaatioita Suomeen liitetään, millaisia teemoja ne muodostavat ja muuttuvatko nämä ajan myötä. Aineiston luonteen vuoksi valittuun näkökulmaan yhdistyy diskurssintutkimuksen lisäksi elementtejä markkinoinnista sekä matkailun tutkimuksesta.

Aineistosta poimittiin Suomea ja suomalaisuutta kuvaavia sanallisia otteita, jotka vaihtelivat yksittäisistä sanoista kokonaisiin kappaleisiin. Nämä representaatiot kerättiin kattotermien alle teemoiksi, jotka puolestaan jaoteltiin neljän kokemuksellisen markkinoinnin mukaisiin kokemuspiireihin. Näin muodostuneita abstraktioita tutkittiin sosiaalisina käytänteinä, ts. kuinka jokaisessa piirissä neljä tilastollisesti yleisintä teemaa rakentaa Suomea ja suomalaisuutta turistille.

Representaatioiden, teemojen ja kokemuspiirien ryhmittely paljastaa "Suomen" jakautuvan kolmeen erilaiseen tuotettuun mielikuvaan: luonnolliseen, keinotekoiseen luonnolliseen ja keinotekoiseen. Luonnollinen "Suomi" koostuu erilaisista ympäristön ja olosuhteiden positivistisista kuvauksista sekä autenttisuuden vahvasta painotuksesta. Keinotekoiseen luonnollisuuteen kuuluu "lavastetut" kokemukset eli esimerkiksi rakennetut luontokohteet ja toisinnettu historia. Keinotekoinen "Suomi" koostuu nykyaikaisista, urbaaneista kokemuksista ja matkailutuotteista, jotka vaativat liiketoimintaa turisteille toteutuakseen.

Matkaesitteiden haaste erityisesti tulevaisuudessa on vastata heterogeenisten asiakassegmenttien pirstaloituneisiin tarpeisiin, eivätkä siinä painetut mediat välttämättä enää onnistu. Myös valtiollisen matkailu-organisaation on tulevaisuudessa reagoitava tähän sisällöntuotannossaan.

Asiasanat: content analysis, representation, destination marketing, experiential marketing, country brand

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1. Introduction

Language is for speaking. Tourism is for relaxing. These are the layman's definitions for two very broad concepts. To a consumer to whom any Westerner must admit to relate, language and tourism may initially seem to have very few relevant connections, apart from having the need for sufficient competence of a foreign language to successfully order mai tais and to complain about the fastening of one's hammock. Language is thought to comprise semantics, syntax and the likes whereas tourism is a multi-billion global business leaving no nook nor cranny undisturbed, in which relevant disciplines are, to name a few, marketing, hospitality and logistics. These entities of language and tourism seem to work on and through such separate paradigms that any convergence may seem initially forced, artificial and superficial. Tourism on a macro level of destinations (countries and regions), however, is a set of local, social conventions, an endemic praxis that has surprisingly much to do with the practices of language. How does this interplay, then, take place?

This research aims to enquire into the language of a specific tourism promotion medium, namely a state-funded brochure of a northern and for many, quite remote holiday destination, Finland. The venture is carried out to see if tourism treats the nation-state Finland as a static subject or if it does, in fact, create different sorts of "Finlands" by utilizing different linguistic means. Is there a comprehensive idea of Finland that is carried throughout time or does it change from brochure to brochure? Whichever the case is, how are these "Finlands" actually created? Four decades are covered by the research material so that the data is not skewed by a temporary emphasis on any given aspect, resort or region. To reach the underlying and "hidden-insight" depictions of Finland, the nature and origin of the brochures dictate

that the methods of content analysis be fine-tuned towards marketing theory, in order to pass through the advertisers' façade.

Naturally, this is not the first time such exploration between worlds limited by geography and linguistics is undertaken. Other cultural constructs have been investigated in a myriad of studies. As Said (2003: 21) puts forward in his discussion of the ideological creation of Orientalism, "language itself is a highly organized and encoded system, which employs many devices to express, indicate, exchange messages and information ... There is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a *re-presence* or a representation." Thus, no account of travel or touristic experience can convey a perfectly accurate narration of a foreign destination, but only a re-created, biased and meagre representation. However, the power of these representations, he later claims, lies in that by asserting to have unchallengeable expertise on any given subject matter, they start creating knowledge and re-creating reality. From these constructs, then, arises a tradition to produce texts in a certain way, or discourses (Said 2003: 3, 94).

Said portrays the portrayal (thus representing a representation) of the mystical Orient in very much similar terms as tourism brochures present Finland (it must be noted, though, that in this study, the word "Finland" is used not only to denote the nation-state located in Scandinavia but also a complex cultural entity, "all that is Finnish"), written in accordance to the discourse of tourism. However, in Said's view, a discourse is also restricting in that it imposes power upon its subject by limiting and shaping what is said about the subject, i.e. how the subject is re-presented and re-created. In the language of tourism, if such is now seen to exist and as it certainly has been established by many a scholar (see Dann 1996: 4-5), the reality created is more often than not quite different from the reality of the destination's inhabitants. It follows, then, that this research treats discourse as a result

and product of social communication, or as Blommaert (2005: 3) defines it, as “all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural and historical patterns and developments of use”. Tourism-related writers, it follows, conventionalize certain representations to describe Finland, its nature, culture and people, creating and adhering to a discourse – but only because it is read, observed and interpreted as such.

From this perspective, it is no wonder that the language of tourism gains increasing interest from sociolinguists (see, for example, the listing of Fox 2008: 20) – after all, as noted above, there seems to be quite a broad spectrum in the ways certain areas and people are represented. As Fox points out, all linguistics can be seen as sociolinguistics as every act of communication is by definition social, i.e. it is “both socially situated and socially situating” (2008: 19) and, thus, also the language of tourism can be successfully dissected using the means of sociolinguistics. Within this toolbox, one may assign a rather wide variety of linguistic analysis methods, as long as they incorporate the social context (i.e. tourism's social implications, requirements and effects on language and vice versa) to the study of the given discourse.

If, on the other hand, tourism is seen to incorporate marketing, it follows that the language of tourism has some features of marketing language as well, which in turn shapes the reality it re-creates according to marketing discourse's limitations and freedoms. Due to these features of tourism discourse, the re-creation of reality does not, then, have to be realistic at all. Magic, for example, is an integral part of tourism discourse (Dann 1996: 56), as the tourist can be magically transformed into whatever any chosen resort offers, whether it is a new identity, a new location or a new (or ancient, for that matter) time. When the tourist opts to spend his/her holiday in Finland, he/she can expect to arrive in a “fairytale wonderland”, where “the winter landscape and silence is almost unreal”, and by taking “a trail of adventure”

one will then count on “meeting Santa Claus himself in his native homeland” (quotations directly from the tourism brochures of Finland). There, it seems, is nothing that could not happen in Finland – after all, that is the reality that the brochure claims to be existent.

By definition, tourist brochures are texts that have both very clear audiences and very clear objectives and agendas. They are very susceptible to academic scrutiny as a media text, especially due to their rather explicit function of attempting to influence the recipient's consumption behaviour. Blažević and Stojić (2006) have studied the pragmalinguistic elements involved in destination image creation, and it is to some extent the same elements that are of interest in the current study. As they state,

In recent years linguistic research has shown an increasing sign of the author's involvement and of the recipient's response in specialized texts through the exploitation of rhetorical or discourse devices with a mainly persuasive purpose. Tourism advertising materials include various kinds of specialized texts which have a direct influence on destination image formation. (Blažević & Stojić 2006: 58)

In order to investigate the formation, re-creation and representation of Finland as a holiday destination, it is the language (and in this case, lexical choices and thematic structures) that is taken under perusal. Imagery and layout of the brochures do indeed participate in creating representations, but with the elements of language, one is able to explore into the pre-determined and desired (by the brochure's creators) constructs, that aim to shape consumption decisions, a social activity to a great extent. The choices of professional copywriters manifest the underlying objectives, i.e. what kind of Finland is thought to be desirable for foreign tourists. What is there in Finland that will drive droves of visitors to the remote, cold, dark, gloomy country? Is Finland, actually, easily reached, pleasant, bright and happy, at least according to the reality of the tourist brochures?

This section now concentrates on the author of the marketing message. It introduces first the organization responsible for the brochures, i.e. the Finnish Tourist Board. It addresses the question why such actor is necessary in the first place and what it aims to attain with its actions. Next, more attention is directed towards the concept of a country brand; what are its implications, requirements and manifestations. Finally, some insight is provided as to the nature and relationship between a tourist and a national destination promoter. These will provide the framework within which the language of tourism is created and consumed.

1.1. The Finnish Tourist Board and its functions

The Finnish Tourist Board¹ is a bureau functioning institutionally under the Finnish Ministry of Employment and the Economy. As MEK states on the opening line of their web site's "About us" section, "Finnish Tourist Board's main task is the image of Finland as a tourist destination." To further elaborate this task, they later state that

MEK works in close cooperation with and for the Finnish travel industry, implementing and financing marketing projects with the industry. One of the joint goals is to develop more enticing, competitive products for visitors to Finland. (Matkailun Edistämiskeskus 2007)

MEK's activities are concentrated to fulfil three core functions, aiming to produce the aforementioned enticing image of Finland. The board's website provides these functions very explicitly as a list:

1. Marketing communication of Finland: this is the major function of MEK, as all other functions aim to support and facilitate the mediation of the image of Finland as a desirable tourism destination – an aspect that is somewhat lost in the translation of Matkailun Edistämiskeskus into Finnish Tourist Board; the English name has no implications of

¹ The acronym MEK is used henceforth to refer to the Finnish Tourist Board, as they use it consistently on their materials (print and online) regardless of the language.

development, promotion or advancing the tourism industry in Finland. The marketing function of MEK is divided into two sub-activities; one is concerned with the actual image of Finland as a tourism destination (being thus the core function of interest in this research) while the other deals with the tourism product "Finland", i.e. the promotion and facilitation of networking and partnering of and between tourism product sellers, suppliers and producers.

2. Acquisition and transfer of tourism data for the tourism industry: MEK has centralized resources (that individual tourism actors may not possess) to gather crucial tourism data that can be then used both in its own product and image development processes and by the tourism industry for the same purposes. Alongside data gathering, MEK is also involved in seeking new target areas and groups and maintaining an electronic database for tourism information.
3. The promotion of high quality product development and commercialisation: MEK is actively participating in large scale theme projects of national level, but also provides assistance and expertise in tourism centres' own development projects. It also attends in regional tourism strategy formulations and provides information of tourism's economic implications to policy-makers and public funders. A very recent example of this function is MEK's participation in the "Sauna from Finland" concept which aims to transform Central Finland and Jyväskylä region into a sauna-themed centre of well-being thus creating an international pull factor for the Finnish hospitality industry.

(Matkailun Edistämiskeskus 2008)

Along with these, MEK's discernible functions comprise the development and maintenance of a tourism portal, where a potential tourist is supposed to get all the information and services he/she needs. The current phase of the portal can be visited at www.visitfinland.com.

In 2007, MEK had a budget of 16.088.000 euros allocated from the Finnish state budget. In addition to this, the Finnish tourism industry is calculated to have invested approximately two million euros to tourism promotion through MEK's efforts (Matkailun Edistämiskeskus 2008). These figures alone prove that tourism is a very promotion-inclined industry, that relies heavily upon different actors' efforts of marketing. The role and relationship between a service industry (in contrast to tangible product-based businesses) and marketing is further discussed in Chapter 2.

MEK as a national tourism organization is a typical destination marketing organization (DMO) in that it does not participate in promoting individual resorts or attractions (Middleton 2005: 327). Instead, one of the ways MEK partakes in the international promotion of Finland is the publishing of a biannual brochure of Finland (for example, 2007 and 2008 editions respectively, are titled "Summer in Finland - Refreshingly different" and "Winter in Finland - The Ultimate snow adventure") that provides general level information of regional recreational possibilities and events without going into too much detail regarding isolated resorts or holiday destinations. For example, the winter 2008 brochure puffs the Arctic region as the official home of Santa Claus and does in fact mention SantaPark (the commercial "Christmas amusement park" in Rovaniemi) but does not provide any information about its opening hours, entrance fees or even web site. Similarly, the summer edition mentions the amusement park Särkänniemi to

be “one of Finland’s top summer attractions” but nothing more. It is thus left to the interested tourist to acquire the more detailed, attraction-specific brochures, even though the municipal / regional tourist offices’ contacts are given, most often in the form of web addresses.

1.2. Finland – a country, a brand, a set of themes

Brand is a concept most often – and falsely – reserved only for corporate entities, namely marques, product lines and corporations. In December 2006, the Finnish Council of State deemed it necessary to initiate a brush-up of the country brand of Finland (if such a brand ever even explicitly existed before). This was done in order to better coordinate the communication of the country image in three different areas of international interaction: politics, business and tourism (Haapio 2007: 12). To accomplish this, the Finland Promotion Board was established, to act under the chairmanship of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland. Since its foundation it has received and utilized expertise of great repute from high profile Finns such as Jorma Ollila, Esko Aho and Kirsi Piha. Institutional members of the Board comprise, among others, MEK, Finnair, Tekes, FinPro and the Ministry of Employment and the Economy.

