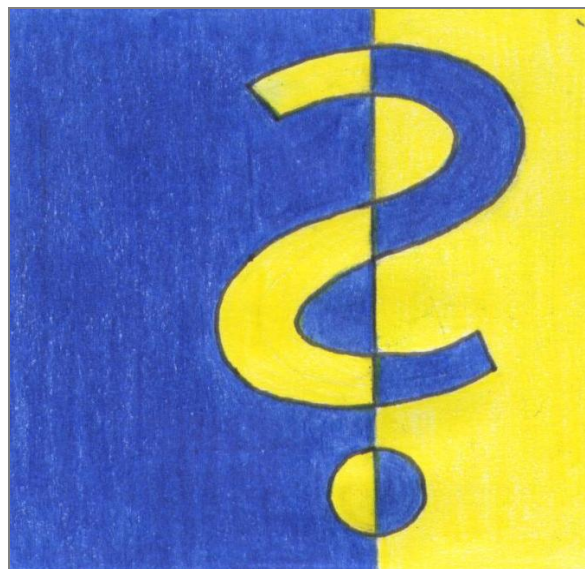Lund University
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See No Evil

Climate change risk governance at three municipal tourist offices in Sweden

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Abstract

Climate change is expected to bring about severe changes to the world's ecosystems and to challenge mobility patterns on all geographical levels. For tourism these changes have worrying implications.

This study deals with the link between tourism and climate change on the municipal level in Sweden. Viewing tourism and climate change as an issue for risk governance, the risk governance practices at three municipal tourist offices are explored. The research develops along the questions how employees at municipal tourist offices construct risks from climate change for their operations, how these risk constructions are translated into practice and how the tourist offices collaborate on climate change with the municipal climate adaptation coordinators (CAC) and the risk and vulnerability coordinators (RVC). The risk governance perspective is chosen to enable a practice-near approach to tourism and climate change. In the data generation semi-structured interviews and participant observations are applied.

The main findings of the study are that the respondents from the tourist offices frame risks from climate change on two levels: the interview level and the work-practice level. It is noted that the tourist offices do not explicitly deal with climate change in their operations. Further, the collaboration between the tourist offices and the CACs and RVCs is found to be modest. It is concluded that the municipal tourist offices do not carry out any proactive climate change risk governance as the prevailing practices for acquiring organizational value are not set out for renegotiation in the light of climate change.

Key words: tourism, risk governance, climate change, local, practice theory

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1   Introduction

Climate change is expected to bring drastic changes to the world's ecosystems and to challenge mobility patters on all geographical levels (Yeoman & McMahon-Beattie, 2006). Tourism, with its dependence on attractive sites and transportation, will be affected by climate change just as much as other human activities.

The Swedish government has come up with a thorough analysis of the impacts of climate change on Sweden, titled *Sweden facing climate change*, published as Swedish Government Official Reports SOU 2007:60. Also tourism is mentioned in the report. According to SOU 2007:60 climate change will have both positive and negative impacts on Swedish tourism. The positive effects are pointed out as longer summer seasons, rising water temperatures and, as a consequence of that, a growing interest in nature based tourism (SOU 2007:60). On the other hand an increase in coastal erosion and a decrease in water quality are addressed as negative effects of climate change on tourism (SOU 2007:60).

The governmental report also mentions that the knowledge about the effects of climate change on tourism is scarce (SOU 2007:60). Yet, even though knowledge on Swedish tourism and climate change is scarce, the issue should not be left to the future. With 3.1 % of Sweden's GDP, a turnover of 251.7 billion SEK and 159 094 employments in year 2009, the changing preconditions for Swedish tourism are a matter that requires consideration (Tillväxtverket, 2010: 8); and as it will always be the local level that is impacted in the first hand (Corfee-Morlot et al., 2011) – it will be local entrepreneurs and local attractions that suffer – particular attention should be paid to the local level.

Due to the uncertainties attached to the relationship between tourism and climate change one can say that we deal with a problem of risk. Risk can be understood as the link between anything of value and a potential, but uncertain, threat to that value (Rosa, 1998; Renn, 2009; Boholm & Corvellec, 2011). The practice of collaborative risk regulation is called risk governance (Van Asselt & Renn, 2011). Thus, Swedish tourism and climate change deserve attention as a matter for risk governance.

Earlier research on tourism and climate change deals with, e.g., the climate impacts from aviation (Gössling & Hall, 2008; Scott, Peeters & Gössling, 2010), the impacts of climate change on tourism (Moen & Fredman, 2007; Yeoman & McMahon-Beattie, 2006), carbon footprint analysis (Dwyer et al., 2010), the

contact area between sustainable tourism and climate change (Scott, 2011; Burns & Bibbings, 2009), conceptual climate change adaptation frameworks (Jopp et al., 2010), and niche markets such as slow travel as an opportunity for climate change adaptation of tourism (Dickinson et al., 2011). Also a previous study on destination marketing organizations and climate change has been carried out (Dodds, 2010). The risk governance perspective on tourism and climate change, however, is a juvenile approach that has not yet been applied extensively.

Moreover, the above mentioned studies on tourism and climate change all put a conceptual focus on climate change mitigation, climate change adaptation or sustainable tourism. All the noted perspectives are of great importance for dealing with the issue of tourism and climate change as they make the phenomenon of climate change visible in the context of tourism. Yet, earlier research has paid less attention to developing a theoretical understanding of tourism organizations' *practices* concerning climate change.

In order to fill the theoretical gaps the current study on the title *See No Evil – Climate change risk governance in three municipal tourist offices in Sweden* shifts focus towards tourism and climate change in a practice-near risk governance approach. In a multiple case study on the municipal tourist offices in Västhamn, Mittenstad and Östenvik (note: these are fictional names to guarantee the respondents' anonymity) it is explored how the practices of climate change risk governance for tourism are carried out on the local level. The matter of climate change is here treated mainly in the aspect of climate change adaptation.

The practice-near risk governance approach inhibits the potential to generate abstract generalizations on how practitioners understand the issue of tourism and climate change in and by their practices. More concretely, this study will contribute by theorizing on what is done, how it is done and why it is done regarding climate change in the rows of municipal tourist offices. In turn, some practical indications on dealing with climate change in the work-field of tourism can be sketched.

The empirical focus of the study rests on municipal tourist offices in Sweden. Assuming that the direct impacts of climate change on tourism will be received on the local level, it is found of particular importance to explore local strategies for dealing with climate change. Further, municipal tourist offices are the service operations that coordinate the maintenance and development of tourism on the local level (Grönroos, 2000). Thus, municipal tourist offices are in the foremost position to coordinate local climate change risk governance on tourism and chosen as the research object of this study for that reason.

The following section 1.1 will connect to the just unfolded research issue and present the research aim and the research questions.

1.1 Aim and research questions

The aim of the thesis is to explore municipal tourist offices' practices of climate change risk governance. In order to fulfil the research aim, the study examines how three municipal tourist offices in Sweden deal with climate change.

The following research questions are asked:

(A) How do the municipal tourist offices deal with climate change?

(A.a) How do the employees at the municipal tourist offices construct risks from climate change for their operations?

(A.b) How are the risk constructions regarding climate change translated into the organizational practices?

(A.c) How do the municipal tourist offices and other municipal stakeholders collaborate on tourism and climate change?

The overarching research question (A) guides the study in its entirety. It targets what the tourist offices do concerning climate change, how they do it, and why they do what they do. The overarching question is dealt with in the complete analysis in chapters 5-7. The three sub-questions single out three focus areas that arise from the overarching research question. Sub-question (A.a) is posed in order to develop on the tourist offices basic views on the relationship between the tourism in their municipality and climate change. Answering this question will serve as the foundation for understanding how the tourist offices govern risks arising from climate change. Sub-questions (A.b) and (A.c) are pointed towards the risk governance practices at the tourist office. While (A.b) targets the tourist offices' internal operations, (A.c) deals with how the tourist offices are embedded in the work of other municipal stakeholders who deal specifically with climate adaptation and risk governance issues. The series of sub-questions thus moves from the tourist offices basic views on climate change to the practices, where the practices are divided into the tourist offices' core practices and practice of collaboration with other municipal stakeholders. By answering the three sub-questions the main research question is answered, which in turn will help to refer back to the research aim.

1.2   The municipal stakeholders

The study deals with horizontal risk governance on climate change in the rows of three municipal tourist offices in Sweden. Horizontal risk governance means collaboration between different stakeholders on the same geographical level (Van Asselt & Renn, 2011). The notion of stakeholder is here used to term the municipal employees who are central to the municipal climate change risk governance on tourism (Friedman & Miles, 2006). The main stakeholders included in the study are the respondents from the tourist offices. Further, the climate adaptation coordinators (CAC) and the risk and vulnerability coordinators (RVC) are chosen as stakeholders. This paragraph aims at briefly presenting the municipal stakeholders that are interviewed in the course of the study, explaining why the stakeholders are relevant in order to reach the research aim.

Swedish municipalities are democratically elected bodies that exist to a wide extent independently of the national and regional governments (SKL, 2011). The principle of "self-rule" (*självstyre*) implies that local issues should be decided on the local level (SKL, 2011). Thus, the national and regional governments set the frames, whereas the local governments are free to decide the details about how to carry out their tasks. Each municipality has to take care of some obligatory operations, i.e., child care, public transport, and environmental work (SKL, 2011). It is not compulsory, though, to run a tourist office (SKL, 2011). Nonetheless most Swedish municipalities host a tourist office (SKL, 2011), either as a part of the municipal administration, e.g., Ystads Turistbyrå (Ystads kommun, 2011), or in the form of a public private partnership, e.g., Östersund Turist & Kongress (Östersunds kommun, 2011). The tourist offices are important in order to reach the research aim, as the goal is to explore the municipal tourist offices practices regarding climate change.

Yet, even though it is the tourist offices who deal with tourism in the municipal administration, the tourist offices do not carry the main responsibility for thinking forward on the issue of climate change. It is the municipalities' environmental administrations that lay strategies and plans on climate change (see e.g., Östersunds kommun, 2011). The environmental offices usually work upon sustainability programmes, i.e., Agenda 21 (Östersunds kommun, 2011). Either through these written programmes or in a separate endeavour the environmental offices contribute to the implementation of Sweden's sixteen environmental goals on the local level (Miljömålsportalen, 2011). The issue of climate change is addressed in one of the environmental goals, namely "restricted climate impact" (*minskad klimatpåverkan*). Besides that, municipalities can receive state subsidies

for climate investment projects, so called "Klimp" projects (Naturvårdsverket, 2011). However, as it is up to the local governments to organize the local work on climate change and climate adaptation there is not one model for taking care of climate change on the municipal level. Instead there is an individual model for each municipality.

Swedish municipalities are obliged by law to carry out a municipal risk and vulnerability analysis for each political term (MSB, 2011). The risk and vulnerability analyses focus on key operations for the maintenance of society (*samhällsviktiga verksamheter*) (MSBFS 2010:6). Examples of key operations are electricity supply, water supply, information, and health care (MSB, 2011). In a wider sense the risk and vulnerability analyses also embrace planning for continuity (*kontinuitetsplanering*) that is aimed at supporting organizations in their capacity to deliver despite interruption of the company's operations (MSB, 2011). It should be mentioned though that the instructions for municipal risk and vulnerability analyses do not explicitly call for long term strategic planning on climate adaptation. Neither do they call to take tourism into account. The risk and vulnerability analyses rather are plans for emergency than prevention (Hassel, 2010: no page). Nonetheless, the risk and vulnerability offices offer an important perspective for the study, as the risk and vulnerability offices are the officially appointed actors for risk governance inside the municipal administration.

The short presentation shows that the issue of tourism and climate change risk governance by municipal tourist offices involves at least two more municipal stakeholders: the CACs working on climate change and the RVCs working on the risk and vulnerability analyses. All these three municipal stakeholders touch upon the risk governance issue from different, but relevant, angles. A study exploring how municipal tourist offices govern risks from climate change should thus take the work of the other two stakeholders into account as well.

1.3   Demarcations

The study looks into climate change risk governance of three municipal tourist offices. The research focuses on the horizontal governance processes (Van Asselt & Renn, 2011). The study mainly disregards vertical risk governance processes, i.e., collaboration between the tourist office and stakeholders that belong to different geographical levels, e.g., the regional and national level (Van Asselt & Renn, 2011).

Municipalities are politically governed and the administrative operations are depending upon political directives. However, this study does not take the political preconditions of each case into account. Even though an important factor, examining the political situation would have made the study too complex in order to finish in the set time frame.

The issue of tourism and climate change might have been explored on a theoretical background of climate change adaptation and mitigation or sustainable tourism. As mentioned in the introduction, these perspectives are regarded as important for the issue of tourism and climate change, as they conceptualize tourism in respect to environmental issues such as climate change, and vice versa conceptualize climate change specifically for tourism. However, this study does not make an attempt to add on the conceptual understanding of tourism and climate change as such, but on the practices connected to these phenomena. That is why risk governance is chosen as the theoretical perspective, more specifically a practice-near approach to risk governance.

Speaking about risk and risk governance prominent names such as Mary Douglas, Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens come to mind. Mary Douglas (1982; 1985; 1992) has contributed to the theory of risk by founding and elaborating risk research from the angle of cultural theory. Ulrich Beck (1992, 1996) has contributed with a number of books on the (global) risk society thesis. Anthony Giddens (1994, 1999) has picked up Beck's risk society thesis and developed on the notion of risk and responsibility. These thinkers all have made a crucial contribution to the theoretical understanding of risk and society, society and risk respectively. However, as the current study applies a practice-near risk governance approach, i.e., deals with risk governance practices on the micro-level, the macro-approaches by the named authors are not regarded to have explanatory relevance to fulfil the aim of the thesis. To make the connection between the micro-level and the macro-level would have been possible. However, to do so would have reached beyond the set scope of this study.

The study applies the qualitative method of semi-structured interviews and participant observations. Also the qualitative diary method has been considered as appropriate for a practice-near study. However, the qualitative diary method requires that the researched practices are firmly anchored in the operations so that the respondents can easily articulate themselves on the issue. The topic of climate change is, however, considered to be only fairly elaborated in the tourist offices' operations at the current state. That is why semi-structured interviews are chosen as primary method instead, as semi-structured interviews can be applied to explore the issue both in terms of existing practices and obstacles for introducing practices.

1.4 Disposition

After the introduction in chapter 1 the theoretical framework of the study will be presented in chapter 2. The theory section deals with the concepts of risk and risk governance; further, it summarizes existing literature on climate change risk governance at the local level. Chapter 3 describes how the data collection is carried out for the three cases Västhamn, Mittenstad, and Östenvik. For each of the three cases one representative of the tourist office, a CAC and a RVC has participated in semi-structured interviews. Additional data is collected in the form of further semi-structured interviews and participant observations for two of the cases. Chapter 4 presents the empirical data from the semi-structured interviews and the participant observations. The chapters 5-7 contain the data analysis. In chapter 5 it is analysed how the tourist offices construct risks towards the municipal tourism arising from climate change. Here the theoretical framework from the relational theory of risk (see 2.1) is applied to distil out the risk constructions. Chapter 6 analyses the tourist offices' practices regarding climate change risk governance connected to the internal operations. Also in chapter 7 are the tourist offices' climate change risk governance practices addressed. However, chapter 7 views the tourist offices' practices not centred on the tourist offices, but as the practices arise in collaboration with the municipal CACs and RVCs. While chapter 5, particularly 5.2, is bound to the analytical framework of the relational theory of risk, chapter 6 and 7 are oriented towards the analytical tools of the practice-near risk governance approach. Chapter 5 with its focus on risk constructions lays the necessary foundation for the analysis on the risk governance practices in chapter 6 and 7. In chapter 8 a concluding discussion on climate change risk governance at municipal tourist offices follows. Chapter 9 contains the references from the literature.

2 Risk and risk governance

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework of the study. Section 2.1 gives an introduction to the concept of risk in order to provide a basic understanding on risk. The following section 2.2 deals with the concept of risk governance. Risk governance is defined and the single elements included in risk governance are presented. In 2.3 a brief presentation of existing findings from the literature on the field of climate change risk governance on the local level is added.

2.1 Risk

Section 2.1 deals with the concept of risk. First a broad introduction to the notion of risk is provided, followed by an elaboration on the social constructivist risk framework that is applied in the study. The framework compounds the parts of "organizational value" (Corvellec, 2010: 149), "object at risk" (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011: 179), "risk object" (Hilgartner, 1992: 40; Boholm & Corvellec, 2011: 178) and "relationship of risk" (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011: 180-181). At last, the notion of risk and context is taken up. It is stressed that risk arises embedded in complex circumstances.

2.1.1 The concept of risk

According to Mairal (2008) and Miller (2009) the term "risk" dates back to Enlightenment in the 17th century. When the gamblers of that time tried to gain control over their fortune they introduced a measure of probability, which was risk (Mairal, 2008; Miller, 2009). During the centuries to come the notion of risk has developed into a vast research field. In a recent paper Aven & Renn (2009) present no less than ten definitions. Other contemporary risk research divides risk definitions into an "objective" and "subjective" understanding of risk (Rosa, 1998; Healy, 2001; Hansson, 2010). The objectivist perspective refers to risks as factual constellations of cause and effect, whereas the subjectivist view introduces risks as a social construct (Hansson, 2010). While the notions of objective and

subjective risk still are applied, attempts to overcome the division are made as well (Rosa, 1998; Healy, 2001; Hansson, 2010). Particularly the sociologist Rosa (1998) has made an attempt to capture the broad spectrum of varying risk definitions. He has arranged the diverging concepts into one meta-theoretical framework and developed the following definition of risk: "Risk is a situation or event where something of human value (including humans themselves) has been put at stake and where the outcome is uncertain" (Rosa, 1998: 28). The connection between risk and human value at stake has been acknowledged by several other authors on the field of risk, e.g., Aven & Renn (2011) and Boholm & Corvellec (2011). Also, the element of uncertainty has been positively recognized by Aven & Renn (2009), in accordance with other authors' understanding of risk such as Boholm (2003). In this study risk is understood as a social constructivist framework that also includes the notion of value. The risk framework is further elaborated on in the following paragraphs.

2.1.2 Risk and organizational value

Even though the connection between risk and human value has been stated by several authors, hardly any empirical risk research explores the notion of human value as an element of risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011). Corvellec (2010), however, has illustrated how risk is framed in connection to organizational value. In an empirical study he examines how the regional public transportation company Skånetrafiken manages organizational risks (Corvellec, 2010). Corvellec (2010) singles out that the Skånetrafiken brand is regarded most valuable and vulnerable in the eyes of Skånetrafiken's managers. He concludes that the company's joint risk management is directed towards preserving that value (Corvellec, 2010). Here it should be noted that the term "value" alludes to the sense or meaning that arises through the operations carried out in the organization (Corvellec, 2010). The notion of organizational value will be applied in the analyses in order to demonstrate how the tourist offices derive organizational value from their practices.

2.1.3 Relational risk

The notion of risk arising in connection to something of human value is point if departure also for the relational theory of risk by Boholm & Corvellec (2011). In Boholm & Corvellec's (2011: 179) relational understanding of risk, risk is a mental construction where something of human value is appointed as a so called

"object at risk". The mental framework of risk implies further that the "object at risk" is threatened by a "risk object" (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011: 178). The link connecting the "object at risk" to the "risk object" is called the "relationship of risk" (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011: 180-181) (see figure 1). In the example of Skånetrafiken the "object at risk" is the Skånetrafiken brand that could be threatened by the "risk object" of problems in public transportation (Corvellec, 2009; 2010). Boholm & Corvellec's (2011) notion of relational risk was developed in connection to other authors, such as Hilgartner (1992) and Mairal (2008). Hilgartner (1992) earlier made the point that risk objects are created when a link between a risk object and the risk objects' potential impact is established. Mairal (2008: 43) characterizes risk as a "narrative linkage" between an "object of risk" (A) towards an "object at risk" (B) towards "consequences" (C).

$$[\text{Risk object}] \leftarrow (Relationship\ of\ risk) \rightarrow [\text{Object at risk}]$$

Figure 1: Relational theory of risk
Source: Boholm & Corvellec, 2011: 179

In Boholm & Corvellec's (2011) elaboration of the relational theory of risk, the risk object and an object at risk are not given entities, but labels put onto an entity or phenomenon. That implies that one and the same element can be both a risk object and an object at risk, depending on the perspective (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011). Boholm & Corvellec (2011) provide the example that a dog could be a risk object towards the object at risk of a child that could be bitten. In contrast the dog could also be an object at risk towards the risk object of a careless dog owner. In both cases a "relationship of risk" is produced upon a specific framework of cause and effect. According to Boholm & Corvellec (2011) this prospect of cause and effect is indeed a fundamental feature of the relationship of risk. However, that the relationship of cause and effect will be activated is not for sure, because risk is a mental framework under uncertainty (Rosa, 1998; Aven & Renn, 2009; Boholm & Corvellec, 2011). In the current study the three analytical categories of object at risk, risk object and relationship of risk will be applied in order to demonstrate how the respondents from the tourist offices construct risk arising from climate change.

