Tourism Development in Rural Areas in Sweden – In the Shadow of a Well-Established Destination

Tourism development has been studied by researchers for decades, yet the issue of destinations that are situated in the shadow of well-established destinations has not yet been addressed in any depth. This article defines shadow destinations as destinations that exist in the shadow of a well-established destination with a strong identity and well-known brand. Well-established destinations with high profile branding attract many tourists. Destinations in their shadow, on the other hand, struggle with tourism and destination development. The aim with this paper is to better understand destinations in the shadow of well-established destinations. The study is a multiple case study examining two shadow destinations located in rural settings in Sweden. Data were collected from semi-structured interviews with representatives from the destinations' municipality, local destination development organisations, tourism companies, and infrastructure companies. Data were also collected from observations and written materials. The results show that shadow destinations could add value to tourists visiting well-established destinations by offering attractions that benefit tourists. They also show the importance of destinations networking with each other and the usefulness of well-known brands in their communication with tourists. In addition, shadow destinations can help wellknown destinations become more sustainable by reducing the pressure of unsustainable high numbers of tourists visiting them. Finally, shadow destinations could give tourists the option of choosing other tourist routes in a region, allowing them to experience attractions such as gastronomy routes, for example, in shadow destinations.

Keywords: brand, nature based tourism, rural destination, shadow destination, tourism development, tourist route, travel reason

Introduction

Tourism development is a field that has been studied by researchers for decades (Saarinen, Rogerson and Hall, 2017; Shen, Morrison, Wu, Park, Li and Li, 2018). Kladou, Kavaratzis, Rigopoulou and Salonika (2017) discuss that tourism development in place despite if it is a country, a city or smaller place are extremely complex in nature. Tourists visit different destinations and in their minds they see that certain place as a "destination". One area that has received little attention from researchers is places that are situated close to high-profile nature-based tourism attractions. Hudman and Jackson (2003) argue that places that are situated near popular attractions are affected by the shadow effect. "The shadow effect refers to destinations that are near other major destinations. The concept comes from a geographic term "rain shadow". Some localities get less rain because the precipitation is diverted by mountains or wind patterns. Thus, one destination may be in the shadow of another destination, which is the preferred destination. Because they are close to the

preferred destination, tourists will also visit the shadow destinations, but stay less time" (Hudman & Jackson 2003, p. 31).

Tourists that visit nature-based attractions might also want to experience other things in the nearby area. Tourists often see a destination as one unit, since it is a complex network that involves a large number of actors (Haugland, Ness, Grønseth and Aarstad, 2011). A destination can also be hard to determine geographically. Where does a destination start and finish, particularly in the mind of the tourists? The importance of treating the destination as a unit has resulted in a large amount of research focusing on issues related to destination development (Haugland, Ness, Grønseth and Aarstad, 2011). Destinations that are situated geographically close to a famous destination could benefit from the strong brand of the well-known destination. Ashton (2014, p. 279) argues that "brand is considered as a powerful instrument in creating a successful destination". Destinations with strong brands have a clear identity as well as image. Tourists feel recognition and therefore get the feeling of familiarity. Shadow destinations could therefore create relationships with famous destinations close to their area and benefit from their branding. Research has shown that one way of "moving" tourists beyond a specific tourist attraction to its surrounding areas is to develop different tourist routes, for example wine routes, scenic routes, or gastronomy routes. Gastronomy is of great importance to many tourists and is something that can convince tourists to take a detour to experience great local gastronomy while enjoying the scenery of the region and the destination. Shadow destinations can benefit from increased numbers of tourists visiting their region.

Research has not yet addressed to any great extent the issue of destinations that are situated in the shadow of a well-established destination. This article defines shadow destinations as destinations that exist in the shadow of a well-established destination with a strong, well-known brand. These well-established destinations with famous brands and strong identities attract many tourists, while shadow destinations are home to struggling tourism industries and often experience stunted tourism development. The aim with this paper is to better understand destinations in the shadow of well-established destinations.

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RQ1: How is the tourism development of shadow destinations affected by their close proximity to well-established destinations?

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RQ2: How can destinations in the shadow of well-established destinations benefit from the brand of the well-established destination?