The work of the Finland Promotion Board is crystallized in the creation of the new official country brand that is focused on attributes relating to tourism, but that also helps create a positive attitude towards Finland in political and economic matters. The brand itself, on a superficial level, consists of four English words all beginning with the letter C: Credible, Contrasts, Creative and Cool. It is the Board's assertion that these attributes describe and convey the Finnish mentality, nature and society in an inviting and interesting way to tourists, politicians and businesspeople all alike.²

2 In conjunction with the launch of the four C's, also new visual elements and guidelines to be used in communicating the country brand were introduced in forms of an abstract logo and colour schemes of pastel greens and magentas.

This country brand was only very recently introduced and is yet to be proven in terms of its success and attractiveness, but as it is officially launched and utilized, it can be seen as the contemporary brand of Finland that its predecessors may be contrasted against. In the course of this research, the “brands of yesteryears” are viewed in the light of the modern four C's, to create a continuum of the “official Finland”, i.e. the image which is governmentally accepted to be presented abroad.

Alone the four C's, how ever attracting they might sound, do not create interest on their own. They need to be filled with content, substance, to actually achieve the goal of affecting consumer behaviour. A destination brand should not only showcase the destination's best and proudest features. It should tap into benefits that it promises to produce for the tourist, should they decide to “consume” the destination. Morgan and Pritchard (2004: 71) have constructed a five-step brand benefit pyramid, that addresses the different levels of brand features and benefits, helping brand creators to focus on what to include and bring forth in the brand architecture. It also facilitates the development of a destination by constructing a hierarchical order in which brand elements and the distinctive qualities of the given destination should (to achieve greatest cost-efficiency) be addressed.

Level 1. What are the tangible, verifiable, objective, measurable characteristics of this destination?

Level 2. What benefits to the tourist result from this destination's features?

Level 3. What psychological rewards or emotional benefits do tourists receive by visiting this destination? How does the tourist feel?

Level 4. What does value mean for the typical repeat visitor?

Level 5. What is the essential nature and character of the destination brand?

(Morgan and Pritchard 2004: 71)

In today's modern developed societies, levels 1 and 2 are relatively easily achieved through sufficient economic inputs and investments, but levels 3, 4 and 5 are where the brand takes on a challenge. To differentiate a destination on these levels requires more profound effort: the (post-)modern tourist seeks experiences, adventures and encounters with the Other (a frequently converged actor also in tourism research, see for example MacCannell and Lippard 1999). To create a credible brand that addresses all these levels, a tourism organization must be able to communicate these in a manner that really and plausibly resonates with the customer (Morgan and Pritchard 2004: 70). These are the attributes of interest also in this research, even though it is not the brochures' success that is evaluated. One may, however, postulate that they are produced with the best possible outcome in mind and therefore the levels above can be related to the destination brand of Finland as well.

1.3. Who sells what - and to whom?

As mentioned above, the language of tourism has features that are familiar from the world of advertising. As being products of touristic discourse, the data of this research (i.e. the tourist brochures - the data will be discussed more closely in Chapter 4) is essentially seen as advertising and is thus analysed in the frameworks of tourism, advertising, marketing and media discourse. As tourism marketing has to balance between the rhetoric (what is said and how) and the practical (what services and products actually exist), it should factually remain true to the actual offerings of the culture while attempting to create as positive an image of it as possible. To add complexity to this relationship, both the rhetoric and practical are essentially subjective experiences, as they are based on values, presuppositions and perceptions, creating thus personal, ideological and individual "mindscapes" (i.e. mental

conceptions of geographical locations coloured and enhanced by emotional attributes, attitudes and expectations). The marketer's ongoing challenge is, thus, to tap into these mindscapes and facilitate the creation of most profitable and favourable idea-level notions of the country and culture in question.

The information produced by the marketer is inevitably affected by his/her own cultural background and, as mentioned above, is subjective, if not on individual level then on organizational level, because it is always someone's (be it one or multiple persons) decision what to include in the promotional message. In the case of MEK, the authors of the brochures are in no way identified in the actual publications, but an e-mail interview with MEK's officials revealed that at least for the more recent editions, there has been an editorial staff of between three and six members. The brochures are written in Finnish and then translated by natives in the focus country (in this case, England). Most of the content remains the same regardless of the language, but according to the interviewed MEK official, some elements may be emphasized or even left out, depending on the targeted segment. This makes sense, as exoticism, for example, as an enticing trait arises from contrasting the features and attributes of the destination with the tourist's region of origin. Thus, an element that is also natively present in a focus country is probably left out to leave room for something more extrinsic and fascinating.

The nature of MEK as a promoter of the Finnish tourism industry is interesting in the sense that it is not directly affected by the outcomes (be they successes or failures) of its own, sometimes very extensive marketing efforts, nor can it very closely control their efficiency (Middleton 2005: 330). MEK is state-funded and therefore dependent on the assertion that the revenues produced through attracting foreign tourists greatly surpass the

expenses allocated to tourism marketing, thus validating the positive results of such input-output analyses. The underlying objective of MEK is, then, to create a win-win situation, where its efforts hopefully produce revenues to Finnish tourism actors, which, in turn, may result in increased allocation of state funds (gathered through taxation). For the purpose of this research, Figure 1 below is compiled to illustrate the interplay between simplified actors of tourism industry.

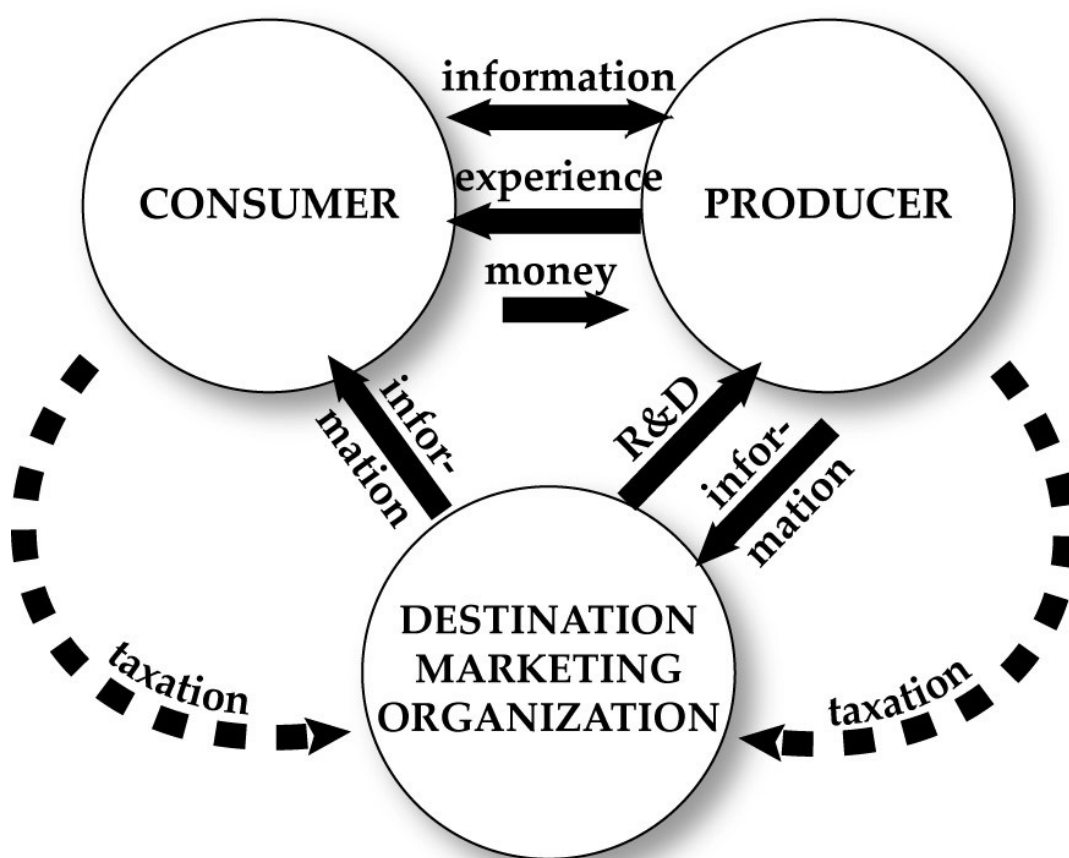


Figure 1. Exchange of values in tourism industry

It must first be noted, that the above demonstration is a rough rendition and does not intend or aim to take every single aspect of tourism into account. Neither are the scales of the actors fixed. The producer, particularly, denotes both individual companies and businesses and larger ensembles. Similarly,

the consumer is not even nearly as homogeneous an actor as the illustration might lead to think. The figure does, however, show how the values (information, monetary currencies, experiences) flow and traverse from one party to another.

As the central actor in the framework of tourism, the consumer receives an *experience* from the destination producer (be it a single entrepreneur, a resort or a destination). The costs of resources used to produce the experience are compensated by the consumer with monetary transactions, and after the consumption, the producer receives (or at least hopes to receive) information from the consumer, as feedback to improve the experience-creation process.

After the producer of the experience receives monetary compensation for its efforts, it circulates part of this to the economy within which it operates. In addition, it also produces first-hand information both directly for the consumer (advertisements, direct marketing) and for the destination marketing organization. This information is aimed to be used in increasing revenues and visitor numbers, either immediately or by a proxy (a travel agency, for example).

Relationships between the destination marketing organization and other actors of the above model are the most complex. The DMO, role occupied by MEK in this research, collects funding from both the above actors through governmental budgeting, as discussed in section 1.1. That is the only form of monetary transactions with the consumer, as all marketing materials and services are free of charge. The producer, however, can purchase services from the DMO in the form of research and development, quality certificates or increased advertising exposure. Therefore, the DMO provides information and services to facilitate the producer's business, which the producer refunds partly by paying, partly by taxation.

The most relevant interplay for this research is, naturally, the exchange of information from the producer to the DMO and onwards to the consumer. This is the source and motivation for the data under scrutiny and also the product most familiar and easily attained by an individual consumer. Explicitly, the exchange seems unidirectional, because the consumer can utilize the DMO's services without immediate compensation. As noted above, though, also the consumer funds the DMO's efforts. The information provided by the DMO is at best an approximation of the consumer's needs and wants, especially as tourism operates with such segmented audience. Thus, by mediating the tourism product information through a DMO, the congregated, filtered and processed knowledge becomes a metaphor for everything a destination has to offer (for definition and discussion of metaphor as a theoretical construct, see Chapter 2.3.).

Marketing professionals would probably also transpose the term "metaphor" with "brand" and use it exclusively, and their implications here are, in fact, very close to each other. For example, the American Marketing Association defines "brand" as "a name, term, design, symbol, or any other feature that identifies one seller's good or service as distinct from those of other sellers ... A brand may identify one item, a family of items, or all items of that seller" (American Marketing Association 2007). Kotler et. al (1999: 571) have an almost identical definition of "brand", but elaborate it to consist of four different levels: attributes, benefits, values and personality. Here, then, it is safe to assume that the ramifications of both terms "brand" and "metaphor" are similar enough for the terms to be applied in theoretical examinations.

The most evident conclusion of Figure 1 above is that MEK, as most DMO's worldwide, functions on two levels: promotion and facilitation (Middleton 2005: 334) Promotion of Finland is done by compiling attractive marketing

messages to potential visitors within chosen segments, whereas facilitation consists of supporting measures to improve the producers' operational environments, both financially and immaterially. The facilitative element of the data here is limited to inviting prospective clients to the producers' spheres of influence (e.g. Rovaniemi region for the Santa Claus experiences) through the promotional materials (the brochures). Facilitation can also be seen in MEK's efforts to accumulate centralized resources for the producers to utilize, i.e. partaking in the promotion so that the producers may concentrate on more detailed marketing messages – after all, MEK is taking care (to some extent) of the general level marketing.

Above, marketing has already been entangled into the discussion. Therefore, and also due to the perspective whence the data is chosen to be viewed, this research draws upon theories of not only discourse analysis, but also tourism and marketing, in order to identify the underlying discourses and themes and their effect on the marketing message and the creation of the metaphor/representation/brand “Finland”. As Jaworski and Pritchard (2005: 1) point out, discourse and text analysis and tourism are in their own rights well-developed academic disciplines, but very little dialogue exists between them. In this research, the discourse of tourism marketing is dissected using mainly Krippendorff's (2004) methodological approach to content analysis, with Morgan and Pritchard's (2004) construct of experiential marketing, that greatly facilitates the categorical processing of the marketing messages.

To sum up the introductory chapter, a small practical notation is in place. In the course of this research, there will be quite a few direct quotations, both from other authors and scholars and from the marketing materials under study (these occur especially in Chapters 5-7). To explicitly keep the themes and representations apart from other quotations and hopefully prevent mix-ups, they are marked with a pair of apostrophes where need be; 'winter

wonderland' referring to an excerpt from a brochure, for example, whereas "winter wonderland" would refer to a pre-defined concept from another author.

2. Background

The current research incorporates theories and perspectives from three relatively separate disciplines: travel and tourism, marketing and linguistics. It could be said that the first provides the context of operation, the second the source and motivation of data and the third the tools of analysis. To create a meaningful synthesis of these fields of research, they must be first examined separately, to see what lies beneath the seemingly established surfaces. In this section, travel and tourism are discussed both from a very general perspective and from the perspective of Finland and its economy. Some light is also shed here on basic principles of marketing, to illustrate the mindset of the authors of the data, i.e. professional copywriters. Content analysis as methodology is discussed in the next chapter more extensively.

2.1. Travel and tourism

It is first necessary to define what sort of movement and transit is included in travel and tourism. Middleton (2005: 3) states that "travel and tourism is best understood as a total market reflecting the demand of consumers for a very wide range of travel-related products." It must be noted that this rather unspecified definition implies that travel and tourism comprises the element of marketing, as it undoubtedly does. The World Tourism Organization, an agency of the United Nations specializing in developing and promoting ethically sustainable tourism, defines its field of operation more exhaustively as follows:

Tourism is defined as the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited.

