

**MARKETING THE ARCTIC: DISCOURSES OF FINNISH  
LAPLAND IN A SWISS TRAVEL CATALOGUE**

Anni Räsänen  
Master's Thesis  
Applied Linguistics  
Department of Language and  
Communication Studies  
University of Jyväskylä  
August 2021

# JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Tiedekunta - Faculty Humanistis-yhteiskuntatieteellinen tiedekunta	Laitos - Department Kieli- ja viestintätieteiden laitos
Tekijä - Author Anni Räsänen	
Työn nimi – Title Marketing the Arctic: discourses of Finnish Lapland in a Swiss travel catalogue	
Oppiaine - Subject Soveltava Kielitiede	Työn laji – Level Pro gradu
Aika - Month and year Elokuu 2021	Sivumäärä - Number of pages 50
<p>Tiivistelmä – Abstract</p> <p>Maailmantaloudessa kasvavana ja merkittävänä toimialana nähtävä matkailuala on kokenut kovia 2020-luvun alkupuolella. Globaali koronapandemia on haitannut merkittävästi niin suurien lentoyhtiöiden kuin pienempien matkatoimistojen toimintaa kireiden matkailurajoitusten myötä. Samoin myös Suomen Lapin turismisektori on saanut tuntea pandemian vaikutukset, sillä matkailurajoitusten takia viisi vuotta kestänyt positiivinen liikevaihdon kehitys Lapin matkailusektorilla katkesi. Sekä pandemian aikana että sen jälkeen markkinoinnilla on suuri rooli Lapin matkailun kannattavuuden ja jatkuvuuden kannalta. Tästä syystä tämän pro gradu -tutkielman tarkoituksena on tarkastella, millaisten diskurssien avulla Suomen Lappia markkinoidaan ranskankielisille sveitsiläisille turisteille. Tutkimusmateriaalina toimii sveitsiläisen Kontiki Voyages -yrityksen ranskankielinen talvimatkailukatalogi, jossa markkinoidaan matkoja Sveitsistä Pohjois-Eurooppaan talvikaudelle 2020–2021.</p> <p>Tutkin markkinointiteksteistä koostuvaa aineistoani kriittisen diskurssintutkimuksen teoreettisen ja metodologisen viitekehyksen näkökulmasta, nojaten samalla sosiaalisen konstruktivismin käsitykseen todellisuuden rakentumisesta vuorovaikutuksessa. Hyödynnän analyysissäni myös diskurssin, genren ja rihmastollisuuden käsitteitä. Fairclough'n (1992) jaottelun mukaisesti analysoin aineistossa esiintyvien diskurssien ilmentymistä kolmella eri tasolla: kielellisellä, diskursiivisella sekä sosiaalisella tasolla.</p> <p>Aineistosta nousi esiin kolme keskeistä diskurssia, jotka ovat hyvinvointidiskurssi, kokemusdiskurssi ja ainutlaatuisuuden diskurssi. Jokainen diskurssi rakentuu aineistossa tukeutuen tiettyihin kielellisen ja diskursiivisen tason valintoihin. Hyvinvointidiskurssin keskeisiä piirteitä ovat turistin yksilöllisyyden korostaminen, narratiivit ja arjesta irtautumisen korostaminen, kun taas kokemusdiskurssissa korostuvat turistin kannustaminen, vertailumuodot sekä arktiselle alueelle tyypilliset aktiviteetit. Ainutlaatuisuuden diskurssi puolestaan keskittyy rakentamaan Suomen Lapista uniikkia mielikuvaa tukeutuen materiaaliseen ja aineettomaan saamelaiseen kulttuuriin sekä villiin ja kaukaiseen Lapin elinympäristöön. Tässä diskurssissa esiin nousevat muun muassa paikallisten kielten hyödyntäminen ja metaforat.</p> <p>Kokonaisuutena Kontiki Voyages -matkatoimiston talvimatkailukatalogi näyttyy useiden turismisektorin trendien ja muutosprosessien risteymänä. Muun muassa niin sanottu ”global to local” -ilmiö, luonto- ja hyvinvointimatkailu sekä kustomoidut palvelut nousevat esiin katalogista. Näiden lisäksi katalogista heijastuu myös joitain turismisektorin yleisiä ja pitkäaikaisia ongelmia, kuten turismin ja eri elinkeinojen väliset jännitteet sekä kulttuurin ja ympäristön kaupallistaminen voittoa tuottaviksi palveluiksi.</p>	
Asiasanat – Keywords Tourism, Lapland, genre, critical discourse analysis, discourse	
Säilytyspaikka - Depository Jyväskylän yliopisto – JYX julkaisuarkisto	
Muita tietoja - Additional information	

## FIGURES

FIGURE 1: A compilation of the rhizomatic discourses in Kontiki Voyage's winter travel catalogue (an application of the original figure by Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2019: 56). .....	40
--	----

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION .....	5
2	FINNISH LAPLAND AS A SITE OF INTERNATIONAL TOURISM .....	8
3	THEORETICAL BACKGROUND .....	11
3.1	Social constructionism .....	11
3.2	Critical discourse studies .....	12
3.2.1	Key dimensions .....	12
3.2.2	The notion of discourse in tourism studies .....	15
3.3	Genre .....	17
3.3.1	Key dimensions .....	17
3.3.2	Promotional genre .....	18
4	THE PRESENT STUDY .....	21
4.1	Research aim and question .....	21
4.2	Data and methods .....	22
5	ANALYSIS .....	26
5.1	Lapland as a source of well-being .....	26
5.2	Lapland as a provider of exclusive experiences .....	30
5.3	Lapland as a unique holiday destination .....	34
5.3.1	Sámi culture .....	34
5.3.2	The arctic environment .....	36
5.4	Rhizomatic discourses of Finnish Lapland as a travel destination .....	40
6	CONCLUSION .....	42
6.1	Summary and discussion of the findings .....	42
6.2	Evaluation of the study and future research .....	45
	REFERENCES .....	47

# 1 INTRODUCTION

The unforeseen events of the previous year and a half have substantially mistreated the global economy and especially the travel industry. The global covid-19 pandemic halted travelling almost completely in spring 2020, which led many operators around the world from large airlines to small tour operators to financial distress. Similarly, the tourism sector in Finnish Lapland has suffered because of travel restrictions and the sector is still struggling to gain international tourists due to the unpredictable nature of the pandemic and the strict restrictions imposed on entering Finland. According to House of Lapland, the official communications and marketing house of Finnish Lapland, the number of overnight stays in Lapland decreased by 34 percent in 2020 and thus interrupted the five-year-long upswing of revenue in Lapland's tourism sector (House of Lapland n.d.). In the ongoing situation and especially after the global pandemic has settled, marketing plays a significant role in ensuring the continuity and profitability of the tourism sector in Lapland. That is to say, marketing material must be produced so that it encourages people to travel as well as asserts that travelling is safe. Thus, it matters how a tourist destination is discursively constructed in marketing materials. The focus of this study will be on investigating how Finnish Lapland is discursively constructed as a tourist destination by a Swiss tour operator Kontiki Voyages in their winter travel catalogue.

The discursive construction of tourism destinations has been studied extensively (Dann 1996; Jaworski and Pritchard 2005; Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger 2010; Thurlow and Jaworski 2010) and destinations in Finnish Lapland have also been a subject of research (Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2011; Pietikäinen, Kelly-Holmes, Jaffe and Coupland 2016). Studying the discursive construction of tourist sites is important because the role of language and communication has become extended and intensified in the contemporary society. The service industry, which includes tourism and marketing, has become the centre of economic activity. In the industry, the majority of activities are either performed through communication or are simply communicative acts themselves. Thus, communicative and discursive practices are in

the centre of the contemporary key sites of economic production and often, concomitantly, of social issues. By examining how Finnish Lapland is discursively constructed in a travel catalogue, I am able to bring forward how different communicative resources are used in constructing the tourist place, its attractions, and inhabitants.

Studies focusing on how Finnish Lapland is constructed in French-language tourism material are scarce. Moreover, the marketing practices aimed at the French-speaking segment of Swiss tourists seems to be an unexplored area of research in this context. Studies examining the discursive construction of Finnish Lapland as a tourist destination have mostly focused on English-language material, thus this study aims to fill the gap by studying French-language marketing material. Furthermore, Swiss tourists represent a special group among tourists who travel to Lapland, which makes the subject of this study even more intriguing. The largest tourism volumes in Lapland come from Great Britain, Germany, and France (House of Lapland n.d.) where cold winters and great amounts of snow are unordinary. In Switzerland, however, the snow falls down every year and the Alps provide opportunities for doing winter sports. Why Swiss tourists want to travel to Finland instead of enjoying winter in their home country? The findings of the present study can help to answer this question.

Based on previous research, the present study will focus on examining how Finnish Lapland is discursively constructed as a tourist destination. Moreover, the aim is to understand how the region is depicted for Swiss tourists. This will be done by using a critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework which is closely connected to social constructionism, i.e., the idea that social reality is constructed in social interaction (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2019: 14). Furthermore, the notions of genre and rhizomes will be applied to this study. The latter mentioned helps to conceptualize the complex and interconnected relation between discourses. Genre, in turn, has a crucial role in organizing linguistic and discursive material in the catalogue. As for the data of the present study, it has been collected from a French-language winter travel catalogue produced by Kontiki Voyages (also referred to as Kontiki). The research data consists of written text and has been collected so that it takes into consideration the destinations in Finnish Lapland, not in other Nordic destinations.

The present study consists of six chapters. The introduction is followed by a brief background chapter on Finnish Lapland as a site of international tourism. Then, the study proceeds by introducing the theoretical background. I will begin the chapter by discussing the wide theoretical framework of social constructionism after which I will introduce the field of critical discourse studies and the notion of genre. Furthermore, the application of the notions of discourse and genre in the field of tourism studies will be discussed in the chapter. After the background chapters, I will present the research aim and question as well as introduce more precisely the research material and the method of analysis. In chapter five, I shall present the findings of the study

with examples from the research material. The chapter proceeds by introducing three of the most significant discourses identified from the catalogue and then discussing their rhizomatic nature. Finally, in the last chapter of the study, I shall discuss the findings, evaluate the present study, and suggest some extensions for it. Moreover, practical applications of the results will be brought forward.

## 2 FINNISH LAPLAND AS A SITE OF INTERNATIONAL TOURISM

Lapland, the northernmost and largest region of Finland, is a significant tourism site in terms of international and domestic visitors. The area borders the region of North Ostrobothnia, Sweden, Norway, and Russia and inhabits approximately 177 000 citizens (Tilastokeskus 2021: 15). The sources of livelihood in Lapland are versatile, which is reflected in the varying ways people make their living. The service and tourism industries are both significant employers in Lapland and a great source of income. In 2019, the turnover of tourism centres in Lapland was approximately 526 million euros and they provided employment for almost 3 300 employees (Tilastokeskus 2020: 16). In the same year, there were over 3.1 million overnight visitors in the region, of which 1.8 million were international tourists. Russian, German, and British tourists represent the biggest international groups arriving to Finnish Lapland, but the number of Asian tourists is also increasing. (Business Finland n.d.) In 2020 the global pandemic caused by covid-19 disrupted the long period of positive development in Lapland's tourism sector, which decreased the number of international tourists significantly.

The Swiss are also a visible tourist segment in Finnish Lapland. Between 2018 and 2019 the overnight stays of Swiss tourists in Lapland increased by 22 percent (Tilastokeskus 2019). However, compared to the largest international tourist groups, the number of Swiss tourists is rather marginal. Notwithstanding the marginality of Swiss tourists, they represent an appealing and lucrative tourist segment. According to the Central Statistics Office of Switzerland (Office fédéral de la statistique Suisse, OFS 2020: 16-17), Swiss tourists made a total of 16.7 million trips abroad in 2018 and the number of travels to the northern parts of Europe has increased steadily from 2014 onwards. Citizens living in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, who also represent the target group of Kontiki Voyage's French-language services, made approximately 3.1 overnight trips abroad in 2018 (ibid.). When it comes to consumption habits, a Swiss citizen spends on average over a thousand francs per



month on hotels, restaurants, entertainment, culture, and recreation (OFS 23.11.2021) and over 90 percent of the population can afford a one-week holiday once a year (OFS 18.2.2021). Consequently, the Swiss nation appears as a tourist segment worth investing in. The Swiss company behind the travel catalogue I am studying, Kontiki Voyages, has been operating to Finnish Lapland since the 1990's. The history of Kontiki began already in the 1970's and since then, the operator has become one of the leading tour operators offering travels to Northern Europe from Switzerland.

In a tourism context, the branding of Finnish Lapland is often based on a typical pattern: Lapland consists of pure and snowy nature where tourists can experience different types of winter activities. Furthermore, Santa Claus is a selling point in Rovaniemi, and the Sámi culture and people are often referred to in tourism material. The Kontiki winter travel catalogue also relies on these recurrent themes, excluding Santa Claus. The catalogue represents Luosto, Äkäslompolo, Syöte, and to some extent Rovaniemi as tourist sites where visitors can seek adventure in snowy hills, experience reindeer farms and husky rides as well as acquaint themselves with the unique Sámi culture. Words, such as *véritable* "real" and *idéal* "ideal" reoccur in the catalogue with expressions such as *Vivez activement la culture des Sami lors de trois excursions guidées* "Experience the Sámi culture during three guided tours" and *Vous passez beaucoup de temps dans une nature intacte* "You will spend plenty of time in untouched nature". This could be perceived as both a means to differentiate Finnish Lapland from other Northern destinations and to commodify local resources which did not appear as having market value before (Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2011: 329). Nowadays, periphery and authenticity have become attributes that tourists value in choosing their holiday destination (c.f. Shepherd 2002; Pietikäinen, Kelly-Holmes, Jaffe and Coupland 2016), which is visible in Kontiki's catalogue in the emphasis of the arctic nature and the Sámi culture.

