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Tourism in the Subarctic and the Baltic Sea regions of Europe*

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Abstract. It is argued that the cultural dimensions of the Arctic and Subarctic have much to offer contemporary tourism, both as sources of new contents in tours and as an important field in tourism research and management training. In Norway, the Euroarctic is marketed to tourists focusing on nature and wildlife. A limited set of branding elements is used: northern lights, ice hotels, dogsledding, “safaris” for watching: whales, rare birds, and for catching king crabs. Wildlife, like the weather, is unreliable, and disappointed tourists are bad for business, so cultural contents have in practice proved necessary to bring into guide narratives as “backup entertainment” on no-shows of the natural attraction. Much more of the ethnological and historic heritage of the Euroarctic has potential interest to regional tourism development. This article compares tourism in the Euroarctic with that of the southeast Baltic Sea region, to find examples of what this could be and makes some recommendations based on that.

Keywords: Norway, Russia, subarctic tourism, cultural heritage, collective memory, borderland, Curonian Spit, Klaipeda.

Introduction

According to most definitions, the European Subarctic includes the northernmost counties/oblasts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia west of the Urals. Northwest Russian tourism is often routed via Moscow or Saint Petersburg and managed by tourist operators there and in Arkhangelsk or Murmansk. Bus tours and cruises in these regions sometimes connect to destinations in the adjacent southern Republics of Komi and Karelia. Taken together this “north” largely coincides with the Nordic-Russian socio-political partnership, launched in 1993, called the Barents Euroarctic Region.

Today tourism in northern Norway is in a period of growth. In Finland, subarctic tourism has been of significant economic importance for several decades thanks to a concerted effort combining cutting-edge academic knowledge of tourism with hospitality talent and entrepreneurship, all supported by visionary investors. Helped by international media attention in the last decade, the initially home oriented fleet of passenger and goods transport ships of the Hurtigruten line in Norway has been developed into a combination of a route-based transport enterprise and cruising tourism operator. The latter business is by far the important one today. On their route from Bergen to Kirkenes and back the fourteen ships of the Hurtigruten make calls at several harbor towns and villages. Local tourist operators offer short excursions during these stops, which are up to a few hours in length.

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Many of these local tourist attractions are marketed as nature-based. But international scholarship has demonstrated these to be constituted by culture in the sense that fascination with “wild” or exotic nature and traditional ways of living in remote corners of the world, is part of western popular curiosity about the north propagated since the nineteenth century in travelogues of west and central European travelers [1, Wråkberg U.]. There is nothing necessarily outdated or problematic in this interest which a tourism business could not handle and cater to in a modern ethical way, but to do that takes some professionalism. The concern over global warming, as one of its admittedly minor effects, blends in with the idea of the Arctic as exotic. It has made winter itself seem destined towards extinction and worth experiencing before it retreats beyond reach to any but the most affluent tourists.

The main issue at stake in Norway is one of striking a reasonable balance in strategies for the tourism sector between economic, cultural and environmental goals. In steering documents issued by the Norwegian government priority is given to sustainable, high-end, out-door and nature-based tourism¹. Combining this with neoliberal outlooks on university education, which favor short and practical vocational trainings, cultural aspects tend to be less emphasized in tourism management courses.

Northern Scandinavia and the adjacent part of Russia form a cross-border region with an interesting history. It has traits in common with the crossroads in Central and Eastern Europe. This provides reason to look for similarities and differences in cultural traditions at the center of Europe and in its north, and to consider their possible implication for heritage site management and tourism development. One feature in common that is seldom mentioned is the religious border zone between the Russian Orthodox and the Evangelical or Catholic Churches, which are found in central Europe as well as in the north. This aspect of culture is significant in the contemporary life of local citizens and in local heritage management, and thus of interest to tourism operators [2, Kristiansen R.E., Egeberg E.; 3, Sorokina M.].

Recent scholarship on Eastern Europe has raised general issues which are useful to be aware of in studying the Euroarctic and its border regions. Central European historians have demonstrated how so-called collective memory is formed and used and have pointed to a need to speak about different “writings of history” on many subjects, several of which are of importance to tourism management [4, Erll A.; 5, Tamm M.].

