

Resorts, second home owners and distance: a case study in northern Finland

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One of the most important factors for the site selection of a second home is the space-time dimension. For example, the popularity of second home tourism in the hinterland of population centres is based on the short distance between second homes and the permanent residence of second home owners. In the case of peripheral resorts, however, the main reason for a large number of second homes is the attractiveness of the area associated with a high level of touristic elements. The study examines the municipalities of residence of the second home owners in four large resorts – Levi, Ruka, Saariselkä and Ylläs – in northern Finland. After analysing the geographical distribution of the owners with maps and diagrams the aim of the paper is to present a distance model for the resorts located in a northern periphery from the viewpoint of the regions of destination. Generally speaking, the model resembles a U-letter. In this respect, the resorts have three zones – day trip, weekend and vacation – and each of them has their own characteristics based on accessibility and regional structure, the number and structure of population (potential owners) and land ownership. In the planning context, the proposed model can be utilised as a tool for the marketing of resorts as a second home environment as well as for analysing and comparing the overall attractiveness of resorts.

Keywords: northern Finland, second home tourism, distance analysis, resorts, second home owners, distance zones

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Introduction

Human mobility is an essential part of activities in the contemporary world. It can be divided into two categories, permanent and temporary mobility, by the length of stay and by the motive of mobility into two classes, consumption-oriented and production-oriented (Bell & Ward 2000). Temporary, consumption-oriented mobility encompasses, among other, leisure tourism and related forms of mobility. Lately, an interrelationship between both tourism and permanent mobility, migration (Hall & Williams 2002), has been emphasised, as well as tourism and one form of temporary mobility, that is second home recreational tourism (Hall & Müller 2004a). Williams and Hall (2000) have argued that second home tourism presents some-

thing of a grey zone in the permanent migration-tourism continuum having elements from both phenomena.

Generally, tourism, including second home tourism, as one form of temporary mobility is part of a wider human mobility phenomenon of which key concepts are time and space (see Hall 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d). The temporal dimension varies from hours to years, whereas the spatial dimension is defined from the viewpoint of different regional levels, that is from the local to the international level. Hall (2005a, 2005b, 2005c: 20–25, 2005d) describes different forms of temporary mobility in time and space and integrates the third dimension, the number of trips, into his pattern. To put it briefly, the pattern illustrates the decline in the overall number of trips with time and distance

away from a central generating point due to the individual's limits of time and money. In other words, the space-time dimension has an influence on the number of trips. Furthermore, it has to be borne in mind that transport technology and its development have implications for human mobility and the potential to travel at a higher velocity within a given time means space-time compression in general.

In terms of space and time, second home tourism is generally considered more of an intra-regional form of mobility than inter-regional. Intra-regional refers to the distance of the weekend zone defined by 'the car travel distance' but along with weekenders, second home tourism extends to the national, even to the international level (see Hall 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d). Thus, second home tourism is strongly affected by space and time. For example, scholars (Hall & Müller 2004b: 10–11; Müller 2006: 337) argue that there are three primary economic factors influencing the site selection of second homes: the space-time dimension, the attractiveness of an area and the price level of real estate. In terms of the space-time dimension, the majority of second homes are located on the outskirts of large population centres and in coastal and mountain areas (Coppock 1977a: 6). Müller (2006) states that the popularity of the hinterland of metropolitan areas is accounted for, above all, by their favourable space-time dimension – a short distance between second homes and permanent residences – not necessarily the special attractiveness of the areas.

Resorts as agglomerations of second homes have been noticed, for example, in Sweden (see Müller 2002a, 2004, 2005, 2006; Lundmark & Marjavaara 2005; Marjavaara & Müller 2007). In the Swedish mountain ranges, resorts situated in attractive, peripheral areas are considered accumulations of second homes. In the case of peripheral resorts, the main reason for a large number of second homes is the attractiveness of the area associated with a high level of touristic elements. Therefore, it has been recognised that mountain resorts attract second home owners from a wider geographical area than just within the weekend zone (see Jansson & Müller 2003, 2004; Müller 2005). However, it has to be emphasised that those Swedish distance studies have focused first and foremost on the perspective of the regions of the origin of second home owners and not the regions of destination. Generally speaking, distance studies in tourism have stressed the aspect of the re-

gions of origin (e.g. McKercher & Lew 2003; McKercher et al. 2008), although the geographical studies of tourism tend to be destination-based (see Hall 2005a).

In terms of the space-time dimension, international second home studies have concentrated on the hinterland of large cities and, owing to this, investigations focused on peripheral resorts have been neglected to a large extent. The interpretation is supported by the examples of two classic second home textbooks, namely *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?* edited by Coppock (1977b) and *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes* edited by Hall and Müller (2004a). These textbooks have a few articles dealing specially with resorts, and none of them has primarily addressed the distance from the viewpoint of the regions of destination. This perspective provides information on the hinterland of resorts that can be utilised in planning as a tool for the marketing of resorts as a second home environment as well as for analysing and comparing the overall attractiveness of resorts.

This paper examines the places of residence of the second home owners of four large, peripheral resorts – Levi, Ruka, Saariselkä and Ylläs – in northern Finland. The aim of the article is to present a distance model for the resorts after the location analyses of residences in the context of a northern periphery. The data is based on the summer cottage statistics of Statistics Finland (2006), but the examination is confined to privately owned second homes only. Before the empirical parts of the study, theoretical backgrounds are presented in terms of the space-time dimension and these outcomes are also utilised in the conclusions. The study ends with discussion and some concluding remarks.

Extent and characteristics of distance zones

In principle, the number of second homes can increase in two ways: by converting the original purpose of use or by purpose-building (Coppock 1977a: 7–8; Müller et al. 2004: 16; Müller 2006: 337–338). The former means that the previous use of the property has been a permanent home, but due to out-migration the property has no longer permanent residents and it is necessary to transform the permanent home into the second home. In the latter, the original purpose of the property is a second home. In other words, it is built for this purpose only.

Converted and purpose-built second homes appear in different geographical landscape areas. The space-time dimension (weekend-vacation homes) is comprehended in relation to urban demand markets and second home types (converted-purpose-built homes) in relation to 'amenity-rich' areas (see Hall et al. 2009: 181). Thus, converted second homes are typical for 'ordinary' rural landscapes near the cities and for extensively used peripheral landscapes, whereas purpose-built second homes seem to be common for 'amenity-rich' hinterlands on the outskirts around the cities and for major vacation areas with a high level of touristic attractions. Naturally, peripheral resorts are included in the last group. As Müller (2002a, 2004) states, in principle converted dwellings can be found all over the country, because they represent links to childhood landscapes and family roots.

