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Uppsala's prerequisites for developing rural tourism

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to explore some opportunities and constraints for tourism to contribute to rural development. The thesis explores several different stakeholders' views, which are discussed in relation to each other. The informants represent companies, associations and authorities. Central concepts are tourism, the tourism paradox, entrepreneurship, embeddedness and the tourist gaze. These are used to interpret the empirical data on factors affecting tourism development in rural areas and different stakeholders' role.

The results show that factors influencing entrepreneurial activity within the tourism sector include infrastructure and communications, support from government and authorities, and collaboration with other stakeholders. The stakeholders have separate incentives in their role of tourism development but share the aim of achieving tourism development without negative influence on society or environment. Challenges in rural tourism include the ability to charge for tourism services, since accessibility to nature is free by the right of public access, and to discover the possible values in one's vicinity since this is influenced by the resident's view of themselves.

Key words: Rural development, tourism, entrepreneurship

Content

1. Introduction

The global trend of increasing tourism and traveling is strong. During 2017 the number of travellers increased with 84 million people. It is one of the fastest growing economic industries globally, and the world tourism organization predicts an even further increase.

The tourism sector in Sweden is also booming. According to Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth the revenue within tourism in Sweden during 2017 increased with over 7 percent to SEK 317 billion, resulting in over 10 000 new jobs. Since the year 2000 the industry within the tourism sector that has the highest percentage of growth is culture and recreation (Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth 2019).

From an economic perspective the growth of tourism can result in increasing tax flow, enhanced infrastructure and a higher number of employment opportunities. However, the growth may also be a challenge for sustainability. Supporting social sustainability needs efforts from the civil society as well as the public and private sector.

The thesis investigates the prerequisites and constraints for tourism development in one demarcated geographic area, the municipality of Uppsala. Uppsala is the fourth biggest municipality based on the number of inhabitants. One fourth of these are living in the municipality's rural areas (The municipality of Uppsala 2019). Most tourists' visit Uppsala during the day based on turnover. The County Administrative Board in Uppsala is responsible for distributing funds within the rural development programme[1]. They organise meetings to inform about the programme and stimulate partnerships between various actors within rural development. During my employment at the municipality of Uppsala I had the privilege of participating in these meetings and during one of them the theme was

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[1] [1] The EU's rural development is the second pillar of Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). This period runs 2014-2020.

"*natural and cultural environments as an asset for outdoor life in rural areas*". Issues regarding rural tourism emerged, such as how rural tourism often is based upon access to nature which has challenges in terms of profitability. During this meeting, my interest in focusing on rural tourism as tool for development increased.

This thesis will investigate opportunities and constraints for tourism as a way forward in rural development. It focuses on different stakeholders' perspective and will investigate their role in tourism development in rural areas, with Uppsala as a case. The informants are small-scale tourism entrepreneurs, associations and representatives from authorities.

1.1 Problem description

Uppsala is the municipality in Sweden with most people living in rural areas. Despite this, the local politicians admit that the needs of the areas outside of the city centre have been disregarded for a long time (Pelling, speech 2019). Generally, in Sweden, many service establishments have vanished from rural areas during the last couple of decades (Assmo & Wihlborg 2012). Also internationally, rural areas have been neglected by politicians while planning for the future. This has often resulted in poorer infrastructure (Brown & Hall 2000). Rural areas are threatened by both low political interest and economic resources (Hall & Boyd 2005). The companies and the civil society in Uppsala have communicated dissatisfaction with the situation. To improve this, the municipality has developed a local strategy for the rural environments. Among other efforts are activities focusing on "*creating opportunities for an increased tourism within eco-, nature- and culture-tourism*" (The municipality of Uppsala 2017). Other authorities are also investing in tourism development. Region Uppsala has adopted a strategy for a "*sustainable tourism industry in the county of Uppsala*" (Region Uppsala 2015) with action areas focusing on among other entrepreneurship and collaboration between private and public sector.

Tourism development is often mentioned as one possible solution to the challenges that rural areas face (Hall 2005). It can result in better

infrastructure, retained service, higher employment rates and opportunities of increased profitability for companies in rural environments (Lööf 2018). However, tourism has other values and effects besides possible economical gain. For example, the influence on rural residents needs to be taken into consideration. The outcome of tourism is not necessarily positive. It may also result in negative effects (Canavan 2014), which means that tourism does not automatically lead to rural development.

1.2 Aim and research question

The aim of this thesis is to explore if and how tourism can be a strategy for rural development, based on the case of Uppsala. The thesis will investigate how different stakeholders perceive the conditions for developing tourism in the rural areas. The different stakeholders' approach will be discussed in relation to each other. The actors that will be studied are Region Uppsala, the municipality of Uppsala's tourism development company Destination Uppsala, the County Administrative Board in Uppsala, Upplandsstiftelsen, Åstråkens tourism association, Naturjouren and Kroksta farm. The actors will be further introduced later in the thesis.

To achieve the aim, I have studied the following research question:

- What are the opportunities and constraints in tourism development in rural areas?

- What does tourism mean for rural development in Uppsala?

To answer the research question data from interviews, participation in meetings, literature and websites are used.

1.3 Disposition of the thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter is introduction and contains problem description, aim and research question. Chapter two describes theory, previous research, definitions and central concepts. Chapter three includes method, description of case sites, an introduction to tourism in Uppsala, the institutional structure and also reliability and validity. Chapter four is results and discussion which is followed by a section where opportunities and constraints of how tourism affects societies

are discussed, based on a theoretical perspective and experiences from other than empirics. Chapter five is reflections on the theory of rural tourism. Chapter six is conclusion.

2. Theory and previous research

This chapter contains previous research, definitions, theory, central concepts and the theoretical framework.

2.1 Previous research

I have not found previous research on rural development through tourism in Uppsala or other rural areas adjacent to urban centres in Sweden. Brouder (2013:7) has investigated tourism development in peripheral areas focusing on northern Sweden. The aim of that thesis was comprehensive. The part relevant for my study is the exploration of the dynamics of tourism innovation among local stakeholders, including the public sector. The thesis emphasis key challenges in tourism development in Northern Sweden. According to Brouder (2013) entrepreneurship is vital for rural development. Hall & Williams (2008 in Brouder 2013:31) note that institutional support together with local tourism initiatives of entrepreneurs, is leading to development in rural tourism. They emphasize that public sector should be included as actors who can contribute to supporting rural innovation.

Also Lööf (2018) found that entrepreneurship is important in rural development and even a must in order for rural areas to survive. Lööf (2018) explored if tourism can be a tool for development in rural areas focusing on growth, with a case study of Sorsele (a municipality in Västerbotten) and proceeded from two research questions; 1) How does tourism promote employment in the municipality? 2) How does tourism promote the quality of life of the residents? Lööf (2018) interviewed entrepreneurs and officials working at the municipality. The results show how tourism can contribute to rural development. However, other service establishments are vital as well. Lööf claims that tourism can establish the general service and the tourists are necessary to maintain infrastructure, public transport ways and food stores. Lööf's study also reveals challenges

for entrepreneurs to gain important economic resources to finance their businesses in the beginning.

This thesis will investigate rural tourism development in the municipality of Uppsala, i.e. ruralities in urban proximity, and from the perspective of several stakeholders representing companies, authorities and associations. Previous research has studied foremost rural areas, which are not close to larger urban areas, in other parts of Sweden or adopted another approach focusing on other stakeholders.

2.2 Tourism definitions

The definition of tourism is based on five following aspects: People's movement and stay in different destinations, the travel to the destination and the activities performed during this time, the travel is beyond the person's usual living- and working place, the visit is temporary and the reason for the visit is in other purpose than permanent residence (Hall & Page 2006).

The World Trade Organisation (WTO 2007) arranges tourism in four different groups depending on where the tourist travels relative to their home. These are;

(1) *International tourism*; which consists of inbound tourism, visits to a country by non-residents, and outbound tourism, residents of a country visiting another country.

(2) *Internal tourism*, residents of a country visiting destinations within their own country.

(3) *Domestic tourism*, internal tourism plus inbound tourism (the tourism market of accommodation facilities and attractions within a country). Domestic tourism includes both overnight and same-day visitors.

(4) *National tourism*, internal tourism plus outbound tourism (the resident tourism market for travel agents and airlines.) (WTO 2007:2)

In this thesis I have explored tourism based on the definition of tourism as people's movement and stay beyond one's regular living- or working place. The travel is temporary and with other purpose than permanent residence (Hall & Page 2006). This definition will be combined with WTO (2007) of

international, local and domestic tourists visiting an environment over a short period of time.

2.2.1 The tourist needs

According to Smith (1989) some factors that attract tourists are accessibility with roads and communications, accommodation, food, shopping and entertainment. Primarily it is the "*entertainment*" which generates tourism, but it is the entirety of all services which determines whether a destination is attractive or not to visit. An individual attraction can lure tourists. However, a connection with the other cornerstones is necessary to maximize the opportunities within the tourism industry. Basic infrastructure which makes the destination easy to reach is another important factor for successful tourism (Smith 1989).

2.2.2 The life cycle of a destination

This model by Butler (2006) shows how destinations develop over time.
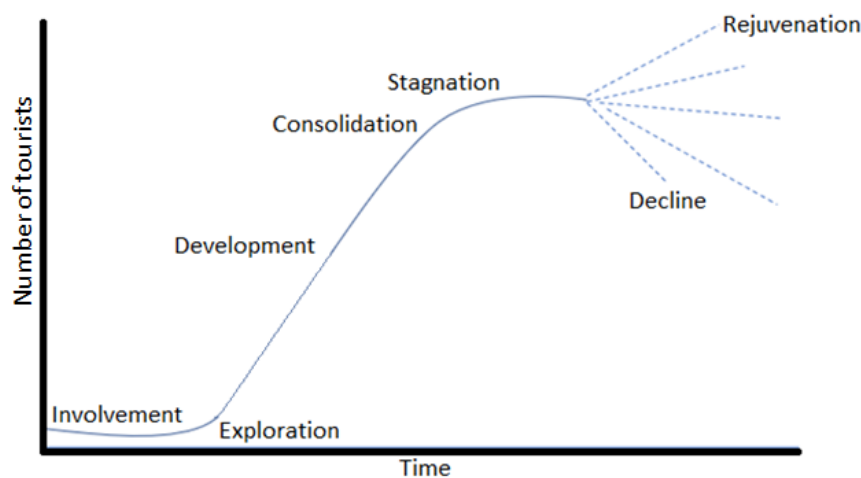
Chart 1: Destination lifecycle model. Source: Author's adaptation of Butler's model (2006).

A destination goes through different stages from exploration, development, consolidation and possibly stagnation as the time where visits to the destination can stop, decrease or rejuvenate.

The exploration stage is defined by a small amount of tourists. One attraction which may appeal tourists during this stage may be the high

contact with local citizens. The environment does not change due to tourists and the influence on the permanent citizens is low. *The involvement stage* is reached when the number of tourists increase and some of the residents adapt to this by providing tourists with things or services fulfilling the tourist needs. The contact between tourists and residents remain high. During this stage a tourist season should occur and for the first time governments and authorities responsible for infrastructure may be pressured to provide or improve these facilities. *The development stage* is the step where local involvement and control will hastily decrease. Changes in the physical environment emerge, which can be negatively received from the residents. In *the consolidation stage* the rate of increase would be reduced. However, the total number of visitors would still be increasing. The tourists will also exceed the number of permanents citizens. Most of the area's economy is now based on tourism. During *the stagnation stage* the destination has reached their peak of visitors. The ability of the area has either been reached or exceeded. *The decline stage* is when the destination can no longer compete with newer tourist environments. *Rejuvenation* is possible, but it most likely demands a complete change of tourism attractions (Butler 2006).

The model has been criticised for not taking individual circumstances into consideration (Chapman & Light 2016) and for not showing how external and internal factors affecting a destination (Agarwal 2002; see also Ivars i Baidal et al. 2013 in Chapman & Light 2016). It is especially important to consider how places are affected by wider changes in the surroundings that are outside of their control (Papatheodorou 2004 in Chapman & Light 2016).

Butler's (2006) model is used to discuss how tourism development can affect rural societies over time.

2.3 Central concepts

Central concepts in my survey are entrepreneurship, the tourist gaze, tourism paradox and embeddedness. These concepts are essential for understanding the challenges and opportunities in developing rural tourism.

