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TO GROW OR TO DEGROW?

Discourse analysis on degrowth and socio-ecological justice in the futures of Arctic tourism

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Abstract:

This study has explored the discourses related to degrowth and socio-ecological justice in the futures of Arctic tourism. Degrowth offers an alternative perspective for tourism development as it criticises growth ambition. Previous literature has addressed that degrowth has been mostly explored in overtourism literature but has gained little attention in the context of Arctic tourism. Degrowth should be practised in a way that is just and it increases the well-being of the local communities. Socio-ecological justice, which was the approach behind degrowth in this study, aims to address both human and nonhuman worlds' relationality as a matter of justice. Nonhumans play an important part in tourism but often become marginalised due to anthropocentric actions in tourism development.

The research data of this study consisted of ten interviews that were collected through the ArcticHubs project. As an analysis method, I utilized discourse analysis with a future-oriented approach. The underlying paradigm of this study was social constructionism. The main research question of this study was as follows: *How are the discourses related to degrowth and socio-ecological justice constructed in the futures of Arctic tourism?* The sub-questions were: *What kinds of linguistic means these discourses are constructed through?* and *Who has the power to construct these discourses?*

One of the main results was that the tourism growth discourse was hegemonic which did not give space for the degrowth discourse. Tourism growth seemed to be taken for granted although previous literature had given a reason for rethinking tourism practices in the post-Covid-19 pandemic. The degrowth discourse was constructed through ways of speaking where tourism is only targeted for fewer and better-paying tourists or where tourism may need to be abandoned as travelling sustainably is not enough anymore. Luxury tourism, as addressed in the data, would be beneficial for the environment but at the same time, it increases injustices between tourists and locals. The socio-ecological discourse constructed a social reality where different stakeholders see nature in a different light: for some, nature can be utilised as a business environment and for others, it needs to be protected. The power relations of language use became apparent as they determine who can talk about tourism growth and how. In the futures, tourism degrowth needs more exploring as there are yet no strategies on how to degrow which is unjust for local communities who may want to practise it. Besides degrowth, also justice needs more exploration in tourism research, especially from the nonhuman point of view.

Keywords: tourism degrowth, socio-ecological justice, Arctic tourism, a future-oriented study, discourse analysis

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Tourism is featured with a growth fetish (Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019, p. 1929). The beginning of the growth dates back to post-World War II which, according to Fletcher (2011), attributed to dramatic growth in tourism as tourism airlines started to provide tourist experiences and gain profits. Tourism thus became "a strategy for economic growth" and later, it gained attention as a part of the capitalist system which it has also co-evolved with (Fletcher, 2011, pp. 445–448). Tourism is addicted to growth and the mantra of its growth can be witnessed in many tourism strategies (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018, p. 157) because tourism is often perceived as a tool for development (Hall & Saarinen, 2021, p. 105). The political guidance and funding schemes of tourism has been part of this growth orientation, and the attracting international markets has been perceived "as the ultimate goal for development" (Jóhannesson et al., 2022, p. 29). Hujibens (2020) addresses that while the meteorological institutes announce news about "another year, another record in temperatures", tourism is on the same path of announcing "another year, another record in visitor numbers".

As Fletcher et al. (2019, pp. 1746–1747) argue, the growth imperative of tourism is part of the basic structure of the capitalist economy which requires continual growth to survive. However, there are some issues regarding growth. Economic growth is not an issue only from an environmental point of view but also because it is unjust (Asara et al., 2015, p. 377). This neoliberal emphasis, especially on production and consumption, has let tourism reach a point, where it fails to prioritise the rights of communities and ignores its planetary impacts (Boluk et al., 2021, p. 152). Instead of focusing on growth, tourism should be rethought for social and ecological justice that would no longer cause "widespread injustices" (Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2022, p. 15). These injustices apply both to human and nonhuman actors: humans have the most power to gain and distribute tourism benefits while nonhuman actors become marginalised, excluded, or banished within a society (Abdullah et al., 2022, p. 2). Marginalised groups often face the predatory practices of tourism (Boluk et al., 2021, p. 152). This perspective is strongly anthropocentric, and the domination of humans leads to the marginalisation of nonhuman actors who are less privileged and situated at the end of exploitation practised by humans (Karkulehto et al., 2019, p. 2). Although tourism holds injustices, it is possible to rethink these tourism practices and aim for more just tourism in the future.

In many Arctic regions and communities, the Covid-19 pandemic revealed the vulnerability of tourism development (Jóhannesson et al., 2022, p. 5). Before the tourism shutdown, there was a “relentless drive for growth” in tourism and overtourism was one of the well-noted symptoms of the negative impacts of tourism (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018; Jover & D’iaz-Parra, 2020, as cited in Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020, p. 612). However, the pandemic opened more space for rethinking these unhealthy tourism practices – especially the ones related to climate, biodiversity, and communities (Jóhannesson et al., 2022, p. 5). The pandemic provided the possibility and justification to move beyond “business-as-usual” in tourism (Lundmark et al., 2021, p. 1) which carries a narrative of downplaying or even denying “the existence of an earthly crisis” (Valtonen & Rantala, 2020, p. 4). In the business-as-usual approach, the Earth is viewed as “a source of natural resources” (Wright et al., 2018, p. 460) instead of valuing it as a living habitat. However, the post-pandemic is not the only reason to rethink tourism practices as tourism requires continual rethinking and reconceptualisation (Lundmark et al., 2021, p. 1). The current period of global environmental change requires all tourism stakeholders to rethink the values and practices of tourism that are needed to build “other” tourism, which is less dependent on growth, consumption, and exploitation.

As an approach to rethink current tourism practices and as a criticism of the growth ambition, capitalism (Kulusjärvi, 2020, p. 73), and liberalism (Latouche, 2012, p. 75), degrowth has emerged and is thus more relevant today than ever (Lundmark et al., 2021, p. 1). In general, degrowth challenges the “growth imperative” (Lundmark et al., 2021, p. 2) and the hegemony of growth (Demaria et al., 2013, p. 209). This critique of growth is particularly a critique of contemporary societies as growth seems to be an ultimate goal of modern societies (Haapanen & Tapio, 2016, pp. 3499 & 3501). In degrowth thinking, the most foundational thesis is that growth is perceived as uneconomic and unjust which makes it ecologically unsustainable (Kallis et al., 2014, p. 4) and therefore, degrowth emphasises there exists a contradiction between sustainability and growth (Kothari et al., 2015; Dale et al., 2015, as cited in Asara et al., 2015, p. 375). Degrowth re-politicizes the debate related to sustainability and asks: “If we are to guarantee a sustainable and just future for present and future generations, why should our economies grow?” (Asara et al., 2015, p. 381).

1.2 Tourism growth in the Arctic

In the Arctic regions, tourism has been perceived as a driver of economic growth and as a response to other declining industries, such as mining, forestry, and fisheries (Jóhannesson et al., 2022, p. 8). As a result of tourism growth in the past two centuries, tourism in the Arctic has become the "single largest human presence in many Arctic regions" and the regions have become reliant on the jobs and income tourism provides (Snyder, 2007, p. 2). Tourism in the Arctic is mostly based on international tourism and transportation which has increased the volume of air and water traffic (Synder, 2007, p. 15). There are many definitions for the Arctic regions. In general, the Arctic covers parts of Alaska, Canada, Greenland, Iceland, Scandinavia, and Russia (Viken, 2013, p. 41). The regions can also be defined by other natural features, such as the latitude, 10-celsius isotherm, tree line, or permafrost (Hall & Saarinen, 2010, p. 6). However, it is important to note that the Arctic is not one destination (Viken, 2013, p. 41) and the tourism development in the regions is even today quite unevenly distributed (Bogason et al., 2020, p. 6). Therefore, I refer to this area as many different *regions*.

Recently, Maher (2017, p. 215) mapped tourism markets in the Arctic and addressed that all tourism markets in the regions "appear to be growing". The growth is not, however, evenly distributed between the regions and even countries (see Maher et al., 2022). For instance, Iceland is one of the destinations where tourism has a significant role in the economy as in 2019, tourism generated 8% of its GDP (Mælaborð ferðaþjónustunnar, 2021, as cited in Johannesson, 2022, p. 8). This has resulted in the country becoming one of the destinations that have been most associated with the discourse of overtourism (Sæþórsdóttir et al., 2020, p. 1). Increasing numbers of tourists elsewhere in the regions as well has resulted in overcrowding to which management measures of the regions have been challenging to adapt (Òlafsdóttir et al., 2020, p. 86). Ólafsdottír et al. (2020) address that this is not only an issue in Iceland but also in other destinations in the Arctic regions, such as Rovaniemi, Finland, where overcrowding has also taken place. One of the reasons behind overcrowding has been the rapid growth in visitor numbers and non-holistic understanding and long-term planning in tourism (Ólafsdottír et al., 2020, pp. 86–87 & 94).

In some regions, tourism is expected to return to pre-pandemic levels in 2023 (UNWTO, 2023). Tourism growth has been explored, for instance, through statistics that especially United

Nations of the World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) offers. However, as Handszuh (2008) argues, these quantity-based methods overshadow the development of quality of life. In general, tourism numbers and figures show trends and rankings, often in absolute terms, which satisfy major players in the markets but are challenging to translate into specific tourism policy measures (Handszuh, 2008, p. 32). The desired change in tourism should be qualitative instead of quantitative (Kallis et al., 2014, p. 5) which also degrowth calls for.

The issues that Iceland has faced, such as infrastructural issues, cultural effects, and environmental effects (Sorrell & Plante, 2021, pp. 3–5), must be taken seriously when considering the tourism growth in other destinations in the Arctic as well. The futures are uncertain, and it is challenging to predict what the destinations in the Arctic will become like as future events can shape tourism rapidly. However, the futures can be constructed with the choices that are made today (see Aalto et al., 2022) and therefore it matters how tourism growth is talked about in present. From this perspective, it is essential to acknowledge that alternative and other ways of practising tourism are possible and needed. This is why degrowth is the subject of this study because it both criticises the growth imperative, questions how we value tourism, and questions the assumptions of tourism practices that have been behind the industry’s continual expansion (Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019, p. 1928). If we are already aware of the issues related to growth today, why would not we change the direction of this discourse before it is too late?

The critical stance on tourism growth has pointed out that instead of positioning local communities and their resources under the use of the capitalist system, it is rather essential to rethink this perspective and work towards conditions where tourism makes socially and ecologically just and sustainable livelihoods possible (Bianchi, 2009; Fletcher, 2011, as cited in Kulusjärvi, 2020, p. 71). One of the strongest justifications to question and criticise economic tourism growth today is global warming (Kulusjärvi, 2020, p. 71) and the injustices related to growth, such as gendered work, unequal exchange of resources between cores and peripheries, and extraction of these resources often in indigenous peoples’ land (Kallis et al., 2014, p. 6).

From this perspective, the pandemic could not have been a greater case in point (Ateljevic, 2020, p. 469). It reminded humanity that we are connected to one system with plants and animals, which makes us “symbiotic, vulnerable and responsible for the Earth as an indivisible living community” (Ghisi, 2008, as cited in Ateljevic, 2020, p. 469). Humans cannot be decoupled from this system or placed above nature. This is essential to acknowledge in the Arctic communities, where nature-based tourism is one of the main drivers of the economy (Sisneros-Kidd et al., 2019, p. 1260). Tourism should not only be rethought from the human but also nonhuman perspective. Nonhuman actors are an essential part of the environment where also tourism takes place as tourism is one of the many contexts in which the human-nature relationships are explored (Grimwood et al., 2018, p. 1). Humans can “do other” while the nonhuman world cannot (Hall, 2015, p. 52), especially in terms of tourism development. Nonhuman actors can be defined as animals and plants which can be either endemic or “native” species or “introduced” species (Reis & Shelton, 2018, p. 74). Thus, recognising and addressing the justice of nonhumans is important to have just tourism.

1.3 Research gap and aim of the study

Degrowth has not yet been explored efficiently in the tourism sector (Andriotis, 2021, p. 8). The reason for this might be that in many contexts, tourism has been seen as the “alternative and more environmentally friendly industry” (Lundmark et al., 2021, p. 8) and thus, the impacts of tourism growth might have been ignored, or they have not been acknowledged and/or criticised. This indicates a research gap, especially in the context of Arctic tourism.

Muraca (2012) claims that socially sustainable degrowth requires justice and fairness. Justice is essential from the local community’s point of view as tourism should be redefined to acknowledge and place the rights of locals above the rights of tourists as well as the the tourism corporates (Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019, p. 1927). The focus should be on allowing local communities to decide the number of tourists and when and how to welcome them (Boluk et al., 2021, p. 156). In the context of Arctic tourism, this is also an essential aspect from the indigenous peoples’ point of view to avoid the exploitation of indigenous cultures in tourism (see e.g. Viken & Müller, 2017). Besides humans, the role of ecological, nonhuman actors, must be acknowledged as well. This calls for a wider exploration of justice in tourism research and tourism degrowth studies. Degrowth must be practised fairly, both from social and ecological perspectives.

Along with degrowth debates, the socio-ecological perspective has emerged regarding commodification where the socio-ecological services and relations are transferred to a monetary value (Kallis et al., 2014, p. 4). According to Yaka (2018), socio-ecological justice is a framework that allows a rethinking of the relations between the human and nonhuman worlds and frames it as a matter of justice. The notion of socio-ecological justice is supported by struggles, especially the local communities and indigenous people have faced. These struggles express the relationality of human and nonhuman worlds as nature is not separate "from communities but as a 'part of social world'". Socio-ecological justice thus builds a connection between these two – human and nonhuman lives (Yaka, 2018, pp. 362–363). Although ethics and justice (see e.g., Jamal, 2019; Fennell, 2006) have been addressed in tourism research, the field still lags in developing justice principles in the context of the destination's inhabitants and the well-being of the disadvantaged (Jamal & Camargo, 2014, p. 26). Therefore, tourism and justice need more exploration and as Higgins-Desbiolles (2010, p. 194) notes, tourism academics have barely explored these two.

Therefore, this study takes part in the tourism degrowth and justice discussions in the context of Arctic tourism. The main research question of this study is as follows: *How are the discourses related to degrowth and socio-ecological justice constructed in the futures of Arctic tourism?* The sub-questions are: *What kinds of linguistic means these discourses are constructed through?* and *Who has the power to construct these discourses?* The methodology of this study is based on the paradigm of social constructionism in which the world is constructed by a social process (Burr, 2015, p. 5). This paradigm supports both the approach of this study, future-oriented research, and the analysis method utilised, discourse analysis.

The research data consists of ten interviews that have been conducted through the ArcticHubs project. The ArcticHubs project *Global drivers, local consequences: Tools for global change adaptation and sustainable development of industrial and cultural Arctic 'hubs'* is funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme (grant agreement No 869580). The strategic goal of ArcticHubs is to "develop sustainable, solution-oriented tools for reconciling competing models of livelihood and land-use in Arctic hubs and their surroundings, whilst respecting the needs and cultures of local populations (eg. Sámi in Fennoscandia)" (ArcticHubs, 2022a). The five main hubs in the project are fish farming, forestry, tourism, mining, and indigenous hubs. Under these hubs, there are twenty-two case studies in the project of which nine are related to tourism. The project defines a hub as "nodes hosting either a combination of economic activities or one main industry or means of livelihood, where the challenges and impacts facing the Arctic regions are tangible and acute" (ArcticHubs, 2022b). The project utilises future research methods in these hubs. This study is funded by the project.

1.4 Structure of the study

The structure of this study is constructed as follows: In the second chapter, I introduce the empirical phenomenon of this study, degrowth, and the previous research on it in tourism research. In this chapter, I also explore degrowth's relation to socio-ecological justice. In the third chapter, one of the most central concepts of this study, discourse, is explained. The underlying paradigm of this study, social constructionism, is also introduced in the third chapter. In the fourth chapter, I introduce the methodology of this study. In this chapter, I introduce a future-oriented approach utilised in this study as well as the analysis method of this study, discourse analysis. After that, I explain the data collection process and research ethics. In chapter number five, the analysis chapter, the discourses from the research data are introduced. Last, I present the findings and conclusion of the study.