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RQ3: What kind of tourism development tools could shadow destinations use to develop tourism?

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The structure of this paper is the following: the first section presents a literature review of research addressing areas such as travel reasons and tourism development, brand and identity, routes and gastronomy. In the second section,

the study's methodology is presented. In the third section, the findings and discussion from the two cases are discussed and analysed. The fourth and final section presents the article's conclusions and implications.

Tourism Development in Shadow Destinations

Reasons for Travelling and Tourism Development

Tourism development is of great importance for many destinations around the world. In order for a destination to successfully develop tourism, it must be aware of tourists' travel reasons. Why do tourists want to come to their region and how can these travel reasons be addressed? Many researchers have argued that the views of the stakeholders as well as their involvement are key factors in gaining success (Andriotis, 2005; Byrd, Bosley, and Dronberger, 2009; Dabphet, Scott, and Ruhanen, 2012; Ellis and Sheridan, 2014; Sánchez Cañizares, Castillo Canalejo, and Núñez Tabales, 2016).

The natural environment and its resources such as mountains, lakes, rivers, forests and beaches are of great importance for tourism development concerning nature-based businesses (Lundberg and Fredman, 2012). Nowadays, nature-based tourism is a fast-growing industry in Europe (Fredman and Tyrväinen, 2010). Fredman and Tyrväinen (2010) define nature-based tourism as tourism relying on a destination's natural environment as its key attraction. Tourism literature has, to a large extent, addressed the significance of nature-based tourism and its fast rate of growth in these regions as travel reasons (Lundberg and Fredman, 2012).

Travel reasons have their origin in psychology and are often discussed from a push and pull perspective (Baloglu and Uysal, 1996). Push factors are internal motives or forces that make tourists seek activities to fulfil their needs (Gnoth, 1997). Pull factors, on the other hand, are factors that attract tourists to a specific destination. During the development of modern psychology, push factors have been extended to "instincts", "drives", and "needs" (Gnoth, 1997; Tasci and Ko, 2017). Transferring these factors to travelling in general, they explain why people want to travel (Witt and Wright, 1992). "Pull factors", however, do not have their reasoning within people (Kliem, 2003). Instead, they are outside stimuli in the environment. People are attracted by what other destinations can offer them (Mundt, 2012). Pull factors influence the decision of where to travel in people who want to travel (Witt and Wright, 1992). Contrary to push factors, pull factors can be replaced (Kliem, 2003). For shadow destinations this means that there needs to be an awareness of the pull factors in different segments of tourists. Why do tourists want to come to their region?

Since tourists' travelling habits change or simply because tourists might expect something extravagant at a simple level, creativity in suppliers is crucial (Leimgruber, 2017). Individual tourism actors, particularly those offering local

niche products of agricultural land, play a significant role in the development. 1 Leimgruber (2017) outlined the importance of cooperation and collaboration 2 between tourism actors in his study of the local to the international level. Thus, 3 there should be no narrow-minded locals, quite the opposite; they need to 4 become creative when it comes to economic development (ibid.). For shadow 5 destinations this may be crucial since they want tourists from the well-known 6 destination to also visit them. Cooperation with the destination with a strong 7 brand could also benefit that destination if it is overcrowded (Jacobsen, Iversen 8 and Hem, 2019). 9

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Brand and Identity

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Nowadays, the importance of branding for successful destinations is well known to researchers (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009; Govers and Go, 2009; Kladou, Kavaratzis, Rigopoulou and Salonika, 2017). Shadow destinations might need to build their own brand as well as use the benefits of the wellknown brand (e.g. destination) that it is in the shadow of. Building strong brands is closely related to brand identity as well as brand image and brand personality. Companies that sell products and to some extent services have been previously studied but more research is needed in this area for the tourism industry. "When creating brand image for a tourist destination, the iconic features of the destination must be brought up and created in the tourist's mind" (Ashton, 2014, p. 285). Ashton (2014) argues that destination branding is based on the destination's environment and resources. Firstly, to build a successful destination the destination must develop a strong brand identity and a brand image which successful destinations seem to have (Aaker, 2010; Ou, Kim and Im, 2011). The risk of having a weak brand is that the brand will not be memorable and will not create recognition in the tourists' minds, which is of great importance since it creates familiarity with the brand (Aaker, 2010). Qu, Kim, and Im (2011) argue that brand loyalty, the perceived quality, and the associations the tourists have towards a brand build up a strong brand. The perceived quality of a destination with a strong brand can result in an association of a high-quality service, which in turn will lead to loyalty and create more awareness of the brand. Furthermore, this may result in a broader recognition and lead to increased brand awareness.