To fill the versatile needs of international tourists, many goods and services originating abroad have found their way to Finnish Lapland. For instance, the Kontiki winter travel catalogue advertises husky sleighs, horse rides, and snowmobile safaris as winter activities to experience. Glass igloos and panorama rooms are available for tourists as an add-on to the typical accommodation options, such as cottages. Southern European commodities, such as wine and aperitifs, are brought forward as much as Finnish foods. This mixture of aspects that are known and unknown for the tourist is a way to reduce the effects of strangeness (Dann 1996) and a means to appeal to a large consumer group.

The growing and wide-ranging tourism industry in the North of Finland has also brought along some issues. One of the most striking examples considers the unethical use of the Sámi culture and people in tourism marketing. The culture has been exploited by operators from different levels, which has led to, for instance, cultural appropriation and fabricated traditions. In order to stop the exploitation, the Sámi

parliament has made a set of ethical guidelines considering the utilization of Sámi culture in tourism marketing. (Rasmus and Paltto 2018.)

Moreover, tourism has a large impact on climate change. Airline traffic and other services that tourists consume cause high levels of emissions, which has a negative effect especially on the nature-based tourism that occurs in winter. In Lapland, the effects of climate change will manifest as an increasing amount of precipitation and a shorter winter season. (Tuulentie n.d.) To moderate those effects, businesses in the tourism industry are investing in all-year services and experiences so that the utilization degree of snowless seasons would become higher (House of Lapland n.d.).

### **3 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

This chapter will focus on the theoretical background of this study, which includes social constructionism, critical discourse studies (CDS) and genre. I will commence the chapter by discussing the framework of social constructionism. Then, the chapter proceeds by introducing the study field of critical discourse studies and by defining the concept of discourses. Since this study is connected with the field of tourism studies, I will also introduce how the notion of discourses have been defined and applied in that field. Lastly, the notion of genre will be discussed because genre conventions influence how the content is organized and presented in the research material.

#### **3.1 Social constructionism**

This study is placed in the wide theoretical framework of social constructionism that connects branches of study that aim at examining how social reality and meanings are constructed. The idea of social constructionism gained a strong foothold in humanist and social research in the 1960-70's and became more popular than quantitative and experimental research in those fields. This change is also known as the linguistic turn that positions language as the starting point of studies aiming at examining the construction of reality. (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2019: 21.) During the linguistic turn new theories, which see language as dependent on the language user and context-bound, emerged in the humanist and social field (Kuortti, Mäntynen and Pietikäinen 2008: 26-27). This view on language as a user- and context-bound resource calls upon an analytical attitude towards the perspectives on understanding the world that are often assumed to be true or real (Burr 2015: 223). As Kuortti et al. (2008: 28) have stated: "Language is neither a mirror that reflects reality nor a package that goes from the sender to the receiver - it is a meaning system which enables making different decisions".

The linguistic turn emphasizes the power of language use (Kuortti et al. 2008: 27). The way in which we perceive the world upholds certain social actions and excludes others, which is why the social construction of knowledge and language use always intertwines with power (Burr 2015: 224). Thus, the constructionist view on language underlines research on how phenomena are depicted and how the social reality around us is constructed. However, the goal is not to find out what is the “correct truth”, but to understand which version of the story prevails, which is marginalized, and which is not brought forward at all. (Kuortti et al. 2008: 28.) After all, the content and structure given to these stories is defined by our culture, by the society’s economic conditions, and by current power relations (Burr 2015: 223). For instance, in the research material of this study, a prevailing story about Finnish Lapland depicts the area as a winter wonderland where the tourist can sense and experience things that are not available anywhere else although, in essence, the Nordic regions are similar to each other and offer similar types of surroundings, activities and experiences. Thus, the concept of power, which intertwines with discourse studies, is also integral in this study.

The complex and multidisciplinary field created by the linguistic turn is concurrently both an opportunity for important and productive dialogue between researchers and a threat for contradictions and misunderstandings. The latter case is possible if the dialogue between language and social reality is not reached, and the notions of discourse studies are used without referring to the linguistic turn. In that case, the essence of constructionism and the linguistic turn is left out and the analysis turns out reductive. Overall, when it comes to the framework of social constructionism, language cannot be separated from its context because it can offer a significant viewpoint to the research material. (Kuortti et al. 2008: 32.) As for the research material in this study, the winter travel catalogue of Kontiki also has different contexts. Geographically and temporally the catalogue is placed to Finnish Lapland in the winter season of 2020-21. Furthermore, at least cultural (francophone Swiss tourists), economic (marketing material) and situational (e.g., genre conventions) contexts overlap in the catalogue.

The next sub-chapter shall introduce the study field of critical discourse studies, discuss the notion of discourse, and examine how the concept has been applied in tourism studies.

## **3.2 Critical discourse studies**

### **3.2.1 Key dimensions**

Critical discourse studies positions under the wide theoretical framework of social constructionism introduced above. Critical discourse studies has its roots in ‘Critical

Linguistics' which emerged in the 1970's in the work of several linguists. Their leading idea was that texts can be studied for the way they categorise people, events, places, and actions. Furthermore, Critical Linguistics wants to turn attention to the assumptions which are present in texts but remain implicit. (Wodak and Meyer 2001: 5.) Based on these ideas, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a theory and methods started to take shape by attempting to capture the interrelationship between language, power, and ideology. This was done by bringing forward and describing political and ideological investments behind texts. Consequently, CDA is more interested in the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures instead of language itself. (Machin and Mayr 2012: 2-4.)

Critical Discourse Analysis has mainly been based on the ideas of Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun van Dijk although critical discourse analysts themselves note that there is not a single, homogeneous version of CDA. Preferably, a range of critical approaches can be classified as CDA. Despite the multiplicity of approaches, all these authors and approaches comprehend language as a means of social construction. (Machin and Mayr 2012: 4-5.) The notions of criticality and power are essential in CDA. According to Machin and Mayr (*ibid.*), criticality refers to 'denaturalising' language to reveal ideas, absences, and taken-for-granted assumptions in texts. Wodak and Meyer (2001: 9), on the other hand, have defined the 'criticality' to mean both the distance that the researcher takes on the research data and the political stance that the researcher explicitly has on the topic. As for the notion of power, Wodak and Meyer (*id.*: 10) say that language can be used to distribute power in short and long term by disrupting and challenging the ongoing power structures because both linguistic forms and genres can be used to manipulate power. Furthermore, interdisciplinary work is important for critical discourse analysis in order to understand the role of language in different contexts (*ibid.*). Due to the critical point of view, CDA is typically used in the analysis of news texts, political speeches, schoolbooks, advertisements etc., to expose strategies which may seem neutral on the surface, but which may in fact be ideological and seek to shape representations of phenomena or people (Blommaert 2005: 26).

The notion of discourse has many wide uses and meanings. The notion is dynamic and sometimes ambiguous due to the several overlapping definitions given from different theoretical and disciplinary perspectives (Fairclough 1992: 3). One of the most significant definitions of discourse is formulated by Michel Foucault, a French theoretician in the field of social sciences and humanities. According to Foucault, discourses are forms of meaning making that are stable and identifiable through different times and places. Discourses are not simply ways to talk or think, but they are a part of the mechanism through which power is exercised because they construct understandings of the reality and knowledge related to it. (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2019: 33.) In his book *Archaeology of Knowledge & The Discourse on Language* Foucault (2000) makes two remarks regarding discourses. First, he argues that it is

not possible to trace discourses back chronologically to “a secret origin” or to find the origin of all knowledge and discourses. According to Foucault, discourses are not based on something “already-said” that would determine their form. (Foucault 2000: 21-22, 25.) Second, he suggests that discourses can be identified “based on grouping” instead of the “predetermined” view described above (ibid.). After one has abandoned the idea of seeing discourses as a continuum, it is possible to reveal new statements that have common themes and mutual relations. These common themes and mutual relations are also called discursive formations or discourses. (id.: 29).

Machin and Mayr (2012: 219) have defined the notion of discourse in CDA as follows: “discourse is a particular representation of the world that consists of different participants, settings, ideas, and values”. These discourses can be revealed by carefully analysing details of texts. Furthermore, Machin and Mayr continue by saying that a discourse can be communicated by reference to a specific social actor which in turn signifies values and ideas without these being specified. (ibid.) Blommaert (2005: 25), in turn, has defined discourses as an instrument of power that are “both socially constitutive and conditioned”. The way that the power of discourses work can be hard to understand, which CDA aims to make more visible and transparent (ibid.). As a challenge of discourses Machin and Mayr (2012: 219) identify the difficulty of defining the limits of one discourse. This is probably due to the mixing of discourses which is becoming more and more common as language use changes and evolves. Discourses can appear in a text one after another as distinctive units or inside one another. Furthermore, a text can combine several discursive resources such as different languages, genres, and images. (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2019: 196-197.)

In the data of this study, different discourses are partially interconnected. In my opinion, the best concept to describe this interconnectedness is a ‘rhizome’. This idea was originally introduced by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1987) who do not see processes, actions and concepts as divided into either-or groups but as multifaceted compilations. Thus, from the rhizomatic point of view processes are examined based on how they unite, function together and form new structures. According to Honan (2007), any text, sign or speech act can include several interconnected discourses, i.e., discourses are not linear or separate, but which operate in rhizomatic ways. Furthermore, the concept of rhizomes helps to conceptualize the complex and interconnected relation between discourses when their boundaries are otherwise hard to define (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2019: 54-56). In this study the discourses of exclusive experiences and uniqueness come together to share similar linguistic features (characteristics of the language of tourism) and themes (activities in the pure, arctic nature) but for the most part they differ from each other. I think this depicts well how, on the one hand, discourses come together and share the same resources, whereas on the other hand, they can go in opposite directions and rely on different resources, similarly to a rhizome.

The next subchapter shall introduce how the notion of discourse has been defined and applied in tourism studies.

### **3.2.2 The notion of discourse in tourism studies**

The notions of discourse and communication offer various ways for exploring the multiplicity of tourism experiences and performances (Jaworski and Pritchard 2005: 1-2). Consequently, the definition of discourse in the context of tourism varies from one study to another. Next, I will introduce some of the definitions given to the notion of discourses in tourism studies. Then I shall introduce how the notion is applied in this study.

In the 1990s, Dann (1996) brought together the notions of discourse and the language of tourism. According to him, tourism operates along certain linguistic lines; it is structured, it can follow certain grammatical rules and it has a specialized vocabulary. In addition, it operates through a conventional system of symbols and signs. (Dann 1996: 2.) By leaning to these linguistic lines, the language of tourism constitutes its own discourse, which “aims at persuading, luring, wooing and seducing millions of human beings, and in doing so, converts them into potential clients”. (ibid.) This discourse addresses them in terms of their own culturally predicated needs and motivations. Thus, Dann’s (1996) definition of discourse leans on two things: linguistic features and the reasons for the existence of the discourse. Later, Thurlow and Jaworski (2010) defined the concept of discourse by emphasizing the content of tourism texts and their circulation. They argue that “discourses related to tourism are *discourses on the move* because their content and format keeps on constantly changing and because tourist texts circulate as much as tourists themselves” (id.: 19-20). In addition, Thurlow and Jaworski (2010: 8) say that tourism discourse has consequences that are material and global. By this they refer to the service encounter that the tourist will have as well as to the images, lifestyle, and memories which the tourist purchases when buying a holiday (ibid.). As for Hallet and Kaplan-Weigner (2010: 5), they have defined the notion of discourse as having multiple goals. They argue that discourse considers identity construction, promotion, recognition, and acceptance, which is created through the creation and manipulation of linguistic and visual texts.

Some former research on the field of tourism and discourse studies also offers insightful definitions to discourse. Coupland and Coupland (2014) studied the authenticating discourse of mining heritage tourism in Cornwall and in Wales. In their study, the notion of discourse is defined as “discursive constructions and performances through which cultural past is staged and made available for cultural scrutiny and reassessment” (Coupland and Coupland 2014). Another interesting definition to the concept of discourse is offered by Papen (2005 in Jaworski and Pritchard) in her research of representations of culture and nature in tourism

discourses in Namibia. Papen (2005: 79 in Jaworski and Pritchard) states that discourse in the context of tourism can be defined as “a set of expressions, words, and behaviour as well as particular touristic structures and activities that describe a place and its inhabitants.” She continues by saying that tourism discourses are central to the creation of “place-myths” by relying on specific images, symbols and associations that are characteristics of a particular tourist site (ibid.).

In this study, the notion of discourses is perceived mainly as Foucault (2000) defines it: as historically stable ways of meaning-making that construct and modify knowledge about a specific subject. Furthermore, Foucault’s (2000: 27) idea of identifying discourses based on grouping suits this study. However, by combining Papen’s (2005 in Jaworski and Pritchard) definition to Foucault’s definition, I can define the concept more accurately in terms of this study. Therefore, in this study the concept of ‘a discourse’ is defined as follows: a discourse is a stable set of words, expressions and themes used to describe and modify knowledge about a place and its inhabitants, which rely on specific images, symbols and associations that are characteristic to a particular tourist site.

As for criticism, the Foucauldian view on discourses, the utilization of DA in tourism studies and CDA have received criticism. Garrity (2010) criticizes the complex theoretical premises of Foucault’s discourse theory. By this she refers to Foucault’s obscure idea of discourse, language, and power as well as to the existing contradictions in Foucault’s own works (Garrity 2010: 196, 199). The utilization of discourse analysis in tourism research has been critically assessed by Hannam and Knox (2005). They argue that tourism researchers have utilized discourse analysis in “an eclectic and unsophisticated fashion”. Hannam and Knox (2005) continue by saying that different methods of textual analysis, such as content analysis, semiotic analysis, and post-structuralist forms of DA have been used haphazardly in tourism research, which should be fixed by developing a more nuanced reading of research material. That would add more criticality to tourism research. (Hannam and Knox 2005: 23.)