Müller (2002b) argues that the space-time dimension between second homes and permanent residences has an influence on the frequency of visitation, the length of stay, the form of mobility and the dependence on relative location. Generally speaking, on account of the short distance within the weekend zone, it is possible to make many short visits all-year around, whereas in the vacation zone a long distance means fewer opportunities to make visits. As noted earlier, the interrelationship between the number of trips and distance is also underpinned by Hall's (2005a, 2005b, 2005c: 20–25, 2005d) pattern. However on the other hand, the length of visitation seems to be substantially longer (Müller 2002b). Naturally, weekend homes can be destinations for longer vacations, too. Thus, second home owners living in the weekend zone have an opportunity for higher occupation rates in terms of second home nights compared to those living in the vacation zone. The importance of distance for the frequency of visits and the length of stay is supported by the empirical results from Swedish and Finnish Kvarken municipalities (see Jansson & Müller 2003, 2004: 267–268).

Müller's (2002b) previous study results stress the standpoint of the own use of a second home. However, in the resort environment second home renting is more general than in the case of the rural environment that has been discovered, for example, in studies regarding the Tärnaby resort in Sweden (Jansson & Müller 2003, 2004) and the resort of Wanaka in New Zealand (Keen & Hall 2004). Consequently, a second home can be acquired in

respect of investment emphasising an increase in real estate values and renting, and in the case of Wanaka a motive to purchase a second home was investment. In Finland, too, economic factors, including renting, have been noticed as main motives to acquire a second home from a resort environment (see Kompupula et al. 2008).

In his classic model, Mercer (1970) defines the upper limits for the day trip zone as 60–80 km, for the weekend zone less than 400 km and for the vacation zone more than 400 km. In contrast Baud-Bovy and Lawson (1998: 3) suggest that the weekend zone is between 50 and 200 km. Distinctions between the presented zone limits can be derived from cultural differences. It is noteworthy that the above-mentioned zone limits are not based on empirical results and thus, they are more or less theoretical in nature. In addition, the weekend zone can also include the day trip zone, as Mercer has stated.

The former descriptions of distance zones are based on the absolute travel distance (km) by car. Alternative models have been suggested, too. Lundgren's (1989) theoretical model, for example, argues that the day trip zone extends to 75 minutes and the weekend zone to three hours at the maximum (a long weekend). Comparing Lundgren's viewpoint to the previous models, he stresses the relative distance, the travel-time, although Lundgren also interprets time from the standpoint of the car travel distance, or more precisely, from the perspective of the car driving time. Jansson and Müller (2004), for one, define the upper limits of the day trip zone as 60 minutes and of the weekend zone as five hours. The absolute and relative distances are associated with Janelle's (1969: 351) concept of time-space convergence: as a result of transport innovations, places approach each other in time-space, that is, the travel-time, the relative distance, required between places decreases and the absolute distance declines in significance.

Jansson and Müller (2003: 15–16) and Müller (2005) have presented an empirical model for the interrelationship between the number of second homes and distance in the northern Swedish context. Amenity landscapes, like the Tärnaby resort located in the Swedish mountain range, constitute an exception in the distance decay curve, because there can be found an agglomeration of second homes in the upper limits of the weekend zone (about 350 km). The model resembles McKercher and Lew's (2003) distance decay curve with a secondary peak. The distance decay curve peaks close

to the origin and then declines exponentially as the perceived costs of travel distance and time increase. In general, the second home owners of the Swedish mountain range live permanently in the cities on the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia in northern Sweden, at a distance of 300–400 km from their second homes (Müller 2005). Taken together, the cities in northern Sweden are situated in the weekend zone, about 300–400 km from the Swedish mountain range.

In Finland, Kokki and Pitkänen's (2005) study indicates that the second home owners travel to their second homes during the weekends in particular, if the distance is less than 250 km and the travel-time is three hours at the maximum. To conclude, their results show that the upper limits of the weekend zone would reach 250–400 km. In any case, the crucial point is that the occupation rates of second homes decrease, when the distance, or more precisely the travel-time, between secondary and primary homes exceeds three hours. Aho and Ilola (2006) found that the critical point for the use of second homes is 200 km. When that distance is exceeded, the occupation rates of second homes seem to decrease. Weekend visits are, however, quite popular forms of use from a distance of 300 km. On the whole their investigation suggests that the weekend zone would extend up to 200–300 km.

The above-mentioned literature review has outlined distance zones and their limiting values from both the absolute and relative points of view. As a summary, a theoretical zone model for the distance between a second home and permanent home is illustrated in Fig. 1. In the present study, the regions of destination are in focus and therefore, the model has to be interpreted from the viewpoint of resorts. In other words, the centre of the model is located in the centre of the resorts under study and as a consequence, the distance zones are constituted surrounding the resorts, not the places of residence. In other words, three zones – day trip, weekend and vacation – form circles around the resorts. Kilometres and hours represent the car travel distance and driving time, so the model stresses access by a car. Bearing in mind that second home tourism is generally seen from an intra-regional perspective, based on the distance of the weekend zone, rather than inter-regional (see Müller 2004, 2006; Hall 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d), there is support for the application of 'the car distance' in the model. Therefore, the model emphasises the absolute distance. In the

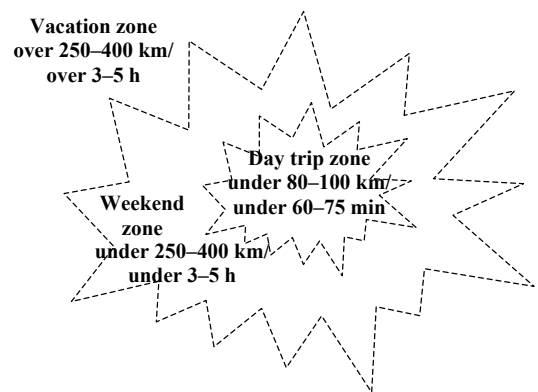


Fig. 1. Day trip, weekend and vacation zones absolutely (driving kilometres) and relatively (driving time).

real world context, the shape of the model is not circular but rather star-like, and the spikes of the star bend according to traffic lanes. Of course, roads and their conditions along with congestion have a great influence on the limiting values of the zones. The model is relevant at least in the context of the Nordic countries and applied in the empirical part of the study.

