

# **Youth Organizations, Citizenship and Guidelines for Tourism in the Wake of Mass Tourism in Finland**

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## Abstract

This paper will study tourism as a site of citizenship formation with a particular focus on the arrangements and lived practices of citizenship in the Finnish Youth Organization and in a subsection of Northern Ostrobothnian Travel Club between 1965 and 1985. From the perspective of the model of citizenship in Finland, modern mass tourism was not unproblematic and it was uniquely incorporated in the program and activities of the Finnish Youth Organization, underlining the wider social and civic utility of tourism. In this paper the examination of archive materials from this particular historical period will provide a nuanced understanding of the mutual formation of citizenship and tourism at multiple geographical scales and insight into how the model of citizenship has been of great importance for mobile people in many ways.

Keywords: citizenship formation, lived citizenship, tourism, youth organizations, Finland, archives.

## Introduction

Globalization and increasing mobility have modified the forms of state citizenship and identity and given rise to new varieties of citizenships (Isin and Wood 1999; Delanty 2000; Falk 2000), which are now understood as existing simultaneously, yet occasionally creating tensions between and within communities. International mass tourism, in particular, is connected with the arrival of new forms of citizenship, identification and a sense of solidarity. As an industry of peace and progress, tourism was considered especially important in Europe after WWII: tourism was understood to provide a means to promote reconciliation between European nations (D'Amore 1988). It was hoped that tourism would produce international familiarization, a willingness to embrace geographically and culturally distant places and societies to the extent that people from other countries would no longer be conceived as dangerous but merely different (Urry 1995, 166). The advent of mass tourism is intimately linked with modernization, welfare-state building and a new set of social rights – by guaranteeing for instance longer workers holidays (Snape and Pussard 2013) – and thus stands as an important historical moment in the formation of citizenship.

Historical developments in citizenship formation have been studied widely in the context of government-led efforts and schooling. Less attention, however, has been given to the practices of lived citizenship in more informal sites of citizenship formation (Mills 2013), which tourism usually represents. This study employs Finland and the arrangements of the Finnish youth movement as a contextual example through which the relationship between citizenship and tourism is examined. With a particular focus on the Finnish Youth Organization and the sub-section of the Northern Ostrobothnian Travel Club, which was established in 1965, this study scrutinizes how instruction and participation in tourism mobilized a particular historically contingent model of citizenship in Finland. Considering the fact that youth organizations have provided an important cultural and institutional setting in which many individuals have participated in tourism (Falkenberg 2000, 14), surprisingly little research exists on their arrangements with respect to tourism.

The main research questions are set in the following manner: 1) How has tourism been conceived and included as a site of citizenship formation through different geographical scales in Finland? 2) How and what kind of citizenship was created, maintained and lived out as part of the arrangements of the Finnish Youth Organization and the Northern Ostrobothnian Travel Club between 1965 and 1985? The analytical focus will be on the actual practices and arrangements of the Club since this approach provides an understanding of how the meanings of citizenship are enacted and

experienced at multiple geographical scales and sites within and beyond state territory (de Koning et al. 2015; Desforges et al. 2005). Secondly, through an examination of localized tourism arrangements and the roles different groups have in their execution, it is possible to gain an understanding of how tourism histories are interlinked with wider societal developments (Towner 1995). As a starting point for studying citizenship formation in Finland, it is crucial to note that the state apparatus of decision-making and civic society have not functioned in opposition, but rather as a continuum (Ahonen and Rantala 2001), and that various political and geopolitical tensions have played an important role in the process of determining a particular kind of model of citizenship.

The paper will contribute to the existing literature on citizenship formation in two important ways. It will expand the discussion concerning the relationship between tourism and historical citizenship formation conceptually by taking the lived practices of citizenship as a key analytical starting point. Moreover, it will provide new knowledge as to the arrangements of youth travel clubs and how they have been interlinked with the process of citizenship formation, thus offering a new historical perspective on the evolution of the Finnish society. Before moving to a case study of the Finnish Youth Organization and the youth travel club, this paper will contemplate the concept of citizenship from the perspective of tourism with a specific focus on the changes and possibilities that increased mobility – mass tourism, in particular – created with respect to citizenship and identity.

## Tourism as a site of citizenship formation

It has been argued that the expansion of modern society and related concepts of citizenship are intimately linked with modern mass leisure and international tourism (MacCannel 1999, 3; Rojek 1998). Until the second half of the twentieth century, tourism was mainly a luxury hobby of the aristocracy and wealthiest members of the society. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was popular among the wealthy – young men in particular – to undertake a trip of Europe, the Grand Tour, in the name of culture, health and education (Towner 1996, 96). The rise of the modern nation state, with its newly developed systems of communication that accompanied developments in communication and transportation, fundamentally changed the scope and nature of tourism. Previous studies show that, in Finland, tourism has been closely connected with national identity-building, and citizens were widely encouraged to travel to the peripheries of the country in order to become familiar with their fatherland (Häyrynen 1997). These domestic tours were promoted

especially after Finland gained independence in 1917, but tourism was employed in the promotion of national consciousness even when Finland was still a part of the Russian Empire. Even though most ordinary people in post-war Finland could not afford to partake in tourism, they could nevertheless become familiar with different tourist destinations via the media, tourism brochures and postage stamps, for example (Raento 2013; Jokela 2011, 2014). Jokela and Linkola (2013) have suggested that, similarly to the Finnish geography school books, the landscape photographs in tourist guides contributed to the communication of the spatial imaginaries of the Finnish state. As the history of tourism illustrates, citizenship formation is not something that takes place solely in schools in the form of citizenship education, but rather continues in other spheres of social activity (Cohen 2008; Mills 2013). Tourism is an important site of citizenship formation, a practice and discourse through which citizenship is lived, enacted, defined and given meaning (cf. Staeheli 2011). Yet a historical perspective shows that the way in which tourism depicts different meanings depends on how citizenship is conceptualized