The use of this broad concept makes it possible to identify tourism between countries as well as tourism within a country. "Tourism" refers to all activities of visitors, including both "tourists (overnight visitors)" and "same-day visitors". (United Nations World Tourism Organization 2000)

This research, due to the nature of the data, excludes domestic tourists, as they are less likely to resort to brochures aimed for international tourists and written in a foreign language. It is thus only "inbound" tourism and destination marketing that are of concern here. It must also be noted that "travel and tourism" is here used as one entity, following the definition of Middleton (2005); all forms and variations of travel are not embodied in tourism but all tourism (recreation vs. business, local vs. global etc.) includes some form of travel excluding those mentioned in the UNWTO definition above and so *tourism* and *travel and tourism* can be (and are) used interchangeably.

In general, tourism presumes a form of marketing that is somewhat different from other products and services, as it focuses strongly on brands and mental images and cannot control the product's distinct features as closely as with more traditional and tangible goods. Marketing communication in itself uses often many interesting discourses, as it essentially attempts to shape and revise the impression a product has left on a consumer making it more favourable in order to create or increase sales (i.e. exerts power upon the consumer by proposing what is valuable or beneficent). The means of doing so, however, are quite varied depending on the marketer's target audience (Kotler 1999: 151), current goals (ibid. 102) and tolerance of risks (ibid. 187), to name a few.

Despite the rather unique nature of tourism marketing, the marketing communication exercised by tourism officers do not deviate from the motives discussed above. For example, a discourse prioritizing cleanliness, authenticity and nature might not be the key element of interest for young tourists, even though they are attracted to the same resorts as people who might choose them to be the ultimate deciding factors. It is then great skiing slopes and lively after-ski activities that the marketers will want to emphasize, should the youth be the current segment they are focusing on. In addition to the assortment of themes, also lexical choices and registers would rarely be shared between these two segments. The discourses and marketing methods employed and adopted in the latter case are, thus, very different, even though they refer to the same physical location.

As an interesting side notion, literature discussing tourism often pays attention to one rather surprising ideology, namely nationalism (see, for example, Bendix 1989; Löfgren 2004; Pretes 2003). Nationalism is in this context often stripped of its political tenets and refers to more affectionate and sentimental thinking. It seems to be an integrated, virtually inevitable feature of tourism marketing, being present regardless whether a nation or culture is marketed towards domestic or international tourists. Within nationalism as it is understood here lies a paradox, as it simultaneously strives to create a superior mindscape and to sell it to outsiders for them to explore – and exploit. This is done by glorifying a chosen set of values and properties and by making statements of their uniqueness and excellence. This phenomenon is also approached through the tourist-traveller antithesis in travel writing (see, for example, Dann 1999), where a destination is simultaneously and ambivalently evaluated according to tourism virtues and the lack of tourism penetration.

On the other hand, nationalism in the tourism context has also invigorated

many cultures, as it allows and permits invention to complement tradition (Bendix 1989: 132) when creating a shared national identity. It is thus not disgraceful or “fake” (in contrast to authenticity) to have Santa Claus wear a red and white costume, even though such tradition might have originated from an American refreshment company. Similarly, reindeer herding can be promoted as an “authentic” livelihood several hundred kilometres south from where it actually is (or was) pursued. Such constructs have been adopted whole-heartedly into the Finnish identity and are therefore as legitimate as any other, more “original” or “genuine” cultural elements.

From and within this tension between the authentic and constructed, a destination is built; the obtrusion of the tourist to the lives of the locals and the locals' efforts to create profit from this obtrusion (Urry 2006: 9). As discussed above, a tourist by definition is away from work, distant mentally and physically from the laborious chores of modern life. Tourism is then largely a social phenomenon as well, as it moves people from one social setting and environment to another.

2.1.2. Tourism and the Finnish economy

In addition to tourism's above mentioned social dimension, it also has immense societal impact. It is excellently indicated by the massive role it has in the socio-economic environment of almost any modern country, being oftentimes assessed as the largest industry in the world. This value must, then, be reflected in the tourism marketing also, meaning that such extensive figures presented in the following both derive from and motivate the production of state-funded promotion material. In terms of finance in Finland, the share occupied by hotels and restaurants alone in the gross domestic product has for the past few years stayed at approximately 1,5 percent (GDP in 2007 being 179,7 billion Euros) and the number of trips to

Finland in 2006 exceeded 5,3 million (of which 3,3 million stayed overnight). This immense number of tourists created tourism demand for 10 233 million Euros in 2006, which has almost doubled since 1995 (5 741 million Euros). The consumption of inbound tourists in 2006 totals to 2 788 million Euros. (Tilastokeskus 2008) The tourism industry as a whole (restaurants, hotels, resorts, service producers) provided immediate employment for 127 000 people in 2002 (Tilastokeskus 2005).

Global numbers follow this pattern. The share of service exports allocated to tourism covers almost 30 percent of the world-wide service exports (United Nations World Tourism Organization 2009). One can, thus, only come to the conclusion that people move, experience and consume cultures in increasing numbers, on which grounds it is important to examine just what impact this import and export of not only goods and services but also cultures has.

2.2. Advertising and marketing

When discussing mass tourism instead of “back-packers” or travellers, who actively explore places where no Western man has gone before, the so-called mass tourist seldom seeks their resorts on their own. Instead, they turn to advertisements depicting more or less perfect holiday locations, i.e. they consult one of the most concrete forms and products of tourism marketing – the tourism advertisements and brochures. In general (but also relating very closely to tourism), advertising is most often defined along the lines of being “any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods, or services by an identified sponsor” (Kotler et al. 1999: 756). This idea carries a few elemental features of advertising that differentiates it from other types of communication. First and foremost, it is always paid (i.e. requires some transaction of values) by an actor whose goal is to create, grow or develop awareness of a product, whether tangible (physical goods and commodities)

or intangible (services, ideas and experiences). Being paid for does not, however, imply that the currency of transaction must be monetary or that the actor is commercial; these apply also to, for example, charity organizations. Secondly, in order for the advertisement to succeed, the audience must be able to identify who is advertising and what. It does not have to be explicit and immediate, but failing to be recognized at all will not be profitable for the author (and thus, by definition, also fails to be classified as advertising). Thirdly, distinguishing it from other promotional communication methods, it is non-personal, i.e. the author of the advertising message cannot control the audience or its responses nor have any direct and immediate interaction with it.

The aforementioned distance and non-personality is even more evident and significant, when the disciplines of travel and tourism and marketing are commercially combined. Marketing in the profit-seeking field of travel and tourism is somewhat different from marketing that promotes more tangible goods and services. Travel and tourism advertising functions as remote promoting, meaning that it builds bridges between the points of production, purchase and consumption, or as Middleton has put it,

[Advertising and PR activities] enable businesses to *reach* people in their homes or other places away from the places of production and delivery, and to *communicate* to them *messages* intended to influence their *purchasing behaviour*. (Middleton 2005: 237)

The nature of travel and tourism, thus, by definition causes the point of purchase to be often very distant both spatially and temporally from the point of consumption. Travel agents commonly (and wisely) publish their brochures for exotic resorts months before the actual product dates occur, so that one may pick up the summer brochure and book a July holiday almost a year in advance. In addition, the brochures often feature products whose physical locus is hundreds or thousands of kilometres from the prospective

customer. And because most of travel and tourism products are in fact services or staged experiences (safaris, outdoor activities, accommodation etc.) and so are produced and consumed simultaneously, the promotional material can only attempt to represent the product as accurately as possible with no guarantee that, for example, a reindeer sleigh ride provider will be able to create an unforgettable adventure, every time, all the time. Also, largely due to the geographical distance, travel and tourism products are very high-involvement, high-risk purchases (i.e. they require a lot of effort, time and information prior to the purchase decision and demand large financial investments with insecure outcome, all this on behalf of the consumer) which sets relatively high standards for the promotional material.

2.3. Representation

Culture, as Hall (1997: 1) simply puts it, is “about 'shared meanings'”. Finnish culture, thus, can be said to consist of shared meanings about Finland, and while being ultimately subjective, there are some meanings that have been canonized as being essentially and unarguably Finnish, such as the Finnish nature, its lakes and forests, sauna or Santa Claus (to the extent of having the words “Santa's Forest” printed on plastic wrapping of timber exported to Japan). To further refine Hall's definition, one may first look at “sharedness”, i.e. who shares and with whom, and to what extent. In the case of culture, it may be exclusively the members of a certain culture who collectively create and re-create their own culture towards whatever is desired by the members. It may also be that a culture is shared between members and non-members, when the members are in a position in which they have exclusive access to knowledge of that culture (in addition to external experts who can also claim to possess the knowledge and exert the same power to their own purposes). In such a situation, the power balance is quite asymmetrical, as is the flow of information and knowledge; the

outsiders (here, the tourists) can rarely do more than merely observe and absorb the culture with no real input to it.

The second part of Hall's definition, "meaning", can be understood as an ontological construct through which concepts in an area of knowledge have relationships. With the help of meanings, points of reference can be made even with foreign and strange observations. In this context, for example, the meaning of the adjective "cold" can vary greatly in different cultures and therefore it may even be used as a positive attribute, as it is distant enough for tourists originating from southern countries; as coldness (sub-zero temperatures) are never represented as a nuisance, it may be enjoyed and experienced as exciting and memorable. Thus, the meaning of "cold" in relation to the cultural "Finland" of the tourism brochures has positive references instead of more bleak ones, for example "life-threatening" or "troublesome". Similarly, one of the country brand C's, "Cool", has a metaphorical connection with both temperature and general atmosphere.

To present a culture, one inevitably has to resort to representation, as mentioned above in Said's definition of language: "there is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a *re-presence* or a representation" (2003: 21). If stable and enduring enough, representations start creating identities (resulting, where applicable, in the creation of a brand) and metaphors through semiotic processes: symbols, narratives and textual genres (Blommaert 2005: 203). In that sense a linguistic view of representation likens Hall's definition of culture: they convey meanings of what something is like – again, in social settings, meaning that representations and cultures have no substance on their own but within interaction of people, in this case through language and discourses. Discourse analysts are, therefore, almost invariably interested in the reasons for the use of particular representations or omissions thereof.

The concept of metaphor requires also some elaboration. Its classical and very straight-forward definition reserved the use of metaphor mainly as an exclusive right of literature outside everyday use, as “a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside their normal conventional meanings to express a 'similar' concept” (Lakoff 1993: 202). However, social interaction is filled with ambiguities and expressive language, leading also Lakoff and Johnson to suggest a more reflexive exposition of metaphor as an element of social interaction:

Metaphors have entailments through which they highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience. ... Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action. Such actions will, of course, fit the metaphor, This will, in turn, reinforce the power of the metaphor to make the experience coherent. In this sense metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies. (Lakoff and Johnson 2005: 112)

The purpose of this research, then, is to study how the representations of Finland develop the country brand, or metaphor for that matter, throughout decades. Every edition of the brochures inherently produces a representation of Finland with an undeniable aim and purpose: that of (re)creating an enticing image of a holiday paradise to exceed all other rivals, and while doing so, produces also messages of the Finnish culture.

The author of any message can, in effect, formulate, limit and control the reality mediated through the text by including and excluding selected elements, as the power relation between the reader and the author especially in this context is often very unbalanced. For the reader, the author presents him-/herself in an expert position with mutual interests, meaning that if the author recommends a sight or a restaurant or, in fact, any behaviour, it will prove to be advisable and profitable to take heed of. The author thus effectively describes the desired “tourism experience”; this is what should be seen, heard, smelled, touched – experienced, to sum it all up. (Dann 1996: 84). What the tourism brochure does not describe is not there, at least as long as

the tourist does not stumble upon it – and even then it may fail to be recognized as something of interest. Lakoff and Johnson also appreciate the connection between metaphor and the perceived reality, stating that by adopting a metaphor as valid, we exclusively pick out the elements present in the metaphorical expression or representation and ignore all else (2005: 113). This, in turn, produces the “tourist gaze” i.e. an externally controlled view or conception of a destination, discussed further in Chapter 5.

Representation, thus, plays a great role in identifying the “Finlands” of the travel brochures. The author(s), being of a certain cultural background formulates the message in a chosen medium to a roughly estimated recipient group. The message contains chosen elements, that are chosen according to both the medium's discursive requirements and possibilities and the desired themes. In other words, the author represents Finland to the prospective tourist in such a way that he/she would be most likely to select Finland for their next holiday destination. The method of identifying the representations is discussed in the following chapter.

3. Methodological framework: content analysis and experiential marketing

To create a coherent and reliable image and a scientifically valid analysis of the textual products used in Finland's in-bound tourism marketing, the methods of analysis must have relevance among, again, both disciplines, meaning that the linguistic analysis of text must be done with the context of marketing in mind. As is the case in practically all (post-)modern research, it is also here naturally acknowledged that no text exists in vacuum and should therefore never be analysed within one, but the emphasis of context³ – that of

3 It must be noted, however, that contexts are never born from void, but is always (re-)constructed. Thus, in addition to the implications of marketing and tourism, it is methodologically important to remember that the readings here are also contingent upon subjectivity.

tourism and marketing – is of very high significance; the author inherently has a purpose, an agenda (and, furthermore, the economic incentive of personal salary and institutional revenue creation) to write these texts. The copies are not, for example, excerpts from prose that happen to describe Finland in a way that the marketers by coincidence find suitable. Nor are they ethnographies that should be taken at face value, giving an objective record of the explorer's observations. They have been carefully crafted to convey chosen meanings, value propositions and attitudes that may or may not be carried to the reader.