Distance has an effect on the geographical distribution of money flows among second home residents. In Sweden, Bohlin (1982) has studied the consumption behavior of second home owners who have their primary residence in Stockholm. As a result of the study, it was found that the longer the distance between secondary and primary dwellings, the fewer commodities are bought at the permanent place of residence and larger volumes of commodities are purchased in the second home location. Furthermore, a long length of stay results in an increase in consumption in the destination region. In Finland, Aho and Ilola's (2006) investigation supports Bohlin's findings that retail services are used least when there is a short distance from a second home to the permanent home.

Generally speaking, the above-mentioned literature review has addressed distance and zones from the standpoint of the regions of origin and, therefore, the theoretical framework of the study has to be reversed: the focus is to interpret the distance zones and their characteristics from the view of the regions of destination. To sum up, there exist two different types of peripheral resorts in terms of

their regional context (Table 1). In both cases, the attractiveness of resorts is on a high level, but the distinctive factor between these two types is the characteristics of the hinterland. In other words, the main issue is, whether there are large population centres within the weekend zone or not. A short distance to the cities would make it possible to have a large number of potential second home residents, including renters, and weekend use of dwellings would be easy, too. Resorts would attract users both far and near during the vacation periods. Hence, the occupation rates of dwellings would be high and on the other hand, seasonal fluctuations low. In terms of distance, it has to be taken into consideration that when the permanent home is situated far enough from a second home, that is on the border of the weekend and vacation zones, purchases would be directed towards resorts. Vacations imply a long length of stay and as a consequence of this, purchases would concentrate in resorts. From the viewpoint of renting, the distance between a resort and the places of residence of second home owners is not such an important factor, because at least partly the occupation rates of dwellings are derived from renters. If a second home is located in a peripheral resort with no population centres within the weekend zone, then the use of rented second home concentrates on vacations (low frequency, long length of stay).

Finnish large resorts as second home environments

Levi, Ruka, Saariselkä and Ylläs are situated in northern Finland far away from the large popula-

tion centres of southern Finland and represent winter-oriented resorts with attractive northern nature, activities and opportunities for different kinds of sport, versatile (tourism) services and regular air traffic access (Fig. 2). The resorts under study are winter-oriented but according to their strategies, one objective is to develop them as destinations for year-round tourism (see Kauppila 2008).

There exist a few reasons why these four resorts were selected for the case studies. Firstly, they are the best examples of peripheral resorts in the Finnish context, because they are the four largest (ski) resorts in Finland (see Vuoristo 2002). Secondly, the resorts have a long tourism history including second home tourism. At Ruka, the first stages of tourism appeared in the late 1880s, at Saariselkä at the beginning of the 1900s and at Levi and Ylläs in the 1930s. Thirdly, along with the long tourism development history, the resorts have been the target areas for massive investments since the 1960s (Kauppila 2004: 117–119; Kauppila & Rusanen 2009: 8). Fourthly, development actions seem to be very intensive in the future and lately, the largest investment plans ever has been publicly manifested for the resorts for the next few years. In other words, they will keep their status as the largest (ski) resorts in Finland in the future, too. Fifthly, the resorts are situated some 20–40 km from the centre of their location municipality in sparsely populated northern Finland constituting a functional centre of their own. Sixthly, although the resorts are located in a northern periphery, the airports of Kittilä (Levi, Ylläs), Ivalo (Saariselkä) and Kuusamo (Ruka) make these resorts quite accessible from the perspective of southern Finland, particularly from the Helsinki metropolitan area. This

Table 1. The characteristics of the peripheral resort's second home tourism.

Characteristic	Resorts have population centre(s) in the weekend zone	Resorts have population centre(s) in the vacation zone
Attractiveness	High	High
Distance to population centre(s)	Short	Long
Number of potential users within the weekend zone	Large	Small
Possible time to use second homes	Weekends and vacations	Mainly vacations
Expected occupation rates of second homes	High	Low
Seasonal fluctuations	Low	High
Geographical distribution of users' spending	Both regions of destination and regions of origin (depends on the distance)	Regions of destination

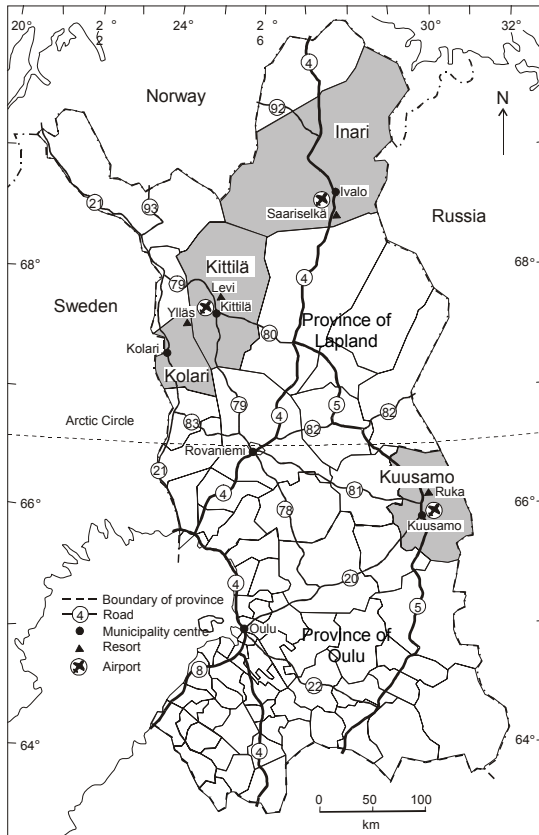


Fig. 2. The location of Levi, Ruka, Saariselkä and Ylläs in northern Finland, which consists of the provinces of Oulu and Lapland.

is an interesting point with respect to the relative distance. From the viewpoint of second home owners, the resorts have adequate public and private services in relation to their residents, and an example of this is a versatile store structure covering retail, as well as special stores (see Kauppila 2004, 2008). Some basic information on the resorts under study has been collected in Table 2.

In the Finnish context, the location municipalities of the resorts are very significant agglomerations of second homes. In 2004, Kuusamo was 'the cottage-richest municipality' in Finland, and the total number of dwellings were almost 6 100. In Kittilä, there were over 2 400 second homes, in Inari nearly 2 200 and in Kolari more than 1 600. In 1990–2004, Kuusamo and Kittilä were within the top 15 municipalities in Finland in terms of increases in the total number of second homes (Statistics Finland 2005). It has to be emphasised that in the case of Saariselkä, the number of second homes is modest compared to the other resorts under study.