An overview of the relevant social science literature highlights that citizenship is a contested concept defined in rather different ways by different scholars. The notion of citizenship is usually understood as a legal category that defines the rights and duties of an individual or group of individuals, as a status which determines an individual's access to domestic and international mobility (Creswell 2006; Bianchi and Stephenson 2013). In addition to the legal categorizations, citizenship has been approached as an ideal and as a claim, as an identity and as a tool in nation-building (Staeheli 2011; Turner 1997). When approaching the question of citizenship and citizenship formation in Western societies, it is often the conception offered by T.H. Marshall (1950/1992) that is mentioned as a starting point for discussion. Marshall's well-known argument is that citizenship, "full membership in a community", is composed of three kinds of formal rights: civic, political and social rights (Marshall and Bottomore 1950/1992, 4, 8). The Marshallian conception underlines the principle of formal equality and the state as the legitimate sponsor of citizenship rights (Bianchi and Stephenson 2014, 24–25). Although it has been criticized for being state-centric and contextual, and thus should be read in the context of post-war reconstruction and Keynesian policy rather than taken as an ahistorical conception of citizenship (Isin and Turner 2007, 5), Marshall's formulation still offers a good starting point for a discussion on the subject.

Rojek (1998) argues that Marshall's definition is problematic from the perspective of tourism mobilities because it reinforces an understanding of the citizen as a situated actor, i.e. a member of a city and a state, a notion challenged by the figure of the mobile tourist. According to Rojek, the

bounded nature of citizenship has been increasingly questioned and the concepts of mobile tourist and situated citizen are no longer approached as a dichotomy (Rojek 1998, 296–298). Similarly, the development of tourism has been linked with the development of citizenship rights at national and global levels (Bianchi and Stephenson 2013; Coles 2008). Tim Creswell (2006) stresses that the right to mobility is an important part of many of the key documents of international law such as the UN’s Declaration of Human Rights (1948), which provides the framework for what it is to be a modern citizen. John Urry (1995, 176) argues that few in the ‘West’ are formally excluded from tourism: “to be a tourist, to look on landscapes with interest and curiosity, has become a right of citizenship”. The fact that tourism mobility is not a universal right but in fact linked, among other things, with citizenship status, wealth, and passport ownership, epitomizes the fact that such a conception of citizenship is rooted in western societal values in a particular historical time. Citizenship rights and social reforms are the crucial elements in relation to which the origins and development of modern tourism can be understood (Coles 2008, 57). Alongside social reforms, ensuring workers paid holiday entitlements, technological innovations in transportation, political détente (Cold War), foreign currency deregulation, as well as greater wealth and the prospering of the middle class gave rise to mass tourism in Europe in the 1960s (Towner 1996, 217–9). It has been emphasized by Caletrio (2012, 277) how, at present, people in the Western countries regard international mobility and tourism as a basic citizenship right that has high symbolic value and important educational impacts. A historical perspective to touristic practices shows, however, that the connection between citizenship and tourism as a right cannot be taken for granted and that the notions about the civilizing impacts of tourism have become contested.

The relationship between tourism and citizenship has been discussed not only from the perspective of rights and duties but also in terms of consumer citizenship, which provides a fruitful starting point for the study of mass tourism and citizenship formation. MacCannel (1999) argues that the figure of the tourist encapsulates the experiences of the modern subject whose identity is constructed and lived through various kinds of consumption choices. For example, Salla Jokela’s (2014) study of Finnish tourism imaginaries and promotion shows that, since the 1950s, tourism promoters have acknowledged that Finnishness can mean different things for different people, and that it can serve different lifestyles and social identities, yet Finnishness was defined from the perspective of Western consumers (Jokela 2014, 39). The question of consumer citizenship is complex, however, and it can be seen to be connected to the notion of a well-socialized citizen. As Slater (1997) underlines, the political rationale of consumer citizenship involves the ideals of “Enlightenment man”, a man who supposedly pursues his self-interests rationally, actively and

freely (Slater 1997, 38). According to this understanding, the objective of citizenship formation is what Foucault (1988) calls ‘homo economicus’, an individual who has completely internalized what is socially and culturally valued behavior and has learned various ‘technologies of the self’ and takes responsibility for his/her choices. From the perspective of mass tourism, the notion of consumer citizenship is interesting because it entails the idea of individual responsibility (Butcher and Smith 2010). Thus, the notion of good citizenship becomes interlinked with responsible consumption, such as choosing a tourism destination according to moral principles (Butcher and Smith 2010, 28) or visiting attractions that are culturally valued. In other words, from the perspective of citizenship formation, the main objective is that the fundamental values of society are maintained via the choices individuals make.