Due to the commercial nature of the data at hand and the dualistic viewpoint adopted (linguistics contra marketing), the framework within which it is analysed must contain theoretical groundings derived from both tourism (and marketing) and linguistic research. As discussed above, the texts conform to a certain discourse, its practices, freedoms and restrictions and can therefore be dissected with the help of discourse analysis. To be more precise, the synthesis undertaken here incorporates theories and methods from content analysis, most evidently based on Krippendorff's (2004) and Tuomi and Sarajärvi's (2002) methodology, and Pine and Gilmore's (1999) work on experiential marketing. Via content analysis – using methods discussed below – the samples from the brochures can be conceptualized to conform to categories proposed by Pine and Gilmore, which in turn allows also for the temporal and statistical analysis of the aforementioned categories' emphasis, existence or omission.

3.1. Content Analysis

As with many content analysis -based researches, one can find attributes of both qualitative and quantitative researches in this work. Despite not relying entirely on a statistical analysis of a given phenomenon's occurrences in a

body of text, the methods employed to reach the final conclusions are, at points, quantitative in nature, for example when the categories mentioned above are created. Such grouping into thematic constructs is essentially quantitative analysis of qualitative content (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002: 95). However, this is not done in order to answer a pre-set research question or to test a set of hypotheses through scientific measurements but to create a comparable simplification that can then be used to make qualitative inferences from the perspective of a chosen framework – this being especially important as the lack of these inferences is often targeted in many a criticism attacking content analysis, because the researcher has merely presented the categories and taxonomies without any insightful or even relevant conclusions (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002: 105).

Content analysis has its origins in journalism, where it has proved to be very useful in studying what is being said on almost any observed topic or phenomenon. Less interest is channelled towards the motivations and excuses of the text's author (steering this approach farther from straightforward discourse analysis), whereas the actual meanings created are perused to create the afore-mentioned inferences. The reason content analysis is the most suitable research method also here is its ability to give insight beyond temporal, spatial or ideological limitations. Using tools provided by content analysis, a researcher can observe phenomena that cannot be reached directly, providing thus an obstruction-free view into communications that would be otherwise distorted or altogether unavailable. (Krippendorff 2004: 11)

Due to the above-mentioned inclusion of another, somewhat foreign framework (that of Pine and Gilmore's, discussed further below), the research at hand is seen as lingering between the boundaries of data-driven analysis and theory-bound analysis, resorting to abductive logic. This sorting

of research approaches between data-driven (also called grounded theory), theory-bound and theory-driven is proposed by Eskola (2001). The main distinction between these perspectives lies in the source of relevant theory, i.e. whether it rises entirely from the data and is constructed inductively on the terms of the data (data-driven or grounded theory), whether the analysis contains some theoretical implications but is not explicitly directed by a given theory (theory-bound) or whether the theory (or hypotheses) is both the starting point and a goal of the analysis, much as is done in traditional quantitative research in, for example, natural sciences (theory-driven).

The ambiguity in the positioning of the current research on Eskola's approach continuum is caused by the imposition of a theoretical framework upon freely-constructed classification. In purely inductive (if purely inductive logic is accepted to exist; see Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002: 98) analysis, the researcher has no a priori conceptions of the constructs or themes the data might contain and has thus no predetermined units of analysis. Therefore the conclusions and results of such research are in effect unforeseeable (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002: 97). In the context of this research, the grounded theory approach is applied up to the penultimate phase of classification (the phases of analysis will be discussed below), until in the final phase the framework of Pine and Gilmore (1999) is implemented.

Above, the foundations of qualitative research and analysis were discussed, to establish a starting point from which one can then dig deeper into the theoretical groundings of content analysis. To reach the goal of the current research, an explicit description of the information about Finland that the tourist brochures actually convey is needed, and that, in turn, is done by scrutinizing their "contents". The term "content" is at this point placed within quotation marks to emphasize the view of texts as not being containers of meaning (Krippendorff 2004: 20), i.e. not having an inherent,

independent and universal manifestation. In fact, the content metaphor is, by Krippendorff, seen to hamper many an analyst to treat texts as universal to all. However, to maintain credibility and usability of the term *content analysis*, Becker and Lissman (1973, as quoted by Mayring 2000: 2) separate two levels of content: 1) primary content of themes and main ideas and 2) latent content of contextual information.

The traditional "container" view is how content analysts of the past used to treat texts, and thus, for example, Berelson defines content analysis itself to be a "research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (1952, as quoted by Krippendorff 2004: 19). To refute this definition, Krippendorff himself renders Berelson's definition above to state that content analysis is "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (2004: 18). However and despite the differing views of relationships between texts and meanings, the contemporaries of Berelson have also recognized the power of content analysis to reveal underlying structures:

Content analysis will not tell us whether a given work is good literature; it will tell us whether the style is varied. It will not tell us whether a paper is subversive; it will tell us if the contents change with party line. It will not tell us how to convince the Russians; it will tell us what are the most frequent themes of Soviet propaganda. (Lasswell, Lerner and Pool 1952, as quoted by Kassirjian 1977: 9)

In Krippendorff's definition above, there are some interesting details that describe much of the nature and perspective of content analysis of his view (and the view adopted in this research). First, the claim of replicability (i.e. the same data should yield similar results and readings regardless of the researcher, his/her academic background or point in time) echoes also a demand for reliability. These are both somewhat interchangeable with Berelson's claim for objectivity and systematicism, with the exception that

"replicability is measurable and validity is testable, objectivity is neither" (Krippendorff 2004: 19).

Secondly, Krippendorff rebuts Berelson's view of the "manifest content of communication", and wisely so, because having a requirement of manifest content would result in a very limited corpus of universally accepted meanings, if such consensus could ever even be reached. The recipients of any given message have personal interpretations and understandings of that message, that may be very distant from what the sender intended it to be. One needs only think of a Nazi propaganda pamphlet ending up in the hands of a British World War II infantry soldier, and the "truths" or "manifest contents" on the pamphlet will produce quite different readings from those of the originally intended audience.

Krippendorff (2004: 22-24) further develops the definition of content analysis by examining six features of texts, which are relevant not only to his definition but also to the data of the current research:

- 1) Texts have no objective qualities. A text is, by the most natural of definitions, a message from someone to someone and is therefore subjected to sense-making and meaning-creation. Text requires a reader to exist, but carries no inherent meaning. Thus, a brochure becomes a brochure only when someone picks it up and reads it as such.
- 2) Texts have no single meanings. The meanings and readings of any given message are dependent from the recipient's perspective, but all the different readings and meanings are equally valid. A professional copywriter will most probably read a brochure with different eyes than a construction worker looking for a holiday destination, but neither can be said to be wrong or ill advised.

- 3) The meanings invoked by texts need not be shared. As mentioned above, the requirement for texts to have manifest contents would limit their "valid" and "systematic" readings as the privilege of a selected few who share the same perspective. In this context, the exoticism of a certain ecosystem, for example, is created not only by lexical items but also by the differing conceptions of exoticism possessed by the brochures' audiences.
- 4) Meanings (contents) speak to something other than the given texts. Texts, as a means of communication, evoke a change in the recipient's mental, emotional and/or physical state. They do not exist for themselves but in and for an external sphere of recipients, with references to something else than their actual (often physical) manifestations. This is why the analysis of tourism brochures must be done with their actual practical attributes (original authors, their intentions, physical formats, audience) in mind.
- 5) Texts have meanings relative to particular contexts, discourses or purposes. Even though texts have differing readings of equal validity, it does not imply that texts and meanings are produced arbitrarily. The chosen context limits the usable readings and is therefore an integral element to be identified and explained. For example, the expression "midnight sun" is an oxymoron in many other contexts (i.e. when night is defined as the time between dusk and dawn) but very common in descriptions of the Finnish summer.
- 6) The nature of texts demands that content analysts draw specific inferences from a body of texts to their chosen contexts. While a casual reader may unconsciously make similar inferences, a content analyst must explicitly state the chosen context, because the texts will not provide that information themselves. It is thus imperative that a researcher make his/her judgments and decisions clear and as objective as possible.

Even though Krippendorff's elaborate definition may seem to dissect content analysis beyond practical application, Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002: 106) propose quite compactly the main function and advantage of content analysis (to elaborate its functionality in contrast to discourse analysis for the chosen intent of the current research): "In content analysis, meanings are sought for in texts, whereas discourse analysis looks into the creation of these meanings". This is also the aim of the current study, attested by Priest (1996): "Where media content itself is the object of study, content analysis - whether quantitative or ... qualitative - is the logical choice" (as quoted in Pritchard 2001: 82). Therefore, the metaphors and representations that construct the discourse of tourism marketing are best traced using content analysis, when the units and targets of analysis, i.e. representations, themes and metaphors are seen from a discursive perspective. They are products of a social activity, aimed to influence another social activity.

As mentioned above, content analysis can be seen as the toolbox, that a linguist can equip and wield to battle the immense corpus that the tourism brochures comprise. For the linguist to know into which size chunks he/she should hack the proverbial game ahead, some guidance and framework are desperately needed, lest the linguist be lost in alternatives. In the following section, experiences are formulated into linguistic constructs, to provide the directions what to hunt for from the texts.

3.2. Experiential marketing

"Experience Finland" is the title of an audiovisual spectacle that can be found online at virtual.finland.fi/finfo/english/Experience_Finland.html, portraying cliché-like images of what are "essential elements" of Finland, i.e. a steamboat carrying cruise passengers along "sea and their myriad of lakes",

with "old charm ... of no rivals". The site itself is produced by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland and its Department for Communication and Culture and contains practical and statistical information about Finland with subsections such as "The Economy", "Facts and Figures", "Arts and Entertainment" and "History". What makes one single tourism promotion production interesting, however, is its title. The very fact that it encourages travellers to "experience" Finland, not "visit", "enjoy" or "get to know", reveals that Finland is no longer seen only as a destination or a product, but an experience.

In the globalizing post-cold war world (given that one is ready to accept the oxymoron of a "globalizing world"), mobility and freedom of choice are not only properties of labour and capital but of tourism as well. While this means that a Finn can choose almost any country on the map to spend his/her holiday in, it also implies that inbound tourism originates from practically anywhere. An immediate consequence is the heterogeneity of consumer behaviour rendering the old, destination-focused marketing strategies obsolete (Williams 2006: 483), giving rise and room to a new paradigm of tourism marketing, that of *experiential marketing*. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs is therefore fully entitled to invite tourists to "experience Finland", or to be more precise, to experience the "Finland" that is staged for them by the swarm of tourism businesses across the country.

The idea of staging is also featured in the subtitle of Pine and Gilmore's (1999) book "The Experience Economy": "Work is theatre & Every Business a Stage", perhaps reflecting the Shakespearean idea of constructing realities more fantastic than reality itself, in effect creating hyperrealities (Rojek 1993: 280). Staging is an integral part of today's tourism industry, as the actors in Pine and Gilmore's theatre try to mimic the mindblowing experience promised by promoters - in other words, run their businesses to satisfy the

paying visitors' expectations.

Pine and Gilmore (1999: 198) propose five sources of business opportunities and revenue-creation items; commodities, goods, services, experiences and transformations. It is widely argued and agreed upon that the postmodern society and economy consist of consumers who are no longer after products but experiences and transformations (see, for example, Lichtenstein and Lyons 2001, Muller 1999 and Williams 2006). This applies not only to destination marketing but across the very wide spectrum of hospitality businesses, i.e. hotels, restaurants and theme parks. As Petrick and Xiang (2008: 240) put it, "[according to the old paradigm,] tourists ... are thus like goods moving on an assembly line, who passively consume the offerings". Their use of the factory metaphor emphasises the shift away from the goods-based offerings towards post-industrial experiences and transformations, which is also embodied in Gilmore and Pine's slogan "You are what you charge for" (1994: 194):

- 1) If you charge for stuff, you are in the commodity business. The marketed offering is effortlessly interchangeable and competition is based on price only. Offering example: timber, farmed produce.
- 2) If you charge for tangible things, you are in the goods business. The marketed offering is made or manufactured and then ownership is transferred through transactions. Offering example: handicrafts, factory-made items.
- 3) If you charge for activities you execute, you are in the service business. The marketed offering - operation - is created and delivered simultaneously with its consumption. Offering example: hairdressing services, restaurants.
- 4) If you charge for the time customers spend with you, you are in the experience business. The marketed offering is staged to create

memories. Offering example: theme parks, holiday destinations.

- 5) If you charge for the demonstrated outcome the customer achieves, you are in the transformation business. The marketed offering is the individual, who is guided towards desirable transformation. Offering examples: personal trainers, business retreats, private health care.

(Adapted from Gilmore and Pine 1999: 196 - 198)

Not only does the above shape a temporal dimension of marketing strategies' development during the last century, but it also demonstrates a continuum from physically challenging (extraction of commodities > manufacturing goods > providing services etc.) to intellectually, socially or mentally challenging. However, it might be exceedingly positivistic to try to convert every business to become a transformation business, as most offerings inherently do not allow for personal enhancement – one hardly becomes more self-confident by eating the most prestigious variety of potatoes, for example.

The modern, future-oriented tourism industry is and should be, therefore, mostly concerned with experiences. The paradigm shift offers new ways of defining the tourist's *experience* i.e. the holistic consumption of tourism industry's offerings. The tourist is included in the production of value whereas the company provides the context for value creation (Petrick and Xiang 2008: 240). It is noteworthy, though, that a single firm can never wholly encompass and control the entire co-creation process alone (Prahalad 2004: 23) as the *experience* comprises more than the individual sleigh ride provider, spa or Santa's village – the experiencer him-/herself, to name but one.