Within the location municipalities second homes are concentrated in the resorts. As an indicator of this, nearly a fifth of the total number of second homes in Kuusamo was situated at Ruka in 2004. In the case of Kittilä, almost half of the dwellings were located at Levi and in Kolari nearly 40% at Ylläs. Saariselkä is the only exception: about a tenth of the total number of second homes in Inari was situated at Saariselkä. Construction of second homes within the municipalities seems to

Table 2. Basic information on Levi, Ruka, Saariselkä and Ylläs (FinlandCD 2006; Summer cottage statistics by Statistics Finland 2006; Georeferenced data by Statistics Finland 2008a; Statistics Finland 2008b; Facts and figures on Finnish ski resorts 2009).

	Levi	Ruka	Saariselkä	Ylläs
Location municipality	Kittilä	Kuusamo	Inari	Kolari
Commercial accommodation nights (2007) (% international tourists)	688 717 (27)	841 129 (12)	377 012 (32)	419 026 (24)
Enterprises (2006)	152	80	82	98
Jobs (2006)	752	303	355	168
Permanent population (2007)	814	347	345	373
Second homes (2004)	1 092	1 036	205	591
Ski slopes (2009)	44	29	15	61
Ski trails (km) (2009)	230	506	230	333

have accelerated in these resorts at the beginning of the 2000s (Kauppila 2006). Therefore, it is expected that the role of the resorts within their location municipality as a second home tourism environment will be emphasised in the future. Lundmark and Marjavaara (2005) have also discovered the polarization process of second homes in the Swedish mountain ranges; dwellings are constructed above all in the existing agglomerations of second homes, as in mountain resorts.

It has to be taken into consideration that the ownership of second homes in the resorts under study differs from the average of Finland to a large extent. In 2004, three equal ownership classes can be distinguished: private persons/heirs, apartment house companies/real estate companies and private companies. Generally speaking, private persons/heirs own more than 90% of all second homes in Finland (Kauppila 2006).

Data and calculation of distance

Data based on official summer cottage statistics by Statistics Finland (2006) were provided for the present study. In Finland, the lowest official level data available is usually the municipality level. For the present study, the data was ordered from Statistics Finland by postal code areas, because the resorts under study are a part of their location municipality (see Fig. 2). Generally, postal code areas are smaller regional units – in a geographical sense – than municipalities and they cover the resorts quite well. Unfortunately, georeferenced data was not available for the present study. There exist, however, some studies in which the resorts are outlined precisely by utilising GIS and georeferenced data (see Kauppila 2004; Kauppila & Rusanen 2009).

It is noteworthy that the data includes only privately owned second homes. A summer cottage refers to a residential building intended for free-time use that is permanently constructed or erected on its site, or to a residential building that is used as a holiday or free-time dwelling. Excluded are rental holiday cottages of enterprises engaged in the accommodation industry, buildings of holiday villages and buildings on garden allotments (Statistics Finland 2005). Furthermore, second homes owned by companies, heirs or jointly are excluded, as are foreign-owned ones. It has to be borne in mind that in the summer cottage statistics the unit of analysis is a building, not a single dwell-

ing. Hence, a building can consist of many single dwellings or apartments. Generally speaking, semi-detached and terraced houses are typical house forms for resorts in Finland. This is supported by the fact that the area of the buildings in the resorts under study is much larger than the average in Finland (see Kauppila 2006).

The distribution of second home owners is investigated by means of maps and distance diagrams. When calculating the distance between the resorts and the place of residence of second home owners, the distance service offered by the Finnish Road Administration (2009) was utilised. By using this service the distance can be calculated in a reliable way. However, the resorts under study are not situated in the centre of their location municipalities and therefore distances, kilometres, have to be manually modified afterwards.

After modification of the data some assumptions still exist. Firstly, second home owners are presumed to have their primary residence in the centre of a municipality which relates to owners living in the location municipality of the resorts as well. Secondly, second homes are assumed to be located in the centre of the resorts (see Kauppila 2004; Kauppila & Rusanen 2009) and actually, nearly all of them are situated just around those centres. As noted earlier, applying GIS and georeferenced data provides an opportunity to study geographical areas without administrative boundaries. Several examples of GIS studies concerning the geography of second homes have been carried out by the Department of Economic and Social Geography at the University of Umeå in Sweden (e.g. Jansson & Müller 2003; Müller 2005, 2006; Marjavaara 2007a, 2007b; Marjavaara & Müller 2007). Recently, Overvåg (2009) has applied a GIS approach in his paper on the second homes and urban growth in the context of Norway's capital area.

Second home owners by distance and zones

The day trip zone (less than 100 km) predominantly covers the location municipalities of the resorts. Therefore, nearly all second homes in that zone are owned by the residents of those municipalities (Fig. 3, 4, 5, 6). At Ruka, the large number of local owners in the day trip zone is accounted for by the population of Kuusamo (17 113 inhabitants in 2005) in comparison with Kittilä (5 840), Kolari (3 828) and Inari (7 043) (FinlandCD 2006). How-

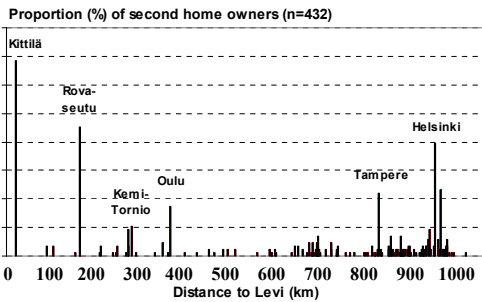
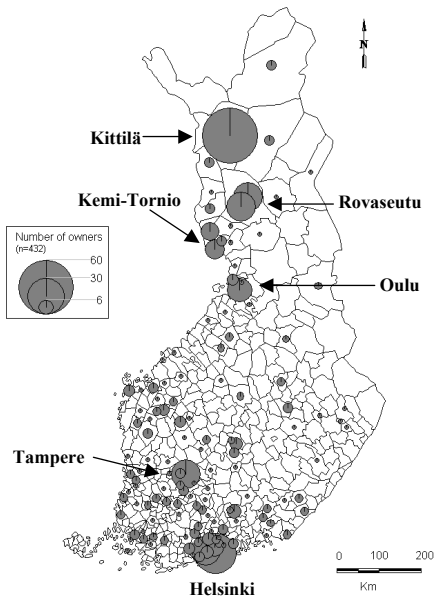


Fig. 3. The places of residence of second home owners by municipalities at the Levi resort (upper) and the distance between the places of residence of second home owners to the Levi resort (lower) in 2004 (Summer cottage statistics by Statistics Finland 2006).