The conceptual discussion on citizenship also draws attention to how state citizenship is not a stable status or feature, but continuously constructed in relation to other political identity markers. As Isin and Wood (1999) argue, as a status, citizenship is entangled and often clashes with an individual’s various social memberships and identities such as gender, ethnic and linguistic identity. In the Finnish case, national identity-building and citizenship education have been closely interlinked. Paasi (1996) shows that the citizenship education, national coherence and socialization were considered important in Finland in the Cold War period because of the threat of the Soviet Union and communism, and accordingly, it was regarded important to spatially integrate the people and to teach them the history and the geography of the nation. In Finland, the shared conception of national identity as something based on the cultural and racial homogeneity of population is sometimes conceived to be even more exclusive than legal citizenship. National identity narratives are constructed through the discourses of difference and otherness, for example in arguments in which Finnish citizenship is not seen as a true equivalent of being a ‘Finn’ (Häkli 2005, 13). From the perspective of an individual, however, access to the status and rights of citizenship is more tightly regulated than that to national identification and the sense of belonging.

In this paper, the conception of citizenship is expanded beyond state-centered and status-based understandings, thus shifting the focus from being a citizen to enacted and lived citizenship. The conception of lived citizenship does not ignore the question of legal or institutional status, yet it encourages us to pay attention simultaneously to the sets of “relationships by which membership is constructed through physical and metaphorical boundaries and in the sites and practices that give it meaning” (Staheli 2011, 394; see also Kallio et al 2015, 113). We maintain that the inclusion of touristic practices and arrangements into the analysis of citizenship is a key for widening our

understanding of how the politics and practices of citizenship have extended beyond the state. The historical bottom-up perspective and practice approach better recognize the role that civic actors have in the formation of citizenship. As Isin and Wood (1999, 4) note, many rights and duties first arise as cultural, symbolic or economic practices that later become embodied in laws as citizenship markers. According to these researchers, citizenship is best approached as both a “bundle of rights and duties” and a set of practices that define an individual’s membership and participation in a group (Isin and Turner 2007, 5–7). Secondly, by looking at citizenship as a lived practice, it is possible to overcome the division between the sociological and legal conceptualizations of citizenship and to shift the focus from government-led citizenship production towards societal participation and the practices of citizenship that can take place at multiple geographical scales, ranging from local to national and transnational. Tourism is often conceived merely in terms of an experience industry, yet the tourism arrangements of the highly popular Youth Organization illustrate how the lived practices and experiences of tourism are not always something contrary to top-down imposed citizenship. By studying tourism practices and collective actions, within and beyond the state’s boundaries, it is possible to gain an understanding of how conventional ideas of citizenship are practiced, lived out and reinforced through tourism. We will show that the tourism participation provided a site of citizenship formation in two mutually constitutive ways: firstly, different groups of people were mobilizing with an opportunity to experience and express identity through tourism and, secondly, the established norms of citizenship were put into practice and lived through tourism at multiple sites.

## Mobilizing citizenship in Finland

The notion of citizenship is not universal and thus needs to be studied in conjunction with citizenship formation processes in specific political and geopolitical contexts (Mitchell 2006). In 1809, Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy of Russia and remained as such until 1917, when it gained independence. Educating and enlightening people through educational and other institutions has had a considerable role in the process of nation-building by reasserting nationalist ideologies in Finland, especially before independence. Similarly to other Nordic countries, the civic society in Finland has not been mobilized in opposition to the state but more as a grassroots supporter of the state (Ahonen and Rantala 2001, 14). Nation-building was reinforced through popular movements and related organizations, diverting people’s interests and actions from the everyday level to the governmental level (Heinonen 1998; Suodenjoki 2012; Häkli 1999, 137). It



has also been argued that the primary purpose of education in the early twentieth century was not to increase equality amongst the populace, but rather to foster citizen obedience in the lower classes (Heinonen 1998, 22). Major changes in legislation, such as the 1863 Language Manifesto, 1865 Municipal Reform, 1866 Decree on Elementary Schools and 1869 Parliament Act, spurred organizing and politico-cultural activity in civic society in the 1870s. The establishment of new local and national organizations, and especially the founding of The Finnish Foundation for National Enlightenment (*Kansanvalistusseura*) in 1874 had a major impact on how citizen education became entwined with nation-building processes. While a consensus existed that schooling was important in the effort to cultivate active and moral citizens, opinions about the impact and value of tourism were more ambivalent. The Finnish Tourist Association (*Suomen Matkailuyhdistys*) was founded as early as in 1887, with the purpose of promoting national consciousness and domestic and international travel in Finland, yet in 1913, the Finnish Foundation for National Enlightenment could still describe tourism as something that “perverts” the nation because people are forced to serve strangers, although it was also admitted that tourism supported the national economy and instilled discipline in the citizenry (see Lampinen 1913, 58).

In the 1890s the Youth Movement became the most popular organized movement of its kind in Finland (Stenius 1987, 50) and attained extensive popularity in the early decades of the twentieth century. Despite its grassroots beginnings, the ideological background of the Finnish Youth Movement goes back to the Enlightenment. The first youth association was founded in Kauhava, Ostrobothnia, in 1881. A few years later Santeri Alkio (1862–1930), who has often been considered the movement’s most influential member, became the leader of the association. Alkio was an influential Finnish politician, an active member of parliament, political journalist and author. According to Alkio (1923) the organization’s goal was a free society in which people would have equal opportunities, and considerable emphasis was placed on the establishment of codes of behavior and moral ideals in the youth. Citizen education was regarded as the most effective countermeasure to any social developments that Alkio perceived as leading to extreme inequality (Sahlberg 1995, 105).