Gilmore and Pine (1999) provide, along with the above model of five offerings, a framework within which the very different tourism experiences

can be placed (see Figure 2). As noted by Gilmore and Pine (1999: 30), "an experience can engage guests on any number of dimensions". This framework takes into account, rather handily, two very suitable ones for this research, as will be seen in the analysis. Figure 2 below illustrates the framework:

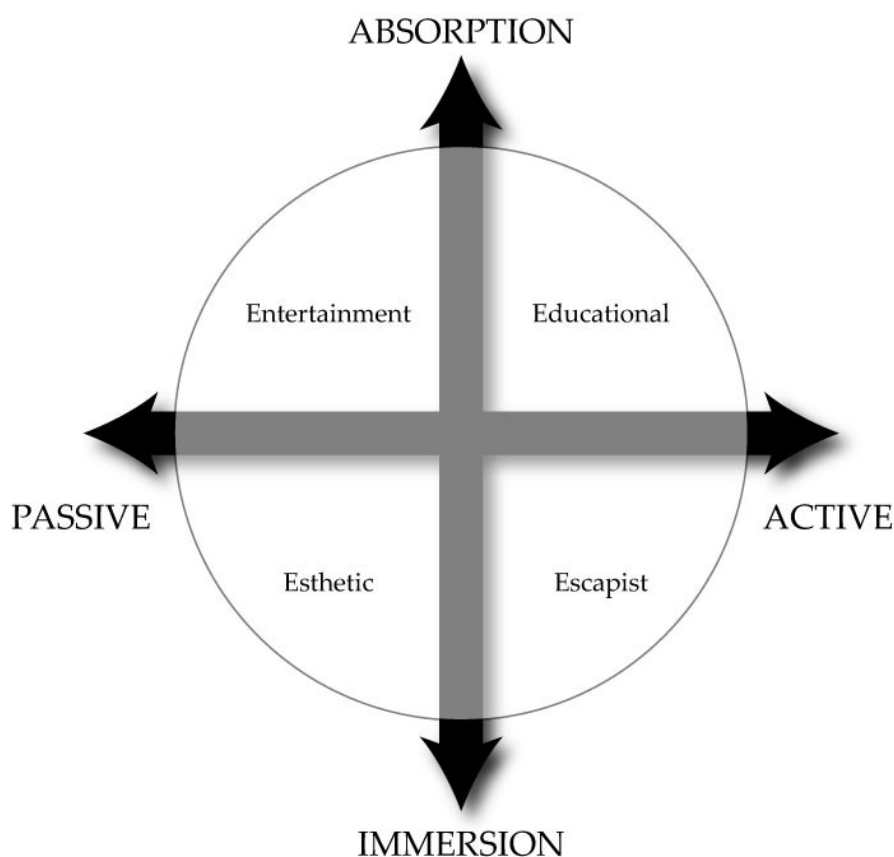


Figure 2. The four realms of experience (adapted from Gilmore and Pine 1999)

The framework produces four different experience categories: Entertainment, Education, Esthetic and Escapist. Each of them occupy their own quadrant, the circle being divided by two bipolar dimensions; 1) the vertical with endpoints "Absorption" and "Immersion", and 2) the horizontal with endpoints "Passive" and "Active".

The proportion of immersion versus absorption describes the experiencer's connection or environmental relationship connecting the experiencer with the context. At the absorption end of the spectrum, an experience is observed or viewed so that it creates a mental impression, or it "goes into" the experiencer, for example when viewing recorded footage of a festivity, whereas immersion implies the contrary, meaning that the experiencer "goes into" the experience with full sensory perception. This distinction could be illustrated with an example from the world of cuisine; one may read of the finesse of Greek kitchen and imagine all the sights, sounds and smells and absorb its delicacy, but actually being in one and genuinely sensing the aforementioned stimuli truly immerses in the experience.

The horizontal axis hosts the participation dimension with extremes ranging from passive to active. Thus, the position upon this axis is dependent on whether the experiencer participates in creating the situation or merely stands aside and lets it fall upon him/her. Elaborating the cuisine example above, the difference here lies in whether the experiencer tries the cooking methods and tastes the food or watches from distance without any effect or involvement to the event.

At first glance, it might seem evident that the most successful of tourism experiences is the one with most immersion and most participation, but this is not the case, as the tourism and consumer behaviour (their needs, wants and expectations) are far from homogeneous, as is with any human interaction. To conceptualize the realms with the help of verbs, Gilmore and Pine (1999: 34) have assigned "wanting to be there" as the essential feeling of the seeker of esthetic experiences. The ones after educational experiences "want to learn", those after escapist experiences "want to do" and those after entertainment, "want so sense". Next, the four "realms" of experience

(entertainment, education, esthetic and entertainment) are further discussed, with example attractions that a tourist would encounter when visiting a destination.

3.2.1. Realm of Entertainment

An experience which has the most absorptive and passive qualities is here dubbed as entertainment. In casual use, the word "entertainment" often implies a positive, amusing component, which is not a requirement here, i.e. the experiencer does not have to have fun in order to have an "entertaining" experience. As, according to this taxonomy, the experiencer is observing something without much effort required, the events falling under this category are for example concerts or sight-seeing tours.

3.2.2. Realm of Education

To add activity (be it physical or mental) to entertainment transforms it into an educational experience. This does not have to have the slightest to do with formal schooling nor should it be thought to concern (or interest, for that matter) children only; humans are capable of learning throughout their lives whether or not they are aware of being educated or whether or not it is intentional. Education in this context also refers, in addition to mental and intellectual development, to physical improvement, resulting from exercise and sports. Thus, resorts that activate their visitors to, for example, stamp coins with methods centuries old or to cook their own meals from provisions carried along hikes educate the experiencers, even though neither the staff nor the visitors normally have any feeling of teacher- or studentship. Similarly, a theme park may accompany educational elements to its rides, facilities, staff behaviour and memento shops, such as information of dinosaurs (Visulahti near Mikkeli) or historical myths (Kalevala-themed

rides in Linnanmäki, Helsinki).

3.2.3. Realm of Escapist

An experience that is very immersive and requires (or allows for) the experiencer to take part, interact and contribute is called an escapist experience. The etymology of this category already implies that some sort of alternate reality is created, either through technological devices (virtual reality systems) or with the help of a completely different environment to which the experiencer is accustomed. In Finland, these sorts of experiences are especially effortless to organize for guests from, for example, Asian countries, due to their perception of "normal" population density being so very much higher and living much more congested. Taking an Indian tourist to a forest creek, informing him/her that it is completely all right and even recommendable to drink from it, catching a few trouts and then grilling them upon open fire with no other human beings than their own group in sight is practically sure to create an emotion of "being elsewhere" and even "being someone else", i.e. an escapist experience not only creates new realities but can also host and support temporary new identities as well (in the above example, the autotrophic Great Survivor, an identity many a Westerner is very alienated from and that many destinations use as a pull factor).

3.2.4. Realm of Esthetic

An esthetic experience is one that incorporates immersion and passive participation. It must be noted that esthetic does not directly imply something beautiful or pleasing, but refers to the experience as being very strongly affective despite the lack of direct, personal involvement. An esthetic experience would be, for example, admiring the northern lights in Lapland or the midnight sun.

It may seem that experiential marketing as described above is more of a guideline for tourism businesses to develop and define their attractions. It does, however provide valuable insight into the experience, which is the main value for the tourist (as illustrated in Figure 1 above). Experiential marketing aids in acquiring a more profound view of tourism products and the ways they are mediated to consumers, by supplying two dimensions (active-passive, absorption-immersion) along which most representations can be located. On the other hand, Cook (1992: 4) points out that advertisements are read and processed in a continuum, meaning that each marketing message is preceded by a multitude of others, creating a shared knowledge of what an advertisement is “supposed” to be. In other words, this history of texts and contexts creates a discourse of advertising that allows for some forms to exist and forbids others. It is through the recognition and analysis of the discourse of destination marketing that one is able to infer what exactly are the ways of creating the above mentioned themes and realms. Representations of Finland cannot be just any words picked up from the brochures; they need to contribute to the metaphor of Finland. They must have relevance in the creation of the mindscape of Finland and thus comply with the discourse that has generated them.

Having now investigated two constituents of initially separate disciplines – marketing and linguistics – the focus of the research will now shift towards making use of them. Methods of content analysis are used to categorize destination marketing material into realms derived from experiential marketing, to find out what Finland is like, according to MEK.

4. Data and analytic framework

This chapter describes the actual analysis employing the methods and

theoretical framework presented above. The data, its validity, features and possible shortcomings are first discussed, followed by more elaborate narration of the data processing and its phases. The results of the process are then discussed first as a whole and then per realm.

4.1. Data

The data of this research, as discussed earlier above, consists of MEK's tourism brochures aimed for international, English-speaking people interested in coming to Finland for a holiday, dating between the years 1973 and 2008. The distribution of the brochures has been done mostly on fairs, Finland-themed events and through travel agencies in the focus area, as well as direct campaigning. The circulation of the 2006 summer brochure was approximately 250.000 copies, whereas the 2006 winter brochure was made into only 180.000 copies. Although the comparison is not quite accurate, an increase of almost 250 percent has occurred since 1975, as the general winter brochure's circulation was merely 75.000 copies.

The Finnish National Archive has stored most of the back catalogue of MEK's publications, whence the data for this research was also retrieved. Unfortunately, the brochures were available only from 1971 onwards, and the continuum of brochures was not complete. In addition to the omission of certain volumes, there was fluctuation in the brochures' focus, i.e. not every volume provided general information of Finland, but were rather thematic renderings. Such volumes were left out of the data, as they were not seen as comparable to the main body of material. The missing volumes did not span across more than three years (largest gaps being between years 1973-1976, 1992-1996 and 2003-2007 these volumes excluded).

Thus, 24 individual brochures were selected for closer study. As they were

archived material, photocopies were taken of relevant pages. This naturally further limited the data, but as no absolute amounts of a certain word were of interest, it was justified to take excerpts of the brochures instead of entireties. Also, as the framework of experiential marketing and methods of content analysis enable perusal of themes and making of inductive inferences, it could be contented that the excerpts provide a wide enough sample of the entire volume.

4.2. Data processing

Having constructed in the previous chapter the different elements of the theoretical framework to form the skeleton of this research, they are now bound together to describe the course of the analysis. Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002: 111) list eight phases for the analysis of a data-driven research approach. Figure 3 presents these phases with minor changes to the original to adapt to the data of the current research (Tuomi and Sarajärvi's list comprises stages of interview analysis process which to a small extent are inapplicable here due to the inherent differences in the data, for example speech transcription). Also the final phase below is not as theory-free as proposed in the original listing, and is, in fact, only the seventh phase of Tuomi and Sarajärvi's list. However, whereas they propose that the final stage consists of "combining the superordinate categories and creating a unifying concept", it is here left out because the "unifying concept" would rather obviously be "Finland", which does not provide much useful advances to the analysis.

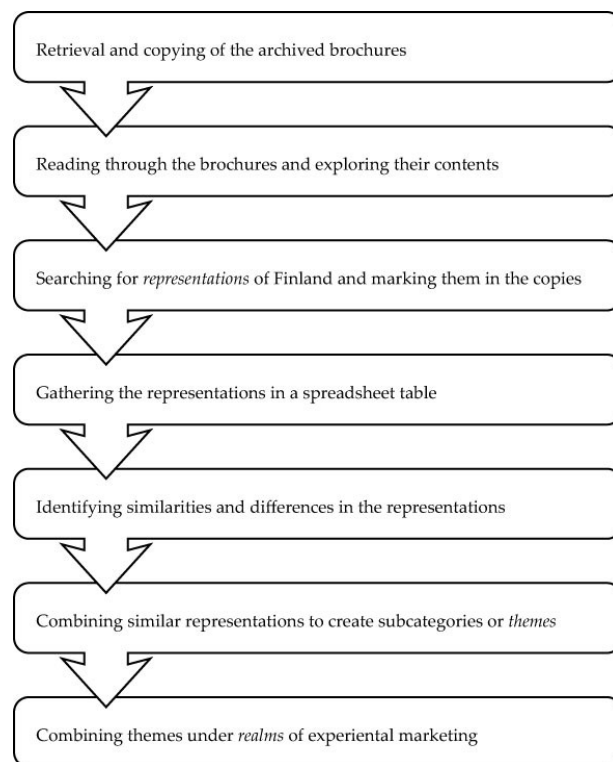


Figure 3. The seven phases of a theory-bound analysis of tourism brochures (adapted from Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002: 111)

The last phase includes the imposing of a theoretical construct, which creates the deviance from data-based analysis towards theory-driven analysis, as the analysis now incorporates something that is already known of the phenomenon under study (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002: 116). For this study to be purely theory-bound, the representations to be picked out would need to be defined beforehand and only their occurrences (or omissions) would be of interest. The construction of “Finland” as a country brand is, however, such an unrestricted process that it was seen more productive to let the authors of the brochures have their say as to what “Finland” is, instead of checking their compositions against something one might think “should be Finnish”. In other words, even though it is postulated that the discourse of destination marketing is to some extent limiting, there are no word lists or predetermined idioms that could be exclusively picked to filter the excessive

“clutter” from the data. On the contrary, the open-endedness of the analytical framework allowed for the discourse to be manifested without distortion.