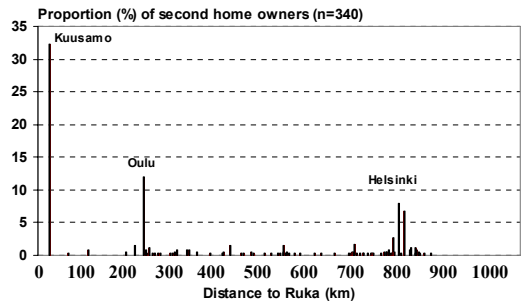
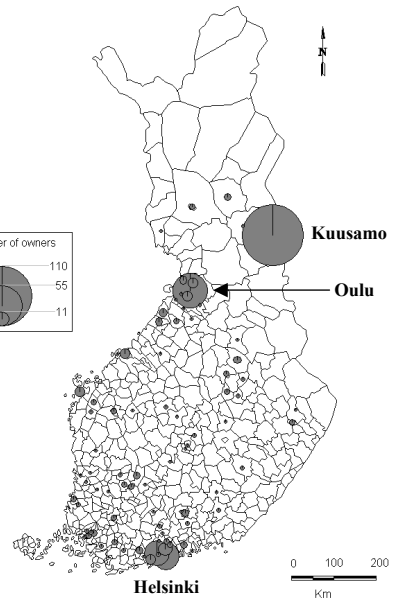


Fig. 4. The places of residence of second home owners by municipalities at the Ruka resort (upper) and the distance between the places of residence of second home owners to the Ruka resort (lower) in 2004 (Summer cottage statistics by Statistics Finland 2006).

ever, in the case of Saariselkä, the proportion is a few percent only.

Generally, there are three agglomerations in the weekend zone (less than 400 km) apart from the location municipalities: the sub-regions of Rovaniemi (Rovaseutu) (62 550 inhabitants in 2005), Kemi-Tornio (61 354) and Oulu (206 549, the fourth largest in Finland) (FinlandCD 2006). More precisely, for Levi all these urban areas are important accumulations of second home owners, for Ruka the Oulu sub-region only, for Saariselkä the sub-regions of Rovaseutu and Oulu and for Ylläs the Kemi-Tornio and Oulu sub-regions.

The importance of the weekend zone relates first and foremost to Ruka. At Ruka, the vicinity of the Oulu sub-region means that if the weekend zone is extended up to 250 km, then half of the second home owners live in that area. A larger zone (less than 400 km) does not increase the number of owners much, because the Oulu sub-region is already included in the smaller geographical weekend zone. In the weekend zone as a whole, almost 60% of the second home owners have their permanent home within the area. In the cases of Levi and Ylläs, the proportion is less than 40% and at Saariselkä about 10% only. Out-

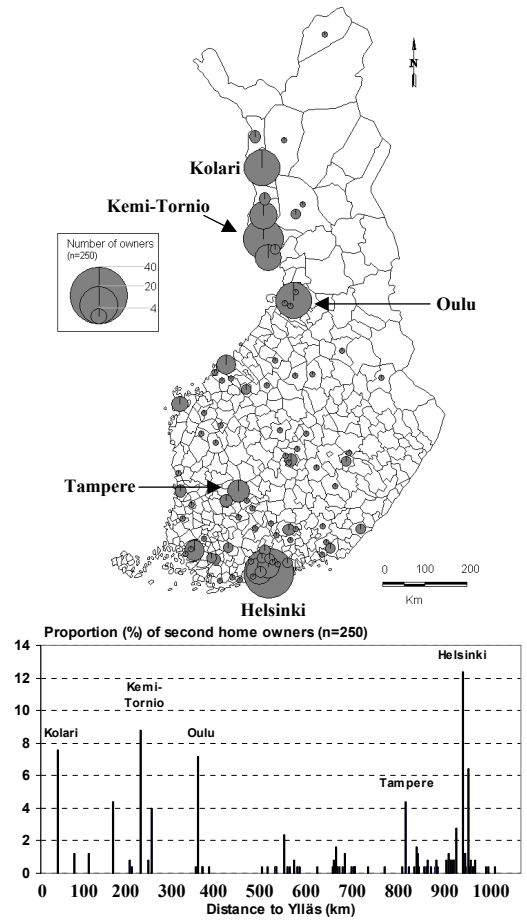
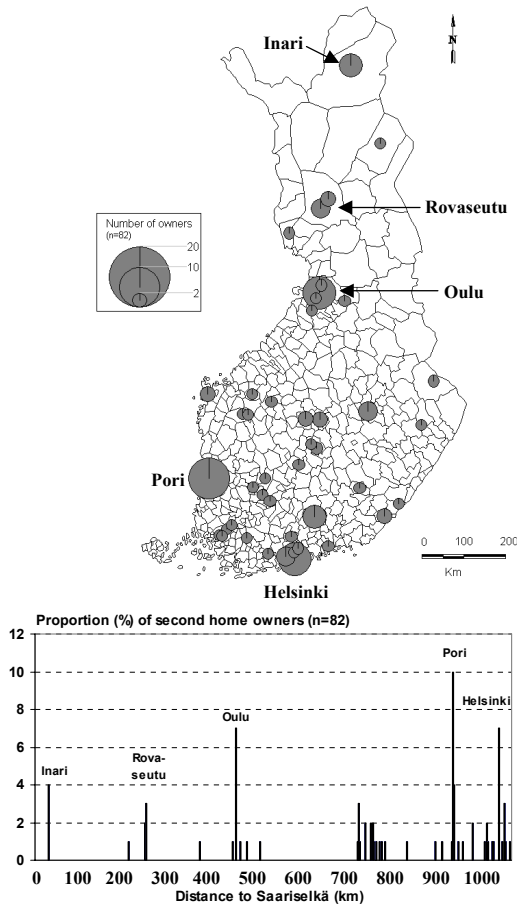


Fig. 5. The places of residence of second home owners by municipalities at the Saariselkä resort (upper) and the distance between the places of residence of second home owners to the Saariselkä resort (lower) in 2004 (Summer cottage statistics by Statistics Finland 2006).

Fig. 6. The places of residence of second home owners by municipalities at the Ylläs resort (upper) and the distance between the places of residence of second home owners to the Ylläs resort (lower) in 2004 (Summer cottage statistics by Statistics Finland 2006).

side of the above-mentioned areas in northern Finland, there are just a few people who own second homes in the resorts under study. This is due to the fact that the number of population living outside the urban areas in northern Finland is modest.

Generally speaking, in the beginning of the vacation zone (more than 400 km) there appears 'an empty area' before southern Finland. For example, eastern Finland is not well represented. The modest representation of that area is accounted for by some resorts which are situated within the province (see Vuoristo 2002). Thus, from the standpoint

of eastern Finland, these resorts are located within the weekend zone.