As for critical discourse analysis, Machin and Mayr (2012: 208) bring forward criticism towards the “criticality” of the method. According to critics, such as Widdowson, critical discourse analysis is not a method of analysis but a form of interpretation. Machin and Mayr (id.: 210) address the critique by pleading to the post hoc nature of CDA; they see the analysis process as a systematic and controlled exercise that can be repeated by others. Furthermore, the method has been criticized for being overly selective and partial because of the political motivation (often left-wing) of the discipline (Breeze 2011). Critics have argued that CDA does not reach the objectivity that scientific research calls for, but the term ‘critical’ is used to justify attacking views that the researcher agree with (Machin and Mayr 2012: 208). The lack of objectivity has been contested by Chilton (2005: 21) who argues that acknowledging one’s position is a form of objectivity despite the researcher’s political alignment.



Stubbs's in turn, has criticized the method of being excessively qualitative, meaning that analysts make generalisations about social representation and social change without adequate linguistic support or comparison between texts. However, this critique is becoming more and more irrelevant as studies combining CDA and corpus-linguistics are increasing. (Machin and Mayr 2012: 213-214.)

To understand better the discursive formations found from the research material, it is necessary to familiarize ourselves with the notion of genre. The next subchapter introduces the notion of genre and examines further the promotional genre, to which the research material of this study belongs.

### **3.3 Genre**

#### **3.3.1 Key dimensions**

When it comes to social activity, power and producing information, genres play a crucial role in organizing linguistic and discursive material (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2019: 109). Since genres are strongly associated with different social occasions, they can be used to manipulate power relations (Wodak and Meyer 2001: 10). According to Mäntynen and Shore (2014: 738-739), the definition of genre varies depending on the focus of the research and the orientation of the researcher. They say that from a linguistic point of view, genre is a class or type of text. From the complementary viewpoints of social and cognitive perspectives, genre is defined as either a linguistically realized action or area of human activity or a group of texts that share similar communicative purposes. (Mäntynen and Shore 2014: 739). In discourse studies, genre is seen as a rather stable and recognizable combination of language use and social action. Genres crystallize typical ways of discursive performance in certain contexts: they tell us the systematic ways of organizing language to achieve a certain goal. (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2019: 110.) Thus, a genre implies not only a text type, but also a process of producing, distributing, and consuming texts (Fairclough 1992: 126). In addition to instructing how language should be organized, genres influence our expectations and interpretation (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2019: 113). We grow up surrounded by different genres, such as advertisements, fairy tales and news, and learn their conventions and typical contexts. For instance, we are aware that the purpose of advertisements is to bring forward the best qualities of products or services to sell them. Thus, if an advertisement, or in this study a travel catalogue, would start to list all the negative qualities of either travelling or a travel destination, our expectations related to the genre conventions would be challenged.

Genres have different norms which help to understand their essence. According to Solin and Mäntynen (2014: 740), whichever emphasis a genre-related study adopts, there must be some recognized common features within a genre or otherwise, it would

be impossible to identify them. These common features or norms are often unwritten, and their logic comes from both the socio-cultural and situational contexts as well as from history (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2019: 114). Based on the genre norms, most researchers appeal to some notion of typicality in their discussions on genre (Solin and Mäntynen 2014: 740). Genre norms can both restrict and enable genre use. Some of the norms are contextual, which means that they emerge from a specific socio-cultural context and the habits related to it. Furthermore, genres have internal norms which have an impact on the genre structure and language use. These internal norms can be stricter or looser depending on the genre. Most of the regularity regarding genres is conventionalized and oftentimes “invisible”. (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2019: 115-116.) Thus, from the point of view of discourse studies, it is intriguing to look for the genre regularities or make possible anomalies visible. According to Fairclough (1992: 78), by analysing the structure of a text, i.e. how it uses genre strategies, a researcher can gain insight into the system of knowledge and beliefs that affect the conventions of a text type. Moreover, each instance of language use represents a specific genre, which means that genres have an influence on language use (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2019: 118).

The notion of discourse is close to the notion of genre and thus, the two concepts have similarities and differences (Mäntynen, Shore and Solin 2006: 39). Both are central resources in discursive activity, and they attempt to capture how language use and social context are intertwined in discursive activity (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2019: 111). The main difference between the notions is that discourses are more malleable and movable than genres. While genres are more closely linked to specific contexts and contain stable conventions, discourses can move from one context to another and offer ways to construct and give meanings to the social reality. (id.: 111-112.)

### **3.3.2 Promotional genre**

Since the research material of this study (a travel catalogue) belongs to the promotional genre, it is worthwhile to have a closer look at the genre conventions related to it. In the book *Worlds of written discourse: [a genre-based view]*, Bhatia (2004: 57) introduces his idea of genre colonies. They represent a grouping of closely related genres which serve broadly similar communicative purposes even though most of them differ in terms of disciplinary, context of use, audience and so on. He continues by introducing more closely the promotional genre colony and the conventions of one of the colony’s primary members, advertisement. Travel brochures have been placed to this colony beneath advertisement because they have a strong promotional concern. (id.: 57, 62.) Bhatia (2004: 65) has also listed the typical move structure of advertisements. I will not describe all the moves in detail, but the aim is to introduce shortly the ones that are likely to come up in the research material and have a significant role in it.

*Product differentiation* is one of the favoured strategies in corporate advertising. Differentiation refers to the claims about what makes a product incomparable compared to its competitors. The most important move, however, is *offering a product description* that is good, positive, and favourable. This is often realized through a description and evaluation of the product. Nevertheless, to make the product seem beyond comparison and give effect to the communicative purpose, several rhetorical moves are used. (Bhatia 2004: 63-64.)

In addition to the two typical move structures introduced above, it is important to take into consideration some typical linguistic devices of the promotional genre in the context of tourism. These include versatile tools in the linguistic level, such as narratives and metaphors (Hallet and Kaplan-Weigner 2010: 12-13; Dann 1996: 176-179), the use of imperative verb forms and numerical values (Jaworski and Pritchard 2005: 211), and the emphasis of individualism, utilization of key words and comparisons (Dann 1996: 185; Jaworski and Pritchard 2005: 92). Furthermore, a friendly tone of voice and presuppositions are characteristics of the language of advertising (Delin 2000).

Different genres can be mixed or hybridized so that a text can achieve multiple stances or goals. Solin and Mäntynen (2014: 742) have defined genre hybridity as “an incorporation of a text representing one genre into a text representing another genre, which results into a genre mix”. Consequently, genres can operate similarly to rhizomatic discourses: they unite, function together and form new genre structures. Moreover, such as the concept of rhizomes helps to conceptualize the complex, interconnected relation between discourses, the notion of a genre hybrid aids in understanding the complex combinations of genres.

According to Bhatia (2004: 133), it is not uncommon to see advertisements mixed with other genres although ads have their own generic integrity as a persuasive genre. This is due to advertisers’ will to find new strategies to promote their products and services in the competitive area of marketing (ibid.). As an example, Bhatia (2004: 134) introduces an advertorial (a mix of an advertisement and an editorial) taken from a travel magazine. He identifies a number of text-internal indicators of advertising genres, such as attractive pictures and positive descriptions of the product. However, some of the key moves of an advertisement are missing, such as an attempt to solicit a response in the reader or establishing credentials of the company. Instead of those aspects, the ad incorporates a number of characteristics of editorials. For instance, the writer’s personal liking and opinion is highlighted extensively. (Bhatia 2004: 134.) In my opinion, this type of genre mixing also occurs in the research material of this study. The travel catalogue of Kontiki belongs to the promotional genre as its main communicative purpose is to advertise the travel destinations in Lapland. However, as the texts within the catalogue vary, they take moves from several other genres, such as opinion pieces, stories and even non-fiction books. Consequently, it could be stated

that the catalogue is a genre hybrid in which different genres operate in a rhizomatic way.

The notion of genre has also been applied to tourism studies. Thurlow and Jaworski (2003: 582) studied inflight magazines as a globalizing genre in tourism. In their study, they defined the notion according to Swales' (1990) definition of genre as a distinctive text type which is characterized in terms of three aspects. First its central purpose, second its prototypical content and form and third its being conventionally recognized and labelled as such by the discourse community of which it is a part.

In this study, the notion of genre is defined by unifying the definitions introduced above. Genre is primarily seen as a stable convention for constructing social activity, which has internal and contextual norms that both restrict and enable genre use. However, genres are also perceived as dynamic and adaptable because they can hybridize.

## 4 THE PRESENT STUDY

### 4.1 Research aim and question

The aim of this study is to analyse what kind of an image the Swiss tour operator Kontiki Voyages constructs of Finnish Lapland in their winter travel catalogue. My focus is on analysing discourses on Finnish Lapland as a tourist destination from the perspective of critical discourse studies. Thus, I will concentrate on how the Finnish Nordic destinations are discursively constructed by the foreign travel agency, and what are the consequences of the different ways of constructing the tourist sites for the image of the travel destination. Furthermore, I will draw on the Deleuzian idea of rhizomatic discourses and discuss how the rhizomatic nature of the discourses influences the image constructed of the region. My research question is as follows:

How Finnish Lapland is discursively constructed as a tourist destination in the *Rêveries hivernales* winter travel catalogue?

The catalogue by Kontiki Voyages was chosen because of the operator's significant position in organizing travels to Nordic countries. In fact, Kontiki Voyages and Travel Scandinavia are the only Swiss-based companies selling travels to Northern Europe. Out of these two, Kontiki Voyages was chosen as the subject of this study based on the language of the tourism material; Kontiki produces its catalogues in both French and German in order to serve the bilingual Swiss target group, whereas Travel Scandinavia produces its catalogues merely in German. This study analyses the French-language winter travel catalogue.

## 4.2 Data and methods

The data used in the present study consists of textual material collected from the winter travel catalogue called *Rêveries hivernales* “winter dreams”. The catalogue is produced by Kontiki Voyages and was published in March 2020 with a view to advertise travels to Nordic regions in the winter season of 2020-21. I will analyse the research material by using a qualitative method because it allows for a more in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. Quantitative methods tend to be more generalizing in nature which is why a qualitative method suits this study better. (Trochim n.d.) After all, my aim is to describe the phenomena in greater detail and not to aim for universal generalizations based on the findings.

The Kontiki winter travel catalogue consists of 124 pages. The catalogue is organized thematically by commencing with the introduction of the tour operator, its history, and values, from where it proceeds to introducing the characteristics of Nordic destinations and the arctic climate. After the introductory part, the catalogue continues by presenting and comparing northern Norway and Finnish Lapland as arctic destinations.

To answer my research question, I had to limit the research material because the Kontiki winter travel catalogue also advertises travels to northern Norway and Iceland. Thus, 27 pages were outlined due to its irrelevance in terms of the research subject. Furthermore, sections concerning information on the travel company, its history and sustainability actions (6 pages), detailed information about flights (2 pages), accommodation (2 pages) and car rental (2 pages), as well as the terms and conditions (3 pages) were outlined from the research data. In addition, the back cover (2 pages) was outlined from the analysis because it advertises an upcoming catalogue and has the contact details of the company. In other words, altogether 45 pages were outlined from the research material because they do not contribute to the analysis in terms of answering the research question. Consequently, 79 pages of the Kontiki winter travel catalogue constitute the research data of this study.

The present study does not examine the multimodal elements of the catalogue, i.e., I will be excluding any images embedded in the catalogue from the data. My educational background, the role of the textual data in the catalogue, the characteristics of CDA and the extent of this study support the exclusion of images. First, as a student of language studies, my proficiency is first and foremost in textual analysis and understanding. Second, the textual data plays a significant role in the catalogue; it creates differentiation between the advertised destinations since the visual language between arctic destinations is mostly shared and similar. Third, by limiting the research data to textual content, I am able to carry out a detailed and meticulous analysis of the textual features and to analyse the data in three levels: in linguistic, discursive, and social levels. After all, a multi-layered analysis, which is

anchored in a detailed linguistic scrutiny, is a characteristic of critical discourse analysis (Pietikäinen 2000: 208). Fourth, if I had chosen to analyse the images, the research data would have grown significantly, which, in terms of the scope of this study, could have led to the analysis of either the textual data or the multimodal data to remain deficient and inaccurate. However, my background as a student of linguistics may influence my interpretation of the importance of textual data in the catalogue, but I firmly believe that even without the images I can answer the research question of this study, i.e., to examine and name discourses as well as to investigate the overall image that the discourses form of Finnish Lapland as a tourist destination.

The research data was collected from the Kontiki Voyages' website on October 5, 2020. A link to the online version of the catalogue is available at the end of this thesis. Ethical issues had to be considered because the travel catalogue is protected by copyright. However, the Ministry of Education and Culture has granted universities a permission to copy text from open websites for research purposes (Tekijänoikeudet opetuksessa n.d.). To adhere to the fair use guidelines, the referenced material will be cited accordingly.

The method of analysis of this study is qualitative critical discourse analysis (CDA). I have defined the concept of discourse based on both the Foucauldian view and prior definitions given to discourse in tourism studies. Thus, the notion of discourse is defined as follows: "a discourse is a stable set of words, expressions and themes used to describe and modify knowledge about a place and its inhabitants, which rely on specific images, symbols and associations that are characteristic to a particular tourist site." Consequently, discourses could be seen as lenses which all offer a different viewpoint on Finnish Lapland as a tourism destination.

According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 272), critical discourse analysis assumes that power relations are discursive, i.e., power is transmitted and practised through discourse. Thus, the 'criticality' of CDA is based on the scrutiny of power relations and ideologies that shape discourses as well as on the understanding of how systems of knowledge and beliefs are affected by discourses (Fairclough 1992: 12). This duality of the method is also visible in this study; I am interested in understanding how the discourses shaped by the tour operator manifest in the catalogue and hence influence the beliefs and expectations of tourists.