By comparing tourism on the coast of the south-eastern Baltic Sea with tourism in Northern Norway and its borderland with Russia, the field research for this report aimed to establish similarities and differences that can guide improvements in Euroarctic tourism. Both the content of northern tourist tours and the design of tourism management education at Arctic universities can benefit from the findings of this study. The ways to balance nature and culture attractions in

¹ Norwegian Ministry of Trade, Industry and Fisheries. Regjeringens reiselivsstrategi: Destinasjon Norge – Nasjonal strategi for reiselivsnæringen [Governmental strategy for tourism: Destination Norway – National strategy for the tourism industry]. 2012. URL: <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/destinasjon-norge/id677870/> (Accessed: 3 August 2018) [in Norwegian].

place branding will be explored, as well as how the right balance can be found between the interests of tourists to visits national parks and the scientific interest to keep nature parks closed to protect their nature. The conclusions on this will be presented at the end of this article².

Tourism on the Curonian Spit

The Curonian Spit is an elongated, slightly curved peninsula, a narrow extension of land some 100km in length with a width varying from 4km down to 400 metres at its most narrow point near the village of Lesnoye. It runs in an SSW-NNE direction and is part of the coast of the south-eastern corner of the Baltic Sea. To the east, it encloses the Curonian Lagoon, which opens to the Baltic Sea by a narrow sound at its northern end near the Lithuanian port of Klaipėda. The Spit consists mainly of sand and sand dunes, all mostly bound by pinewoods and other vegetation. It has been the object of public governance policies since the 19th century aimed at nature conservation by systematic land-management. Interestingly, the earliest policies also included instructions on the preservation of cultural heritage in the styles and building traditions of the (then still important) fishing hamlets on the Spit. The region was granted World Heritage status in 2000. Its territory is divided roughly in half by the national border of the Republic of Lithuania and its 54 km northern section, and the Russian Federation enclave of Kaliningradskaya Oblast in the south.

Based on field-studies in Smiltynė, at the northern end of the Curonian Spit, and in Klaipėda the present author has discussed in more detail elsewhere the Klaipėda / Memel cityscape of cultural and socioeconomic layers, including its lacunas and contested sites [6, Wråkberg U.; 7, Kinossian N., Wråkberg U.]. The tourist industry of the Curonian Spit provides striking examples of the fact that some tourists bring a heritage to a site based on their own background and interests. In Klaipėda, and on the Spit, many people of Jewish, German and Russian culture visit areas related to their own family's histories, significant of their traditions. This has partly been discussed in recent academic research [8, Peleikis A.], but is not a theme in local tourist guides. Nevertheless, representatives of the relevant groups are visible on websites internationally. After five decades as part of the USSR the Soviet heritage is of course still visible in much of Lithuanian and Kaliningrad infrastructure. It is interpreted in different ways by various visitors and residents [6, Wråkberg U.]; about 6% of Lithuania's citizens are Polish speaking today, and about as many are of Russian / Soviet origin.

Based on what archaeology can tell about this part of Europe, an open-air Viking village "Ancient Sambia" was opened to tourists in April 2014 in the Kaliningrad region and soon became a success [9, Belova A.V., Kropinova E.G.]. Even if we set the scope to what written sources can tell us about this part of the Baltic these speak of a multi-ethnic and shifting history. The Curonian Spit and its lagoon have formed a crossroad of communication, tying routes inland to Belorussia, Poland and Lithuania, to shipping along the coast to towns and regions on the Baltic Sea, and for ex-

² An unrevised version of this presentation, combining its research with that of other projects, has appeared as a working paper issued by the Research Centre of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, Bratislava.

port further away, via the sound between Denmark and Sweden and the Atlantic Ocean. The area has been under the sovereignty of Prussia, Imperial Russia, the Soviet Union, and a part of Lithuania, to mention only the most long-lasting regimes.

The Second World War brought devastation to this part of Europe as the frontier of war and occupations, by the Red Army and that of Nazi Germany, passed across this territory several times. The result was streams of refugees, genocide of the Jewish population, devastation of infrastructure, estates and traditions. This created bitter memories and many different histories to be told, listened to, acknowledged and mourned. At the end of the war, the German population had fled, or was deported, from Memel / Klaipėda and all former East Prussia and the Baltic states. Lithuania and its part of the Curonian Spit was made a Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union and remained as such until its reconstitution as a sovereign state in 1990 [10, Kirby D.; 11, Kasekamp A.; 12, Snyder T.; 13, Eidintas A.]. Thus, this region contains, or rather consists of, a complex material and symbolic heritage, rich in border imagery and symbolism. It presents many challenges to contemporary regional and city managers in terms of what sites to demolish and redevelop, what to maintain and restore, and what histories to mention in tourism information, and for operators to thematise in tour guides, and in branding and marketing [14, Mačiulis D., Nikžentaitis A., Saffronovas V.].