2. DEGROWTH AS AN EMPIRICAL PHENOMENON

2.1 Background of degrowth

Growth concerns have a long history. It was already in the 1970s when the Club of Rome's *The Limits to Growth* report (Meadows et al., 1972) was released and neoliberal capitalism, which is reliant on unlimited growth, was disputed (Andriotis, 2021, p. 5). According to Kallis et al. (2014), degrowth was, for the first time, utilised by André Gorz in 1972. Around the 1970s, when the first debates on degrowth were addressed, the emphasis was on the limits of resources. Further, in the 2000s, the debates developed into the "hegemonic idea of sustainable development" (Kallis et al., 2014, pp. 1–3)

In the early 2000s, degrowth became an activist slogan in Lyon, France (Kallis et al., 2018, p. 292) and further developed into a social movement (Demaria et al., 2013, p. 192). Tilly (1978) defines a social movement as participation, where excluded or marginalised local communities attempt to tackle human rights and social change to improve their limited power to resources (as cited in Burrai et al., 2019, p. 999). The activists mobilized the slogan *Décroissance* (French for degrowth) in actions and publications (Kallis et al, 2018, p. 292) as they started to see degrowth as a common representative for their worldviews (Demaria et al., 2013, p. 194). In 2008, the first degrowth conference was organised and at one of those international conferences, particularly in Paris 2008, the English term for *décroissanse*, degrowth, was "officially" introduced to an international audience (Kallis et al., 2014, p. 3). This is considered the birth of degrowth in the field of international research (Demaria et al., 2013, p. 195).

The key element in degrowth is the critique of growth (Kallis et al., 2014, p. 3). This critique of growth is particularly a critique of contemporary societies as growth seems to be an ultimate goal of modern societies (Haapanen & Tapio, 2016, pp. 3499 & 3501). Degrowth calls for a debate where the decolonisation of the idiom of economism takes place and economic growth as a social objective is abolishment (Kallis et al., 2014, p. 3). Another key concern behind degrowth is that rising consumption eventually exhausts the finite resources of the planet which leads to socioeconomic collapse (Prideaux & Pabel, 2021, p. 116). *The Limits to Growth* report increased the attention related to exponential growth and presented that there are limits to growth (Meadows et al., 1972, p. 23). This is why degrowth calls for reduced consumption of natural resources in societies and organising life that is different from today (Kallis et al., 2014, p. 3). Several degrowth thinkers address that the exploitation of natural resources exceeds the "regeneration capacity of the ecosystems" which is a consequence of assuming that economic growth is a unique goal of the economic activity (Muraca, 2012, p. 541). This "growth fetishism" has resulted in the overflowing of the economy and for downsizing to take place, also degrowth must take place (Latouche, 2012, p. 77).

Besides the criticism of growth, degrowth also criticises capitalism, as it requires growth to survive, and commodification, in which the social products and socio-ecological services are commodified to a monetary value (Kallis et al., 2014, p. 4). However, degrowth is not only limited to criticism (Kallis et al., 2014, p. 4), although the French word *décroissance* translates directly to "reduction" (Demaria et al., 2013, p. 191). Degrowth is not equivalent to negative growth or economic recession (Schneider et al., 2011, p. 654) and it should not be understood as "shrinking" (Asara et al., 2015, p. 377). The primary significations of what a degrowth society would look like are sharing, care, commons, simplicity, and conviviality (Kallis et al., 2014, p. 3). Degrowth proposes that organising a transition is possible as well as having a different political-economic system that has smaller resource throughput – and this is why degrowth signifies political and economic reorganization (Kallis et al., 2018, p. 292). It is important to note that as what happened with the Covid-19 pandemic, this is not seen as a political-economic reorganisation. As Fletcher et al. (2019) address,

> As with degrowth generally, it is important to distinguish between the type of simple decline in tourist numbers caused by such factors as economic crisis, loss of destination popularity or natural disaster, on the one hand, and on the other genuine tourism degrowth, which would require a concerted process of political-economic reorganization (Fletcher et al., 2019, p. 1754).

Degrowth is not a single voice (Lundmark et al., 2021, p. 2) or a single philosophical current and it does not admire a single book or an author but is rather rich in its meanings (Demaria et al., 2013, p. 195). According to Demaria et al. (2013), the thematic background of degrowth derives from some streams of ecological and social thought. Degrowth brings together different sources of thought at different levels that are heterogenous and from different disciplines, such as urban planning, climate justice, and education (Demaria et al., 2013, pp. 195 & 210). As

Latouche (2012, p. 75) notes, the aim of degrowth is, indeed, to let other voices be heard and open paths that are alternative to current ones.

Degrowth has three main pillars: theoretical, activist, and political (Martinez-Alier et al., 2010, p. 1745). The theoretical principles of degrowth form only one of these pillars: the activist pillar is supported by social grassroots movements (Martinez-Alier et al., 2010, p. 1745) and the political pillar is formed by the political debates of degrowth (Cosme et al., 2017, p. 323). The more theoretical pillar of degrowth derives further in two approaches: the French *décroissance* movement, which has its critiques on development, modernity, and political ecology concerns, and the sustainable degrowth literature, which has its critiques on economic growth and is explored mostly in the field of ecological economics (Cosme et al., 2017, p. 323). Latouche (2010) argues that degrowth is not a concept, but it is a "political slogan with theoretical implications". Instead of talking about de-growth, the best way would be to describe it as "a-growth", as it is similar to atheism which means abandoning a religion. In the case of degrowth, the aim is to abandon the religions of growth (Latouche, 2010, p. 159). This is why these three pillars should not be separated as they overlap and support each other although the pillars are formed by different backgrounds.

From the activist, degrowth movement perspective, it has been addressed that degrowth is an activist-led science that is becoming part of the academic arena (Demaria et al., 2013, p. 209). This young generation of scholar-activists, who once started to develop the degrowth conferences in the 2000s, have mobilised the concepts and tools across different disciplines and provided space to study alternative conditions and go beyond critique (Kallis et al., 2018, p. 292). These emerging paradigms, such as degrowth, draw awareness that also affects the scientific inquiry (D'Alisa & Kallis, 2014, as cited in Kallis et al., 2018, p. 292) which provides an opportunity to include new concepts in academia.

However, some scholars argue that degrowth is not a complete concept. According to Lundmark et al. (2021, p. 2), the promises and proposals of degrowth speak to UNDP's Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Burrai et al. (2019, p. 994) argue that if these goals are critically unpacked, it can be ascertained that the goals are articulated in a neoliberal idiom of growth. According to Asara et al., (2015, p. 381), degrowth speaks for re-politicising the sustainability discourse. In the mainstream, the concept of sustainable development has been interpreted as sustainable growth (Haapanen & Tapio, 2016, p. 3493) which degrowth challenges. It has also been criticised what degrowth means in practice. Kallis (2011, p. 876) argues that proposals on "how to degrow" in practice are still diverse and fragmented and there is no single solution for it. Therefore, more research on degrowth and its practices is needed.

2.2 Degrowth's discourse in tourism research

In tourism, the attention on degrowth emerged from the metanarratives and discourses related to climate change and Anthropocene (Lundmark et al., 2021, p. 8). According to Eronen et al. (2016), Anthropocene can be defined as an era, where the human impact on the globe has been described as influential as a geological force. Human impact has had an impact on the loss of biodiversity, extinction, and changes in the ecosystem (Eronen et al., 2016, pp. 42–43) in which tourism plays a role as well. Tourism growth is part of this discourse as the more population grows, the more human impact there is on the globe. Degrowth has been addressed as one of the "radical" proposals in an attempt to overcome excessive visitation to tourist destinations (Andriotis, 2021, p. 5).

According to Lundmark et al. (2021), in just over a decade, the number of publications related to degrowth has expanded. In tourism research, the period 2018–2020 witnessed a major growth in publications of degrowth. Two main clusters have emerged regarding the research on tourism and degrowth. These are first of all, economic development, tourism development, and issues of overtourism and second of all, issues regarding sustainable tourism development and management. As a single keyword, *overtourism* has gained attention in degrowth studies and thus shows the focus that has been on the negative problems created by tourism (Lundmark et al., 2021, pp. 2–4). Overtourism can be defined as "the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitors' experiences in a negative way" (UNWTO, 2018, p. 4) which has called into question the growth and its extent (Fletcher et al., 2019, p. 1746). This was the era, the crisis of overtourism, when degrowth literature started getting more attention in tourism research (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2022, p. 3).

Degrowth emphasises quality of life rather than quantity of consumption (Flipo & Schneider, 2008, p. 318). The emphasis of degrowth is on equitable downscaling production and consumption which increases well-being and ecological conditions both locally and globally, in the short and long run (Schneider et al., 2010, p. 512). This should be brought to the centre of tourism growth discussion today: how can we ensure that tourism brings more well-being and increases the quality of life of the local communities rather than decreases it by the excessive consumption of tourism?

Previous research suggests that unlike there are common beliefs about tourism numbers in the mainstream literature, “big numbers [of tourism] do not necessarily bring significant benefits” (Ghaderi et al., 2022, p. 8). Kallis et al. (2014, p. 6) argue that growth does not necessarily increase happiness. The priorities of the local communities should be on the frontline of tourism authorities as locals “request for degrowth” (Ghaderi et al., 2022, p. 8). This also reflects on the arguments of Higgins-Desbiolles et al. (2019, p. 1927) who note that tourism should place the locals’ rights above tourists’ rights and Boluk et al. (2021, p. 152) who emphasise the focus should be on allowing local communities to decide the number of tourists and when and how to welcome them.

This is an essential and fundamental starting point of tourism development: make better places for living and visiting, in this particular order. According to Higgins-Desbiolles (2020), as tourism is under neoliberal globalisation, it weakens the power of communities to manage, control, end benefit from tourism businesses as the global markets run outside of local control. Therefore, Higgins-Desbiolles calls for “socialising tourism” in which both tourists and tourism businesses are socialised into the interests of local communities in which they operate, and to make tourism “answerable to the society in which it occurs” (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020, p. 617). Besides “socialising tourism”, tourism should be also “localised” in which the local community includes the local ecology and all generations, also the future ones (Higgins-Desbiolles & Chew Bigby, 2022, p. 2). This also includes non-human beings.

The degrowth literature has been the most prominent in urban areas or cities. Geographically the strongest focus has been on Europe and the Mediterranean region (Lundmark et al., 2021, p. 8) where the popularity among tourists has caused overtourism in the region (Milano et al., 2019, as cited in Lundmark et al., 2021, p. 8). Yet, little attention regarding degrowth has been given in the Arctic regions indicating a research gap. One of the few tourism degrowth studies in the Arctic regions has been conducted in Svalbard, Norway. Saville (2022) conducted a degrowth study in which the aim was to find out the changing role of tourism and how it has been experienced in the region. Saville addresses that degrowth is a promising approach to better relationships between tourists and human and nonhuman hosts. As a result, several degrowth-related values were addressed that could work as tourism management proposals. These were i.a. “reduced consumption and travel” and a “shift away from the economic narrative to further community and environmental considerations” (Saville, 2022, pp. 1 & 10).

Another study, an ethnographically oriented case study, was conducted in the Finnish North in 2015 (Kulusjärvi, 2020). In Kulusjärvi’s study, the approach was to explore the possibilities of degrowth in tourism destination development. The outcome of the study was that not everyone on the local level engages in destination growth plans and tourism is perceived more as a livelihood than as a growth economy (Kulusjärvi, 2020, pp. 71 & 81). This indicates that degrowth is not an unfamiliar term in the regions although there are only a few studies related to the term.

What does it tell us about? Is degrowth seen only as a management tool for overtourism and thus, there is no similar overtourism considered in the Arctic regions as there has been in European destinations? Or is degrowth experienced somewhat as “utopian” or “radical”? According to Kallis et al. (2018), degrowth proposals are utopian to a certain extent as there is no place where they fully exist. This does not, however, mean that there would not be viable transitions toward this “utopian” vision. Concrete utopias open paths forward that are about to emerge (Muraca, 2017, as cited in Kallis et al., 2018, p. 308) of which degrowth could be part. These emerging paths open alternative futures of tourism. Therefore, Kallis et al. (2018) encourage us to think openly as plural utopias help

> to free the imagination to conceive worlds that motivate changes in our actions today, producing something different tomorrow, although not necessarily the utopia initially imagined (Kallis et al., 2018, p. 308).

Although tourism degrowth has gained attention in the academia, such as debates regarding concerns of overtourism in urban areas, it is interesting why it has not emerged in environmental settings even though many of these regions are suffering with the ability to cope with a high number of visitor numbers that were sustainable in the past (Prideaux & Pabel, 2021, p. 117). Fletcher et al. (2019) argue that scholars must pay attention to social movements, such as degrowth, and cooperate with them to make “another” tourism possible within planetary boundaries. This is one of the reasons why I am interested in degrowth as tourism degrowth should only not be studied from the overtourism perspective but also ecological.

2.3 Degrowth’s relation to socio-ecological justice

Tourism and justice are closely linked to each other. According to Higgins-Desbiolles (2010), some live in spectacular wealth and some in abject poverty. Tourism is not separate from this as people from more economically developed countries can enjoy their holidays while the less developed countries host these tourists despite their poverty. International tourism includes tensions of class polarization which is the most prominent in the relationship between tourists and their hosts. Tourists represent wealth and consumption, and they seek to have “exotic” or “authentic” experiences often in poorer regions. Yet tourism academics have barely explored tourism and justice (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2010, pp. 194–195).

Justice is a complex notion as there are many theories related to it (Jamal, 2019, p. 29). John Rawls’ *A Theory of Justice* is one of the established in this field. Rawls (1971) addresses that it does not matter if laws and institutions are efficient and well-arranged if they are unjust, they must be then reformed anyway. Truth and justice are uncompromising as they are the first virtues of human activities. Injustice is only tolerable when it is necessary to avoid even greater injustice. Although Rawls sees justice as fairness, there are limits in the theory of justice as it does not embrace all moral relationships, such as animals and the rest of nature (Rawls, 1971, pp. 3–4 & 15). Including nonhuman actors and their justice is important in tourism as they are an essential part of the environment where tourism takes place and where the human-animal relationships are explored (Grimwood et al., 2018, p. 1).

In tourism research, the terms “just tourism”, “justice tourism” and “justice through tourism” have been explored. Hultsman (1995) explored the ethical framework of “just tourism” and addressed that utilising Leopold´s (1949) land ethic as a model for “just tourism” could be considerable. Besides this framework, justice tourism, instead, is considered a tourism type.

Scheyvens (2002, p. 105–119) addresses that this type of tourism develops solidarity between the tourists and locals, promotes equal and respectful understanding and relationships, and supports the self-determination of locals (as cited in Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008, p. 354). Here the emphasis is more on the framework of "justice through tourism" in which the different types of justice tourism, such as responsible tourism, pro-poor tourism, volunteer tourism and many others, take place (Guia, 2021, pp. 503 & 505).

In this study, the focus is on the socio-ecological aspects of justice. According to Gunnarsson-Östling and Svenfelt (2018), socio-ecological justice is a framework which understands the ecological basis for sustaining societies and highlights the distribution of both the resources and impacts between different groups of society. They argue that these perspectives are rarely discussed in sustainability discourses. Gunnarsson-Östling and Svenfelt define socio-ecological justice through eight different features. In socio-ecological justice, the decisions should be based on how the society depends upon and influences socio-ecological systems. Therefore, conflicts and uncertainty must be acknowledged. This framework calls for just distribution of environmental goods and services, not only between and within communities, but also generations. This means that just distribution is defined and discussed in a deliberative process and thus, justice overlaps planning, policies, production, and consumption. Here, the awareness of who is included and where power is located is addressed and the decisions that are made are based on the inclusion of different groups, peoples, and communities. They argue that these features are anthropocentric as the power is distributed to humans and therefore, they call for more future research on nonhuman entities and their justice perspective (Gunnarsson-Östling & Svenfelt, 2018, p. 168).