2.1.4 Risk and context

The section above has described that the relational theory combines an object at risk and a risk objects through a relationship of risk. Thereby, risk is a social-constructivist framework, where one and the same element, such as a dog, can be labelled both a risk object and an object at risk, all depending on the circumstances. This implies that a risk is framed in a specific context (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011). Boholm (2003: 174) calls the context dependency of risk "situated risk". As an example of different situations, Boholm (2003) divides risks into "experience-near" and "experience-far" where each context implies certain means to frame a risk (Boholm, 2003: 174). While the experience-near risks are understood through daily activities, the experience-far risks are understood though abstract explanations and narratives (Boholm, 2003: 173-174). Also Hutter (2005) draws the conclusion that risks are embedded in their context. Researching on risks in organizations, Hutter (2005) found out that managers as well as employees focus risks that are attached to their individual work tasks. With the context dependent framing of risk, managers and employees recognize different risks arising from the operations, despite the fact that they are working for the same organization (Hutter, 2005). Also alluding to risk and context, Assmuth et al. (2010: 3943) refer to risks as socio-technically embedded phenomena that are "multi-dimensional" and "cumulative". Hilgartner (1992: 46-47) earlier referred to risk and context by introducing the notion of "networks of risk objects". Hilgartner (1992) states that risk does not arise through singular risk objects but through plural risk objects that refer to an outcome jointly.

2.2 Risk governance

The previous section 2.1 has introduced the risk concept that is applied in this study. Section 2.2 is dedicated to the concept of risk governance. First, the concept of risk governance is briefly defined in 2.2.1. The three elements of risk governance are pointed out, being "risk assessment", "risk management" and "risk communication" (Aven & Renn, 2010: 50). In 2.2.2, then, each of the three elements of risk governance is described in the light of a practice-near approach to risk governance.

2.2.1 The concept of risk governance

The term risk governance characterizes a form of risk regulation that is carried out under the participation of diverse stakeholders, e.g., technical experts, business representatives, civil servants, NGOs and the public (Van Asselt & Renn, 2011). As mentioned earlier, risk governance can be understood as both horizontal and vertical risk governance, where horizontal risk governance means collaboration between different players on the same geographical scale and vertical collaboration between similar players on different geographical scales (Aven & Renn, 2010). Aven & Renn (2010: 50) describe that risk governance frameworks traditionally compound three elements: "risk assessment", "risk management", and "risk communication". One illustration of a recent risk governance framework is the prominent framework of the International Risk Governance Council (IRGC) depicted in figure 2 (Renn, 2008).
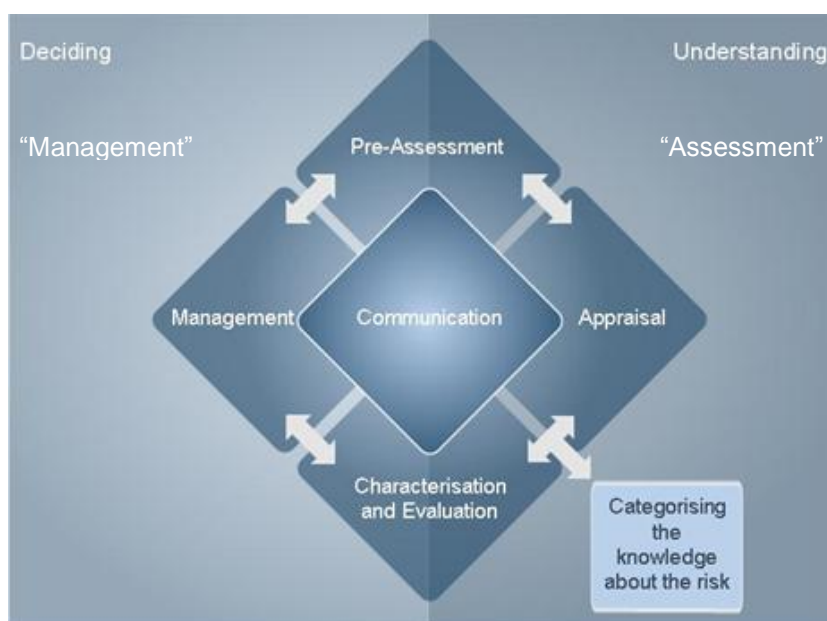
Figure 2: IRGC framework
Source: IRGC (2011), "Management" and "Assessment" added to the figure

The right half of figure 2, which is named as "understanding", ranges on the risk assessment side. The left half of the figure, termed as "deciding", represents the risk management side. Risk communication is put at the core of the risk governance process. As the IRGC framework is designed to fit governance processes that build on positivist assumptions, the detailed procedures for risk governance proposed in the IRGC framework are seen not to combine well with

the constructivist framework of this study. Therefore only the basic three elements of risk governance – risk assessment, risk management and risk communication – are taken further in this study, used as overarching analytical categories in the light of a practice-near approach. An introduction of the three elements of risk governance in a practice-near approach follows in the next section.

2.2.2 Risk governance in a practice-near approach

Risk governance has recently been introduced into a practice-near approach (Boholm, 2008; Corvellec, 2010; Boholm et al., forthcoming). The practice-near approach puts practices in the focus of the analysis (Reckwitz, 2002). Practices are regarded as a congregation of various expressions of human existence, i.e., movements, feelings, knowledge, that prevail simultaneously in a human body (Reckwitz, 2002). The different aspects are united and expressed in human practices, thus, practices are regarded to be a source for insights on social settings (Reckwitz, 2002).

Regarding risk governance as a practice, risk governance can be analysed in the light of a practice-near research approach. When seen in the light of practice-near approach, risk governance is not a distinct activity that is carried out in isolation from the everyday processes. In Boholm et al.'s words "risk governance is not a framework on which you build; it is something that you learn how to do" (forthcoming: no page). Moving on from this statement we can develop on the three elements in risk governance: risk assessment, risk management, and risk communication.

Risk assessment
Risk assessment can be viewed as the risk governance phase in which knowledge about existing risks with their possible consequences is gathered (Aven & Renn, 2010). In the practice-near approach to risk governance, coined by Boholm et al. (forthcoming), the practice of risk assessment can be described as a kind of trembling forecast on a multifaceted setting. The persons who carry out the risk assessment are trying to get an overview over the many factors that may contribute to a future outcome, yet, are not able to grip the complexity fully. Thus, the process of assessing risks is bound to previous experience and a pinch of guessing (Boholm et al., forthcoming). Risk assessment as a process of gathering knowledge can therefore be linked to the notion that knowledge and practice are interwoven (Corradi et al., 2010). In the practice-near approach to risk governance the process of risk assessment can be either explicit or tacit (Corvellec, 2009; 2010).

Risk management

Risk management is the operation of dealing with risks practically, e.g., by eliminating the risk objects (Hilgartner, 1992; Aven & Renn, 2010). Apart from explicit forms of risk management, where risks are categorized and approached with targeted strategies (Aven & Renn, 2010), Boholm et al. (forthcoming) state that risk management can be fully integrated in an organization's operations, both explicitly or tacitly (Corvellec, 2009; 2010). Even further, the border between risk assessment and risk management can be blurred (Boholm et al., forthcoming). Taken together one can say that in a practice-near approach the two elements of risk governance are interconnected: Risk assessment and risk management are mutually informing in a process of "practice-based learning" where theoretical and practical knowing are merged (Corradi et al., 2010: 270).

"Practice-based learning" (Corradi et al., 2010: 270) can be regarded as embedded in a so called "community of practice" (Wenger, 2003: 80). Wenger's concept of the "community of practice" (2003: 80) illustrates a group of people who create a common sense of purpose in the specific practices they carry out together. Attaching the notion of the "communities of practice" to risk management the specific risk management practices can be expected to belong to at least one of these communities (Wenger, 2003:80). Consequently it is also in these communities risk management practices are learned, taught, and altered (Wenger, 1998: 2003).

Risk communication

In Aven & Renn's (2010) understanding, risk communication aims at helping involved actors to develop insights on the risk matter. While earlier approaches to risk communication applied a one way communication from experts to lay-people, newer approaches, also called "inclusive governance", view risk communication as a dialogue between the parties (Renn & Schweizer, 2009: 175).

In the practice-near approach Boholm et al. (forthcoming) point out that risk communication can form a common ground for risk governance by interaction. However, they also state this ground needs continuous renewal, since the surrounding conditions are permanently changing (Boholm et al., forthcoming). Hence, risk communication becomes an activity of "situated learning" and "practice-based learning" (Corradi et al, 2010: 270), in what Dougherty (2004: 43) calls "reflection in action".

One could also say that risk communication is a way of re-interpreting what is done and adding a sense of purpose to altered practices (Wenger, 2003: 80). Risk communication, thus, is not only a process of talking; it is a joint practice of

attaching meaning to a risk governance process (Wenger, 1998; 2003; Boholm et al., forthcoming).

The concept of risk governance in this study

In the context of the study risk governance is applied in a practice-near approach. Risk governance is stated to consist of the three elements of risk assessment, risk management and risk communication. However, these steps are not regarded as a fixed schedule for risk governance, but as analytical categories that facilitate an understanding of the complex and integrated process of risk governance.

Risk assessment is referred to knowledge generation on risks, risk management is regarded as dealing with risks practically and risk communication is viewed as any interaction for developing a shared purpose for risk governance. These three elements are understood to be embedded in an ongoing operation. It is said that each of the three elements of risk governance can be carried out both explicitly and tacitly.

2.3   Climate change risk governance on local level

Section 2.3 touches upon existing literature on the topic of climate change risk governance on the local level. The section deals particularly with obstacles and opportunities pointed out by earlier research.

Lidskog et al. (2010) address climate change risk governance on the local level in the context of climate change adaptation in Sweden. In Lidskog et al. (2010) climate change adaptation is defined according to an IPCC report as follows: "Adjustment in natural or *human systems* in response to actual or expected climatic stimuli or their effects" (IPCC, 2007: 869 in Lidskog et al., 2010: 78-79, emphasis in original). Lidskog et al. (2010) pinpoint that it is up to the municipalities to decide how to bring about climate change adaptation in their district.

As obstacles for risk governance on climate change it is pointed out by Lidskog et al. (2010) that the municipal administrations hold only scarce knowledge about how climate change will actually affect them. Lidskog et al. (2010) give the example that it is unknown where exactly the impact of climate change will be allocated. Also Corfee-Morlot et al. (2011) mention the lack of locally suited knowledge as one factor that makes climate change adaptation difficult.

Corfee-Morlot et al. (2011) further underline other obstacles such as lack of assignment, lack of time, and lack of financial resources as constraints for local climate change adaptation. This means in cases where the local knowledge might be sufficient to carry out climate change adaptation, a lack of capacity to implement measures according to the knowledge might arise (Corfee-Morlot et al., 2011).

For overcoming the obstacles Corfee-Morlot et al. (2011: 181) propose to create "deliberative spaces" in which different kinds of actors can develop policies jointly. Here a parallel can be drawn to Wenger's concept of "brokering" (Wenger, 1998: 108-109). "Brokering" means that an element connects a "community of practice" with anything that is not part of the community (Wenger, 1998: 108-109). A "broker" can introduce new aspects into a "community of practice" and alter existing concepts (Wenger, 1998: 108-109).

Further, Corfee-Morlot et al. (2011) mention that strategy documents propelling a number of societal advantages, i.e., local growth, human mankind's well-being and climate change adaptation (Corfee-Morlot et al., 2011), are probably most effective. The notion of multiple benefits goes together with Renn & Schweizer's (2009: 183) mention of "win-win" situations as facilitator for cooperation.

Another solution proposed by Corfee-Morlot et al. (2011: 178) is to give municipalities a clear mandate to deal with climate change adaptation and to enable them to refer any costs to a higher level in the administrative hierarchy. Generally additional resources are proposed as a measure for enhanced climate change risk governance towards local adaptation (Corfee-Morlot, 2011: 183).

2.4   Summary: Risk and risk governance

Chapter 2 has presented the theoretical background of the study. As important concepts for the analysis the concept of relational risk has been introduced. Relational risk is understood as a social constructivist risk framework that claims that a risk is constructed where a valuable feature is potentially threatened. The notion of risk is further divided into an "object at risk" that connected to a "risk object" in a so called "relationship of risk" (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011: 179-181). It is claimed that context is a crucial factor influencing risk constructions.

Further, the concept of risk governance has been presented and declared to consist of three elements, namely "risk assessment", "risk management", and "risk communication" (Aven & Renn, 2010: 50). Additionally risk governance

has been introduced in connection to practice-near studies. It has been stated that this study views risk governance as an ongoing process embedded in organizational practices. Each of the three elements of risk governance can be carried out either explicitly or tacitly. Finally, existing literature on climate change risk governance on the local level has been lifted up.

3   Method

Chapter 3 describes how the data for the study is generated (Whatmore, 2003). The study is a qualitative "multiple case study" (Smith, 2010: 192) exploring how three municipal tourist offices in Sweden carry out climate change risk governance. Each case consists of a "semi-structured interview" with a respondent from each of the municipal tourist offices, plus a "semi-structured interview" with a municipal CAC and a municipal RVC (Bryman, 2008: 439). Additional "participant observations" are undertaken in two of the three cases (Bryman, 2008: 403-413).

Section 3.1 describes how the three cases are selected. How the interview partners for the semi-structured interviews are chosen is presented in section 3.2. In 3.3 it is made clear how the interview guides for the semi-structured interviews are designed. The following section 3.4 offers a description of the interview settings. Insight into the additional interviews is given in 3.5. In 3.6 a brief background to the participant observations is added. Section 3.7 describes the process of the data analysis. In 3.8 critical reflections on the data generation of the study are provided.

3.1   Selection of cases

The three municipalities have been selected by "purposive sampling" (Bryman, 2008: 414-415). For the purpose of exploring how municipal tourist offices deal with climate change, two coastal municipalities have been selected, namely Västhamn and Östenvik. It is expected that coastal municipal tourist offices are particularly well informed about climate change due to the prospect of rising sea levels. As the third municipality an inland municipality, being Mittenstad, is chosen to add a perspective from a municipality that is not directly affected by rising sea levels. Here it can be noted that the subsequent field study and data analysis do not show any noteworthy differences between the coastal municipalities and the inland municipality. That is why the geographical positions of the municipalities are not further addressed as analytical categories.

3.2   Selection of stakeholders

For each municipality mainly three stakeholders from the municipal administration are interviewed: a respondent from the tourist office, a CAC, and a RVC. The first contact with the specific municipal stakeholders is established by E-mail or telephone. All contacted stakeholders agree to participate in an interview.

The interview partners from the municipal tourist offices are regarded as core respondents for the aim of the study. Each of the three tourist offices contributes with one interview. The choice of the specific interview partners from the rows of the tourist offices is made by the offices themselves. It turns out that all the respondents from the tourist offices are employees with experience from both front office and back office operations at the tourist office. None of the respondents holds a management position.

The CACs are chosen as interview partners for the study as they are in the formal position to deal with the prospect of climate related changes on local level. However all termed CAC in this study, the interview partners working with climate adaptation may have slightly varying roles in the municipal administration. The respondent from Västhamn is employed at the technical administration office and has previously worked on water related questions. At Mittenstad the respondent who represents the municipal climate adaptation work has been working on municipal sustainability questions for over ten years; however she is not the person in charge of climate adaptation in the first hand. She engages in the interview due to the fact that she holds more experience on the climate adaptation work at Mittenstad than the formally responsible person, this because the formally responsible person started to work in the position just some weeks before the interview. At Östenvik the CAC is an ecologist who deals with nature preservation and climate related issues.

The RVCs are chosen as interview participants because they are responsible for the municipal risk and vulnerability analyses that Swedish municipalities are obliged by law to carry out. The municipal risk and vulnerability analyses are a tool for risk governance. Exploring how the tool is applied delivers important insights in order to answer the third research sub-question (A.c) concerning collaboration between the stakeholders. The respondents are chosen on the condition that the interview partners are responsible for the risk and vulnerability analyses. Also here slight differences in the positions of the respondents prevail. The RVC from Västhamn is at the same time the municipal safety manager; thus holds a management position and works with a broad focus. At Mittenstad the

RVC does not hold a management position; neither does the respondent from Östenvik. While the respondents from Västhamn and Östenvik have their offices in the fire station outside the city centre, the respondent from Mittenstad has her office in the centrally situated city house.

As the summary has shown, the selection of respondents follows a clear logic. Yet it should be noted that the titles "climate adaptation coordinator" (CAC) and "risk and vulnerability coordinator" (RVC) are labels chosen by the author of the study. The labels fill the purpose to make clear in which functions the respondents have been interviewed and to enhance the readability of the paper. In their real work context the respondents hold work titles that somewhat deviate from the label.

3.3   Interviewing the stakeholders

The aim of the study is to explore how municipal tourist offices govern risks from climate change. In that purpose three different municipal stakeholders from three municipalities have been interviewed. The method of semi-structured interviews is chosen in order to generate data on the municipal stakeholders' reasoning on the issue (Brenner, 1985: 148). The choice of semi-structured interviews is seen as appropriate as it secures that relevant topics, such as exploring the respondents' understanding on climate change and tourism, are covered throughout the interview, while at the same time giving room for new points for investigation that might arise during the interview (Bryman, 2008; Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

3.3.1   Interview questions at the tourist offices

The study deals with how three municipal tourist offices govern risks from climate change. This study defines the concept of risk according to the "relational theory of risk" by Boholm & Corvellec (2010) and explores risk governance as it is carried out in an organizational context (Boholm et al., forthcoming). In order to attach the data collection to the risk concept, the interview questions are designed to capture the elements of the relational theory of risk (see 2.1.3). As it is regarded important to develop an understanding of the tourist offices position on the question of climate change right from the beginning, the question "Have you talked about climate change here at the tourist office?" is posed as initial question (see Appendix 1). Subsequently broad, open-ended questions are asked: "What is climate change to tourism in this municipality?", "What is tourism in this

municipality to climate change?", and "What do you believe will happen?" By asking broad, open-ended questions it is attempted to let the respondents develop and express their own understanding of the relationship between tourism in the municipality and climate change. The first block of questions examining "risk" is followed by a second block of questions under the umbrella of "practices". The respondents are asked the question: "Do you act upon climate change at this tourist office?" including follow-up questions on specific work tasks in the operation of municipal tourist offices. The question is deliberately posed as a "yes/no" question, as the author does not want suggest that the tourist offices *should* follow an active agenda on climate change. The third block of questions addresses the tourist offices involvement in the municipal climate and environmental policy. Parts of the policy documents, i.e., visions and particular targets, are used as probes and followed up by questions targeting the collaboration between different municipal offices.

After the first two interviews with the tourist offices the questions and follow up questions are re-examined. As the overall questions frame the researched concepts well no major changes are undertaken in the course of the three interviews. However the questions related to the policies are adapted to the specific municipality for each of the interviews. The follow up questions are slightly refined and improved to lead to the bottom of the practices. However, the changes deal only with details in the formulations.

3.3.2 Interview questions for the other municipal stakeholders

The interviews with the CAC and the RVC are aimed at exploring the collaboration between the CACs, RVCs respectively, and the tourist offices. The interview guides for the interviews with the CACs and the RVCs are oriented towards, first, developing an understanding of the stakeholders' work and, second, examining how the stakeholders relate their work to the tourist offices. That is why the interviews start with questions about the role of the stakeholders and their work approach. Questions such as "Would you like to describe your work briefly?" are posed in the beginning, followed by "How do you work on climate change here at the municipality?" for the CACs and "How do you proceed in order to develop the risk and vulnerability analysis?" for the RVCs (see Appendix 2 and Appendix 3). A third set of questions is targeted at finding out about the stakeholders estimations on climate change, including questions as, e.g., "What do you believe climate change implies for xx?" At last the collaboration between the

stakeholders and the tourist offices is explored through questions such as "Have you collaborated with the tourist office at xx?"