Two distinct accumulations emerge in southern Finland, namely the Tampere sub-region (320 280 inhabitants in 2005, the second largest in Finland) and the Helsinki metropolitan area (1 235 514, the largest in Finland) (FinlandCD 2006). Particularly the Helsinki metropolitan area seems to be a significant cluster of second home owners for all resorts under study. Furthermore, the Tampere urban area is emphasised in the cases of Levi and Ylläs and the city of Pori in the case of Saariselkä. Although the resorts are located far away from the

greater Helsinki area, a substantial number of second home owners live there.

At Ruka, there are clearly fewer second home owners from western and southern Finland, for example, from the Tampere sub-region, than at Levi and Ylläs. All the above-mentioned resorts are situated several hundreds of kilometres away from Tampere and the resorts have no regular direct air connection from the city and thus, air passengers have to travel via Helsinki airport. When the second home is located far away from the permanent place of residence, then the absolute distance declines in significance (Aho & Ilola 2006). In this case, the site selection is emphasised by two other factors, the attractiveness of an area and the price level of real estate (see Hall & Müller 2004b: 10–11; Müller 2006: 337). There are no substantial differences in the price level of real estate between Levi, Ylläs and Ruka and therefore, Levi and Ylläs are currently considered a little bit more attractive as second home environments than Ruka. The overall attractiveness of Levi and Ylläs is supported by the fact that in 2009 one Finnish privately owned air company opened a new non-stop air route between Tampere and Kittilä for the spring season.

In all, the importance of the vacation zone is underpinned by the average distance between second homes and the place of residence of the owners. At Levi, it is 610 km, at Saariselkä 778 and at Ylläs 616. Instead at Ruka, the distance between the resort and the permanent home is 398 km on average, that is, in referring to the theoretical model, the upper limits of the weekend zone. Furthermore, in contrast to Levi, Saariselkä and Ylläs, all zones are quite equally represented at Ruka. In other words, although second home owners have concentrated within the zones, they are, nevertheless, evenly distributed between the zones. Generally, the results follow the Pyhäunturi resort, located in Finnish Lapland, where the distance is, on average, 630 km (Saarinen & Vaara 2002). In the context of Finland, this is about 400–500 km longer than the average of other studies (see Sievänen & Pouta 2002: 183; Aho & Ilola 2006; Nieminen 2009). Furthermore, it has to be borne in mind that for half of the second home owners it is less than 50 km (Nieminen 2009). Compared to Sweden, second homes are on average located 87 km from the primary residence (Müller 2006: 344), but in the Swedish mountain range the average distance between the place of residence and second homes is significantly longer, about 220 km (Lundmark & Marjavaara 2005: 9).

The above-mentioned results are based on the absolute number of second home owners by distance. Another way is to investigate the distribution of the owners relatively. In this case, the focus is to compare the number of second home owners to the number of population by distance. The study results of that approach demonstrate that the proportion of second home owners is quite high at Levi, Ruka and Ylläs *in the day trip zone*. In all those cases, the owners are locals, i.e. they are residents of the location municipalities of the resorts. A common denominator for the resorts is land owning which is in local hands. Instead the differences between *the weekend and vacation zones* are quite insignificant. In the weekend zone, for example, the largest urban areas in northern Finland do not emerge as peaks. The same outcome seems also to be relevant in the case of southern Finland: no peak can be found there. When comparing the relative approach to the absolute one, not even the Helsinki metropolitan area stands out from the other regions of origin. However, due to the low number of inhabitants in some municipalities, one single second home owner appears as a peak in some cases.

Distance model and zones

The main results of the study are summarised in a simplified absolute distance model, which seems to be valid in the context of large resorts in the northern periphery of Finland (Fig. 7). The number of second home owners decreases towards to the upper limits of the day trip zone, as it does in the case of the weekend zone. In other words, the presented model tends to be descending by distance. The beginning of the vacation zone can nearly be described as 'an empty area'. At the end of the vacation zone, the curve seems to be ascending. In all, the curve resembles the U-letter.

In spite of similarities, the detailed analysis reveals quite clearly the characteristics and differences of the distance zones of the resorts. *Firstly*, in all cases the day trip zone mainly covers the location municipality of the resort. The importance of that municipality was supported by the results of the relative approach in which the number of second home owners was compared to the number of population by distance. At Ruka, no less than a third of the second homes are owned by people living permanently in the town of Kuusamo owing partly to the fact that the population in Kuusamo is

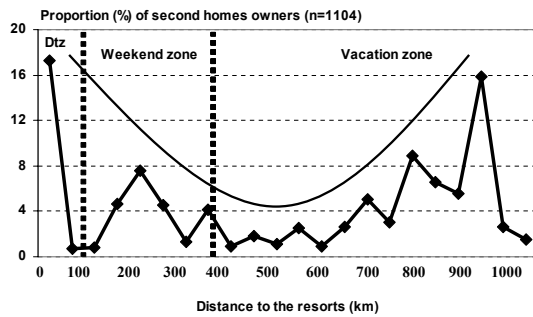


Fig. 7. A distance model for the resorts in the northern periphery of Finland. Dtz = day trip zone.

substantially larger compared to the municipalities of Kittilä, Kolari and Inari. In the case of Saariselkä, one reason for the low local ownership is obviously landowning conditions: contrary to the other resorts under study, land is owned by the State of Finland, not locals. In consequence, land acquisition is a cost factor. Furthermore, the Saariselkä resort was just founded for a tourism purpose and had no traditional settlement or industries before the tourism era. Instead Levi, Ruka and Ylläs are based originally on villages and therefore, they have their own socio-economic history with traditional settlement and industries. In this respect, the development history of Saariselkä can be conceptualised as an enclave development process (Jenkins 1982; Wall 1996) or an integrated development process (Pearce 1991).

Secondly, along with the location municipalities the weekend zone of the resorts consists of three urban areas in northern Finland: the sub-regions of Rovaniemi (Rovaseutu), Kemi-Tornio and Oulu. The nearest urban sub-regions seem to be the most important agglomerations because of the favourable space-time dimension and the large population. In the case of Saariselkä, there are no large clusters of second home owners within the weekend zone due to the remote location of the resort with respect to Rovaseutu. Furthermore, Rovaseutu is situated in the hinterland of Levi, in other words Levi has a competitive advantage compared to Saariselkä.