Entrepreneurship is relevant to understand the different driving forces for being an entrepreneur and possible barriers or external effects influencing entrepreneurs (Shapero 1975, Hjorth & Johannisson 1998, Steyaert & Katz 2004, Johannisson 2005, Kuratko & Audretsch 2009, Kuratko 2016). The tourist gaze describes the contrast between the tourist view and expectations, and the life of residents at the destination. The gaze also implies the subjectivity of the tourist's expectations. It can be experienced at several levels, from viewing a spectacular object to experiencing an environment which fulfils one's expectations (Urry 2002, MacCanell 1999). Embeddedness helps us discuss and understand how local context and anchorage may influence entrepreneurs in rural environments. Embeddedness can provide the entrepreneur with important resources to successfully develop a tourism enterprise (Jack & Anderson 2002, Landström & Löwegren 2009). Tourism paradox helps us understand the difficulties of making profit from rural tourism, when based on attractions like nature, which are free of charge (Kamfjord 2002).

2.3.1 Entrepreneurship

To explore the research question, the term entrepreneurship will be used. Entrepreneurs can have a crucial role in the development of a region. (Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth 2019). Entrepreneurship is a complex concept affected by several different factors. It is amongst others the creative process which separates common managerialism from entrepreneurship (Hjorth & Johannisson 1998). The capability of being entrepreneurial should not be seen as something unique and possible for only a few (Johannisson 2005). It does not require a special person or situation; instead the ability to be entrepreneurial can occur anywhere, anytime and by anyone (Steyaert & Katz 2004).

2.3.2 Properties that benefit entrepreneurship

To understand and discuss entrepreneurship one should first establish what being entrepreneurial means. Shapero (1975 in Kuratko & Audretsch 2009) describes entrepreneurship as a behaviour including initiative-taking, the arrangement of using resources practically and consciously, while accepting the risks of failure. Kuratko & Audretsch (2009:5) describes

entrepreneurship as "*the overriding focus of the firm is opportunity identification, discovery of new sources of value, and product and process innovation that will lead to greater profitability.*" Kuratko (2016:3f) describes entrepreneurs as *"individuals who recognize opportunities where others see chaos, contradiction, and confusion*." The emphasis of an entrepreneur is the ability to discover opportunities where other people do not see resources and how it is possible to make this into profit. An entrepreneur sees the potential from investing time, knowledge or means in their idea, being aware of the risks of implementing it on a market but also the possible gains from this investment. Entrepreneurship is based upon individuals taking initiative, discover opportunities and turn this into a sellable product (Kuratko 2016). Striving for something new and an improvement of a situation embraces entrepreneurship (Steyaert & Katz 2004).

Another important quality is the willingness to take risks. Entrepreneurs are described as more likely to take risks than people overall (Cantillon 1931 in Dalborg 2014). The individual's risk perception is crucial in the decision of creating a business or not (Mills & Pawson 2012 in Dalborg 2014). Risk is foremost connected to monetary loss (Kuratko 2016) or the risk of failure (Shapero 1975 in Kuratko 2009).

Due to the risk being inevitable in the entrepreneurial process, what is the incentive to engage in entrepreneurship? Hjorth & Johannisson (1998:88) defines entrepreneurship as "*people's creative dialogue, action and passion as the main driving force in economic development*". Managerialism is based on the economic driving force in the enterprise, whilst entrepreneurship is about creative producing. The context with personal relationships and local anchorage is vital to an entrepreneur (Hjorth & Johannisson 1998). The entrepreneurial process may allow one's creativity and support oneself based upon one's passion. The potential profit or incentive of entrepreneurship in contrast to the potential risk may influence the stakeholders will to engage in entrepreneurship.

2.3.3 The tourist gaze

The concept of the tourist gaze is used to discuss how residents sometimes have trouble with discovering values in their vicinity and how tourists may experience an environment being interesting based on the shift from their normal environment. A shift from our normal environment makes people observe their setting with interest and curiosity. *The gaze is constructed through signs, and tourism involves the collection of signs. When tourists see two people kissing in Paris what they capture in the gaze is 'timeless romantic Paris'. When a small village in England is seen, what they gaze upon is the 'real old England'"* (Urry 2002:3). The tourist is searching for authenticity separated from the time and place in their ordinary life and is especially interested in the real life of others which may be difficult to find in their own context. This may be perceived as an intrusion in the local context. Responses may be that local tourist entrepreneurs create a contrived and artificial scene, different from the lived realities called "*staged authenticity*" (MacCannell 1999, 1973 in Urry 2002).

One important attribute for tourism is the switch of scenery from the ordinary to the object of the tourist gaze. It is the contrast in itself which seem to be appealing. *"...potential objects of the tourist gaze must be different in some way or other. They must be out of the ordinary".* (Urry 2002:12) This can appear in different levels. (1) As seeing a unique object, for example the Eiffel tower or the Empire State Building: famous objects which everyone knows. Today the objects are famous for being famous, rather than people knowing the reason for how this fame arose to begin with. (2) Particular signs such as a characteristic English village or the typical American skyscraper (Urry 2002).

The tourist gaze expose how residents view themselves and their vicinity and can either favour or disfavour the ability to discover opportunities and create tourism attractions. Staged authenticity is used to discuss how residents are being influenced by tourists, reproducing themselves to fit in to the expectations of tourists (Urry 2002: MacCanell in Urry 2002).

2.3.4 Embeddedness

An entrepreneur is not isolated; instead they work in a context which affects the entrepreneurial process. Embeddedness in a local context may give the entrepreneur opportunity to use resources and network to successfully create an entrepreneurial process. Being embedded can both contribute to overcoming challenges in rural entrepreneurship and create opportunities since it can determine whether the opportunity to be entrepreneur arises or not. Being embedded can therefore be seen as tying together social values with the economic opportunities of entrepreneurship, since the social relations of being embedded are crucial. Embeddedness both helps entrepreneurs to discover the need and give the entrepreneur a contextual competitive advantage (Jack & Anderson 2002).

Being embedded as having knowledge about the context may also favour the entrepreneur since this knowledge facilitate the understanding of conditions determining whether the business idea is going to work or not. Embeddedness may also create the support and acceptance needed from the environment to be entrepreneurial (Landström & Löwegren 2009). A social network is crucial to be able to conduct a business, since it can contribute with resources or contacts being of importance for the implementation (Jack & Anderson 2002).

The concept of embeddedness will be used to discuss and make visible the relation between the context and the entrepreneur, how tourism can improve or impair rural development, and how knowledge of the context enables entrepreneurship.

2.3.5 Tourism paradox

Nature- and culture environments are often the core in rural tourism development. The accessibility to our Swedish nature is beneficial since it allows for entrepreneurial activity, but also a disadvantage since the access is free. Kamfjord (2002) describes something called the tourism paradox where a destination is required to offer an event or attractive object so the tourists experience something new. The tourism paradox describes the need of an attraction to tempt tourist to visit a destination. At the same time, the economic value rarely lies in the experience itself, but in the surrounding

sevices, such as accommodation and restaurants. The paradox is the difficulty to charge for accessibility to the attraction, and instead the revenue tends to end up in other sectors, such as accommodation (Kamfjord 2002).

Tourism paradox influence the ability to create profitable tourism based on rural settings.

2.3.6 Tourism affecting local societies

Tourism is not automatically rural development. The term of tourism implies an increased flow of people to an environment. Effects may arise in a delimited rural area and influence the residents. Decreases in tourism can derive from degradation of nature and environments, leading to place being a less attractive destination (Mihalič 2000; Sedmak & Mihalič 2008 in Canavan 2014). A risk with tourism development may be a short economic gain at the expense of the environment (Sharpley 2003 in Canavan 2014). A decrease in tourism might lead to negative economic, social or environmental effects for local actors (Canavan 2014).

According to a study by Canavan (2014) positive outcomes of tourism mentioned were how the sector contributed to creating jobs and resulted in increased revenue, especially in situations where there was some insecurity in employment. The main results according to Canavan (2014:12) is "*the potential importance of tourism in peripheral locations".* Tourism could contribute to preserved facilities, generate government income and provide employment. It also shows how tourism affects resident's local identity. The identity is consisting of *" one's own enjoyment and pride in living in a place, and is influenced by the range of facilities, quality of environments, social variation available, as well as the pride generated through experiencing external interest in local culture*". Tourist's interest in a destination can confirm the attractiveness for a citizen. However, a decline in tourism can lead to feelings of lost attractiveness of place (see Canavan 2013a, 2014).

Changes in tourism can affect environment and residents in an area. It can be a positive and/or negative outcome. The influence is important to take

into consideration since it may determine whether an entrepreneur is successful with his/her business or not.

2.4 Theoretical framework

I will use different theoretical concepts to discuss my research question and thereby explore opportunities and constraints in tourism development in rural areas.

The theory is divided into four general themes; tourism paradox, entrepreneurship, tourist gaze and embeddedness.
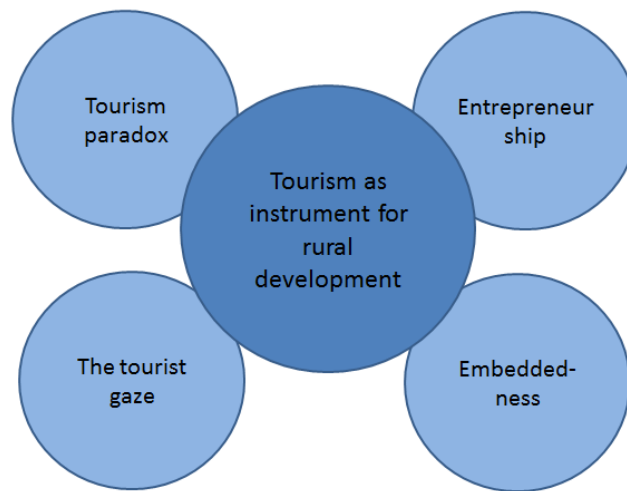
A.   *Figure 1: Theoretical framework: overview of the central concepts of the thesis.*

2.4.1 Entrepreneurship

The definition of entrepreneurship used in this study comes from a mix of different author's definition and descriptions of the concept to adapt it for my study. The following definition will be used: Entrepreneurship is the capacity to take initiative, discover opportunities in one's surroundings and creating something sellable (Kuratko 2016). Given the right circumstances entrepreneurship can occur anywhere and by anyone (Steyaert & Katz 2004). The main driving force is not economic gain, but the opportunity to engage in one's passion and a creative process (Hjorth & Johannisson 1998).

The concept of entrepreneurship will be used to discuss driving forces for tourism development, what is required to engage in tourism development, how national legislation influence and the different stakeholders role and their view of responsibility in the industry.

2.4.2 Embeddedness

The term embeddedness will be used to explore the entrepreneur's role in a context (Jack & Anderson 2002). The term will be used to discover how it affects the entrepreneur's access to important assets necessary for entrepreneurial activity, and how embeddedness favours the entrepreneur in a context.

2.4.3 The tourist gaze

The term will be used to discuss how residents' self-image and view upon their surroundings may affect the tourism development. It will also be used to discover how the residents adopt to tourism development.

2.4.4 The tourism paradox

The tourism paradox makes visible how the right of public access (unique for the Nordic countries) may influence the possibility to develop tourism in Uppsala.

The concepts will together be used to investigate, analyse and understand the main issues presented in this study. The aim is to investigate if and how rural tourism can contribute to development and explore the opportunities and constraints for tourism development in rural areas based on the view of the informants. Thereby, this thesis will not include a full market analysis, an economic analysis of a company's opportunities, nor company data.

3. Method

The research questions are answered through a study conducted in Uppsala. My data were collected through qualitative method during seven separate semi-structured interviews and observation during a partnership meeting at the County Administrative Board of Uppsala. The purpose with semi-structured interviews is to create a relaxed environment which reminds the informants of a casual conversation. The choice of using qualitative method

with semi-structured interviews enables me to understand the informant's own perspective on the issue. The quest was to get a richer understanding based on a small number of informants. The method is convenient when the goal is to reach a deeper understanding, focusing on the qualitative aspect rather than a quantitative data. My understanding is an interpretation, reflection and discussion of what the informants express, based on their experience, together with theory and studies (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014). The semi-structured interview follows some basic guidelines with the flexibility for the informant to enrich their answers (Bryman 2002; Teorell & Svensson 2013).