Tourists often associate a brand with certain features and it is therefore important that "iconic features of the destination must be created in the tourists' mind" (Ashton, 2014, p. 284) to deepen the awareness and create associations that cross tourists' minds every time they are in contact with the brand. "A brand's value proposition is a statement of the functional, emotional [and] self-expressive benefits delivered by the brand that provides value to the customer" (Aaker, 2011, p. 95), which will create a relationship between the brand and the tourist. To develop these feelings towards a destination and its brand, tourists must know what the place is actually offering and the communication of functional attributes and emotional benefits is quite

important to keep uniqueness and authenticity (Insch, 2011). Shadow destinations or unsuccessful destinations often lack a clear identity for the tourists. Tourists that identify with the values will fulfil their interest and create an emotional involvement, which will consequentially lead to loyalty towards the brand and to the destination. Insch (2011) states that surroundings are the core aspect of a brand's image and the motivational factor for a destination.

Keller (2016) argue that brand extension may be useful when there exist an established brand name and this brand can be used in new products and service. This may be useful for shadow destinations that exists closely to destinations with a strong brand. The brand can help tourists to find their way to the shadow destinations.

Tourist Routes

One way to convince tourists to travel beyond famous destinations and visit shadow destinations is to use routes of different kinds, such as scenic routes or gastronomy routes. The route concept is often considered to be an effective method of tourism distribution (Meyer, 2004). Route tourism means that a series of attractions are linked together in order to promote local tourism and encourage tourists to travel from one place to another. Routes may vary in length and some of the best and most successful rural routes feature wine or gastronomy with examples of these found all over the world (Andersson, Mossberg and Therkelsen, 2017; Bregoli, Hingley, Del Chiappa and Sodano, 2016). Linking a number of smaller providers together means they can be marketed collectively as "one" tourism destination or attraction. Lourens (2007) argues that the successful development of tourism routes is not an exact science and developing destinations often have difficulties to overcome. Research often uses terms such as themed routes, trails, and scenic by-ways (Meyer, 2004; Lourens, 2007). Trails usually refer to short distances and involve tourists visiting attractions by foot, bicycle, or horse riding, while routes and by-ways usually refer to driving.

Another concept is rural trails or heritage routes that aim to promote rural tourism. Themed routes can encourage tourists to take a detour through rural areas and to shadow destinations. They provide a good opportunity for less-developed areas to use cultural resources to attract more tourists. When developing these routes, it is of great importance to know the tourists' needs and reasons for travelling along the route. It may also differ if they see the route as a destination in itself or just a way to reach their final destination.

Lourens (2007) states that it is important to identify critical success factors. Firstly, the conceptualisation of the route must be based on market research that identifies key target markets (key segments) and their requirements. This research should be conducted on an ongoing basis to ensure that the latest tourism trends are taken into account. Secondly, an investigation must be conducted in the area to map what tourism products can be offered. What is the clear minimum standard for tourism operators? Otherwise, the

results may cause a huge effect on the entire route. Thirdly, what are the tourism assets and unique selling points of this area and its products (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004)? A macro-level strategic plan should be conducted to state how tourism development should be carried out in this area. Fourthly, the size of the potential membership base should be decided on. Operators along the route should be included early on in this process so they can together find the unique features and main themes of the route. The route should include diversification and a suitable mix of products for the area. Fifthly, a clear brand identity for the area must be established, which is important for shadow destinations. Marketing is of great importance and the area's identity should be determined by its unique selling points. At the same time, it is very important not to overstate the attractions of the destination (as the consequences of this would be to under-deliver). Sixthly, the route must put together a clear strategy of day-to-day operations. Finally, a financial plan should be put in place. In the early phases, resources are needed to create the "route" (see the steps above). It needs to be remembered that this is a long-term commitment that often takes time to mature. Many routes start on a very small scale and it can take up to 30 years to deliver significant economic results. Therefore, long-term goal setting is important, and working from a short-term perspective should be avoided (Lourens, 2007).