Abdullah et al., (2022) address that the stakeholder that has the most power is humans. Humans have control over tourism resources, such as how to gain these benefits from tourism and distribute them. This perspective is very anthropocentric as humans often dominate and prioritise their benefits over other nonhuman actors. This results in the marginalisation of nonhuman actors who have the least power within a society and are generally excluded or banished from the society to the margins which reinforces inequality among tourism stakeholders (Abdullah et al., 2022, p. 2). The socio-ecological framework and the marginalisation of nonhuman actors reflect the anthropocentric view over tourism resources and "development" (see Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018). If these are not questions of injustice, what is then? From this point of view, assessing the justice of marginalised groups in tourism is essential.

As Caton (2018) notes, our societies are built on the exploitation of other species and resources, that is animals and plants, which are utilised for food, material, and fuel (Caton, 2018, p. 196). Socio-ecological justice allows rethinking the “relationality of human and nonhuman worlds as a matter of justice” (Yaka, 2018, p. 360). This is essential in tourism as nonhumans are in dynamic interaction with tourism (Grimwood et al., 2018, p. 1) and in general, human life is dependent on water, land, and air (Yaka, 2018, p. 361). As addressed in the introduction, here nonhuman actors are addressed as “native” or “introduced” animals or plants (Reis & Shelton, 2018, p. 74). Humans are not the only actor in the environment: however, if the focus is only on humans, it leads to ignoring other stakeholders, often nonhumans, which leads to a non-holistic understanding of the environment (Abdullah et al., 2022, p. 2). Therefore, including both animate entities, such as animals, and inanimate entities, such as water and air, and their justice in tourism does not make it only less anthropocentric (Abdullah et al., 2022, p. 2) but also just. However, it is important to keep in mind who defines nonhumans. If humans do it, it still represents an anthropocentric view.

In tourism, these entities play various roles in the creation of tourist experiences (Abdullah et al., 2022, p. 2). From the nonhuman point of view, developing and managing tourism more holistically is essential. Without nonhuman actors, tourism would be very different – especially in the Arctic regions where nature-based tourism is one of the most popular forms of tourism. For instance, Äijälä (2022) conducted a study regarding sled dog agencies in tourism landscapes. The study was in line with the argument that animal workers have a stakeholder status in the tourism industry (García-Rosell & Tallberg, 2021, as cited in Äijälä, 2022, p. 80) and that the sled dogs are a central part of creating tourism landscapes. On the one hand, addressing the role of nonhuman actors as stakeholders contributes to discussing how tourism could be more just towards these nonhuman actors and their agencies in tourism. On the other hand, it still raises a question about the justice of the other nonhumans that are not directly shaped by the demand of tourism, such as sled dogs. Sled dogs’ agencies may therefore differ from other nonhumans as their justice may have been recognised while the others may not.

According to Yaka (2018), the difference between socio-ecological, environmental, and ecological justice is that in environmental justice, the fair/unfair distribution of environmental hazards/benefits is stressed among humans and in ecological justice, only the relationship with the nonhuman world is emphasised. In socio-ecological justice, the interconnection between these two, humanity and ecology, or human and nonhuman worlds is built. Simply, socio-ecological justice is about recognising these two worlds, human and nonhuman, and their rights to live and flourish together in an environment which is free from "social and ecological destruction and degradation" (Yaka, 2018, p. 363).

Besides the marginalisation of certain stakeholders in tourism, there are also other factors that can be addressed in the context of socio-ecological justice and tourism. Transportation and energy play a crucial role in the tourism sector. According to Grossmann et al., (2022, p. 1414), transport is the source of ecological damage in multiple forms, and it is one of the hardest sectors to decarbonise. In tourism, transport-related emissions are expected to grow 45 % between the years 2016 and 2030. The biggest emitter is Europe as the region is both the biggest origin and destination of international tourism (UNWTO, 2019, p. 40). According to Grossmann et al. (2022), consuming fossil fuels instead of renewable energy sources is not just from an ecological justice point of view. Massive changes in practices must take place if tourism wants to represent itself as a "responsible" or "sustainable" sector. The practices would include a reduction in the need for travelling (Grossmann et al., 2022, p. 1414). These are seen as "transport taboos" as they constitute a risk for decision-makers as it would require a fundamental sociocultural change which would cause "disorder" (Gössling & Cohen, 2014, p. 198). This perspective reflects on the background of this study: is tourism growth a taboo which cannot be criticized even in the era of global environmental crisis?

What brings degrowth and justice together then? Degrowth brings justice into the discussion in terms of the economies of the North and South. Degrowth takes part in the discussion related to the "overdeveloped economies" of the North which exploits the natural and human resources of the South at a lower cost. Degrowth is needed especially in the North where the consumption and demand for natural resources should be reduced (Kallis et al., 2014, p. 5). Although degrowth emerged from ecological and economic critiques of growth, the focus has recently evolved towards concerns on democracy, justice, the meaning of life and well-being (Flipo, 2007; Demaria et al., 2013, as cited in Asara et al., 2015, p. 377). Degrowth aims to increase both social justice and ecological sustainability (Asara et al., 2015, p. 377). Muraca (2012, p. 544) calls for just and fair degrowth but notes that the questions regarding just degrowth are still open. On a more specific level, in the context of socio-ecological justice, the socio-ecological perspective has, along with degrowth debates, emerged regarding commodification where the socio-ecological services and relations are transferred to a monetary value (Kallis et al., 2014, p. 4). There is also an increasing emphasis on the nexus of socio-ecological among activists and social movements (Grossmann et al., 2022, p. 1410) which is also addressed in degrowth studies, as it has been proposed as an activist-led science which originates from activism and social movement (Demaria et al., 2013, p. 209). Both, degrowth and socio-ecological justice, tie these aspects together in this study.

3. DISCOURSES CONSTRUCTING THE PRESENT AND FUTURE

3.1 The concept of discourse

This study aims to analyse how the discourses related to tourism degrowth and socio-ecological justice are constructed in the research data. To do that, one of the most central concepts of this study, discourse, needs to be defined. The term *discourse* has become common in different disciplines, such as critical theory, sociology, linguistics, philosophy, social psychology, and many others (Mills, 2004, p. 1). The concepts of text and discourse have become "fashionable expressions" that are difficult to avoid (Luostarinen & Väliverronen, 1991, p. 49). This has led to a point where the concept of discourse has been left undefined as its usage has become "common knowledge" (Mills, 2004, p. 1). Thus, when talking about discourses or discourse analysis, the different meanings and contents of discourse need to be defined – and turns out that the concept of discourse cannot be defined unequivocally (Husa, 1995, p. 42).

Discourse cannot be defined as a term with one meaning (Mills, 2004, pp. 5–6). According to Luostarinen and Väliverronen (1991, p. 50), the origin of the word *discourse* comes from the Latin word *discursus* meaning "running around" and thus refers to movement and action. *Text* instead refers to something solid and materialised. From a traditional perspective, *text* has mainly referred to writing whereas *discourse* has referred to speech. Nowadays this division is often not valid, and these two concepts are used synonymously (Luostarinen & Väliverronen, 1991, p. 50). Today, discourses have become widely analysed in both literary and non-literary texts (Mills, 2004, p. 1), such as in pictures, movements, or drawings (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2019, p. 16). According to Hall (1992, p. 201), discourse is not one statement but instead, it consists of several statements that work together. Hall considers discourse as

> …a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – i.e., a way of representing – a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. When statements about a topic are made within a particular discourse, the discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way. It also limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed (Hall, 1992, p. 201).

Burr (2015) refers to discourse as different sets of meanings, metaphors, representations and many other ways that produce together a particular version of events. These versions of events are constructed through language which means that from different perspectives any event may entail different discourses and there are different ways to represent it. Each discourse brings different points of view into the centre of focus. What is being said matters as it constructs the world of our phenomena for us (Burr, 2015, pp. 75–76). For Foucault (1972, p. 49), discourses consist of "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak". Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2019) address that from a Foucauldian point of view, language use affects social reality by building concepts, categories and information systems concerning it. Foucault refers to discourses as, historically tenacious and presented ways and practices of meaning-making – that is, ways of speaking and thinking – that shape the object of speech. For Foucault, discourses meant more than the production of meanings or a way of speaking or thinking: they are part of the mechanisms of the exercise of power, as discourses build an understanding of reality and knowledge about it (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2019, p. 18).

The theoretical background of discourses and discourse analysis comes from the tradition of social constructionism (Jokinen, 1999, p. 202). Social constructionism is a paradigm, in which the central idea is to "take a critical stance towards our taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world and ourselves" (Burr, 2015, p. 2). Kuhn (1962, as cited in Slevitch, 2011, p. 74) defines a paradigm as "a world view" or "a set of linked assumptions about the world" on which scientific inquiries are always based (Slevitch, 2011, p. 74). According to Burr (2015), the purpose of social constructionism is to challenge the idea of knowledge being objective, an "unbiased observation of the world". This paradigm denies that the knowledge we have is a direct perception of reality. Instead, our versions of reality are constructed socially between people. Therefore, the ways we understand the world come from other people (Burr, 2015, pp. 2 & 9–10).

Gergen (2015) addresses that the ideas of social constructionism do not rely on a single book or a school of philosophy but rather come from "a process of dialogue, a dialogue that is ongoing, and to which anyone […] may contribute". When people communicate, the world, such as the meanings for good and bad, men and women, and day and night are constructed. The possibilities of social constructionism lie in the distinctions we have built on social consensus because, through social constructionism, these can be questioned and challenged.

The “constructionists” as Gergen calls it, are not “bound by chains of either history or tradition” and as people speak together, they “cross the threshold into new worlds of meaning” and thus the future is to be created (Gergen, 2015, pp. 3–6). By questioning discourses, the ways of understanding the world, and crossing into new worlds, it is possible to reach a point where discourses are renewed. In this study, it means questioning and challenging the way tourism growth has been constructed, including these “taken-for-granted” ways of understanding (Burr, 2015, p. 2) the growth.

3.2 Discourse, language, and power

Language is in a central role in human interaction and thus plays a role in discourses. Through language use, anyone inevitably conjures up images of what they take for granted, what they value and what they find strange. When using language, humans are always considered to be involved in renewing or transforming the flow of culture (Jokinen et al., 1999, p. 19). When language is used, humans construct reality, such as the objects which we speak and write about (Jokinen et al., 1993, p. 21). Fairclough (1989, pp. 22–23) argues that language is not external to society and that language and society are in an internal and dialectical relationship. Through language use, social reality is constructed in the present and thus, it constructs the futures as well. The futures can be influenced by the choices that are made in present (Aalto et al., 2022, p. 11) including what and how things are spoken of.

According to Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2019), different situations are regulated by slightly different conventions of language use, which are called *discursive norms*. Norms are regularities of social activity. To be able to make ourselves understood, we follow ways of acting that are familiar to us and others in the use of language. The discursive norms of language use are usually best seen when they are violated for one reason or another (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2019, pp. 32–33). The purpose here is to critically examine the growth of tourism, and if this critical view violates the discursive norms related to tourism growth, it becomes visible.

As discourses construct our perceptions of reality, they have power (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2019, p. 42). According to Fairclough (1989), power in discourse is about “powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants”. These constraints are related to contents (what is said or done) relations (the social relations people enter into a discourse), and subjects (the subject positions people can occupy) (Fairclough, 1989, p. 46). In the context of tourism growth discourse, these constraints would mean what is being said or done regarding the growth and from what kinds of social relations people enter this discourse. To enter the discourses and to be in the discourse, people are placed in different subject positions, such as a member of an indigenous community or a national-level stakeholder which also affects the power relations of discourses.

According to Viken (2014, p. 24), discourses that are the most successful are implicit and taken for granted which may lead to a situation called "naturalisation". In naturalisation, individual opinions become common sense and thus, start representing as "neutral" or "true" discourses (Vázquez, 2006, as cited in Viken, 2014, p. 24). Fairclough (1989, p. 92) notes that naturalisation "is the royal road to common sense". Discourse types which embody ideological common sense become naturalised and this makes ideological common sense an effect of power. Ideologies that become common sense are thus determined by people who exercise and dominate power in society or social institutions. Naturalisation is, therefore, one of the most effective "weapons" of power in discourses as they constrain the contents of discourse and knowledge and beliefs in the long term (Fairclough, 1989, pp. 92 & 105–106).

In the context of tourism, naturalisation may have, for instance, led to a point where tourism growth has become a "neutral" or "true" discourse. This relates to social constructionism, where how the world is understood depends on where and when we live (Burr, 2015, p. 4). Therefore, tourism growth might have been considered "neutral" or "true" in the past although it is not present anymore. This can be seen in the Finnish media, as the tourism growth discourse is dominating the media space. For instance, news with titles such as *Tourism in Lapland predicts a super winter - "This has been a long wait", says the tourism industry* (Yle, 2022a), *Lapland's tourism is in full swing again* (Helsingin Sanomat, 2022), and *Accommodations for the end of the year in Lapland are largely full - "Recovery from the corona happened much faster than we thought"* (Lapin Kansa, 2022) include all tourism growth discourse. It is essential to critically evaluate these discourses in the present and ask, when does the discourse of tourism growth renew itself. And who has the power to do it?

4. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Qualitative research as an approach

This study is qualitative. The emphasis of this approach is "placed upon studying things in their natural settings, interpreting phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them, humanising problems and gaining an 'emic', or 'insider's' perspective" (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p. 4). The scientific philosophy of qualitative research is based on interpretivism and constructivism that stem from an idealist approach (Deshpande, 1983; Sale et al., 2002, as cited in Slevitch, 2011, p. 76). The idealist approach emphasizes that there are multiple realities (Smith, 1983, as cited in Slevitch, 2011, p. 77). In this study, multiple realities refer to the future orientation of this study as there are multiple possible futures instead of one and only (see subchapter 4.3).

There are many different views of what qualitative research is about. Phillimore and Goodson (2004, p. 5) question whether qualitative research is "a set of methods, a strategy, a critique or an approach". According to Bryman and Burgess (1994), if qualitative research is seen as a set of methods, it is then considered as "other" to quantitative research (as cited in Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p. 4). If qualitative research is seen as a strategy, the qualitative inquiry should then emphasize the perspective of different participants and their understanding of the world. In this approach, social life should be viewed as the result of interaction and interpretation (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p. 4). From a critical point of view, Denzin and Lincoln (1998) see qualitative research as a critique towards the positivistic approaches, in which there is only one "real", observable world (as cited in Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, pp. 4 & 35). Here, qualitative study is seen as an approach as it is both a way of conceptualising and approaching social inquiry and a way to do research (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p. 5).

According to Eskola and Suoranta (1998), qualitative research borders the world in its way as the central research object "appears" to the researcher in human language (see more in subchapter 4.4). Linguistic communication, written and spoken language in various forms is largely part of human life. Therefore, the research objects appear to the researcher in the language as the language is part of the research objects, social realities (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998, pp. 103–104). Language is also the focus of discourse analysis, which is the analysis method of this study. The underlying paradigm behind these both, qualitative methodology (Jennings, 2010, p. 124) and discourse analysis (Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, p. 381) is social constructionism, which was introduced in subchapter 3.1. In social constructionism, the reality is to be constructed socially with language use (Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, p. 381) and thus social constructionists are greatly interested in language (Burr, 2015, pp. 4–5). This brings qualitative research, social constructionism, and discourse analysis together in this study.

4.2 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis aims to detect underlying ideologies and narratives, as well as actors which dominate the field, whether it is the public or academic (Viken, 2014, p. 24). According to Pälli and Lillqvist (2020), the history of discourse analysis is strongly based on linguistics but has later got influenced by other disciplines as well, such as philosophy, social sciences, and literary study. By today, discourse analysis can generally be defined as an interweaving of social activity and language use, and is, therefore, a study of language use in which linguistic interpretation is combined with the examination of social activity. The current understanding of discourse analysis, especially established in social sciences, emphasizes that discourse is precisely an interpretive and abstract concept. In the late 1980s, the view that discourse is not primarily about the analysis of language but specifically of society, became stronger (Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, pp. 375–377).

Discourse analysis is not a strictly defined research method (Jokinen et al., 1993, p. 21) and therefore, there is no set procedure on how to do discourse analysis as researchers approach it in different ways regarding their views of discourse and the nature of the study (Fairclough, 1992, p. 225). It is important to keep in mind that the aim of discourse analysis is not to find out what is the most “truthful” version of reality but how the different versions are valued (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2019, p. 7). The focus is on analysing how the discourses actualise in different social conventions (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, as cited in Jokinen et al., 1993, p. 28). Here, the focus is on how discourses of tourism degrowth and socio-ecological justice are actualised in the research data. If these are not actualised, what does it tell about the time we live in? Are there other discourses that take control or space from these discourses?