3.1 Description of case sites
3.1.1 The right of public access in Sweden
The right of public access (Allemansrätten) is unique for Sweden and the backbone of accessibility to Swedish nature (Visitsweden 2018). The right of public access makes Sweden's nature accessible to all, with certain conditions of respectful behaviour which does not harm the nature. It is a basic prerequisite for rural tourism since it allows entrepreneurs to use the nature, environment and resources to build a profitable company. At the same time, they rarely have control over that resource; instead it is the landowners or government who makes the decisions.

3.1.2 The municipality of Uppsala
Uppsala is the 4th biggest city in Sweden by the number of inhabitants. A quarter of the citizens in the municipality live in the rural areas. These 50.000 people make Uppsala one of the most rural municipalities based on the number of residents living outside of the city center (The municipality of Uppsala 2019). As part of the county of Uppsala, is one of the fastest growing counties in Sweden. According to SKLs[2] classification of municipalities Uppsala is included in the group "*larger city municipalities with at least 50 000 inhabitants, of which at least 40 000 inhabitants in the largest urban area*" (SKL 2019).

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[2] Sweden municipality and county council

Uppsala is in some apsects representative in a broader context. National legislation, such as the right of public access to nature is example of factors affecting all Swedish entrepreneurs whose activity is based in nature. On the other hand, Uppsala differs from a lot of other municipalities with the closeness to Stockholm and the region of Arlanda Airport.

This thesis will proceed from a definition of ruralities in urban proximity meaning rural areas within 5-45 minutes away from a city with a population greater than 3000 (Glesbygdsverket 2007).

B. *Figure 1: The municipality of Uppsala.* Source: www.uppsala.se. © *Lantmäteriet.*

3.1.3 Tourism in Uppsala

The municipal tourist company Destination Uppsala has produced reports for the tourist economic turnover in the municipality of Uppsala. During 2016 the tourism sector in Uppsala employs 1280 people yearly, primarily within restaurants and accommodation. Day visits are the largest individual category in terms of turnover with approx. 636 million. It corresponds to one third of the total turnover during 2016 (Destination Uppsala 2016).

3.1.4 Institutional structure concerning tourism development in Uppsala

Organisation	Description

The County Administrative Board Authority Politically governed	The County Administrative Board is the national government's representative in the county. They act as a collecting stakeholder for the county and have activities in community planning, agriculture and rural areas, emergency preparedness, animals and nature, social issues, cultural environment, climate and energy, business development and administration. They work with development issues, to coordinate the county's municipalities on different issues and providing means from different EU-programmes. Other tasks are to support different businesses and ensure that laws and guidelines are followed (The County Administrative Board 2019).
Region Uppsala Authority Politically governed	Region Uppsala is for those who live and work in the county of Uppsala. They work to ensure that the region is innovative, growing and a region for everyone with the aim of creating conditions for health, sustainability and development. Region Uppsala is a politically governed organization responsible for health and medical care, public transport, culture, and regional development. They collaborate with the county's municipalities, colleges, business and other actors to create the best conditions for the residents (Region Uppsala 2019).
Destination Uppsala Company Owned by the municipality of Uppsala which is politically governed	Destination Uppsala is a company with the municipality of Uppsala as full owner. The company works to promote Uppsala as a destination by marketing the city to various target groups to create revenue and development for Uppsala's visitor industry. The company is responsible for the city's tourist information, to project the municipality's major events and to cooperate with the local industry to develop the conference industry via the partnership Uppsala Convention Bureau. Destination Uppsala is part of the business and destination department at Uppsala municipality (Destination Uppsala 2019).
Upplandsstiftelsen Association Placed under Region Uppsala and is politically governed. Separate board.	Upplandsstiftelsen works with nature conservation, outdoor life and nature school. They cooperate with many organizations and have no profit interest. Uppsala County is their geographical area. As of January 1, 2017, the organisation is placed under Region Uppsala. Despite this, Upplandsstiftelsen continues to be an independent non-profit association. Region Uppsala and the municipalities are members and the association have a separate board. Their operations are financed through Region Uppsala, assignments, project funds and other grants (Upplandsstiftelsen 2019).
Naturjouren Company	Naturjouren is an economic association and a Labor Integrating Social Company. An economic association is a form of democratic enterprise, where

Economic association and social company. Democratically governed by its members.	each member has the same influence over the company's management and development (Naturjouren 2019).
Kroksta farm Company Independent company	Kroksta farm is a tourism company providing bed & breakfast and conference facilities in rural Uppsala. The company was originally active within organic farming. The year of 2000 it diversified into providing accommodation and since then the company continued to develop its business (Kroksta farm 2019).
Åstråkens tourism association Association Member compound with companies, associations or organisations active within tourism	Åstråkens tourism association was established in 2015. The purpose is to promote increased tourism within the association's geographical area of activity. The association fulfills its purpose through cooperation between the members and thereby creates the conditions for tourism between the Old Uppsala and Österbybruk and Örbyhus along the river valleys Vendelån and Fyrisån. Their target groups are organizations active in the tourism and visitor industry, including private persons, associations or companies (Åstråken tourism association 2019).

3.2 Observation

My exploration into the topic of this thesis began with observation during a partnership meeting for the rural development programme[3], provided by the County Administrative Board of Uppsala. I participated in the meeting as employee representing the municipality of Uppsala. I chose observation as a complementary part of my study method since it covers many different aspects during the collection of data. Observation has not been used as main source of information. More specific I have used the method of open, participant observation (Teorell & Svensson 2013). I presented my purpose to the group during the presentation of participants and took part in the activities. During my observation I documented through memo notes. The main disadvantage of this method for documentation is the risk of not being able to document everything leading to gap of information. Another disadvantage using notes as documentation is the obstacle of not being fully

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[3] The EU's rural development is the second pillar of Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). This period runs between 2014-2020.

present in the moment. Despite this, deciding taking notes was the best way of documentation in this scenario. For example, recordings could potentially influence the participants' behavior and way of communication.

The theme of the partnership meeting was "*Natural and cultural environments as an asset for outdoor life in rural areas.*" The programme for the day was to present and discuss the current situation during seminars with different themes. The subjects were for example "*How do we develop rural areas based on the outdoor-goals", "Environmental quality objectives - an interaction between urban and rural", "Cultural and natural environments - assets in constant development*" and included one inspirational lecture. The meeting was open for everyone to participate in but participants mainly consisted of actors from municipalities and associations from the county. The participants represented the municipalities of Tierp, Uppsala and Östhammar as well as Naturjouren, LRF (Federation of Swedish Farmers), Upplandsstiftelsen, Destination Uppsala, Coompanion, Swedish soccer association, Swedish Equestrian Federation, SLU and Research institute of Sweden (RISE). The group of participating representatives, i.e. stakeholders, is large and their attendance varies depending on the subject of each meeting.

This partnership meeting was particularly interesting for the study in order to discover issues of tourism and rural development from the view of different actors. It contributed to my interpretation of stakeholders' participation in the subject. During the meeting I also had the possibility to introduce myself both to new informants and book interviews with informants I already had been in contact with earlier.

3.3 Interviews

The next step in my method was semi-structured interviews. The interviews were conducted with three groups of actors: companies, authorities and associations. During my research period I conducted seven interviews with informants from these categories. All informants, except two, received the interview questions in advance. The informant who was interviewed by telephone and one other informant did not get the interview questions in

advance. The reason for that was that the interviews were booked with very short notice. I did not experience that the informants who did not receive the interview questions in advance was adversely affected by this. Instead all interviews have been rich with details and information.

All interviews have been conducted in environments suggested by the informants, in most cases at their workplace and some in restaurants. One interview was conducted over telephone because the informant was unable to meet and I decided that the informant was too valuable to the study so I wanted to conduct the interview anyway. Some informants wished to see the written summaries of the interviews afterwards to be able to supplement or clarify their thoughts, this wish has been met.

3.4 Reliability and validity of data and method

Validity is used to discuss whether the determined method will investigate what the researcher intend to explore (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014). Some informants expressed an insecurity of being misinterpreted. This was managed by giving the informants the opportunity to read the transcript material from their interview afterwards. In cases where I experienced a potential risk of misinterpretation of the collected material the informant has been asked if my interpretation is consistent with what they wanted to convey. A risk with this kind of validation is that the informant may want to change specific parts in the interview. However, I experience this gave the informants the opportunity to clarify their views. Despite this, none of the informants have asked to delete or change their statements.

The researcher's role in the field can never be completely objective. My interpretation, experiences and preconceptions will affect the outcome of the study. Preconceptions can be described as the "*unconscious expectations that disturb the act of interpretation by discriminating possible interpretations for the benefit of others*" (Teorell & Svensson 2013:101).

Reliability determines the degree of credibility in a study. It is decided by whether the results of a study are possible to repeat the next time the same issue is investigated (Teorell & Svensson 2013). In a qualitative study based on interviews this might be difficult to achieve. The context can change and

the informants can gain new experiences which may affect their answers at a later moment. When designing the interview question I have had the reliability in mind trying to formulate open and easily understood questions. The questions have been formulated in order to encourage reflective answers describing the informants view rather than "*closed questions*" affected by the researcher's assumptions. According to Bryman (2002) it is difficult to generalize based on qualitative studies. However, if one takes into consideration the importance of context, the results can contribute deeper understanding for the processes under study.

All interviews have been recorded by consent. The choice to document the interviews through recordings were suiting since it gave me the opportunity to focus on the informant and ask relevant supplementary questions. This may also contribute to a higher validity since all pronounced information is stored in the recordings. If I chose memo notes as documentation method instead there would have been a higher risk of losing some information or interpret things based on memory. Recordings also allowed me to hear the informants' state of mind but it does not show facial expressions or mimicry.

3.5 Methods for selecting informants

The informants represent companies, associations and authorities. The selection and demarcation of informants have been done in four steps. Companies were initially identified through a statistic-based search. The search resulted in five companies, some were omitted due to my demarcation, see further described below. The "*snowball method*" has been used as complement, by which an informant has had suggestions of whom else I should interview, based on my theme and interview questions. Therefore, I started with some informants who then informed me of others who may be able to contribute.

3.5.1 Identifying stakeholders

To achieve the purpose of the study and explore if and how tourism can be a tool to develop rural areas and what are the opportunities and constraint for doing so, I considered it important to talk to different groups of actors who

are involved in rural development connected to tourism. To begin with I started to identify key actors in the county of Uppsala connected to rural tourism. This proved to involve three different groups of actors; associations, companies and authorities. The delimitation between certain groups is not entirely self-evident.

3.5.2 Geographic demarcation

I interviewed entrepreneurs within the geographical scope of the municipality of Uppsala. To find entrepreneurs within this area active in the tourism sector I requested statistics from SCB[4]. This statistic was based on postcodes in the rural areas of the municipality of Uppsala.

3.5.3 Full-time employment within the tourism sector

The second demarcation was to focus merely on tourist entrepreneurs who had it as main occupation. At this step my search was based on SNI-codes[5] relevant for tourism development with at least one full-time employee. One disadvantage is that there is no specific SNI-code which gathers tourism actors so I decided to search for statistics of all companies with the SNI-codes of restaurant, leisure- and entertainment activities and cottage villages rental or camping's. However, some companies registered in the city of Uppsala do not show in the statistics even though they may conduct their business in rural areas.

I have focused on conducting interviews with companies with at least one full-time employee (often the entrepreneur him/herself); however Åstråken's tourism association represents both associations and companies with less than one fulltime employee.

I have decided to not interview for example pizzerias or sports clubs outside of the city center since the main target group of their company are residents, not tourists. The search results in a total of five small-scale companies within the tourism sector in the rural parts of the municipality of Uppsala. I

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[4] Central bureau of statistics

[5] SNI-codes is standard for Swedish industrial classification. It describes the activities conducted within the company and forms the basis for economic statistics. All companies in Sweden must be included in SCB's business register.

have interviewed three companies and one association representing part-time tourism companies. The selection is small since there are not many who have it as their main occupation. Since this thesis focuses on how tourism is meaningful for rural development I wanted to focus on those who could make a living from it.

Since this thesis analyses several different stakeholders I found three entrepreneurs to be a reasonable number. However, the result should not be seen as representative for all tourism entrepreneurs active in a rural context.

Informants are divided into three main groups (authorities, associations or companies with few but at least one full-time employee) active or affecting rural tourism in the municipality of Uppsala.