As becomes evident from Figure 3 above, this research follows a representation-theme-realm-metaphor -hierarchy. Starting from the lexical level of text (i.e. organized blots of ink on sheets of paper, forming symbols that, for proficient language users, convey meanings), the metaphor of Finland is built by using these words to create themes that can be then combined under proverbial umbrellas of the realms derived from the experiential marketing framework. Even though some (especially more traditional) definitions of discourse postulate that discourses operate upon elements larger than sentences (Blommaert 2005: 2), it is essential to notice that the discourse under scrutiny here comprises, naturally among many others, of such austere lexical elements as single words. Thus, the representation-theme relationship may vary greatly in extent, but produces equally discourse-constituting themes. The realms, finally and all together, then create the metaphor “Finland” that the copywriters employed by MEK at a given time have chosen to re-produce. Table 1 illustrates this relationship with three examples:

Table 1. Examples of the representation-theme-realm relationship

Year	Representation	Theme	Realm
1982	- superb ski tracks - trail of adventure	winter sports adventure	education escapism
1989	- one hundred and fifty thousand untouched square miles of forests and lakes - opera, film and jazz festivals	cleanliness nature cultural events	esthetic esthetic entertainment
1999	- a real thrill - a new freedom	excitement identity-	escapism escapism

	- almost untouched surroundings	creation cleanliness	esthetic
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Representation in this context is understood as answering the question "what is Finland?", in its much varying forms. The question is not only about statistical or geographical facts but about activities, attributes and appearances as well, all elements present in the tourism brochures. The actual term "representation" has many definitions depending on the perspective and scientific discipline, one of them was discussed already in the first chapter; in linguistics, then, it is seen to "provide the basic bridge between sound and meaning, linking the phonological properties of word forms with clusters of syntactic and semantic attributes" (Tyler 1989: 439). Of course, in this context "sound" and "phonological" become, perhaps, "text" and "textual" (resorting to the narrow definition of text as being words on paper, as it appears here).

To link representations to the wider perception of language as a social practice, it is again necessary to bind text (and its creation process) with society and interaction between its members. Fairclough's (2001: 14) very elementary postulation defines language "as social practice determined by social structures", along which different social structures formulate, limit and enable certain ways of using language, in other words create a certain discourse. On the other hand, Thornborrow, (1998: 256) defending the need for critical discourse analysis against claims of banality and stating the obvious ("racistic discourse is created through racially prejudicial representations"), states that "prevailing discourse practices ... both constitute and sustain broader social practices, and theorists may not be able to do much more than draw attention to asymmetries and inequalities". A discourse (used here as a count noun) is the nexus of texts and their social

contexts (Fairclough 2003: 25) that produces – or requires – particular types of representations, i.e. the discourse of tourism, for example, is socially constructed by actors within the “tourism”-dubbed social structure that consists of travel agencies, destination businesses, tourists, destination marketing organizations etc. They employ representations that conform to the chosen discourse; if they would not, the discourse would transform into something different, for example a travelogue, a magazine article or a criticism. Fairclough (2003: 26) distinguishes discourses as ways of representing (with *genres* as ways of (inter)acting and *styles* as ways of being) elements of “the material world, of other social practices, reflexive self-representations of the practice in question.” Representations of the data here, then, are the tourism discourse's ways of describing Finland (again) as a country, a culture and a people.

Analysis of the representations requires them to be somehow separated from the body of texts. A matrix of representations was created and organized into a table similar (but naturally more extensive) to Table 1 above, where the year of publishing was placed on the first vertical column, followed by the representation column to the right, after which came the columns of Themes and Realms, respectively. To fill the matrix, the abundant data of the tourist brochures was treated with three-point progression, or to keep with Figure 3, reduction (phases 2-4), clustering (phases 5-6) and abstraction (phase 7) of data (Miles and Huberman 1984, as quoted by Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002: 110). The first step, reduction, “is a form of analysis that sharpens, sorts, focuses, discards, and organizes data in such a way that “final” conclusions can be drawn and verified” (Miles and Huberman 1984: 21). In this research, some reduction was done very early, in the data acquisition phase, as not all brochure material was available and some had to be left out due to practical reasons. Further reduction, however, was done with great care not to be violent to the data, so that biases would not emerge.

After reduction, the data faced a process of clustering. This, as well as reduction, was done without resorting to predetermined categories. As Miles and Huberman put it, "we are trying to understand a phenomenon better by *grouping*, then *conceptualizing* objects that have similar patterns or characteristics" (1984: 219). These conceptualisations or clusters are what we here call Themes and, therefore, consist of representations that have analogous qualities (see, again, Table 1). Abstraction, then, is the introduction of theoretical framework to the lexical expressions (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002: 114) or "an interaction of theory and data" (Bulmer 1979, as quoted by Miles and Huberman 1984: 219).

The gathering of the representations was done by carefully going through the brochure excerpts, asking the texts the above-mentioned question "what is Finland?", i.e. how does a chosen lexical element (word, phrase or paragraph) re-produce Finland to the reader, what does each representation tell the reader of Finland, what does it contribute to the mindscape "Finland". The unit of analysis in this research shifts rather flexibly between one single lexeme and longer phrases, depending on how much material is seen necessary to create a certain representation. Regardless of their lengths, the lexical units were copied to the Representation column, one representation per row.

Having compiled thus a list of "what all is Finland", attention was directed to the Themes column. The identification of similarities (stages 5 and 6 in Figure 3) was done thoroughly on the data's terms, i.e. the underlying theories of this research had no direct effect to the process (as was stated above, when discussing the distinction between data-driven and theory-driven approaches). Although there was no prior theoretical framework to guide the thematic segmentation, a healthy dose of intra-data reflexivity was

introduced and practised to ensure that similarities genuinely existed and, on the other hand, were not subjected to arbitrary or redundant categorization. Therefore, despite the liberty from the universally recognized problem of inter-coder reliability and agreement⁴ (due to a single individual coder), the issue was kept in mind and, approximately halfway through the thematic categorization, the Themes column was critically re-viewed to disclose possible duplicate or redundant themes. Naturally, this process was repeated when the whole data had been treated. This way, the lack of being able to compute numeral values for reliability and thus validate the process of analysis, was countered to maintain confidence to make "replicable and valid inferences from texts ... to the contexts of their use" (Krippendorff 2004: 18), as was formulated to be the goal of content analysis in the definitions above.

Again, as with the first phase of data reduction (the search for representations), the question of "Finland" was applied to create the titles for themes. The above-mentioned reflexivity optimizes the categories so that there should not needlessly exist themes that have a single assigned representation or that similar representations occupy multiple themes. However, the categories or themes could still have been named merely as "Theme 1", "Theme 2" and so on. This would have, though, rendered the next stage impossible, as the themes were further reduced and categorized. Therefore, the titling and reduction of the representations was done by selecting a single word description of how the representation category describes Finland - as a country and as a mindscape.

Interestingly, many of the themes were named with titles that were actually lexically present in the data. Thus the themes "nature", "adventure" or "culture" were both representations and themes at the same time. At this

4 See, for example, Hughes and Garrett 1990, Mayring 2000 and Carey 2006. In addition to these, virtually all methodical content analyses have sections discussing their inter- (and intra-)coder reliability and agreement.

point it served a purpose, as the representations varied in extent. Therefore, 'adventure' as a theme might encompass merely the word 'adventure', a phrase 'set out to explore the untouched fells' or a paragraph extending several lines discussing what all there is to see and experience in the undisturbed Lapland wilderness when one hikes across fields and over fells.

Having compiled the thematic groups for all the representations, the theoretical framework of experiential marketing was implemented to gather the themes under the four realms, as the seventh and final phase of the analysis depicted in Figure 3. Introducing a theoretical construct (a rather rigid one, having only two dimensions and four quadrants under which all the themes would have to be assigned) at this phase in the data processing meant that the realms became relatively wide in regard to the spectra of different themes and representations.

5. Results

As content analysis provides means to and allows for quantitative analysis of qualitative content (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002: 95), the data of this research is now viewed both with the help of examples and through numerical values. In this approach and with this data, it is crucial to focus on percentages and ratios rather than absolute numbers, as the brochures were not available in their entirety. This renders categorical counting irrelevant, because one cannot validly argue, for example, that during certain years some representation doubles its occurrence frequency relying on absolute numbers, as the excerpts are only samples, not entities. More interesting, then, are the ratios between and within realms. Table 2 lists the numerical amounts of different representations and themes in each of the realms (see Appendix 1 for a complete listing of themes and their distribution).

Table 2. Number of different themes and representations

Realm	Themes	Representations	Percentage
Esthetic	17	296	50,00
Escapist	6	171	28,89
Education	10	92	15,54
Entertainment	6	33	5,57
TOTAL	39	592	100

As Table 2 shows, the largest realm in the data representation-wise is Esthetic, consisting of 296 different representations falling under 17 themes. The representations gathered in this realm cover exactly half of the total number of representations and are almost twice as frequent as the next largest realm, Escapism, which has only 6 themes but 171 representations. The difference in the theme-representation ratio in the two largest realms (Esthetic approx. 17 representations per theme, Escapism approx. 29 representations per theme) is due to the natures of the realms, as Esthetic comprises representations that essentially refer to the human senses – sight most importantly – whereas Escapism implies that some activity be included in the experience. Thus, the very wide spectrum of activities presented in the brochures also produces a large number of different Escapist representations, but they fall under the same theme more often than in the Esthetic realm.

Appendix 2 below presents an interesting statistic. Its main relevance is actually its lack thereof, meaning that the temporal distribution of realms between years 1973 and 2008 shows no rational development in the ratios of the realms. The unmistakable arbitrariness of the graph in Appendix 2 indicates that none of the four realms have significantly grown or subsided in relation to the others, leading to the conclusion that the realm classification is not a product of (post-)modernity, at least on the time span covered here.

In the following, the realms are discussed separately with four most frequent themes of each realm introduced more closely with examples of representations of these themes. It is justifiable to present four most frequent themes, as they comprise 97 percent of Entertainment realm, 95 percent of Escapism, 82 percent of Education and 57 percent of (the more fragmented) Esthetic realm. It may also need to be reminded, that the realms (and Education in particular) named by Gilmore and Pine (1999) might distract the reader into thinking too narrow-mindedly of their contents. Entertainment in this context needs not be amusing or funny, Education is not required to be formal schooling (and does include normally less educative themes, such as shopping) and Escapism focuses more on what the tourist will become in Finland rather than what he/she would leave behind.

5.1. Entertainment

The realm of Entertainment occupies the absorption and passive quadrant of the experiential marketing space (see Figure 2 on page 40). Such experiences are encountered without participation or influence in the unfolding of the event, leaving the experiencer, here the tourist, external to the event (he/she, of course, can also choose to remain as such). In this context, the Entertainment themes proved to be circumstances or conditions, as the top four themes are *modernity* (45% percent of all themes in this realm), *culture* (33%), *urbanity* (12%) and *nature* (6%). They describe the surroundings in which the tourist will find him/herself in should he/she decide to go there, but do not as such make value statements. They do not assign emotive properties to a destination and are as such therefore rather scarce in the data, due to its nature as a marketing medium intended to affect consumption behaviour.

Examples of the representations for Entertainment themes:

modernity:	“technologically advanced” (1989) “a prime example of a large modern community” (1979)
culture:	“thousand festive and culture events” (1983) “arts are a part of everyday life” (1997)
urbanity:	“restless heart of city life” (1997) “[natural design in] urban setting” (1997)
nature:	“elements” (1997) “Finland's archipelago, its almost 200,000 lakes” (1997)

5.2. Education

The Education realm encompasses experiences that are casually observed but actively participated in, so that it covers the active-absorption quadrant of Figure 2. Education is a two-fold realm, with top four themes being *information* (32%), *winter activities* (20%), *summer activities* (17%) and *history* (13%). This indicates that the themes here are quite clearly divided into either informative or activity-related. The themes are most often either straightforward factualities (inducing learning and thus being active rather than passive) or descriptions of activities. However, to distinguish from Escapist themes, the activities as such could be undertaken also anywhere else – although the superior quality of the activity facility is often emphasized – meaning that in educational representations the tourist is informed that Finland offers incomparable opportunities for hiking in the great outdoors, but it is not implied that the tourist will be exposed to a mindblowing experience during the hike.

Examples of the representations for Education themes:

information:	“one of the most northerly countries” (1976) an information box about Finnish politics and government (1985a)
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- winter activities: “a land of sport lovers” (1990)
 “superb ski tracks” (1982)
- summer activities: “yachting and boating” (1979)
 a paragraph about fishing in Finland (2007)
- history: “the area has some of the most important
 historical remains in the country” (1971)
 an information box of Finnish history (1981)

5.3. Escapist

As the name suggests, an Escapist experience is one in which the experiencer is immersed and actively partakes in the progression of the event. It contains a strong sense of identity-creation, as an Escapist experience creates alternate, sometimes “hyper” realities that are, as discussed earlier in this research, more real than reality itself. One may thus, through such a representation, “experience the life of a reindeer herder of olden times”, in effect become a reindeer herder for the passing moment, although in reality it is all a construct of the tourism entrepreneur; the reindeers are far from wild and behind the wilderness-situated grey timber facade lies a concrete element, electricity and sewerage. The reindeer herder -experience is a staged reality, a depiction of a place, time and social setting far away from the tourist's origin, often in all these aspects.