The interview guide for the CACs is more detailed on the point of climate change, compared to the interview guide for the RVCs. As the RVCs work puts a stronger focus on overall safety than on climate change specifically, the contact areas between the RVCs and the tourist office are explored from the more general viewpoint of the RVCs.

3.4   Interview settings

The interviews take place at the respondents' offices or close by to the office in a common area. Each interview is audio-recorded with the permission of the respondents. The respondents are informed about the topic of the interview and in what purpose the data is going to be used. Also, the respondents are free to choose if they want their names listed in the literature list. As some of the respondents prefer not to be mentioned by name, all the respondents' and municipality's names are held anonymous. The respondents are also informed that they, at any time, can ask the interviewer to switch off the audio-recorder.

The interviews with the respondents from the tourist offices last between 25-90 minutes. The length of each interview depends on the respondent's agenda. The respondents from Västhamn and Mittenstad do not suffer time pressure, while the respondent from Östenvik is in a hurry. The length of the interviews however does not impact the number of questions posed, but rather the level of detail to which the answers are elaborated.

The interviews with the CACs and the RVCs last between 20-45 minutes. The interviews with the CACs and the RVCs are generally shorter than the interviews with the respondents from the tourist offices as the interview guide is not as long as for the tourist offices.

3.5   Additional interviews

Apart from interviewing the nine municipal stakeholders mentioned above, two additional interviews are carried out at Västhamn. The two additional interviews fill the purpose to complete the interview with the respondent from the tourist office at Västhamn where the respondent could not answer the questions fully herself, but referred to her colleagues. The additional respondents are colleague X,

also working at Västhamn's tourist office, and colleague Y, working at Västhamn's climate office. The two additional interviews are carried out in conversational form as the interviews concern only details; a situation in which semi-structured interview guides are equivalent to asking conversationally. The data from these interviews will only be partially presented and applied.

3.6   Participant observations

The data generation includes two "participant observations" (Bryman, 2008: 403-413) of two meetings including the tourist office at Västhamn, Östenvik respectively. Also Mittenstad's tourist office is asked if participation in a meeting would be possible. However, the E-mail request and follow up E-mail are not responded by the tourist offices; the author interprets that as a decline.

The participant observations fill the purpose to generate data on the tourist offices' usual work practices. The participant observations are carried out as unstructured participant observations, where the topics taken up during the meetings are noted in the observation protocol. As the author wants to use the data from the participant observations as complement to the main method of semi-structured interviews, the unstructured approach to the participant observations is seen as appropriate and sufficient.

The participant observation with Västhamn's tourist office takes place at a meeting of stakeholders from different municipal tourist offices. Colleague X at Västhamn's tourist office has granted access to the participant observation. The meeting is attended by seven participants from tourist offices in neighbouring municipalities. The duration of the meeting is about two hours. After the closing of the formal meeting, the group continues the meeting on an informal basis with everyday conversations. During the formal part of the meeting the author is not actively participating or asked for opinions; however, during the informal part of the meeting the author involves in the conversation and asks colleague X for some additional information.

The participant observation with Östenvik's tourist office is an official lunch meeting for business stakeholders from Östenvik and the region. In advance of the meeting the tourist office at Östenvik has registered the author as a regular guest of the lunch meeting. The lunch meeting is arranged in the city house of Östenvik and consists of two parts. During the first part a business entrepreneur presents a packaging network of which he is CEO. The second half of the meeting is dedicated to the presentation of Östenvik's forthcoming tourism strategy. The

presenters of the forthcoming tourism strategy are the manager of Östenvik's tourist office and an employee at the destination development office. The presentation lasts for about 20 minutes. The author's participation in the meeting takes place without interaction with the presenters or the audience.

3.7   Data analysis

The audio files from the interviews are completely transcribed in the exact wording (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Subsequently the data from the interviews and participant observations is analysed along the three research sub-questions (see 1.1). In order to fill the analytical categories of the relational risk concept as well as the categories of "translation" and "collaboration" with findings from the field work, the data is read several times and coded in context (Bryman, 2008: 550). The transcripts are also printed, cut into pieces and coded another time detached from their context.

For the first research sub-question (A.a) the analytical categories offered by the relational theory of risk − object at risk, risk object and relationship of risk − are applied. The interviews with the respondents from the tourist offices are examined towards: "What in the interviews tells about the value/meaning of the tourist offices operations?", "What objects at risk do the respondents point out?", "Which risk objects do the respondents relate to the objects at risk?", and "How is the relationship between the single elements described?" Further it is looked into the chains of reasoning and contradictions. "How do the respondents draw conclusions on the connection between climate change and tourism?" and "Where is the reasoning contradictory and why?"

For the second part of the analysis, concerning the second research sub-question (A.b) the tourist offices' practices in regard to climate change are explored. The data is examined on how the tourist offices relate climate change to their operations. It is asked: "What are the tourist offices doing in regard to climate change?", "What are the tourist offices doing regardless of climate change?", and "How do the respondents motivate what is done?" Since it turns out that the tourist offices have not spoken about climate change in work context and mostly do not follow and explicit agenda on climate change, the analysis develops theoretical categories on why climate change is not a current issue at the tourist offices. Themes such as "assignment by municipal management" (see 6.1) and "relevance for the operations" (see 6.2) are developed.

The third step of the analysis, alluding to the third research sub-question (A.c), examines the collaboration between the tourist offices and the other municipal stakeholders. Here the data is examined on: "What are the contact areas between the tourist offices and the respective stakeholders?" As the contact areas seem to be feeble the further analysis generates theoretical categories on the reasons why the contact between the stakeholders is feeble. Theoretical themes such as "different work tools" (see 7.1.1) and "assumed needs of tourism" (see 7.3.1) are the outcome.

The theoretical themes from all three parts of the analysis are put in a logical order and build the argument (Booth et al., 2008) that the climate change risk governance at the tourist offices overall is modest.

3.8   Critical reflections

The three interviews revealed that none of the respondents from the tourist offices had touched the issue of climate change in their job context before. Consequently, the qualitative semi-structured interviews are the first time for the respondents to express themselves on the relationship between tourism in the municipality and climate change in job context. This implies that the data from the tourist offices is to a high degree "co-produced" in the sense as the data would not have occurred in the same shape as without an interview (Thrift, 2003: 108).

Hence, the data mirrors the instance of speaking about climate change in a job context for the first time. It is visible in the analysis that there are two ways of understanding climate change at the tourist offices. The one way to understand climate change arises through the interview, but is not anchored in the practices as such, as it is new. The other way to understand climate change arises by the usual work context and is also anchored in the practices. Thus, in the analysis there is a divide between the risk constructions arising from climate change in the interviews and the understanding that would be visible in what Silverman (2007: 59) calls "naturally occurring data".

The question pattern leads to the divide, as the respondents have to speculate about something that they are not used to talking about (Silverman, 2007). Yet, the answers on the questions are natural data in the way that they tell something about the respondents' understanding of tourism and climate change, when involved in a job based conversation, thus even the process of what Whatmore (2003: 90) calls "generating materials" can be a kind of "naturally occurring data"

(Silverman, 2007: 59) as long as the contextual circumstances, in this case being a first time conversation is kept in mind.

Yet, the view arising in the respondent through the interview is not coherent with the practices, as the view is speculative and the practices are ongoing. The interview does not take up how the arising views *might* be transferred into the practices, but the practice explored are the actual ones That is why the risk constructions developed throughout the interview seem not to be coherent with the practices. Only when one connects the operation based ideas about climate change with the actual practices the pattern is coherent.

Further reflecting on the question patterns, the interviews with the respondents from the tourist offices do not take up the tourist offices' cooperation with the RVCs. Even though the cooperation between tourist office and the RVCs exists as a prompt in the interview guide, the prompt is never used. The full relevance of the RVCs to the study arises first when the CAC from Västhamn mentions the risk and vulnerability analyses as a possible tool for climate adaptation. At that point all interviews with the tourist offices have already been carried out.

The interviews with the tourist offices all point out that the three tourist offices are conscious about the environment as part of the municipal administration. All three mention that they travel in a climate friendly way in accordance with the internal municipal travel policy. However, these practices are regarded as a part of the climate change governance towards the behaviour of municipal employees, not towards the core operations of the tourist offices. That is why practices related to internal policies are not further analysed.

3.9 Summary: Method

Chapter 3 has presented how the data generation for the study has been carried out. It is said that three cases of the municipalities Västhamn, Mittenstad, and Östenvik, have been selected by purposive sampling. The study applies the methods of semi-structured interviews and participant observations.

One respondent from each of the tourist offices is chosen; further the municipal CAC and the municipal RVC are interviewed. The choice of the specific respondents is partly up to the tourist offices, partly bound to the condition that the respondents are responsible for the municipal climate adaptation work, the municipal risk and vulnerability analyses respectively.

The interview guides for the tourist offices are designed to cover the elements of the relational theory of risk and to capture the climate change risk governance

practices at the tourist offices. For the interviews with the other municipal stakeholders the interview guides contain questions about the respective coordinators' work tasks, their understanding of climate change and their collaboration with the tourist offices. The processes of conducting the additional interviews and the participant observations are briefly described.

For the data analysis it is said that the data is analysed along the chosen concepts and research questions. The data analysis develops on the what, how and why in the risk frames and risk governance practices. In the end some critical reflections concerning the question patterns of the interviews are given.

The following chapter 4 presents the empirical data generated for the three cases.

4　The three cases

Chapter 4 presents the data from the interviews with the municipal stakeholders as well as the data generated at the participant observations. The data is summarized for each of the three destinations – Västhamn, Mittenstad and Östenvik – in turn. For each destination the interview with the tourist office's respondent is presented first, followed by the interviews with the CAC and the RVC. In order to make the data easier accessible for the reader the data from each interview is collected under headlines that forecast important categories for the analysis in chapters 5-7. The data from the observations at Västhamn and Östenvik are added after the presentations of the interview data.

4.1　Västhamn

Västhamn is a coast municipality situated in Southern Sweden. The municipality has approximately 80 000 inhabitants, with about 30 000 inhabitants in central Västhamn (Västhamn's homepage, 2011). According to the official figures of Västhamn, in 2009 tourism has provided 650 employments and created a turnover of 711 Mio SEK (Västhamn's tourism report, 2010). The largest proportion of the turnover share with 32% of the total turnover from tourism was assigned to the hotel business (Västhamn's tourism report, 2010).

4.1.1　The tourist office

The tourist office's role
The respondent describes the role of the tourist office as helping visitors with practical questions such as "I have got three more hours. What do you think I should do?" (Q1 – all original Swedish quotations are listed in Appendix 4) and "We want to come for a holiday. We would like some help with booking a cottage" (Q2). The respondent also tells that the tourist office at Västhamn helps the tourism entrepreneurs of the municipality in their marketing, particularly through providing an online booking system for their entrepreneurs. Further, the

respondent explains that she is going to write an article for the regional tourism magazine the same day, which is a usual task for her.

Risk frame

Talking about climate change the respondent answers that they have touched the topic when reading the newspaper, but that they have not spoken about climate change in work context. Addressing what she thinks how climate change might affect the tourism at Västhamn she explains that the destination lies quite low in comparison to the sea level. In the case of sea level rise the low level of the destination might imply that the nature area will be covered by water. She states that this would be troubling: "I mean, it would be devastating if something happened that would. That the values out there disappear" (Q3). She also addresses the loss of uniqueness: "If it becomes too much, so that there is less biodiversity and maybe the water rises, then I mean, then we do not have a unique [nature area] any more" (Q4). In her eyes the loss of the unique [nature area] would be particularly troubling because it has been costly to arrange the nature centre and because they have plans to further extend the attraction. She also considers the beaches as threatened by climate change due to erosion: "The beach at [Xy-stad] has been quite a lot of erosion, there bit by bit is eaten up. And the beach is one of our treasures here." (Q5). Apparently a lot of tourists come for the sake of the beach, so as the beach will erode less people will find it an attraction.

Ambiguities in the risk frame

Even though the possible impacts on elements in tourism arising from climate change are described, the respondent makes reservations on the accuracy of her statements. Speaking about flooding she notes: "But that is nothing that, nothing that I can say we have sensed, or that seems to worry the entrepreneurs" (Q6). Also, she refers the beach erosion to the future, "But that is more kind of ahead, that you only can guess, it is nothing we can see now, sort of" (Q7), commenting in the next sentence that the process is happening, but that no one has reacted. However she says: "It is not now. You can see that something has started, but nobody has, sort of, started to panic yet" (Q8).

Tourism impacting on climate

Being asked the reverse question, how the tourism at Västhamn impacts the climate, the respondent starts to talk about environmentally friendly gas that is used in the nature area. She does not refer to emissions from transportation in tourism in general, even though she addresses means of transportation as walking,

biking and public transportation as a positive element in tourism in other parts of the interview.

The operations and climate change

When being asked if they address climate change when serving their customers she says that she does not think so. She says that she does not know how to mention climate change to the tourist office's customers, but, she adds, if a visitor is interested in nature they will be talking about the nature area and why it is important.

Speaking about if the tourist office collaborates with the entrepreneurs on the task of climate change, the respondent says that they as a tourism office cannot tell the entrepreneurs what to include in the entrepreneurs' operations and how the entrepreneurs should carry out their businesses. In the respondent's view the tourist office's role is only to support the entrepreneurs, e.g., by providing an online booking system.

The tourist office at Västhamn is part of a network between Västhamn and tourist offices from neighbouring municipalities. When being asked if the network has touched upon the topic of climate change the respondent mentions that the network is dedicated to work on practical tasks, i.e., designing the common homepage or developing a joint brochure. She notes that the network is not working on strategic tasks, such as climate change, at least not yet.

Re-contextualization of the biking projects

Speaking about what the tourist office is doing regarding climate change, the respondent points out that the tourist office is participating in regional biking projects to improve the biking tourism in the municipality and surroundings. When being asked if the tourist office follows any targets regarding climate change through these projects she notes that the initial idea of the biking projects has not been to address climate change. Rather, she says, the aim is to bring forward an attractive biking tourism. Yet, she adds, they have probably thought of climate indirectly somehow. Also colleague Y who works with the issue of climate change at Västhamn and who is involved in several biking projects has been interviewed on the biking projects briefly. Neither can she recall that climate change has been mentioned during any of the project meetings for any of the different biking projects. When flipping through the documentation for the regional biking projects she cannot find a notice on climate change among the overarching project goals.

Cooperation with other municipal stakeholders

When talking about the climate adaptation policy of Västhamn that mentions tourism, saying that the natural resources should be cared for, the respondent is surprised to find tourism mentioned in the policy. She reflects that she has not experienced that anybody has approached the tourist office regarding the policy or climate change in general. However, she tells that her colleague X might have been contacted. When asking the colleague X after the participant observation, the colleague X does not recall any conversation about the mention of tourism in the climate adaptation policy. Yet it can be mentioned that the respondent from the tourist office can point out colleague Y, who is working on climate change issues, by name.

Practice-based knowledge

When being asked what the staff at the tourist office might need in order to be able to deal with climate change, the respondent replies that she does not know how the other municipalities deal with climate change and says: "You would like to eavesdrop a little at the others what, what kind of chat is going on in your municipality" (Q9). She adds that it would be good to know how other tourism organizations work in order to contribute. "And you don't know really how one should grip it. And what is it we can grip? What is realistic that we could help to achieve. That's why it would be interesting to know how the others" (Q10). Later on in the interview the respondent says: "Ah, we would need someone who helped us, someone who guided us a little bit, how we can work upon it, I think" (Q11), and she adds, "I think that we all feel that we don't really know. But what shall we do? How can we help in that matter? That's why we would need a little bit of coaching" (Q12).

4.1.2 The climate adaptation coordinator

The CAC's role

The CAC of Västhamn is working with plans and policies in the field of adaptation to climate change, among other things. He is formally part of the technical administration office and has previously worked with questions of water. He has written the document on climate adaptation that contains the mention on tourism that is unfamiliar to the respondent from the tourist office.

Climate change and the municipality

Being asked about the impacts of climate change on Västhamn the respondent explains that Västhamn expects, e.g., higher temperatures, more heat waves, higher precipitation and longer vegetation periods. He points out that climate change has possible winners and losers. As winners he mentions sectors such as the forestry industry and tourism, as possible losers he points out official stakeholders that have to pay for adaptation projects, e.g., adaptation on physical infrastructure.

However, the respondent mentions that it is an unsolved question who will pay for climate adaptation in the end. He also notes that there is no legislation or national strategy on climate adaptation, and that the current constellations are worrying. He mentions that the report "Sweden facing climate change" SOU 2007:60 has been ambitious, but that no systematic implementation has followed since. In his view, climate change is an issue for the whole society where all have to learn from each other. In the end of the interview he points out the risk and vulnerability analyses might be the only tool that could help guide the process of climate adaptation that is currently available.

Climate change and tourism

During the interview he points out advantages and disadvantages of climate change for tourism. He puts particular focus on the beaches. As one advantage he points out that the higher temperatures might attract more tourists, as a disadvantage he points out that the beaches might suffer due to erosion.

When being asked about possible impacts on the nature area, the respondent replies that nobody really knows what will happen to the values in the nature area. He notes that most people estimate that the nature cannot adapt as fast paced as needed. However, he says that one cannot know if there will be new values arising from the changes.

The respondent finds another advantage for tourism in climate change in the extended vegetation period. He mentions that the changing circumstances might be an opportunity for new crops as wine that could be taken advantage of.

Contact with tourist office

Speaking about the sentence in the policy that concerns tourism and encourages caring for natural resources, the CAC notes that the sentence is about existing values and new opportunities. However, he adds, the sentence is not thought through in depth.

Being asked if he had talked to the tourist office regarding climate change, the respondent replies that he has been in touch with colleague X from the tourist

office. As mentioned earlier, colleague X, though does not recall such a conversation. When speaking about how far he has come to shape action to implement the policy, he replies that he has not come anywhere. However, he adds, this has not been his aim, because it is other peoples' responsibility. When being asked whose responsibility it is he replies that this responsibility is blurred: "No, but that's the big problem. Who takes responsibility and makes sure that things are being done. And that is, feel that it is quite chaotic at the moment" (Q13). As an example he points out that the real estate authority (*fastighetsverket*) only involves in projects of new construction, not in projects of adaptation. On my question whether he would like to invite the tourist office for a dialogue, he replies that he would, but that he does not have time.

4.1.3 The risk and vulnerability coordinator

The RVC's role
Talking to the RVC at Västhamn, the respondent explains that his work with the risk and vulnerability analysis usually implies that he is talking to the administrative offices of the municipality. In that work the participants lead a dialogue about potential risks for the operations and what the operations are worried about. The respondent explains that it is an investigation on which values are worth protecting. In this process, he tells, they rely quite a lot on gut feeling.

Climate change and the municipality
The work at Västhamn includes also thoughts about climate change. The respondent says that Västhamn is expecting warmer summers and an increased necessity to cool down buildings, particularly in the care for the elderly. He addresses flooding as a serious issue for Västhamn. As an extreme considerations he points out half jokingly that Sweden might start growing wine and that France might move on to growing cactuses.

Climate change and tourism
The respondent estimates that climate change might imply that the beaches at Västhamn might be even more crowded because of the warmer climate, which he thinks is positive. On the other hand he reflects that the beaches already erode and that there is a possibility that they will disappear totally if they are not going to be refilled.

He notes that there are great values in tourism that are worth protecting. He points out that the beaches and the nature area are an important value for

Västhamn and that it seems obvious to take care of them "Now as we are talking about it" (Q14).

The safety coordinator yet addresses some difficulties for working on protecting values from climate change. The vagueness of climate sciences is pointed out as one factor. He mentions: "The day we get a clear scientific understanding on climate change and really someone nails it. Then it is considerably easier to lead this kind of discussion" (Q15), and adds, "at the moment it's a little bit wobbly" (Q16).

Cooperation with the tourist office

When describing the contact to the tourist office he stresses that the contact deals a lot with the everyday safety of the everyday operations, such as providing the tourist office with a guard to make sure that the cash machine is protected. Also, for bigger events the safety of the venue in case of fire is an important task. However, the more abstract and long term issue, how climate change could impact tourism, has not yet come up to his mind.