Briedenhann and Wickens (2004) argue that if tourists are distributed along a route, the negative environmental impacts of tourism are reduced and economic benefits are more evenly distributed. The development of rural tourism routes and the clustering of activities and attractions also foster cooperation and partnerships between tourism companies (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004). Pikkemaat (2012) clearly outlined that the tourism companies often prefer to ask for the "what" instead of the "why" concerning the implementation of new ideas. Thus, the route must be conceptualised based on solid market research, which identifies key target markets and their requirements (Lourens, 2007).

Gastronomy

Tourism development and reasons for travelling are often strongly intertwined with gastronomy and its importance for tourists. Kivela and Crotts (2005, p. 51) argue that "gastronomy is inextricably linked to the destination and the destination's image; maybe in multidimensional form [...]. Importantly, the study confirms that gastronomy tourism is a meaningful and possibly a highly loyal market segment. It can also be hypothesised that gastronomy experiences are powerful tools for marketing the destination".

In Northern Europe local gastronomy in general are seen as part of the heritage of a region, and they play a significant role in developing rural tourism nowadays. These products can be new, traditional, or based on specific food conceptions (Vittersø and Amilien, 2011). In Sweden, local food products have also become a very important tool in developing local tourism, more so than

national tourism (Sörensson, Dalborg and Bogren, 2016). The Swedish organisation "VisitSweden" states that gastronomy is one of the three major pillars in Swedish sustainable tourism development (VisitSweden, 2018). According to VisitSweden, 95 percent of tourists say that they want to have a unique food experience during their travels, and already 8 percent of tourists claim that food and experiences are their main purpose for a holiday in Sweden (Sörensson, Dalborg and Bogren, 2016). Moreover, local cuisine has the ability to enhance the visitor experience by connecting tourists to the region and its perceived culture and heritage (Sims, 2009). A food tourist may be defined as a person who selects travel destinations mainly due to anticipated food experiences and who therefore seeks out food, meals and food-related activities offered at the destination. The types of experiences gained from consuming food on holidays seem to vary and may for instance cover sensory, cultural, and social experiences (Andersson, Mossberg and Therkelsen, 2017). Furthermore, tourists are often sometimes food tourists while few, if any, are food tourists all the time (Getz, Robinson, Andersson and Vujicic, 2014). Taken together, this adds a further level of complexity to food tourism demands.

Methodology

The present study was constructed as a multiple case study where two shadow destinations in a rural setting in the middle of Sweden were chosen. The study had a qualitative approach with an abductive approach (Järvensivu and Törnroos, 2010). These destinations are situated at the same latitude but in two adjacent counties in Sweden. The geographical context of the destinations is presented later in this section. Data were mainly collected from semi-structured interviews with representatives from local municipalities, destination marketing organisations (DMOs), tourism companies, and infrastructure companies. A total of 14 respondents were interviewed and in some cases two interviews were conducted with the same representative. Data were also collected from observations and written materials. Data were analysed using interpretative analysis involving the construction of themes. The analysis is based on four themes (as described in the literature review) namely reasons for travelling and tourism development (1), brand and identity (2), tourists routes (3) and gastronomy (4).

The Case of Västernorrland County and Härnösand

Västernorrland County is situated in the middle of Sweden and borders Jämtland, Västerbotten, and Gävleborg Counties and the Gulf of Bothnia on the Baltic Sea. It has an area of 21,685 km² and is the sixth largest county in Sweden, home to approximately five percent of Sweden's population. It consists of seven municipalities. Härnösand is a small city with a population of approximately 18,000, with a total of 25,000 in the entire municipality. The

city of Härnösand was founded in 1585 by Johan III and it is the county capital of Västernorrland.