According to Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2019), in discourse analysis, the most central idea is to see language as a social actor. A researcher who utilises discourse analysis is interested in knowing how people use language in different situations, times, and places. Language use is always located in a certain situation or time: previous situations and especially the norms, routines, and values related to them frame these situations. Social situations guide the choices that are made related to language use, such as what and how things are spoken of (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2019, p. 6). Discourse analysis has thus turned the question "what does a text mean" into "how meanings are produced in texts" (Luostarinen & Väliverronen, 1991, p. 50–51) which can also be seen in my main research question where I ask, *how* the discourses related to tourism degrowth and socio-ecological justice are constructed in the research data.

Language use does not only reflect but also constructs the social reality (Pälli & Lillgvist, 2020, p. 376). As Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2019) note, language is renewing all the time as previous norms are reconsidered and new ways of using the language are recreated. Language use is organised in social and cultural ways meaning that while the language use is being researched, the surrounding society, culture, time, and place are being researched as well – that is, the *context*. The context is multi-layered, meaning that the context can be used to refer to a small part of the surrounding reality but at the same time there are always larger contexts that overlap in different ways. Even if we talk about the situational context, the historical and social contexts are also present at the time (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2019, pp. 8 & 23). The research data of this study were collected during two major global events: the Covid-19 pandemic and Russia's invasion of Ukraine. This context may affect the outcome of this study as tourism may be, for instance, perceived differently in this context than it was before these events.

In the analysis process, the researcher asks from the data, what discourses can be spoken of; who can access and which discourses; who has the power to decide and enforce the constraints of discourses and; what are the subject positions the participants take or are put to. The exclusion of people from certain discourses and subject positions lowers their status (Fairclough, 1989, pp. 62, 64 & 74). From this perspective, it is important to address and think critically who are the actors that take part in creating discourses in present and thus can construct the future. Language use has always consequences on how the topic under discussion is spoken of but also it has consequences on the relationships between the speaker and the listener (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2019, p. 6). The relationship between the speaker and the listener may end up in an asymmetrical relationship. This leads to questions of how the discourses in this relationship are constructed and in the data. This can be analysed through the questions of what kind of discourses are the most powerful, or in the margin, or even miss completely (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2019, p. 7).

As an analysis method, discourse analysis is especially suitable for research where the emphasis is to get information about the social or cultural understanding of a phenomenon, issue, or practice, and the role of language as a producer of that understanding (Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020. p. 376). Here the aim is to get a better understanding of the phenomenon of tourism degrowth and therefore, the analysis method supports the empirical phenomenon under study. In tourism research, discourse analysis has been utilised as a method of tourism experiences, destinations, motivations, and practices (Hannam & Knox, 2005, p. 23). Critical discourse analysis has been utilised in studying travel motivation, destination image, tourism marketing, sustainable tourism, and social relationship in tourism (Qian et al., 2018, p. 526). The topics of discourse research often arise from questioning (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2019, p. 129) which also applies in terms of this study: to question tourism growth.

As analysing tools, I utilise the concepts of focalisation, modality, subject positions, favouring/non-favouring, implicit assumptions, personality, and accounts from the field of discourse analysis. As this study is data-driven (see subchapter 4.3), I selected these analysing tools according to the data. These tools were not thus selected before the analysis but during it. The first of these tools, focalisation, refers to a point of view or the perspective of a narrative. This can be analysed by asking from whose perspective the narrative has been created and what this chosen point of view brings up and highlights (Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, p. 392). The second tool, modality, refers to different means of language which express the attitudes of a person regarding the topic under discussion. This means, for instance, talking about things as possible, desirable or undesirable, certain or uncertain (Nuyts, 2005, as cited in Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, p. 392). In the context of this study, I am interested in whether tourism growth is described with these adjectives or not.

Fairclough (1989) defines the third analysing tool, subject position, as the socialisation of people where they become placed in a range of different positions. People are exposed to these positions partly because of learning but also as within each discourse type, those who operate, are constrained to occupy. People can be positioned in various subject positions over a period of years, even for a lifetime, which does not allow them always to be even conscious about their positioning (Fairclough, 1989, pp. 102–103 & 105). After adopting a certain kind of position, a person sees, experiences and tells through this position, utilizing the metaphors, vocabulary, personal actions, narrative models and scripts and storylines that belong to it (Davies & Harré 1990, as cited in Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, p. 393). Here, this means, for instance, the subject positions about whether the interviewee is part of an indigenous community, is a long-term tourism entrepreneur or works for an organisation outside the regions under study.

The fourth of the analysing tools, favouring/non-favouring, relates to choosing the point of view and presenting things "in the forefront" to gain attention or on the other hand, leaving things in the background (Fairclough, 2001, as cited in Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, p. 393). In the data, the focus is on asking to which the attention is aimed and what is being constructed in the forefront and which on the other hand is not (Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, p. 393). The focus is on the dominant discourses and discourses that may have been left in the margin. Here, this relates to the discourse order as some discourses may take more space than others.

The fifth analysing tool, implicit assumptions, relate to ways of thinking in which "this is how it is" types of thoughts are existential assumptions (Grice, 1975; Fairclough, 2003, as cited in Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, p. 394). In the analysis, the focus is on the implicit assumptions that are in the text and what seems to be taken for granted in them (Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, p. 394). Fairclough (1989) notes that assumptions are ideologies which are closely linked to power. The nature of assumptions are embedded in particular conventions and therefore, the nature of these conventions relies on the power relations behind the conventions. These are means to legitimise already existing social relations through familiar or taken-for-granted ways of behaving which are present in the language. These ideologies are the most effective when they are the least visible (Fairclough, 1989, pp. 2–3 & 85).

The sixth analysing tool is the personality of discourses. This is one of the interests of discourse analysis as the obscuring of the personality either tells about the passive or the diversity of personality (Pälli, 2003, as cited in Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, p. 395). The focus of this is on who is in the plural and what kinds of meanings are highlighted with passive (Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, p. 395). In the analysis, I pay attention to how these personalities are utilised in describing tourism (de)growth. The last analysis tool, discursive accounts, are, according to Suoninen (1999) based on the meanings that the narrator draws from the world. In addition, accounts shape what the world will be understood to be in the future (Suoninen, 1999, p. 188–189). Accounts are a way to make things clear and defend yourself, for example by denial, justification, explanation, excuses or apologies (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, as cited in Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, p. 394). This relates to renewing certain, already existing discourses or transferring them to something new through language use.

4.3 Data collection

The research data of this study has been collected with a future-oriented approach. In the ArcticHubs project, of which this study is part, the utilised methods are future research methods. Although here the future research methods are not fully applied, I find it important to introduce the background of the future orientation of this study and where it stems from. A generally shared philosophical view in futures research is that the future is open to many possibilities, i.a. many futures, and this is also expressed in the definition of *futures research* (Kuusi & Virmajoki, 2022, p. 22). Futures research has been developed for long-term planning in areas that are subject to conflicting influences and where the impact of future events must be taken into account. Futures research is needed especially in the areas where societies and their development are associated with increasingly complex global challenges. Understanding and finding solutions to these challenges require the involvement of different actors and comprehensive ways of predicting the future (Aalto et al., 2022, p. 11). Conducting a future-oriented study in the Arctic regions where these increasingly complex global challenges affect now and in the future is thus extremely important. For instance, climate change, biodiversity loss, geopolitical interests towards the regions, extraction of natural resources, and green transition make this type of futures research study in the regions very timely.

Amara (1981, as cited in Aalto et al., 2022, p. 11) has defined three starting points for futures research. The future is not predictable, the future is not predetermined, and we can influence the future with our actions and choices. The latter applies well in terms of the social constructionist and discourse points of view: the future is constructed in the social interaction in the present and thus it is possible to influence the future through the actions that are taken and decisions that are taken in present.

According to Aalto et al. (2022), the methodology of futures research has gradually developed throughout history through analysis and concrete research. Futures research has been characterized by an eclectic approach which means combining influences, theories, and methods from other disciplines. Besides the influence of other disciplines, some methods have been developed within the field of futures research, such as ways of acquiring information and research methods. As a starting point for these methods have often been methods and techniques that allow polyphony. These methods are i.a. PESTE analysis, Delphi method, future workshops, and Causal Layered Analysis (CLA). Many traditional research methods can also be utilised in futures research, such as surveys and interviews (Aalto et al., 2022, pp. 14 & 15). In this study, the data consists of interviews that have been conducted with a future-oriented approach.

The research data consists of ten interviews which have been collected in the ArcticHubs project during the years 2021 and 2022. The interviews have been conducted by other researchers working on the project, and therefore, I have not participated in the data collection process. These interviews have originally been conducted for other purposes in the project and therefore they have not been conducted from this study's theoretical point of view. In discourse analysis, the data that already exists, such as documents and different recordings, are prioritised as a researcher's influence can be eliminated (Wetherell, 1987, as cited in Eskola & Suoranta, 1998, p. 143). Therefore, as I have not participated in the interview process, I have not influenced the data collection process itself.

The interviews have been conducted in the municipalities of Rovaniemi, Kittilä, and Inari, in Northern Finland but the focus of the interviews is mainly on the municipalities of Kittilä and Inari (see Figure 1). The interviews were conducted face-to-face through online platforms, such as Teams, and traditional phone calls. Interviews were transcribed in Finnish and the length of the transcription was a total of 106 pages with font 12 and spacing 1,5. As this study is conducted in English, I did not translate all of the interviews into English but only the direct citations utilised in chapter 5. Analysis. Analysing the interviews in my native language, Finnish, benefitted me as it was easier to read and understand, even the smallest nuances in the transcribed texts. The interviewees of this study are described in Table 1.

Figure 1. Map of the Inari and Kittilä municipalities (Source: Author, 2023).

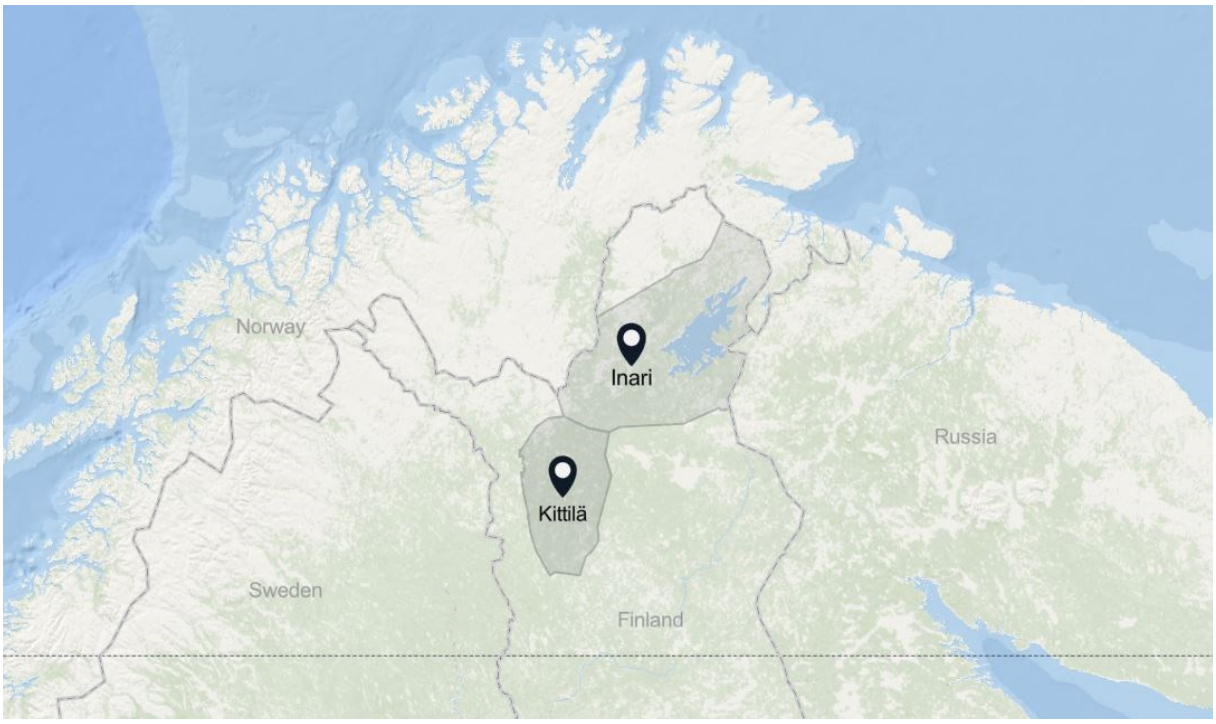


Table 1. Description of the interviews (Source: Author, 2023).

Interviewed persons:	**Organization represented:**
IP1	Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland
IP2	Business Finland
IP3	The Sámi Parliament of Finland
IP4	Nature conservation
IP5	Visit Inari
IP6	State-owned Forestry Company of Finland
IP7	The municipality of Inari
IP8	Forest Centre of Finland
IP9	The municipality of Kittilä
IP10	Entrepreneur, Kittilä

The interviewees represent different direct and indirect tourism stakeholder groups on different levels of actors, such as national, regional, and local. The interviews at the national level consist of representatives from the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, Business Finland, the Sámi Parliament of Finland, the State-owned forestry company of Finland (Metsähallitus), and the Forest Centre of Finland. The interviews at the regional and local level consist of representatives from The Sámi Parliament of Finland, Visit Inari, municipalities of Inari and Kittilä, nature conservation, and one entrepreneur. I consider the Sámi Parliament of Finland and the State-owned Forestry Company of Finland to be representatives of all these levels as they influence nationally, regionally, and locally.

4.4 Analysis process

According to Eskola and Suoranta (1998, p. 110), the first step at the beginning of an analysis process is to organise the data after it has been collected and transcribed. It is important to become familiar with the data and read it through many times (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998, p. 110). I started the analysis process by anonymising the interviews by *IP1, IP2, IP3… etc.* (see Table 1) and reading through all of them. I was reading the interviews the following questions on my mind: what is being said, how is it being said, who is saying it, in what situations is it being said, and what consequences it causes what is being said? After reading the interviews and gaining an overview of the data, I started to code the research data which helped me to handle and analyse it. As the research data was in total 106 pages, it was important to organize it more practically before analysing it.

There are at least two different ways to approach data coding. This study is data-driven in which, according to Eskola and Suoranta (1998), the focus is to analyse the data without any theoretical preassumptions. This does not mean that the researcher does not have any preknowledge or preassumptions regarding the empirical phenomenon under study but rather, the researcher does not let them disturb the coding or theming process (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998, p. 111). However, there are some issues regarding this type of approach. Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2018) note that data-driven research is difficult to conduct as the concepts, methodology, and analysing tools are set by the researcher and always influence, or co-produce, the findings. Therefore, there are no objective or "pure" observations (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, p. 96) that would make the analysis process separate from the preknowledge and presumptions of a researcher. I was aware of these issues as I started the analysis process. Another way to approach this coding process would be a theory-driven approach but as it entails a pre-existing theory that drives the analysis process (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998, p. 111), I did not find it as suitable as I did not aim to conduct a pre-existing theory to another context in this study.

To handle the research data and “chop it to pieces”, I had to organise it by coding. According to Eskola and Suoranta (1998), codes are a tool for describing the text, such as what each interviewee has talked about and the codes act as “addresses”. With the help of codes, one can search the parts from the text that are further being analysed in the next step. Coding is part of qualitative research as the codes are not decided before the analysis process but rather develop during it. It is important to keep in mind that the codes can be different depending on when and where they have been created. For instance, a different mood or different preparation might affect the outcome of the codes, or if there are many coders instead of just one. Additionally, the first version of the coding list is not usually the last (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998, pp. 113–114).