3.6 My informants
Below is a brief presentation of the people I talked to.

3.6.1 Companies
3.6.1.1 Kroksta farm
Kroksta farm is a small company based in rural Uppsala. The company offers bed and breakfast together with activities such as hot tub under the stars and pentathlon. I conducted the interview with the owner Sofia. The company is now run mainly by her. The family, Sofia and her siblings grew up on the farm and the parents who were farmers still help to a large extent.

3.6.1.2 Naturjouren
I interviewed Naturjouren's only employee, Stefan. Their tasks are among others clearing paths and building fences. Their funding is divided into two parts. The main income is from services they perform in the forest and private gardens. Additional funding is from Arbetsförmedlingen (the Employment Service) compensating them for receiving people for work training, job testing and employment.

Naturjouren provide services for private and public sector as well as individual companies. Example of their clients are the County Administrative Board, Upplandsstiftelsen, municipalities, road corporations and property owners. They also initiate and participate in projects to raise the social value of nature and culture. For example, an EU-Central Baltic

pilgrimage project creating a new hiking trail. Project funds from the County Administrative Boards are raised together with local associations.

3.6.1.3 Destination Uppsala

Destination Uppsala is a municipal company receiving public funding. It is a company incorporated, with Uppsala municipality as 100% shareholder since 2016/2017. The interviews were conducted during the first quarter of 2017. On the 9th of December 2017 the company's physical tourist information office was shut down. The company conducts an investigation to explore the ways in which it will be available in the future, and until further notice it is through digital channels such as facebook, email and their webpage. At Destination Uppsala I interviewed Brita who works as a project-developer.

3.6.2 Authorities

3.6.2.1 Region Uppsala

Region is responsible for health care, public transport, infrastructure planning and culture and regional development. The organisation is also responsible for coordinating the county of Uppsala regarding tourism development (Region Uppsala 2019). At Region Uppsala I conducted the interview with their regional destination developer Karin.

3.6.2.2 The County Administrative Board in Uppsala

The County Administrative Board is a versatile authority with varied tasks. They exercise supervision and ensure that various businesses, both private and public, comply with laws, regulations and guidelines. Amongst others their tasks concern nature conservation, environmental protection and cultural environment. What separates the County Administrative Boards task aside from Region Uppsala is their different responsibilities. To a larger extent Region Uppsala work with growth and infrastructure, whilst the county administrative board is responsible for some inspections and allocation of funds from the rural development programme. One prioritized area is investments in recreation and tourism. Companies, associations and public sector can apply. It is possible to get project funding for efforts developing tourism, such as companies diversifying their businesses. I talked to Martina who works as a rural development manager.

In the rest of the thesis I will use "the County Administrative Board" referencing to the County Administrative Board in Uppsala.

3.6.3 Associations

3.6.3.1 Åstråkens tourism association
The association was founded in 2016 and its aim is to create conditions for tourism through cooperation between its members. Åstråkens tourism association is a wide organization collecting actors within the geographic area of Vendelåns and Fyrisåns valleys. Amongst its members you find companies in the field of "bed and breakfast", cafes and museums. It met the association's president Johan for an interview.

3.6.3.2 Upplandsstiftelsen
Upplandsstiftelsens mission is to provide infrastructure and information for outdoor activities, such as hiking trails and tourism destinations in the nature. Members of Upplandsstiftelsen are the county of Uppsala and its municipalities. It is an independent non-profit organization and works for the promotion of nature conservation, recreation and activate children/youth in the county. At Upplandsstiftelsen I interviewed their outdoor manager Karolina.

3.7 Description of data analysis

To analyse my material I have used Braun & Clarkes (2006) method for thematic analysis. The procedure will be described as follows:

1. Get familiar with the data
During the first stage I have listened to my recordings a couple of times. Starting from my research questions I have been striving for exploring relevant patterns or themes. To increase the knowledge and understanding of the data I have used transcriptions. During this stage I did the same procedure with the memo notes from the observation taking place during the partnership meeting coordinated by the County Administrative Board.

2. Generate initial codes
In this stage I have looked for interesting information in the data. This is completely dependent on the empirical findings. I have done this by roughly sort the codes which may be of interest for my study. This was done by

searching for keywords, such as infrastructure, bureaucracy, context, relations, self-image, business and revenue. All transcriptions have been saved but notes with the "most interesting" parts have been marked out.

3. Searching for themes

During this stage the patterns found in the earlier stage is sorted into themes. I used post-it notes to be able to move the themes around to discover the entirety. Visible themes based on the data are obstacles, risks and opportunities. It has been possible to notice how the themes are linked together. It was also now I approach the empirical findings with a more analytic view connected to my research questions. This process took long time and continued during the entire process of completing the thesis. It was a challenge to determine which subjects were of interest and not. At the end of this stage I had identified some main- and sub-themes.

4. Reviewing themes

The next step was to improve the selected themes. Questions I have asked myself are if themes need to be separated, if there is enough data for every theme or if the data is too scattered. It resulted in a thematic map giving me an overview of the different themes and their relation to each other and the research questions.

5. Defining and naming themes

At this stage it is time to analyse the data within the themes. During this phase I identified what is interesting about each theme and why. The sections have also been given final headlines.

4. Results and discussion

This chapter presents a compilation and discussion of the data collected during interviews and observations. The chapter is divided into three main themes; (1) Overview of stakeholders, responsibility and relation. (2) Circumstances influencing rural tourism development. (3) Challenges in rural tourism development. The organisations which the informants represent are authorities, associations and active entrepreneurs.

4.1 Overview of stakeholders, responsibility and relations

This section is initiated with a compilation of the different stakeholders' view on tourism in relation to rural development. It includes several sub-themes, such as the relation between different stakeholders and their contributions to develop rural areas through tourism.

4.1.1 Stakeholders relation to tourism development

Tourism is often mentioned as a possible way to develop rural areas. This section will present the different stakeholders' views. The informants are both tourism entrepreneurs and other actors who enable conditions for tourism development. My interpretation of my data is that the stakeholders have different perspectives of their purpose for rural tourism.

4.1.1.1 Åstråkens tourism association

The president of Åstråkens tourism association, Johan, believes it is crucial to create revenue to develop entrepreneurship within the tourism sector. The association consists of several entrepreneurs, many of them engaging in tourism development at the side of their regular full-time job. The association strives for promoting increased tourism in the association's geographical scope, which foremost are rural areas. "*Visiting goals cannot be achieved by voluntary labour on a long-term basis. It requires a spin-off effect through revenue. Otherwise it will not be sustainable in the long run.*" He further discusses how it is not desirable for entrepreneurs to provide services to tourists, it they lead to deficit. The commitment needs to bring positive effects such as income, even if full-time employment is not possible. "*In the long run, you get tired of it. The enthusiasm dies.*" According to Johan a dedication for tourism development can be born from one's interest. However, in the long run it is not interesting for them to provide a service as charity, free of charge since the entrepreneur invest so much time and energy in it.

Johan repeatedly mentions the importance of revenue to be able to develop rural tourism in Uppsala. According to him it is crucial for entrepreneurs to become long-term financially sustainable. Johan also focuses on another

aspect beside the economical. He himself is a keen domestic tourist, who has visited almost every landscape in Sweden. It is the rural environments with nature- and culture attractions which been his main target. I find Johan's enthusiasm for tourism development goes further than just the economical aspect. It is almost as a democratic standpoint, as he experiences an unequal relationship between urban and rural environments. For example he mentions how rural attractions are excluded from the marketing material that Destination Uppsala is responsible for. The engagement in the issue made him one of the founders of the association he represents.

I understand Johan's argument of revenue being of importance for entrepreneurship as an entrepreneur can initiate their business without the security of revenue. It may be the entrepreneurs' own passion that is incentive enough to launch a business. However, it may be as a side core to their regular work. Nevertheless, for the business to manage in the long run Johan's strong belief is that it needs to bring income to the entrepreneur. Hjorth & Johannisson (1998) stated the economic gain is rarely the reason for an entrepreneur to start a business to begin with. However, it is the opportunity to involve one's passion in one's livelihood which is appealing. It seems to be in line with Johan's view. Yet, there seem to be a distinction between the reason to launch a business (incentive is passion) and to manage the business in the long run (incentive is changed to profit).

4.1.1.2 Kroksta farm
The owner of Kroksta farm, Sofia, sees her bed and breakfast as a way of still being able to run a business in the countryside when it is no longer possible to make a living on farming. Her guests vary from international to domestic tourists, both companies and private groups.

Sofia describes a cultural value through her connections to the farm. Since she grew up on the farm and inherited it from her parents her personal connection to the area is strong. Perhaps it is the opportunity to continue to run the farm as a business rather than the tourism development which is appealing to Sofia. Through her company the buildings and surroundings which characterized her childhood are being taken care of. Sofia describes

how the rest of the family (without being involved in the company) still invest a lot of time taking care of the farm.

4.1.1.3 Naturjouren

Stefan at Naturjouren describes their foremost purpose as making nature available for people and increase the knowledge of social values in nature environments. Stefan's interest in the issue is based on his own experience as he describes he had to quit his job due to exhaustion. "*When I got ill, I decided: this is it! I need to be outdoors! I knew the presence of nature was crucial for my health and I wanted to create opportunities for others to discover how nature affects your wellbeing.*" He decided to create a job situation where his place of work was based outdoors. At first, he worked at "Naturskolan" (school of nature) with outdoor education. He later moved on to a job at Skogsstyrelsen (the Forestry Board) as supervisor for a labour market project. The aim of the project was to integrate people who were unemployed due to illness or other issues. This was done through doing an inventory of trees, on behalf of the County Administrative Board. Stefan says:

> "*Our expectation was that the project would go on for two years, but it was closed down after one year. It was tough for the participants but during that year the results were amazing. People had gone from being so ill they did not get up from bed, with low self-esteem thinking everything is worthless, to become very ambitious and seeing their participation as something important, contributing to making the nature available for more people. It was very joyful to see!*"

Stefan is further telling that this became the core in Naturjourens function; to work for biodiversity and the social values of the forest. "*It was important for us that the people who came to work with us understood we brought value to the nature and other humans. It is the foundation in our business*". He explains that by raising the wellbeing of the participants they enabled for others to access nature; by clearing forest paths they improved the accessibility.

Stefan describes the importance of the social values combined with ecological values. It is both about helping others to discover our nature as

well as making it accessible, regardless of the users' previous experience of being in nature. Stefan also describes a large interest in history and wildlife. To my understanding he wants to increase common knowledge and help create better conditions for the wildlife and flora.

One thing which characterized the interviews with Stefan, Sofia and Johan were their enthusiasm. During my initial contact with Stefan he said that the municipality needed more efforts focusing on tourism. He initiated the interview by asking "*How much time do you have? I can talk about this until tomorrow!"* They all had plenty of ideas to develop their businesses and seem extremely passionate about the issue. They express characteristics that are important in the role of entrepreneurs; including initiative-taking and to discover opportunities and create profit (Kuratko 2016) as founding associations (Johan), launching (Stefan) and developing (Sofia) companies within the sector.

4.1.1.4 The County Administrative Board

Martina at the County Administrative Board works with managing funds within the rural development programme. The effort to encourage rural enterprises to diversify their businesses and sometimes their contribution favours the tourism sector as well. However, it is the rural development that is their main purpose.

> "*In many places new businesses are created, such as cafés and accommodation. The environmental goals are important in the rural development programme; it makes it possible to combine entrepreneurship with rural tourism development. It is done through equipping and highlighting some places. The improvements affect both the residents and the tourists. It contributes to develop destinations in several ways!"*

According to Martina their main target group is the rural residents. The County Administrative Boards efforts are to facilitate the residents' life. However, this can also result in increasing value for tourism development, which Martina sees as something positive.

4.1.1.5 Upplandsstiftelsen

Upplandsstiftens work towards making nature more available for everyone through infrastructure. They are contributing to recreation and movement in nature.

The County Administrative Board and Upplandsstiftelsen both cherish the ecological aspects of protecting the nature. Both informants from these organisations believe it is important that nature environments are available, for example for the health and wellbeing contributing to social values. A danger with tourism is the risk of short-term financial gain at the expense of ecological values (Sharpley 2003 in Canavan 2014) An outcome of this may lead to a destination losing its appeal based on deterioration of the environment (Mihalič 2000; Sedmak & Mihalič 2008 in Canavan 2014). Neither Upplandsstiftelsens nor the County Administrative Board's main aim is to increase tourism. Instead their work contributes to rural development through other values.