The Escapist representations are relatively evenly (the most evenly, at least, of the four realms within this data) distributed among the four top themes: *excellence* (30%), *enjoyment* (28%), *authenticity* (25%) and *serenity* (12 %). All of the representations promise the tourist something about Finland that is seemingly unique or that the tourist's place of origin cannot offer, be it peace and quiet or high-class restaurants.

Examples of the representations for Escapist themes:

excellence:	“Finland where everything ... is extraordinary” (1999) “highest standards of living anywhere in the world” (1989)
enjoyment:	“enjoy the magical experience of the frozen, snowy north” (2008) “a holiday in Finland is always a delight” (1997)
authenticity	“the summer cottage is the most Finnish way to spend a holiday” (1997) “experimenting with native foods and sights” (1979)
serenity	“everything to give you precious time on your own” (2002) “peaceful, white wonderland” (1998)

5.4. *Esthetic*

The Esthetic realm of themes covers the largest share of representations. Finland, according to the topologies presented here, is re-produced 296 times (of the grand total of 592 – exactly 50 percent) as something that the experiencer is completely immersed in, but does not require his/her activity to be realized. The wonderfulness and amazing beauty thus exists regardless of the tourist, but simultaneously awaits and invites consumption. This is easily conceivable as Finland as a destination has certain paradise-like qualities that border biblical authority; a serene, unspoilt location where even the sub-zero winter temperatures bring exhilaration (for a surprisingly similar discussion of Hawaii's paradisaal features in tourism marketing see Costa 1998).

The four most frequent Esthetic themes are *natural beauty* (23%), *purity* (38%), *exhibition* (13%) and *spaciousness* (9%). During the analysis, 17 different themes emerged, which is greatly more than with any other realms. This illustrates well the variety of representations that employ esthetic means in

re-creating Finland as a desirable tourism destination.

Examples of the representations for Esthetic themes:

natural beauty	“a rugged and stunning landscape” (1989) “forests burst with fresh foliage” (2007)
purity	“crystal clear lakes” (1989) “synonymous with pure, natural surroundings” (1997)
exhibition	“old historical towns with their quaint wooden buildings” (1985a) “distinct customs, traditions, local dishes and dialects” (1981)
spaciousness	“small population, big country” (2008) “there is privacy and elbowroom for everyone” (1988)

6. Discussion

Having presented above the results of the brochures' analysis, it is now time to see what it actually means. The very initial hypothesis for this research was to examine how the realms, their themes and representations within them changed or evolved during the time span from the seventies to modern day. However, it turned out that this inquiry was perhaps not only decades but in fact centuries too late. Urry (2006: 3-5) describes the development of tourism as it is now understood, as the evolution from pilgrimage of the elite few to enjoyment of the mass. During this progression, also the tourist gaze (and, consequently, tourism discourse – tourist gaze as a concept is discussed more below) transformed from “the classical Grand Tour” to “the romantic Grand Tour”, the former presupposing “emotionally neutral observation and recording of galleries, museums and high cultural artefacts”, resembling quite closely the Entertainment realm of this research. The latter, then,

brought along "'scenic tourism' and a much more private and passionate experience of beauty and the sublime", which in turn reminds of the Esthetic and Escapist realms. This shift, according to Urry, took place between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, which renders a temporal study of the last few decades and seeking differences and developments therein somewhat misguided.

However, the lack of change does not imply a lack of meaning. Instead, one starts to ponder the reason behind such stasis. Also, as the analysis reveals some deeply-rooted elements and features Finland arguably possesses, they must convey some essential representations. After all, they have existed for as long as the brochures in this form have been published. Finland in the seventies, with the rest of the world, must have been very different as society and a tourist destination from what it is now. However, despite tourism marketing academics' enthusiasm of the new era of the tourist becoming the subject of their own travel (Gilmore and Pine 1999, Williams 2006), they seem not to require a differing set of representations to be attracted to Finland. At least for MEK, to realize "the Grand Romantic tour", one will need nature, cleanliness and space, no matter if the tour took place in the seventies or in the twenty-first century.

Although the data did not distribute in a meaningful way on a temporal dimension (as is blatantly shown in Appendix 2), there still was interesting observations to be made of how the representations were divided. From the presentation of the percentages of separate realms above, one can see that the analysis shows a clear emphasis on the Esthetic realm. Out of the 592 representations, 296 were categorized under the Esthetic realm, comprising exactly 50 percent of the data. From the rest, Escapism was equally isolated, as its share of the representations was larger than those of Education and

Entertainment combined (Escapism comprising approximately 29 percent while Education and Entertainment sum up to 21 percent). What is the reason, then, for such a division? The next two subsections will discuss the polar ends of Figure 2, i.e. the dimensions of the experiential marketing framework, with the third refining the realm construct into another composition, possibly more suitable in this context, namely natural, artificially natural and artificial Finlands.

6.1. Immersion versus absorption

Backtracking the analysis to its foundations, i.e. the theories of experiential marketing, it becomes quickly evident that the “Finland” re-presented in the brochures is something that one is supposed to embrace with full sensory perception – or at least that the destination offers an unparalleled milieu and opportunities for such enjoyment. Whether one merely admires the scenery and surroundings in awe or recreates one’s personality as an adventurer or an upper-class high-flyer (via paying huge mark-ups for room service, renting top quality skiing equipment and venturing out to the snow-covered wilderness – only to return to the safety of one’s leased log cabin), a mathematical ratio of 79 percent about Finland is beautiful, serene, pure, enjoyable and authentic.

For a native Finn, this may feel rather unrealistic. Indeed, being a resident of any destination, one inherently knows that the images produced by tourism discourse are far from veracious:

An inauthentic attitude to place is nowhere more clearly expressed than in tourism, for in tourism individual and authentic judgment about places is nearly always subsumed to expert or socially accepted opinion, or the act and means of tourism become more important than the place visited. (Relph 1993, as quoted by Dann 1996: 20)

Dann elaborates this fallacy by presenting examples of such misguided perceptions of reality: travel as status symbol (thus delegating the judgement of prestige to some external authority, such as travel brochures and guides) or trusting solely a guide book's discernment as to what to see, do or experience during a holiday. It is this myopia that creates the so-called gaze of the tourist (Urry 1990) that is "anticipated and directed by ... media, which construct and reinforce the gaze" (1990: 3). The tourist gaze is similar to other "Gazes" of scholars from various disciplines, in that it exerts power upon the gazed by the gazer. It is then a certain discourse that gives the tourist points of reference, towards which to direct the gaze. The points of reference, or as Urry calls them, signposts, are created by "professional opinion formers (brochure writers, teachers, Countryside Commission staff)" (1990: 47). The tourist thus takes possession of "Finland" and shapes it according to what he/she believes is real and true, distancing and finally separating the "touristic Finland" from the "native Finland". The tourist gaze is, after all, created mostly along the axis of absorption-immersion, as the tourist gaze defines the gazed to agree with what the external authorities have stipulated it to be.

6.2. Active versus Passive

The distinction between active and passive experiences (i.e. the realms Education and Escapist vs Entertainment and Esthetic, respectively) is less clear than that between immersion and absorption. The percentages are 55% in favour of passive, which naturally is very much accented by the large overall share of the Esthetic realm. It cannot therefore be said, based on this analysis, that Finland would be essentially either a paradise for an activity-seeker or that only observational possibilities for holiday spending were available. However, it produces an interesting dichotomy between the representations from which two metaphors can be derived to describe any

destination: *painting* and *playground*.

To see a destination as a painting, one observes it, wonders its beauty and the intricacies involved in its creation, but does so only from a distance. The painting remains the same regardless of the viewer's actions, and although the interpretation of the painting is a subjective experience, it is guided by the context in which the painting is presented (Dann 1996: 190; Urry 2006: 59), i.e. if it is hung in the modernist section, if the caption reads 'A beautiful sunset upon untouched wilderness' or if the artist is known to produce exaggerative or naïvistic works. Similarly, riding a tourist coach through a small town converts into admiration of a 'historical fisher village with century-old traditions' only when someone informs the tourist that this is the "proper" way of seeing the town. The tourist gaze needs to be directed by markers (Urry 2006: 10), as the tourist's knowledge of the destination or experience is inferior to that of the destination's or experience's producer. The "painting Finland" is realized mostly through adjectival descriptions and Noun-Adjective constructs, ready-made markers such as 'sparkling clean lakes' and 'a dramatic view' that leave no room for individual or subjective assessment, but instead are represented as predetermined and unchallengeable truths.

If a tourist destination is seen as a playground, it liberates the tourist from the external boundaries and pre-set gaze markers – although, as MacCannell points out, "anything is potentially an attraction. It simply awaits one person to take the trouble to point it out to another as something noteworthy, or worth seeing" (1999, as quoted by Urry 2006: 10). On a playground, one actively creates or partakes in the creation of enjoyment, naturally within the confinements of the destination or attraction. An escapist experience of becoming something new, adopting a new identity is often quite limited, as

the “staged authenticity” (MacCannell 1973, as quoted by Urry 2006: 9) within which the tourist must create his/her “self” mimics and mirrors a “real” reality. Nevertheless, one can in this make-believe world of 'unlimited adventures' and 'Christmas wonders' substitute the ordinary social roles to something else and act accordingly, thereby reinforcing the escapist discourse of the destination. In creating the playground, the authors have used significant amounts of verb phrases, such as 'a magic ingredient you must discover for yourself' or 'where to find the real home of sauna'. In such destinations, the gaze is no longer sufficient in experiencing the possibilities to the fullest, and the tourist is invited to create the experience partly him-/herself. However, this invitation is just as tautological as any other tourism text, as will be pointed out in the following section.

6.3. Presuppositions, requirements and consequences of the “Top Four” themes

In assigning qualities and characteristics, the discourse of tourism employs a predominantly adjectival language that does not shun extremes. 'Everything else is *extraordinary*, too', celebrates the 1999 brochure and is in accordance to every other brochure. 'Full' instead of lacking, 'everything' instead of something, 'only the sky is the limit' instead of a little, 'perfect' instead of nearly, these all are samples of only one brochure, that of 2002. Examples are abound:

We are proud to share our majestic snow covered landscapes, our *magical* forests and our *glorious* northern nature with you. There is *nowhere in the world* where you can enjoy such a wide variety of thrilling winter activities, while *never* being more than a walk from *absolute* tranquillity. With so much to see and do, we're *sure* you'll be happy our snowy winter lasts so long. We wish you an amazing stay in the land of Santa Claus, where Northern Lights shine and snow *always* sparkles. (2008, italics added)

The excerpt above is the opening copy of the winter 2008 brochure. The text element is positioned under an image of a laughing, snowshoe-sporting and

warmly-clad couple half submerged in snow. Below the text, a photo of two sleigh dogs with cuddly white fur portrays the same blue and white scenery as the image above. Although the visual elements are not under scrutiny in this research, this example shows how the discourse of Finnish winter tourism is very well defined, both textually and visually. In terms of the realms used above, the excerpt employs all but one; there are representations of the Esthetic ('where Northern Lights shine and snow always sparkles'), Escapist ('you can enjoy', 'absolute tranquillity') and Education ('wide variety of thrilling winter activities') realms but nothing that could be classified as being Entertainment. There is nothing about Finland (in that excerpt) that would be merely observable and external. As can be seen from Table 2 above, the representations belonging to the Entertainment realm are, in fact, rather scarce. Finland, where everything is realized to the maximum, is to be experienced, not noticed, seen, or looked at – this, again, returning to the above distinction between playgrounds and paintings, Finland in 2008 very clearly being the former.

This emphasis on experiencing instead of observing may well be due to the fact that we, once again, are dealing with advertisements. As Deighton (1984: 769) states, “the inducing of expectations is a legitimate goal of advertising”, which is just what the tourism brochures do. They create an expectation of something spectacular, a feeling of envy (Dann 1996: 56) in the prospective tourist, driving him/her to purchase the holiday. An issue being addressed in many a tourism research – and participating strongly in this expectation and envy creation – is tourism language's tautological nature, a phenomenon that is very much present also in the data of the current study. Dann (1996: 65) asserts that tourism itself is a tautology and tourists “merely confirm the discourse which persuaded them to take the trip. They assert as true what was shown to them before they departed”. In this view, tourists reading

copies such as the one above would not feel their expectations fulfilled should they visit Helsinki in November, as they are less likely to find 'majestic snow covered landscapes' and certainly will not experience the Northern Lights. Santa Claus they would, however, meet in every shopping centre, with no need to travel to Rovaniemi: yet another result of staged authenticity. The tourist will be able to associate a snow-clad forest with 'magical', the fumbling attempts of cross country skiing with 'thrilling' and a moment when no other tourists are in sight and no clamour can be heard with 'tranquillity', because the brochure represented these experiences as such.

It is not, however, only the activities and natural attributes that is re-created for the tourist. The tautology extends to people as well. As can be learnt from the 1983 brochure, '[Finland's] friendly people are known for their vitality and for the warm welcome they extend to visitors', or from 1981, 'the Finn is a friendly soul at heart'. Surprising in such statements is that it is the entire nation, over 5 million people who are deemed as such, not just those in the service trade, whom one would expect to express 'a genuine and warm' welcome (1981) at any rate; after all 'the hospitality offered here will guarantee an exceptional holiday for an exceptional event [the Millennium]' (1999).

To slightly break away from the realm-theme construct, another division arises from the data. It could said that on the basis of the brochures studied here, MEK produces and represents three kinds of Finlands: the natural, the artificially natural and the artificial. Surely, as long as no global or universal catastrophes occur, one will experience the Midnight Sun (as is promised in brochures from years 1979, 1983 and 2000), where no tourism operator or service provider has a role as such; the experience is produced by the

surroundings and circumstances (geographical and astronomical in this case) in which the tourist will be inevitably immersed upon arriving in Finland. The *natural* Finland will be found here regardless of the tourism industry. All tourism has to do is to provide facilities to assist in the enjoying of 'shimmering blue lakes' (2007), 'charming forest paths ... and thundering rapids' (1996).