Professional cultural studies of the Baltic Region and in central Europe seem to indicate that cultural heritage managers and successful tourism developers alike do best in applying a kind of archaeological approach to local and regional history to get all layers in the cultural landscape visible [15, Huyssen A.]. Priorities are needed for marketing, yet a rich cultural heritage could be key in building prolonged fascination among visitors for a site or a region, making tourists keen to return. Good scholarship and ethical standards call for awareness of differences of interests among present and former residents of a region, as also among its visitors. Of course, heritage management resources are limited, and capital investors are major movers of developments in most places. City planners need to arrive at manageable projects, tourism outreach will have to be based on some choices on what restrictions to impose on altering historic estates, and on how much to spend on renovations of the built heritage, to keep different periods of the past visible [this is further elaborated in 16, Sirutavičius M.]. Preserving historic environments may pay-off in increased tourism appeal.

Comparing tourism management in central and northern Europe

There are some similarities to be found in the developments around 1945 in central and in subarctic Europe. Northern Finland and the Murmansk Region in Russia were theatres of war. The scorched earth tactics and systematic demolition “programme” practiced by the retreating German army as it moved north and west in 1944-45, out of engagement with the Finnish and Red Armies, resulted in a devastation of infrastructure and housing in northern Norway which was among the worst in Europe in material terms [17, Lund D.H.]. The forces of the Soviet Union that

in October 1944 liberated, and then occupied, the easternmost part of Finnmark were ordered back to Russia in the autumn of 1945. Some demographic change of the war became permanent also in the Euroarctic: required movements of small populations took place, foremost in the high north was the evacuation of the Finnish and East Sámi population out of the pre-war Finnish territory of Pechenga, close to the border with Norway. This process is seldom mentioned today and is mainly invisible to tourists, one exception being its presentation in the exhibitions of the Siida national museum of the Sámi indigenous people in the Finnish town of Inari³.

The standardised monotony of the housing that was built in Finnmark County to replace what had been lost in the war was the result of a governmental policy imposed on the entire re-building process. It ignored Sami traditions as well as any other local pre-war heritage in its prescribed modernistic village layouts and in the style of the housing. The re-building scheme was based on national Norwegian subsidies, which were per se economically both necessary and welcome in northern Norway. Nevertheless, this “reconstruction” was a continuation of the pre-war “Norwegianization” policy on North-Eastern Norway [18, Wråkberg U.]. A succession of Norwegian governments in Oslo regarded its borderland, with its age-old cultural and ethnic crossroads with Finland and Russia, as in need of a more pronounced Norwegian character [19, Eriksen K.E., Niemi E.; 20, Hønneland G.].

Today, the poor and anonymous character of the housing built in Finnmark County in the post-war decades is sometimes discussed locally, but it has never been officially acknowledged. No revival of Finnmark built cultural heritage has been suggested as part of public policy, nor has it been undertaken to date. This stands in contrast to lively debates on city planning regarding most other places devastated by the war in Europe [see e.g. 21, Diefendorf J.M.]. It partly explains the lack of interest, on behalf of the present owners of this post-war real estate, to invest in its maintenance. Its resulting poor state of maintenance, and the fact that it is centrally situated in most Finnmark villages, worsens its humdrum impact. It is often commented negatively upon by visitors, and thus it hampers local tourism⁴.

A transfer of experiences and insights in the opposite direction, from the borderland of subarctic Europe to that of the Curonian Spit, may be of interest while discussing best practices in managing nature reserves, especially such as those that straddle national borders. In northern Scandinavia and northwest Russia, there are several long established national parks. One of these is situated across, and on both sides of, the Pasvik River, which defines the national border between Norway-Russia. Local citizens’ experiences of national parks are profound given that the Euroarctic is endowed with several of them and some are large, such as the Urho Kekkonen National Park in northernmost Finland which by its 2,500 square km is fourteen times the area of the national park on the Curonian Spit. Outdoor recreation is a big interest among those living in

³ Siida Sami Museum. From Petsamo to Inari, 2003. URL: <http://www.samimuseum.fi/saamjiellem/english/historia.html> (Accessed: 3 August 2016).