4.1.1.6 Region Uppsala

Karin who represents Region Uppsala describes how important tourism is for the growth. Karin argues that increased tourism can contribute to rural development.

"Tourism is of great importance! It attracts external tourists but also contributes to the attractiveness of the county, with establishments and occupation. Events, restaurants and trade within the tourism sector strengthen other parts. It also becomes a more attractive place to live and work for the residents."

According to Region Uppsala, tourism development has effects influencing many parts of society, but foremost the factors connected to growth such as increased number of residents and companies. Brouder (2013) and Lööf (2018) argue that entrepreneurship is important for rural development. It is also interplay where tourism can favour service establishments and thereby maintain or improve the situation for the residents (Lööf 2018). Striving for growth-oriented tourism development is an unrealistic goal for most communities in rural and peripheral areas (Sharpley 2002 in Brouder 2013:33). According to Brouder (2013) entrepreneurs should instead be

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considered as contributors to the local tourism offer, creating few jobs and surviving in a challenging and variable tourism industry. I believe this way of viewing tourism growth in rural areas by acknowledging the contributions of a small-scale entrepreneur through creating some employments; can perhaps contribute to rural development without the negative effects of a great tourist pressure.

4.1.1.7 Destination Uppsala

Destination Uppsala's business idea is to "*position Uppsala as a destination by selling and marketing the city to selected markets and target groups to create revenue and development for Uppsala's visitor industry.*" (Destination Uppsala 2019). Destination Uppsala's activity is solely focused on tourism development. Their goals are amongst others to double the turnover within the tourism sector in Uppsala and greatly increase the number of stays (Destination Uppsala 2015).

Region Uppsala and Destination Uppsala discusses tourism and rural tourism as a growth strategy. A difference is that Destination Uppsala's foremost focus is the tourism sector and increasing the number of stays whilst Region Uppsala has a width of sectors they are responsible for. Tourism may lead to advantageous outcomes such as more jobs and more profitability. One issue on the other hand is that the estimated value is limited, only taking the economic value into account (Canavan 2014).

The informants have different perspectives as they represent different kinds of actors, with separate agendas. Some of them sees rural tourism development as a possible business arena (Åstråkens tourism association), career change and preserving childhood home (Kroksta farm), to strengthen businesses by diversifying companies (the County Administrative Board), for recreation and education (Naturjouren, Upplandsstiftelsen), as a growth strategy for the tourism sector (Destination Uppsala) or for the county (Region Uppsala).

4.1.2 Relation between stakeholders

This section will explore the different stakeholders' relation to each other when it comes to rural development through tourism. It highlights both the efforts today and the requests of improvement for the future. All the informants share the view that companies are responsible for the tourism entrepreneurship. However, the entrepreneurs request a more active role of the authorities to encourage entrepreneurs. Some entrepreneurs experience good support when it comes to project funding, but not all of them. All informants share the view of collaboration as of importance to develop tourism.

4.1.2.1 Support and encouragement from authorities

Stefan at Naturjouren believes a key to develop tourism in rural Uppsala is for authorities to encourage entrepreneurs and be accommodating. He believes some of the responsibility to increase the number of entrepreneurs within this line of business lies on the authorities.

> *"Instead of searching for errors and shortcoming, they should support the entrepreneurs to find solutions. I believe it is much more important part than financial contributions. It is necessary for the entrepreneurs to manage themselves economically, in order to do business. I believe that is the most important thing! Authorities being responsive rather than suspicious and understand how the rural can actually be a source of income and livelihood."*

He believes there is a need to communicate their position as not only being allowed to "*exploit*", but also desirable to do so. Stefan describes situations which I understand as a feeling of the entrepreneurs not experiencing fully support from the authorities. Stefan point out that for example the County Administrative Board has changed their view during the last couple of decades and opening up for tourism development. Martina at the County Administrative Board:

> *"Our assignment is to protect the nature. We have nature reserves where we work specifically with outdoor life, to increase the number of people in nature and facilitate opportunities for outdoor life. If the County Administrative Board is responsible for the nature reserves it should be free of charge for the visitors. It is not tourism from an economic angle, but it increases the interest of getting into*

nature. But with a different purpose; facilitating outdoor activities, increase availability and knowledge about natural environments."

Both Martina and Stefan describe how the authority County Administrative Boards have moved in a direction which favours the opportunity to use tourism as a tool to rural development. Their task has expanded to also include efforts that benefit other values than protection, such as accessibility to nature. Both argue that the County Administrative Board is more willing to discuss tourism in sensitive areas today, as long as it is done in a way that does not harm the ecological values. However, Stefan experiences some additional efforts would further improve the opportunity to develop tourism. The expanded opportunity of using nature environments in tourism development has not been communicated to the companies clearly enough. He believes that encouragement is more important than economic contributions, a service for example that the County Administrative Board is providing. According to Kaushik & Bhatnagar (2007) there are different types of barriers challenging entrepreneurs during their work. One example can be political factors such as the need for support from governments. Lack of support could lead to risk that the entrepreneurs may close down their business (Kaushik & Bhatnagar 2007). My understanding is that companies show uncertainty about what is allowed and not, especially in a situation where earlier prohibitions are encouraged today, but not clearly communicated.

4.1.2.2 Project funding
Stefan at Naturjouren thinks the most important thing authorities can do to support entrepreneurs are encouragement. However, he also mentions a problem with tourism not being included in for example Upplandsbygd[6] strategy and thereby affects the opportunity to apply for project funds. He believes there is untapped potential in project funding for tourism development. He mentions how the entrepreneurial compound Åstråkens

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[6] Non-profit association for the municipalities Uppsala, Sigtuna, Knivsta and Östhammar working with the rural development method called leader, managing support for rural development.

tourism association became aware of this when they decided to apply for project funding.

"When Åstråkens tourism associaton wanted to apply for a project they became aware of this. Fortunately, it was possible to motivate it based on other parameters so they could apply for a project within tourism development after all."

In this specific example the situation was solved despite the lack of tourism development within Upplandsbygds strategy. Johan, the president for Åstråkens tourism association, also mentions their project application to Upplandsbygd but he seems very satisfied with their support. *"They have been helpful and easy to communicate with, giving us advice for the future."*

Martina describes how the County Administrative Board views their role in rural development. They are responsible for managing funds within the rural development programme and assist with advice to companies in rural areas.

"How can we contribute? How can we use the money (The rural development programme) we have, to support and reach as many as possible? We notice that sometimes you start a project with one purpose but the very best result of the project was something else, maybe a new network. We offer everything from company development and product development to advice in the form of courses or studies or corporate visits and also individual counselling. We need to take the entire chain into consideration so it does not stop at an idea".

Martina says that it is in their interest to intercept the ideas in an early stage and advise the entrepreneurs, so their idea become reality. She describes their role to support in managing the bureaucracy of project applications. Despite Stefan expressing some concerns about the opportunity to apply for projects within tourism development he also explained how the organization Upplandsbygd, despite tourism not being included in their strategy, solved the issue to support Åstråkens tourism association initiative. Upplandsbygd can also be a tool to increase the collaboration between the different sectors. The "*leader-method*" is ideally based upon cooperation between private, public and nonprofit organisations. The participating municipalities

(Uppsala, Sigtuna, Knvista and Östhammar) are also co-financing the organization (Upplandsbygd 2019).

The entrepreneurs find that tourism has a huge potential but experience that the possible gain is not completely utilized. Region Uppsala and the municipality of Uppsala strategies have tourism growth and development as prioritized areas (The municipality of Uppsala 2017) and Region Uppsala (2013)). Despite this, the entrepreneurs are not feeling satisfied with the efforts from authorities. They wish for a more active approach and the authorities' to clearly communicate their standpoint.

All the informants agree that more collaboration is needed to develop rural tourism. The entrepreneurs communicate feelings of not being listened to or prioritized, for example since their attempt to affect strategies has failed. Since the leader method is based upon collaboration between at least two different sectors, but ideally three, my understanding is that the collaboration (which the entrepreneurs think are insufficient today) and thereby rural development could benefit from the possibility to search for and carry through projects in cooperation. My understanding is that tourism development can act as an arena to initiate collaboration. The relations and trust which can be created in such a process may later contribute in other ways to rural development.

4.1.2.3 Cooperation

Public sector supporting private sector is necessary for rural tourism development (Hall & Williams 2008 in Brouder 2013:31). However, several informants also discuss the need of more collaboration between stakeholders. Stefan at Naturjouren believes the authorities need to have a holistic approach to the development. He believes a will to cooperate is most important. Karin at Region Uppsala experiences that the cooperation between different actors could favour the development but the cooperation is not as strong as it could be. She explains:

   "*There is a potential and need to connect with each other. Upplandsstiftelsen is responsible for Upplandsleden. They need to talk to tourist-entrepreneurs to enable*

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product development. They need to find arenas to discuss this, meet each other and begin a development based on that. Upplandsstiftelsen contribute with competence, but they do not sell or package anything".

Karin argues that different actors contribute with various parts. However, development requires more cooperation than is happening today. For example, she mentions lack of cooperation between Upplandsstiftelsen and local entrepreneurs. She argues that cooperation is important to complement the parts which the public sector cannot provide, such as sale of packaged tourism products. Karolina at Upplandsstiftelsen also says they are cooperating very little with entrepreneurs, but in cooperation generally she expresses herself a bit different. "*We cooperate all the time with everyone. We have a good cooperation both with the different destination development companies in the county, several associations and Region Uppsala. We have a very good collaboration*!" Karolina discusses collaboration with actors active in the public sector and not cooperation with entrepreneurs from the private sector. Karin at Region Uppsala mentions the need of arenas for Upplandsstiftelsen to meet and collaborate with small-scale entrepreneurs within the tourism sector. The reason for this might be their different organisations where Region Uppsala sees collaboration between sectors as important to encourage growth whilst Karolina experiences good collaboration with the actors they need to reach their aim of making nature available.

This reminded me of my participation in the partnership meeting. The balance between participants was predominantly actors from public sectors, such as municipalities. Some non-profit organisation's such as associations, universities and research institutes were also present. However, the small-scale companies working with tourism were not present, except Naturjouren. There could be several reasons for this: One of the reasons could be that Sofia experiences a distance to public service support. Even if the meeting was open to all with an interest in the matter, the initiative did not reach out to all involved stakeholders such as the small rural tourist entrepreneurs.

4.1.3 Development for whom?

For tourism to contribute to rural development some of the informants argue that it is important to keep the target groups in their consideration while working. Martina at the County Administrative Board mentions an issue regarding rural tourism where, according to people living in urban areas, the rural only seem to exist as their ideal holiday spot. "*Oh, how nice with little red cabins*". Martina is careful to point out that the investments the rural development programme is providing always should proceed from the purpose to contribute to rural development for the residents' sake. Potential tourism development as additional outcome is positive, but not the organisation's main aim. Stefan at Naturjouren also discusses a potential risk if the rural becomes an entertainment arena for people living in the cities

The concerns expressed by Martina and Stefan show a risk of tourism development being dominated by the view of tourists. In order to contribute to rural development, it should be the residents who set the agenda for their society and the changes arising from tourism. According to Crompton & Ap (1994 in Haley, Snaith & Miller 2004) it is a risk to remove the influence from residents since they are vital to succeed with tourism development.

Both Martina and Stefan problematise how development and investment in rural areas sometimes only seem justified if it satisfies the urban citizens and/or tourists. The County Administrative Board manages this risk by always proceeding from the view of the residents and companies active in rural areas. When managing a project application, they prioritise efforts which favour residents, rather than tourists. However, Martina argues it is not a disadvantage if their efforts favour more than their main target group.

According to Canavan (2014) tourism can influence resident's view of their local identity. The interest from tourists can increase a feeling of living in an attractive place. On the other hand, a decrease in tourism may lead to lower self-esteem (Canavan 2014). That may explain how this situation can occur. I believe that living in a place that is perceived as attractive is tempting for many residents. If one's value is determined based on the interest of others,

it seems like a natural idea to reproduce oneself based on that expectation rather than their own will. I believe a risk with viewing rural areas as unequal to urban areas is that residents may learn to consider their intrinsic value based on the interest of tourists. Another risk with viewing rural environments as entertainment arenas for urban guests partly contributes to an increased polarisation between urban and rural environments. Rural residents may cease to be perceived as equal residents but instead reconstitutes themselves to fit in to the frame and expectation of tourists. If the residents of cities and urban environments determine that their romanticised image of rurality is based on the view that it is places for their vacation and recreation it may prevent development for the rural residents. To assume that perspective in development may risk downgrading entire rural communities to exist to please urban citizens or be a commercialised tourism product bringing profit instead of residents with equal rights. The rural becomes an idyllic picture of expectations "*the front stage*", rather than reflecting the reality, "*the backstage*" (MacCannell 1999 in Urry 2002). This can lead to societies adapting themselves to fit with the expectations of tourists, creating two realities, where one is the authentic reality and the other one the customized reality. The risk is to prioritise wrong and reinforce tourists' expectations instead of favouring the residents. Increased tourism can affect residents since the expectation of tourists to experience the authentic reality is colored by their prejudice, which does not need to reflect reality.