The World Wars impacted the functions of the Finnish Youth Organization and the local sub-organizations, but soon after WWII, participation and membership increased in Northern Ostrobothnia (Murhu 1988, 89). Even though membership was open for all social classes and the organization declared itself to be independent of all political parties, most of the active members represented the winning side of the Finnish Civil War (1918–1919), the so-called Whites (Murhu

1988, 80). The division between the anti-socialist Whites, representing especially land-owning farmers and the middle and upper classes, and the Reds, who were led by the Social Democratic Party and consisted mainly of industrial and agrarian workers, characterized the societal order of Finland strongly until the outbreak of war with the Soviet Union in WWII, which is traditionally viewed as having united the Finnish people in a fight to maintain the independence of the country. Post-war political developments, urbanization, modernization and the establishment of various new kinds of associations, brought youth organizations into a new position in which they invented new kinds of activities and functions. Similarly to the other Nordic countries, domestic and international meetings and tours formed an important part of the activities of the youth organizations in Finland (Mäyry 1988), the emphasis being on the mobilization of the movement and thus the social utility of travel. Unassociated travel clubs were not included in the early activities of the youth organization but became popular in the late Cold War era with the rise of mass tourism.

#### “Finnishness” and the problematic of mass tourism

Tourism became a common leisure time activity in Finland by the 1970s, although the first air travel holidays to European resorts, mainly Spain and Italy, were organized already in the 1950s (Jokinen and Veijola 1990). The increasing tourism mobility of the middle-classes was made possible, among other factors, by a general increase in wealth and a change to the Annual Leave Act in the 1960s which increased the length of paid holiday to 18–24 days, at the same time increasing the demand for longer leisure trips. New travel agencies were founded, their target being to organize and advertise international trips to the Finnish populace. Along with the commercial agencies, the newfound demand and interest in international tourism increased the popularity of alternative tourism schemes and the number of public travel clubs (Towner 1995). Although the first travel association, The Helsinki Workers Travel Association (*Helsingin Työväen Matkailuyhdistys*), was established in Finland already in 1931 (Finnish Patent and Registration Office 2014), it was not until the 1960s when travel clubs and associations become truly popular. Most travel clubs were organized as branches of youth or trade organizations, which illustrates the changing societal meaning of tourism. Leisure became associated with social service and the refining of citizenship instead of merely being an improvement in individual human condition (Snape and Pussard 2013, 3).

In the discussions about citizenship and national identity in Finland, mass tourism was considered both an opportunity and a problem. In the 1960s, the model of citizenship in the Finnish educational curriculum began to put emphasis on solidarity, sociality, participation and internationalism

(Launonen 2000). In many ways, tourism supported the ends of citizenship education. The other side of the coin was, however, that improper and immoral behavior of Finnish tourists abroad could possibly harm the country's image. A trailblazer of conducted tours in Finland was Kalevi Keihänen, who established the travel company Keihäsmatkat Oy in 1965. Their package tours were specifically advertised as tours for the populace, not for the elite, and included various types of carnivalesque entertainment. Keihäsmatkat and the so-called Finnish "vodka tourism" to Russia in the 1970s came to be associated with undesirable and immoral tourist behavior and became a target of criticism in the Finnish media (Falkenberg 2000, 129). Heavy drinking, brawling and other kinds of indecent behavior were considered intolerable in terms of good citizenship and moral codes.

National unity and solidarity were considered important in the post WWII decades, which were characterized by the fear of communism and the East-West divisions. The Finnish government was active in promoting "cultural propaganda" to bolster a positive image of the country and, by this means, the competitiveness of its industries. A sense of the Westernness and of a peaceful and civilized manner of the Finns was at the core of national image building project (Lähteenkorva and Pekkarinen 2004), and the behavior of Finnish tourists was considered a national problem serious enough to be discussed in the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Of particular concern was youth tourism; the Ministry of Education, for instance, recommended that schools should not organize trips to international destinations because teachers were unable to control pupils continuously in every situation (Koistinen et al. 2004, 275). Mass tourism therefore created a new problematic of citizenship, that is, how Finns should conduct themselves as tourists and how this would impact the external image and reputation of Finland as a country. This illustrates how the notion of good citizenship was intertwined with different kind of internal and external pressures of the young state. In this respect, from the perspective of the model of citizenship, youth travel clubs and their ideologies provided an alternative to more commercial and entertainment-oriented mass tourism and a more desired manner of travelling.

### Tracing citizenship through archival material

Our empirical study focuses on the tourism arrangements of the Finnish Youth Organization in the Northern Ostrobothnia region, which, together with Southern Ostrobothnia, formed a core area for the activities and participation in the organization (Murhu 1988). The study is based on several types of objects and documents through which it is possible to understand the organization, its

discourses and the materiality of citizenship. The material of our study, the archives of the Northern Ostrobothnian Youth Organization and the Northern Ostrobothnian Travel Club (1965–1985) is part of the Provincial Archive of Ostrobothnia (established in 1932). The archival study and the collection of the data was conducted in 2013 and complemented in 2014, including a careful reading of the documents, notes and the photographing of the most important texts.

The archival material consists of four kinds of documents which reflect how travelling was planned, practiced and remembered in the Northern Ostrobothnian Youth Organization. The first archive (Dc: 2) includes the annual reports and statistics (available from 1933 to 1978) of the Northern Ostrobothnian Youth Organization, and in this study, particular attention was given to the documentation and classification of touristic activities in the reports. The second archive (Hhf: 1) consists of the letters and correspondence of the Northern Ostrobothnian Travel Club from 1964 to 1974. The information concerns practical arrangements of trips (information about timetables, trip programs, insurance, airports, lunches and dinners) and film material presenting foreign countries (ordered from different organizations, associations and national embassies), thus exemplifying the ways in which the activities were organized in different regional, national and transnational environments. The third archive (Hhf: 2) includes official plans of actions and registers, lists of participants (meetings, trips and excursions), announcements of trips, hand-written maps of the destinations and routes, songbooks and notes, news cuttings, postcards and travelogues. The documents provide information about the social nature of the activities and how the particular ideology of the youth association was communicated to the participants through tour instructions and learning materials. The fourth archive (Hhf: 3) consists of an unpublished history of the Travel Club from the years between 1965 and 1985, written by Eila Mattila, a longstanding member and secretary of the club. The memoir is written in chronological order and includes descriptions of the most important activities and tours from the perspective of the active members.

