Master thesis
Representing Bergslagen for tourism – a post-feminist approach

Androcentric representations of the industrial heritage in central Sweden

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Abstract

Marketing material used in promotion of industrial heritage sites for tourism creates representations of said cultural heritage. In order to increase the touristic value of the historical industrial sites marketers can create or make a place attractive through careful selection of images and texts. It is believed that simplifying the image can make it comprehensible and thus more attractive to potential visitors. However, simplifying images of heritage can result in creation of stereotypical representations.

This research aimed to analyse what representations of the industrial heritage of Bergslagen, in the middle of Sweden, could be found in marketing material of tourism destinations today. Post-feminist theory was applied as a tool for analysis of the content as a contextual and critical perspective in order to interpret what meanings these representations found were conveying. By understanding the data in relation to androcentric discourse and the context of Bergslagen as a patriarchal system representations of continued polarization of gender was found. By conducting a content analysis of three destinations, Långban, Engelsbergs bruk and Axmar Bruk, four dominating themes of their representations in visual and textual promotional material were found. The narratives in the re-imagination and reproduction of the sites and their industrial heritage were also discovered during the analysis. The findings thus indicated that the marketing perpetuated stereotypes of the inherent gender roles that have existed in the past but were accentuated even through the modern mediums. As tourism is a tool for rejuvenation of industrial heritage sites it is important to note that, the need for increasing the attractiveness by consciously or unconsciously deciding which narratives should be told, marketers act as facilitators of generic ideas and impositions.

When trying to simplify something as complex as a heritage, meaning can become lost in translation. The representations can become distorted, which they have in Bergslagen, according to the findings of this research. Representations can thus inform us of what is being marginalized. The understanding and interpretations of the representations can therefore become a resource in the marketing the real and genuine heritage.

Keywords: Androcentricism, Bergslagen, Industrial heritage tourism, Post-feminist theory, Representations.
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1. Introduction

Mining activities has played a pivotal role in shaping Sweden as a nation for centuries. The industrial heritage of old mining regions can nowadays be seen as a new and valuable resource in the form tourism. The industrial mining heritage tourism has been developing in Sweden since the 1980s due to the growing interest in local history and heritage. With governmental support in different projects in order to develop tourism in these post-industrial small societies in combination with the experience industries development, tourism have become a part of the process for regional development in rural Sweden (Jakobsson, 2009).

Bergslagen, one of the old mining regions, is situated in the middle of Sweden and stretches of several administrative borders – provinces and municipalities. The name Bergslagen can be understood as the area in the middle of Sweden where mines have been active for centuries, however an administrative region called Bergslagen never existed nor an actual boundary around it (Calissendorff, 1988; Ekman, 1996). Consequently, today there are different perceptions and descriptions of the geographical area. The use of the image of Bergslagen is therefore mainly operated or used by regional funded projects, several Destination Managements Organizations (DMOs) on regional and local level, tourism destinations and businesses themselves (Jakobsson, 2009). Leaving it administratively problematic to project a common and coherent image of Berglagen and thus also as one destination. Bergslagen has attracted much attention in the development of industrial heritage tourism. In 2014 the State government set aside four million Swedish crown for the development of mining tourism in Sweden. Bergslagen was particularly mentioned and thus a national interest of continued development of industrial heritage tourism in the region was expressed (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2014). This initiative has resulted in the increase of attention by various stakeholders towards what and whose heritage is being preserved and communicated to tourists and consequently why it is so.

The history of the industrial heritage of Bergslagen have been documented throughout the centuries of production (Jakobsson, 2009). However, the lives and tales of women has not been documented in the same amount as of the men working and living there. The representations and narratives of women in the history books of the region are scarce. The lack of documentation of women’s work at these industrial sites throughout history is a testimonial of the attitudes towards the work they were doing and lives they were leading (Bergdóttir, 2016).
It is evident that the women were of less importance than men were at the time. It is therefore important to investigate whether these processes of neglecting and marginalizing women’s narratives in the continued preservation of the industrial heritage still exists today. As well as whether the androcentric thinking of the past still occurs in the communication of the heritage to, for example, the tourists. Language used in communication and the perception of what is being projected are powerful tools in perpetuating power structures and the construction of reality (Luchini, 2010; Whorf, 1956).