⁴ Andreassen R.F. Byen Turistene Velger å Overse [The Town Tourists Choose to Overlook]. *Sør-Varanger Avis*, [a local Kirkenes newspaper] 27 June 2015, p. 6.

northern Fennoscandia and north-west Russia. In Norway conflicts between different ideas on how land should be used or protected are frequently expressed at on-line forums and in local newspapers. In general, those regarding nature / national parks are about finding the balance between any park's role as a recreational area and as an exclusive sanctuary for nature. Emphasising the latter, the park may have its access limited to park rangers and natural scientists. Residents with outdoor recreation as a hobby or part of their informal economy, and tour operators' and their customers, will lobby against this — if there are any left one might need to add in the sparsely-populated north.

Does the scientific / scholarly hybrid research approach of “radical human ecology” provide us with a way forward in analysing conflicts of this kind? This seems doubtful deeming from what Ullrich Kockel has to say in this tradition on the different ways land uses and heritage preservation on the Curonian Spit and its World Heritage park have been handled, comparing the Kaliningrad management of the Russian part with its Lithuania counterpart, in his 2012 article on the matter [22]. Matching Kockel's exposition against the job and income generating examples of tourism developments on the Curonian Spit presented by Belova and Kropinova [9] the latter scholars have more in common with the political majority in Norway today than what Kockel has. They illustrate the need for a less elitist and more business-minded view on how to set the balance between access and protection of nature parks.

Kockel's application of radical human ecology on the cultural heritage of the Curonian Spit also fails to discuss some apparent problems. He does not find anything problematic in the imbalance in purchasing power between most other actors and the “returning” German tourists who visit this coastal region with or without a family background on the land. In obvious contrast to most other stakeholders involved, the latter possess the financial means to buy historic real estate, and thus can articulate their local interests very well. They are equalled only by Russian investors. The latter are, despite the fact of the Russian jurisdiction on the southern end of the peninsula, disregarded in Kockel's treatise as too commercial and somehow in general unable to manage the region's heritage properly. In this kind of perspective, any plans to build new tourism establishments on the Curonian Spit that invite large groups of visitors should be avoided.

Tourism and cultural heritage in the Russo-Scandinavian Subarctic

Local debates regarding land uses and tourism are intense in northern Norway. Consensus is however seldom reached locally, so the final decisions on these matters tend to come from the government ministries in the national capital Oslo. Proposed liberalisations like that of opening new areas for off-road snowmobile driving, are debated in northern newspapers and on Facebook pages, as well as among the parties in the Norwegian parliament⁵. Public governance presently

⁵ See for example the local news article: A. Renslo-Sandvik. Vurderer fartsgrense på 30 km/t, rasteforbud og påskestengt: Ser flere potensielle løype konflikter [(The municipality) considers setting the speed limit to 30 km/h, prohibiting stops, and to close (areas for snowmobiles) over Easter due to all potential conflicts over trails]. *Finnmarken*, 20 August 2016, pp. 4–6. An example on party conflicts on this issue in the Norwegian parliament is found in: O.G. On-

tends to favour tourism business' interests to open routes to their customers over the interests of nature preservationists. It is not uncommon in northern Scandinavia for residents to go against expanding nature parks because such enlargements are known to produce few local jobs and limits income possibilities for tourist operators.

Based on the present author's experience of work as an on-board guide on a handful of Arctic cruises, most tourists are curious and fascinated about many things. Few have only one hobby or interest that motivated them to join the trip and would not like to be distracted by any other kind of perspectives or anecdotes about the north. Nevertheless, the nature focussed scope of the content of subarctic tourism in Norway has caused short vocational kind of tourism management trainings to be favoured over a broader university course package. The latter typically not only prepares for running small business operations in the Subarctic, but also provides general insights in public history, cultural heritage management, museum curatorship and thus opens for a professional career in tourism related work outside of the high north. To the often-stated need for ecological sustainability in northern tourism should be added a component of cultural sustainability in the ethical sense approached in this article. This is corroborated by experiences reported from nature-culture tourism globally [23, McKercher B., Du Cros H.; 24, Gillman D.; 25, Graham B., Ashworth G.J., Tunbridge J.E.].