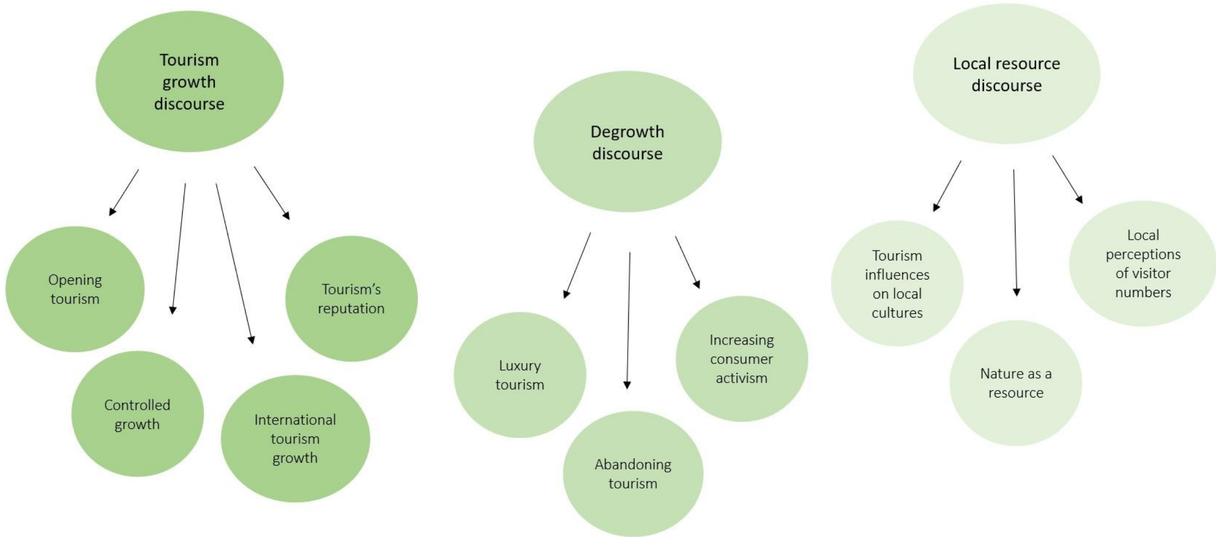
I started the coding process by utilising highlighters to point out the different parts of the texts and then coded them. For example, in parts of the texts where tourism was expected to catch the growth path as it used to be before the pandemic, I coded it as “tourism growth” as it referred to tourism growth discourse. I did this type of coding for all of the interviews individually. For some interviews, there were more codes than for others. As I had coded all the data, I listed the codes on a Word document and therefore I was able to move these codes around easily. As there were also other livelihoods than tourism represented in the research data, I had to first focus on tourism-related codes precisely and therefore, other irrelevant codes, such as those related to mining, forestry, and reindeer herding, were excluded from the data coding process. I thus focused only on tourism-related codes which did not result in expanding the coding list too long with irrelevant codes. In the first coding process, I had 440 codes but after reducing irrelevant codes, I ended up having 157 codes. At this point, I already saw some discourses “appearing” in the codes.

According to Eskola and Suoranta (1998), after coding, it is possible to look at the data and find more precisely the parts that are relevant to the topic under study. As a researcher reads the texts, they consider the codes that appear from the data. However, the codes do not exactly "appear" but rather they are the result of a researcher's construction. From this point of view, the coding process is a mix of some preknowledge and interpretation of a researcher. In this process, one must acknowledge the subjectivity of a researcher and be aware of what they are doing (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998, pp. 113–114). As a human being, my previous knowledge does not allow the coding process to proceed without any preassumptions as I cannot eliminate my previous experiences. As Eskola and Suoranta (1998, p. 114) address, the most realistic way is thus to let the coding process be guided by the preassumption but the coding list is created according to the research data, which means it is a data-driven analysis.

According to Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2019), discourse analysis is a process which moves around the hermeneutic circle, in which the analysis leads the research process forward and specifies the research questions if not even creates new questions. In this process, there is no clear starting or ending point, but knowledge is brought closer to a researcher through different stages of the analysis process. One of the most important things in the analysis process is to move between the theoretical background and the research data, which requires knowing the data (Pietikäinen & Mäntyranta, 2019, pp. 125, 145, & 163–164). Next, I looked at the codes more precisely and saw some discourses appearing in the codes. These discourses were tourism growth discourse, degrowth discourse, and local resource discourse which I selected as the three main discourses of the analysis.

Tourism growth discourse was constructed through four sub-discourses. These were *opening tourism* in the post-pandemic, *controlled growth, international tourism growth,* and *tourism's reputation in Lapland.* Degrowth discourse was constructed through three sub-discourses. These were *luxury tourism, abandoning tourism*, and *consumer activism*. Local resource discourse was constructed through three sub-discourses. These were *tourism influences on local cultures, nature as a resource,* and *local perceptions of visitor numbers* (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. The main discourses of the study (Source: Author, 2023).



The analysis is based on these three main discourses and ten sub-discourses presented in Figure 2. First, the focus is on tourism growth discourse and the findings based on it. This discourse was at the forefront of other discourses. Second, I present the findings regarding degrowth discourse, which exist but are left in the background. Last, the local resource discourse is presented. As an analysis method, I utilise discourse analysis which was introduced earlier in this chapter as well as the analysis tools (focalisation, modality, subject positions, favouring/non-favouring, implicit assumptions, personality, and accounts). In the analysis, I utilise interviewees' direct quotations which are indented in the text. I also utilise shorter quotations within the text as all of them do not require to be intended.

4.5 Research Ethics

For a tourism researcher, ethics are associated with different stakeholder groups, such as society, government, the scientific community, the research participants, sponsors or clients, and the researcher (Neuman, 2006, as cited in Jennings, 2010, p. 98) and these stakeholders both represent the major stakeholders involved and are also affected by tourism research. According to Jennings (2010), as tourism research takes place in a social context, the findings are usually applied to a wider social context as well. Thus, the choices and the consequences of research apply to society, governments, and the scientific community. This is important from a researcher's point of view since the researchers must be aware of the consequences of their research and the choices that have been made (Jennings, 2010, p. 98).

As Jennings (2010) address, tourism research takes place in a social context and everyday settings and therefore, a researcher must ensure that the research does not change or violate the everyday life of participants of other members of society. A tourism researcher belongs, besides the tourism and hospitality community, also to a larger academic community and thus, any misconduct of the rules of ethical conduct affects both the individual tourism researcher and the reputation of the wider scientific community. The codes of ethical conduct of research "ensure that the researcher conducts ethically responsible research with respect to the treatment of individuals, the methodology used and the soundness of the findings" (Jennings, 2010, pp. 101 & 103).

In Finland, where this study and the project behind this study are conducted, The Finnish National Board on Research Integrity (TENK) has created guidelines for the Responsible Conduct of Research (RCR). The aim of these guidelines is to promote responsible conduct of research and to avoid any misconduct in research (TENK, 2012, p. 28). Here, the research follows the principles that are endorsed by the research community. These are integrity, meticulousness, and accuracy while conducting research but also while recording, presenting, and evaluating the results. I take into account the previous work and achievements of other researchers by citing their publications correctly and by giving credit they deserve. Sources of financing and other commitments are relevant to the responsible conduct of research and thus need to be both announced to all members of the research project and reported when publishing the results (TENK, 2012, p. 30). A source of finance of this study was mentioned earlier in subchapter 1.3. Funding may affect the subject or results of research but as the project has given me the freedom to conduct this study in the way I preferred it, the financing has not affected the subject or results of the study.

Some ethical considerations need to be assessed when choosing a topic of study. I am interested in new and alternative ways of practising tourism, especially the ones that are socio-culturally and environmentally just. Besides this, I look at tourism growth from a critical perspective. The interests of a researcher cannot be excluded from one's study, but they must be acknowledged and assessed. I am aware of the interests behind the choice of the topic of my study and how they affect the objectivity of this study. As Ronkainen et al. (2013) address, objectivity is probably one of the most controversial aspects of scientific research. Objectivity could be nowadays understood as detaching oneself from personal and conscious interests and as an effort to be aware that research data reaches only a part of the phenomenon under consideration and always form a certain point of view (Ronkainen et al., 2013, p. 12). According to Sihvola (2005), objectivity is not about whether the information is certain or complete. Instead, it relates to the public evaluation of the research, such as its starting points, data, and results. Objectivity comes true when those with a scientific education can freely assess whether the starting points of the research are credible and whether the conclusions are validly derived. In other words, objectivity does not require that research information is complete or exact, but its information is considered credible by a public peer review (Sihvola, 2003, p. 38).

As Juhila (2016) notes, when it comes to discourse analysis, it is important to note that the researcher is in constant interaction with the data collection and analysis process as the researcher listens to the voices of the data and talks with them. In this same process, the researcher is in dialogue with other scholars – at least through the writings. The audience is also an important aspect, as the researcher directs their speech and writing to a specific audience, which is in this context, the academic and public communities. From these starting points, all attempts to try to eliminate the researcher's functional involvement can be understood as scientific fact construction. In this sense, everyone is positioned and positioning oneself as an outsider about the object under study is also a functional position (Juhila, 2016, p. 332).

I find it meaningful to have an interest towards a certain topic as interests can help in deepening one's knowledge about a certain area of study and becoming motivated to conduct a certain type of research. The results of the research would be different if the researcher is not motivated enough to find more information about a certain topic. Reflecting on this is two-sided. On one hand, it motivates a researcher but on the other hand, it may result in favouring or non-favouring certain parts of the data or even results. This relates to the transparency of the results and in general, research objectivity. As I am aware of my interests regarding the topic under study, I consider objectivity here as detached. Lloyd (1995, p. 354, as cited in Douglas, 2004, p. 459) notes that "if one is personally invested in a particular belief or attached to a point of view, such inflexibilities could impede the free acquisition of knowledge and the correct representation of (independent) reality". Douglas (2004, p. 459) notes that this is precisely the reason why some metaphorical distance or detachment is recommended between the knower and the subject. This type of detachment is hoped to keep one from wanting a particular outcome or from fearing another outcome to an extent where one cannot see it (Douglas, 2004, p. 459) which I kept in mind while doing this study.

As Phillimore and Goodson (2004, p. 40) note,

> Researchers as well as the researched construct their own multiple versions of reality. Consequently, we need to consider how tourism researchers are active in the construction of interpretations of these experiences into text.

From this perspective, it is essential to acknowledge that the discourses that are produced in texts contain power. Meijer (1993) emphasizes the distribution of power by asking: who sees, speaks, and who is seen and spoken of in the texts that are produced? This is also important from an ethical point of view as the writer has the power on these issues, either consciously or unconsciously. The discourses matter as they tell how things are addressed and spoken of, and what words are used in describing them. Therefore, what a researcher writes might have consequences for naturalizing something that is not ethically right because, beyond the text, there are cultural conventions and collective structures of representation that "are deeply embedded in our language and our culture as such" (Meijer, 1993, pp. 373 & 376). From this perspective, the text and its meaning are "bigger" than what I am as a writer. The written text I have produced in this study entails a discourse as well.

5. ANALYSIS

5.1 Tourism growth discourse

In this chapter, the analysis of the study is presented. One of the main findings of this study was that tourism growth is a dominant discourse as it gained more attention in the research data than other discourses. This relates to Pietikäinen and Mäntynen's (2019, p. 7) reflections on power and discourses as they are one of the main focuses of the analysis. This can be analysed through questions of what are the discourses that are the most powerful or even miss completely. As a result, the tourism growth discourse takes space from the degrowth discourse, which is the empirical phenomenon of this study. This relates to discursive favouring as the growth discourse is presented in the forefront and at the same time, it positions other discourses in the background, on the "off-stage" (see Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020).

Tourism growth discourse was constructed through four different ways of speaking. These were *opening tourism, controlled growth, international tourism growth,* and *tourism's reputation in Lapland.* The first of these, *opening tourism*, refers to opening tourism in the post-pandemic. In this discourse, tourism was described as controllable, as *opening* refers to human activities. One of the interviewees described this as follows: "when tourism gets to open again" (IP2) and "as soon as tourism opens" (IP2). Another interviewee also addressed "how tourism can be opened" (IP1). Besides utilising the word *opening,* also the word *revival* was utilised to describe this discourse. This *revival* of tourism relates to the expectations that tourism *will* continue growing again once the sector has been *opened.* These types of descriptions were addressed as follows:

> …if this revival from the pandemic continues as expected, meaning that tourism grows… (IP8).

> …at some point in a few years, we will reach the pre-corona level again and, if tourism then takes off, in all likelihood, it will grow quite quickly… (IP2).

These quotations reveal discursive accounts which justify the tourism growth as a way to defend the speaker (see Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020). According to Suoninen (1999), accounts are based on the meanings that the narrator draws from the world and shape how the world will be understood in the future. Simply, the world is based on accounts and the accounts shape the world (Suoninen, 1999, pp. 188–189). The more justified some discourses are, the more they are accepted and allowed to be referred to. In this context, talking about tourism growth can be justified as it may represent a discourse which has been justified in the past and more likely, will be justified in the futures as well. In this sense, tourism growth represents one of the futures where the pandemic was only one of the "hits" to the sector. This discourse constructs a social reality where more "hits", the unexpected future events, will take place which tourism needs to survive through. Interestingly, this discourse does not bring up other ways of practising tourism into the discussion as growth seems to be the ultimate goal of getting back on track after the pandemic.

Tourism was not only described to grow in the post-pandemic but also in general, in the futures. One interviewee described that "the growth [in the local region] is aimed to be achieved through tourism" (IP7) and "the only thing is that tourism can grow" (IP7). Another interviewee described how "we definitely believe that tourism grows" (IP2). In these quotations, the modality and personality of discourses can be analysed. In modality, the different means of language express the attitudes of a person regarding the topic under discussion. As Nuyts (2005) addresses, this means, for instance, talking about things as desirable or undesirable (as cited in Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, p. 392). In this context, tourism growth is perceived as desirable as it is expected to grow in the futures. The personality of discourses can be analysed through these two direct quotations. Personality may or may not be addressed through language use which means either obscuring the personality or utilising a passive form of language (Pälli, 2003, as cited in Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, p. 395). The former interviewee describes how growth is *aimed to be achieved* in a passive form whereas the latter interviewee describes how *we* believe in tourism growth. According to Fairclough (1992, p. 182), the passive shifts "the goal into initial 'theme' position which usually means presenting it as 'given' or already known information" which in this context means that the already known information is growth.

This discourse represents the expectations and even taken-for-granted attitudes the interviewees have on tourism growth. These taken-for-granted types of attitudes reflect the "relentless drive for growth" (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020, p. 612) type of ideology in tourism. Besides revealing their attitudes, this discourse also reveals that tourism growth is hegemonic. Although it has been addressed that the pandemic offered more space to rethink unhealthy tourism practices (Jóhannesson et al., 2022, p. 5), this dominant tourism growth discourse does not provide space for rethinking these practices. As Fairclough (1989) addresses, a dominant discourse is subject to the process of naturalisation where it loses its connection with certain ideologies and interests and thus, becomes common sense. When an ideology becomes common sense, it is not an ideology anymore as an ideology is only effective when it is disguised (Fairclough, 1989, p. 107). From this perspective, the dominant tourism growth discourse may have lost its connection to its ideology if it has become common sense through naturalisation.

The second discourse related to tourism growth was co*ntrolled growth.* The issues regarding tourism growth were addressed in the data as one of the interviewees brought up an example of Iceland as an overtourism destination and the issues experienced there (see Sorrel & Plante, 2021). To avoid overtourism and other negative impacts of the growing number of tourists, one of the interviewees described how the emphasis should be on "not to strive for too drastic growth, only such a wise one" (IP5). Therefore, it seems that the issues related to growth are acknowledged. Although this discourse holds assumptions that growth should be controlled, it still entails the discourse of growth, whether it was achieved with *small steps* or not.

> About the expansion and development [of tourism], I have said somewhere else as well, that it should be controlled. In my opinion, let's say, growing forward with reasonably small steps, to keep this environment and people involved in the development. (IP5)

Both of these two discourses, *opening tourism* and *controlled growth* represent, in this context, the human will of controlling tourism and the benefits that can be distributed from it. As addressed, human control on distributing tourism benefits unevenly leads to the marginalisation of nonhuman actors (Abdullah et al., 2022, p. 2) to which *opening* and *controlling* also relate. This anthropocentric view of tourism "development" has led to ignoring other species and even whole ecologies (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018, p. 157) as humans have placed themselves above nature and developed tourism human-centric. It is interesting that as the context of this discourse is strongly based on the pandemic years, no space is given for the discussion of how it was, indeed, nature and one particular virus, which started controlling tourism. If human control is as great as described in this discourse, it raises a question. If tourism can be controlled in a such way, why the controlling measures have not been sufficient enough to control overtourism and other negative impacts caused by tourism? While this discourse represents the human will of control, at the same time, it represents humans' failure to tackle these negative impacts as negative impacts of tourism have taken place.