Archives and historical research provide access to material that can be used to trace how particular associations have organized tourism and their instruction at particular points in time. A similar approach to archival material has been employed by Sarah Mills (2013) in her study of the historical geographies of citizenship education in the scout movement in Britain. She underlines that youth organizations “function as a site for the production of particular sets of knowledge and meanings” around citizenship (Mills 2013, 123). According to Mills, direct access to archives enables us to garner accounts of agency and transgression that invert the representational politics of the national archives. Archives are part of the apparatus of modern government and national heritage (Hannam

2002, 113), which makes the issue of documentation and preservation in state archives a politically charged decision. Since materials from travel clubs are not usually preserved as separate collections in state archives in Finland, the documents related to tourism arrangements in the Northern Ostrobothnian Travel Club constitute a unique set of materials. The archive of the Club provides appropriate materials through which it is possible to examine the lived practices of citizenship. We understand that the agency and the accounts of experiences of the club members are manifested in the tour plans, program plans, memoirs and travelogues in various ways. The tour plans do not merely illustrate what sites and activities were considered interesting and important in a specific historical period in the Northern Ostrobothnia, but also that some sites were seen more appropriate than others. The letters and memoirs often employ an educational tone which can be seen to reflect the ideology of the Youth Organization and the personal commitment among club members. Furthermore, there is a number of gaps in the archival material, which is illustrative of the context of production of the documents in it. The quantity of documentation varies between the years, and some tours, routes and participants have been documented more carefully than others. A likely reason for this would be the inevitable differences in the documentation skills and motivation among the club members responsible for the documentation of club activities and tourism arrangements. The material does not, of course, allow access to the touristic experiences of all participants, neither is it possible to evaluate whether the participants had internalized the guidelines and forms of proper citizenship. Contextualization and interpretation of the material is conducted in relation to the existing literature on the Finnish Youth Organizations (Takala 1979; Murhu 1988; Sahlberg 2001), citizenship education (Ahonen and Rantala 2001; Launonen 2000) and nation-building through tourism (Häyrynen 1997; Jokela 2014, Raento 2013) in Finland.

## Tourism arrangement and participation in the Northern Ostrobothnian Travel Club

### Social utility and citizenship skills

The Northern Ostrobothnian Travel Club was established in 1965, and it was organized into two associated but administratively distinct clubs: the unit of domestic travel (Travel club I) and the unit of international travel (Travel club II). Like several other travel clubs in the Ostrobothnia region, it was organized as part of the Youth Organization Movement, which was founded and spread throughout Finland in the late nineteenth century. The Finnish Youth Organization created a platform for social participation and subject formation in which members learned particular skills,

modes of behavior, and ways of thinking and relating to others and themselves. Based on the archival materials, it is apparent that, despite its association with the youth mobilization, the members of the Travel Club were of all ages. This underlines the notion that citizenship formation and education do not concern children alone, but people from all ages and social groups were encouraged to participate in societal activities and learn the skills of active citizenship. In the Northern Ostrobothnia region of the 1960s, which was representative of a rural area in which traditional gender roles were the norm, the Finnish Youth Organizations provided an important social arena for women (Murhu 1988).

The ideological background of the organization during this particular historical period provides an important backdrop for understanding the educational program and the instruction with respect to tourism. International and domestic mobility have carried different connotations in the history of the Finnish Youth Organizations. International tours and meetings with the members of Nordic partner organizations had long formed an important part of the activities of the organization (Murhu 1988). This form of target-oriented travel was not termed as tourism but budgeted and reported under the rubric of international relations. In the annual reports of the Northern Ostrobothnian Organization, there is a discernible classification of the participants of the international trips into two groups according to the social utility of the tours: firstly, a group of members representing their organization (by participating in folk dance performances, for example), and secondly, a group of other members and co-travelers free from formal assignments (Dc: 2).

The ideological perspective of the youth organization emerges from the correspondence and the annual reports of the Northern Ostrobothnian Youth Organization in which the utility of tourism is discussed. In these documents, tourism activities are justified by underlining their wider social utility and benefits, the possibility to enjoy healthy outdoor life and civilize oneself. In the annual reports, the role of tourism in the maintenance and establishment of important social contacts justifies tourism as fundamentally beneficial, as opposed to being merely an individual adventure. The letters written by active members also show that the organized nature of the tours provided a concrete way to act and present the members as active and moral citizens:

The Travel Club has been a pioneer of travelling and outdoor activities. It organized nearly twenty meetings in which the topic was discussed. It has taken several initiatives and its members comprise the core of the trips and tours, and has maintained a wholesome spirit.