4.2 Circumstances influencing rural tourism development

Brouder (2013) found that entrepreneurs are vital to rural development. This section will explore the characteristics of entrepreneurs and factors which influence them when conducting rural tourism development. To be entrepreneurial should not be viewed upon a something only allowed a few. Instead the basis for an entrepreneurial process can flourish given the right circumstances (Steyaert & Katz 2004). It does on the other hand require some courage as being entrepreneurial may mean the risk of failure or economic loss but also attributes as being optimistic and discovering

opportunities in one's environment (Shapero 1975: Kuratko 2009). Besides this it is also required the ability of turning this detected resource into something profitable (Kuratko & Audretsch 2009).

4.2.1 Risk perception

Some of the informants discuss one possible barrier for entrepreneurship being the increased risk-taking for the individual. Entrepreneurship as an idea seems to be connected to some kind of willingness to take risks. There is not only the financial risk of the individual which may affect a person to engage in entrepreneurship, but there is also a risk of failure. There is no guarantee that the entrepreneurial idea will succeed, and the risk cannot be entirely avoided (Shapero 1975 in Kuratko 2009; Kuratko 2016).

4.2.1.1 Risk taking through diversified business

Martina at the County Administrative Board supports rural companies by managing means from the rural development programme. She argues:

>"*For the rural areas to develop, small business owners need to dare to take risks and see it as a chance to reach out! Maybe small companies should merge and have shared information and webpage so that they can develop destinations together. Tourism is incredibly important for the small businesses.*"

Martina talks about existing companies who diversify their businesses to include activities regarding the tourism sector and her suggestion above proposes risk management through collaboration. At a time where the profitability decreases a company's ability to diversify their business to create security can be crucial. This describes how Sofia at Kroksta farm created her business. She is self-employed, and when the business was created she both studied and was running a housing rental for students, bringing income from several sources. Four years ago, the bed and breakfast became her full-time employment. Her other sources of income may have allowed Sofia to gradually develop her company and adjust the risk to finally take the step and focus primarily on the bed and breakfast.

People who are entrepreneurs within other sectors may thus extend their business to include efforts contributing to tourism development. By doing so

the entrepreneur may manage the risk of financial loss (Kuratko 2016). It is still possible to lose investments. However, it can create safety for the individual's opportunity to support themselves.

4.2.1.2 Risk taking when leaving an employment

Martina at the County Administrative Board focuses on risk adjustment for already active companies to diversify their businesses. However, Karin at Region Uppsala concentrates on another group of potential entrepreneurs. She believes they need to encourage people to take a risk in becoming entrepreneurs by leaving their current employment. "*To leave an employment to become entrepreneur is a huge step for the individual!"* She believes there is a need for support systems, so entrepreneurs has the courage to expand and have it as a full-time job. Karin mentions how Uppsala is a county with high employment since the public sector, for example Uppsala hospital, is being a huge employer. She compares Uppsala with Dalarna which has had a strong tourist sector for a long time. She believes the cause for creating a business may be a relatively high unemployment, as in Dalarna, in combination with holistic efforts for the tourism development.

"We don't have it (a strong tourist sector) here (in Uppsala). There are no major investments in the tourism sector either. It is not a task for public sector to develop the tourist industry, but perhaps the low unemployment results in these small companies within the sector not being created. In more sparsely populated areas or with high unemployment you can see tourism companies are being created."

According to Karin the development of small business within the tourism sector can be connected to unemployment or a person leaving their employment to be entrepreneurs. Johan, president for the entrepreneurial compound Åstråkens tourism association also discusses what it takes for employees to leave their employment and engage in rural tourism development. *"You do not strive for managing a hobby activity outside your regular office work, you strive to create economic capacity".* As I understand Johan's statement, it needs to bring revenue to the entrepreneur to be interesting to engage in tourism development. Johan and Karin seem to

share the view of entrepreneurship primarily being created through individuals leaving their current employment, and the safety provided by it, to create a business.

Kaushik & Bhatnagar (2007) mention the need for initiative to develop entrepreneurship. What Karin at Region Uppsala says about high unemployment rates being connected to more people engaging in entrepreneurship may be one reason affecting entrepreneurship since being unoccupied can mean that the step is smaller, to take initiative and becoming entrepreneurial. Perhaps the risk can be experienced as lower since it does not imply you need to leave the safety of being employed. Instead the situation can favour you by being entrepreneurial, such as the ability to support oneself. On the other hand, one has a more vulnerable financial situation which may reduce the willingness of taking the risk of being in debt to create a company.

These informants represent different organisations, which may explain their different views on the matter. Karin represents Region Uppsala, an authority being responsible for the regional development, amongst others for enterprise and annually increased number of companies. Johan is president of the entrepreneurial compound Åstråkens tourism association, striving for contributing to better opportunities for people to engage in tourism development. However, Martina works foremost with active companies who may diversify their current businesses.

The informants discuss how the entrepreneurs relate to potential risk. Martina proposes collaboration with companies in similar situations as a possible solution to the increased risk of extended business. However, Karin focuses on the creation of new companies which rises from either unemployment or leaving a current employment. Johan discusses financial risk and wants to encourage people to be tourist entrepreneurs' full time. In a risk perspective I think that launching a business, as a part time activity, can contribute to a feeling of security, since it enables for the entrepreneur to find their way gradually to a functioning business model. In the future it may develop to the main employment. According to Brouder (2013) and

Lööf (2018) rural development is dependent on entrepreneurship. I.e. it is vital for entrepreneurs to overcome obstacles as risk-taking and dare to try their idea if tourism should be a tool for rural development.

4.2.2 Infrastructure and communications

This section will explore the significance of infrastructure and communications for rural development and tourism. Several informants mention infrastructure as an important part influencing the opportunity to develop tourism. According to Karin at Region Uppsala the infrastructure is "*relatively well-developed*" but she mentions that there is a difference between the view of people living in the rural areas and the perception of tourists. Residents may not always be satisfied with the public communications.

Johan, which is part of the entrepreneurial compound Åstråkens tourism association believes that the communications to Uppsala's rural areas are good. However, Brita at Destination Uppsala does not agree. She believes there are certain shortcomings. Sometimes companies within the tourism sector based outside of the city must pick up their guests by car. Brita believes that some rural areas, for example Hammarskog, need to be easier to access by bus. She also thinks rural nature tourism would benefit from the opportunity to have the luggage transported between different accommodations, since it enables hiking as a tourist activity.

Lack of basic infrastructure is a possible barrier for entrepreneurship. *"Basic infrastructures like transportation, communications are very essential for promoting, and innovating activities. If these are not present they discourage an entrepreneur*" (Kaushik & Bhatnagar 2007:36). There is a need to separate infrastructure from communications, as Karin at Region Uppsala does above. Infrastructure defined as the physical conditions with roads, and communications defined as the possibility to travel with public transportation such as train or bus. Both are important to develop rural areas. Tourism can also create a financial basis for maintaining other service establishments (Lööf 2018).

According to Karin at Region Uppsala and Brita at Destination Uppsala the infrastructure in the municipality is working well. They believe it is the public transport in rural areas that is the problem. To develop tourism in rural areas, the communications in Uppsala may be a barrier. They argue that if an area is difficult to reach, the investment of resources for the entrepreneur to make the destination accessible becomes higher. For example, if there is a need for the entrepreneur to pick up their guests by car, it requires both investments in time and money compared to the scenario where the destination is possible to reach by other means, such as the tourists own initiative to use public transportation.

According to Butlers (2006) model it is during one of the earliest stages of destination development that authorities begin to experience pressure on improving infrastructure. It is the increased tourism which works as an engine for better infrastructure and thereby rural development.

4.2.2.1 Choice of transport depending on tourist

One reason for the informants' different views on the current communications can be their separate target groups and the tourist's knowledge about the surroundings they visit. According to Destination Uppsala's strategy for tourism development (2015) their priority geographically is to market themselves towards international guests or tourists with at least two hour's travel. In comparison, Åstråken's tourism association mostly has local guests, they are primarily focusing on people living in the municipality or nearby counties. From the start of Åstråken's tourism association in 2016 there have been one international guest requesting a translation of their marketing material. Their target groups therefor differ in terms of itinerary. According to WTOs (2007) definitions the tourists visiting Åstråken's tourism association are domestic tourists. They may be familiar with the surroundings and use local transports such as buses or private cars. They may both have the local knowledge, making it easier to find their way or being national tourists knowing how the public transport system works.

Destination Uppsala's target groups are according to WTO (2007) defined as national and international tourists. Since they are foremost travelling from other places in Sweden and other countries they may lack the local knowledge necessary for easy moving around in the municipality. More effort and time may be required for them to be able to discover the tourist attractions available, particularly the attractions outside the city center which are not reachable within walking distance. Since the target group that Brita at Destination Uppsala focuses on may need support to use communications, the issues concerning public transport may seem clearer to her. This may be one reason affecting the different views on infrastructure and communications between the organisations.

4.2.2.2 The stakeholders' context
The actors' different view of the communications can be a result of the context of their work. Karin at Region Uppsala shares Brita at Destination Uppsala view of deficiencies in the communications whilst Sofia, owner of the B&B is more on Johan's track and does not mention any problems. Sofia states that most of her guests travel by car, but it is also possible to arrive by the public transportation. Despite Sofia's guests being both international and domestic she does not mention any problems with transportations to her farm.

Karin at Region Uppsala on the other hand is familiar with the lack of communications. Region Uppsala is responsible for the public transports in the county. This implies that Karin have a comprehensive approach to the issue leading to her view of locations both where the communications work and places where they do not. Also, Brita working at Destination Uppsala, the company marketing the municipality of Uppsala as tourist destination, relates to a larger geographic area. Whilst Karin and Brita argue, based on an overview of the municipality and county, Sofia's reasoning is based on her experience as an entrepreneur in the local context of her company.

4.3 Challenges in rural tourism development
This chapter will investigate challenges for rural development. Some subjects are circumstances which affect all entrepreneurs, not only the ones

active in rural areas or in the tourism industry, for example national legislation and regulation.

4.3.1 National legislation and regulation

A factor discussed by some of the informants as having impact on them as entrepreneurs are national legislation and regulations. Both Sofia at Kroksta farm and Johan at Åstråkens tourism association experience a barrier with bureaucracy and tourism development.

Sofia describes it as a feeling of being "*left alone*" with a huge amount of bureaucracy to manage. She gives the example of when she came up with the idea of developing a catering business within her company. However, when she discovered the regulations she lost the energy. "*I would have appreciated a little more support… They (government) are often responsible for review and to make the decisions. A little help or advice would mean a lot*". Her experience of applying for a building permit is described as a time-consuming process with many additions.

Johan mentions how "*it is impossible for a small company to sell a cup of coffee*" because of water regulations and licenses at high expense for the small entrepreneur. *"It makes you simply scared away from starting a small café!"* Johan says that the cost for approved water, annual fees and inspections far exceeds the possible profit of selling coffee for a small entrepreneur. The examples given by Sofia and Johan is national legislation affecting all entrepreneurs conducting in a business. However, to my understanding it is not the bureaucracy per se that they experience as the issue. Both Sofia and Johan describe that they understand it is important with controls to sustain a correct quality. It is the loneliness and feeling of being left out, that they experience as tough. Sofia would appreciate some advice or a push in the right direction.

The entrepreneurs desire more support from authorities, amongst others to manage bureaucracy and find supporting organisations. Sofia and Johan describe feelings of being left alone with complex bureaucracy where contact with authorities represents setbacks on applications. Sofia expresses

a need for a more active role from the municipality administration, instead of them just refusing her suggestions she would appreciate proposals to make it easier to have an application approved. There is some support to get, the municipality of Uppsala have enterprise developers who responds to questions and guide the local companies to relevant business supporting organisations or internally in the municipality administration. Perhaps some of the entrepreneurs are not always aware of this opportunity? In that case, this may be an indication of the need for increased marketing concerning the available services that support companies.