Also, other constraints are mentioned. When there is an agenda to safeguard human life in all everyday operations as schools, care for the elderly, and so on, the issue to secure Västhamn's attractiveness for tourism has a low priority.

Throughout the interview, the RVC implies several times that the interview situation itself makes him think, saying: "Maybe I have a too bad contact to the tourist office, now as you are sitting here and pressing me. Haha" (Q17), and, "I think I will get in touch with the tourist office at some time and talk to them about what impact [climate change] can have" (Q18).

4.1.4 Observations from the network meeting

The network meeting between the seven participants from municipal tourist offices is appointed to be dedicated to strategic questions. Colleague X opens the meeting by welcoming everybody and saying that all participants shall in turn receive the opportunity to come up with proposals how the network should deal with strategic questions. In the discussion that follows particularly two issues are discussed: the meaning of strategic versus operative and the financing of the network's activities.

Concerning the matter of the purpose of the network being either strategic or operational, several different perspectives are taken up for discussion. The conversation leads to the result that both the strategic, i.e., long-term planning, and the operational questions, i.e., regarding a common booking platform, are

stressed as important. The autumn term is appointed as the season for strategic questions, while spring term is addressed as season for operational questions.

When the topic of financing is taken up it turns out that the budgetary preconditions of the network have been changed by the municipalities' managements recently. Previously the network has had an own budget, now, however, the network needs to come up with so called growth projects (*tillväxtprojekt*) that can receive monetary support. The participants point out that the opportunities for the network to collaborate on operational issues or urgent tasks are now limited.

4.2   Mittenstad

Mittenstad is an inland municipality in Southern Sweden with approximately 100 000 inhabitants (Mittenstad's homepage, 2011). According to the official figures of Mittenstad, in 2009 tourism has provided jobs for approximately 840 employments and created a turnover of 962 Mio SEK (Mittenstad's tourist office by E-mail, 2011-05-15). With 55% the largest share of the turnover distribution arose from the hotels (Mittenstad's tourist office by E-mail, 2011-05-15).

4.2.1   The tourist office

The tourist office's role
The respondent tells that she is responsible for the tourist office, whereas her colleagues are responsible for other parts, e.g., the conferences. The tourist office belongs to the business office and ranges under the manager of that same office. The respondent elaborates that the tourist office is the only part of the administration that is working for tourism at Mittenstad.

It is the tourist office that carries out the marketing, including advertising and the brochures, they arrange guided tours, help the hotels and the other entrepreneurs, also with an online booking system, and they attend tourism fairs. Also, the tourist office arranges several network meetings for their entrepreneurs every year. The respondent says that it is on these meetings actors develop new ideas. Further, the tourist office provides the entrepreneurs with E-letters that contain useful information about the tourism at Mittenstad. However, she says she is not sure, if all in the municipal administration are fully aware of all the back office work that is connected to the operation.

Risk frame and ambiguities

The initial question on climate change is if they had talked about climate change at the tourist office. The respondent answers: "Well but not, not from the job point of view. But from a private point of view, if you want to say so. No, not from a job point of view" (Q20). When asking further on the topic what climate change is towards the tourism at Mittenstad the respondent refers to natural catastrophes. The respondent exclaims that there have been storms and land slides in Sweden and that anything similar could happen again. She says that anything that would impact the airport would impact the destination. Here a reference is drawn to the volcanic ash cloud from the Icelandic volcano in 2010. The respondent describes that business conferences have been cancelled and that this has had huge consequences for the hotels. In this context a slight reservation is expressed that actually not the tourist office is affected, but rather the entrepreneurs. On the question if they prepare for events such as ash clouds or financial crises she answers: "Well the entrepreneurs definitely. Um, the entrepreneurs certainly think about it. We as a tourist office are not hit, are not hit in the same way" (Q21). Another concern that she expresses is directed towards the region as a whole. She mentions that Mittenstad is not the typical city break destination and if are a family that stays at Mittenstad you will visit other places in the region as well. "If the rest of [the region] was affected of something, of course we are affected too" (Q22).

The risk of losing the customer

The respondent mentions that the souvenirs are very important for their operation. On the one hand many of the business tourists want to bring home a souvenir, on the other hand, the revenue from the souvenirs adds onto the budget of the tourist offices. The budget can be used in order to help the entrepreneurs in marketing campaigns. It is also in the context of souvenirs the respondent uses the term "risk" unprompted. She explains that small souvenirs are important for the tourist office at Mittenstad: "So, what I mean with 'have to' is the risk that we lose the customer" (Q19).

Tourism impacting on climate

Asking how the tourism at Mittenstad impacts the climate, the respondent first answers that Mittenstad has the advantage of everything being so close. She elaborates that the visitors do not need to take the bus or the tram. When prompted on flying she says that flying is negative for the environment, but that it is positive for Mittenstad that visitors come.

The respondent also mentions that some of the tourists do not care and that it might not be possible to reach all environmental goals if tourism is supposed to survive.

The operations and climate change

When being asked if they address climate change towards the visitors she explains that their communication towards customers only addresses what is important from a tourist point of view, i.e., attractions. The brochures fill the purpose to market Mittenstad and the entrepreneurs at Mittenstad only. However, the staff at the tourist office tries to reduce the amount of brochures distributed to the visitors.

In contact to the entrepreneurs climate change is not addressed either. The respondent reflects that their endeavours to inform the entrepreneurs, is oriented towards providing them with useful information on what is happening in tourism. When suggesting a network meeting on climate change to the respondent she replies that it would be hard to find a topic that fitted.

Re-contextualization of the close-by event

The respondent points out that the tourist office has arranged a close-by event in which the locals are encouraged to discover their home town and surroundings. She recognizes that the close-by event is a climate friendly event. However, she notes, initially the close-by event was an idea to bring forward tourism only. She explains that the staff at the tourist office certainly has though about climate unconsciously while planning the close-by event, but that it became explicit for her that the close-by event is a climate friendly initiative only in the course of the interview.

Cooperation with other municipal stakeholders

Addressing climate related policies of Mittenstad, the respondent does not fully recognize the municipality's sustainability programme. The sustainability programme encloses a brief mention on tourism; however, the respondent could not recall any conversation on the brief paragraph. She explains that it might be her responsibility as a municipal servant to inform herself about existing policies. Yet, she reflects, that policies which are published on the intranet are probably overlooked.

Practice-based knowledge

When asking what could help the tourist office to organize a network meeting on climate change that is interesting for the participants, the respondent answers that it could perhaps work if one of the entrepreneurs working with organic products

or someone with the Nature's Best certificate (note: Nature's Best is the Swedish label for ecotourism), was invited.

4.2.2 The climate adaptation coordinator

The CAC's role
The climate coordinator at Mittenstad has been working on sustainability issues as a municipal employee for more than ten years. At the moment she and other employees work with the documents for the sustainable development of Mittenstad. She explains that they are currently revising the existing sustainability programme. The forthcoming strategy has a closer focus on climate adaptation. She says, now everybody has acknowledged that climate change is happening and that the municipalities have to adapt.

Speaking about how the environmental office works in order to reach out with the sustainability programme, the respondent explains that the document for sustainable development contains measures. These measures lay the road for the implementation of the goals in the strategy. In the context of policy making and implementation she sees herself as catalyser.

Further, she says, the municipality has several hundred environmental representatives from the different departments who carry the environmental issues into the specific operations. The respondent also mentions that regular environmental reviews take place and in order to follow up what has been done in each operation.

As constraints for the progress of her work she appoints that people come, people go, and people forget. She tells that it can happen that an office participates in designing a measure and when the office is supposed to review the outcome, they do not even recall the measure.

Also, the respondent mentions that a lot of the progress is dependent on the personality of a person: "Yes, unluckily it's like that. She (note: here the respondent does not address anybody specific) is an enthusiast and works very much, but, and maybe really good at starting up things, but then it is not evenly interesting to deal with the boring implementation so to say. It's, I mean we are different, don't think tourism is freed from that" (Q23). She says that many of the measures are about changing behaviour and not just a light bulb and that it is changing behaviour that is hardest.

Speaking about the climate office's efforts on the field of tourism, the respondent tells that the climate office try to encourage the locals to rethink their travel habits. When being prompted through the questions that it might be hard to

reduce emissions from incoming visitors, she agrees and says it is hard to achieve as you cannot say to Asian travellers when they are on site: "Did you fly here?" (Q24). However, she explains, the climate office works towards the locals. She also mentions that a municipality is just a small unit, but that they try to do their part as good as possible.

Climate change and the municipality
The respondent describes the effects of climate change as probably causing higher water flows, flooding, higher temperatures, and perhaps other diseases. The respondent says that Mittenstad will probably be not as severely impacted as other municipalities that lie low, such as Västhamn.

Cooperation with the tourist office
The part of policy that the respondent from the tourist office has been asked about and that she does not recognize is part of the sustainability programme. Being asked if the reason for not recognizing might be that the measure was designed in discussion with the former manager of the tourist office, the CAC agrees. The climate coordinator points out that her work generally ranges more on the idea side, probably also in the discussion with the former manager of the tourist office. She notes that the measures for tourism have been difficult to implement, because the farmers who would have been involved have been too busy.

Being asked if she would like to contact the tourist office for cooperation she replies: "Yes, it is our intention to do that. But important in the context is, according to me, that you have something concrete to discuss, so to say" (Q25). In any case she underlines the importance of dialogue for the process. She says it is not sufficient to work from the office: "If we are supposed to invent something that touches tourism in Mittenstad, that we are going to include in our new action programme, so of course we have to, we cannot just invent it, if someone is to invent it, it must be the tourist office, or we can invent it together, or our role is, I mean, to come up with, to help people to get started" (Q26).

4.2.3 The risk and vulnerability coordinator

The RVC's role
The RVC works with the risk and vulnerability analysis by developing scenarios and talking to the municipal administration offices. The two scenarios used in the ongoing work with the risk and vulnerability analysis are "heat wave" and "flooding". The work is carried out in cooperation with the climate office. The

RVC states that this is a long procedure and that it is not feasible to analyse all possible scenarios. Further, her job as RVC includes to mobilize resources in emergency situations and to spread information in an appropriate way. Experience is also spread between municipalities concerning how to improve the potential to deal with crises: "[X-stad] had … a quite big episode... . Something we all look at how, yes, it is a gigantic information story" (Q27).

Climate change and the municipality
The respondent explains that the issue of climate change comes into the operation through the scenarios, in which climate change is broken down into intelligible events. A reflection on preparedness is expressed in: "It does not feel as urgent when it has not happened in the same way yet. But that is probably what we want to bring forward to plan, because maybe if it becomes, it becomes much warmer, can we still deal with it? When it is time to buy fans, then they are sold out" (Q28).

Contact with the tourist office
On the question how they work in order to develop the risk and vulnerability analysis she answers that they talk to the municipal offices and on my follow up question if they had talked to the tourist office or business office she answers that they do not cooperate much. As an explanation she holds that they do not identify a key operation for the maintenance of society (*samhällsviktig verksamhet*) in the operations of the tourist office. In her work, she states, they always decide upon the baseline of important operations and threatened life. Being asked about the conferences that were cancelled she answers that it is the companies' responsibility to take care of the problem not the municipality's responsibility. She recognizes that the tourist office perhaps has a need for information and that they are involved on the email list because of that. She says, if anything such as contamination of drinking water would happen, someone would inform the tourist office to make the tourist office spread the news.

4.3 Östenvik

Östenvik is a coastal municipality in Southern Sweden with about 40 000 inhabitants (Östenvik's homepage, 2011). The tourism at Östenvik has a turnover of 587,5 Million SEK and offered 500 whole year employments in 2010 (Östenvik's tourism statistics for 2010, 2011). With about 27 % of the total turnover the restaurants bring the largest share from tourism in (Östenvik in 2010 Östenvik's tourism statistics for 2010, 2011).

4.3.1 The tourist office

The tourist office's role

When being asked about the role of the tourist office the respondent explains that different people will give different answers to that question. She tells that the visitors will say the tourist office is a reception for them. The locals perceive the tourist office as a citizen agency. The entrepreneurs regard the tourist office as an actor that helps them to attract visitors and the municipal administration views the tourist office as a part of the administration. In conclusion, the respondent states, the tourist office is doing all of what is said. She adds that the entrepreneurs' perspective might be most important as the entrepreneurs provide opportunities for tourists to stay. She also mentions that the tourist office is in a difficult position because it is not always easy to combine all these tasks into one operation.

Risk frame and ambiguities

The first question on climate change and tourist is if the staff at the tourist office has talked about climate change before. As in both earlier cases the respondent says that they have touched upon the topic in private context, but not in work context.

Being asked what climate change is for the tourism in Östenvik the respondent says that Östenvik is not impacted by climate change. Connecting to the visitors' travel habits to go by car or to fly she says: "So already there you've got consciousness, that people know, but they choose not to do it. And then I think that if, that at the moment it does not matter for our visitor statistics" (Q29). She also says: "I don't think people avoid Östenvik because it is too far away to take you there by train or car or something. I do not think so" (Q30). The respondent also mentions that it is hard to see climate change only for Östenvik, that it is necessary to view it on a larger level.

The notion of "impacted" is elaborated through the examples of the Icelandic volcano ash cloud in 2010: "Iceland with the volcanoes for some time ago was a top example for visitors being stuck at a place from which they cannot depart. Then you are directly impacted. Then it impacts a destination" (Q31).

The respondent explains that the causal mechanisms bringing about climate change are not easily understood: "Of course, we can hear about changing temperatures and that there are storms and volcano eruptions and do not know really how, maybe, exactly it impacts, I mean, exactly what forwards these changes and before we come to this point that we do, I am not sure, I do not think it is received properly, that it is such a big problem as it is" (Q32), and, "that we cannot see black on white this is resulting in that, do you fly like this it means that, you do not really see the connection" (Q33).

She also points out the paradoxes between knowing and doing: "We are very conscious about that we should not go by car so much and we are very conscious about that we should not fly. But when you need to take a decision, we do it nevertheless, until it really gets down on ourselves" (Q34).

Being prompted on coastal erosion towards the end of the interview the respondent answers: "Yes we can see some examples where [coastal erosion] is happening. We have a place along the coast ... where the sea is eating into the rocks ... and there the coast is falling down into the sea, and there we've got a hiking path today and there it is having an impact. Because if it goes further into [the hiking trail] will disappear... So of course there it is a problem, maybe" (Q35), and she adds, "Or could become, more correctly" (Q36).

Tourism impacting on climate
Being addressed on the opposite connection, tourism as a risk object, the respondent expressed that: "Well, as I said, people come here by car, maybe. That contributes, I mean, the boat emissions contribute, um. If you only see it from the negative side, if you get more people, you get more trash, well there are a lot of these small aspects included" (Q37).

The operations and climate change
When asked if they work upon climate change in the way they serve customers the respondent says that they have reduced the number of printed brochures. She says they do not need to store a lot and throw them in the end of the season and adds that it is both for the environment and for practical reasons.

Throughout their work the tourist office collaborates with other tourism organizations, e.g., the regional tourism board. However, the respondent does not

recall that the issue of climate change would have come up in any of these collaborations.

Cooperation with other municipal stakeholders

The respondent does not recall that she has got in touch with the municipal climate policy; neither does she know the name of a climate expert in the rows of the municipality. Yet, she mentions that the tourist office is used to consult with the municipal ecologist whom she knows by name.

Practice-based knowledge

Being asked what it would feel like to start working on climate change, the respondent replies that it indeed should be a natural part of their work. She is convinced that all have to think about it earlier or later; however, how it could be done in practice, she says, is another question. Later on in the interview we touch upon the topic of education. One of the municipal climate documents proposes that further education on climate change should be offered to the employees in order to deal with climate change on municipal level. When asking the respondent if she thinks education could be an effective measure, she answers that any education is basically good; however, not if education takes place by sending a heap of paper that people should read: "This will be put on a pile somewhere" (Q38). But, she says: "On the other hand, if it is like in your and my case when you discuss and conclude on some good ways that you really can do something in your workplace, and you get it very concretely which measures you do on each spot, so of course, then it can work" (Q39).

4.3.2 The climate adaptation coordinator

The CAC's role

The CAC works with nature preservation and environmental surveillance. He is also responsible to coordinate the annual environmental accounting that is carried out in the entire municipal administration. In 2007 the annual environmental accounting dealt specifically with climate, based on the official report "Sweden facing climate change" SOU 2007:60. Recently the respondent's work group has created a policy document that illustrates the estimated effects from climate change. In order to write the document a vast analysis of newspaper articles and interviews with local administrations has been carried out in order to create a picture of the status quo and estimations for future hazards. The CAC characterizes the local climate profile as an "educational concretisation". He comments that climate change is diffuse what makes you believe it is actually

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happening somewhere else. He adds that this was the reason why they produced the document on climate change.

Asking how far the process has come on the way to realize what is proposed in the document on climate change he says there has been more thinking and less action. He says, first, the group has set out some measures, later on they will have to see what will be done. Also he notes difficulties for going further on the way towards action: "Because, it is quite stressful to stand for this kinds of jobs, when you are supposed to administer larger group from, that shall do something they might not be too enthusiastic about" (Q40); but he also thinks it is understandable that people are not enthusiastic: "Well, we have a lot of these plans and policies, so that you can get a little bit allergic against them" (Q41). He mentions that all the municipal employees have a stressful job and that you want someone else to take care of the cross-sectional issues.

Climate change and tourism
The CAC's estimations for the effects of climate change at Östenvik are higher sea levels and increased surface water. He regards the effects on tourism to be both positive and negative. He mentions climate change as being positive in the way that it will become warmer and as negative in the way that the beaches might disappear. Of course, he adds, there would be an opportunity to refill the beaches, because Sweden is a rich country. Yet, he mentions, the possibilities to refill the beaches will depend on how much money the society will have to invest in such measures.

Contact with the tourist office
The CAC tells that cooperation with the tourist office has not taken place in climate strategy meetings; however, the CAC has participated in several of the meetings about the tourism strategy. He acknowledges the strategy work; nevertheless he expresses his doubts about the baseline of attracting business visitors from a neighbouring destination, not at least due to consequences for the climate. Comparing the work of the tourist office with his own, he recognizes diverging perspectives. As an ecologist his focus lies on preserving nature and making the beauty accessible without destruction, while, in his perspective, the tourist office works for attracting tourists and particularly economically strong visitors in order to enhance revenue from tourism. Asking if he believes that the tourist office needs to raise the level of preparedness, he answers that he does not think so. In his eyes tourism is a short termed operation that can adapt quickly to changing conditions.

4.3.3 The risk and vulnerability coordinator

The RVC's role

In the work with the municipal risk and vulnerability analysis, the RVC at Östenvik is investigating the operations that are key operations for the maintenance of society (*samhällsviktiga verksamheter*). She explains that in this work the first priority is to protect human life, followed by environment and property. The work on the risk and vulnerability analysis is carried out in dialogue with other parts of the municipal administration. However, the RVC from Östenvik has not collaborated with the tourist office or the business office. Asking if she could imagine calling the tourist office for a meeting she notes that she could do so. However, she says, she would first need a plan on what to talk about.

Climate change and the municipality

Regarding climate change adaptation the respondent from Östenvik does not take a position. She says that it is planned to include the issue of climate change adaptation in the risk and vulnerability analysis that will be submitted to the regional authority in September 2011. The respondent notes that the collaboration with the climate office is going to start soon and that she hopefully will be able to take a position on that matter when they have started to deal with the issue.

4.3.4 Observations from the lunch meeting

Topics touched during the meeting are the goals of the tourism strategy, reasons to visit Östenvik, attachment of the strategy to the regional and national tourism strategies, greatest attractions at Östenvik, areas for tourism development and planning for implementation.

   As main attractions at Östenvik the sea site and companies in the region are pointed out. For future development of the tourism at Östenvik the sea, history, culture and nature are exclaimed as main opportunities. The small harbours for private boats and the fishing sites are pointed out as particularly important.

   The goals for tourism are connected to the municipality's overall goal of increasing employments. In tourism it is aimed at the increase the number of employments in tourism, to improve competences in tourism. As an overarching goal the tourism strategy is aimed at increasing the number of visitors and the revenue from tourism. During the presentation the slogan "We also want to get tired of tourists" (Q42) is used several times.

The regional and national tourism strategies are pointed out to forecast growth in tourism. It is said that the growth regionally and nationally should also be possible in Östenvik, with the goal to double the revenue.