Because of this, tourism has now become an activity that enables us to maintain contacts with favorable persons and non-members. (Dc: 2, Annual Report 1978, 2)

Travelling and hiking are activities well suited to the program of our organization. They are not only salutary activities but offer an opportunity to perform services that are beneficial to people of all ages and generations. A well planned and organized domestic or international tour is a cultural event in itself; it satisfies participants and also the organizer can enjoy the successful implementation of the work. (Hhf: 1, Eila Mattila, letter addressed to the Youth Organization, from Pyhätunturi)

Active participation in societal activities is understood to develop various kinds of citizenship skills (Mills 2013), and the operations of the Northern Ostrobothnian Travel Club provide a fitting example of this. The Club provided a site for practicing such skills, and in addition to the organization of domestic and international tours, the registered members embraced the specific educational objectives of the “mother” organization. The archive material examined in this study shows how the members arranged evening meetings, planned trips and studied the geography and culture of different tourism destinations, putting into action the declared codes of good citizenship, that is, the contemporary idea of a citizen who actively takes part in particular beneficial social activities, acquires cultural knowledge and is interested about the world and the healthy ways of living. The membership of the travel club provided an arena for civic participation and a model of active citizenship, which is, as evidenced in the excerpts above, continuously not only described but also “declared” by Eila Mattila. By explaining how tourism is a meaningful social activity, it was possible to extend the conception of where and how good citizenship can be enacted.

The news cuttings in the archives show that the development of regional tourism infrastructures, economic and societal change, Nordic trade policy and environmental issues were considered important topics worthy of specific discussion. The Club organized readings which focused on information about particular travel destinations and countries, took part in various nationally organized quiz competitions, and some members studied for an official diploma in tourism offered by the Finnish Youth Organization. In concrete and practical ways, the meetings and the planning of tours developed skills in cooperation, communication and negotiation in a particular manner. The group members had to organize themselves as a group and agree on the proceedings of the meetings as well as on responsibilities during trips. Assigned functions included tour leader, tour hostess, speech-maker, interpreter, and chaperone, for example. The abilities the members of the travel club

acquired in organization and communication not only developed their citizenship skills but simultaneously made them conduct themselves as active citizens.

#### Criteria for being a good citizen

Between the years 1965 and 1985, the club members arranged over 3000 evening meetings and over 50 tours of Finland and trips abroad, including longer trips (mostly bus journeys) to the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Italy, Hungary, Cyprus, Spain, Morocco and Turkey, as well as several trips to the Nordic countries and national cultural events. According to the sources, more than two thousand people participated in the trips within the time span (Hhf: 1). The registered participants represented different age groups, social backgrounds and professions: students, teachers, farmers, salesmen, entrepreneurs, painters, housewives, stockbrokers, architects, etc. This democratization of tourism indicates that tourism was no longer a matter of wealth, an upper-class privilege, but was also within the reach of people from different backgrounds. The desire to promote the principles of social equality is also illustrated in the announcements of tourism trips, in which it was specified that, during the trips, all participants would be on a first-name basis. According to the Travel Club, the criteria for participation included demands for flexibility and straightforwardness, both of which were regarded as markers of good citizenship in the educational program of Finland (Launonen 2000). This is stated explicitly in the trip announcements of the Travel Club:

We are also welcoming non-members to take part in the trip: acquaintances and even their acquaintances: the most important thing is that a person is straightforward and adaptable (Hhf: 2, an announcement).

The key point of the announcement is that it was important that a tourist group consist of people who share similar common values, regardless of their social background. Yet, to a certain extent, the tour programs and their societal behavior codes also reflected societal divides. The critical criterion for participation in the Club's activities was that a participant had a "regular lifestyle", as evidenced by profession and reputation. For example, in a letter concerning a tourist trip to Hungary (Hhf: 1, 7 Feb 1970), it is noted that: "The lifestyles of the enrolled and registered people are fairly regular, so that it should not be difficult for the tour leader to control and watch over the group". The question of regular lifestyle and good citizenship in Finland was closely connected with the issue of alcohol. Avoiding the use of alcohol had been a principle code of good citizenship within the Youth Organization movement from the very beginning. It has been argued that pushing a



prohibitionary liquor law in the early twentieth century was an especially important, even intimate matter for Santeri Alkio, who considered drunkenness a ‘cancer’, an obstacle of civilization and education that erodes “traditional values” (Takala 1979, 245, 248). Negative attitudes toward the consumption of alcohol among club members and participants are expressed in some of the letters and also indicated by the fact that many club members had established links with the Temperance Society (*Raittiusseura*). The moral message was also disseminated when planning the trips. For example, a letter regarding a May Day tour in 1966 (Hhf: 1, a letter directed to contact person Mrs. Maria Äikäs in Tampere) underlines that the participants would only be interested in celebration that would not involve drinking or behaving in a disorderly manner.

From the perspective of democratic citizenship, it is significant that many of the long-standing club members and at least half of the participants in the tours were women, some of them travelling individually and some with family members. While men had been encouraged to express national belonging and interest through tourism in Finland (Häyrynen 1997), the participation of women in tourism was more limited and discouraged on moral grounds. Previously, family visits had been the main motivation for women as regards tourism, but since the 1960s, women enjoyed more opportunities to fulfill personal interests and to participate in tourism (Jokinen and Veijola 1990; Snape and Pussard 2013). The membership of women in the travel club and in the Finnish Youth Organization offered single women the possibility to participate in tourism without their reputations and status as upright citizens being questioned. The explanation for this can be found in tourism’s educational and cultivating functions. Moreover, the active participation of women in the organization is an important factor for explaining the negative attitude toward alcohol as well; in Finland, women and women tourists have traditionally been presented as morally superior, as controllers of drinking and indecency (Jokinen and Veijola 1990, 26).