There is little research about the marketing and communication efforts of Bergslagen as a destination. However, interpretations of the industrial heritage have thoroughly been conducted throughout the years, as well as how it has been reinterpreted for the development of tourism (Pashkevich, 2017). Also, as well as how these reinterpretations are being presented to the visitors and what they are representing, thus bringing the discussion of the constructed image of Bergslagen as an historical landscape to the forefront (Jakobsson, 2009). Pashkevich (2017) argues that the commercialization of the industrial heritage for tourism have led to the marginalization of some interpretations and narratives. Thus prompting the question of which images consciously or unconsciously are being projected. However, Keskitalo and Schilar (2016) argue that simplifying the representations can be a necessity in order to attract visitors to a destination. Therefore projecting simplified and coherent representations of Bergslagen should be a means of clarifying the image of the destination to the visitors and thus increasing attractiveness. Pashkevich (2017) suggest some interpretations get lost in the process of creating attractions for tourism. Such a process implies a power struggle where certain narratives are being deemed as more important representations while the others are being suppressed (Ren & Blichfeldt, 2011).

Post-structural theory considers reality as socially constructed. Power relations can act as generator for social construction and thus create our perception of reality. Which would mean that what we understand as being representations also construct what we understand as real and thus also in themselves, representations construct and regenerate the perception (Coleman, 2014; Hall, 1997). The representations and narratives are being used to shape, contextualize and create the destination (or place) that is Bergslagen. By analyzing what power relations have existed historically in Bergslagen one can begin to understand what narratives are supposedly being marginalized in the representations today, thus continuing to regenerate hierarchies, such as the patriarchy. According to Coleman (2014) the process of marginalization of some
narratives, often women, generates the representations of *man* and masculinity as pivotal in cultural heritage. Feminist theory aims to understand the power relations of gender and how they are (re-)produced and can thus be used in order to explain how normative assumptions of gender is being used to generate the representation(s) of Bergslagen (Bergdóttir, 2016).

Using promotional texts and visual images in marketing for tourism is one way of projecting the heritage of the destination. Analyzing the content used in the communication is a way of understanding which underlying structures exists in the creation of these representations (Bryman, 2002). Bergslagen as a destination is a predicament due to the multiple interest groups, where different private and public stakeholders free to project the representations that they themselves deem as appropriate and real. This is causing an array of different representations being “put out there”.

As industrial heritage tourism is considered to be of a national interest in Sweden. Thus, it is important to understand the process of generating tourism to a place. Image- and place-making is important in attracting tourism and businesses to these areas. Examining the structures that create meaning and representations projected to tourists will then increase the understanding of what type of destination the destinations are actually projecting. Thus contributing to the foundation of the knowledge of the representation of the destination. What image is being projected, what representations of Bergslagen currently exists and what narratives are being suppressed? As the destination of Bergslagen is being created simultaneously by several different stakeholders it would seem to be important to bring attention to the current image and image-making through representations in order to create a discussion of coherent and collaborative actions in the future.

By conducting a content analysis one can examine what underlying structures and power struggles creates the representations in the texts and pictures. The context of Bergslagen suggests a history and cultural heritage centered around *man* and masculinity – an androcentric discourse. With a post-structural feminist approach the researcher should be able to detect power relations in the process of choosing what is “important enough” to represent the cultural heritage – which derives of the mentioned context. The content analysis can therefore also be used in detecting what narratives are not being told. Marginalization of narratives of the others in this context – such as women or children, can become apparent. By detecting what representations of Bergslagen exists and whether they simplified and stereotypical the
researcher can discuss how the image of Bergslagen is being produced and representations reproduced.

1.1 Aim

The aim of this research is to analyze what representations of the industrial heritage of Bergslagen are projected through the marketing material.

1.2 Objective

The objective of the research is to apply post-feminist theory to detect androcentric discourse in the representations of the industrial heritage in Bergslagen.