In order to establish the growth in tourism at Östenvik four areas for development are pointed out: profiling/branding, collaborations, competence development, and competence distribution. As an example it is mentioned that the entrepreneurs must be supported so that they can establish profitable businesses.

The term sustainability is mentioned in the beginning of the presentation. It is said that sustainability is used in the meaning of "green", but also in the meaning of preserving attractiveness. Climate change is exclaimed to be a topic to be conscious about, however, it is not further elaborated if and how climate change is addressed in the forthcoming tourism strategy.

4.4 Summary: The three cases

Chapter 4 has presented the empirical data generated for the three cases. For each case the interviews with the respondent from the tourist office, the CAC and the RVC is presented in turn. The data from the participant observations is added after the description of the interviews.

For each tourist office the role of the tourist office, risk frames and ambiguities, tourism impacting climate, operations and climate change, cooperation with municipal stakeholders and practice-based knowledge are presented. The interviews with the CACs and RVCs presented the coordinators' roles, their thoughts about climate change and the municipality, as well as climate change and tourism, and their cooperation with the tourist office.

The following chapters 5-7 analyse the presented data in three aspects: the risk frames constructed by the respondents from the tourist offices in chapter 5, the practices at the tourist offices concerning climate change in chapter 6, and the collaboration between the tourist offices and the other municipal stakeholders in chapter 7.

5 Risks towards the municipal tourism

Chapter 5 contains an analysis of how the tourist offices construct risk from climate change. Risk is here analysed with help of the relational theory of risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011). The expression of "risk frame" is applied to underline that risks are not regarded as en entity in itself, but as a mental constructions of the elements "value", "object at risk", "risk object", and "relationship of risk" that work like a frame or window, enabling the observer to recognize a risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011: 179-183).

In this chapter it is claimed that the tourist offices construct risks on two levels: the interview level and the work-practice level. The relationships of risk established during the interview are multiple. However, in the perspective of ongoing operations no risks are constructed.

5.1 Organizational value at the tourist offices

Risks are framed in connection to something valuable (Rosa, 1998; Aven & Renn, 2009; Boholm & Corvellec, 2011), e.g., the value arising from organizational practices (Corvellec, 2010). In the cases of the three tourist offices' organizational value is created through the organizational practice of promoting the municipality and attracting visitors.

The assumption that the tourist offices derive their organizational value from promoting the municipality and attracting visitors arises as all respondents from the tourist offices articulate that they are responsible for the marketing of the city. The respondent from Västhamn touches upon promotion when explaining "But it is not we who develop [the packages], it is the entrepreneurs who develop. But then we think it is particularly fun helping to promote" (Q43). Throughout the interview she mentions several times that it is the tourist offices duty to attract visitors (*"locka hit turister"*). When asking the respondent from Mittenstad if the tourist office communicates climate change to their visitors she replies: "No, I would not say so. It's only from a tourist point of view. What does the tourist want, which sites, and how do we want to promote [Mittenstad], of course, to the tourist" (Q44). She also mentions that the tourist office at Mittenstad is the only office in the municipal administration working with the promotion of Mittenstad.

Further, the respondent from Mittenstad expresses several times during the interview that the tourist offices aims at attracting visitors. When the respondent from Östenvik explains which role the tourist office has, she says they have many roles, such as taking care of visitors and locals, but also to help the entrepreneurs to attract visitors to the municipality.

The interviews with the three tourist offices, thus, imply that the tourist offices derive their organizational value (Corvellec, 2010), or make sense of their everyday work, in terms of promoting the municipality and attracting visitors. The activity of promotion includes a tight contact towards the entrepreneurs and the visitors. One could say the tourist offices work as a service interface between the entrepreneurs and the visitors (Grönroos, 2000).

5.2   Risk frames at the tourist offices

According to the relational theory of risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011) risks are pointed towards objects at risk which are at the same time important and vulnerable. One can also speak of a risk as a "semantic frame" in which elements are combined in a logical order towards and together create the meaning of what is risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011: 182-183). As has been said earlier, in the relational theory of risk, the risk frame contains the elements of value, an object at risk, a risk object and a relationship of risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011). In the following the interviews with the respondents at the tourist offices are analysed on the risks frames on tourism and climate change. Each of the three cases is treated in turn.

5.2.1 Risk frames at Västhamn

At Västhamn the respondent addresses the beaches as objects at risk. She exclaims:

> The beach at [Xy-stad] has been quite a lot of erosion, there bit by bit is eaten up. And the beach is one of our treasures here. Many tourist come for the sake of our beautiful coast. So, if it continues that the beach is eaten up, so that there is less and less beach, we certainly do not have that invasion during summer of people who want to come here for swimming. So that would be a huge problem (Q45).

Thus, in the eyes of the respondent the beaches are particularly important for the overall value of attracting visitors. She draws the conclusion that the beaches are exposed to coastal erosion, the risk object (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011), and if

the process of coastal erosion continues, this will impact on the overall organizational value – the tourist office could not promote the municipality as a beach destination as before and in the end less visitors would be attracted. A relationship of risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011) between the beaches as object at risk and coastal erosion as risk object is created.

The respondent at Västhamn also points out the nature area as an object at risk. She says:

> Ooh, whew, I really hope that [climate impact] will not be, because we have a lot of plans to develop, we have just recently opened our [nature centre], incredibly beautiful building full of experiences that is newly opened in October. So we really hope it does not turn out so badly so. But it's just like, if it's becomes too much, so that there is less biodiversity and maybe the water rises, then I mean, then we do not have a unique [nature area] any more (Q46).

Here, the nature area is addressed as the object at risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011) that is important and vulnerable at the same time. The respondent reasons that if the nature area was affected by the risk object (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011) of flooding, this would impact on the opportunities to attract visitors to the site, the "unique" appeal would be lost. In consequence the organizational value attached to the possibilities to promote the municipality through the special attraction would be compromised. A relationship of risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011) between the object at risk of nature area and the risk object of flooding is established.

5.2.2 Risk frames at Mittenstad

The respondent from the tourist office at Mittenstad points out the airport as an object at risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011). She says:

> If you look at little bit further north in Sweden where there has been a lot of flooding, bridges have been destroyed and land slides, or well, this kind of things. So it is probably, if something like that would happen in [Mittenstad] or even of course if something would happen to [Z-stad] for example at the [airport], then we would be affected automatically, because there are a lot of people who fly… Um. As for example with the ash. Of course this was not a change in climate, but (Q47).

The respondent appoints the airport as an object at risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011) as the airport is important for the business tourists travelling to Mittenstad. The airports vulnerability is transferred from the experience of the ash cloud from the Icelandic volcano in 2010. As risk object (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011) nature

based events such as flooding and land slides are pointed out. A relationship of risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011) is created between the object at risk being the airport and the risk object of nature based events of flooding and land slides. If the airport would lay down, the prospect of attracting business tourists would be impacted and in this the organizational value. However, the relationship of risk is constructed upon a reference to the event of the ash cloud rather than upon the respondent's conviction that the tourism at Mittenstad could be impacted by climate change.

A second, but only vague, risk frame is constructed with the region as the object at risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011). The respondent notes:

> And [Mittenstad] in itself, um, depends quite a lot of, how to say. You probably don't go to [Mittenstad] as a whole family and stay for one week, but you have an accommodation at [Mittenstad] and then you maybe go to [A-stad] or you go to [B-attraction] or [C-attraction] and, um, and that [the region] is quite small so, if you go to [the region] so you visit kind of different places, um. So if the rest of [the region] was kind of affected, of course we are affected too. (Q48).

The respondent points out the region as an object at risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011) that is important because, in the eyes of the respondent from Mittenstad, the destination in itself is not diverse enough to attract leisure tourists. As a risk object (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011) the respondent points out "something". Concluding from what has been said earlier in the same interview section this "something" might refer to possible flooding of other parts of the region, e.g., as the respondent mentions unprompted, flooding of Västhamn or Östenvik. However, the risk object is only vaguely sketched. As the relationship of risk requires one clear object at risk and one clear risk object that are put in a cause-effect constellation (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011), in the case of the region as an object at risk one could perhaps speak of a vague or dubious relationship of risk, if at all.

5.2.3 Risk frames at Östenvik

At Östenvik the respondent expresses that she does not believe that Östenvik is affected by climate change. However, when prompted on coastal erosion the respondent notes:

Yes we can see some examples where [coastal erosion] is happening. We have a place along the coast ... where the sea is eating into the rocks ... and there the coast is falling down into the sea, and there we've got a hiking path today and there it is having an impact. Because if it goes further into [the hiking trail] will disappear... So of course there it is a problem, maybe (Q49).

The respondent points out that the object at risk, being the hiking trail, is affected by the risk object of coastal erosion (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011). However, she does not express any concerns that the process of erosion might affect the opportunities to maintain the organizational value of promoting the municipality and attracting visitors. Nevertheless, the notion of loss of value might be conveyed implicitly. A relationship of risk between the hiking trail as an object at risk and coastal erosion as risk object is established in a reasoning of cause-effect. Still, there is some vagueness around the reasoning as the respondent says that the hiking trail eroding away is be a problem "perhaps" and corrects herself to say "might become [a problem]". Here, the notion of uncertainty, which is an inherent part of risk, is expressed (Rosa, 1998; Boholm, 2003; Renn, 2009).

5.3   Multiple relationships of risk

The previous section has illustrated that the respondents from the tourist offices create multiple relationships of risk. At Västhamn the objects at risk being nature area and beaches are put in connection to events as flooding and coastal erosion. The respondent from Mittenstad mentions the objects at risk being the airport and the region and relates these objects at risk to risk objects of storms and probably flooding. At Östenvik the hiking trail is pointed out as an object at risk exposed to the risk object of coastal erosion.

The connection between the elements contained in the risk frame is made through a relationship of risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011) or as Mairal (2008: 43) puts is a "narrative linkage". What is particularly interesting is that the question regarding tourism at the municipality and climate change generates several stories about what might happen. Hilgartner (1992: 46) has pointed out that risks can be constructed in so called "networks of risk objects". In the case of the municipal tourist office the overarching phenomenon of climate change is broken down into several such concrete risk objects. However, expanding Hilgartner's (1992: 46) "networks of risk objects" also "networks of objects at risk" are created. The tourism in the municipality is not addressed as a whole, but in certain aspects such

as the nature area and the airport. That means tourism as a whole is not seen in relationship to climate change as a whole, but in specific fragments.

The risks constructed by the respondents from the tourist office are mainly framed through the cuttings from the overall picture. However, a holistic risk assessment that takes the collective impact of events into account seems not to be carried out (Assmuth et al., 2008: 3943).

5.4   Ambiguities towards climate change

At the same time as the respondents frame multiple relationships of risk, each of which is more or less clear, other parts of the interviews can lead to the conclusion that the respondents from the three tourist offices do not frame any risk from climate change at all.

As the paragraph on the risk frames of Västhamn has shown, the respondent from the tourist office frames a risk towards the beaches and nature area as objects at risk. However, in other parts of the interview the respondent questions the accuracy of the risk frames. When speaking about flooding early during the interview the respondent points out flooding as a potential future problem. However, when being asked what flooding implies for the tourism in the municipality she replies that flooding is nothing that they have sensed or that the entrepreneurs are worried about. Later she mentions that the beaches are currently affected by coastal erosion and that it will be a huge problem if the process continues so far that fewer tourists come for the sake of the beaches. Yet, she adds that she is only speculating and that they cannot see anything now. Directly after she says that they can see it has started, but that no one has panicked yet. The respondent seems to be undetermined if the tourism in the municipality is or will be affected by climate change.

The respondent from Östenvik frames a risk for the risk object of the hiking trail when prompted on coastal erosion towards the end of the interview. However, earlier during the interview she expresses herself convinced that Östenvik is not affected by climate change currently. She makes the reference that the visitor figures have remained unchanged and explains that she thinks that people will only change behaviour when they are directly impacted. Also, she mentions that a clear understanding of the causes and effects of climate change is lacking, that it is understood how a certain amount of flying is causing a certain impact.

The ambiguities between framing a risk on the one hand and stating that the destination is not affected can be explained by the respondents from Västhamn and Östenvik relating to climate change on two different levels. The one level is the level of the interview, where the respondents are required to speak about climate change in job context for the first time, thus, speak about "experience-far" risks that they do usually relate to (Boholm, 2003: 174). The knowledge about the risk object of climate change in the given context is accordingly low; the time frame is stretched into an undetermined future (Rosa, 1998; Boholm, 2003; Renn, 2009).

On the other hand an explicit risk assessment on tourism and climate change has not taken place in the respondents' usual work context (Renn, 2008; Aven & Renn, 2010). The respondents from the tourist offices at Västhamn and Östenvik thus relate their judgements about climate change on their knowledge about their operations (Corvellec, 2010; Boholm et al., forthcoming). As experts on the tourism in their municipality the respondents are used to check how their operations are developing. This is done, as in the example of Västhamn, by listening to the entrepreneurs, or as by the respondent from Östenvik by examining the visitor figures. The respondent from Västhamn notes: "But [flooding] is nothing that, nothing that I can say we have sensed, or that seems to worry the entrepreneurs" (Q50). At Östenvik the respondent mentions: "At the moment [climate change] does not matter for our visitor statistics. I don't believe that" (Q51). The important references that give hints on the development of the organizational value do not signal any need to worry, the respondents from the tourist offices do not see any need to be alarmed in their current situation. Thus, the tacit risk assessments that are integrated in the ongoing operations as pointed out by Boholm et al. (forthcoming) tells that there is no need to worry about anything like climate change.

Regarding the two different levels of relating to climate change, where one level alludes to the interview and one is established through the ongoing operations of the tourist offices, two conclusions can be drawn. First, the respondents from the three tourist office do frame multiple relationships of risks, more or less strongly, during the interview. This means that the issue of climate change is not irrelevant in the context of tourism in the municipalities. Second, the ongoing operations at the tourist offices at Västhamn and Östenvik monitor their organizational value. However, the tacit risk assessment does not give rise for any concerns about climate change. The respondent from Mittenstad signals the same, as the relationships of risk framed by her are nebulous. Hence, the organizational value is not currently impacted according to the integrated risk assessment (Corvellec, 2010). Thus, seen on the level of ongoing practices, the respondents

do not frame any risk from climate change. An explicit risk assessment as proposed by Renn (2008) and Aven & Renn (2010) has not taken place.

5.5   Summary: Risks towards the municipal tourism

Chapter 5 has dealt with the risks that the respondents from the tourist offices frame for their operation. It has been said that overall organizational value addressed by the respondents is promoting the municipality and attracting visitors. Derived from the organizational value the respondents single out objects at risk, such as the nature area and the beaches, that are put in a relationship of risk towards risk objects, such as flooding and coastal erosion. The relationships of risk are multiple and partly dubious. Ambiguities in how the respondents refer to risks for tourism that arise from climate change are explained as a result of risk being framed on two levels, one level being the level of the interview and one being the usual work context.

The following chapter 6 deals with how the risk frames on tourism and climate change are related to the tourist offices operations.

6 Risks translated into practice

The previous chapter 5 has lined out that the respondents from the three tourist offices frame multiple relationships of risk from climate change towards the municipal tourism during the interview situation. At the same time the respondents do not frame a risk towards the tourism in the municipalities in the tourist offices' ongoing operations. An external and explicit risk assessment on tourism and climate change has not taken place.

While the previous chapter has focused on the risks constructed by the respondents from the three tourist offices only, chapter 6 shifts focus towards the driving forces for dealing with climate change that arise from the ongoing operations of the tourist offices. It is claimed that the tourist offices have not received an assignment by the municipal management to be proactive on climate change risk governance and that this fact makes any engagement in the climate change issue irrelevant or even counterproductive for the tourist offices' mission. It is said that the projects that are pointed out as climate friendly have not been initiated in regard to climate, but in regard to tourism only; thus, a re-contextualization has taken place. Also it is claimed that work practice-based knowledge for climate change risk governance is requested by the respondents from the tourist offices.

6.1 Assignment by municipal management

In addition to not interpreting climate change as an urgent issue for the ongoing operations at the tourist offices, the tourist offices have not been assigned to work on climate change risk governance.

All three respondents claim that they have not discussed climate change in work context. However, all three of them note that the staff has spoken about climate change in private context as a result of reading the newspaper. Where Boholm (2003: 174) speaks about "experience-far" risks that are understood by "collective narratives", in the case of the tourist offices climate change might be termed as a "work-experience-far" risk that is accessed through the narratives created by the media. Thus, it seems that the issue of climate change has not yet been anchored in the tourist offices' operations through an explicit assignment.

Further, in the municipal network meeting with Västhamn the meeting participants point out several times that the network of tourist offices is required to work in growth projects and will only receive funding when collaborating in these growth projects. Thus, the network's budget is necessarily bound to projects that imply an increased mobility. However, which kind of mobility is aimed at, if long haul travellers or national, regional and local tourists, is not mentioned in the context. Concluding from the interview with Västhamn, however, there is reason to believe that the form and distance of transportation is not further addressed by the municipal management, as climate change is not a topic for discussion in the work context of the tourist office.

The absence of an assignment to work upon climate change becomes also visible when the tourist offices speak about their mission as tourist offices. As has been mentioned earlier, all three respondents from the tourist offices underline that the tourist offices fulfil the aim of promoting the municipality and attracting visitors. None of the respondents mentions that their operations need to take climate change into account in any way. Rather in contrary, the respondent from Mittenstad defends business tourism, which is depending on flying, as being positive for Mittenstad because tourism generates tax money. The notion that aviation is regarded as the largest single source of greenhouse gas emissions from tourism, contributing with 40% of the total emissions from tourism, is not taken into consideration (Gössling & Hall, 2008: 145; Scott et al., 2010: 398). The instance where flying is defended is an expression of Hilgartner's (1992) notion that risk objects are dealt with in order to eliminate either the risk or the object from the context. Here it is the suggested risk object emissions that is eliminated in the argumentation.

Another hint that the tourist offices are not assigned to work upon climate change is given in the presentation of Östenvik's forthcoming tourism strategy. During the presentation it is said that the tourist office works according to the municipality's overarching target to increase employment, in their specific case employment in tourism. It is also said that the tourist office aims to increase the flow of visitors, and that the destination wants to participate in the national and regional growth trends in tourism. During the presentation of the tourist strategy for Östenvik one presenter mentions that climate change is an issue that the destination needs to be conscious about. However, the fact that business tourists arriving by airplane are appointed as a new target group in the strategy is left uncommented in terms of climate change. Yet, aviation is well-known as one of the substantial contributors to global climate change (Gössling & Hall, 2008; Scott et al., 2010). Arguing that the tourism strategy is developed in collaboration with the local government and municipal management, the absence of endeavours

to integrate climate change practically seems to be approved by the politicians and the administrative management.

Viewing the tourist offices' descriptions of their mission in the context of municipal management as a whole, the way the municipal management deals with the issue of climate change is a case of "multiple goals" (Hutter, 2005: 69). The municipal management selects the assignments for the single operations. On the assignment to derive organizational value from promoting the municipality and attracting visitors, the tourist offices do their best to reach that aim, regardless of other goals in the municipality. This leads to the paradox that the tourist offices carry out an operation that might contradict the endeavour of other operations, e.g., the work of the climate office to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, and manifests limitations for cross sectional engagement.

In conclusion the municipal management seems not to include the tourist offices in any form of climate change risk governance (Van Asselt & Renn, 2011). The tourist offices are not given an explicit assignment to deal with climate change. Hence, as the example shows non-inclusion is not always a matter of "silencing" players (Lidskog et al., 2010: 26), it can also be matter of letting players continue with business as usual.

As the municipal management appears not to encourage all operations in the municipal administration to collaborate on climate change risk governance, a joint understanding of climate change risk governance is not developed in the rows of the municipal administration (Boholm et al., forthcoming). Consequently, the operations of the tourist offices remain in their specific work sphere, unexposed to influences that might cast a spotlight of meaning on climate change (Wenger, 1998; 2003; Boholm et al., forthcoming).

6.2   Relevance for the operations

On the background that the tourist offices do not frame any risk from climate change on the basis of their ongoing operation and are not assigned to work upon climate change, the tourist offices assume a possible involvement of climate change into their operations as irrelevant or even improper for the maintenance of their organizational value (Corvellec, 2010).