#### Multiple geographies of enacted citizenship

The functions of the civic society in post-war Finland were tightly linked with state-centric development, but transnational activities were considered increasingly important from the perspective of nation-building (Lähteenkorva and Pekkarinen 2004). The initiatives of the members of the youth organization and the travel club were not limited to one geographical scale, but national, local and transnational scalar dimensions were all important within their activities of interest. The multiple geographies of enacting as a citizen are illustrated in the examined materials in many ways. At the regional level, the club created a forum through which members were able to establish new contacts within the society, and simultaneously, offered a window into the societal

relations, values and normative codes of the association. The archived itineraries of the domestic trips indicate that the tours often included visits to local churches and town halls, and thus established and maintained contacts with regional authorities. The national culture and identity were clearly on the agenda with respect to transnational activities as well, and the members maintained networks at the international level, mostly with Finnish emigrants. Indeed, the records (Hhf: 3) show that the inspiration for establishing the club came from a group of locals who had participated in a one month long tourist trip to the United States and to the residences of Finnish immigrants organized by the Finnish Youth Organization. Moreover, the organization of international tours and tour guide recruitment were done by exploiting the existing networks and the contacts of the Finnish Youth Organization. The membership of the national community was strengthened, and in many ways, the difference between self-organized tourism and commercial mass tourism mirrors the distinction between active and passive citizenship (cf. Launonen 2000).

Hiking and other outdoors activities were popular in the domestic tours, and from the perspective of citizenship education, they provided a site for learning various skills and knowledge related to the northern environment and circumstances. It can be argued that, in the rationale of the youth organizations, the concern for individual bodies, in this case the issue of the tourist's health and safety, is intertwined with the question of the health of the population. The letters and programs of the trips included highly detailed information and instructions about clothing and equipment, something which can be understood as an attempt to ensure the success of the trip and the well-being of the participants, but also as a message to prospective participants that tourism arrangements demand diligence and responsibility:

Equipment: Skis and ski poles (normal poles are fine), ski wax, sunglasses (without glasses you can easily get snow-blindness), cold creams, windproof anorak (quilted jacket is impractical because when skiing it does not breathe and afterwards it is wet from the inside), warm clothes under the anorak, long and thick wool trousers under the ski pants or at least two pairs of woolen tights (one pair is too thin), at least two pairs of thick woolen socks, of which one pair dries while the other pair is in use... (Hhf: 1: Kerttu Rautio, Program for the Eastern Tourist Trip, 4 March 1966).

The list of seemingly trivial details can be read as a way of communicating citizenship skills in a practical and highly organized manner. The selection of youth hostels as accommodation for the tours provides another example of how healthy living and citizenship skills were practiced and

learned on the trips. In the youth hostels it was forbidden to drink alcohol, and outgoing manners were necessitated and practically controlled; bedroom doors, for instance, were locked during the daytime, and everyone was obliged to participate in the kitchen work. Particular codes of behavior, hygiene and purity can be seen in the instructions about using bed linens. The hostels therefore served as a uniquely moral environment (see also Matless 1995, 99) where everyone was expected to participate and behave in a responsible manner. Alongside the youth hostels, state-driven citizenship education methods were carried out in youth camps and other informal sites of youth education, which indicates the mutual formation of citizenship agendas (cf. de Koning et al. 2015, 124). Although it is not appropriate to make conclusions based on the studied material as to what extent all of the participants internalized the tour guidelines, it provides concrete examples of how tourism tours offered a site for socializing and living within particular codes of behavior.

#### National identity in an international context

The goals of internationalization and cultural exchange had a significant role in the international tours as well as in the way host-guest relations were fostered. For example, during the reciprocal visits hosted by a youth organization in Hansen, northern Norway, the Finnish participants took part in the summer festival. The program in these trips included various cultural activities such as playing music, singing, recitation and dancing (Finnish folk dance, for example, is mentioned several times). From the perspective of good citizenship, cultural activities are understood as a proper, cultivated and civilized way of being active and sociable in a transnational environment. As Rojek (2005, 50) suggests, games, singing and dancing together enable people to elaborate a sense of common citizenship, to override the divisions of class, gender, profession, ethnicity and other divisions. Due to the reciprocity and informal nature of such activities, they can be seen as a particularly powerful component of social inclusion and as a site of enacting mutual citizenship rights. The descriptions of places and people from other nations in the travelogues suggest, however, that events and performances of national culture often reinforced the idea of national differences in both positive and negative ways. Moreover, it can be noticed in the travel club documents examined in this study how constrained the dichotomy of mobile tourist and situated citizen actually is (see Rojek 1998). The description by Eila Mattila, who had taken part in the trip to the United States, illustrate how touristic experiences did not challenge the national identification of the participants, but instead, played an important role in the formation and strengthening of the feeling of national belonging in an international context:

The bridge across the Atlantic was built with deep emotion, touching our heartstrings. We too returned back home as new people. We had found the nation and people of Finland. The image of our home country with her gentle mother's face was smiling at us sweetly when the plane landed back in Seutula. (Hhf: 1: 1, Eila Mattila)