1.3 Research questions

1) What representations can be found in the marketing materials of the industrial heritage of the selected tourist destinations in Bergslagen?

2) What are the dominating representations and are any of the representations which could be found missing in the material?
2. Literature review

This chapter consists of five sections and will provide the theoretical framework for the study. First, an overview of how representations of a place or destination can be constructed through marketing and the making of a place. Secondly, the importance of language as a tool for producing and reproducing representations of places is discussed. Thirdly, the concept of industrial heritage tourism and its’ emerging importance in the tourism field is introduced. Then, the post-feminist theory is introduced and how dichotomies and connotations are being regenerated through the construction of meaning. Lastly, the androcentric discourse follows the post-feminist theory as it provides insight into the ideas of putting man as the ideal of our social reality.

2.1 Representations of places

Marketing of destinations or places is important in order to generate tourists and businesses. However, making destinations appear attractive involves many different contextual considerations (Hultman & Hall, 2011). Therefore, a destinations attraction can become defined by its geography, nature and culture in order for it to be marketed. Still, this means that the destinations promotes themselves in reference to the qualities attached to the place and these are more commonly expressed as the genuine and authentic place (Ren & Blichfeldt, 2011). They become the representations of the destination, for example local foods, narratives or cultural expressions (Daugstad, 2008; Sims, 2009). Keskitalo and Schilar (2016) argues that simplifying the representations of a destination can be assumed as a necessity in order to attract visitors. It can thus also be assumed that the touristic representations are the idealized or stereotypical version.

Constructing such representations suggests a power struggle where certain characteristics or meanings are enhanced while the others are suppressed (Ren & Blichfeldt, 2011). Hultman and Hall (2011, pp. 548) argues that “Tourism as a phenomenon is a major contemporary force in (re)producing places and cultures”. As different tourism actors produce the representations of the destination different dominant discourses can emerge (Keskitalo & Schilar, 2016).

The concept of place-making can be understood from different approaches. Fundamentally place-making intends to shape the image of a place. It ranges from unplanned actions that can be perceived as organic and performed by individuals. Or as planned and thus intentional by
tourism authorities, such as DMOs. Most places have both elements – both individual actions as well as from authorities (Lew, 2017). Hultman and Hall (2011) argue that a place is constructed by the social relations and practices within it. Thus, it is a social construction, which also would mean that destinations can be understood as reflexive of the context of which it exist in and thus also changing as different stakeholders participate in its construction.

2.2 Language as tool to construct representations

Language is a powerful tool in how we perceive and construct our reality. Our understanding of our world is determined by the language we use within it (Luchini, 2010; Whorf, 1956). This social construction of reality is a process humans actively use to create and shape the world around us through our social interactions. Language is therefore essential for human existence (Beger & Luckmann, 1967). Language is commonly considered to be talk/speech, communication and discourse. While in the study of language, the term also refers to underlying the structures that construct the language itself, which is called Discourse Analysis (Johnstone, 2002). Whorf (1956) argues that we perceive the world in terms of our language, our social reality is therefore unique to what language we use. Lutz (2000, pp. 233) states that “Language is a tool or weapon that can be used by those in power to achieve their ends at the expense of others”.

These processes then shapes the relationship between culture, identity and touristic marketing of places (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). Our understanding of tourism is thus shaped by discourse as historical, political and cultural discourses influence how places are represented in contemporary marketing (Berger, 1983). Communication in tourism is an essential part in attracting visitors. The promotion of intangible products, such as heritage, therefore requires many elements of product presentation in order to create attraction value (Kolcun et. al., 2014; Waterton & Watson, 2014). Waterton & Watson (2014, pp. 54) states that marketing has become “one of the most powerful narratives in the semiotic landscape of heritage attractions”. In tourism marketing semiotics is based in the use of texts and images to enhance the significance and image of the destination. As MacCannell (1999) claims, a tourist’s first contact and knowledge of a destination is the representations of it. How genuine the representations are to the heritage depends on “[...] the fairness, honesty and accuracy of semiotic language chosen [...]” (Kolcun et. al., 2014, pp. 1).
2.3 Industrial heritage tourism