Being asked if they addressed the issue of climate change towards their visitors, the respondent from Västhamn expresses that she does not know how the tourist office could address climate change in the interaction with their visitors. She underlines that they usually get very concrete questions from the tourists. The

respondent adds that the staff only speaks about the nature in Västhamn when the visitors are particularly interested in nature. Thus, overall climate change is explained not to match the questions of the visitors.

Only in the context of the regional art tour the tourist office at Västhamn has encouraged their visitors to come by public transportation. In advance of the event they advertised with the slogan "Leave the car at home, take the train here!" (Q52). According to colleague X this initiative originates from the context of Västhamn working for sustainable tourism. The term "sustainable tourism" however is not further elaborated in the conversation with colleague X.

The respondent from Mittenstad explains that the tourist office does not communicate anything concerning climate change towards their visitors. Speaking about the brochures she says that everything printed is selected "only from a tourist point of view" (Q53). Here, the tourist office regards anything that promotes the municipality as relevant; however, systematic risk communication encouraging tourists to regard climate change is not carried out. The practice of not communicating is excused by pointing towards the demands of the visitors.

Other signs that the tourist offices regard the matter of climate change as irrelevant for their operations are expressed when speaking about the interactions between the tourist offices and the entrepreneurs. The respondent from Västhamn says that they are not authorized to tell the entrepreneurs how to carry out the operations. The respondent underlines that the tourist office is only supposed to help the entrepreneurs through marketing. Here, the activity of helping seems not to address helping to mitigate risks that might arise from climate change.

The respondent from Mittenstad mentions that the tourist office supports the entrepreneurs with information; however, when being asked if the they could arrange one of the network meetings for the entrepreneurs on the issue of climate change, the respondent states that she does not know how to arrange such a meeting in a way that it is interesting. She points out that it is not useful if the tourist office organizes a meeting on climate change and no one will come. Thus, the matter of climate change is not viewed as relevant or in contrary rather as improper in the context of tourism, as the entrepreneurs are not expected to find anything helpful or interesting in such a meeting.

Obviously the tourist offices at Västhamn and Mittenstad do not integrate the issue of climate change into their interactions with the visitors and the entrepreneurs. Rather, addressing climate change is viewed not to fit into the context of tourism, which means that an integration of climate change issues itself might compromise the organizational value and be a risk (Corvellec, 2010; Assmuth et al., 2010). Hence, one can state that the tourist offices do not carry out any climate change risk management and communication including their visitors

and entrepreneurs. Yet, it can be concluded that a different kind of risk management is carried out that, however, has nothing to do with climate change. The ongoing risk management is targeted at not losing the customer, thus, maintaining the status quo and the current organizational value (Corvellec, 2010).

One can take the argument even further and suppose that the tourist offices actively deny any responsibility in the context of tourism and climate change, as the greenhouse gas emissions arising from tourism are regarded not to be the tourist offices' concern. When asked about the impacts of tourism on the climate, the respondents from the tourist offices at Mittenstad and Östenvik present the emissions as the tourists' and entrepreneurs' failure to act consciously. Still, one should not forget that the tourist offices are the service operations for the tourists and entrepreneurs, forming a work sphere with the tourists and entrepreneurs, meaning that it is feasible for the tourist offices to raise their foremost peer-groups' consciousness and preparedness towards climate change.

As an explanation for the restricted focus, however, one can again draw on Wenger (1998). He states that communities of practice live on a social contract of the members' reciprocal responsibility, including not complicating for the other players (Wenger, 1998). Avoiding integrating the work-experience-far risk of climate change in the work community might be the tourist offices' tacit strategy of not confronting the other players involved. Hence, as long as the practices at the tourist offices remain in their "community of practice" (Wenger, 2003: 80), i.e., are not set out for re-interpretation (Boholm et al., forthcoming), and stay practically unaffected by climate change, the established patterns of climate change risk governance can be expected be carried on (Reckwitz, 2002).

6.3   Re-contextualization of projects

Despite the fact that the three tourist offices do not explicitly engage in climate change related risk management, there are two tourism projects that are pointed out as climate friendly. These tourism projects, however, are in the first hand activities that build on the value of promoting the municipality and attracting visitors that are re-contextualized as climate friendly.

The respondent from Västhamn points out the regional project on biking tourism as one example of the tourist office's endeavour to deal with climate change. However, when being asked if climate change is one of the reasons for initiating the project, she says that she does not know, but that her colleague at the climate office might know. The colleague at the climate office, when being asked

about the project, cannot recall if dealing with climate change is one of the reasons for the project. When looking into the formal documentation of the biking projects during the interview, she cannot find any comment about climate change in the papers. The respondent from the tourist office, however, is sure that the tourist office does not bind the biking projects to any targets regarding climate change. Thus, the project that is pointed out as an endeavour to deal with climate change is originally a project to satisfy the value of promoting the municipality and attracting visitors. Thus, the notion of climate friendliness is added in retrospect.

Similarly, the respondent from Mittenstad explains that the tourist office organizes a close-by event. The idea of the close-by event is to attract the locals to explore their surroundings and to make the locals take along their friends. The close-by event is a project that is aimed at encouraging going on holiday at home instead of going on holiday in another city. However, as the respondent explains, the thought that the close-by event might be climate friendly has struck her for the first time during the interview. Interestingly the CAC from Mittenstads mentions that the close-by event is a climate friendly initiative by the tourist office. Thus, on the one hand we find the close-by event as a project that is aimed at the value of promoting the municipality and attracting visitors, on the other hand we find the project as a climate friendly initiative when reinterpreted by the tourist office and by the CAC.

The examples of the biking project and close-by event illustrate what Renn & Schweizer (2009: 183) point out as "win-win" solutions. The events are at the same time directed towards the organizational value and, in their re-interpretation, benefit the goal of climate change risk governance. This confirms Corfee-Morlot et al.'s (2011) suggestion that policies that target a variety of needs are most likely to be accepted. In the context of unintentional risk management on climate change as pointed out in the current examples, one can draw a parallel to the tacit risk management identified by Corvellec (2009). However, different from tacit risk management that implies risk management for the organizational value (Corvellec, 2009) the unintended risk management fills a twofold function. First, is applies as tacit risk management for the enhancement of the organizational value; second, it generates a benefit on another level, in this case climate change risk governance.

On the one hand the unintended climate change risk management can be appointed as a form of "practice-based learning" (Corradi et al, 2010: 171). An existing practice is put into the context of a previously untouched topic. The routine practices thereby enhances the understanding of the phenomenon, due to re-contextualization, a form of "reflection in action" (Dougherty, 2004: 43). On

the other hand one could claim that the re-contextualization has nothing to do with increased insights into the phenomenon of climate change. A critical view might suggest that re-contextualization of the biking tourism is used as a cover story to make it seem as if a conscious attempt to deal with climate change existed. The critics might say that the biking project in fact is an example of commodification of nature (Hultman & Gössling, 2008). Whatever interpretation is chosen, re-contextualization has taken place for the two projects and gives an indication that practice-based learning can occur in the intersection of tourism and climate change. With what effects though, cannot be traced in the context of this thesis.

6.4   Need for practice-based knowledge

The tourist offices do not only lack an assignment and relevance to carry out risk management on the issue of climate change during the interviews, they also explicitly address a need for practice-based knowledge (Corradi et al, 2010).

The respondent at Västhamn points out that it in order to start a work process that includes issues of climate change it would be helpful to enhance the understanding on what can be done at the tourist office and how other tourism organizations work. She also points out if a document as the municipal climate adaptation policy is sent by E-mail and is nothing that she can use on an everyday basis it will fall away.

At Mittenstad the respondent mentions that in order to organize an interesting and relevant network meeting on climate change it could be an option to let an entrepreneur who works with organic products speak at a network meeting. She also mentions that it would be advantageous if Mittenstad had an entrepreneur with Nature's Best certificate, the Swedish ecotourism label. However, also the respondent from Mittenstad points out that policy documents published on the municipal intranet, such as digital copies of the sustainability programme, are not read intensively.

Being asked about the use of education for dealing with climate change, the respondent at Östenvik explains that education only makes sense if it is carried out in a dialogue, resulting in tasks that can be integrated at the work place. She underlines the importance of concrete measures that indicate what should be done in each step. In her view it is not helpful to receive a heap of paper with information, because the paper will only be put in a pile.

The respondents from the tourist office refer the ability to integrate the issue of climate change to their practices to applied knowledge. This stresses the

importance of "practice-based learning" (Corradi et al., 2010: 170). Practice-based learning implies that knowing arises from doing and that knowing is "context-dependent" (Corradi et al., 2010: 271). Thus, in order to enhance the knowledge on climate change risk governance, the chasm between theory and practice needs to be closed and the issue be practically integrated into the operations as proposed by Corradi et al. (2010).

Also, the respondents indicate the need for interaction with stakeholders that follow similar goals as they do, e.g., other tourism organizations or tourism entrepreneurs. The expressed wish to find out how other tourism organizations work upon climate change, the idea to invite an ecologically inclined entrepreneur as a speaker for a network meeting respectively, again, point towards that the respondents search for "practice-based learning" (Corradi et al, 2010: 170). Also, the respondents indicate that they carry out innovations of operations in the realms of established work relationships (Wenger, 1998). Thus, existing relations of mutual commitment seem to be important for risk communication and ultimately learning and innovation (Wenger, 1998; Dougherty, 2004; Boholm et al., forthcoming). That means, integrating practice-based climate change risk communication into existing work spheres – perhaps by introducing hybrids that act as climate ambassadors and community members simultaneously (Wenger, 1998) – might transform business as usual into more elaborated strategies of dealing with climate change.

6.5   Summary: Risks translated into practice

Chapter 6 has discussed how the risk frames constructed by the respondents from the tourist offices are translated into the tourist offices' practices. It is stated that the tourist offices have not received an explicit assignment by the municipal management to act upon climate change. On that background it is irrelevant or even counterproductive for the tourist offices to deal with climate change in their core operations including the visitors and the entrepreneurs. However, two of the respondents identify municipal tourism projects that are climate friendly. These projects are tourism projects only in their origin, yet re-contextualized as climate friendly projects. For being able to deal with climate change, the respondents announce a need for practice-based knowledge on climate change.

The following chapter 7 delves deeper into the climate change risk governance at the municipal tourist offices by discussing the collaboration between the tourist office and the CAC and RVC in the aspect of risk communication

7 Municipal stakeholders' collaboration

The previous chapters 5 and 6 have shown that the tourist offices do not assess any risks from climate change in the context of their ongoing operations. Further it has been said that the tourist offices do not carry out any risk governance on climate change addressing the visitors and entrepreneurs due to a lack of assignment, relevance, and practice-based knowledge.

Chapter 7 explores the risk communication between the CACs, RVCs respectively, and the tourist offices. As the CACs and RVCs are the municipal stakeholders assigned to work proactively either on climate change adaptation or on risk governance one could assume proactive climate change risk communication from the sides of the CACs and the RVCs. However, in chapter 7 it is claimed that the risk communication from the CACs and RVCs towards the tourist offices is weak for three reasons: modest contact areas, modest purpose, and modest of resources. In consequence the stakeholders undertake hardly any joint endeavour for climate change risk governance.

7.1 Modest contact areas between stakeholders

Section 7.1 deals with the modest contact areas between the tourist offices and other two municipal stakeholders. The expression "modest contact areas" means that the work context of the respective players leads to little overlap between the players.

In the interaction between the tourist offices and the CACs, analysed in 7.1.1, the modest contact areas are claimed to arise from the different tools applied. For the collaboration between the tourist office and the RVCs, targeted in 7.1.2, the modest contact areas are proposed to originate from a lack of inclusion.

7.1.1 Different work tools

The tourist offices' and the CACs' interaction is characterized by a weak risk communication due to different work tools applied by the stakeholders.

The CACs work for developing policies. When being asked where they range on the spectrum between idea and acting, all three of them say that they are on the idea side. The respondent from Västhamn, when being asked how far he had come with implementing the climate adaptation policy, says that he has not come anywhere. However, he points out, it has not been his goal to implement the policy. He says that it is someone else's responsibility to look after the implementation. On the question whose responsibility it is, he replies that they actually wonder the same. He makes the reference that the municipalities' work on climate adaptation is not centrally coordinated and that this is a problem. The respondent suggests the municipal risk and vulnerability analyses to be one of the few available tools for coordinated climate adaptation.

The CAC at Mittenstad also replies that her work ranges more on the side of ideas than on the side of acting. By attaching concrete measures to the goals in the sustainability programme, the climate office makes an attempt to facilitate implementation; however, the respondent points out, to what degree of detail the measures are formulated is also depending on the political will. She adds that the measures for tourism, which are included in the current sustainability programme, are hard to implement because of a lack of cooperation from the side of the entrepreneurs, in this specific case the farmers. Also, she notes that the measures included in the sustainability programme sometimes are hard to follow up, because the operations that are responsible for the implementation forget about the measures.

The CAC from Östenvik mentions that he, together with colleagues, has developed a local climate document. The document contains proposals on how to work proactively with the issue of climate change. One recommendation is to offer education on climate change for the municipal employees. When being asked how far the office had come on the way to implement the measures he replies that they have only started to think about the measures; however, that it still has to be decided what is going to be done. He expresses that it is not sure how much of what is proposed will be implemented in the end.

When speaking to the tourist offices about the municipal climate policies, all three respondents express that they are not familiar with the municipal climate policies. The respondent at Västhamn says that she has not actively studied the municipal climate policy. Also, during the interview, the respondent is surprised to find a paragraph about the municipal tourism enclosed in the policy. The respondent does not recall that the CAC has contacted the tourist office. Still, she mentions that the coordinator might have talked to someone else from the tourist office. The CAC in his turn points out that he has spoken to colleague X from the tourist regarding the policy. However, colleague X, when asked about the

conversation with the CAC, cannot remember that they have had a dialogue about the policy. She only recalls that they have talked about another matter.

At the tourist office at Mittenstad the respondent mentions that she might have seen the sustainability programme before, but she points out that she has not read the document. Also the respondent from Mittenstad discovers the mention of tourism in the sustainability programme for the first time during the interview.

The respondent from the tourist office at Östenvik notes, similarly, that she has not involved in reading the municipal climate document. Neither can she point out a climate expert in the rows of the municipal administration.

Thus, the CACs work for developing policies that most concretely contain measures, which the tourist offices are free to implement. The tourist offices in their turn work towards the goal of promoting the municipalities and attracting visitors, a work in which they operate with concrete questions and tasks, "hands on", to serve the visitors and entrepreneurs. The CACs' work on the idea level hardly touches the everyday work of the tourist offices. In consequence the two operations do not create a common meaning around the issue of climate change risk governance (Boholm et al., forthcoming); the experts on climate change do not communicate climate change to the tourist offices in a manner that is received by the tourist offices. In that way, each of the two parties creates organizational value (Corvellec, 2010) for their own operation, however, not for each other. Hence, even though the process of policy development in principal opens up for "brokering" (Wenger, 1998: 109), the policy development remains an ineffective tool for shaping meaningful risk communication and in turn joint climate change risk governance (Boholm et al., forthcoming).

7.1.2 Scarce inclusion

In their work on the municipal risk and vulnerability analyses the RVCs do hardly include the tourist offices. The feeble risk communication is here manifested in a weak integration.

The RVCs work for protecting life and health as a first priority. In their work the RVCs speak to the municipal administration offices in order to find out about vulnerabilities in key operations for the maintenance of society (*samhällsviktiga funktioner*). Despite the fact that the RVCs lead a dialogue with a broad range of municipal offices, only the RVC from Västhamn has spoken to the tourist office.

The RVC at Västhamn says that he has talked to the tourist office in order to secure the staff's safety in the every-day operations. Targets for cooperation are for example the cash machine and safe venues for events. The respondent admits

that his mission is a broad mission to protect values – in his understanding of the term – and that tourism compounds values. However, it has not struck him yet to approach the tourist office to converse about the values in tourism, neither in the context of climate change nor generally.

At Mittenstad the RVC points out that her mission is focused on identifying key operations for the maintenance of society. She motivates the fact that she has not invited the tourist offices for a dialogue with the suggestion that the tourist office does not have any such key function. Yet, the respondent explains that the tourist office is included in her work concerning information distribution.

The RVC at Östenvik also notes that she is working for identifying the key operations for the maintenance of society and so called critical dependencies (*kritiska beroenden*). Similar to the respondents from Västhamn and Mittenstad, she is speaking to the municipal administration offices in order to carry out her job. However, as also the respondent from Mittenstad, she has not spoken to the tourist office. She explains that she does not know what they should talk about, what the contact area might be.

The RVC at Västhamn is the only one of the three coordinators who assumes a connection between his mission and the tourism in the municipality. He mentions that the tourism at the municipality might be in need of preventive protection arising from the risk of climate change, while the respondents from Mittenstad and Östenvik do not find it necessary to include the tourist offices in the dialogues around the risk and vulnerability analyses.

The three cases indicate that even though the municipalities carry out risk governance formally, by applying the tool of risk and vulnerability analyses, the municipal risk governance does not include the tourist offices. In the example of municipal risk and vulnerability analysis is mirrored risk governance not only *deals* with risk issues, but that risk governance also *creates* these risk issues (Hilgartner, 1992; Lidskog et al., 2010; Boholm & Corvellec, 2011). Since the RVCs are assigned to care for threats towards human life as the object at risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011), other objects at risk, such as the nature area and beaches have a low priority in the risk and vulnerability analyses. In consequence, the tourist offices as municipal operations are not target for inclusion in the risk communication process (Renn & Schweizer, 2009). Similar to the constellation between the CACs and the RVCs, the RVCs and the tourist offices carry out their operations in their "communities of practice" (Wenger, 2003: 80). To engage in joint climate change risk governance does not forward their respective organizational value (Boholm et al., forthcoming; Corvellec, 2010), perhaps with the exception of the RVC from Västhamn. A tool for "brokering" is provided in the municipal risk and vulnerability analysis (Wenger, 1998: 109). However, the

potential broker is not regularly applied towards the tourist offices to create a common purpose for risk communication and in turn climate change risk governance (Wenger, 1998; Boholm et al., forthcoming).

In the further analysis the RVCs from Mittenstad and Östenvik will not be further regarded due to their weak attachment to the tourist offices.

7.2   Modest purpose for risk communication

Section 7.2 analyses that the municipal stakeholders' CAC and RVC sense a modest purpose to engage in the aspect of tourism and climate change. The notion of "modest purpose" means here a modest reason or meaningfulness to involve into the issue of tourism and climate change. In 7.2.1 the shared ambivalence in risk frames compared to the tourist offices is pointed out as one factor for modest purpose, in 7.2.2 the assumed needs of tourism are addressed as another factor.

7.2.1   Shared ambiguities towards climate change

The risk communication between the tourist office and the other municipal stakeholders is weak also because the CACs and the RVC at Västhamn share the ambivalent risk frame with the tourist offices.

The CAC and the risk and vulnerability analysis from Västhamn point out that climate change can be both positive and negative for the tourism in the municipality. They mention warmer water temperatures as a possible positive development for the beach tourism, at the same time as they notes that the beaches might disappear due to erosion. At Mittenstad the CAC does not have a clear opinion about how the tourism in the municipality might be impacted. The CAC at Östenvik, similar to the coordinators from Västhamn, explains that the warmer temperatures might improve the conditions for tourism in Sweden and Östenvik. However, he remarks that in that case the beaches must not vanish, what however could be the case. Additionally the RVC at Västhamn also mentions that the climate science still is not clear about what is going to happen. He points out that the insecurities make it difficult to address climate change.

The CACs and the RVC at Västhamn are similarly ambiguous about the relationship between tourism and climate change as the tourist offices. Due to scarce knowledge on local impacts of climate change (Lidskog et al., 2010; Corfee-Morlot, 2011) also their risk frames on tourism and climate change are characterized by a trembling relationship of risk (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011). A

clear cause-effect relationship, as suggested to be necessary for a complete risk framework (Boholm & Corvellec, 2011), does not currently seem available. Because of the trembling relationships of risks constructed by the CACs, who by the way are among the municipal experts on issues of climate change, and the RVC from Västhamn, the toolbox for creating a meaningful risk communication on tourism and climate change seems limited. However, as Power (2005: 59) expresses: "Individuals, organisations and societies have no choice but to organise in the face of uncertainty, to act 'as if' they know the risks they face". Thus, according to Power (2005) uncertainty is attached to all activities. In turn the omnipotence of uncertainty alone cannot be a reason for not undertaking action. In addition it can be expected that the CACs and the RVC from Västhamn have to deal with a lack of certainty all the time as their work rests upon future scenarios. Consequently, climate and risk experts not carrying out climate change risk communication towards a specific group of actors can probably more accurately be interpreted as a matter of priority than insecurity. Here again one can argue with Wenger (1998) an state that the modest risk communication on tourism and climate change from the CACs towards the tourist offices rather prevails as a matter of prioritization towards what is regarded meaningful under specific circumstances. Thus, even though the CACs hold the knowledge and position to carry out risk communication towards the tourist office, such an endeavour does not take place as a lack of purpose, with scarce collaboration on climate change risk governance as a result (Wenger, 1998).