The largest and most well-known tourist attraction in Västernorrland County is the UNESCO High Coast World Heritage Site. The High Coast is the world's highest coastline and is home to the world's most dramatic land uplift since the inland ice retreated over 10,000 years ago. The land uplift world record has been measured at the top of Skuleberget, where the ancient coastline is presently an impressive 286 metres above sea level (The High Coast, 2019). "These natural phenomena are unique on Earth and evidence of the amazing land uplift experienced in the area after each Ice Age. The area is also home to Sweden's highest island, Mjältön, that juts 236 metres out of the sea, and the Baltic Sea's deepest point, Ulvödjupet, which measures 293 metres deep" (ibid.). The High Coast is the largest tourism attraction in the county and had approximately 542,000 guest nights in 2017.

The city of Härnösand is situated 23 km south of the High Coast region along the E4 highway. Many tourists pass the city on their way to the High Coast, but few stop in Härnösand despite the city having several tourist attractions. The city is the county capital (despite it being smaller than both Sundsvall and Örnsköldsvik) and is therefore home to several museums including car, boat, and county museums. Härnösand is a small, pleasant city surrounded by water and it has been selected as Sweden's second-best summer town (ibid.).

The Case of Jämtland County and Östersund

Jämtland County is situated in the middle of Sweden and borders Norway and the counties of Dalarna, Västerbotten, Gävleborg and Västernorrland. It covers 12 percent of Sweden's area but only 1.5 percent of Sweden's inhabitants live there. It consists of 8 municipalities and is one of Sweden's largest tourist destinations. With the exception of Gotland, Jämtland County is the least industrialised county in Sweden, with only 15 percent of the population actively working in industry. Industry in Jämtland is dominated by small businesses, with only 50–60 of the county's industrial companies having over 50 employees. Östersund is the main city in the county, with a population of approximately 51,000 inhabitants living in the city and 63,000 in Östersund municipality (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2018). The city of Östersund was founded in 1786 by King Gustav III and is the county capital.

Östersund is situated by Sweden's fourth largest lake (Lake Storsjön). The county is primarily known for a number of large ski resorts, such as Åre, which are well known by both Swedish and international tourists. Östersund is situated approximately 100 km east from Åre. The airport situated just outside Östersund, on the island Frösön, is named Åre/Östersund Airport, which indicates the importance of the nearby ski resort. Östersund is known as the "Winter City" due to hosting several winter events, including World Cup

Biathlon competitions. It is also home to Sweden's oldest music festival, "Storsjöyran".

This figure below gives an overview over the studied counties and their location.

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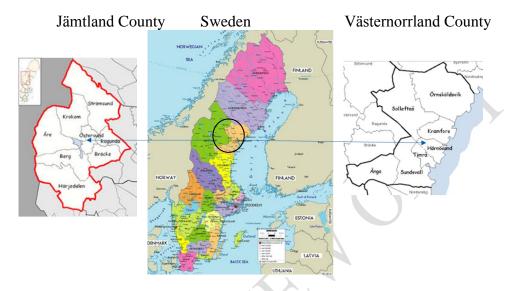
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Figure 1. Map Over the two Destinations and their Proximity (Own Creation)

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Findings and Discussion

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Travel Reasons and Tourism Development in Härnösand and Östersund

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The tourism industry in the entire county consists primarily of small and medium-sized tourism companies. The county does not have a large number of small tourism companies but rather more well-established attractions such as Hemsö Fortress, the High Coast Distillery, and Hernö Gin. The target market of the High Coast is mainly Swedes, Norwegians, Germans, and Dutch (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2018). There are also specific markets such as tourists travelling on cruise ships (Birka Cruises, 2019), which bring about 13,000 tourists to the area annually. The main attraction of the High Coast is the unique nature experiences it offers (The High Coast, 2019). Tourists do not mainly come to Härnösand for shopping (as they do to Östersund which is described further down). The largest city in the county, Sundsvall, is the shopping centre for the county. Outside of Härnösand the largest tourists attraction exist which is an outlet for Fjällräven which is a well-known outdoor brand famous for their iconic backpacks. Härnösand can offer a well-known beach of Smitingen that attracts tourists that want to lay on the beach and take a swim in the sea. There is also a bath house but it do not attract a larger amount of tourists. There are plans for Smitinge to build a camping in a nearby future.