The third discourse related to tourism growth was *international tourism growth.* As Jóhannesson et al. (2022, p. 29) have addressed, international markets have been perceived as the "ultimate goal for development" in tourism. Asia is considered an important international market for Finland as "China or other remote destinations are the most important for us in terms of euros" (IP2). This type of economic approach to tourism development, the efforts put into international tourism growth, has been considered *understandable*, as follows:

> ...that if you think about Finland in general, where within the last 10 years, the biggest effort has been put into the growth of international tourism because that is where the biggest income streams come from and that is, of course, completely understandable… (IP1).

In this quotation, the interviewee addresses a discursive account regarding tourism growth as it justifies the growth (see Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020) and at the same time, positions the speaker and listener to different subject positions. As the speaker addresses the growth as "completely understandable", they do not provide space for the listener to challenge this as the listener is placed in a subject position where this cannot happen. As addressed, subject position refers to the socialisation of people where they become placed in a range of different positions (Fairclough, 1989, p. 102). After one adopts a certain type of position, the person sees and experiences things through this position (see Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020). This relates to the power relations of discourses where some people are placed into a situation where they have more power to say while others do not. As the pandemic proved, putting the biggest effort into international tourism growth and even seeing this type of tourism development as the primary goal was not wise. This was also recognised in the data, as in the past, the role of domestic tourism has been perceived as "a necessary evil" (IP1) and its potential has been ignored, for instance, in tourism strategies. Suddenly, domestic tourism became the biggest market for tourism in Finland and not many were prepared for it.

The pandemic did not only prove the vulnerability of tourism development and the way it had been developed (Jóhannesson et al., 2022, p. 5) but also that this type of economic approach to gain "euros" through tourism has not been holistic development. As Chaderi et al. (2022, p. 8) address, "big numbers do not necessarily bring significant benefits". Still, many associate growth with well-being and improvement (Kallis et al., 2014, p. 5). Although economics is an important part of tourism development as well, having international tourism growth as a starting point for development is not just or holistic from social, cultural, and ecological points of view. What happens when this ultimate goal of tourism development, the attraction of international markets (see Jóhannesson et al., 2022) and international tourism growth, is achieved – what is there then to achieve anymore? Instead, tourism should be turned upside down and critically evaluate the ways it has been "developed". Higgins-Desbiolles (2018, p. 159) claims that the transition from the "growth fetish" requires questioning the whole concept of tourism. On the one hand, "tourism can be used for selfish, individualistic, hedonistic and exploitative purposes" or on the other hand, it can be "one of the facilitators of education, cross-cultural engagement, ecological appreciation and spiritual development" (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018, p. 159). More emphasis should be given to the latter ones. From this perspective, the pandemic broke out at the right moment, as follows:

> There are side effects if you grow too fast, from this point of view we were lucky to have Covid-19 as it kind of hit the breaks. (IP5)

The last discourse related to tourism growth was *tourism's reputation in Lapland*. One of the interviewees described that "Lapland is the crown jewel of Finland as a [tourism] product" (IP2). Companies, that have been operating in Lapland for a long time have gained power in the region and thus "long-term entrepreneurship" (IP2) is considered valuable in the region. On the contrary, "short-term entrepreneurs" are considered a competitor for long-term entrepreneurs as they may "ruin the reputation of tourism" (IP5) in the regions. These small-scale actors have the smallest "cash flow" (IP2) but they are considered needed when "the future responsibility and sustainable development are being promoted" (IP2). This discourse does not only represent the asymmetrical power relations between the stakeholders in the regions regarding who has the power to question dominating discourses but also supports the reflections related to the strong tourism growth discourse which also takes space in local newspapers in Northern Finland (see subchapter 3.2). This reveals that today, the tourism growth discourse does not provide space for critical thinking about the ways tourism has been developed in the regions. It remains to be seen whether the short-term entrepreneurs are willing, or even able to, question and criticise the tourism growth in the futures as “newcomers” to the business in the regions.

5.2 Degrowth discourse

The second main discourse in the research data was the degrowth discourse. Degrowth was addressed only once on a conceptual level but can be analysed through three different ways of speaking. These were *luxury tourism, abandoning tourism,* and *increasing consumer activism*. The first of these, *luxury tourism,* is described to serve tourism for the *wealthy*. These so-called “high-end tourists” of the futures appreciate tourism experiences that are easily accessible. Luxury tourism is aimed to be achieved through qualitative growth where fewer people travel and with this approach, it would be possible to move towards futures where better-paying tourists are prioritised over mass tourists. Developing luxury tourism “with a new luxuriant tip” (IP1) is constructed as one of the futures of tourism:

> …this quantity versus quality, instead of targeting as many tourists as possible, the products would be targeted and developed for those who might be able to afford to pay a little more for them and then sustainability could be taken into account in a different way… (IP1)

Although the emphasis of this type of tourism is to decrease the number of tourists from an environmental perspective, such as reduced air travelling that supports degrowth thinking, at the same time, there are some ethical and unjust considerations related to it. The first of these is *luxury tourism* itself. This discourse takes part in a discussion about whether tourism should be accessible and available for everyone or exclusively only for a few. Luxury tourism may lead to a situation where only the *wealthy* can travel, consume, and exploit the local environment, while the local communities may need to fight over the same resources as the tourists utilise. This injustice relates to distributive justice in which the access to the places and tourism benefits may not, in this context, be evenly distributed between the locals and tourists (Rawls, 1971, as cited in Jamal & Camargo, 2014, p. 14). If local spaces are turned into luxury tourism infrastructure, such as exclusive resorts which locals cannot access, it creates, not only injustices but also tensions between the locals and tourists (see Higgins-Desbiolles, 2010). Allowing the privileged to travel while others need to, in the worst case, be moved away for the sake of the *wealthy*, reveals the injustices more apparent and impossible to ignore (Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019, p. 1927). Luxury tourism is constructed through this type of language use as follows:

> …maybe tourism will also change to some extent to the point that we don't really think about it, that it's for everyone […] with this new luxury and packaging it will become possible for the few, that when there is enough money for it, the rich will then be able to travel. (IP1)

Another concern in this discourse is the positioning of *wealthy* tourists. Here, the tourists are positioned as *wealthy* by the outside, by an outsider. This is done by the interviewee who represents a national-level stakeholder. In this discourse, questions raise regarding who is *wealthy* and who has the power to define who can travel and who cannot. Considering that many of the people living in the Arctic regions are considered *wealthy* in comparison to a global scale, it is not clear to whom this positioning of *wealthy* tourists refers. If the local communities share relatively the same economic background as the tourists, is it possible to talk about *wealth* then? This was addressed as follows:

> We have identified target groups and future travellers who are wealthy. They have little time. They have a lot of money. Willing to pay, but want good quality and goods in return. (IP2)

If tourism is targeted only at *wealthy* people, then the focus should also be on their responsibility regarding these injustices addressed above. As Higgins-Desbiolles (2010, p. 194) addresses, international tourism includes tensions of class polarisation in the relationship between tourists and their hosts when people travel from more economically developed countries to enjoy their holidays and the less developed countries host these tourists. Although the Arctic regions are not considered as less developed countries, the tourism development in the regions is still quite unevenly distributed (Bogason et al., 2020, p. 6). However, in these regions as well, tourists represent *wealth* and consumption as they seek “exotic” and “authentic” experiences (Higgins-

Desbiolles, 2020, p. 195). This would increase the polarisation of the discourse regarding the *host communities* where the locals are positioned as *hosts* who serve *wealthy* tourists.

If luxury tourism will become the "other" tourism of the futures, it would need to happen under the will of local communities as they should be allowed to decide when and how many tourists are welcomed to the community (Boluk et al., 2021, p. 156) and in general, how to practice this type of tourism, if wanted. If local communities do not want to practice luxury tourism, the national-level stakeholders cannot develop and advertise this type of tourism without the will of locals. To practise tourism degrowth that is just, equitable, and inclusive, it requires a redefinition of tourism to place the locals' rights above the tourists' rights for holidays and corporations' rights to make profits (Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019, p. 1936).

The second discourse related to the degrowth discourse was *abandoning tourism*. This discourse was described as one of the futures of tourism where tourism may need to be abandoned as sustainability is not enough anymore. *Abandoning tourism* also refers to futures where tourism must be abandoned by everyone, even the *wealthy.* This was addressed in the research data as follows:

> Then, this sustainability trend has started to come, in a way, in connection with this sustainable consumption trend, and these degrowth discussions are starting to come, which is really about whether we can abandon travelling altogether, and not just that we travel sustainably. (IP2)

This discourse constructs a social reality where sustainability is perceived as a *trend.* This may hold implicit assumptions of what the interviewee has regarding the term *sustainability*. Such linguistic way of phrasing reveals the implicit assumptions and "this is how it is" type of thinking (see Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020) which can be seen through framing sustainability as a trend and not perceiving it as a fundamental starting point of tourism development. Besides constructing sustainability here as a trend, degrowth is also positioned together with sustainability in this discourse. As addressed earlier, degrowth challenges sustainability because thinking about sustainable development as sustainable growth has become common, even mainstream thinking, in the political arenas (Haapanen & Tapio, 2016, p. 3493) and it aims to re-politicize the debate related to sustainability (Asara et al., 2015, p. 381). Interestingly, these two terms are, however, utilised in the same context.

Degrowth was suggested as one of the ways to abandon tourism. This is mainly because degrowth criticises growth ambition and capitalism (Kulusjärvi, 2020, p. 73) which seem to be the ultimate goal of contemporary societies (Haapanen & Tapio, 2016, pp. 3499 & 3501). One of the interviewees described that with degrowth, travelling and consumption could be stopped. This was addressed as follows:

> Then, in a way, there is this degrowth, if I may exaggerate, which really presents such positions that we should stop air travelling, travelling and consumption altogether and change the social system. (IP2)

This interviewee asks for permission to exaggerate degrowth by saying *if I may*. This is one of the discursive accounts which are based on the meanings the narrator draws from the world in the past and which shape how the world will be in the futures (Suoninen, 1999, pp. 188–189). Accounts can be, for instance, explanations, excuses, or apologies (see Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020). This type of linguistic way of speaking may refer to the unconfidence of the speaker if one needs to ask for permission to exaggerate the topic under discussion. Interestingly, degrowth is exaggerated which may reveal that degrowth is perceived as unfamiliar, non-concrete, or even utopian for the speaker (see Kallis et al., 2018). This raises a question regarding whether degrowth can be "utopian" and/or "exaggerated". If this was the case, Kallis et al. (2018, p. 308) encourage think openly these utopians as they help to free the imagination and to produce different tomorrows. Degrowth can be one of these emerging paths of the futures as it may be one of the ways to achieve "other" tourism in the futures.

The last discourse related to the degrowth discourse was *increasing consumer activism*. One of the interviewees described that "as an industry, tourism is in crisis" (IP2) and "it's very likely that tourism will be challenged more and more as well" (IP2). This discourse was constructed as follows:

> Of course, consumer activism is starting to increase even more, so it is not enough to say that we have sustainable tourism, we have the cleanest air in the world, and

> that we have these certificates, because consumers who are well aware will certainly challenge us to see if this is really the case. Clearly, in a way, this kind of level of demand will surely increase in that regard as well. (IP2)

The linkage between degrowth and activism lies in degrowth's activist and political pillars that are connected to social grassroots movements (Cosme et al., 2017, p. 323) and degrowth's position as an activist slogan in the early 2000s (Kallis et al., 2018, p. 292). Demaria et al. (2013, p. 201) note the activists of degrowth were the ones who promoted degrowth as a slogan for societal change that includes voluntary and democracy. As we have witnessed in recent years, activism and especially civil disobedience have become increasingly popular in our societies, mostly regarding the environmental crisis and particularly climate change. Activism has also touched tourism in Finland as in 2022, the activists demonstrated in front of the security check at the biggest airport in Finland so that people could not access the check (Yle, 2022b). Reflecting on the consumer activism addressed by one of the interviewees above, the example presented here is not the last kind of demonstration regarding tourism. Increasing consumer activism may affect the whole society and its order. For instance, it remains to see how the social conditions will change in terms of demonstrations as activists challenge society in increasingly different ways.

5.3 Local resource discourse

The third main discourse in the research data was local resource discourse which was constructed through three different ways of speaking. These were *tourism influences on local cultures, nature as a resource,* and *local perceptions of visitor numbers*. In the first of these, *tourism influences on local cultures*, tourism was described as a consumption-based industry which affects the local cultures more in a negative than a positive way. Tourism was described as a "consumption-oriented" (IP9) sector which is in contradiction to local cultures as locals, instead, "are used to living sparingly and respecting nature" (IP9). This discourse relates largely to discussions about the Western consumer society and capitalism in general of which tourism is also part (Fletcher et al., 2019, p. 1746). This was addressed as follows:

> …this is related to this Western development of society and consumer society and then this influence of the media, when everything [...] that happens in the world

> happens in Kittilä at the same time through that media. That, in my opinion, […] affects this local identity. In that sense, this [...] local culture comes under such pressure […] but here it has been experienced that tourism and travel are quite positive despite everything. (IP9)

This argument positions two different ways of speaking on the contrary. First of these is tourism's negative influences on local cultures and the second is the benefits of tourism for the local communities. At the same time, the interviewee argues about the Western consumer society and its influences in a negative light but in the end, the interviewee overturns the argument that tourism still brings benefits to the local community "despite everything". It is debatable whether these benefits are perceived to be economic benefits or some others, as the interviewee does not specify them.

The Western consumer society relates to Hujiben's (2020) reflections on tourism today. Hujibens argues that current tourism is about performing tasks. Tourists tick their boxes as they visit places and then they can say: been there, done that (Hujibens, 2020). The ideology of tourism in the present is strongly based on consumption. In this sense, degrowth would turn this type of ideology of tourism upside down as, according to Prideaux and Pabel (2021) one of degrowth's aims is to reduce consumption and increase well-being. The issue with degrowth is, however, how to convince people that consuming less is needed, especially for those who consume tourist experiences and do long-haul flights (Prideaux & Pabel, 2021, pp. 118–119). This also relates to the discussion regarding luxury tourism as the consumption would lead to allowing the *wealthy* to consume and exploit while locals fight over the same resources to get suitable living conditions. Instead of ticking the boxes, the focus should be on doing less, travelling less, travelling more proximate, and travelling with other transportation forms than flying. Prideaux and Pabel (2021, p. 118) address that as long as the current form of tourism is based on mass consumption, degrowth would be beneficial for the sector. Tourism holds injustices and it is essential to think about whether degrowth could be one of the practices of how justice for humans and nonhumans can be achieved through tourism as well as a healthier planet for living.

The second discourse related to the local resource discourse was *nature as a resource*. In this discourse, nature is, on the one hand, described as a resource for business activities and a trump card for tourism and on the other hand, as an environment, that must be protected. This discourse raises a question: which one is more important to us, the people and the environment or the business? This discourse was addressed as follows:

> …unique nature […] which maybe we still don't know how to utilise, even though it's been talked about for years, how we have clean and quiet [environment] and other things, but still we don't know how to take full advantage of it. (IP1)

This quotation reveals the implicit assumptions of the speaker, a national-level stakeholder, seeing nature as a separate, utilised resource, and thus, an object of consumption. This is indeed part of the business-as-usual narrative which downplays "the existence of an earthly crisis" (Valtonen & Rantala, 2020, p. 4). This approach views the Earth as "a source of natural resources" (Wright et al., 2018, p. 460) which is not just from an ecological perspective. This discourse constructs a social reality where utilising nature can be maximised as "still we don't know how to take full advantage of it" (IP1). This, indeed, frames nature as a means of satisfying human ends (Grimwood et al., 2018, p. 3). Interestingly, at the same time, nature is expected to be accessible for the "high-end tourists" of the futures who appreciate tourism experiences that are easily accessible (see subchapter 5.2) but still through language use, nature is perceived as separate from humans. This discourse is emphasised with the personality of discourses as the interviewee described how *we* utilise nature. In this quotation, the personality is not obscured (see Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020) which may refer to, in this context, the representing organisation of the interviewee or in general, the whole tourism industry.