Fairclough's (1992: 231) model to discourse analysis divides discourses to three interconnected levels which are textual, discursive, and social levels. The textual or linguistic level refers to the 'micro' aspects of the texts, the discursive level refers to the 'macro' level and the social level to the social practices that the discourse is part of (Fairclough 1992: 231). On a more practical level, the micro-aspects of the text refer to vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure whereas the macro-aspects of the text concern the production, distribution, and consumption of the text, so for instance, the genre, the target group, and the objective of the text. As for the social practices, they concern the embedded ideologies and hegemonies, which often become

naturalized in texts. (id.: 75, 78-79, 87, 92.) As Fairclough (1992: 86) argues, “it is the nature of the social practice that determines the macro-processes of discursive practice, and it is the micro-processes that shape the text.” The present study utilizes the tripartition by analysing how the discourses manifest in all three levels. For instance, when analysing the discourse of exclusive experiences that manifests from the Kontiki winter travel catalogue, I was able to identify linguistic features typical for tourism discourse (e.g., mixing local and global languages, key wording), discursive features related to the promotional genre (e.g., narratives, comparisons), and some typical social level issues (staged authenticity, commodification) of the tourism industry manifest from the Kontiki catalogue.

As a method, critical discourse analysis has its benefits and drawbacks. The greatest strength of CDA is a detailed linguistic analysis that can produce new information on the linguistic features and their effects of different social phenomena. In addition, these types of studies can be fruitful in developing the theoretical and analytical framework. (Pietikäinen 2000: 208.) In terms of this study, critical discourse analysis enables me to analyse how the region is socially constructed through linguistic choices and to connect and argue for my findings based on the social level phenomenon of the tourism industry. As for the drawbacks of CDA, the results obtained by utilizing the method have been criticized for faint generalizability. Even though a detailed analysis can provide new information on linguistic features and their effects, the results and their interpretation often remain narrow. (ibid.) Likewise, this study aims at presenting how and why Finnish Lapland is discursively constructed as a holiday destination based on one research data. Jan Blommaert (2005: 37-38), in turn, has criticized the method for excessive concentration on language which leads to insufficient linking to the social practices. Contemporary discourse analysis has also faced challenges in examining multi-layered and rapidly changing social phenomena (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2019: 34).

I analysed the research data in terms of linguistic, discursive, and social factors by focusing first on the choices made in terms of vocabulary, grammar, and tone and then proceeding to examine, for instance, the effects of the promotional genre and the Swiss target group to the macro-processes that define the discursive practices in the catalogue. Moreover, the analysis considers the social level by discussing how the hidden power relations and ideologies in the catalogue connect to typical phenomena, such as the commodification of indigenous cultures, in the tourism industry.

Through the examination of the research data, I was able to identify and name three significant discourses from the catalogue with the help of tools provided by Dann (1996) and Machin and Mayr (2012). The identification and naming of the discourses were based on the definition given to discourse in this study. In other words, the discourses were identified based on similar set of words, expressions and themes used to describe Finnish Lapland and its habitants, such as the Sámi people. Moreover, I was able to identify some typical symbols and associations characteristic



to Finnish Lapland from the expressions and themes, which facilitated the identification of different discourses. For the analysis chapter, I pinpointed examples with words, expressions, and themes that circulate in the catalogue. They represent for the most part the crystallizations of the discourses in the research data but also the deviations that I was able to identify. For instance, the emphasis of the indigenous Sámi culture and the pure arctic nature both connect to the wider discourse of Lapland as a unique holiday destination. Furthermore, as mentioned in the theoretical background, the discourses that circulate in the catalogue are interconnected in a rhizomatic way. Thus, I will also discuss how the rhizomatic nature of the discourses contributes to the image of Finnish Lapland as a holiday destination.

Because of the qualitative nature and the size of the present study, it cannot provide universal generalizations on the issue. Notwithstanding, the study offers a detailed description of the discursive practices that a significant company in the Swiss tourism industry utilizes to create a positive, sellable, and distinctive image of Finnish Lapland. This, in turn, may offer insightful views on how tour operators utilize different discursive strategies in marketing.

## 5 ANALYSIS

In this chapter I will focus on three interconnected and concurrently operating discourses that construct the image of Finnish Lapland as a tourist site in the Kontiki winter travel catalogue. The discourses are as follows: 1) the discourse of well-being; 2) the discourse of exclusive experiences; and 3) the discourse of uniqueness that utilizes two main themes: the indigenous Sámi culture and the arctic environment. Each of the discourses manifest in their respective ways and together they form a rhizome of discourses on Finnish Lapland as a tourist site. The rhizomatic ways in which the discourses unite, function together, and form new structures are discussed further at the end of the chapter.

In the analysis, I have decided to illustrate the discourses by bringing forward examples from the research data. For the most part, the examples typify recurring and typical instances, but I have also decided to bring out interesting examples of deviations from the dominating discourses in the catalogue. The number of the page from which the example has been collected is informed at the end of each example.

### 5.1 Lapland as a source of well-being

One of the discourses that circulates in the winter travel catalogue of Kontiki is the discourse of well-being. The essence of this discourse is that Swiss tourists can find well-being from characteristic Finnish activities, such as sauna bathing, as well as from the pure and arctic Finnish nature. This discourse can be seen as a manifestation of the upward trend of wellness tourism (Konu 2017: 77 in Edelman, Ilola and Björk). Moreover, Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger (2010: 7, 33) say that in the context of critical discourse analysis, tourism can be seen as a social action that attempts to contribute to an individual's well-being by socially constructing and promoting communities relevant for well-being

Wellness tourism has a long tradition in history but as a research subject it is fairly uncharted. It has been given both condensed and extensive definitions by researchers and tourist operators (c.f. Müller and Lanz Kaufmann 2001; Björk, Tuohino and Konu 2011; Business Finland n.d.). They highlight well-being-related offerings but also consider the demand and the environment in which wellness tourism is conducted. In travel destinations, wellness tourism is practised by offering both physical activities and mental well-being related services (Konu 2017: 76-77 in Edelheim et al.). Next, I will present some examples of the well-being discourse in Kontiki's winter travel catalogue.

1) "Après une journée active dans la neige, quoi que de mieux que de se détendre dans son propre sauna dans sa maison." *After an active day out in the snow, what could be better than relaxing in one's own sauna in one's own house.* (p. 64)

2) "Aller en raquettes à neige au sommet d'un Tunturi (colline), entre les sapins enneigés, et observer loin à la ronde des lacs et des forêts – rien ne me libère autant l'esprit, rien ne me détend plus que ce silence. J'ai le sentiment d'être dans une forêt enchantée, loin de la vie de tous les jours." *Snowshoeing on the top of a Tunturi (hill) in the middle of snowy firs and observing the lakes and forests far away - nothing clears my mind and relaxes me more than the silence. I feel like I'm in an enchanted forest far away from everyday life.* (p. 12)

Example one represents an expression that appears in the catalogue numerous times. In the example, the author of the catalogue has decided to bring forward the two aspects of well-being (activity and relaxation) through a structural opposition. This technique of representational strategies refers to the use of one side of an opposition to imply the other (Machin and Mayr 2012: 224). The writer has decided to explicitly bring forward the expression *une journée active* "active day" which implies its opposite *un soir calme* "calm evening" without saying it. Furthermore, the two clauses in the sentence are interconnected by using the expression *quoi que de mieux que* "what could be better than". The author has decided to use the interrogative mood instead of a neutral indicative mood. Consequently, I argue that the catalogue positions itself as a voice of expertise in terms of wellness by using implicature and interrogatives because they create a sense of authority and confidence (id.: 42, 47).

Furthermore, example one depicts how the catalogue emphasizes the tourist by using reflexive verbs and by utilizing possessive pronouns and expressions. Reflexive verbs highlight that the action is done to oneself, for instance verbs such as *se laver* "to wash oneself" and *s'habiller* "to dress oneself" are used with the reflexive pronoun. In example one, the author has decided to emphasize that the relaxation is specifically aimed at the tourist and in example two, *se libérer* "clearing one's thoughts" and *se détendre* "relaxation" are aimed specifically at the experiencer. In addition, the author has decided to put great emphasis on the proprietorship that the tourist has over his accommodation. The expression *dans son propre sauna dans sa maison* "in one's own sauna in one's own house" makes it clear for the reader that he/she has the possibility

to relax and enjoy their own accommodation as they like. The emphasis of the tourist and his individualism may be due to ego-targeting which Dann (1996: 185) defines as one of the typical techniques of the language of tourism. Ego-targeting refers to the accentuation of the individual through semiotic choices that highlight individualism and conversational style (id.: 186). Furthermore, Thurlow and Jaworski (2010: 236) have identified that egocentricity is a characteristic of contemporary travel - the experience is more about “*my* well-being, *my* needs, and *my* preferences instead of ‘our’ (other tourists) or ‘their’ (the local people)”. Therefore, the emphasis on the tourist and his sensations can be due to ego-targeting.

In example two, the author has decided to use a testimony. As a whole, the expression in example two is a narrative because it is based on a personal experience. The example is part of an opinion piece written by one of Kontiki’s tour guides. According to Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2019: 144), narratives are a powerful tool in communication since they enable the reader or listener to relate with the narrator. The alliance of emotions and real events is appealing, and a “true story” is an effective way for intertwining together truthfulness and experience (ibid.). Furthermore, the writer has decided to depersonalize the experience by using verbs in their basic forms. The verbs *aller* “to go” and *observer* “to look” are not conjugated to correspond with the first-person singular form. This furthers the ability of the reader to relate with the story and picture themselves hiking to a hill. Testimonies and narratives written by either satisfied customers or tour-guides are a technique commonly used in tourism advertising (Dann 1996: 176-179). In fact, testimonials are used in the research material altogether fifteen times. Consequently, I argue that the catalogue aims at convincing the reader by appealing to their emotions, which illustrates how the travel catalogue obeys to the genre conventions of the promotional genre.

Next, I would like to focus on the themes of examples one and two and examine how they connect to wellness travel. In example one, the author represents sauna as a source of well-being and relaxation as a balance to daytime outdoor activities. The word ‘sauna’ is mentioned altogether 102 times in the research material and the contexts mostly consider accommodation descriptions. A smaller number of contexts seem to connect sauna as a balance to some other activity, such as ice-hole swimming. The number of occurrences of the word ‘sauna’ in the catalogue is remarkable, which is not surprising since the utilization of locality is increasing in wellness travelling. This is generally done by utilizing the local culture, habits, and traditions as a means for a destination to add attractiveness and to differentiate. In Finland, sauna is a service conducive to health and strongly tied to local culture, traditions, and habits. (Konu 2017: 81 in Edelheim et al.) Thus, for destinations in Finnish Lapland to differentiate from other Nordic countries, a great emphasis is placed on sauna bathing and its significance to the local culture. Furthermore, it is intriguing how sauna bathing is advertised to Swiss tourists as something private and their own even though for Finns’ sauna is often a communal experience shared with family, friends,

and even strangers. This is probably due to customer-oriented product development, which prioritizes customer's consuming habits and needs (Haahti and Komppula 2006: 105 in Buhalis and Costa).

In example two, the central theme is arctic nature. The example describes arctic nature by talking about hills, snowy trees, lakes, and forests as well as emphasizes the silence and calmness. Nature has been a central resource in providing wellness travels for tourists for a long time. In recent years, the emphasis of nature has accelerated, which is due to the pureness, healthiness, and freshness of nature (Konu 2017: 79 in Edelheim et al.). Furthermore, nature is perceived as a calming balance to the hectic everyday life that most people live, and the health benefits of nature has been proved in many scientific research (such as Q. Li 2010; Tyrväinen, Kurttila, Sievänen and Tuulentie 2014; Komppula, Konu and Vikman 2017). This becomes visible in example two where the author explicitly brings forward how the tourist is far away from everyday life when he/she is in Lapland. Consequently, since the role of both locality and nature is essential in wellness travelling, the use of these themes support the well-being discourse which is present in the catalogue.

Next, I shall introduce a deviation from the prominent themes of sauna and arctic nature as the source of well-being.

3) "Un oasis de bien-être: le Spa Améthyste. Ambiance des tropiques au milieu de l'hiver finlandais : le Spa Améthyste de l'hôtel Luosto- tunturi offre une température extérieure de 32°C et de l'eau chaude à 30 °C pour se détendre totalement après une journée active. Pour étoffer l'offre du Spa, il y a évidemment un sauna finlandais et un bain turc." *An oasis of well-being: Amethyst Spa. A tropical atmosphere in the middle of Finnish winter: the Amethyst Spa in hotel Luosto -tunturi offers an indoor temperature of 32 °C and warm water of 30 °C so that you can completely relax after an active day. To complement the services of the spa, there is of course a Finnish sauna and a Turkish sauna.* (p. 29)

Contrary to the themes mentioned earlier, example three illustrates how the catalogue utilizes a tropical spa to construct the discourse of well-being. The author has decided to represent the spa as the ultimate place for relaxation as it is referred to *un oasis de bien-être* "an oasis of well-being", which is an expression that is not used when the catalogue refers to sauna or other local well-being -related activities. Instead, in the example Finnish sauna is equated with a Turkish sauna and represented as a taken for granted service. Other interesting aspects in the example are the allusion to *ambiance des tropiques* "tropical atmosphere" and the references to the warm temperature and heated water in the spa. The advertisement of a tropical spa in a winter travel catalogue opens up different interpretations. Firstly, I argue that the advertisement appears as a sign of translocality. Translocality refers to the combination of local and global resources that aims at addressing multiple and mobile audiences (Pietikäinen 2015: 217-218). The advertisement of a tropical spa in the catalogue localizes a global wellness service to the local environment of Finnish Lapland. As a result, the catalogue becomes more multivoiced and thus, can serve a larger audience with a wide variety

of interests. Secondly and alternatively, the reader can understand the advertisement simply as referring to a spa service available in the area. Hence, even though the utilisation of a tropical spa in a winter travel catalogue is an exceptional move, it is probably used to appeal into a larger consumer segment as well as to support the local services.