There are several events that also attracts tourists like the music festival of Stadsfesten. Another event is the car cruising during the summer. Many of the larger events occur during the summer and Härnösand would like to attract tourists other times during the year (e.g. low seasons). Both Hernö Gin as well as The High Coast Distillery do not only sell high quality products but is also nowadays large tourist attractions. These distilleries have expanded during the last years and do also offer tourists different events during the entire year. Most of the tourists come by car or train to the region. There also exists an airport in the nearby area of Härnösand which is called Sundsvall/Timrå Airport.

The main tourist targets for Östersund are Swedes and Norwegians. Östersund had around 458,000 guest nights in 2018 (Jämtland/Härjedalen Turism, 2018). Östersund's tourism attractions include nature and adventure activities but shopping is also of great importance to the city. Östersund is a well-established trade city because it is the only sizable city in Jämtland County and it has been a tradition among people to combine their visits to Östersund with shopping. A large number of Norwegians travel over the Swedish border to Östersund to take advantage of the lower prices on food and other products in Sweden. It seems that Norwegians have a strong push effect where shopping in Östersund is concerned (Gnoth, 1997).

Östersund is home to a large commercial shopping centre, Lillänge, located on the outskirts of the city as well as shopping in the city centre. Lillänge opened its doors in 2004 and is not considered a competitor to the city centre, but rather a complement as it encourages Norwegians and people from the entire county to come to Östersund to shop. Of course, many of these visitors also visit the city centre and stay overnight or over the weekend. Lillänge is primarily home to stores belonging to large, well-established retail chains.

The swimming pool Storsjöbadet and Frösö Zoo are not enough to attract Norwegians to visit Östersund. The zoo in particular is experiencing decreasing interest due to environmental and ethical concerns. The question is: if the zoo disappears, what attractions can Östersund offer then? Norway does not allow zoos, which makes them an attraction in Sweden. Big events such as soccer festivals, music festivals, and Biathlon world cup competitions contribute towards tourism development in the city, which tries to create events that will attract tourists who would otherwise not visit Östersund, and the pull effect is a strong factor in this (Witt and Wright, 1992).

Transportation to the destination has its own role when it comes to tourism development in Östersund. Air, rail, and road are the accessible transportation possibilities. Direct flights run between Östersund and several destinations in England (e.g. London Gatwick and Bristol), which has led to an increasing number of British tourists in Åre, but this has not been seen as strongly in Östersund. In 2018, seasonal Easyjet direct flights between Östersund and Copenhagen and Östersund and St. Petersburg were introduced.

Härnösand and Östersund's Brand Identity

Härnösand does not have a clear, strongly established individual identity. The results of this study indicate that its identity is strongly intertwined with the identity of the High Coast. It is the attraction of the region that is communicated and the value of the brand is what Härnösand is partially communicating. The municipality of Härnösand stated that "We want Härnösand to be recognised as part of the High Coast – the sea, the wind and the waves*" (Härnösand, 2019). Härnösand also uses the "harbour" as an important brand icon for the city. The harbour should help label Härnösand as a shipbuilding town, which it was years ago as well as today and this has symbolic value - as it represents being well received and feeling safe and secure. The logo for the city of Härnösand is therefore a wave. The city of Härnösand uses the High Coast branding in its own branding (see Figure 2 below). Ashton (2014) argues that a destination's environment and resources should be illustrated in the brand. Härnösand clearly uses the value of the High Coast brand and strongly identities itself with that area. Insch (2011) discussed the importance of a destination's surroundings and Härnösand has incorporated this into their logotype with an ocean wave.

Figure 2. The Brand of Härnösand



Östersund's brand and identity is based on a snowflake shaped like a heart. The logo was designed in 2007 for the Biathlon World Championship 2008 and has been used to market Östersund ever since. Summer tourism in Östersund is more established than winter tourism and the brand uses an intentionally wintery logo in order to encourage tourists to visit the city in the winter as well, with the aim of achieving economic growth in the tourism industry during the colder months of the year. During this time of year, Östersund is in the shadow of top winter destinations such as Åre, Vemdalen, and Funäsdalen, which are all located in Jämtland County. These destinations are fully established winter tourism hotspots, in particular the ski resort of Åre.