Since the 1970s cultural heritage tourism has received more attention throughout the world. With niches such as religious tourism, culinary tourism and industrial heritage tourism it has become one of the fastest growing specialty markets within tourism in the world (Bordeau & Gavari-Barbas, 2016). Heritage, or cultural heritage, can be both tangible and intangible. Thus, objects can represent cultural heritage, such as the built environment, castles, churches, housing, or artifacts such as paintings, equipment and sculptures. As well as the immaterial parts of culture, such as customs, folklore, traditions, music and recipes. The intangible culture can also be manifest itself into material things, for example food, clothing and accessories, monuments and buildings (Mascari, 2009).

Industrial heritage tourism emerged in the 1990s and the concept refers to ‘the development of touristic activities and industries on man-made sites, buildings and landscapes that originated with industrial processes of earlier periods’ (Edwards & Llurdes, 1996, pp. 342). Industrial heritage sites has also been referred to as the “landscapes of nostalgia” (Halewood & Hannam, 2001, pp. 566) where former industrial complexes have become a valuable asset in rejuvenation of urban and rural areas which previously have been devastated by the deindustrialization (Jakobsson, 2009). The industrial heritage includes the material remains of the industry – the buildings and architectures, machinery and equipment. As well as surrounding industrial landscapes, settlements, products, processes and the documentation of the industrial history (Xie, 2006). The historical, technological, architectural and scientific value of the former industrial sites are then identified and packaged for tourism. Beaudet & Lundgren (1996) stated that the increase in industrial heritage tourism can be attributed to the continued deindustrialization of society and the rise of computerized technologies, where people want to revisit the places of modern history and awaken a sense of nostalgia. In accordance to post-structural thought the industrial landscapes are continually being reproduced and reimagined into a sense of regenerated meaning (Xie, 2015).

Industrial sites which have been attractive for tourism have for example been mines and quarries, mills or distilleries and breweries (Ćopić et. al., 2014; Xie, 2006) These sites have been reinterpreted to strengthen the touristic value with hopes of socio-economic development as well as the reinforcement of regional or local identity (Pashkevich, 2017). The sites facilitate tourists by offering a vast range of activities, such as guided tours, restaurants, events and
lodging. Promoting a site for tourism has included improving the image of the old industrial environments to encourage an appreciation for its traditions and culture (Xie, 2015).

The possibilities and motivations of economic restructuring and growth described above have been subjected to research, yet little has been undertaken about the impacts tourism can have on the local community (Xie, 2006). As the industrial heritage is itself the resource the economic benefits must coexist with cost of the possible degradation of the physical environment and the way of life of the people in the host community (Dallen, 2006). Also, as tourism is believed to help to restructure the local host economy the effects may be limited as the size of economy and necessary skills are missing. The new jobs tourism can bring, can never compensate for the loss of employment due to the deindustrialization and closure of the industry (Edwards & Llurdes, 1996). A shift from industrial landscape to a place of consumption may involve cultural changes in the local community. Conflicts of interest and opposition may occur as stakeholders pursue different aims (Kersetter et. al., 1998). Barthel-Bouchier (2012) suggests that heritage should be considered as dynamic and if tourism is developed too quickly at a heritage sites it can become destructive to the host communities. Thus, tourism development focusing on the resource and its’ limitations will create a sustainable destination of the physical environment, the sociocultural aspect and for the heritage itself (Archer et. al., 2012)