7.2.2 Assumed needs of tourism

The risk communication towards the tourist offices on climate change is also weak because the stakeholders do not estimate tourism to need long term planning.

Speaking about if the tourist offices need to raise their preparedness towards climate change, the CAC at Västhamn notes that probably all players in society need to raise their preparedness. However, he comments that there may be elements that need more prevention, such as the maintenance of the beaches, whereas other elements may be taken care of as they occur. Yet, he notes that it is hard to motivate actors to take preventive action; that it is usual to wait until the catastrophe is occurring. At Mittenstad the CAC mentions that she cannot yet estimate if the tourist office needs to enhance preparedness. The CAC at Östenvik notes that tourism is a short termed operation that can quickly adapt to changing

circumstances. The RVC at Västhamn notes that tourism should most of all be flexible in the face of changes.

The CAC at Västhamn recognizes a need of tourism to prepare for climate change in some aspects. However, when saying that players usually do not act in advance, he suggests that the issue is not urgent enough for assigning a responsibility to bring about change (Deere-Birkbeck, 2009: 1181). The CAC from Mittenstad and Östenvik do not see an explicit need for tourism to prepare, neither does the RVC at Västhamn who encourages taking the changes as they come. Hence, the CACs and the RVC at Västhamn do not identify any risk towards the tourism in the municipality from climate change. Seen from the work perspective of the beholders nothing in tourism is at the same time valuable and exposed to possible severe damage (Hilgartner, 1992; Boholm, 2003; Hutter, 2005; Boholm & Corvellec, 2011). Since the tacit risk assessments carried out by the CACs and the RVC do not imply any need to be worried about tourism in regard of climate change, no need to initiate climate change risk governance for tourism arises.

It can also be mentioned that the coordinators are not practitioners in the field of tourism, but practitioners on climate change, risk governance respectively. Thus, any assumption such as tourism being short termed is a knowing in practice, but only a knowing in climate adaptation, alternatively risk governance practice (Corradi et al., 2010). Thus, where the tourist offices are bound to the tandem of risk assessment and risk management in tourism context, detached from climate change risk governance, the coordinators are moving on the tandem of risk assessment and risk management of their work context, detached from tourism. As stated earlier the contact areas between the two fields of expertise are weak. Hence, figuratively speaking the tourist offices' and coordinator's risk assessment-management tandems are moving on different lanes, as the ongoing work of the two operations does not seem to matter from one to the other (Wenger, 1998). As a consequence, neither endeavours for effective risk communication nor joint risk governance are initiated.

7.3   Modest resources for risk communication

Section 7.3 deals with the modest resources as one reason for the weak links between the other municipal stakeholders and the tourist offices. "Modest resources" here alludes to practical constraints. The endeavour of risk

communication is discussed as one such practical constraint in 7.3.1, time pressure is addressed in 7.3.2 as another practical constraint.

7.3.1 Endeavour of risk communication

Another constraint in the risk communication is that the interaction between the municipal stakeholders is experienced to be cumbersome.

The CAC at Mittenstad points out that, generally, cooperation with other stakeholders in the municipality can be difficult. She points out that staff turnover and the fact that people forget disrupts continuity in the work flow. The CAC at Östenvik mentions that cooperation with the tourist office takes place with different points of departure. According to him, his standpoint is inclined towards nature preservation, while the tourist office's perspective is directed towards economic growth. He mentions that particularly on the background of time pressure, where all employees already struggle to get their work done, the differences in point of view are an obstacle for cooperation.

As the respondents from Mittenstad and Östenvik point out, approaching other municipal stakeholders on the issue of climate change is a social investment. The respondent from Östenvik notes, due to different points of departures and high times pressure, risk communication and deliberation are not experienced as beneficial.

Renn & Schweizer (2009) mention that some participants in risk communication may quit cooperation when the approach to risk seems inappropriate to them; however, what Renn & Schweizer (2009) present as a seemingly uncomplicated matter of fact, can lead to the consequence that risk communication stagnates as notes by the CAC at Östenvik.

The CAC's statement further openly restates what has been mentioned in the previous sections, that tourist offices and the CACs belong to two different "communities of practice" (Wenger, 2003: 80) without any connection through common meaning formation. Instead the differences assumed by the CAC at Östenvik seems to arouse a barrier for getting involved into the other parties operations and in turn produce an obstacle for risk communication and creating a joint point of departure for climate change risk governance (Boholm et al, forthcoming).

7.3.2 Time pressure

Further, the risk communication between the tourist office and the CACs, the RVC at Västhamn respectively, is feeble also due to time pressure.

When asking the CAC at Västhamn if he would like to contact the tourist office in order to talk about tourism and climate change, he replies that he would like to do so, but that he does not have time. Also the CACs from Mittenstad and Östenvik mention that the issue of how to use time effectively always is an additional factor that is considered in the course of the work. The RVC at Västhamn acknowledges that taking care of the values in tourism might range low on the background of his mission to protect life.

The municipal stakeholders address a lack of time. As Corfee-Morlot et al. (2011: 183) point out, climate change risk governance requires "additional time, effort and resources". The lack of time implies that – even though "deliberative spaces" (Corfee-Morlot et al., 2011: 185) might be formally provided – diverse constraints may shrink the actual opportunities to carry out deliberative practices, i.e., risk communication. However, one can also argue that the matter of time in fact is a matter of priority. Under time constraints it is done what makes most sense, and here, in the work context of the CAC at Västhamn and also for the other mentioned coordinators, the priority of contacting the tourist offices is low. Thus, the constraint of time pressure summarizes the earlier mentioned constraints of modest contact area and modest purpose and endeavour of deliberation into the widely accepted, worldly explanation of "no time" which in itself can be regarded as a routine practice of justification (Reckwitz, 2002). Certainly one should acknowledge that the coordinators in charge of climate adaptation and risk governance do struggle to tackle the complex work tasks they face in their everyday work. However, viewing the practice of rationalization through the reason of "time pressure" as a practice in itself gives an indication on what applies as meaningful in the established work spheres (Wenger, 1998; 2003).

7.4 Summary: Municipal stakeholders' collaboration

Chapter 7 has dealt with the collaboration between the tourist offices and the municipal CACs and RVCs. It is found that the risk communication, between the CACs and RVS towards the tourist offices is weak. The collaboration towards joint risk governance in turn is weak, too. As an explanation for the feeble risk communication three reasons have been pointed out: modest contact areas, modest purpose and modest resources. Modest contact areas refer to the application of

different tools used by the CACs and the tourist offices and to a scarce inclusion of the tourist offices by the RVCs. Modest purpose implies that the coordinators do not regard risk communication towards the tourist offices as meaningful, and modest resources alludes to obstacles that are addressed as practical constraints. Overall it is concluded that the tourist offices and the coordinators view tourism and climate change from their different, mainly disconnected "communities of practice", not shaping a common understanding on tourism and climate change (Wenger, 2003: 80).

Closing the argumentation of stakeholder cooperation on the conclusion that the collaboration between the tourist office and the respective coordinators is modest due to differences in work practices and priorities, characterized as "communities of practice" (Wenger, 2003: 80), one can start asking what could and should be done to bring the distinct communities together. This question cannot be further developed in the analysis. However, the concluding discussion in the following chapter 8 will provide additional outlooks on tourism and climate change risk governance.

8 Concluding discussion

The current study has had the aim to explore the climate change risk governance practices at three municipal tourist offices in Sweden. As guideline for the research the research questions "How do the employees at the municipal tourist offices construct risks from climate change for their operations?", "How are the risk constructions regarding climate change translated into the organizational practices?", and "How do the municipal tourist offices and other municipal stakeholders collaborate on tourism and climate change?" have been asked.

The data analysis has shown that the respondents from the tourist offices construct risks from climate change by framing multiple relationships of risk between objects at risk – such as the nature area, beaches, airport and hiking trail – and risk objects – such as flooding, coastal erosion and storms. These relationships of risk are found to be cuttings from the overall picture of climate change rather than holistic considerations of the interactions between tourism and climate change. An explicit risk assessment on tourism and climate change has not been carried out at any of the three tourist offices.

It has been concluded that the respondent from the tourist office in Mittenstad frames only nebulous relationships of risk, in the cases of Västhamn and Östenvik the relationships of risk seem ambiguous. What appears as inconsistencies at the first glance is explained to originate from the overlap of two different levels of risk constructions. One level is the interview situation in which the respondents from the tourist offices frame risks towards tourism upon their common sense understanding of climate change. The other level is the level of work experience in which the circumstances do not give rise to worry about anything such as climate change.

Further, the study has explored how the risk constructions are translated into practice. Due to the fact that the respondents from the tourist offices do not frame any risks towards the municipal tourism in their usual work context, neither have spoken about climate change in their work context before, an explicit agenda on tourism and climate change could not be expected. Nevertheless, it has been discussed why such an agenda does not exist. The main argument offered is that the tourist offices have not received an explicit assignment by the municipal management to deal with climate change. Due to the non-existent assignment and due to the fact that the tourist offices are not currently affected by climate change,

the tourist offices regard it as irrelevant or even counterproductive to integrate climate change issues in the ongoing work practices. Climate change is only incorporated unintended, where existing tourist projects are re-contextualized as climate friendly tourist projects.

Also, the study has examined how the CACs and RVCs collaborate with the tourist offices regarding climate change. It could have been expected that the CACs and RVCs would push forward climate change risk governance at the tourist offices. However, the CACs and RVCs attempts to initiate risk communication towards the tourist offices are found to be feeble. The feeble risk communication has been explained to stem from modest contact areas, modest purpose and modest resources. The modest contact areas originate from the work tools applied and the prioritizations made by the CAC and RVC. The modest purpose for risk communication originates from the ambiguous risk frames on tourism and climate change that the CACs and RVCs construct. Moreover, the coordinators view tourism from the remote perspective of practitioners in the fields of climate adaptation and risk governance, which does not make them realize probable needs of tourism for risk communication. Also the endeavour and time connected to risk communication are pointed out as barriers for collaboration, gathered under the umbrella of modest resources. Yet, what the respondents point out as practical constraints can also indicate that that the coordinators do not experience the issue of tourism and climate change as important enough for investing endeavour and time in risk communication towards the tourist offices.

Referring back to the research aim to explore the climate change risk governance practices at the municipal tourist offices and to theorize on what is done, how it is done and why it is done regarding climate change, the study has shown that climate change risk governance is not carried out at the tourist offices. The complex set of reasons for that has already been outlined above. Generalizing from the case findings one can say the fact that the organizational value of promoting the municipality and attracting visitors is not exposed for reinterpretation the tourist offices carry on with business as usual. Since climate change does not currently have a visible or sensible impact on the ongoing operations, an urge to care about climate change and to renegotiate the practices is not arising from the inside of the operations. Neither does the municipal management encourage renegotiation of practices, as the municipal management does not assign the tourist offices to work on climate change, and neither does the management generate meaning for the CACs or RVCs to collaborate with the tourist offices. On that background the tourist offices are doing quite the contrary to engaging in climate change risk governance, that is defending business as usual

by stating that the visitors' and entrepreneurs' demand does not match with climate change risk governance. Thus, the tourist offices deny any possibility and responsibility to get involved into climate change risk governance. The existing climate change risk governance practices might be summarized as a mixture of a low awareness of climate change, a resistance to acknowledge climate change, and an incapability to cope with climate change.

Positioning the findings from this study in a wider perspective, one should recognize that the study points out reasons to worry about tourism and climate change on the municipal level. Even though the impacts on the beaches, nature area, hiking trail, etc., might not be devastating at the moment, seen in the light of the global forecasts it is only a matter of time until the ongoing loss will become visible and sensible. One can wonder what will happen to the 160 000 employees working in tourism, particularly the entrepreneurs, when resources break away unprepared. Also the Swedish self understanding as a country with white sandy beaches and winter sport activities can be expected to suffer. Nevertheless it seems that no serious lead on tourism and climate change is taken at present. Even though SOU 2007:60 *Sweden facing climate change* is giving explicit indications that resources for tourism will suffer, responsibility is not taken and priority is given to an untouched growth paradigm.

Of course here one could ask: But what should we do? If knowledge is scarce, as mentioned in the SOU 2007:60, how could we do the right thing? Well, then a part of the answer is already provided in this study: first, to distribute clear assignments and, second, to enhance practice-based knowledge. Assigning stakeholders to take care of an issue does not mean that the stakeholders need to be experts on the matter. Whatsoever an assignment will strengthen the stakeholders in their position to acquire knowledge, to realize the importance of the issue, and to find ways to integrate climate change into their operations, to experiment and enhance practice-based knowledge.

In the case of municipal tourist offices in Sweden this means to give the tourist offices, the CACs and the RVCs a clear assignment to collaborate on the issue of tourism and climate change. In that collaboration a joint risk assessment could be carried out. Here, on the one hand the general picture of tourism and climate change might be considered in order to capture the possible spectrum of multiple risks adding onto each other; on the other hand the general is only comprehensible through the specific – a cause-effect relationship of risk between tourism and climate change is not intelligible, but needs concrete illustrations through specific events, such as coastal erosion breaking down a hiking trail. Thus, risk assessment on tourism and climate change might need to move back and forth between the overarching phenomena and the specific events in order to

develop a compounding and at the same time comprehensive scenario of the risks for tourism from climate change. Also different time frames should be considered in this practice-based risk assessment to keep the ongoing operations in mind, but also figure out the issue of long term planning.

One of the respondents in the study has proposed the municipal risk and vulnerability analyses as a tool for coordinated climate change adaptation. Yet, as has been shown in the study, the tool alone will not necessarily enhance active involvement. What is required is practice-based knowledge on the risk issues and it is a question of how this knowledge can be achieved. A thought maybe too utopian, but still a thought worth considering, is practice-based risk communication in the form of stakeholders inviting each other to look over the shoulder and test each others work tasks for a day. The work context experience from each others' work situation might bring about a practice-based mutual understanding and a common point of view for collaborative climate change risk governance. Such an endeavour might even become topic for further research on climate change risk governance practices in an action research approach.

In work-process based collaboration the different stakeholders could then start re-contextualizing existing tourism events in the light of climate change. The re-contextualized tourism projects could work as a point of departure for further innovations in the direction of climate adaptation of tourism. Once the connection between tourism in practice and climate change has been made in a way that also contributes to the organizational value of the tourist offices, inventions in the same direction can follow and spread in the rows of tourism practitioners. Here further research could come in helpfully and examine how climate adaptation practices spread in the rows of tourism practicioners, both in horizontal and vertical climate change risk governance.

Speaking about climate adaptation of tourism it should also be noted that municipal tourism can be put both in the position of the object at risk and the risk object. At the one hand attractions such as beaches are affected by the effects of climate change, such as rising sea levels. On the other hand, tourism in general, and as part of that municipal tourism, is a substantial contributor to the greenhouse gas emissions that push forward climate change. The emissions from tourism mean that in large tourism is a risk object to itself. In consequence it is not sufficient to adapt the tourism in the municipalities to changed preconditions on site. Instead also considerations on the contributions of the municipal tourism to climate change need to take place. Even though some people claim that the emissions caused by incoming tourists are not the business of the municipalities, these emissions are in many cases nevertheless the result of goal-oriented promotion by the municipal tourist offices. Thus, climate change risk governance

at the tourist offices should simultaneously work for preparing for changed conditions on site and reducing emissions from tourism. Since the tourist offices' current practices for acquiring organizational value of promoting the municipality and attracting visitors include emission intensive transportation as flying, new ways of generating organizational value need to be introduced.

The examples of the re-contextualized tourism project have indicated that it is possible to create organizational value for municipal tourist office in climate friendly ways. Still, even if all change needs to start somewhere, it is not sufficient if only single projects in single municipalities get involved. It is necessary to introduce climate adaptation also to regional and national tourism strategies that lead the overarching development of Swedish tourism. Here, the recent dogma spread by national tourism organizations in Sweden, the dogma of "export maturity" (*exportmognad*), is not a way to support but to distort. The preaching of the need to expand Sweden's international tourism as a way towards salvation simply paves way towards loosing important resources for the tourism at site. The export maturity chant is a song sung by actors who have not understood the vulnerabilities of the resources for tourism, and joining that choir will bring severe backlashes. So, think for a moment: Why should we watch and do nothing to stop the depletion? And why should we not start to preserve the treasures that we have got? If we want to keep the tourism in Swedish municipalities vital we need to take climate change seriously already today.

9 Literature

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Appendix 1
Interview guide tourist offices

ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION

Risk

Thank you! Then I will start with some broad, a little bit general questions and become gradually more specific.

There is a lot of talking on climate change these days. Have you talked about climate change here at the tourist office?

What "is" climate change for the tourism in xx?

What "is tourism in xx for climate change?

What do you think is going to happen?

Practice

Xx tourist office has a central role for the tourist industry in xx. You have daily contact with visitors from all over the world, accommodation places and organisers.

Does xx tourist office act upon climate change?

If "yes" – What? Why? How? Lines of thoughts. Motivation. Examples.

If "no" – What do you usually do? Why? How? Why isn't climate relevant in the context? What would make it easier for you to work with it? What role do you have in this municipality? Do you know an expert [on climate]?

Practices

Visitors
- Homepage
- Brochures
- E-mail
- Telephone
- Face-to-face

Tourist industy
- Online booking
- Goods

Collaboration with municipal administration
- Environmental administration
- Technical administration
- Risk- and safety

Collaboration with other municipalities
- Climate municipalities
- Neighbouring municipalities

Collaboration with organisations
- Regional Destination Marketing Organization
- The Region
- FörTur

Municipal climate approach/policy

Before I came here I took a look at xx's homepage. There I found at document.

Document 1
Document 2
Document 3

SWEDISH ORIGINAL VERSION

Risk

Tack! Då kommer jag att börja med några breda, lite allmänna frågor och blir sedan allt mer specifik.

Det pratas mycket om klimatförändringar nuförtiden. Har ni pratat om klimatförändringar här på turistbyrån?

Vad "är" klimatförändringarna för turismen i xx?

Vad "är" turismen i xx för klimatförändringarna?

Vad tror ni kommer att hända?

Praktik

Xx turistbyrå har en central roll inom xx besöksnäring och har då dagligen kontakt med besökare från hela världen, med boendeanläggningar och arrangörer.

Jobbar xx turistbyrå för att bemöta klimatförändringarna?

Om "ja" – Vad, Varför, Hur? Tankegångar, Argument, Exempel

Om "nej" – Vad brukar ni göra? Varför? Hur? Varför är inte klimatfrågan relevant i sammanhanget? Vad skulle underlätta för er att jobba med det? Vad har ni för roll inom kommunen? Känner ni till någon expert?

Praktiker

Besökare
- Hemsidan
- Broschyrer
- E-post
- Telefon
- Disk

Besöksnäringen
- Onlinebokning
- Varor

Inom kommunen
- Miljöförvaltningen
- Tekniska förvaltningen
- Risk- och säkerhet

Med andra kommuner
- Klimatkommuner
- Grannkommuner

Organisationer
- Den regionala marknadsföringsorganisationen
- Regionen
- FörTur

Kommunens klimatarbete

Innan jag kom hit har jag tittat på xx hemsida. Där har jag hittat ett dokument.

Dokument 1
Dokument 2
Dokument 3

Appendix 2
Interview guide climate adaptation coordinators

ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION

The coordinator's roll
Hej xx. You work at xx. Would you like to describe your work very briefly?

Work procedures
How do you work on climate change here at the municipality?
Are there other people who also work on climate change?
There are a lot of plans and policies on climate. According to you, how far have you come from thought to acting?

Climate change
What does climate change imply for xx?
What does it imply for the tourism at xx?
If you think the other way around: What does tourism at xx mean for the climate?