The branding and logo for Östersund was the subject of an ongoing discussion in 2017–2018, which resulted in the decision to keep the snowflake heart, but it will now be altered according to the season. After the snowflake heart was introduced, research on the effects of the brand was conducted. The

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^{*} Free translation from Swedish to English by the authors "Vi vill att Härnösand ska förknippas med Höga kusten - havet, vinden och vågorna."

results showed that it has become a positive and well-known symbol for Östersund that is recognised both nationally and internationally. Earlier, a rainbow heart was used and during the UNESCO gastronomy conference in 2016 a heart with cutlery was used. In general, the city has kept the heart as a foundation for its marketing, with marketing campaigns being adapted to suit events being held in Östersund. Östersund uses the snowflake heart as its own unique brand and actively associates itself with its neighbouring high-profile ski resorts, in particular Åre. The snowflake heart is unique for the area and keeps it iconic features, even if it is altered for different events, which is a factor named as important by Ashton (2014).

Figure 3. The Brand of Östersund



Tourist Routes

Both Östersund and Härnösand have a limited number of tourist routes in their immediate surrounds. The High Coast is mentioned in marketing material issued by camping.se as one of five "routes worth a detour". This could serve as an example for the Härnösand area where new routes could be established to attract tourists to explore beyond the High Coast area. Currently, Härnösand is not on the High Coast route.

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Östersund has several small routes based on different points of interest such as searching for the great lake monster and a 25 km long Skärgårdsvägen (archipelago route), which starts in the centre of Östersund and takes the visitors via a bridge to the island of Andersön and then via a free-of-charge ferry to the island of Norderön. From there they can continue via another ferry to Håkansta. This is a cultural route that combines history and local food experiences in a picturesque natural setting (Skärgårdsvägen, 2019). Another route is the Snilleriket (the kingdom of geniuses), which is a local route that combines travelling, local food experiences, and local living (Snilleriket, 2019). This route is located in the neighbouring municipality, but it combines well with Skärgårdsvägen.

Gastronomy

In the Härnösand area there is a small number of well-established gastronomy entrepreneurs. Examples include Hernö Gin and the High Coast Distillery, which are among the most famous alcohol producers in Sweden. The area is also home to a number of microbreweries operating on a smaller scale. Both Hernö Gin and the High Coast Distillery organise different tourist events such as festivals, guided on-site tours, and tastings. They have expanded in recent years due to increased demand. The area is also home to a bakery and a cheesery that are popular among tourists.

In Östersund, and Jämtland County, gastronomy companies are more prolific. A larger amount of small-scale entrepreneurs that produce different products are in business, often working in their free time, on a part-time basis, or as sole proprietors. There are also a number of companies that act as employers in the gastronomy sector. In 2012, Östersund was named Food Capital of Sweden so the city has become well recognised for its local food and food production. It is a member of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCNN), and, together with Norrköping, it is one of only two Swedish cities in the network, and the only Swedish city in the gastronomy network, whose members include 26 cities from around the world. One of the reasons why Östersund was appointed is the purposeful work within small-scale food crafts and the connection to culture, gastronomy, and tourism seen in the area (ibid.). In 2016, the global network held its annual meeting in Östersund with over 250 delegates attending, to experience a gastronomic and cultural week and take part in the international research conference. The annual meeting was a success and the city was awarded with the Swedish UNESCO Prize in 2017 (UNESCO, 2017).

The products on offer in the city go far beyond the examples given here, Östersund and Jämtland County are well known for culinary experiences featuring primarily locally produced foods. In central Östersund alone, three restaurants have been nominated for "White Guide" awards for best restaurant/café in Sweden (White Guide, 2019).

Theoretical Contribution from this Study

The theoretical contribution made by this study is that smaller cities that are situated in close geographical proximity to a well-known destination with a strong brand can be called shadow destinations. The results from this study show that there are differences between these two shadow destinations.

There are many similarities between Östersund and Härnösand but there are also a number of differences. Östersund is located further away from the main attraction in the area, Åre, than Härnösand is from the High Coast. Brand extension is active in Östersund with Östersund Airport being renamed Åre/Östersund Airport despite it being located almost 90 km from Åre. Brand extension is the marketing of a new product as an extension of an existing one.