2.4 Post-feminist theory

Feminism and feminist theories emerged in academia in the 1970s. It aims to understand gender relations and how gender is produced in different social relations. Feminist theories can thus be used to explain how normative gender assumptions are being (re-)produced (Aitchison, 2005). Feminist theories provide frameworks for understanding gender differences, inequality and oppression. However, it is the considerations of how power systems and the oppression interacts that is the focus of feminist analysis (Cook & Fonow, 1986; Ollivier & Tremblay, 2000). Post-feminist theories later emerged as a reaction to feminism, however not as anti-feminism but rather as a developed second wave of feminism theories and ideals (Brooks, 1997). Brooks (1997) argue that feminism is based on an (in)equality model, while post-feminism can be understood as a conceptual frame of reference where feminism and other anti-foundational movements are included, such as postmodernism, post-colonialism and post-structuralism.
Post-structural thought consider reality as socially constructed perceptions. Thus, representations constructs what we understand as real. Semantics and images can therefore function as a language that convey meanings by decoding their messages (Coleman, 2014). However, the representations do not just reflect reality, they also construct the meaning (Hall, 1997). Post-feminist thought also consider reality as constructed by underlying systems or structures in society. Gender is therefore constructed and reproduced continuously, for example by the different values associated with womanhood or femininity and manhood and masculinity. These values create the norm and can thus explain why women and men experience the reality differently (Brooks, 1997).

In tourism and leisure research feminist and post-feminist theories has been applied on research of touristic experiences of women, for example (Veal, 2010). While other disciplines, such as history, archeology and museology, has been known to use post-feminist theory in exploring the social roles of man and woman through history and how such heritage is being represented in exhibitions today (Bergsdóttir, 2016). In museology research using post-feminist theory researchers have problematized the reciprocal relationships between humans and manifestations of humanity, such as artefacts that has been collected and exhibited in order to represent cultural heritage (Bergsdóttir, 2016). By contextualizing these objects and the texts describing them one can understand the power relations that acts as regenerators of the marginalization women narratives. These processes generate meaning where the man and masculinity have a pivotal role, thus creating androcentric representations and discourse of cultural heritage (Coleman, 2014). The representations of women have reduced woman to being shallow, passive and underdeveloped in museum exhibitions. The stereotypical connection between woman and home is inherent (Bergdóttir, 2016). Lykke (2010) argues that the term “woman” is used as to explain the opposite of man. Therefore, feminist theory can be assumed to study more than just the relation of man/woman, but also of diversity, hierarchy and “the other”. Roberts (2014, pp. 24) explain museums and their exhibitions as “primarily Euro-Centric, heteronormative collections and narratives” and thus continuing to marginalize “the others” narratives and representations. Thus reproducing simplified dichotomies such as man/woman. However, there is also an apparent exclusion of social classes, race and sexuality of women, where the lives of women with prominent social status are more commonly depicted (Bergsdóttir, 2016). Post-feminist theory thus also raises questions of the hegemony of womanhood, where the white middle-class heterosexual woman is being consider the norm,
while other groups of women become “the other”, suggesting hierarchy and power struggles within the discourse of woman itself (Collins, 2012).

As feminist theory is a major branch within social studies, summarizing all epistemological attributes is hard. It can however be stated that both feminist and post-feminist theories shines light on social problems such as discrimination and exclusion on the basis of gender, structural inequality, oppression due to hierarchal power systems, gender roles and objectification (Gamble, 2001; Ringrose, 2007). These are key issues which previously have been overlooked or misinterpreted by the dominant male and androcentric perspectives which historically have existed within social theory (Brooks, 1997; Bryson, 1992).

2.5 Androcentric discourse

Upon the emergence of feminist disciplines within academia in the 1970s feminist theories commented and critiqued the androcentric discourse (Martin & Papadelos, 2017). Androcentricism is the practice of placing the man and masculinity at the center of the worldview. It recognizes men as both superior to woman as well as more typical human (Bailey & LaFrance, 2017). Bem (1993) argues that man is also treated as human while woman is treated as “the other”. It can thus be said that the androcentric discourse upholds the patriarchy and creates gender polarization, which positions men and women as profoundly different from one another. This in turn requires the different genders to fill different roles in society, which in turn (re-)produces androcentric discourse and helps maintain the patriarchal social order (Bailey & LaFrance, 2017; Bem, 1993).