As the analysis so far depicts, the well-being discourse manifests in the Kontiki winter catalogue in three levels. In the linguistic level, the discourse is constructed by emphasizing the individuality of the tourist and thus, the authority over one's decisions. In the discursive level, conventions of the promotional genre, such as narratives, manifest themselves. Lastly, the themes of the examples show how the catalogue connects to trends in the tourism industry, i.e., how this piece of text connects to the larger social context.

## 5.2 Lapland as a provider of exclusive experiences

Another central discourse that circulates in Kontiki's winter travel catalogue is the one of exclusive experience. This discourse emphasizes activities that the tourist can only experience and sense in Lapland. The manifestation of an experience discourse can be due to the remarkable role of experiences in the travel industry: they have been referred to as an extremely significant factor and perhaps the most important resource in travelling (Tung and Ritchie 2011: 1367).

Experiences related to travelling have been lived through since the early days of travelling, but as the economic value of experiences and their commodification was noticed in the 1990's, the significance of experiences came into question in public and academic discussion (Räikkönen 2017: 154 in Edelheim, Ilola and Björk). Tung and Ritchie (2011: 1369) have defined tourism experiences as an individual's subjective evaluation and encounter of matters related to his/her tourist activities. These activities occur before, during and after the trip. In this study, the notion of tourism experience connects to the planning stage of a trip. Next, I will bring forward some examples of the experience discourse from the Kontiki winter catalogue.

4) "Essayez le ski de fond, le sport préféré des Finlandais. Äkäslompolo est la véritable Mecque du ski de fond avec environ 300 km de pistes de ski de fond préparées." *Try cross-country skiing, the favourite sport of the Finns. Äkäslompolo is the true Mecca of cross-country skiing with approximately 300 km of ski tracks.* (p. 75)

5) "Même si les montagnes finlandaises ne peuvent pas rivaliser avec la Suisse, une journée de ski en Finlande est une expérience unique. Profitez de la merveilleuse poudreuse et de la vue magnifique." *Even though Finnish mountains cannot compete with Switzerland, a day of downhill skiing in Finland is a unique experience. Enjoy the marvellous powder snow and magnificent views.* (p. 77)

6) Un phénomène naturel qui ne s'explique pas seulement de manière scientifique: l'expérience des aurores boréales est la cerise sur le gâteau d'un conte de fée. *A natural*

*phenomenon which cannot be explained only in scientific terms: experiencing the northern lights is the cherry on top of a fairy-tale cake. (p. 46)*

Examples four and five rely on using imperative verb forms, which is a technique that occurs frequently in the catalogue. The verb forms *essayez* “try” and *profitez* “enjoy” are imperatives constructed of the second plural form *vous* “you”. According to Coupland, Garret and Bishop (2005: 211 in Jaworski and Pritchard), imperatives are typical in the promotion of active tourism experiences since they are a genre-marking convention. The verbs *essayez* “try” and *profitez* “enjoy” position the tourist as controlling and choice-exercising as they combine meanings of activity and agency. Furthermore, an interesting trait of the imperative forms used here is the encouraging and polite tone instead of commanding. This is important because customers do not like to be talked down or told what to do (Delin 2000: 136). The friendly tone adopted in the catalogue could be seen as a technique through which the tour operator builds a relationship with the customer. After all, the language of an advertisement should aim at an ordinary, equal exchange between the advertiser and the consumer (ibid.).

Another interesting trait in examples four, five, and six is the utilization of comparisons. In examples four and six the author has decided to use a metaphor to compare the cross-country skiing opportunities of Äkäslompolo to Mecca, whereas in example four the comparison between Lapland and Switzerland is done by using a presupposition. According to Dann (1996: 171), comparison is a common technique used in tourism texts because it mollifies the effects of strangeness which can be associated with a vacation. However, I would argue that in Kontiki’s winter catalogue comparisons are used to highlight the exclusiveness and speciality of the experiences in Lapland. This can be due to the target group of the catalogue; Swiss tourists are able to experience winter activities in the Alps, so the activities in Lapland must be differentiated extremely well. For instance, in example four the author has decided to refer to the Mecca, a universal metaphor for a place that is regarded as a centre for a specific activity<sup>1</sup> and in example five, the northern lights are referred to be *la cerise sur le gâteau* “the cherry on the cake” which is known as a desirable feature in something that is already very good<sup>2</sup>. It seems that these positive and universal metaphors have been chosen for the catalogue to create a sense of uniqueness and to offer a point of reference for the tourists whose knowledge of Lapland can be limited. Additionally, in example four, the author has decided to add that Äkäslompolo has 300 kilometres of ski tracks. When expressing size and grandeur, numerical values create depth (Coupland, Garret and Bishop 2005: 211 in Jaworski and Pritchard), which in this case is quite necessary in order for the Swiss customer to understand why the destination is *la véritable Mecque du ski de fond* “the Mecca of cross-country skiing”. Thus, the use

---

<sup>1</sup> Merriam-Webster: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/mecca> (5 August 2021)

<sup>2</sup> Oxford Lexico: [https://www.lexico.com/definition/the\\_cherry\\_on\\_the\\_cake](https://www.lexico.com/definition/the_cherry_on_the_cake) (14 June 2021)

of comparisons creates contrast between the tourist's home country and the holiday destination as well as constructs a sense of exclusiveness around Finnish Lapland.

The comparison in example five presents an interesting but common technique used in the language of advertising. The author has decided to compare the Swiss Alps to Finnish hills by downplaying the Finnish holiday destination. It seems that the advertiser aims at persuading the consumer by using a presupposition. Presupposition is the strongest form of persuasion because it relies on the assumption that the reader accepts the truth of the proposition, whether the sentence that carries it is itself true (Delin 2000: 144). In this case, the use of this presupposition could be explained by the friendly and equal relationship between the advertiser and the consumer mentioned above. It would seem suspicious and unconvincing if the author would claim that the hills in Finnish Lapland offer better skiing opportunities than the Alps. After all, trust is a central element in successful advertising (id.: 131).

Another aspect that constructs the image of exclusivity around activities in Finnish Lapland is a technique commonly used in the language of advertising and tourism. In example five, there are three adjectives *unique*, *merveilleuse*, *magnifique* "unique, marvellous, magnificent" that signify almost the same meaning. The decision to rely on using words that denote the same meaning can be explained by two phenomena: key wording or the characteristics of advertisement vocabulary. Key wording or keying refers to describing the holiday destination with adjectives that correspond to the expectations or image that the consumer has of the destination (Dann 1996: 174-176). Papen (2005: 92 in Jaworski and Pritchard) describes key words as important semiotic markers because they embody the discourse at hand. This applies to the adjectives in example five because they enhance the discourse of exclusivity by referring to the activities and experiences in Lapland as unique, marvellous, and magnificent. As for the characteristics of advertisement language, they refer to familiar, positive, and memorable vocabulary (Bhatia 2004: 63-64). I argue that both of those phenomena influence the decision to use those adjectives. Furthermore, I believe that the context also plays a role in the selection of those three adjectives. Since the Swiss Alps are mentioned in the preceding clause as the invincible skiing destination, the author has decided to add plenty of positive adjectives to support the competitiveness of the Finnish Lapland as a skiing destination. Consequently, this example brings forward how the catalogue adheres to genre conventions in constructing an image of exclusiveness.

Next, I will discuss a central aspect of tourism, authenticity, by illustrating how authenticity is constructed in the Kontiki winter travel catalogue and how it contributes to the construction of the experience discourse.

7) PURE LAPONIE: Découvrez ce que la Laponie a de mieux à offrir en une semaine: un tour de deux jours en husky, une randonnée passionnante en motoneige à travers un paysage blanc et une promenade en traîneau à renne. *PURE LAPLAND: Experience the best that Lapland has to*



*offer in one week: a two-day-long husky safari, an exciting snowmobile ride through white landscapes and a promenade in a reindeer sleigh. (p. 113)*

8) SAFARIS EN MOTONEIGE À ÄKÄSLOMPOLO: Relâchez le frein et appuyez légèrement sur la pédale d'accélérateur: voici le moyen de transport préféré des Finlandais et il promet une aventure passionnante à travers des forêts enneigées, sur des lacs gelés ou sur un Tunturi. SNOWMOBILE SAFARIS IN ÄKÄSLOMPOLO: loosen the brake and press the pedal lightly: this is the favourite mode of transport of Finns, and it guarantees an exciting adventure through snowy forests, on frozen lakes or on a Tunturi. (p. 74)

Examples seven and eight depict how the catalogue leans on Finnishness when advertising different possibilities for activities. This could be seen as a technique through which authenticity and differentiation are discursively constructed. Authenticity is a major motive in tourism but also a challenging concept because of its subjective nature; there is no universal, monolithic authenticity (Pietikäinen, Kelly-Holmes, Jaffe and Coupland 2016: 70; Hall, Müller and Saarinen 2009: 200). Moreover, it has been argued by researchers in the field of tourism studies that authenticity in tourism is increasingly based on the so-called “staged authenticity” (Lüthje 2017: 219 in Edelheim et al.; Hall, Müller and Saarinen 2009: 200). However, the so-called staged authenticity could be the consequence of the modern society in which we live in. According to Pietikäinen et al. (2016: 106), authenticity structured by traditions is slowly moving towards authenticity structured by late modernity because authenticity must become more “contextual, contingent and in and of the moment.” Therefore, conventional authenticity (‘old’) and transactional authenticity (‘new’) co-exist with tension in today’s globalized world (Pietikäinen et al. 2016: 74, 104). Although the activities in examples seven and eight are not originally from Finnish Lapland, the tourists find authenticity from the environment and surroundings in which the activities are conducted. So, even though both snowmobile safaris and huskies could be seen as imported goods (Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2011: 329) or even staged authenticity, they both offer an excellent way for the tourists to experience the vast arctic nature which would otherwise be quite challenging to explore. Consequently, I argue that the discourse of exclusive experiences is discursively constructed by leaning on the transactional footings that enable authentic experiences in the late-modern present.

As I have introduced above, the discourse of exclusive experiences also manifests in three levels. First, in the linguistic level, the discourse surfaces through verb forms and different kinds of comparisons. Second, in the discursive level, different conventions of the promotional genre occur again, this time in the form of the tone and versatile means of persuasion. Third, in the social level, the experience discourse connects to the interplay of conventional and transactional components, which is typical in authenticity tourism.

## 5.3 Lapland as a unique holiday destination

While the well-being discourse highlights the opportunities through which a tourist can achieve physical and mental well-being and as the exclusive experiences discourse brings forward the distinctive activities and experiences that Finnish Lapland has to offer, yet another discourse is emerging from the Kontiki winter catalogue that can be named as the discourse of uniqueness. This discourse is constructed through the semiotic and thematic choices that aim at highlighting the uniqueness of Finnish Lapland. I argue that the discourse of uniqueness is constructed around specific themes which are the Sámi culture and the versatile characteristics of the arctic nature. In the following sub-chapters, I will introduce how these two themes emerge in the catalogue and construct the discourse of uniqueness.

### 5.3.1 Sámi culture

The utilization of indigenous people and their culture is popular in tourism industry even though it poses some challenges. A characteristic of indigenous tourism is the involvement of representatives of the indigenous people in planning and organizing tourist services, in other words, merely the visibility of an indigenous culture or its representatives is not indigenous tourism. (Kugapi and de Bernardi 2017: 70-71 in Edelheim, Ilola and Björk.) In Finnish Lapland, tourism is one of the main sources of income, with Sámi culture as its significant selling point (Pietikäinen 2015: 219). The Sámi are also brought forward and used as a selling point in the Kontiki winter travel catalogue. Next, I will introduce some examples which depict how the Sámi culture is used to construct a discourse of uniqueness around Finnish Lapland as a holiday destination.

9) Comme un Sami, j'utilise ma kuksa personnelle, la légendaire tasse en bois, à chaque occasion et la remplis de café ou de jus de baies. La tasse est à la fois une tradition, un culte et une mode. Ma pièce d'artisanat Sami me permet, lorsque je suis à la maison, de me plonger dans mes souvenirs. *As a Sami person, I use my own personal kuksa, the legendary wooden cup, on every occasion and I fill it with coffee or berry juice. The cup is at once a tradition, a cult, and a habit. My piece of Sami craftsmanship allows me to jump back to memories even when I am at home.* (p. 13)

10) Lors d'une pause, écoutez la des légendes passionnantes sur les Sami ou apprenez à reconnaître les traces d'animaux dans la neige, que votre guide vous montrera avec enthousiasme. *During the pause, listen to exciting Sámi legends or learn to recognize animal footprints in the snow, which your guide will enthusiastically show you.* (p. 75)

11) Aujourd'hui, vous faites plus ample connaissance avec les rennes qui sont très importants dans la culture et l'histoire des Sami. [...] En route, du café vous est servi au coin du feu dans un lavvu. Pendant la pause, votre hôte vous en raconte plus sur la vie des Sami. *Today you will get to know better the reindeers which are very important in Sámi culture and history. [...] On the way you are served coffee around a campfire in a lavvu. During the pause, your host tells you more about the life of the Sami.* (p. 52)

Example nine is collected from an opinion piece written by one of Kontiki's tour guides. In the piece, the guide describes the characteristics of Finnish Lapland and brings forward an example of the material Sámi culture, *kuksa*, which is a hand carved wooden cup and one of many traditional craftworks of the Sámi. The object is a popular souvenir sold to tourists because of its uniqueness and functionality. Souvenirs act as an advertisement for the destination and constitute a piece for authentication and differentiation (Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2011: 325). In example nine, the authentic nature of *kuksa* is highlighted even further with expression *comme un Sami, j'utilise ma kuksa personnelle* "as a Sami person, I use my own personal *kuksa*", *la tasse est à la fois une tradition, un culte et une mode* "the cup is at once a tradition, a cult, and a habit" and *ma pièce d'artisanat Sami* "my piece of Sami craftsmanship", which put excessive emphasis on the importance and authenticity of the cup. I argue that in examples nine and eleven multilingualism is used to construct a representation of uniqueness. When a Finnish word, such as *kuksa*, is mixed with French language, its authenticity receives more emphasis as it stands out from the dominant language matrix (c.f. Pietikäinen et al. 2016: 103). This technique is also used in example eleven where the Northern Sámi word "*lavvu*" is utilized to describe a traditional Sámi dwelling. Neither *kuksa* nor *lavvu* have French translations, which increases the cultural specificity and locality of the words. Consequently, the experiences of drinking coffee from a *kuksa* or sitting around a campfire in a *lavvu* receive greater emphasis in terms of uniqueness. An interesting detail in these examples is that when the writer refers to the wooden cup, *kuksa*, the Finnish translation is used instead of the Northern Sámi word "*guksi*", even though the Finnish word originates from the Sámi word. As for "*lavvu*", the Northern Sámi word is probably used because the Finnish equivalent for the term, "*laavu*", does not refer to the same type of dwelling. These examples show how Finnish and Northern Sámi are mixed in the catalogue, which can, however, be problematic because Swiss tourists may confuse the Sámi language as Finnish. However, these snippets of Finnish and Northern Sámi could be seen as small authenticating details in the catalogue.