This is a well-known strategy to intensify brand value efficiently (Kim, Misra and Shapiro, 2019). Härnösand can be a good supplement of the brand "The High Coast", especially in the context of events, gastronomy, and nature-based tourism. Since the concept of destination extension has not yet been sufficiently addressed in this field of study, and Härnösand wants to develop its potential in tourism, it could be a positive idea to develop this concept. Härnösand needs to develop products and services that can bring tourists valuable experiences and that draw them to Härnösand. Since 2012/2013 the city has had a stronger collaboration with the whisky distillery, which is a strong brand in this region that has recently changed its name to the High Coast Distillery. This shows the importance of the High Coast brand and how it has been adopted by various companies in the region.

Previous research has shown that tourist routes might be a successful way to encourage tourists to take a detour past shadow destinations. There are many examples of great tourist routes travelling through beautiful countryside or including some sort of gastronomy experience. Both of the cities included in this study could also benefit by using the strong brand they are located close to. Strong brands are often a great way to communicate with tourists. In Norway, food experiences for tourists are still relatively unheard of (Vittersø and Amilien, 2011), while in rural Sweden this area of tourism has been further developed. The Norwegian market is of great importance to both cities included in this study. Härnösand could use gastronomic experiences to attract tourists from Norway since Norwegians are interested in local food products.

Since the UNESCO High Coast World Heritage Site is situated on both the Swedish and Finnish coasts of the Gulf of Bothnia, we suggest that further research into the Finnish side would be in order with the aim of identifying possible prospective bi-lateral cooperation. Currently, it is worth mentioning that Finnish bus tourists come to the Swedish side of the World Heritage Site and Härnösand by ferries travelling between Vaasa in Finland and Umeå in Sweden, but on their return home, only word-of-mouth marketing strengthens the brand. Increasing the amount of Finnish and in particular Norwegian tourists is desirable. Other international markets could include German-speaking countries and the Netherlands. However, before driving expansion into foreign markets, strengthening regional and national tourism is necessary.

Conclusions

It is difficult for shadow destinations to attract tourists who are mainly interested in other geographical areas (e.g. attractions) in the region. The two cases studied in this paper show how shadow destinations have different problems and possibilities. Härnösand is in the shadow of the UNESCO High Coast World Heritage Site while Östersund is in the shadow of the ski resort Åre. This study concludes that the two studied destinations could develop different aspects to attract more people to their destinations. The High Coast is

the main reason for tourists to visit Västernorrland County, with the majority of tourists passing by Härnösand, only stopping at the larger supermarkets or petrol stations. The study shows that Härnösand could create new reasons for tourists to visit, such as tourist routes or gastronomy experiences, thereby using the "pull" effect (Gnoth, 1997). This could also be done by marketing existing attractions such as museums and successful tourism ventures. Since the destination is yet to be successful in attracting tourists, another solution could be to provide attractions or reasons for traveling there that work as a complement to the High Coast. Härnösand could strongly benefit from using the High Coast brand in their tourism development work. Östersund, on the other hand, can work with their own brand and is not as dependent on Åre as a brand. Östersund attracts many tourists due to various events such as music festivals, football tournaments and World Cup Biathlon competitions. A large number of tourists visiting Östersund are Norwegians for the shopping, which is more of a push factor here due to prices being much higher in Norway. We can conclude that the two cases' dependence on the well-known destinations they are located close to differs. One way to encourage tourists to visit shadow destinations is by developing tourist routes or gastronomy experiences or a combination of these two tools.

This study contributes to this area of knowledge by concluding that there are different types of shadow destinations that depend on the brand as well as the distance from a well-known destination. The practical implications that can be taken from this paper outline how shadow destinations could benefit from a successful brand in their regions and investigate how they can add value for the existing tourists that are in the area.

In conclusion, shadow destinations are highly dependent on high-profile destinations in their region. This means that they can benefit from being in the same geographical area as these destinations despite the shadow they cast. Shadow destinations could add value to tourists in well-established destinations by offering attractions that benefit tourists. Networking between the destinations and the usefulness of the well-known brand in their communication towards the tourists is of importance. Shadow destinations could also help well-known destinations to become more sustainable when the pressure of too many tourists visiting the well-established destinations is reduced. Finally, shadow destinations could create different types of tourist routes that make the tourists choose other ways and therefore experience attractions in the shadow destination.

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