Thirdly, in the vacation zone the Helsinki metropolitan area is an extremely significant accumulation for the resorts and the Tampere sub-region for Levi and Ylläs. The reasons for the strong position of the Helsinki metropolitan area is accounted for by accessibility, i.e. the well-developed airline system to the airports close to the resorts, as well as

the large population. It is noteworthy that the second home owners of Saariselkä are scattered quite evenly all over Finland compared to the other resorts under study.

From the perspective of eastern Finland, which is located in the vacation zone as a whole, the resorts under study are represented very little. The reasons for this are the space-time dimension and traffic connections. In eastern Finland, or in the vicinity of it, there are some winter-oriented resorts, which are numbered among the group of the largest resorts in Finland, and they are situated within the weekend zone (see Vuoristo 2002). Hence, there is a shorter distance to those within eastern Finland compared to resorts in northern Finland, that is they have a competitive advantage compared to those resorts in northern Finland. Generally speaking, people lose their interest in second homes when the distance between the second home and the primary residence exceeds the upper limits of the weekend zone (Müller 2002b). In other words, from the point of view of the resorts situated in northern Finland, the above-mentioned resorts in eastern Finland can be defined by applying Ullman's (1956) concept of intervening opportunities: a second home destination situated far away must have stronger pull factors to overcome the distance compared with places located closer to the place of residence of second home owners. In addition, traffic connections work better from western and southern Finland to northern Finland than from eastern Finland. In terms of western Finland, it has to be borne in mind that there are no large winter-oriented resorts there due to the low relative altitudes and therefore, conditions for downhill skiing, for example, are not so good in that part of the country.

Fourthly, both in the weekend and vacation zones the central towns and sites of urban sub-regions, i.e. the centres of population, are the accumulations of second home owners, too. Actually, the regions of the origin of the second home owners mirror the major Finnish urban areas, apart from the cities in eastern Finland. It is obvious that the regional structure of the country has a substantial influence on the distribution of second home owners in the resort context.

Discussion including conclusions

The article examines the places of residence of the second home owners of four large, peripheral re-

sorts – Levi, Ruka Saariselkä and Ylläs – in northern Finland aiming at creating a distance model for these resorts from the viewpoint of the regions of destination which seems to be neglected to a large extent in the distance studies of tourism. The present study noticed that the resorts attract second home owners from a substantially wider geographical area than just from the weekend zone, stressing touristic elements in the context of resort-oriented second home tourism. This is supported by the fact that, for example, in the case of Ruka, second home owners have their permanent home in the same areas which are the main regions of origin for winter tourists, that is, the urban areas of Oulu and Helsinki (see Rämetsä & Kauppila 2001). The previous studies (e.g. Saarinen 2001: 31–67, 2003, 2004; Kauppila 2004) have discovered a socio-economic link between resorts and the regions of origin of tourists demonstrated in the present examination. This interrelationship can also be interpreted by Lundmark's (2005) investigation in the Swedish mountain range where people working in the tourism sector in large resort municipalities permanently reside in the greater Stockholm and Gothenburg areas to a large extent. As Hall (2005b: 86) points out, cottage settlement should be understood as a specific interaction between an urban system (origin) and the adjoining rural hinterland (destination). In the case of peripheral resorts, the rural hinterland (destination) is, however, located far away from the origin. In this respect, peripheral resorts are characterised as 'the remote branches' of urban areas.

In the presented distance model, zones were constituted by car travel distance as driving kilometres in absolute terms. An alternative approach would be to elaborate the distance simply relatively, that is measure it by time only. As Janelle (1969) states, as a result of transport innovations, places approach each other in time-space, that is the travel-time required between places decreases and the absolute distance declines in significance. In a relative distance model, the vacation zone would be defined to begin from a three to five hours one-way trip (see Lundgren 1989; Jansson & Müller 2004; Pitkänen & Kokki 2005). In this respect, the speed of traffic connection or vehicles would be emphasised (Hall 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d). In terms of driving time, the Helsinki metropolitan area is located, for example, from the perspectives of all the resorts in the vacation zone, but in terms of flying time the Helsinki metropolitan area would 'move' into the weekend zone. Referring to

Müller (2002b), this would imply that it would be possible to make numerically many trips from the greater Helsinki area to the resorts in northern Finland with a short length of stay during the weekends and hence, the characteristics of the vacation zone would be complemented with the features of the weekend zone (see Table 1). As a result, this would mean an increase in the occupation rates of second homes as a whole. From the point of view of people living in the Helsinki metropolitan area, this requires, of course, a very well functioning air traffic system with reasonable prices to the airports of Kittilä, Ivalo and Kuusamo. Lundmark and Marjavaara (2005) also stress the role of air traffic, and accessibility in general, when increasing the occupation rates of second homes in the Swedish mountain range. Air travel has shrunk the world in such a way that a long weekend in an attractive destination can mean hours-long one-way flights (see McKercher & Lew 2003). With respect to the relative distance model, the shape of the model would resemble a curve with the highest peak in the weekend zone. Along with the largest urban areas in northern Finland, the Helsinki metropolitan area would locate within the weekend zone, that is, in the hinterland of the resorts. In this case, the model has no peaks at the end of the vacation zone. To conclude, the relative distance model would follow McKercher and Lew's (2003) distance decay curve after the weekend zone.

Generally, 'the move' of the Helsinki metropolitan area into the weekend zone would be beneficial for the positive economic impacts of second home tourism at Levi, Ruka, Saariselkä and Ylläs, because of the intensive use of dwellings (see Table 1). In addition, it is noteworthy that, according to Bohlin's (1982) study, a short distance between a secondary and primary residence has an influence on the geographical distribution of purchases: they are directed to the regions of origin. However, with regard to the relative move of the Helsinki metropolitan area, this has nothing to do with a short absolute distance and hence, consumption behaviour would follow the traditional characteristics of the vacation zone. In other words, second home purchases would concentrate in the regions of the destination of second homes, because air passengers do not usually bring daily consumer commodities with them, for example.

Accessibility and its improvement are highlighted in terms of destination development and an expansion of the market area. Accessibility and the

interaction between the regions of origin and the regions of destination can be discussed in the context of multiple origin points as well as the different forms of transport (Hall 2005b, 2005c: 119–121). In theory, it is beneficial for the destination if the regions of origin are located within the relative weekend zone. In this case, those multiple origins complement each other and different potential transport technologies can be utilised in that zone. If the destination is dependent on one transport form only, then it is very vulnerable to changes in the cost or 'other malfunction' of that transport technology.