As Hultsman (1995) addresses, the more important tourism becomes economically, the more its "spirit of uplifting, uncontrived, pre-reflective and intrinsically rewarding experience" is in danger of being forgotten. When the extrinsic value of the income grows too much in relation to the worth of tourism, it may lead to a point where ethical concerns for the environment, indigenous peoples, and tourists are little to the service providers. If this is the case, where tourism is considered more as a business rather than an experience, it is not just tourism anymore: it is an industry (Hultsman, 1995, p. 561). This seems to be the case in this discourse where utilising nature and taking full advantage of it is addressed.

Another interviewee referred to nature as "we have the untouched nature" (IP2). This relates to discourses on how Arctic regions are often defined in a wider context as well. Viken (2013, p. 42) addresses that the regions are often characterized as exotic, untouched, pristine, isolated, and peripheric which are not neutral but instead, they relate to "a series of connotations and meanings, often filled with power relations". Especially exotism relates to the "othering" of northern peoples (Müller, 2013, p. 12) and the "periphery" relates to domination in terms of power. In this context, "untouched" nature takes part in this discussion as it is not a neutral way of describing nature. The idea of nature as a pristine "wilderness" is a product of categorically distinguishing human society from other environments (Grimwood et al., 2018, p. 3). Renewing these types of discourses takes part in the continuum of discourses where they become even more naturalised and therefore, "true" discourses (Viken, 2014, p. 24). Here, nature is perceived as something that can be owned as *we have* refers to owning. This relates to the satisfying of human ends (see Grimwood et al., 2018) and commodifying the environment which is not just from the socio-ecological perspective.

This discourse relates to the focalisation of discourses as the perspective towards nature as an environment is different between the national-level and local-level stakeholders. The focus of analysing the focalisation of discourses is on the perspectives from which the narrative has been created and what it highlights (Pälli & Lillqvist, 2020, p. 392). Here, a national-level stakeholder perceives nature as a trump card for tourism, which relates to commodifying the environment, whereas, for the stakeholders of indigenous peoples and nature conservation, nature is perceived as a home which needs to be protected. Therefore, there is a contradiction between these two perspectives regarding nature. The local stakeholders are concerned that the environment is being destroyed by short-sighted interests. One of the examples brought up in the research data was the discussion related to Lake Inari and whether this lake should become a national park.

> …responsible tourism or responsible businesses, in general, includes taking into account the environment in which we are operating. (IP3)

> That lake [Lake Inari] is such a treasure that it shouldn't be ruined with short-sighted interests. The lake should become a national park, we have pushed for it, but the municipality has not taken it up… (IP4)

In these quotations, the personality of the speakers is not obscured as interviewees refer to *us*. By doing this, the local-level stakeholders address that the environment is their living environment and more collective work towards its better condition must be done. As the latter interviewee addresses, locals have pushed for the idea of the national park but the municipality of Inari has not taken it up. It is important to evaluate whether tourism is developed with long or short-sighted visions in the regions and that development is a bottom-up process instead of a top-down one which serves the local communities. The emphasis of capitalism, which tourism is part of, is to concentrate on production and consumption which are placed above the needs and desires of locals (Boluk et al., 2021, p. 153). Capitalism should not be allowed to overrule the needs of local communities which may result in marginalisation if different forms, such as luxury tourism, take place. Marginalised groups often face the predatory practices of tourism (Boluk et al., 2021, p. 152). In terms of the idea of a national park, it is essential to acknowledge the needs and desires of the locals. If locals want more conservation and they see this idea as a long-sighted vision, then it should be appreciated and developed according to that.

The third local resource discourse was *local perceptions of visitor numbers*. In this discourse, locals address their concerns related to the high number of tourists in the regions. The consequences of a high number of tourists can be seen especially in the spring after a busy winter season. One of the interviewees described that "there are lots of people coming here every year" (IP9) and "we can see it [littering] here during May and June that there have been a lot of people around" (IP10). The local communities are concerned about the disturbance of tourism and how much tourism is allowed to take space from the locals.

> …of course, it depends on the number of tourists, for instance, is it mass tourism – somewhere there is such a fine line that it becomes disturbing and a burden on nature. (IP4)

> Personally, I wouldn't want to go as a tourist to an area where the locals have had to give up something of theirs because tourism takes up so much space. (IP3)

The mass tourism addressed here relates to the discussion addressed in the degrowth discourse. These quotations reveal that both of the stakeholders, the national and local level ones, share the same idea about mass tourism as attracting as many tourists as possible is not trendy anymore. Instead, the focus should be on fewer numbers of tourists. This discussion relates also to the tourism growth discussion, whether the growth should be quantitative or qualitative. One of the interviewees addressed that it is needed to rethink the tourism growth in these regions:

> …regarding Lapland, it is really important to think about how big a share we want for tourism, that if it has now been closer to something like 7% of Lapland's GDP, then what is the relationship between it and other industries. (IP2)

This interviewee addresses the personality of discourse as the pronoun *we* are utilised in terms of this quotation. It raises a question of whether the personality refers to a national-level or local-level stakeholder as the interviewee represents a national-level stakeholder but talks about Lapland as *we*. If the interviewee represents a national-level stakeholder, which is located "outside" these regions under study, this discourse takes part in the discussion of defining and steering tourism from the outside by outsiders (see Saarinen & Varnajot, 2019). This is a typical discourse in the Arctic regions as well as the areas are often dependent on these outside, global markets (Müller, 2013). Therefore, speaking of *us* and steering tourism from the outside is not just from the local community perspective as the interviewee has not addressed being one of the locals. The local communities should not only be given the power to decide the number of tourists and when and how to welcome them (Boluk et al., 2021, p. 156) but also how much tourism is taking space in the community. This was addressed as follows:

> …do we want this to be a tourist centre where people live or a village where we have tourism? (IP5)

This emphasises the turn of "socialising tourism" where tourists and tourism are socialised into the interests of local communities in which tourism takes place (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020, p. 617) and "localising tourism" which offers grounding tourism in both social and ecological contexts to gain greater justice and sustainability (Higgins-Desbiolles & Chew Bigby, 2021, p. 3). The local community should be allowed to include local ecology and all generations, also the future ones (Higgins-Desbiolles & Chew Bigby, 2022, p. 2) in the community. This would be an essential approach in tourism as localising tourism would allow an understanding of the local communities, ecologies, and generations as a whole which offers a better approach for positive futures in the local community (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2021, p. 3). Both of these approaches support the framework of socio-ecological justice where the decisions must be based on the inclusion of different groups, peoples, and communities (Gunnarsson-Östling & Svenfelt, 2018, p. 168).

5.4 Power-relations of the discourses

In this final part of the analysis, I analyse the power relations of the discourses of this study. Here, the power relations are analysed through subject positions. One of these was already addressed in the first main discourse, tourism growth, where the sub-discourse *tourism's reputation in Lapland* was analysed. In this discourse, tourism's reputation was described to be a highly appreciated one because of the "long-term entrepreneurs" of Lapland. This positioning between "short-term" and "long-term" entrepreneurs has partly resulted in uneven power relations in the regions. This can be analysed through language use where it was addressed that the bigger the organisation is in the region, the more power they have. This was addressed as follows:

> Well, of course, companies themselves are in a very important position, every company is influential. And the bigger the company, the more influential it is of course. (IP9)

This may result in a situation where more powerful actors have more influence on which direction tourism will be developed in the regions. Kulusjärvi (2020, p. 81) addresses in their study that in Ylläs, Northern Finland, alternative visions among locals for tourism development were found which derived from the dominant paradigm of destination growth, which is in contradiction with the results of this study but is later discussed in chapter 6. Kulusjärvi (2020, p. 80) notes that the stakeholders, who share the less-growth-focused view, feel that their voices are not being heard and their work is not being appreciated. This may be the case in other regions in Lapland as well if the "short-term entrepreneurs" with the "smallest cash flow", as addressed in subchapter 5.1, are not given the space or power to start building different tourism futures in the regions due to this hegemonic growth discourse. In this situation, the "short-term entrepreneurs" are put into a subject position where they are not allowed to do or say "different" or "other" than what the more powerful stakeholders do or say.

The most influential tourism stakeholders in both the Kittilä and Inari regions were described to be the municipalities, the State-owned Forestry Company of Finland, and the tourism companies. The municipalities were described to have the most power in terms of developing the regions, such as land-use planning. This was addressed regarding the discussion about Lake Inari becoming a national park in subchapter 5.3. Besides these stakeholders, the roles of Visit Finland and Visit Rovaniemi were addressed as well in the data as powerful stakeholders in the regions. However, one of the interviewees described how these destination management organisations (DMOs) do not always represent the whole region of Lapland, as follows:

> …Visit Rovaniemi speaks about tourism in Lapland, although it does not represent all of Lapland, it is quite powerful in its role… (IP6)

Besides the local and regional level stakeholders, a few interviewees addressed the role of government and legislation as powerful stakeholders regarding tourism development in the Northern regions. This relates to the subject positions and how much, on the one hand, the local level actors are given power in terms of tourism development in the regions and on the other hand, how much the development is steered from the outside from the governmental level. In some interviews, it was addressed that legislation has the last "word" in planning and some even addressed that they consider the legislation as the only way to which people act accordingly. This was addressed as follows:

> …the collection of regulations that comes from the government is decisive, especially from the point of view of nature conservation and business operations. (IP4)

> Even though these are local issues, in the end, what is written in the legislation really matters, how people act. I also look in the direction of the country's decision-makers, that the parliament, which legislates the laws, has a really significant influence on how the common rules of the game are built in this region and on what basis. (IP3)

This relates to the last question of this study: “Does tourism have to grow in the Arctic and if so, on whose terms, by whom?” (IP1). This takes part in a wider discussion of tourism development and who has the power to decide the development path of tourism in the regions. Is this growth-oriented tourism development decided by the locals or someone else? This is a matter of justice if the local communities are not allowed to steer tourism development in the direction they desire it to go towards. From a discursive perspective, power relations become asymmetrical in discourses and it is important to acknowledge that not everyone has always access to these discourses (see Fairclough, 1989, p. 62). Therefore, who is being heard in decision-making related to who is allowed to steer tourism development is important. And even if people have access to these discourses, the subject positions the people are taken or put to always matter what constraints there are related to the topic under discussion. It is not only about language use that has consequences on how the topic under discussion is spoken of but also it has consequences on the relationships between the speaker and the listener (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2019, p. 6).

It has become apparent here that different subject positions define the power relations of discourses. There are not only asymmetrical power relations between the national, regional, and local level stakeholders but also between, for instance, the local level. As one of the interviewees addressed, “the bigger the company, the more influential it is of course” (IP9). Besides companies, the municipalities of the regions have power, especially in terms of land-use planning. If these subject positions are utilised for tourism development that has a short-sighted vision, it cannot be just regarding the rights of local communities which includes both the human and nonhuman.

6. CONCLUSION

This study has looked at the discourses related to tourism degrowth and socio-ecological justice and how they have been constructed in the research data. The research data consisted of ten interviews which were collected through the ArcticHubs project. As an analysis method, I have utilised discourse analysis in which the language use is analysed. Here, I conclude and elaborate on the findings and present ideas for future research.

The findings of this study show that tourism growth has become a powerful and hegemonic discourse. It dominates and takes space from other discourses in the research data. Discourses related to tourism growth were constructed through different ways of speaking where tourism was perceived as “controllable”. This can be seen through the control of opening tourism, control of growth in international tourism, and control of which stakeholders are given power in the regional or local regions regarding tourism development paths. The naturalisation of this discourse has made the tourism growth discourse “true” or “natural” which is one of the most powerful ways to maintain discourses (Fairclough, 1989, p. 106). Fairclough (1989, p. 92) sees naturalisation as “the royal road to common sense” where the ideologies are determined by people who exercise and dominate power in society. Tourism growth seems to be taken for granted and even the Covid-19 pandemic did not succeed in turning this discourse upside down although it provided more discussion for the unhealthy practices (see Jóhannesson et al., 2022). This discourse also represents power relations that are unevenly distributed in society as everyone is not given the space or power to question or criticise tourism growth.

This dominating discourse raises concerns. As the futures are being constructed in present (see Aalto et al., 2022), this discourse constructs a social reality where growth seems to be a desirable goal of the futures. This is a matter of justice as humans and nonhumans already suffer from growth which includes increasing consumption and exploitation of the environment. In the analysis, nature was perceived as a business environment and a trump card for tourism, of which the “full advantage” has not been taken yet. This relates to the exploitation and commodification of the environment as natural resources need to be maximised. However, this was in contradiction with the local perception as concerns related to this were addressed. Nature should not be destroyed by short-sighted visions to satisfy human ends (see Grimwood et al., 2018).

In the "off-stage", behind the tourism growth discourse, the degrowth discourse was constructed through language use where tourism should be targeted for fewer and better-paying tourists, that is, luxury tourism, instead of mass tourists. From an ecological perspective, fewer tourists would result in better conditions of the environment as less carbon emissions and consumption would take place. However, luxury tourism cannot be "the solution" for achieving more just or sustainable tourism as the consumption and exploitation of a few would still take place. Tourism development should happen under the will of local communities and when it comes to luxury tourism, much of the infrastructure, such as exclusive resorts, is not often planned from the local perspective. This would lead to the exclusiveness of the environment which locals cannot access. Without justice in tourism development, I argue, "sustainable" or "responsible" tourism cannot be addressed.

Language use has been the key element of this study which can be seen through the qualitative method, discourse analysis, and the underlying paradigm, social constructionism, of this study. According to Eskola and Suoranta (1998), the research objects of a researcher, who utilises qualitative methods, almost always appear to the researcher in language. Language is part of its research object, social reality. Instead of talking about one social reality, the emphasis should be on talking about them in plural: social realities. This is because it is not possible to grasp everything at once in one study (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998, pp. 103–104). From this perspective, this study is not ready and it would never be as the analysis process is always in progress (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2019, p. 155). With different approaches at different times, the outcome of this study could have been different.

The results of this study were, to some extent, in contradiction to Kulusjärvi's (2020) and Saville's (2022) studies where alternative paths of tourism development and degrowth-related values were addressed. Kulusjärvi's study was ethnographically oriented where an understanding of everyday tourism realities was gained through local tourism stakeholders. In Saville's study, the data were also collected through fieldwork which consisted of local stakeholders. Both of these approaches are different to what I have had in this study, as the research data were collected from the significant stakeholder point of view where the emphasis was on gathering interviews from different level stakeholders, from the national level down to the local level, instead including only the local-level stakeholders. This resulted in a situation where my research data consisted of representatives of different organisations, such as the Sámi Parliament of Finland, the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, and Business Finland, to mention a few. Besides the different approaches to collect the data, the focus of Kulusjärvi's study was on alternative development paths, such as degrowth, whereas in my study, degrowth was not addressed in any of the research questions, which can, on the one hand, partly explain different results. On the other hand, though, it also tells about our social reality where tourism degrowth is not mainstream thinking as it could have been addressed by any interviewee even without asking a specific question about it. Therefore, with different methodologies and data, the results of this study could have been different.

There are a few explanations for why the degrowth discourse did not dominate the research data. One of them is the methodology described above. Besides that, in some degrowth debates, degrowth has been addressed as a "radical" approach to tourism development which may affect the perception of degrowth. If degrowth is thought of from this perspective, it may end up in a situation where degrowth is perceived as unapproachable as it is too "radical" for some. This could be seen through one of the interviews where the interviewee asked for permission to exaggerate about degrowth. Another factor could be that the positions of the interviewed stakeholders, such as the ministry, do not allow space for alternative thinking. One may have power in certain subject positions but the question is how they can act within the position. Lastly, the period when the data were collected may have also affected the results. The interviews were conducted during the pandemic years and after Russia invaded Ukraine. However, these events are not excuses to avoid alternative ways of thinking as they also reminded us that futures are uncertain and anything can happen quite rapidly and the tourism sector must be prepared for these.