Moreover, souvenirs are a significant part of the multimodal tourism space since they enable the tourist to continue and extend the tourist experience. Souvenirs help the tourist to construct a narrative of the personal experience and to pass it along in another place. (Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2011: 325.) In example nine, the author explicitly brings forward this characteristic of souvenirs as she mentions that the Sámi artisan piece enables her to reminisce her Lapland memories even when she is at home. Furthermore, the ownership over the souvenir is highlighted as the author uses the possessive pronoun *ma* "my" and refers to the object as *personnelle* "personal". Overall, example nine depicts how the material Sámi culture is utilized in the Kontiki winter travel catalogue to construct an image of uniqueness and authenticity around tourist services of the region.

In examples ten and eleven, the immaterial Sámi cultural heritage is brought forward. Cultural heritage is often divided into two categories; the material which involves different types of physical objects and the immaterial which includes traditions, legends, customs, and myths. Many tourist attractions have come into existence because of history and traditions, which is why narratives are fundamental to these sites. (Hall, Müller, and Saarinen 2009: 205-206.) In examples ten and eleven, the tourist is invited to hear more about the Sámi legends as well as the everyday life of the Sámi people. The emphasis of a knowledge shared by a small number of people could also be seen as a means to differentiate the site even further from other destinations (Hallet and Kaplan-Weinger 2010: 21). The activity itself, hearing and learning about the Sámi, could be seen as a revitalisation of the Sámi culture within the frames of a modern tourist attraction. Furthermore, the explicit articulation of the Sámi legends creates discursive links between the past and the present. However, the problematic aspect is that the narrator of the legends in example ten seems to be a person who is not a representative of the indigenous culture. As mentioned earlier, a characteristic of indigenous tourism is the involvement of representatives of the indigenous people in planning and organizing tourist services. Whether or not that is the case here, Kontiki relies also on the immaterial Sámi culture when constructing an image of the northern holiday destinations. This serves as a significant point of differentiation between the tourists' home country and Lapland.

As the examples above demonstrate, the indigenous culture of Lapland is used for commercial purposes in the catalogue. The word *Sami* is mentioned in the research material altogether 38 times in the names of tourist activities (such as tours), their descriptions, and in destination descriptions. This could be seen as commodification of the Sámi culture. Commodification aims at transforming a specific object or a project into vendible objects and profits (Heller, Pujolar and Duchêne 2014: 545). This phenomenon is common in the tourism industry where indigenous cultures are often harnessed to serve as major selling points, while forgetting or neglecting to acknowledge the representatives of the indigenous culture in decision making or planning the tourist attractions (Kugapi and de Behardi 2017: 70-71 in Edelheim et al.). However, since indigenous cultures offer a major point of differentiation for tour operators, they are utilized in marketing. It seems that Kontiki also aims at utilizing the Sámi culture as a point of differentiation and thus it could be seen as an instrument in forming the discourse of uniqueness.

The next subchapter shall introduce and depict how the arctic environment and its characteristics are utilized in constructing the discourse of uniqueness in the Kontiki winter travel catalogue.

### **5.3.2 The arctic environment**

The tourist site (the place) is a significant resource of authenticity and uniqueness in tourism. Regarding Finnish Lapland, the remoteness of the place is often utilized to

construct an image of boundedness and distinctness from real and imagined centres. Remote areas are often perceived as ‘more pristine’ and ‘pure’ because they are not overly influenced by social and economic forces. (Pietikäinen, Kelly-Holmes, Jaffe and Coupland 2016: 84.) Next, I will introduce some examples from the Kontiki winter travel catalogue that semiotically mediate the discourse of uniqueness by relying on the remote and distinctive arctic environment.

12) “ÄKÄSLOMPOLO – UN RÊVE HIVERNAL: Le village d’Äkäslompolo est très apprécié et est un point de départ idéal pour des vacances dans le Grand Nord. Une fois bien installé dans votre confortable maison, le conte de fées peut enfin commencer.” ÄKÄSLOMPOLO - A WINTER DREAM: *the village of Äkäslompolo is very popular and an ideal starting point for holidays in the Far North. After you have settled into your comfortable house, the fairy-tale can finally begin.* (p. 32)

13) “À Salla, vous trouverez tout ce qui constitue le véritable conte de fées finlandais en hiver. Ce petit centre de vacances est situé près du cercle polaire, non loin de la frontière russe «au milieu de nulle part». Le parc national d’Oulanka, tout proche, montre son meilleur visage en hiver.” *In Salla, you will find everything that forms the real Finnish winter fairy-tale. The small holiday centre is located near the arctic circle, not very far from the Russian border, “in the middle of nowhere”. The national park of Oulanka, very nearby, shows its best face in winter.* (p. 51)

Examples twelve and thirteen include a range of Finnish place names embedded in the French text. The names “Äkäslompolo”, “Salla” and “Oulanka” probably seem peculiar in the eyes of French-speaking Swiss tourists whose mother tongue is remarkably different from Finnish. In French, the spelling and pronunciation of a word is not similar to each other, but the pronunciation often omits most of the letters in words (Kalmbach 2020: 3). Consequently, for a French-speaking tourist the place names probably sound novel, which suggests an alluring and interesting strangeness of the place to be visited. The inducement of the destination is reinforced in example twelve with the statement *Le village d’Äkäslompolo est très apprécié et est un point de départ idéal pour des vacances dans le Grand Nord* “The village of Äkäslompolo is very popular and an ideal starting point for holidays in the Far North”. It is not uncommon to see place names used as a recreational resource that might attract tourists (c.f. Pietikäinen et al. 2016: 50). Consequently, the presentation of Finnish place names could be seen as a small-scale but important resource for creating a unique and distinctive image of the destinations in Finnish Lapland.

Another interesting occurrence in the linguistic level of the Kontiki winter travel catalogue is the prominence of metaphors related to fairy-tales and dreams. Examples twelve and thirteen show typical instances on how the catalogue uses metaphorical expressions such as *Äkäslompolo - un rêve hivernal* “Äkäslompolo - a winter dream” and *À Salla, vous trouverez tout ce qui constitue le véritable conte de fées finlandais en hiver* “In Salla, you will find everything that forms the real Finnish winter fairy-tale”. These types of expressions appear altogether 28 times in the research material. Moreover, the catalogue is named as *Rêveries hivernales* “Winter dreams”. Hallet and Kaplan-Weigner (2010: 12-13) argue that metaphor is a salient strategy utilized as a narrative

device in travel websites. Metaphors help the reader to make sense of reality and to understand and conceptualize the world (ibid.). In their profound linguistic-centred work on metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 5) have defined metaphor as “understanding and experiencing one kind of a thing in terms of another”. In the context of this study, it seems that the tour operator wants the tourist to understand Finnish Lapland as a dreamy fairy-tale destination. Furthermore, the metaphor can be extended to show that Finnish Lapland is a representation of seemingly unreal beauty, perfection, luck, or happiness<sup>3</sup>. Consequently, I argue that the metaphors described above are used as a narrative device in the catalogue to construct a coherent image of the arctic environment as a unique and almost unreal destination.

14) “Vous mettez un pied devant l’autre, dans un silence complet. Seul le crissement des pas dans la neige se fait entendre. Le chemin mène à travers d’épaisses forêts enneigées, le long d’un rivièrre à moitié gelée ou en hauteur jusqu’au sommet d’un Tunturi. Quel que soit le circuit que vous choisissiez, vous allez voir des paysages uniques et une nature intacte et sauvage.” *You put one foot in front of the other in complete silence. The only sound that you hear is the crunching of the snow under your steps. The path goes through thick snowy forests, along a half-frozen river or up to the top of a Tunturi. Whichever path you choose, you will see unique landscapes and untouched, wild nature.* (p. 75)

15) En hiver, les aurores boréales, le ciel étoilé et la lune enveloppent le paysage d’une atmosphère mystérieuse. *In winter, the northern lights, starry sky, and the moon wrap the landscape in a mysterious atmosphere.* (p. 52)

As mentioned earlier, remote tourist destinations are often perceived as pure, pristine, and safe compared to the domiciles of tourists. In examples thirteen and fourteen the author of the catalogue has decided to emphasize the remoteness and peacefulness of Nordic Finnish destinations Salla and Äkäslompolo. The examples have expressions that intensify the sense of remoteness, such as *au milieu de nulle part* “in the middle of nowhere” and *un silence complet* “complete silence”. According to Thurlow and Jaworski (2010), emptiness is a form of place-based authentication that creates an implicit contrast between the urban space where the tourist originates and the remote tourist destination. I argue that the emphasis of silence and untouched, wild nature in the Kontiki winter catalogue could be seen as an implicit strategy to differentiate unspoiled Finnish Lapland from the Swiss Alps which are a popular tourist hot spot. In fact, some hotels in Finnish Lapland market silence as a ‘luxury’ that tourists can enjoy there (Pietikäinen et al. 2016: 85). In addition to remoteness and peacefulness, arctic nature has a significant role in constructing the discourse of uniqueness. For instance, in examples thirteen, fourteen and fifteen the arctic nature and its characteristics are described as *unique, intacte, sauvage* and *mystérieuse* “unique, intact, wild, and mysterious” and the activities in the examples consider visiting national parks and hiking trails. Furthermore, example fourteen utilizes a narrative to vividly describe the experience of going on a hike and example fifteen describes winter Nordic

---

<sup>3</sup> Merriam-Webster: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/fairy-tale> (10 July 2021)

nights similarly to a children's fairy-tale book. It could be argued that in this case narratives are used as a tool for place-making. Consequently, as the examples depict, the discourse of uniqueness is constructed by utilizing narratives of the arctic nature and by appealing to its emptiness and silence as selling points.

I shall next turn to an interesting example that deviates from the discourse of the pure arctic environment.

16) "Nous vous recommandons la visite de la seule mine d'améthyste d'Europe, qui se trouve sur la montagne Lampivaara à Luosto. Cherchez votre pierre précieuse et rapportez un souvenir unique." *We recommend you a visit to the only amethyst mine in Europe, which is located in the Lampivaara mountain in Luosto. Search your own precious stone and take a unique souvenir home with you.* (p. 28)

17) "La seule et unique mine d'améthyste d'Europe se trouve sur la colline de Lampivaara, dans les environs immédiats de Luosto. Plongez dans le monde fascinant des minéraux et cherchez vous-même votre petit morceau d'améthyste." *The only and unique amethyst mine in Europe can be found from the Lampivaara hill, near Luosto. Dive into the fascinating world of minerals and search a small piece of amethyst for yourself.* (p. 30)

Examples sixteen and seventeen illustrate an interesting deviation in the discourse of uniqueness that is mostly constructed by highlighting the arctic environment. Contrary to earlier examples in this discourse, which have highlighted the pureness and emptiness of Finnish Lapland, the author has decided to advertise a visit to an amethyst mine that is in Central Lapland. The mining industry is an important source of economic profit and job creation in Finnish Lapland. However, as the role of nature-based tourism in Lapland has increased, the co-existence of the industries has become more difficult. Tourism in Lapland relies heavily on wild and clean nature which collides with mining activities. (Pietikäinen and Allan 2020: 27.) Nonetheless, examples sixteen and seventeen also construct the discourse of uniqueness in the linguistic level even though they deviate from the typical examples of this discourse. The expressions *la seule mine d'améthyste d'Europe* "the only amethyst mine in Europe" and *la seule et unique mine d'améthyste d'Europe* "the unique and only amethyst mine in Europe" emphasize the uniqueness of the mine in the European context. Moreover, the remarks that I made about souvenirs in the subchapter 5.3.1 apply to examples sixteen and seventeen. Similar linguistic choices, such as the emphasis of the possessive pronoun *votre* "your" and the expression *rapportez un souvenir unique* "take a unique souvenir home with you", are utilized in these examples. Additionally, the value of the souvenir is highlighted with the expression *pierre précieuse* "precious stone".

The presence of the advertisement of a mine in the Kontiki winter travel catalogue can be argued in several ways. The main reasons, which legitimize the existence of an advertisement of a mine in a catalogue that heavily relies on nature-based activities, are probably based on authenticating and economic reasons. The amethyst mine serves a selling point and a means for differentiation for the tour

operator. Furthermore, international tourists form a significant source of income for the mine, thus the visits to the mine contribute to local income. As for the amethysts, they could be seen as an extremely unique souvenir since they are not commercially produced and bought from a store, but the tourists can by themselves dig the small mineral from the ground. All in all, the advertisement of the amethyst mine in the Kontiki winter travel catalogue could be seen as a tool for differentiation but it also represents an interesting deviation from the discourse that heavily relies on the pureness of the arctic nature.

The next chapter of the analysis shall continue the discussion on the theme of rhizomatic discourses.

## 5.4 Rhizomatic discourses of Finnish Lapland as a travel destination

At the early stages of the analysis process, it became apparent that the discourses which manifest from the Kontiki winter travel catalogue are not clear cut and separable from each other. Thus, I decided to adopt the concept of rhizomes to help conceptualize the complex and interconnected nature between the discourses. Figure 1 visualizes the rhizomatic nature of the three discourses identified in the analysis similarly to Pietikäinen and Mäntynen's figure 6 (2019: 56).