4.3.2 Tourism paradox

Several of the informants mention the need for profit, in order to develop tourism entrepreneurship linked to rural development. A challenge mentioned is the opportunity to create employment and make rural tourism economically viable. Kamfjord (2002) describes the tourism paradox as how a tourist destination may be popular based on specific attractions. The paradox arises when it is not the attraction itself which generates the income. Instead the attraction may entice people to visit that specific place but the revenue ends up with other stakeholders (Kamfjord 2002), who providing for needs such as housing and places to eat (Smith 1989).

4.3.2.1 Nature tourism and the right of public access

According to the informants it is foremost the nature tourism which is affected by the tourism paradox. The right of public access make nature available and free of charge. Johan from Åstråken's tourism-association "*Nature tourism in Sweden does not generate income, you are walking on a hiking trail with your own thermos, it does not give income to anyone else*." Also, Stefan from Naturjouren sees several challenges with creating a tourism product based on nature values. He believes that to be able to create an economic value in rural tourism it is necessary to offer something more than just the availability. For example, he mentions providing a hide-out to photograph from or by conveying a story which will afford the visitors a deeper experience. Both Martina at the County Administrative Board and Stefan at Naturjouren also discuss the issue of how tourists "*just take day trips*" to Uppsala. To increase the number of overnight stays is also

something Destination Uppsala is striving for. According to Kamfjord (2002) it is foremost by services provided for longer stays, for example accommodation, rather than day trips it is possible to make profit. This may imply that the possible increased economical flow to the locality, affecting the potential rural development is not forthcoming during day trips.

In rural areas, specifically in environments close to big cities, it appears that it is foremost the urban companies providing accommodation and food, which may earn revenue from rural tourists. An exception from this may be Sofia's company. Even though her own business mainly provides the accommodation, her cooperation with her neighbours create access to the other needs. Since one company close by is selling horseback-riding lessons/adventures and another one is catering food, it is possible for the guests visiting Kroksta farm to meet all their needs close by.

The tourism paradox describes how a beautiful nature appeals to tourists to visit a destination. However, according to my data it is also necessary for the tourists to spend money in that local context in order to contribute to rural development. The tourism paradox may be a relevant challenge in tourism development in rural Uppsala. It appears that the rural Uppsala competes with the urban Uppsala in terms of providing these services and response to tourist needs. This situation may emerge because of the closeness to all choices available in the city. Since the tourists visiting Uppsala's areas do it foremost as daytrips or starting from the city of Uppsala or even Stockholm, it implies that revenue ends up in other places than the rural local society, since the tourist can fulfil their needs in the urban area while only visiting a rural area during the day.

4.3.3 Residents self-image and the tourist gaze

Residents' self-image is one issue mentioned by several informants as influencing the opportunity for tourism development. This section is divided into two parts. The first will explore reasons for the residents' self-image in a tourism perspective. The end of this chapter investigates how the ambition

to develop tourism and fulfil tourists' expectations can affect rural societies. To understand the data, Urrys (2002) concept the tourist gaze will be used.

Several of the informants mention how they experience residents in Uppsala as being home-blind to the values which may attract tourists. Sofia at Kroksta farm says "*Overall in Sweden, we do not see that what we have is something to highlight: our history, culture and nature. We are a little home-blind.*" Sofia continues to explain how she was not interested in continuing the farm as agriculture production. It was during her own travel in England, living at bed and breakfasts there, she realised it was possible to use the farm for other business purposes than farming. *"Times I have been abroad in other countries, environments always felt so exotic. When you travel a lot and return back home you realise that what you have here is also something. It opens up one's eyes."* When she returned from her travel in England the company Kroksta farm, providing bed and breakfast, was created. According to Sofia's experience it was in comparison to something else that she discovered the value in her proximity.

During a lecture, a member in the association Fjärdhundraland gave the example of an international tourist who was amazed by one of the rune stones in the county. The tourist supposed the rune stone, completely unprotected, was a replica of the real stone, which obviously should be hidden away and protected somewhere else (Thorburn lecture 2018). The laughter from the indigenous audience revealed how absurd the proposal of hiding away a stone appeared. The example with the unprotected rune stone may be an example of the tourist gaze. According to Urry (2002) it is in the shift from one's normal environment that one may appreciate the surroundings. Uppsala is one of the areas in Sweden with most rune stones on a small surface. This may affect the residents view on rune stones. It is part of our everyday life. Therefore, residents may take it for granted whilst tourists are astonished by it. The tourist gaze describes how the swaps from one's common surroundings result in people observing the environment with interest and curiosity (Urry 2002). The tourist gaze is a subjective rendering of the tourist environment, where the sign which fulfils our

preconception is what we notice. The change of surroundings is characteristic for tourism. It is in the change from normal everyday life to "*something else*" that the tourist gaze may arise (Urry 2002). If the tourist gaze is the ability to appreciate the surroundings and get stunned by it, but a condition for it is a shift from one's regular settings, it can explain why the informants experience that they do not live in a special area. It is part of their everyday life as residents and therefore perhaps something they take for granted.

4.3.4 Lack of magnificent objects

Another aspect which might affect the ability to develop rural tourism entrepreneurship is the lack of "*spectacular objects*". Karolina at Upplandsstiftelsen describes how residents of Uppsala do not believe they are living in an interesting area since there are no magnificent objects; "*we are home blind since there are no clear, huge attractions in Uppsala*". Instead Karolina says we have many nice little places, but we are having trouble with pointing them out and marketing them. According to Karolina residents' view of Uppsala is problematic and she believes it may be because we, for example, do not have any as steep mountain with fantastic views. Karolina believes this influence our ability to identify and market our smaller tourism pearls, such as Linnés gardens.

Since the ability to discover opportunities in one's environment is vital for entrepreneurship to arise (Kaushik & Bhatnagar 2007) the residents' self-image of not living in an interesting area may become an obstacle not allowing the entrepreneurial process to occur. It is not the "*lack of attractive objects*" of the destination itself that may be a barrier for entrepreneurship. Instead it is the residents' self-image which can hold back entrepreneurship. But according to MacCannell (1999:92 in Urry 2002:10) "*anything is potentially an attraction. It simply awaits one person to take the trouble to point it out to another as something noteworthy or worth seeing*". This might be the one difference determining if entrepreneurship arises or not. If the residents are living in the area have the characteristic of discovering opportunities where others do not. According to MacCannells (1999 in Urry

2002) argument the lack of magnificent objects does not need to be an obstacle as long as someone is taking the trouble pointing it out. To my understanding it is not the object or attraction itself that might be crucial. Instead, it is under the circumstances which someone sees profit in a tourism product. However, perhaps the perceived lack of magnificent objects is a prerequisite making it possible to develop a balanced tourism industry in rural Uppsala. Brita said Uppsala is interesting with is easy accessible nature and Brouder (2013) found that small-scale entrepreneurs can contribute to growth with limited resources by even surviving in a challenging industry. Maybe it can result in a steady stream of visitors, during a larger period of time, giving the society and sensitive environments time to recovery.

4.3.5 Embeddedness
The concept of embeddedness is used to explore opportunities and constraints for the entrepreneur to develop rural tourism. Embeddedness describes how an entrepreneur is not isolated from the context and how well the level of embeddedness in the context can determine how successful they will be if they engage in developing a company since it can lead to knowledge which favour the possibility of entrepreneurship. (Jack & Anderson 2002)

Embeddedness may contribute to network and use of resources which promotes the individual's opportunity to be entrepreneurial. Knowledge about one's surroundings and the arena to be active in is an important tool to successfully run a business. Being embedded enables access to resources in the environment. To be embedded is therefore important partly to get access to resources but also to even discover opportunities in one's environment (Jack & Anderson 2002). It can further favour the entrepreneur since it eases the risk assessment whether the business idea will function or not (Landström & Löwegren 2009). Some of the informants have examples of how embeddedness led to resources. The informants have examples both of how it created resources in forms of knowledge as well as networks.

4.3.5.1 Knowledge

Sofia, owner of Kroksta farm, describes how her company is dependent on her knowledge of the farm "*My company is attached to the context; I see it as an entirety! But such entities of farms and their vicinity can be found everywhere in Sweden and in the world.*" Sofia says further that it is possible to create companies that are similar to Kroksta farm. However, she could not have done it in another place since she grew up on the farm and has built the company on her knowledge about the context. For example, she knows her neighbours' and their potential services available for tourists. Stefan at Naturjouren also discusses how tourism is dependent on how well you know your surroundings to create a successful business.

> "*What the company (Naturjouren) is currently doing can be done anywhere in the country: to work for biodiversity, the social value of the forest and offer places to the employment agency. The phenomenon as such could be done anywhere. But if we look at this with the cultural-historical pieces, they are not as easy to base in other counties. It should be in counties where you already have a very clear cultural history base your business on. For me it would work in Jämtland, since I have been working there for quite some time and learned about the local history.*"

The argument both Sofia and Stefan mention can be seen as an example of the importance of being embedded in the context. Stefan describes how it is possible for him to create a product in Jämtland where he grew up and lived for a long time since he knows exactly where to go in the nature. Despite him living in Uppsala for the recent 16 years, he does not feel that he has the knowledge to do it here.

> "*If I were to run a company based on nature and cultural values and do it in the easiest possible way, I would not have done it here in Uppsala. Instead I would have gone up to Jämtland, because I have knowledge about the environment in a different way. There I can go straight out on a morass; set up a hiding place and know that tomorrow it will be grouse there. I do not really have that detailed knowledge of specific places here. It probably affects my business so I have one step further to establish myself in the tourism industry.*"

He does not feel that he understands the context and have access to the resources (knowledge of places) necessary to do so in Uppsala in comparison to Jämtland. If Stefan were to conduct a company within the tourism sector and especially in nature tourism, he believes he must gain the knowledge about the specific places where he can find nature that appeal tourists. Despite this, he can still discover values possible to develop to be entrepreneurial, for example he mentions the rich wildlife. The endowment of finding values in one's vicinity is an essential condition in order to be entrepreneurial (Kuratko 2016: Kaushik & Bhatnagar 2007) Based on this embeddedness and the ability to discover opportunities in one's surroundings should be advantageous to entrepreneurial development within rural tourism. The examples given by Stefan to find grouse cannot be managed by putting up signs for tourists to follow or by searching on a map. It is the knowledge through embeddedness which makes it possible to create a tourism product. Both Stefan and Sofia believe it is important to have knowledge about the surroundings to engage in rural tourism development. According to them it seems to be a prerequisite to successfully be active within the tourism sector.

4.3.5.2 Networks
Karolina at Upplandsstiftelsen also reflects about the importance of embeddedness and belonging to a context for the lone entrepreneur. She mentions how tourist entrepreneurs in Åre are extremely passionate about their business since they turned their hobby into their work. But the situation without colleagues is tough, lonely and vulnerable. According to her they solved the issues through networking. Since the entrepreneurs know each other's businesses it is possible for someone else to cover up in case of illness.

The situation which Stefan, Sofia and Karolina discuss reveals the importance of having local contacts and geographical knowledge, in other words belonging to the context and understanding the context they are active within. The solution Karolina mentions can even lower the

vulnerability of a one-man company since the embeddedness enables for others to support the entrepreneur in case of sickness.

5. Reflections on the theory of rural tourism

This chapter contains reflections on the theory of rural tourism. The section includes discussions on the influence tourism has on the rural society from several perspectives, the role of the tourist entrepreneur in a specific context, and the residents view on themselves as factors influencing rural tourism development.

5.1 Social, ecologic and economic effects in symbiosis

The previous chapter shows that tourism is not automatically contributing to rural development because of, among other things, the tourism paradox. This section reviews the effects of changes in tourism from three different aspects: the social, ecologic and economic.

The informants describe how ecologic values are potentially in danger when being exposed to increased tourism since sensitive environments may be damaged by the increased pressure. The ecologic destruction can further influence the potential economic gain of tourism. This issue is described by Brown & Hall (2000) as environments being experienced as "*too touristy*" resulting in a decline. In a case where a society's development occurred due to an increase in the tourism sector, and the case of over-exploitation it can result in major influence on that society with unemployment and loss of income. Changes in tourism can also socially harm a local society. For example, it can influence residents' view of themselves (Canavan 2014) or an economic decline for people being dependent of tourism as source of income.