To be exposed to an *artificially natural* Finland, a tourist will take part in cruises aboard 'traditional wooden steamers' (1989) (usually fitted with diesel engines) as people would have done a century ago – thus replicating an authentic experience of 'a quaint and tranquil way to spend the day'. Alternatively, he/she could participate in snowmobile safaris that are closely monitored and roam using carefully planned routes 'through the sparkling snow-covered forests and over the frozen lakes' (1971). Artificial nature provides a premeditated experience, a safe and certain product that can be consumed when it best suits the needs of the experiencer. Such products are on offer only because there is a commercial actor refining the "raw materials", and in absence of these cultivators, they would not be available for tourists even though they might exist there in their own right. One needs only to quickly think of Dubai of the United Arab Emirates to get a clear conception of artificial naturality; there are paradise islands shaped like palm trees and world maps (with, mind you, Finnish-made docks and piers), that, as such, could be naturally formed but of course are not. Accordingly, one can go skiing in the middle of the desert in beautiful alpine surroundings, only indoors – all this built on barren strip of sand in the last three decades.

The *artificial* Finlands represented in the brochures are manufactured sites either purely for tourism's purposes or having some qualities that tourists will find enjoyable or worth visiting. A completely artificial, albeit nature-

inspired creation, for example, is the often appearing Santa Claus village, where 'the real, authentic Santa Claus lives in Finnish Lapland' (2000). A fairytale or a legend in its own right, the actual resort is built in a cave where actors recreate the Christmas fantasies for children of all ages. The importance of the fable is actually so heightened that it defines the entire country: Finland is dubbed the "land of Santa Claus" (2008), "[Santa Claus'] native homeland" (2002) and his place of "residence" (1989). Not only do these designations associate Santa Claus with Finland but also all that is inherent in the myth of Santa Claus: north, snow and reindeer. As with artificially natural representations, these elements would be found also without a business or an entrepreneur but it would not be the "Santa Claus" experience that the brochures promote. For the Santa product, a resort is needed to condense these representations into a marketable entirety.

Binding natural, artificially natural and artificial Finlands to the representations studied above, one quickly notices a clear pattern. Natural Finland is expressed through Esthetic themes, artificially natural mostly through Escapist themes and artificial through Education and Entertainment⁵. The attributes of natural Finland include (as could be anticipated) themes such as 'natural beauty', 'purity' and 'spaciousness', all that are immune to marketers' enterprises and cannot be affected. It is natural Finland that tourists will come to see when their native countries are thought to be, in accordance to the envy motivation, crowded, noisy and spoilt by congestion and pollution. For them, Finland is recreated as the haven relieving them from these discomforts, and when the brochure is successful in this purpose, the reader will notice that these attributes are lacking from their current location inducing in them a desire to "purchase Finland".

5 This categorization is not to be taken absolutely. Despite the overlap it approximates the nature of the data rather well and is usable in gaining a comprehensive view of the results from this research.

Artificially natural Finland is mostly produced by portraying features that are founded on the cultivation of a natural “resource” into an experience that gives the tourist an opportunity to leave the mundane and the every-day behind and transform into something entirely new. As mentioned above, the Escapist realm that yields the artificial naturality includes such themes as 'excellence', 'authenticity' and 'enjoyment', and it is through them the tourist is able to, so to say, escape from the reality he/she is forced to live in when not on a holiday. It is not very important if the experience of reality is produced in a man-made environment, as long as it seems to be “real”, i.e. the re-presented reality is “real” enough if it fulfils the need for a new identity or improved ambience. Artificially natural is, then, the foundation of any theme park or any organized festivity, any staged authenticity.

Purely artificial Finland consists of urban and modern surroundings, factual constructions and experiences that are created and consumed there and then. Such themes in the brochures are 'winter' and 'summer activities', 'information', 'culture' and 'history'. They are external structures within which the tourist will, knowingly or unconsciously, choose to step into or not. They are synthetic, whether created by physical labour or mental construction and exist (in the context of the brochures) only to entertain the guests. Providing information of a destination country's area or state religions (2007), for example, does little to bring along enjoyment, nor does the description of a 'bustling modern center' (1990) as such. These are facts and features that do not, actually, create the illusion of a unique destination, but rather give only a vague and obtuse description of something easily interchangeable, thus violating the fundamental rule of branding: becoming *unique* instead of a commodity (Morgan and Pritchard 2004: 65).

7. Conclusions

After the analysis of the data and the results thereof, two relevant conclusions can be made. Firstly, MEK as a destination marketing organization has not radically changed its methods in representing and re-creating Finland to foreign prospective tourists. Secondly, the actual (and seemingly stable) representation of Finland rests on ideas of naturality, either original or artificial. This section will first return to the notion of the official country brand via presenting and reflecting an example from across the world that carries striking resemblance to the branding of Finland. Then, the two conclusions above are further elaborated, drawing the discussion of this research to a close and opening tracks for new explorations.

7.1. "Finland" equals "Western Australia"

The four C's of MEK discussed in the first chapter (Credible, Contrasts, Cool, Creative), are somewhat visible in the brochures, but perhaps not as clearly as one would have expected, as one of the basic principles of successful brand usage is consistency (Kotler 1999). On the other hand, the four C's are vague enough to allow for association in almost any aspect of "Finland". For example, "Cool" conveys at least two immediate messages, that of temperature and a colloquial positive attribute. "Creative" can be assigned to the tourist operators (in creating exciting services and experiences for the tourist to consume), to Finnish artists and craftspeople and to the tourist him/herself, as "Finland" is supposedly a vast playground where only imagination sets limits for recreation.

Although Finland is represented as a unique destination, it of course is not. All Finland's differentiating attributes can be replicated or re-produced – one might even claim that Finland re-produces strengths of other destinations,

and would not be completely off saying so. Even the final and most sacred bastion of “Finnishness”, Santa Claus, has been commercialized in the United Kingdom with theme parks closely resembling their Finnish exemplar - with questionable success, though. Even further (geographically) away, Crockett and Wood (2004) provide a history of 'Brand Western Australia', a co-operative marketing strategy adopted by the Western Australian Tourism Commission in 1996. They outlined key elements of the 'Brand WA' to comprise “the state's unique natural beauty, wide open spaces and pristine environment, the colours of the landscape and the free-spirited nature of the Western Australian lifestyle” (2004: 186). These are the exact same themes that permeated the brochures about Finland, only the representations would have been different. Not only did they employ the same themes, 'Brand WA' incorporated four “core personal elements (2004: 194) that closely resemble the four C's of MEK: *fresh, natural, free and spirited*.

Of course the climate of these destinations alone prevents downright carbon copies of representations between Western Australia and Finland, but the core elements of 'Brand WA' and Finland's country brand are so similar in meaning, as are the themes and key elements, that certain familiarity is inevitable. However, Crockett and Wood evaluate the 'Brand WA' to be very successful in not only creating awareness, but straight-forward revenues as well; in five years international visitors increased by almost 25 percent while an increase in tourism revenues exceeded 80 percent (2004: 205). Something in the brand was, thus, very attractive so why not follow the prosperous example? There, indeed, seems to be idea-level connections that surpass geographical or political boundaries: people are drawn to certain types of locations regardless of the location itself. A contrary example would, perhaps, illustrate this also: a representative of Iraq's tourism agency has been reported to state that tourists have 70-80 percent chance of spending

their holiday there without troubles. Any country with statistics like that would need more than a brand brush-up to increase tourism revenues.

7.2. MEK in stasis – or in foresight?

It might first seem surprising and even to some extent visionary that from as early as 1971, the marketing communication of MEK in Finland has been able to employ modern methods, i.e. take experiences into the focal point of their marketing efforts instead of tangible products and services. Indeed, it has been argued that conventional tourism marketing has tended to enforce and encourage the traditional consumption methods (Morgan et. al 2002, as quoted by Williams 2006: 482). Although it might be argued that it is impossible to say whether marketing creates demand or merely reflects and reacts to it, the fact remains that experiences are what modern post-industrial tourists are after. As with other social constructs, also the touristic experience is detached from what it was when society depended upon it (MacCannell and Lippard 1999: 91). One can abandon the identity and role assigned and assumed in the everyday life for the short span of one's holiday, because there are resorts full of enabling constructs awaiting for the identity-swingers. Modern society will withstand a fortnight without the services of a holiday-making blacksmith, carpenter or farmer.

The future for MEK's brochures is yet to be seen. Print media altogether have difficult times ahead, being static, non-interactive and slow to react, compared to contemporary (and future) electronic media. As with any other medium, modern, fragmented consumerism will most probably shave off some of the national destination marketing organization's authority and leverage, as more and more tourists will rely on peer-produced accounts of destinations. It thus becomes more important to satisfy the needs of the

individual consumer and create experiences they will want to share with others, partly simultaneously sharing the function of the destination marketing organization. Herein may also lie the source and reason to the surprising finding of this research – that the marketer's focus has not noticeably shifted during the decades covered here. It may be that the shift has occurred completely outside the current medium, for example in multimedia productions or internet applications. Thus, the demanding hordes of information-producing consumers may in fact quench their thirst for mass customisation and fulfil their individual needs by individual offerings, that can perhaps be more easily provided outside print media.

7.3. Finland – natural through and through

Focusing on the actual image created within the brochures, one might return to the domain of art, reflecting the painting metaphor of a destination discussed above. From close reach, one only observes little dots of “paint” on a proverbial canvas, a pointillistic portrayal of a county, a culture and a people. These blots, being naturally the representations of Finland, take a meaningful form not only on the micro level of an individual brochure, but also on the macro level of the whole corpus of this research. Taking a few steps back, the image starts to make sense as an entity, where details may be lost but contribute to a greater scale impression.

What are, then, most of these blots? One particular theme permeates the image, both in details and in entities. As the quantitative analysis of the data reveals, nature is highly emphasised as the differentiating element of the brand “Finland”. Upon coming to Finland, the tourist will find beautiful, unspoilt wildernesses, clean and unpolluted air, lakes and fell sceneries – or at least that is what the brochure promises. This tautological authenticity (be

it man-made or genuine) of experiences gives the modern tourist a chance to be immersed in something that he/she has lost. Nature must be sought after, acknowledgedly strived for, because it no longer is enough to be *in nature*; one has to be *one with nature*.

7.4. Further research

The data coverage of this study is far from comprehensive. There are gaps and uncertainties that with sufficient amount of time and effort could be filled, i.e. an interested researcher could analyse all MEK's published material, word to word. One might also compare travelogues and brochures, to see how an "objective" (if a travelogue is ever objective is another issue altogether) report and a sponsored advertisement converge, if at all, and if they use similar methods to produce certain elements and representations. Furthermore, only print brochures were included in the current research, completely omitting the "Finland-creation" of other media. It would, then, be rather short-sighted to regard these findings as the ultimate conceptualisation of MEK's marketing procedures, as other media productions might have differing emphases altogether.

Another issue completely outside the scope of this research is the question of focus in the marketing message. Williams (2006: 483) claims that "marketing for tourism and hospitality has been focussed not on the consumer, but on the destination or outlet, with marketing strategies being related to the products offered". The newly-emerged heterogeneity of the mass tourist has, however, rendered this approach obsolete and even a waste of resources, when the marketing message misses its most important audience while focusing merely on the destinations. The post-modern tourist will seek intimate, personal and private tourism experiences and one might speculate

that the brochures heed to this call. That would be a development that might become observable already in the time span of MEK's brochures.

Keeping the focus upon the tourist, a more purely linguistic enquiry into the tourism brochures could be undertaken by concentrating on transitivity, i.e. the roles that the tourist is assigned with using verb phrases. Such analysis would provide insight as to what are the positions and power relations advertisers place consumers into; if they are merely observers or indeed exclusively active participators and co-creators. This more critical discourse analysis-inclined approach could assist in examining the status and prominence designated upon the tourist, and, moreover, if they would vary depending on the destination and its (perceived) prestige. The current research has shown that potential for both positions (active vs passive, and undoubtedly many others) exists in destination marketing of Finland, but it is here left unexplored whether certain themes more often than not necessitate predetermined tourist types.

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Appendix 1.

Realms and Themes

Realm	Theme	Number	Percentage	
Education	information	29	31,5	
	winter activities	18	19,6	
	summer activities	16	17,4	
	history	12	13,0	
	internationality	6		
	winter sports	4		
	outdoor activities	2		
	shopping	2		
	water sports	2		
	journey	1		
	Total	92		
	Entertainment	modernity	15	45,5
		culture	11	33,3
urbanity		4	12,1	
nature		2	6,1	
safety		1		
Total		33		
Escapism	excellence	51	29,8	
	enjoyment	48	28,1	
	authenticity	43	25,1	
	serenity	20	11,7	
	adventure	7		
	exploration	2		
	Total	171		
Esthetic	natural beauty	67	22,6	
	purity	38	12,8	
	exhibition	37	12,5	
	spaciousness	28	9,5	
	visual beauty	23		
	lightness	20		
	friendliness	14		
	relaxation	14		
	variance	13		
	exotism	11		
	opposites	11		
	climate	5		
	wilderness	4		
	food	3		
	urban visuality	3		
	vitality	3		
	comfort	2		
Total	296			

Appendix 2.

Distribution of realms per year