From the perspective of good citizenship and identity formation, the selection of tourist attractions and the expectations regarding the manner of interacting and relating with other cultures is consequential. The archived programs and travelogues include detailed information about and instructions for conduct on international and domestic tours, and thus illuminate what kind of activities and moral behavioral codes were considered desirable. Cultural events, theatres, museums as well as outdoor activities such as hiking were the main focuses of the domestic tours, which often involved planned visits with local or national politicians and officials. Cultural and heritage sites were key attractions on the international trips; in Germany, for instance, (1972) the participants visited castles, art museums and botanical gardens. In Spain (1967) the travel program included visits to places such as the Cathedral of Malaga and exotic events such as Corrida de Toros. From a contemporary viewpoint, Corrida de Toros is in obvious opposition to responsible tourism ethics, but at the time, the event was comprehended as befitting the goals of cultural education. The compilation of the tour program and selection of destinations are crucial elements through which it is possible to evaluate the meaning of tourism from the perspective of citizenship formation. Visits to museums and heritage sites are usually understood as cultivating and as a matter of active citizenship. Even though heritage tourism and state-supported tourist sights are understood to encourage tourists to embrace nationally defined goals (Gillen 2014; Pretes 2003), this experience nonetheless has to be interpreted slightly differently in the contexts of domestic and international tourism. In the case of international tourists, visiting heritage sights can be associated more closely with civilizing efforts than with nationalism. Yet, it has been shown that tourist heritage sites and the presence of the universal symbols of nationhood can evoke national consciousness among foreign tourists (Palmer 2005). National identity can be strengthened when comparing the domestic and international sites and their symbolic meanings.

The activities of the youth organizations can also be interpreted against the backdrop of internationalization policy and Finland becoming a member of different transnational organizations: in 1957, for example, Finland joined the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The new education agenda underlined solidarity and international cooperation, which is evidenced in the activities of the youth organizations. One indicator of this is

how knowledge of world geography and global problems were on the educational agenda of the Club in many concrete ways: responsibility, volunteer work, expressions of solidarity and simply “doing good deeds” were carefully documented and explicated in the memoir. The lived activities of the Club members illustrate how doing “the right thing” was not only a matter of being a good state citizen but also touched on the question of global awareness and responsibility – the members held First Aid courses, donated blood and organized flea markets for charitable purposes’, for instance. (The profits were donated to developing countries in Africa and Asia – to a literacy campaign and the construction of wells in Tanzania, and to Mother Theresa and the children of Bangladesh.) The reports stated that the aim of these activities was “to share the burden of the world’s sufferings” (Hhf:1: 8). The global dimension of locally organized charities illustrates how responsibilities were lived out and enacted at different sites. The geographies of citizenship were multiple and complex: participation in charities at the local scale can be read as a manifestation of global citizenship, whereas the performance of national folk dance on international tours possesses potential to strengthen both national citizenships and identity.

## Concluding discussion

The paper has expanded the discussion of tourism as a site of citizenship formation by shifting the focus from national identity-building and government-led incentives towards the actual and lived practices of citizenship at multiple sites and scales. The examination of actual practices of citizenship and the instruction in tourism in the Finnish Youth Organization and the Northern Ostrobothnian Travel Club provides a nuanced yet complex understanding of the relationship between citizenship formation and tourism mobilities. The examination illustrates how modernization and mass tourism were incorporated into the program and activities of the youth organization in a particular way which underlined the wider social and civilizational utility of tourism. Travel clubs represented a new socially organized form of travel in Finland, a site and activity through which social identity and sense of responsibility were negotiated in multiple ways.

The study shows that both domestic and international tourism can be used as a vehicle for promoting citizenship and provide a site for experiencing and reinforcing national identity. The examination of localized tourist arrangements and the activities of the local travel club points out that territorially bounded forms of citizenship, senses of belonging and responsibilities were

reworked in and through social participation and were, in many ways, dependent on the existence of transnational-local interconnections. On a practical level, active and moral citizenship was performed by doing volunteer work and by choosing a responsible way of conducting domestic and international tourism. The members of the club comported themselves as good citizens by exercising and educating themselves, visiting cultural tourist sites, and by avoiding unsavory behavior at tourist destinations. Adherence to the moral behavior codes of citizenship was considered important in all tours, yet the social control and disapproval of the immoral behavior at international destinations was considered especially problematic from the perspective of national image, which was of particular concern due to the internationalization policies of Finland.

From the perspective of citizenship formation in Western societies, the question of tourism mobility did not merely concern the rights and access to a passport but also the construction of citizenship identity and the model of good citizen. It is important to note the presence of multiple geographies of citizenship, especially because state-centered citizenship and national identity are sometimes represented as somehow regressive compared with a more globally oriented mindset (Tomaney 2007). This study shows how, besides the regulation of tourism mobilities, instructing citizens to conduct themselves in a well-behaving, responsible manner on domestic and international tours has been of great significance with respect to citizenship formation. The notion that the art of citizenship concerns not only how to behave in a good and responsible manner in one's own country but in other countries and destinations as well is something that has been emphasized in Finland as a result of historical developments.

The Finnish model of citizenship has transformed over time, and increasing mobility and the rise of mass tourism provided an important historical impetus for citizenship formation in Finland. A lived citizenship perspective provides a new understanding of how, regardless of the erosion of some traditional dimensions of citizenship (Turner 2001; Falk 2000), national cultures, norms and narratives of belonging continue to be of great importance for mobile people in multiple ways (Skey 2010). The examination brings forth an understanding of how state citizenship has guided the conception of how to conduct oneself in tourism sites and in transnational environments. The problematic created by the rise of mass tourism also fittingly exemplifies the tension between individualization and collective nationalism at this particular historical juncture. However, since the institutional systems and their functions are unique in each country, citizenship and the instruction in tourism take different forms in different countries. It should also be acknowledged that not all people in all countries have access to domestic and international mobility, something which

highlights the importance of studying the relationship between tourism and citizenship in different historical times and places.

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