Butler (2006) argues that changes in tourism are natural and followed trends. Butler has a model showing how destination goes through several stages of development. In the first stages the closeness to the residents is high and one of the reasons the destination is attractive to visit. In the

beginning the destination is left relatively unmodified and the residents do not become affected of the increasing tourism. Later on, the society adapts to provide tourists with their needs and demands. In the next stage the control of local residents is rapidly reduced, and the physical environment is changed. Then the areas economic pillars are dependent on tourism. After the stagnation stage where the area has reached a peak of guests it can continue in several ways. For example, by the destination losing its opportunity to compete with newer destinations and therefore ending in decline or rejuvenation which requires a total change of the attractions. The life cycle described identifies several negative effects of decreases in tourism, such as where residents lose control (Butler 2006). Local societies getting influenced by tourism seem to change depending on where the destination is on the development stage. During the first stages the influence is low. However, later in the process it becomes more and more inevitable.

I find it paradoxical how the closeness to the residents and their regular life is what most tourists find interesting in the beginning. Despite this, according to Butler's model (2006), residents' opinion in the matter decreases by time and the distance between tourists and residents increase. If it is the intimate meeting with residents and the opportunity to take part of others culture which allure tourists to a destination perhaps that is the ultimate level for a rural tourist destination to develop without negative sacrifice. To strive for large scale growth seems to have several negative effects. Despite the social parts affecting the resident rural tourism taking place in nature environments or other sensitive areas are even more dependent on sustainable development. Therefore, it seems to be in the interest of the entrepreneur to develop their tourism business in a sustainable way. Otherwise the resources needed for tourism development may be at risk of destruction. As Sharpley (2002 in Brouder 2013) stated that great tourism growth is unlikely to happen in most rural areas. Brouder (2013) consider that small-scale entrepreneurs are the way forward in these kinds of areas.

A decrease in tourism, regardless of the cause being ruined environments (Brown & Hall 2000), *overtourism* (McKinsey 2018 in Butler 2018:4) or the potential natural development based on destination life cycles, (Butler 2006) have several effects on society. These are connected to each other; ecological destruction will have impact on the economic gain; decrease in tourism affects residents' view on themselves. However, tourism as a tool for rural development, where advantages outweigh the disadvantages, seem possible provided that sensitive areas are being protected from destruction and residents' opinions are valued.

5.1.1 Local anchorage

Regardless of how tourism development occurs in a local community, the residents are crucial for the outcome and potential success or failure (Crompton & Ap 1994 in Haley, Snaith & Miller 2004). To investigate what impact the residents have on the tourist entrepreneur it is necessary to examine how the society view the entrepreneur and its company and the potential outcome based on this. This chapter will explore what is required to create an acceptable tourism company in a rural society.

Stefan at Naturjouren talks about the importance of local anchorage when conducting tourism development in a rural context. He does not think it is sustainable to manage a tourism company without anchoring the business in the area. He suggests that anchoring should occur either by creating employment for the residents or in other ways create economic gain for the local community. The aim is to create acceptance for the business by returning a favour for the negative effects on the society due to increased tourism. Otherwise Stefan believes the risk is that people living in the area becomes sceptical against the company. *"It is important to become someone whom they greet and think it is fun that he has started a business here, instead of you just becoming someone who is being ignored"*. Haley, Snaith & Miller mean that (2004:9) *in developing and attracting tourism to a community the goal is to achieve outcomes that obtain the best balance of benefits and costs for all key players involved, that is, residents, tourists and the tourism industry.* Also, Leslie (2015:1) emphasizes how tourism

development should not harm the environment and should lead to benefits for the residents and places (Leslie 2015:1). Eber (1992:2 cited in Leslie 2015:30) suggests that

"if tourism is to be truly beneficial to all concerned and sustainable in the long-term, it must be ensured that: resources are not over-consumed, natural and human environments are protected, tourism is integrated with other activities, it provides real benefits to the local communities, local people are involved and included in tourism planning and implementation; and cultures and people are respected."

The local entrepreneurs have impact (Russel & Faulkner, 2004, Shaw & Williams 1997 in Chapman & Light 2016) on the tourism development in a specific context (Ma & Hassink 2013 and Walton 1992 in Chapman & Light 2016). I.e. it is the entrepreneur who is responsible for ensuring that negative effects on the residents are avoided.

Local anchorage seems to be important for two main reasons: (1) the residents are being affected by increased tourism and (2) they have the power to affect the outcome for the entrepreneurs' business. Stefan believes it is essential to create local anchorage to get a socially acceptable work environment for the entrepreneur. His standpoint connects to the importance of being greeted at the local food store, and he suggests it should be done by contributing economic values for the residents.

It seems like the entrepreneur within a rural context needs to have a holistic approach to how their business affects others, especially in the tourism industry. I find it interesting that an entrepreneur working in tourism cannot be active as a neutral part in the locality. They also need to contribute value in one way or another to be socially accepted in the society. I believe social acceptance of the entrepreneur may to a greater extent emerge in rural areas. Mainly for two reasons; (1) In a rural society with a limited amount of people, it is evident if a business with negative influence on residents emerge. (2) It is possible to have local anchorage connected to personal

relations, in a rural area compared to a city, where the entrepreneur becomes more anonymous.

I think the expectations on the entrepreneur may differ depending on their background and earlier connection to the area. It is unlikely that an entrepreneur who has been born and raised in a rural society have the same pressure to bring positive affects to the other residents, in order to be accepted. That person is most likely already socially accepted and rooted in the environment creating an arena for that entrepreneur to work within. But if that entrepreneurs' business implies a negative influence or if it is a newcomer to the area I believe the anchorage is of greater importance.

5.1.2 Staged authenticity

The previous chapter describes the influence the society has on the tourist entrepreneur and the business. This section describes the impact an increased tourism may have on the residents, since adjustment to favour tourism development can influence the residents. According to Stefan rural tourism can be done the wrong way, for example by creating an amusement park about vikings.

"I think that's the wrong way. It should be based on facts and be genuine, which is based on archaeological findings and science of nature, I think this is the right way. Not by creating more artificial experiences."

Martina (the County Administrative Board) believes that sometimes the tourist's expectation of a destination becomes an idyllic idea that may not be correct. She also mentions an example of how people can have strong beliefs of Vikings wearing horns on their helmets. Another example of tourist expectations is, according to MacCannell (1999 in Urry 2002) when tourists strive for experiencing the real life of residents. A way of managing this is for local tourist entrepreneurs creating a contrived and artificial situation, called staged authenticity (MacCannell 1999, 1973 in Urry 2002). Hall & Richards (2000) discuss a similar situation, in which residents in a community identify themselves based on expectations of them as tourist attractions. It results in two realities, the backstage and the frontstage.

Tourists are being limited to the "*frontstage*", which is amplified by the request for authentic local cultures. The entire community needs to be reproduced to confirm the tourist's view of it. MacCannell's (1999 in Urry 2002) staged authenticity and Hall & Richards (2000) frontstage seem to affect residents in the same way.

The worries expressed by Stefan and Martina seem to be a potential risk affecting residents. Since the interest from tourists can determine the residents' self-esteem, (Canavan 2014) it may appear appealing to create an artificial scene to retain the interest. If so, the residents of a rural area may reinforce the expectations of tourists, even if it contributes to an artificial picture far away from the reality (the backstage). The will to meet the expectation of tourists can therefore result in reinforcing untrue prejudice. According to MacCannell (1999 in Urry 2002) it can also be a way of protecting one's privacy by instead offering something which may be interpreted as the truth, based on the expectations from the tourist gaze.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this study is to explore the opportunities and constraints for tourism as part of a strategy for rural development in Uppsala. The study is based on the perspectives and experiences of several different actors representin individual entrepreneurs, associations, companies and authorities.

The actors' relation to rural tourism development varies depending on the actor. Kroksta farm values the opportunity to continue the farm as business and preserve the farm's facilities. Åstråkens tourism association wants to create opportunity for small scale rural entrepreneurs to develop their businesses. Naturjouren is passionate about the forest as a benefactor for health. Destination Uppsala sees tourism as an engine for tourism growth and Region Uppsala as beneficial for growth in the county. The County Administrative Board support companies with the funds of the rural development programme and are responsible for protecting nature environments. Upplandsstiftelsens task is to enhance the accessibility and a

balanced use of nature environments. Nearly all informants have several incentives for their efforts.

The public sector contributes to tourism development by maintaining nature environments (Upplandsstiftelsen), improving infrastructure (Region Uppsala) and distributing project funds (the County Administrative Board). The views on the interaction between different stakeholders' responsibilities differ. Authorities' role as encouragers of entrepreneurship for tourism development requires improved information to companies about the support that can be given by public sector. Stefan at Naturjouren believes there is a need from public sector to more clearly express that it is desirable to develop rural tourism businesses based on nature environments. He thinks that kind of support and encouragement is even more important than economic funding. Informants explain the transformation of The County Administrative Board during the past decades as being a step in the right direction, from primarily working for protecting environments until today's involvement in a range of other issues, such as tourism and public health. Region Uppsala and all the entrepreneurs see a need and potential for more collaboration between the authorities and the companies, in order to encourage entrepreneurship and thereby contribute to rural development.

The conditions mentioned by the informants that affect rural tourism entrepreneurship include the risk perception of people engaging in entrepreneurship, and external effects outside of the entrepreneurs' control, such as infrastructure, communications and national legislation and regulation. The entrepreneurs find that bureaucracy connected to legislation may counteract rural tourism development. However, it is not the bureaucracy per se, but the experience of not getting support from the authorities in relating to the legislation, which is described as the main issue. The informants agree on the importance of functioning infrastructure and communications to rural tourism development. Yet, the view of the communications in Uppsala differs. The entrepreneurs do not experience any issues, whilst the representatives for Region Uppsala and Destination Uppsala recognize deficiencies. Perhaps based on their different

responsibilities since the representativess from public sector is responsible for the development of the municipality or the region, whilst the entrepreneurs may proceed from the location of their company. Kaushik & Bhatnagar (2007) mean that barriers for entrepreneurship are both the lack of support from government and absence of functioning infrastructure (Kaushik & Bhatnagar 2007).

The right of public access is unique for Sweden and may attract tourists to Sweden. However, a challenge with the accessible nature is the opportunity to create profit from it. This corresponds to the tourism paradox implying that the attraction of a destination can be the reason why tourists visit the area in the first place, for example the accessibility of nature (Smith 1989). The issue is that it is rarely this attraction which earns the revenue; instead it ends up in businesses providing the tourist with their basic needs such as accommodation and restaurants (Kamfjord 2002). Stefan and Johan, both entrepreneurs, describe both the possibilities that the right of public access offers, as well as the challenges of creating profit based upon it.

Some of the informants, foremost the entrepreneurs but also Karolina (Upplandsstiftelsen) refers to the need of being embedded in the context to successfully develop rural tourism. Entrepreneurs are always operating in a local context. Being embedded in the local context may facilitate the entrepreneurs' quest for building a business since it can lead to resources in form of networks and knowledge (Jack & Anderson 2002). It can also result in competitive advantages, such as better risk assessment since the knowledge embeddedness contributes with ease the crucial decision if a business idea is going to work (Landström & Löwegren 2009).

Some of the informants discuss how the residents' self-image may affect the entrepreneurial activity within the rural tourism sector. The lack of a specific outstanding object being a tourist attraction makes some informants believe it is more difficult to market Uppsala. However, the influence of the tourist gaze implies that there is no need for a spectacular object as tourist attraction. Instead it can be in the difference between the tourist's normal

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environment and the destination that the attraction arises (Urry 2002). The gaze also enables for "*anything being an attraction*" as long as someone is willing to mark it out and market it (MacCannell 1999 in Urry 2002).

The study may contribute to a richer understanding of the different views, responsibilities and driving forces of different stakeholders involved in tourism- and rural development in the municipality of Uppsala. It may have made some opportunities, challenges and ways forward visible; for example, the demand of more support from authorities to companies in rural areas. The study also shows a request for increased collaboration between different actors, both more arenas to meet other in the same sector, but also an increased exchange between different levels of actors. However, it is not the complete truth of how rural development and tourism coexist. The result of the thesis cannot be generalized to other parts of the country since it is dependent on the actors and the context in which the study was conducted.

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