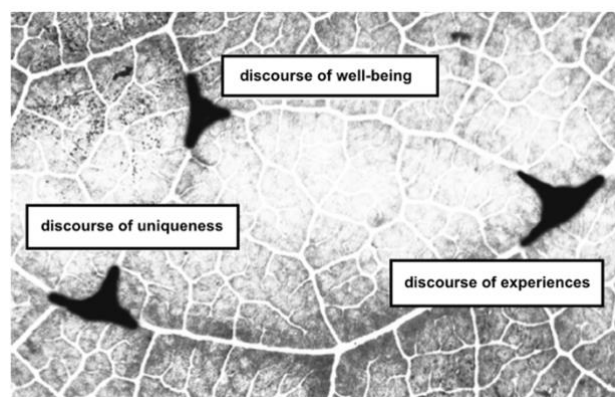


FIGURE 1: A compilation of the rhizomatic discourses in Kontiki Voyage's winter travel catalogue (an application of the original figure by Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2019: 56).

The rhizome of discourses on Finnish Lapland as a travel destination, as it emerges in the semiotic and thematic choices of the Kontiki winter travel catalogue, demonstrate the versatile but interconnected ways of constructing a tourist site. The discourse of uniqueness that relies on the indigenous Sámi culture and the arctic nature operates mainly across cultural and economic spaces, both structuring how the Swiss tourists understand the Lappish culture and functioning as a means for differentiation in marketing. As for the discourses of exclusive experiences and well-being, they mainly



operate on the social space opening new possibilities for the representation of Finnish nature as a multidimensional source of well-being and activities. Together, these discourses construct a multifaceted image of Finnish Lapland as a tourist site to sense and experience.

I argue that the rhizomatic nature of discourses in the catalogue provides a unique image of Finnish Lapland in the sense that the rhizomes seem to connect tightly around the themes that contrast Finland from Switzerland. The discourses of well-being, experiences, and uniqueness seem to come together and unite around the themes of nature, pureness, authenticity, and activities. For instance, arctic nature occurs in all three discourses and functions as an important resource in constructing each discourse. Similarly, authenticity manifests itself through the experience and well-being discourse (Finnish activities such as sauna bathing) and the uniqueness discourse (Sámi culture). All the discourses share the themes of nature and authenticity but depart in other topics, such as advertising local spas as a source of relaxation and well-being, husky rides as a distinct experience and an amethyst mine as a unique attraction to visit. I claim that this represents the idea of Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 7) as they argue that “any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be... A rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, social sciences, and social struggles”. Overall, the rhizomatic discourses seem to unite and come together in the significant points of differentiation and thereby, they all highlight the incomparable value that Finnish Lapland has over other Nordic destinations.

On a more practical level, the rhizomatic discourses of the catalogue construct an image of diversity about Lapland as a tourist destination. As mentioned in the earlier paragraph, the themes of arctic nature and authenticity connect to the most significant discourses present in the catalogue. This is the outcome of including those Finnish specialties to different experiences at offer. Whether the tourist prefers sauna bathing, a visit to a reindeer farm or buying a kuksa as a souvenir, he/she can experience authentic Finnishness. Or the tourist can experience the arctic nature by hiking on snowy forests, by riding a snowmobile, or by admiring the unique northern lights. Consequently, the rhizomatic nature of the discourses also helps to create an image of a versatile tourist destination suitable for varying tourist segments.

Overall, it could be argued that the application of rhizomatic discourses facilitates the conceptualization and understanding of the complex and dynamic research topic, discourses in a travel catalogue. After all, tourism as an industry is affected by many differing factors, such as economic, cultural, and social factors, whereas tourism material is influenced by conventions of the promotional genre and the traits of tourism discourse. When these two, tourism and text, are combined into a travel catalogue, different connections between different subjects are inherently born and some forces, such as profitable differentiating themes, are more powerful than others.

## 6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I shall summarize and discuss further the findings of this study. Moreover, I will reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of the study and bring forward some suggestions for further research.

### 6.1 Summary and discussion of the findings

In this study I have acquainted myself with Kontiki Voyage's winter travel catalogue called *Rêveries hivernales*. My aim for the present study was to analyse how Finnish Lapland is discursively constructed as a holiday destination by the Swiss tour operator Kontiki Voyages in their winter travel catalogue. The research material was analysed by applying the method of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and by utilizing the theoretical notions of discourse and genre as tools of analysis.

The analysis of the Kontiki winter travel catalogue revealed that Finnish Lapland as a tourist site is constructed by using three dominant discourses: the discourse of well-being, the discourse of exclusive experiences, and the discourse of uniqueness, which relies on two main themes: the indigenous Sámi culture and the arctic environment. The discourse of well-being emerges in the catalogue through the significance of detachment from everyday life. Well-being is promoted through the emphasis of solitude, to which the wilds of Lapland offer excellent circumstances, and by bringing forward calming activities, such as trekking, visiting a spa, and private sauna bathing in one's own sauna. The discourse of well-being relies on the "luxury" of silence, refreshment, and relaxation in the far North to create differentiation compared to the globally famous skiing resorts of the Alps. As for the discourse of exclusive experiences, it emerges in the catalogue by encouraging the tourist to experience and sense activities that are typical to the arctic Finnish region. Versatile linguistic devices are used to appeal to the tourists: imperative verb forms with a friendly tone, comparisons to reduce strangeness, and positive key words.

Differentiation and authenticity are constructed by relying on arctic activities, such as husky rides and snowmobile safaris. Lastly, the discourse of uniqueness in the catalogue emerges through two main themes, the Sámi culture and arctic nature. In the case of the first mentioned theme, the catalogue resorts to the material and immaterial aspects of Sámi culture several times. The Sámi culture is commodified in the catalogue, meaning that the culture is turned into vendible products, such as souvenirs and Sámi themed tours. As for the arctic environment, it is described by using exotic place names as a form of differentiation, by metaphors that describe the region as a winter fairy-tale, and by emphasizing the remoteness, pureness, and “wilderness” of Lapland. In addition, the catalogue has some deviations regarding the dominant discourses and the themes through which they are constructed.

As mentioned in the analysis, each of the discourses emerge in the catalogue in their respective ways and together they form a rhizome of discourses on Finnish Lapland as a tourist destination. The concept of rhizomes was chosen to depict the complex and interconnected nature of the discourses since their boundaries would be otherwise hard to define. The analysis process made it visible how the rhizomatic discourses of well-being, exclusive experiences, and uniqueness come together and connect tightly around the focal points of differentiation, such as arctic nature, authenticity, and Nordic activities. However, the rhizomes of the discourses also depart because all of the discourses on their own rely on differing linguistic features and themes, from structural oppositions and emphasizing individuality to advertising spas and amethyst mines. Consequently, I argue that the rhizomatic-nature of the discourses results in forming a differentiated image of Finnish Lapland as a versatile tourist site.

In my view, the Kontiki winter travel catalogue could be seen as a nexus of many current changes and processes occurring in the tourism industry. These include the turn from global to local, nature-based tourism, personalisation of services as well as the emphasis on healthiness and well-being, which all influence how Finnish Lapland is discursively constructed as a tourist site in the catalogue. Moreover, grounding the catalogue to correspond to timely trends illustrates the power that both the tourism industry and tourists have on tour operators and the materials they produce. This connects to the Foucauldian (2000) view on discourses and power: discourses are involved in mechanisms through which power is exercised because they construct knowledge of reality. Even though the catalogue connects to the alternating trends and processes in the industry, it also brings forward some long-standing issues typical to the tourism industry. Next, I will simultaneously discuss some key findings of the present study and social level issues related to them.

The Kontiki winter travel catalogue constructs a diverse image of Finnish Lapland in terms of the services that the area has to offer. The region is described as unique, pure, and relaxing as well as adventurous and even challenging. On the one hand, in the discourse of experiences, the descriptions of the Finnish arctic region

illustrate the area as a place where the tourist consumes and exploits local resources. On the other hand, in the discourse of uniqueness and well-being, the Nordic destinations are described as places where the tourist can live in harmony with nature. This corresponds to Fairclough's (1992: 101–136) idea of the mixing nature of discourses. However, as the deviations of some discourses indicate, the relation of the tourist to the arctic nature is at times contradictory. In the discourse of uniqueness, the tourist is supposed to enjoy the pure and pristine winter fairy-tale in remote Finnish Lapland but also to support the mining industry of the area by visiting and buying souvenirs from a local amethyst mine. This contradictory image of the tourist's relationship to arctic nature brings the discussion to a common issue: how to integrate nature-based tourism and other significant sources of livelihood in a peripheral area that struggles with economic development? The same contradiction applies to Papen's (2005 in Jaworski and Pritchard) research regarding the representations of culture and nature in the tourism discourses on Namibian tourism. Mining industry constitutes the lion's share of Namibia's economy, somewhat similarly to Finnish Lapland, which has been described as a cluster of mining and metal industry in the Nordic area (Business Finland n.d.). A straightforward answer to the question of integrating two industries from different domains hardly exists. However, as Kontiki's catalogue proves, tourists can be tapped into this integration process; the catalogue brings forward the possibility to become a donor for the family enterprise that runs the mine. The donations are used for the sustainable development of the mine. This type of operations model works well in terms of the amethyst mine since mechanical mining is not done there anymore. However, in terms of larger mining operators in Lapland and elsewhere, the issue is more complex. Consequently, the contradiction between sources of livelihood in peripheral tourist areas can lead to conflicting representations of the tourist's relation to local nature and its resources.

Along with the construction of a diverse image of the Finnish Nordic region, the winter travel catalogue commodifies different types of local resources. Especially the Sámi culture is turned into vendible souvenirs and Sámi-themed tours. The presentation of the Sámi people and their culture in the catalogue is thought-provoking. As mentioned in the analysis, the word *Sami* is mentioned almost forty times in the catalogue, mainly in the contexts of tourist activities, their descriptions, and in destination and souvenir descriptions. The commodification of indigenous people and their culture is hardly a new circumstance in tourism (Kugapi and de Behardi 2017: 70-71 in Edenheim, Ilola and Björk). They are often seen as a representation of the exotic and authentic and thus, harnessed as a selling point of a tourist destination. The Kontiki winter travel catalogue shows flickers of this type of a commodification. What I found interesting in the catalogue was the deprivation of the Sámi languages even though small languages have become a significant resource in creating niche markets (Pietikäinen, Kelly-Holmes, Jaffe and Coupland 2016: 111). Instead, Finnish language is most often used as a resource of authentication while

other types of Sámi symbols are present in the catalogue. The only instance of Northern Sámi in the catalogue appears in a context where the Sámi word does not have a Finnish equivalent. In all other instances, Finnish is used. The lack of utilizing Sámi language can be due to the foreign tour operator: the company probably does not have employees who would understand any Sámi language. However, to use the language in the same scale as is now done in the catalogue, one would only have to only know single words. Another reason for the ignorance of Sámi can be the status of Finnish language among other languages. Finnish is spoken by a relatively small number of people compared to French. Thus, Finnish language itself is exotic and it can function as an authenticating resource for Swiss tourists who probably are not aware of the existence of Sámi languages. However, since the catalogue utilizes the Sámi culture as a selling point and refers to it multiple times, a more prominent acknowledgment of the linguistic heritage would make the representation of the Sámi culture richer.

Overall, the discourses in the Kontiki winter travel catalogue represent the current wave of trends in the tourism industry. However, simultaneously the tour operator falls on the noted issues of the industry creating a problematic relation between global tourists and local resources, whether it is nature or indigenous people. I believe that the main practical application of the findings relates to the company itself: based on the findings, Kontiki could assess whether these are the images they are aiming to communicate.

## **6.2 Evaluation of the study and future research**

The chosen theoretical framework and the method of analysis proved to be fruitful in analysing the data. Critical discourse analysis as a theory and method was a relevant selection regarding the analysis because it contextualizes social problems in texts. Furthermore, I decided to apply two focal concepts of discourse studies, discourse, and genre, in this study because their axiom is that language is a variable, context-bound resource that constructs knowledge of social reality. Moreover, these concepts were central tools in making observations and conclusions on the research data. I believe that the detailed analysis of the linguistic and discursive level choices is a strength of this study. Moreover, I was able to identify if the findings were based on genre conventions and draw larger conclusions based on them. In addition, I would like to bring forward the utilization of the notion of rhizomes as a strength of this study. Since the tourism industry intertwines with many different processes, the idea of rhizomes facilitated both my own understanding of the discourses and their interconnectedness, and the description of the findings.

The main weakness of this study is the small size of data. Due to the extent of this study, the findings do not represent a comprehensive analysis of the discourses

related to Finnish Lapland as a tourist site. Since the data comes from one tour operator with a specific target group on the French-speaking Swiss tourists, the results of this study are not generalizable to other tour operators. For instance, the discursive construction of Nordic Finnish destinations can be different when the target group is Asian, British, or Swedish tourists. Furthermore, another limitation of this study is the ignorance of the multimodal material in the catalogue, i.e., I decided not to analyse the images of the catalogue. However, I was able to answer my research question without the examination of the images, which facilitated the decision of leaving out the images. Consequently, this study is limited in terms of its generalizability and its reliance on language use as the single mode of meaning making. Nevertheless, I was able to conduct a detailed and descriptive analysis of Kontiki's winter travel catalogue and provide insight on how Finnish Lapland is marketed to a niche market of Swiss tourists.