As this study has been conducted together with the ArcticHubs project, some reflections need to be addressed. The project has certain aims and interests which can also be seen through the selection of interviewees and who is given a voice in the data. As I have not been part of the data collection process, I have partly proceeded with the interests of the project although I have had the freedom to conduct this study the way I have preferred it. Therefore, the project has influenced determining the knowledge that has been analysed in this study which makes this study part of the interests of the project as well. The interests of the project have determined the research questions and selected interviewees which already sets a certain type of worldview for this study.

This study has brought up the discourses that are present regarding tourism growth in Northern Finland. The value of these results is to bring up the hegemonic discourse of tourism growth and the issues related to it both for the public and academic audiences which, hopefully, raises public discussion related to tourism growth. These discourses remind us that the way we use our language affects how social realities, not only in the present but also in the futures, are constructed. The people who are given the space for these discourses have the power to determine what is and can be spoken of. This reflects my position as a researcher as well. In discourse analysis, it is essential to be aware of the position of a researcher as in the analysis process, there is constant interaction between the position of a researcher and the research data. Discourses do not "appear" but instead, they are the results of the researcher's interpretation (Jokinen et al., 1999, p. 28). It is also essential to be aware of the cultural surroundings and the social reality where the researcher lives and conducts a study (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, as cited in Jokinen et al., 1999, p. 25). From this perspective, as the discourse of tourism growth has already been prominent in local newspapers in Northern Finland (see subchapter 3.2), this might have affected my position as a researcher as cultural surroundings affect the reality where this study has been conducted.

In the future, more research on tourism degrowth is needed. As it has been addressed, tourism degrowth has gained international attention but the term itself has not gained much attention in the context of Arctic tourism. Besides this, tourism degrowth needs further exploring as there are yet no clear strategies to give to local communities to practice degrowth, which can also be one of the reasons why degrowth thinking is yet not mainstream thinking. As Ghaderi et al. (2022) address, people are already asking for degrowth in some regions. Therefore, the failure to develop these strategies or models for degrowth is an issue as local communities may want to adopt degrowth in their tourism development and management strategies (Prideaux & Pabel, 2021, p. 125). This is also a question of justice if locals want to develop tourism in a different direction than what is current today. If there are no strategies, long-term planning regarding better tourism development is challenging to implement in the present and the futures.

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Juulia Tikkanen

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APPENDIX 1: Interview structure 1

Global drivers,
local consequences.

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ArcticHubs – INTERVIEW THEMES/TOURISM

The basic purpose of the interview is to shed light on the global dimensions and sustainability issues of Arctic tourism.

In the interview we will deal with the following themes and issues:

I. COVID – different scenarios

As we are now in the middle of the COVID pandemia, many uncertainties exist in relation to tourism, and, thus, our first theme is related to that:

1. In your opinion, how this pandemia has affected on tourism in the European Arctic (for example Northern Scandinavia, Southwest Russia, Greenland)?

2. If the situation goes worse and there are constantly growing numbers people infected with the virus; how it will affect the industry?

3. What if the situation remains as it is now?

4. What if the functional vaccine is made available quickly, even before summer 2021?

II. Present day situation of the industry in the European Arctic

1.What are the most important issues for tourism operating in the European Arctic (strengths and weaknesses)?

2.When thinking about sustainability or sustainable development, how you understand it from tourism's perspective? What about different pillars of sustainability: ecological, economical and socio-cultural?

III. Global drivers

1.What are global drivers affecting the development of tourism in the European Arctic?

2.How these global drivers affect the development of tourism in the European Arctic?

3. Global drivers have their consequences in local contexts. How do you see this global-local nexus; i.e. connections between different geographical scales in tourism?

IV. The future of tourism (forecasting)

Megatrend = An important shift in the progress of a society or of any other particular field or activity; any major movement. Trend = A general direction in which something is developing or changing.

1. What are megatrends and trends affecting the tourism in the European Arctic?

2. In your opinion, how can these megatrends and trends affect tourism development in the European Arctic?

Weak signal = an indicator of a potentially emerging issue, that may become significant in the future.
1. What are the weak signals that affect tourism in the European Arctic?
2. In your opinion, how can these weak signals affect tourism development in the European Arctic?

Wild card = an unpredictable element in a situation.
1. What are the wild cards affecting tourism in the European Arctic?
2. In your opinion, how can these wild cards affect tourism in the European Arctic?

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APPENDIX 2: Interview structure 2

Global drivers,
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Haastattelut paikallisten toimijoiden ja asukkaiden näkökulmista olemassa olevaan ja tulevaan taloudelliseen toimintaan arktisella alueella

Haastattelut ovat osa Euroopan unionin rahoittamaa Horizon 2020-hanketta ”Arctichubs: globaalit muutosvoimat– paikalliset vaikutukset”.

Tämän tutkimuksen päätavoitteina on (1) saada parempi käsitys paikallisten ihmisten näkökulmista olemassa olevista ja uusista taloudellisista toiminnoista ja elinkeinoista arktisella alueella; (2) tunnistaa näiden taloudellisten toimintojen ja elinkeinojen käynnistäjät, esteet ja kompromissit; (3) ja tutkia, (4) mikä rooli yhteiskunnallisilla rakenteilla ja historialla on (tässä suhteessa) taloudellisen toiminnan kannalta nyt ja tulevaisuudessa.

”Arktiset hubit” ovat paikkoja, jotka toimivat sosio-kulttuurisina, taloudellisina tai teollisina solmukohtina, jotka ovat yhteydessä toisiinsa maantieteellisen, infrastruktuurisen ja taloudellisen verkoston kautta. Nämä paikat ovat historiallisesti tärkeitä, ja ne ovat muodostuneet luontaisesti ja strategisesti, esimerkiksi ihmisten, tavaran, pääoman, tiedon, organisaatioiden välisen toiminnan tai valtasuhteiden virtausten johdosta. Lisäksi jokainen hubi sijaitsee suurten, harvaanasuttujen alueiden, keskellä, joita luonnehtivaterilaiset maankäyttömuodot. Nämä hubit ovat kasvaneet tai kasvavat tiettyjen talouden alojen, kuten metsätalouden, kaivostoiminnan, poronhoidon, tai kalanviljelyn, ympärillä.

Haastattelut tehdään metsätalouden, kaivostoiminnan, alkuperäiskansojen kulttuurin ja poronhoitajien, matkailun ja kalanviljelyn asiantuntijoiden kanssa, sillä haluamme tallentaa ajankohtaista keskustelua arktisen alueen taloudellista toiminnasta. Haastattelemme myös paikallisia vaikuttajia, aktivisteja, sekä muita toimijoita ja asukkaita näiden yhteisöjen (hubien) sisältä.

Kysymykset:

Arktinen alue ja sen tärkeimmät taloudelliset toimet

1. Tämä tutkimus keskittyy arktisen alueen tärkeimpiin talouden aloihin, kuten metsätalouteen, kaivostoimintaan, maanviljelyyn, alkuperäiskansojen kulttuuriin/poronhoitoon ja matkailuun. Jos keskitytään juuri teidän osaamisalueeseesi, kuinka tärkeää (ko. elinkeino) on alueellenne ja yhteisöllenne?

2. Miten taloudellisen toiminnan kehittyminen ja laajeneminen vaikuttavat paikallisesti? (sekä positiivisesti että negatiivisesti). Millä tavalla (ko. elinkeino), hyödyttää paikallisia toimijoita ja asukkaita? (Millä tavalla vaikuttaa taas negatiivisesti?)

Ongelmat ja ristiriidat

3. Liittyykö tähän (ko.) elinkeinoon ongelmia? Jos kyllä, mitä ovat merkittävimmät ongelmat siihen liittyen?

4. Onko (ko.) elinkeinon välillä ristiriitoja muiden elinkeinojen kanssa? Ovatko nämä ristiriidat uusia, vai kauanko ne ovat jatkuneet? Ristiriidat voivat viitata esimerkiksi kahden tai useamman osapuolen kilpailuun niukoista luonnonvaroista.

5. Minkälaisia yhteensovittamistarpeita ko. elinkeinon ja muiden elinkeinojen välillä on teidän näkökulmastanne? Minkälaisia toimia yhteensovittamiseksi tehdään? Yhteensovittaminen = trade-off, tällä tarkoitamme samaan toimintoon liittyviä esteitä ja haittoja, joita voi olla vaikea sovittaa yhteen.

6. Synergiat/yhteishyödyt. Minkälaisia synergioita (ko.) elinkeinon ja muiden elinkeinojen välillä on? Synergioilla tarkoitamme sitä, että kaikki osapuolet hyötyvät.

Toimijat

7. Keitä ovat mielestäsi vaikutusvaltaisimmat toimijat ja sidosryhmät, kun elinkeinoja ja taloudellista toimintaa kehitetään tällä alueella? Mitä ovat heidän päämääränsä? Kuinka he pyrkivät tavoitteisiinsa? (Myös esim. missä määrin heidän tavoitteensa ovat yhteneväiset tai eriävät muiden toimijoiden tavoitteista)?

8. Mitkä toimijat kannattavat samoja tavoitteita/pyrkivät samoihin päämääriin ja miksi?

9. Ja mitkä toimijat ovat eri mieltä toisten toimijoiden kanssa kanssa/millä sidosryhmillä on eriäviä päämääriä ja tavoitteita ja miksi?

Katalyytit/aiheuttajat ja esteet

10. Millä/kenellä on tukea antava rooli, kun (ko.) taloudellista toimintaa kehitetään tällä alueella? Mikä tai kuka mahdollistaa uusien taloudellisten toimintojen syntymistä ja toisaalta perinteisten elinkeinojen jatkumisen, ja toimivat näin katalyytteinä/käynnistäjinä.

Katalyytit tai käynnistäjät ovat yksilöitä tai organisaatioita, jotka auttavat toimijoita saavuttamaan yhteisen tavoitteen. Ne hyödyntävät vaikutusvaltaansa ja kykyjään, ja vaikuttavat täten muiden mahdollisuuksiin saavuttaa muutoksia väestötasolla (Hussein et al 2018). Katalyytti voi myös tarkoittaa asiaa tai ihmistä, joka edistää sellaisen tuloksen saavuttamista, mikä aiheuttaa muutoksen (Collins dictionary, 2021).

11. Esteet. Minkälaisia esteitä (ko. elinkeinon) harjoittamisessa tai kehittämisessä on? Esimerkiksi uusien toimintojen kehittämisessä tai perinteisten ylläpitämisessä? Mitä esteitä ja vaikeuksia (ko.) elinkeinon kehittämisessä on
Este on ongelma, sääntö tai tilanne, mikä estää jonkun tekemästä jotakin, tai mikä tekee jonkin asian mahdottomaksi (Oxford 2021). Se voi tarkoittaa myös rajoituksia saavuttaa tavoite.

Kulttuuri ja historia

12. Millainen merkitys/rooli saamelaisten tai paikallisten kulttuurilla ja historialla on mielestäsi, kun kehitetään tai tehdään päätöksiä uuteen taloudelliseen toimintaan liittyen tällä alueella? Kuinka kulttuuri ja historia voivat rajoittaa uutta taloudellista toimintaa?

13. Miten uudet taloudelliset toiminnat voivat vaikuttaa paikallisten elämäntapaan? (Identiteettiin, kulttuuriin ja perinteisiin)

14. Onko mitään muuta asiaa, mikä olisi oleellista haastattelumme kannalta, mitä emme ole vielä käsitelleet, mutta mikä olisi tärkeää?

15. Voisitko nimetä jonkun, jolla voisi olla erilainen mielipide, ja jota suosittelisit haastateltavaksi tätä tutkimusta varten?

Sidosryhmä on henkilöryhmä tai organisaatio, jonka kanssa yritys on tekemisissä, johon sen toiminta vaikuttaa ja joka vaikuttaa yrityksen toimintaan.

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APPENDIX 3: Consent Letter 1

Global drivers,
local consequences.

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ArcticHubs Data Management Plan (for the interviews in WP1)

The publicity of the data collected in ArcticHubs is regulated by the rules of GDPR, i.e. personal data will not be made available. Project's Data management Plan will ensure that data management and protection is compliant with EU principles and standards, and with relevant national data protection laws and institutional data management policies.

Concering the interviews in WP1, ArcticHubs staff member, who makes the interview **records** it e.g. in Teams or by phone. **Consent** to the recording is requested. If the interviewee does not give it, notes will be made during the interview. If the interview cannot be conducted by phone or online, the interviewee will be asked to answer to the questions by email.

The interview is **transcribed** by the qualitative sofware NVivo by the interviewer/assistant. Nobody else will have an access to the transcribed text.

The interviewer **summarizes** main findings according to the interview themes to the interview frame which then are sent to interviewee for her/his approval.

After approval, main findings are **saved** in Interview Data -folder Tiimeri, which is a a collaboration service environment for flexible and secure collaboration across organizations. **No personal data is included**, only the name of the organization, and if even this is problematic, then it will be generalized, e.g. environmental NGO Finland; industrial association Norway.

Access to the interview summaries is only for those researchers, who are writing project reports and other publications in WP1. However, access to the qualitative interview data can be provided upon request in consent with ArcticHubs consortium members involved in the collection and analysis of interview data.

The data is saved in Tiimeri for **five years** (1 year after the project ends) and then the file is closed. The interviewers save the transcription for five years and after that the file is deleted.

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APPENDIX 4: Consent Letter 2

Global drivers,
local consequences.

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Informed Consent Form

Project title: **Global drivers, local consequences: Tools for global change adaptation and sustainable development of industrial and cultural Arctic "hubs" (ArcticHubs)**

Description of the aims, methods and implications of the research, the nature of the participation and any benefits, risks or discomfort that might ensue.

WP3 – Task 3.1. - Interviews on the perception on the existing and new economic activities in the Arctic

The main focus of the WP3 of ArcticHubs project is (1) to gain a better understanding of the local people's perceptions of existing and new economic activities in the Arctic; (2) to identify catalysts, barriers and trade-offs of these economic activities; (3) and to study as to what role social structures and histories play in these regards, both now and in the future for economic operations. 'Arctichubs' are places that act as socio-cultural, economic and industrial nodes that are interconnected via a geographical, infrastructural and economic network. These areas are historically important that have formed organically and strategically, as the place experiences heavy flow of people, goods, capital, information, organizational activities and power relations. Additionally, each hub lies at the heart of vast tracts of sparsely populated land with different land-use modes. These hubs have grown or are currently growing around specific economic industries, such as forestry, mining, tourism, indigenous culture or fish farming.

For fulfilling the objectives of WP3, we designed the interview guideline that will focus on five major aspects, such as (1) general perspective of the experts on the importance of the current main economic industries in the Arctichub and how important is it to the community; (2) issues and conflicts surrounding the economic industries – including tradeoffs and synergies among various economic industries; (3) influential actors and agents in the development of the Arctichubs; (4) catalysts and barriers on the development of various economic industries and (5) culture and histories - how current economic industries affect the indigenous and local people and how can new industries develop side-by-side with them.

Interviews will be conducted with experts in the field of fish farming, forestry, mining, indigenous culture, and tourism to capture current discourses on the existing and new *economic activities in the Arctic. We will also interview local council members, activists, stakeholders and citizens in hub communities.*

I agree to take part in **ArcticHubs** research project. I have had the project explained to me and I am pleased with the information provided.

I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

- Participate in the **ArcticHubs** project
- Answer survey/questionnaire/be **interviewed**/participate in workshops by the researcher
- Allow the **interview**/talk to be audio recorded for internal use in the project
- Make myself available for a further interview should that be required.

I understand that any information I provide is confidential and that no information that I disclose will lead to the identification in the reports of the project, either by the researcher or by any other party. However, I also understand that comments that I make may be quoted anonymously as part of the publications of the project and may state my expertise or my background (e.g. fish farmer, forester, indigenous people etc.).

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or whole project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

□ I consent to the processing of my personal information for this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation 2016/679.

□ I agree that pictures taken during the meeting/interviews can be used for social media and project publication without additional consent.

Name:

Signature:

Date:

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