Along with accessibility the characteristics of people in the regions of origin have a great influence on the development of the regions of destination as a whole (see Hall 2005a, 2005b, 2005c: 81–85, 2005d). For example, individuals with low-incomes travel shorter distances than those ones who have higher incomes, because generally travel costs are higher when the distance increases. To put it briefly, those who have money and time have a greater mobility, too. In other words, people in the regions of origin have a different space-time dimension due to their socio-economic characteristics. For example, flying as a transport form is not available for everyone. Therefore, one possible interpretation is to understand the study of tourism intrinsically as a study of the wealthy (Hall 2005d: 133). In the context of resorts, Müller (2005) has noticed in the case of Sweden's Sälen resort that assessed property values are extremely high, as is the socio-economic status and education level of second home owners in that area. Very expensive real estate prices of second homes have also been marked in new alpine ski resorts in Norway (Flognfeldt 2002). Referring to the socio-economic characteristics of second home owners, Müller conceptualises resorts as an elite space. It is obvious that the potential number of people who can afford to acquire expensive and well-equipped second homes are more likely to reside in urban areas, as in the Helsinki metropolitan area, than rural ones. Without exception, traffic connections are diversified and well-functioning from urban areas. To sum up, Hall (2005b: 98) crystallises that tourism areas' rise and fall due to the changing patterns and networks of accessibility between the regions of origin and destination and the travel time and expenditure budgets of those that live there.

The relative approach in terms of the ratio between the number of second home owners and

population proved that there are no peaks within the zones except the location municipalities in the day trip zone. In this case, the shape of the curve would underpin Mc KERcher and Lew's (2003) distance decay curve from the standpoint of the regions of destination emphasising, along with accessibility, the importance of local land owning. If land is owned, for example, by the State, then local people do not usually own second homes in the destination. Saariselkä is an example of this. It has been proved that renting is one of the main motives to acquire a second home from a resort environment (see Jansson & Müller 2003, 2004; Keen & Hall 2004; Komppula et al. 2008). If second home owning is challenging for locals due to high land acquisition cost, then the positive economic impacts of renting at the local level are just modest. If renters reside outside of the location municipality of the resorts, then there appear leakages from the local economy. Bearing in mind that leakages are an indicator of the enclave development process of resorts and therefore, they imply a weak integration into a wider socio-economic regional development and structure (see Jenkins 1982; Wall 1996). In consequence, the positive socio-economic effects of resorts do not spread to a wider geographical area at the local level (see Kauppila 2004; Lundmark 2005; Hall et al. 2009; Kauppila & Rusanen 2009).

In the planning context, the model stresses, first and foremost, the importance of the weekend zone, including the day trip zone, in terms of the development of second home tourism and therefore, provides a tool for marketing resorts as a second home tourism environment for potential owners. For the positive socio-economic impacts of the destination, the conclusion is that cities and towns within the relative weekend zone are the most important target areas to attract owners (see Table 1). Furthermore for owners, a large number of inhabitants in the weekend zone provides an opportunity to have many potential renters. In this respect, the presented model strengthens the outcome of the model created by Müller (2002b) from the viewpoint of the regions of origin, that is the importance of the (relative) weekend distance with respect to the number of trips (also see Hall 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d). In the case of Finland, marketing actions should focus on cities and towns in northern Finland, especially the sub-region of Oulu, which is one of the fastest growing urban areas in Finland, and some regions of origin with well-functioning air connections in southern Fin-

land. In practice, the latter implies particularly the Helsinki capital area as well as the urban areas of Tampere and Turku. In Finland, capitals, enterprises, jobs and people are concentrated in the above-mentioned areas, so there will reside many potential owners and renters in those areas, especially in the future.

Another way to apply the presented model in planning is to use it as an analytic tool for assessing the overall attractiveness of resorts and comparing that attractiveness between other resorts. Generally, the further away the resort attracts second home owners, the more attractive that resort is considered among those owners. In other words, if the curve of the resort is ascending towards the vacation zone, then the destination is regarded as an attractive second home environment. Of course, the regional structure has an influence on that curve but, generally speaking, the interpretation is relevant. The shape of the curve of the model is not obviously constant with time and therefore, the presented model can be renewed with up-to-date data year after year. In this respect, the model is useful in a planning process: in the beginning of the process it is a tool for analysing the present state of the resort and in the end of that process for assessing the development process of the resort with time in terms of second home tourism.

It has to be borne in mind that the presented model is empirical-based and seems to suit the Finnish context and its peripheral resorts with a high level of touristic attractions and services as well as good accessibility, including air traffic, from the Helsinki metropolitan area. Although the model is strongly empirically derived, the study provides an example for other resorts located in different geographical contexts of how to conduct a second home tourism analysis from the viewpoint of the regions of destination with respect to both absolute and relative approaches. For example, the study defines the extent and characteristics of distance zones (see Fig. 1, Table 1). Theoretically, the study can be seen as an attempt to create a distance model for second home tourism concerning peripheral resorts. Consequently, it would be interesting to test the presented approach, for example, in the Swedish context, because the regional structure of Sweden resembles Finland: the remote location of winter-oriented resorts in the north and large population centres in the south. Some other different testing environments for the model could be found outside of Europe, for ex-

ample in Canada, like Whistler, and the United State of America, like Aspen. Those ski resorts are located in the vicinity of a large city – Whistler-Vancouver and Aspen-Denver – and therefore, second home owners are expected to create a peak within the weekend zone but how about the catchment area of the resorts in terms of the vacation zone. Does the size of the country, among others, have an effect on the extent of the zone? It would also be interesting to compare the results of the study in the context of extensively used peripheral landscapes (see Hall et al. 2009: 181), because it is obvious that second home tourism in the peripheral resort environment has a larger hinterland than extensively used peripheral landscapes. On the other hand, converted second homes are typical for extensively used peripheral landscapes. Due to out-migration the property has no longer permanent residents and therefore, is often necessary to transform the permanent home into a second home (see Müller 2002a, 2004). In this case, the owners of those second homes can be found all over the country, that is, the hinterland can be large. All in all, this would be worth studying.

Owing to the shortcomings of the data, the analysis was focused only on privately owned second homes. Therefore, second homes owned by companies, heirs or jointly are excluded, as are foreign-owned ones. In other words, data dealing with the above-mentioned ownership forms are not available, meaning that in 2004 between 58–67% of the second homes of the resorts under study 'have no owner' according to Statistics Finland. On this account, there is a need for further studies to find out the geographical distribution of jointly and company owned second homes and to compare those distance models with the results of the present study. This requires, however, some changes in the principle of summer cottage statistics by Statistics Finland in general because, for example, jointly owned buildings often consist of several dwellings (or apartments), and each of them has a owner of their own. Thus, the basis for the compilation of statistics should widen from a single building to a single dwelling.

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