There are also practical reasons to keep cultural and heritage study central in the scope of course programmes of northern tourism management, which derive from a focus on natural phenomena. Many of these, which are high on the wish-list of tourists, are elusive and unreliable occurrences, such as the Aurora Borealis, or the objects for bird and whale watching. All operators of such tours know this already and have a "plan B" for the tourists when there is a "no-show" of the desired nature marvel. Such alternative tour content needs of course to hold good quality, i.e. be based on up-to-date science and scholarship. Here joint projects and course programs for tourist guides run in partnership with the university sector can contribute to make tourism contents more reliable, rich and fascinating.

The idea of finding genuine rurality and traditional culture in some forgotten corner of Europe, including in its remote subarctic part, continues to drive some visitors towards parts of central and northernmost Europe. This is important in some tourism markets and could be catered for in a sustainable way in terms of ecology, minorities' interests and up-to-date interpretations of culture heritage. A more recent "attraction" of Arctic nature is that it may fall victim to environmental degradation. This attract a few people to the north by so-called dark tourism. In the Euroarctic post-Soviet industrial sites and mines in the Russian borderland with northern Norway and Finland are monument of what humans must not do to nature, and on Svalbard the industrial heritage is seen as reminders of an environmentally destructive business that should never had been

søien, Bengt Rune Strifeldt (FrP) ville gjøre det lettere å få skuterdisp [B.R. Strifeldt, parliamentarian for the FrP party, wishes to make it easier for municipalities to issue dispensation from the law restricting off-road driving with snow scooters and other vehicles]. *Finnmarken*, 13 June 2018, pp. 6–7.

started [on dark tourism see 26, Sharpley R., Stone P.]. The visitors who come to marvel over the dark attraction of mining in Kirkenes and Nikel may however, in locally guided-tours, find their way to municipality and mining museums in e.g. Pechenga and Kirovsk. At these are told a more nuanced history of the old Soviet period. In its later periods it provided a relatively well-paid and stable family life up-north for its labourers. It is often news to the foreign visitor to learn that employment in this industry is still the main alternative to make a living in subarctic Russia for those remaining there after massive out-migration since the 1990s. Properly guided such museum and site visits can turn into profoundly interesting experiences for the open-minded tourist [27, Haugseth P., Wråkberg U.].

Certain institutional features of northern tourism in Fennoscandia and north-west Russia are interesting to compare with the situation on the coast of the south-east Baltic Sea. The cooperation within the Barents Euroarctic Region has continued since its beginnings in the 1990s and functions as a platform for cultural and scholarly partnerships among its member countries [28, Haugseth P.; 29, Tjelmeland H.]. Tourism development has been part of this. The Baltic Sea region has access to a more general European Union funding framework, while regional collaboration has often consisted in city-to-city cross-border partnerships and been successful to the extent that the towns themselves have been able to muster interest and raise funding locally to keep these going.

Until the first decade of the 20th century, popular international interests for the Arctic were focussed on the attainment of the North Pole. In the early decades of the Cold War a cross-Pole military frontiers were envisioned and Arctic war-scenarios a constant preoccupation [30, Doel R.E., Friedman R.M., Lajus J., Sörlin S., Wråkberg U.]. From an historical perspective, and in contrast to the voluntary partnerships of the Baltic Sea and in the Barents Euroarctic Region, the global industry frontier conception of the Subarctic has seen its contact zones as politically unimportant beside the need of settling their geographic position and their legal status as just borders. The global outlook on the Arctic is mentioned here because it fascinates many northern tourists today and ought to be part of the repertoire of subjects that all well-trained northern tourist guides can inform about.

A complementary way of viewing the European high north would be to see it as a cross-road, effective over a long period of time, as part of the large European-Asian cultural nexus. The Subarctic has been a small part in this transfer-zone of ideas and migrations from east to west, as well as between north and south. This is another example of what is motivated to make known to persons interested in the high north, including its tourists [cf. 31, Doel R.E, Wråkberg U., Zeller S.].