Collaboration
Have you collaborated with the tourist office on the background of the municipality's climate work?
How would it feel to invite them for a meeting?
Do you think that tourism needs to increase preparedness for climate change?

SWEDISH ORIGINAL VERSION

Samordnarens roll
Hej xx. Du jobbar på xx. Vill du väldigt kort beskriva vad du jobbar med?

Arbetssätt
På vilket sätt arbetar du med klimatfrågan inom kommunen?
Finns det andra som också arbetar med klimatfrågan?
Det finns ju många planer och policies om klimat. Hur långt skulle ni säga att ni har kommit från tanke till handling?

Klimatförändringarna
Vad innebär klimatförändringarna för xx?
Vad innebär det för turismen i xx?
Om man tänker tvärtom: Vad innebär turismen i xx för klimatet?

Samverkan
Har ni samverkat med turistbyrån inom kommunens klimatarbete?
Hur skulle det kännas att bjuda in dem till ett möte?
Anser ni att turismen i xx behöver utöka sin beredskap inför klimatförändringarna?

Appendix 3
Interview guide risk and vulnerability coordinators

ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION

The coordinator's roll
Hej xx. You work as RVC at xx?
Would you like to describe your work very briefly?

Work procedures
How do you proceed in order to develop the risk and vulnerability analysis?
How do you prioritize what you put in focus?
What does "key operation for the maintenance of society" mean?

Climate change
How do you regard climate change?
What do you believe climate change implies for xx?

Collaboration
How do you collaborate with other administrative offices?
Have you collaborated with the tourist office at xx?
How would it feel to invite the tourist office in order to talk about climate change?
Do you think that the tourist office needs to increase preparedness towards climate change?

SWEDISH ORIGINAL VERSION

Samordnarens roll
Hej xx. Du jobbar som säkerhetssamordnare på xx?
Vill du kort beskriva vad du jobbar med?

Arbetssätt
Hur går ni tillväga för att ta fram risk- och sårbarhetsanalysen?
Hur prioriterar ni vad ni lägger fokus på?
Vad innebär "samhällsviktig verksamhet" för er?

Klimatförändringarna
Hur ser ni på klimatförändringarna?
Vad tror ni innebär klimatförändringarna för xx?

Samverkan
Hur samarbetar ni med förvaltningarna?
Har ni ett samarbete med xx turistbyrå?
Hur skulle det kännas att bjuda in turistbyrån och prata om klimatförändringarna?
Tror ni att turistbyrån behöver höja sin beredskap inför klimatförändringarna?

Appendix 4

Quotation table

	Quote in English translation	Quote in Swedish original
Q1	I have got three more hours. What do you think I should do?	Jag har tre timmar över. Vad tycker du att jag ska göra?
Q2	We want to come for a holiday. We would like some help with booking a cottage.	Vi vill komma hit på semester. Vi vill ha hjälp att boka stuga.
Q3	I mean, it would be devastating if something happened that would. That the values out there disappear.	Så det skulle ju vara fruktansvärt om det hände någonting som gjorde att. Att de värdena därute försvinner.
Q4	If it becomes too much, so that there is less biodiversity and maybe the water rises, then I mean, then we do not have a unique [nature area] any more.	Blir det för mycket så det blir mindre artrikedom och kanske vattnet stiger, då är det ju, då har vi inget unikt [naturområde] längre.
Q5	The beach at [Xy-stad] has been quite a lot of erosion, there bit by bit is eaten up. And the beach is one of our treasures here.	Stranden nere i [Xy-stad] har det varit ganska mycket erosion så där äts ju upp bit för bit. Och stranden är en av våra pärlor här.
Q6	But that is nothing that, nothing that I can say we have sensed, or that seems to worry the entrepreneurs.	Men det är ingenting som, ingenting som jag kan säga att vi har märkt av, eller som det verkar som att näringen är oroliga för så.
Q7	But that is more kind of ahead, that you only can guess, it is nothing we can see now, sort of.	Men det är mer så framåt, som man bara kan spekulera, det är ju ingenting som vi ser nu, liksom.
Q8	It is not now. You can see that something has started, but nobody has, sort of, started to panic yet.	Det är inte just nu. Man kan se på att det har börjat att hända saker, men ingen har liksom fått panik än.
Q9	You would like to eavesdrop a little at the others what, what kind of chat is going on in your municipality.	Man skulle ju gärna vilja lyssna av lite från de andra då hur, hur går snacket i er kommun.
Q10	And you don't know really how one should grip it. And what is it we can grip? What is realistic that we could help to achieve. That's why it would be interesting to know how the others.	Och man vet inte riktigt hur man ska greppa det. Och vad är det som vi kan greppa? Vad är realistiskt att vi kan hjälpa till att åstadkomma. Så det skulle bli intressant om man visste hur andra.
Q11	Ah, we would need someone who helped us, someone who guided us a little bit, how we can work upon it, I think.	Ah, det skulle behöva att det kom nån och hjälpte oss, nån som vägledde oss lite hur vi kan arbeta med det, tror jag.
Q12	I think that we all feel that we don't really know. But what shall we do? How can we help in that matter? That's why we would need a little bit of coaching.	Jag tror att vi känner nog allihopa att vi inte vet riktigt. Men vad ska vi göra då? Hur ska vi kunna hjälpa till med detta? Så det skulle nog behöva vara någon lite coachning.
Q13	No, but that's the big problem. Who takes	Nej, men det är det stora problemet. Vem

	responsibility and makes sure that things are being done. And that is, feel that it is quite chaotic at the moment.	tar ansvar och ser till att saker och ting görs. Och det är, känns det att det är ganska kaotiskt just nu.
Q14	Now as we are talking about it.	Nu när vi pratar om det.
Q15	The day we get a clear scientific understanding on climate change and really someone nails it. Then it is considerably easier to lead this kind of discussion.	Den dagen vi får en tydlig forskning kring klimatförändringarna och verkligen någon sätter tummen på. Då är det ju betydligt lättare att föra de här diskussionerna.
Q16	At the moment it's a little bit wobbly.	Det känns ibland som det blir lite svajigt.
Q17	Maybe I have a too bad contact to the tourist office, now as you are sitting here and pressing me. Haha.	Jag kanske har för dååålig kontakt med turistbyrån, nu när du sitter och pressar mig här. Haha.
Q18	I think I will get in touch with the tourist office at some time and talk to them about what impact [climate change] can have.	Fast jag tror jag ska söka upp turistbyrån nån gång och prata ihop med dem och se vilken påverkan det kan få.
Q19	So, what I mean with "have to" is the risk that we lose the customer.	Så, det jag menar med "måste" är risken att vi förlorar kunden.
Q20	Well but not, not from the job point of view. But from a private point of view, if you want to say so. No, not from a job point of view.	Alltså men inte, inte ur jobbsyfte. Utan ur privatsyfte om man säger så. Jag antar att det är jobbsyfte du menar. Nej, inte ur jobbsyfte.
Q21	Well the entrepreneurs definitely. Um, the entrepreneurs certainly think about it. We as a tourist office are not hit, are not hit in the same way.	Alltså näringen absolut. Äh, aktörerna tänker nog på det. Vi som turistbyrå blir ju inte drabbade, blir ju inte drabbade på det viset.
Q22	If the rest of [the region] was affected of something, of course we are affected too.	Skulle liksom hela resten av [regionen] påverkas av någonting så självklart påverkas vi också.
Q23	Yes, unluckily it's like that. She (note: here the respondent does not address anybody specific) is an enthusiast and works very much, but, and maybe really good at starting up things, but then it is not evenly interesting to deal with the boring implementation so to say. It's, I mean we are different, don't think tourism is freed from that.	Ja, tyvärr är det ju så. Hon [inte riktad mot en speciell person] har en eldsjäl och jobbar jättemycket, men, och kanske väldigt duktig på att sätta igång saker, men sedan inte är lika intresserad av det tråkiga förankrande så att säga. Det är inte, vi är ju olika, kan inte tänka mig att turismen är befriad från det.
Q24	Did you fly here?	Flög ni hit?
Q25	Yes, it is our intention to do that. But important in the context is, according to me, that you have something concrete to discuss, so to say.	Ja, det är våran intention att vi ska göra det. Men viktigt i sammanhanget tror jag är att man ska ha nånting konkret att diskutera omkring så att säga.
Q26	If we are supposed to invent something that touches tourism in Mittenstad, that we are going to include in our new action programme, so of course we have to, we cannot just invent it, if someone is to invent it, it must be the tourist office, or we can invent it together, or our role is, I	Så ska vi då hitta på nånting om som berör turismen i Mittenstad så vi ska ha med i våra nya handlingsprogram så måste vi naturligtvis, vi kan inte hitta på detta, ska nån hitta på det så måste det vara turistbyrån, eller så kan vi hitta på det tillsammans, eller våran roll är väl att

	mean, to come up with, to help people to get started.	komma med, hjälpa folk på traven.
Q27	[X-stad] had much more, a quite big episode when. Something we all look at how, yes, it is a gigantic information story, that's what it became.	[X-stad] hade mycket mera, en rätt så stor händelse när. Sånt som vi alla tittar på hur, ja, så det är en gigantisk informationhistoria, blev det av det ju.
Q28	It does not feel as urgent when it has not happened in the same way yet. But that is probably what we want to bring forward to plan, because maybe if it becomes, it becomes much warmer, can we still deal with it? When it is time to buy fans, then they are sold out	Ja, och det känns ju inte akut när det inte har hänt på samma sätt, va. Men det är väl det som vi försöker föra fram att planera, för att det kanske blir så, det blir mycket varmare då, fixar vi det då? Då är det dags att köpa fläktar då - då är de slut.
Q29	So already there you've got consciousness, that people know, but they choose not to do it. And then I think that if, that at the moment it does not matter for our visitor statistics.	Så bara där har man ju medvetenhet, som folk vet om, men de väljer att inte göra det. Och då tror jag att om man, sedan så länge spelar det väl inte så stor roll för vår besöksstatistik.
Q30	I don't think people avoid Östenvik because it is too far away to take you there by train or car or something. I do not think so.	Jag tror inte folk väljer bort Östenvik för att det är för långt bort att ta sig med tåg eller bil eller sådär. Det tror jag inte.
Q31	Iceland with the volcanoes for some time ago was a top example for visitors being stuck at a place from which they cannot depart. Then you are directly impacted. Then it impacts a destination.	Island som det var med vulkanerna för ett tag sedan det är ett ypperligt exempel där besökarna sitter fast på ett ställe och inte kan flyga därifrån. Då är man direkt påverkade då. Då påverkar det ett besöksmål.
Q32	Of course, we can hear about changing temperatures and that there are storms and volcano eruptions and do not know really how, maybe, exactly it impacts, I mean, exactly what forwards these changes and before we come to this point that we do, I am not sure, I do not think it is received properly, that it is such a big problem as it is.	Och visst vi kan höra om temperaturförändringar och att det blir orkaner och vulkanutbrott och vi vet inte riktigt kanske exakt på vilket sätt det påverkar, alltså vad exakt det är det som driver fram de här förändringarna och innan man gör det så vet jag inte om, jag tror att det går in hos folk riktigt, att det är ett så stort problem som det är.
Q33	That we cannot see black on white this is resulting in that, do you fly like this it means that, you do not really see the connection.	Att man inte har svart på vitt det här resulterar i dethär, att äh flyger du si och så långt så betyder detta att, man ser inte riktigt den här kopplingen.
Q34	We are very conscious about that we should not go by car so much and we are very conscious about that we should not fly. But when you need to take a decision, we do it nevertheless, until it really gets down on ourselves.	Men man är mycket väl medveten att man inte ska köra mycket bil och man är mycket medveten om att man inte ska flyga. Så när det väl kommer till kritan så gör vi det ändå, ähm, förrän det kommer till en när det verkligen drabbar oss själva.
Q35	Yes we can see some examples where [coastal erosion] is happening. We have a	Där har vi ju ett par exempel där [kusterosion] håller på hända. Vi har ett

	place along the coast ... where the sea is eating into the rocks ... and there the coast is falling down into the sea, and there we've got a hiking path today and there it is having an impact. Because if it goes further into [the hiking trail] will disappear... So of course there it is a problem, maybe.	ställe på, längs kusten ... där havet äter inpå berget ... och där rasar det ju ner i havet och där har vi vandringled idag och där påverkar det ju. För går det längre in så försvinner ju [vandringsleden]. ... Så visst där är det ju ett problem kanske.
Q36	Or could become, more correctly.	Eller kan bli rättare sagt.
Q37	Well, as I said, people come here by car, maybe. That contributes, I mean, the boat emissions contribute, um. If you only see it from the negative side, if you get more people, you get more trash, well there are a lot of these small aspects included.	Ja, som jag sa så kommer ju folk hit med bil kanske. Det bidrar ju, äm, ja, båtutsläpp bidrar ju, hm. Om man bara ser det negativt så får vi mer folk, får vi mer sopor, alltså det är väldigt många såna småaspekter som det bär med sig.
Q38	This will be put on a pile somewhere.	Då läggs den i en hög nånstans.
Q39	On the other hand, if it is like in your and my case when you discuss and conclude on some good ways that you really can do something in your workplace, and you get it very concretely which measures you do on each spot, so of course, then it can work.	Är det däremot någonting som i ditt och mitt fall nu där man diskuterar och kommer fram till lite bra sätt att man verkligen kan göra någonting åt det på sin arbetsplats och att man får konkretiserat vilka åtgärder man gör på varje ställe så visst då tror jag det kan funka.
Q40	Because, it is quite stressful to stand for this kinds of jobs, when you are supposed to administer larger group from, that shall do something they might not be too enthusiastic about.	För det är ganska jobbigt att hålla på med såna jobb, när man ska administrera större grupper från, som ska göra nånting som de kanske inte är så entusiastiska för.
Q41	Well, we have a lot of these plans and policies, so that you can get a little bit allergic against them.	Så vi har då en väldig massa planer och policies så man kan bli lite allergisk mot dem.
Q42	We also want to get tired of tourists	Vi vill också bli trötta på turister.
Q43	But it is not we who develop [the packages], it is the entrepreneurs who develop. But then we think it is particularly fun helping to promote.	Men det är ju inte vi som utvecklar [paketen] utan det är ju näringen som utvecklar. Men sedan tycker vi att det är extraroligt att hjälpa till och marknadsföra.
Q44	No, I would not say so. It's only from a tourist point of view. What does the tourist want, which sites, and how do we want to promote [Mittenstad], of course, to the tourist.	Nej, det skulle jag nog inte säga. Utan det är rent turistsynpunkt. Vilka, vad turisten vill ha, vilka sevärdheter, och hur vi vill marknadsföra [Mittenstad], självklart, för turisten.
Q45	The beach at [Xy-stad] has been quite a lot of erosion, there bit by bit is eaten up. And the beach is one of our treasures here. Many tourist come for the sake of our beautiful coast. So, if it continues that the beach is eaten up, so that there is less and less beach, we certainly do not have that invasion during summer of people	Stranden nere i [Xy-stad] har det varit ganska mycket erosion. Så där äts ju upp bit för bit. Och stranden är en av våra pärlor här. Att det kommer mycket turister hit för vår vackra kust. Så att fortsätter stranden att ätas upp så det blir mindre och mindre strand och har vi ju säkert inte den invasionen på sommaren

	who want to come here for swimming. So that would be a huge problem.	med folk som åker hit för att bada. Så det skulle ju vara ett jätteproblem
Q46	Ooh, whew, I really hope that [climate impact] will not be, because we have a lot of plans to develop, we have just recently opened our [nature centre], incredibly beautiful building full of experiences that is newly opened in October. So we really hope it does not turn out so badly so. But it's just like, if it's becomes too much, so that there is less biodiversity and maybe the water rises, then I mean, then we do not have a unique [nature area] any more.	Oj, usch, det hoppas jag att det inte blir [klimatpåverkan] för att, vi har jättemycket planer på att utvecklas, vi har precis fått vårt [naturcentrum], jättefina byggnaden, fullt med upplevelser, som är nyinvigd nu i oktober. Så att vi får verkligen inte hoppas att det blir så illa att, men det är just det, blir det för mycket så det blir mindre artrikedom och kanske vattnet stiger, då är det ju, då har vi inget unikt [naturområde] längre.
Q47	If you look at little bit further north in Sweden where there has been a lot of flooding, bridges have been destroyed and land slides, or well, this kind of things. So it is probably, if something like that would happen in [Mittenstad] or even of course if something would happen to [Z-stad] for example at the [airport], then we would be affected automatically, because there are a lot of people who fly… Um. As for example with the ash. Of course this was not a change in climate, but.	Om man tittar lite norr över i Sverige som vi haft mycket översvämningar, broar har gått sönder och jordskred, eller ja, såna saker. Så det är väl om något sånt skulle hända i [Mittenstad] eller även självklart så påverkas vi om vi säger att något skulle kända med [Z-stad] till exempel på [flygplatsen] då hade det hade vi påverkas automatiskt för det är många som flyg... Ähm. Som till exempel med askan. Nu var inte det en klimatförändring, men.
Q48	And [Mittenstad] in itself, um, depends quite a lot of, how to say. You probably don't go to [Mittenstad] as a whole family and stay for one week, but you have an accommodation at [Mittenstad] and then you maybe go to [A-stad] or you go to [B-attraction] or [C-attraction] and, um, and that [the region] is quite small so, if you go to [the region] so you visit kind of different places, um. So if the rest of [the region] was kind of affected, of course we are affected too.	Och [Mittenstad] i sig, äh, lever ju också på, vad ska man säga. Man åker ju kanske inte som en hel familj och åker en vecka till [Mittenstad], utan du kanske bor i [Mittenstad] och sen åker du kanske till [A-stad] eller du åker till [B-attraktion] eller [C-attraktion] och, äm, och just det som [regionen] ändå är rätt så litet så åker du till [regionen] så åker du lite grand till olika ställen, äh. Så att så skulle liksom hela resten av [regionen] påverkas av någonting så självklart påverkas vi också.
Q49	Yes we can see some examples where [coastal erosion] is happening. We have a place along the coast ... where the sea is eating into the rocks ... and there the coast is falling down into the sea, and there we've got a hiking path today and there it is having an impact. Because if it goes further into [the hiking trail] will disappear... So of course there it is a problem, maybe.	Där har vi ju ett par exempel där [kusterosion] håller på hända. Vi har ett ställe på, längs kusten ... där havet äter inpå berget ... och där rasar det ju ner i havet och där har vi vandringled idag och där påverkar det ju. För går det längre in så försvinner ju [vandringsleden]. ... Så visst där är det ju ett problem kanske.
Q50	But [flooding] is nothing that, nothing that I can say we have sensed, or that seems to worry the entrepreneurs.	Men det [översvämningar] är ingenting som, ingenting som jag kan säga att vi har märkt av, eller som det verkar som att

		näringen är oroliga för så.
Q51	At the moment [climate change] does not matter for our visitor statistics. I don't believe that.	Sedan så länge spelar det [climate change] väl inte så stor roll för vår besöksstatistik. Det kan jag inte tänka mig.
Q52	Leave the car at home, take the train here!	Ställ bilen hemma, ta tåget hit!
Q53	Only from a tourist point of view.	Ren turistsynpunkt.

Appendix 5

Figures from anonymous sources

Mittenstad's homepage (2011): "Den 31 december 2010 uppgick befolkningen i [Mittenstad] till 110 488 personer".

Mittenstad's tourist office by E-mail (2011-05-11): "Hej Mauela, Jag har tyvärr inga siffror från 2010, men här kommer siffrorna för 2009. Turism- och reseindustrin omsatte 962 miljoner kronor och gav arbete till ungefär 840 personer under år 2009. Hotellen stod för 55% av omsättningen. Hör av dig om det är några fler siffror du behöver"

Östenvik's hompage (2011): "[Östenvik] mitt i ... är en växande stad med cirka 40 000 invånare".

Östenvik's tourism statistics for 2010 (2011): Provided as a Power Point Presenation with graphs that unluckily could not be copied.

Västhamn's homepage (2011): "I slutet av 2009 var antalet invånare 78 788. Av dessa bor omkring 30 000 i centralorten [Västhamn]".

Västhamn's tourism report (2010): "Turist- och reseindustrin i [Västhamn] omsätter 711 miljoner kronor och ger arbete åt ungefär 650 personer under år 2009".