The present study could be extended in various ways by expanding the research data. A multimodal study of the catalogue could reveal more about the representations of the arctic environment, its inhabitants, and the relationship constructed between the tourist and the locals. Moreover, it is possible to conduct a comparative analysis on the discursive constructions of Finnish Lapland, North of Norway, and Iceland in the catalogue. This type of analysis would certainly provide fruitful information on the tools used for differentiating the three arctic areas from each other. Furthermore, I believe that a comparative analysis of Kontiki's previous and former winter travel catalogues could give some insight on how the changes and processes occurring in the tourism industry affect the discursive formations of the catalogues. Thus, the research material of this study as well as Kontiki's materials in general offer various perspectives on carrying out research related to discursively constructed arctic regions from the viewpoint of a Central European tour operator.

This study has proven that a travel catalogue is a powerful tool for shaping conceptions, expectations and knowledge of a place and its inhabitants. Furthermore, the study gave some insight on how a travel catalogue of one tour operator is shaped to respond to the ongoing trends of the tourism industry. This power structure, in turn, brings forward the two-sided nature of discourses: they are both ways to talk, write and think, and a mechanism through which power is exercised and knowledge is constructed.

## REFERENCES

- Bhatia, V. K. (2004). *Worlds of written discourse: [a genre-based view]*. London ; New York: Continuum.
- Björk, P., Tuohino, A. and Konu, H. (2011). Wellbeing tourism in Finland: A wide perspective. *Matkailututkimus*, 7(2), 26–41.
- Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A critical introduction*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Breeze, R. (2011). Critical discourse analysis and its critics. *Pragmatics* [online] 21(4), 493- 525. doi: 10.1075/prag.21.4.01bre
- Burr, V. (2015). Social Constructionism. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. (2nd ed.), 222-227. Amsterdam : New York: Elsevier.
- Business Finland (n.d.). Toimialafaktaa: Kaivos- ja metalliteollisuus. [online] <https://www.lapland.fi/fi/business/kaivos-ja-metalliteollisuus-lapin-raskasteollisuus-kasvaa-ja-kehittyi/> (21 July, 2021).
- Business Finland. (2020). Matkailuvuosi. Suomen matkailu jatkoivat kasvuaan myös vuonna 2019 - ulkomaisia yöpymisiä 7,1 miljoonaa. [online] <https://www.businessfinland.fi/suomalaisille-asiakkaille/palvelut/matkailun-edistaminen/tutkimukset-ja-tilastot/matkailuvuosi> (8 July, 2021).
- Business Finland. (n.d.). Hyvinvointimatkailu - luonnon luksusta ja harmoniaa. [online] <https://www.businessfinland.fi/suomalaisille-asiakkaille/palvelut/matkailun-edistaminen/tuotekehitys-ja-teemat/hyvinvointimatkailu> (2 June, 2021).
- Chilton, P. A. (2005). Missing links in mainstream CDA: Modules, blends and the critical instinct. In P. A. Chilton and R. Wodak (eds.), *A new agenda in (critical) discourse analysis: Theory, methodology and interdisciplinarity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 19-52.
- Coupland B. and Coupland N. (2014). The authenticating discourses of mining heritage tourism in Cornwall and Wales. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* [online] 18(4), 495–517. DOI: 10.1111/josl.12081
- Coupland, N., Garret P. and Bishop H. (2005). Wales Underground: Discursive Frames and Authenticities in Welsh Mining Heritage Tourism Events. In Jaworski A. and Pritchard A. (eds.) *Discourse, Communication and Tourism*. 199-222. Clevedon [England]; Buffalo: Channel View Publications.
- Dann, G. M. S. (1996). *The language of tourism: A sociolinguistic perspective*. Wallingford: CAB International.
- Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (1987). *A thousand plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia*. London, Athlone Press.
- Delin, J. (2000). *The language of everyday life: An introduction*. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. (1997). 'Critical discourse analysis' in T. van Dijk (ed.). *Discourse as Social Interaction*. London: Sage, 258-285.
- Foucault, M. (2000). *The Archaeology of Knowledge & The Discourse on Language*. London: Routledge.

- Garrity, Z. (2010). Discourse Analysis, Foucault and Social Work Research. *Journal of Social Work* [online] 10(2), 193–210. DOI: [10.1177/1468017310363641](https://doi.org/10.1177/1468017310363641)
- Haahti, A. and Komppula, R. (2006). Experience design in tourism. In D. Buhalis and C. Costa (eds.), *Tourism business frontiers: Consumers, products and industry*. Oxford: Elsevier, 101–110.
- Hall, C. M., Müller, D. K. and Saarinen, J. (2009). *Nordic tourism: Issues and cases*. Bristol, U.K.; Buffalo: Channel View Publications.
- Hallett, R. W. and Kaplan-Weinger, J. (2010). *Official tourism websites: A discourse analysis perspective*. Bristol, England ; Buffalo: Channel View Publications.
- Hannam, K. and Knox D. (2005). Discourse Analysis in Tourism Research - A Critical Perspective. *Tourism Recreation Research*, [online] 30(2), 23-30. DOI: 10.1080/02508281.2005.11081470
- Heller, M., Pujolar, J. and Duchêne, A. (2014). Linguistic commodification in tourism. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, [online] 18(4), 539–566. DOI: 10.1111/josl.12082
- Honan, E. M. (2007). Writing a rhizome: an (im)plausible methodology. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* [online] 20, 531–546. DOI: 10.1080/09518390600923735
- House of Lapland (n.d.) Infograafi: 10 faktaa Lapin matkailusta. [online] <https://www.lapland.fi/fi/business/infograafi-10-faktaa-lapin-matkailusta-2020/> (2 August 2021).
- House of Lapland. (n.d.). Toimialafaktaa: Matkailu Lapissa. [online] <https://www.lapland.fi/fi/business/matkailu-lapissa/> (7, July 2021).
- Jaworski, A. and Pritchard, A. (2005). *Discourse, communication, and tourism*. Clevedon [England] ; Buffalo: Channel View Publications.
- Kalmbach, J.-M. (2020). *Guide de grammaire français pour apprenants finnophones*. Jyväskylä: Kielten laitos, Jyväskylän yliopisto.
- Komppula, R., Konu, H. and Vikman, N. (2017). Listening to the sounds of silence: Forest-based wellbeing tourism in Finland. In J. S. Chen and N. K. Prebensen (eds.), *Nature tourism: A global perspective*. New York: Routledge, 120–130.
- Konu, H. (2017). Hyvinvointimatkailu. In Edelheim, J., Ilola, H. and Björk, P. (eds.), *Matkailututkimuksen avainkäsitteet*. [online] Rovaniemi: Lapland University Press, 77-81. <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-310-952-0>
- Kugapi, O. and de Bernardi, C. (2017). Alkuperäiskansamatkailu. In Edelheim, J., Ilola, H. and Björk, P. (eds.), *Matkailututkimuksen avainkäsitteet*. [online] Rovaniemi: Lapland University Press, 70-75. <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-310-952-0>
- Kuortti, J., Mäntynen, A. and Pietikäinen, S. (2008). Kielen rakennustelineillä: Kielellisen ja yhteiskunnallisen käänteen merkitys. *Media & Viestintä* [online] 31(3), 25–37. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.23983/mv.63021>
- Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Li, Q. (2010). Effect of forest bathing trips on human immune function. *Environmental Health and Preventive Medicine* [online] 15, 9–17. DOI: 10.1007/s12199-008-0068-3
- Lüthje, M. (2017). Autenttisuus. In Edelheim, J., Ilola, H. and Björk, P. (eds.), *Matkailututkimuksen avainkäsitteet*. [online] Rovaniemi: Lapland University Press, 77-81. <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-310-952-0>



- Machin, D. and Mayr, A. (2012). *How to do critical discourse analysis : A multimodal introduction*. Los Angeles, [California]: Sage.
- Mäntynen, A. and Shore, S. (2014). What is meant by hybridity? An investigation of hybridity and related terms in genre studies. *Text and talk*, [online] 34(6), 737–758. DOI: 10.1515/text-2014-0022
- Mäntynen, A., Shore, S. and Solin, A. (2006). *Genre - tekstilaji*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Müller, H. and Lanz Kaufmann, E. (2001). Wellness tourism: Market analysis of a special health tourism segment and implications for the hotel industry. *Journal of Vacation Marketing* [online] 7, 5–17. DOI: 10.1177/135676670100700101
- Office fédéral de la statistique Suisse. (18.2.2021). Situation économique et sociale de la population. [Economic and social situation of the population]. [online] <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/situation-economique-sociale-population.assetdetail.15864611.html> (7, July 2021).
- OFS. (23.11.2021). Revenus et dépenses de l'ensemble des ménages. [Household income and expenditure of all households]. [online] <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/situation-economique-sociale-population/revenus-consommation-et-fortune.assetdetail.14877609.html> (7, July 2021).
- OFS. (27.11. 2020). Le tourisme suisse en chiffres 2019. [Swiss tourism in figure 2019]. [online] <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/tourisme.assetdetail.15003303.html> (7, July 2021).
- Papen, U. (2005). Exclusive, Ethno and Eco: Representations of Culture and Nature in Tourism Discourses in Namibia. In Jaworski, A. and Pritchard, A. *Discourse, communication, and tourism*. Clevedon [England] ; Buffalo: Channel View Publications, 79-97.
- Pietikäinen, S. (2000). 'Kriittinen diskurssintutkimus'. In Sajavaara, K. and Piirainen-Marsh, A. (eds.). *Kieli, diskurssi & yhteisö*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä. Centre for Applied Language Studies, 191–217.
- Pietikäinen, S. and Allan, K. (2020). "Jobs for life?" Mining Temporalities in a Transforming Arctic Periphery. In K. Gonçalves and H. Kelly-Holmes (eds.), *Language, Global Mobilities, Blue-collar Workers and Blue-collar Workplaces*. 27-48. [online] New York: Routledge. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.jyu.fi/10.4324/9780429298622>
- Pietikäinen, S. and Kelly-Holmes, H. (2011). The local political economy of languages in a Sámi tourism destination: Authenticity and mobility in the labelling of souvenirs. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 15(3), 323–346. [online] DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9841.2011.00489.x.
- Pietikäinen, S. and Mäntynen, A. (2019). *Uusi Kurssi Kohti Diskurssia*. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Pietikäinen, S., Kelly-Holmes, H., Jaffe, A. M. and Coupland, N. (2016). *Sociolinguistics from the periphery: Small languages in new circumstances*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pietikäinen, S. (2015). Multilingual dynamics in Sámiland: Rhizomatic discourses on changing language. *International Journal of Bilingualism*. [online] 19(2), 206–225. DOI: 10.1177/1367006913489199

- Rasmus, L. and Paltto A.-S. (23.10.2018). Saamelaiskulttuurin epäeettisen hyväksikäytön halutaan loppuvan matkailun yhä kasvaessa. *Yle uutiset*. [online] <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10470554> (8, July 2021).
- Räikkönen, J. (2017). Elämykset. In Edelheim, J., Ilola, H. and Björk, P. (eds.), *Matkailututkimuksen avainkäsitteet*. [online] Rovaniemi: Lapland University Press, 77-81. <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-310-952-0>
- Shepherd, R. (2002). Commodification, culture and tourism. *Tourist Studies* [online] 2(2), 183–201. DOI: 10.1177/146879702761936653
- Swales, J. M. (1990). *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tekijänoikeudet opetuksessa (n.d.). Aineiston digitointi ja digitaalinen kopiointi [Digitizing and digital copying of data]. [online] [https://blogs.helsinki.fi/tekijanoikeudet-opetuksessa/?page\\_id=28618](https://blogs.helsinki.fi/tekijanoikeudet-opetuksessa/?page_id=28618). (5 July, 2021).
- Thurlow, C. and Jaworski, A. (2003). Communicating a global reach: Inflight magazines as a globalizing genre in tourism. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* [online] 7(4), 579–606. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9841.2003.00243.x
- Thurlow, C. and Jaworski, A. (2010). *Tourism discourse: Language and global mobility*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tilastokeskus. (2020). Lapin Suhdanekatsaus 2020. [Economic survey of Lapland 2020]. [online] <https://lapinluotsi.fi/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/lapinsuhdanekatsaus2020.pdf> (8, July 2021).
- Tilastokeskus. (31, October 2019). Ulkomaisten matkailijoiden yöpymiset lisääntyivät 9 prosenttia syyskuussa 2019. [online] [https://www.tilastokeskus.fi/til/matk/2019/09/matk\\_2019\\_09\\_2019-10-31\\_tie\\_001\\_fi.html](https://www.tilastokeskus.fi/til/matk/2019/09/matk_2019_09_2019-10-31_tie_001_fi.html) (8, July 2021).
- Tilastokeskus. (9, June 2021). Suomi lukuina 2021. [Statistics about Finland 2021]. [online] [https://www.stat.fi/tup/julkaisut/tiedostot/julkaisuluettelo/yyti\\_sul\\_202100\\_2021\\_23490\\_net\\_p2.pdf](https://www.stat.fi/tup/julkaisut/tiedostot/julkaisuluettelo/yyti_sul_202100_2021_23490_net_p2.pdf) (7, July 2021).
- Trochim, W. M. K. (n.d.). Qualitative measures. Research Methods Knowledge Database [online]. <https://conjointly.com/kb/qualitative-measures/>. (30 June, 2021).
- Tung, V. W. S. and Ritchie, J. R. B. (2011). Exploring the essence of memorable tourism experiences. *Annals of Tourism Research*, [online] 38, 1367–1386. DOI: 10.1016/j.annals.2011.03.009
- Tuulentie, S. (n.d.). Lapin matkailun sopeutuminen ilmastonmuutokseen. [online] <https://www.arcticcentre.org/FI/tutkimus/pohjoinen-poliittinen-talous/sopeutuminen/matkailu> (8, July 2021).
- Tyrväinen, L., Kurttila, M., Sievänen, T. and Tuulentie, S. (eds.) (2014). *Hyvinvointia metsästä*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of critical discourse analysis* [online] (1st ed.) SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://www.doi.org/10.4135/9780857028020>

## Research material

Kontiki Voyages (2020). Rêveries hivernales. [online]. Available at: <https://valtech.ipapercms.dk/Kuoni/KuoniCH/kontiki/French/Winter2021/?page=1>