The Arctic islands of Svalbard, where some 2,500 people live today were once a *terra communis* but have belonged to Norway and since 1920 were managed under the principles of the Spitsbergen Treaty. The largest groups of nationals residing on the islands are presently Norwegians, Russians and Ukrainians. It is governed under the special Spitsbergen treaty, which opens for business activities, including tourism, on the islands to entrepreneurs from all signatory nations on an equal opportunity basis. Here day-trip cruises to an abandoned Soviet mining ghost town

called Pyramiden draw large numbers of visitors [32, Andreassen E., Bjerck H.B., Olsen B.]. They are fascinated by a kind of dark tourism attraction to the site's massive post-Soviet reminiscences. Pyramiden is well presented by clever and humorous guides employed by the Russian owner of the estate, the coal mining company Trust Arktikugol.

Many other examples can be found where the built heritage of a town has been developed by the property owners in ways useful to local tourism entrepreneurs as well as in positive place branding. One such town is Kaliningrad, formerly Königsberg of East-Prussia, at the southern end of the Curonian Spit. In recent years German-Russian joint endeavours have been successful in reconstructing its historic buildings [33, Browning C.S., Joenniemi P.]. It has been possible to arrive at an inclusive and balanced outlook on the local composite heritage and to use this as a basis for joint restorative work on Kaliningrad's rather few remaining old buildings: the cathedral, the memorial and tomb of Immanuel Kant. This entails acknowledging a past that was almost eradicated during Soviet times, while simultaneously jointly providing something interesting as a result to show to expanding numbers of tourists, making also former inhabitants and their descendants welcome⁶.

Conclusion

Based on participant observation during guided tours, and systematic study of public tourism information, it is possible to discuss what happens during "tourism in action" – how different topics are chosen and communicated. Choices of emphasis in tour designs and guide work can also be improved by better knowledge about the culture and interests of the tourist, especially when considering international customers. Looking at tourism proper it is important to consider why certain ideas and memories, and not others are presented in tourism information and during guided tours in a region.

There is a need for more scholarship on the construction and meaning of subarctic cultural heritage. It can be accommodated by university level research and by sometimes placing sites into a comparative context. The latter facilitates necessary evaluations of the environmental and socio-economic sustainability of heritage management and tourism to the site in question. Well-balanced tours with a broad variety of events will attract new groups and more visitors to the north. Such an approach has the potential to engage more tourists from near and far by providing inspiration and fascination with local cultural variety found anywhere, combining this with an in-

⁶ This is demonstrated in three recent TV documentaries, two produced in Germany and one in Russia: Claus C., Adam H. [producers] *Meine Heimat–Deine Heimat: Mit Wolf von Lojewski durch Ostpreußen*, part 2: Kaliningrader Klopse. Mainz, ZDF: Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen, 2008. URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D1UoxYSqMzU> (Accessed: 4 August 2016); Kühnrich S. [documentary film-maker] *Kaliningrad/Königsberg: Eine Deutsch-Russische Versöhnungsgeschichte*. Leipzig, LE Vision Film- und Fernsehproduktion GmbH for MDR: Mitteldeutschen Rundfunk, 2010. URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-2a9pjSGTTQ> (Accessed: 4 August 2016); Somov A. [director] *Discovering Russia with James Brown: The Kaliningrad Region*. Moscow, Russia Today & TV Novosti, 2012. URL: <http://rtd.rt.com/films/james-brown-kaliningrad-region/> (Accessed: 4 August 2016).

terest in parallels between human cultures over time and in different places. From the field study and reflections presented in this article the following is recommended:

- Introduce more cultural quality contents in tours, in guide presentations and in place branding. For example: maritime history (Pomor trade, harbour festivals of the sea); the religious borderland: orthodox trails, monasteries; history of polar exploration and scientific collaboration in and around the Barents Sea; Indigenous life and traditional knowledge;
- Arctic tourism management training will benefit from courses on Arctic history, contemporary northern societies, and on issues of fair representation of different “histories” and memories in tourist’s encounters with Arctic cultural heritage;
- More access for tourists into parts of nature parks, by specific trekking trails including some for motorised vehicles for the physically impaired;
- More diversified tours and site promotion based on analysis of the preferences of new or smaller groups of visitors: Asian tourists, creative tourism, gastronomy, angling etc.;
- Integrations of local museums into tourism route development, e.g. according to the Ecomuseum concept.

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