Previous post-feminist research of androcentricism have focused on semantics, how language and rhetoric creates meaning. Androcentric semantics can be detected in what can be assumed to be prejudicial knowledge and understanding about gender, which in turn creates attitudes that manifests themselves as subtle forms of sexist stereotyping in culture and society (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2013; Lakoff & Bucholtz, 2004). Martin & Papadelos (2017) claims that these attitudes influence women’s sense of identity and their sense of place in culture and society. Mills (2008) argues that even though blatant stereotypical sexist remarks exists in all societies and attention is regularly put to its problematic character, it is the indirect or subtle form of sexism that is more sinister and persistent in the production of discourse.
“Decades of research have established people’s tendency to treat maleness as the norm”, was stated by Bailey & LaFrance (2017, pp, 682). However, it is also important to understand for whom and in what social context man representing the norm of humanity. Little is known about the dynamics of the production of these representations. As mentioned androcentric societies tend to think of men as the standard, and such thinking is then embedded in language. However, it is uncertain what creates androcentric thinking in particular cases and places (Bailey & LaFrance, 2017).
3. Context of the study

3.1 The historical Bergslagen

Bergslagen is an area covering the middle of Sweden and stretching over several regions that historically has been known for their mining industries (Ekman, 1996). There are no clearly defined borders of the region and it is not an official administrative region of Sweden (Berger, 1981). The name Bergslagen has a long history. It originates from the composition of the two Swedish words *berg* (mountain) and *lag* (team), and a Mountain-team or a *Bergslag* can historically be considered as a political or administrative region in Sweden. Bergslag were the teams that worked with mining and the area in which the teams were active were a sort of administrative region with their own policies and regulations. Thus it can be claimed that geographic and administrative borders existed for each bergslag, but no coherent region within borders existed of all bergslag, which would indicate that historically Bergslagen has not been understood as an administrative region (Calissendorff, 1988). Consequently, today there are different perceptions and descriptions of the geographical area that is called Bergslagen.

Bergslagen have been mined for centuries. The pursuit of iron, copper, silver and many other metals and mineral in the region have long marked the landscape. Open pits, buildings, remnants of settlements and so on can be still be found at the sites, which holds the stories and heritage of the people who worked and lived there (Hammarlund et. al., 2007; Jakobsson, 2009). The cultural and natural heritage at these sites are today evident – echoing the stories of the past in the context of today.

3.2 Defining Bergslagen through tourism

Redeveloping the old industrial landscapes of Sweden for tourism purposes has been ongoing since the 1980s as a way of revitalizing the rural areas that have been depressed by deindustrialization. The re-imagining of the industrial heritage has taken many forms in different places and has created opportunities for entrepreneurship, new businesses, employment and thus also the possibility for becoming a vibrant tourism destination (Jakobsson, 2009; Pashkevich, 2017).

Industrial heritage tourism has developed in Sweden during the last four decades and the old sites have been looked at as a resource for tourism (Jakobsson, 2009). Some of the industrial
sites have transformed into attractions and in their re-interpretations development of both adventure tourism and heritage museums/tourism have taken place (Pashkevich, 2017). At the same time, an image of Bergslagen as an historical landscape have been constructed (Jakobsson, 2009). However, these heritage sites are finding themselves in between different interests – preservation of the heritage and economic development of tourism. Where the former can be presumed to be represented by, for example local interest groups and regional administrative governments while the latter by the business owners. There have long been concerns that the interest of developing attractive products for tourism comes at the expense of original history and heritage, as tourism entrepreneurs chooses which narratives to be told (Braunerhielm, 2001; Molin et. al., 2007).

Several investment from the Swedish Government throughout the decades have put Bergslagen at the forefront for industrial heritage tourism by developing infrastructure, educational programs, culture projects and funding start-up businesses (Pashkevich, 2017). Due to the lack of a geographical border of Bergslagen, there has long been issues of defining which industrial heritage sites actually belongs to Bergslagen. Different campaigns and projects have been conducted throughout the years to promote this area for touristic consumption – on local and regional levels (Jakobsson, 2009). One of the most recent and longest in time collaborative projects is called Bergslagssatsningen Kultur och Turism (Intresseföreningen Bergslaget, n.d.) – a ten year investment focused on the growth and development of industrial heritage tourism through local business initiatives and investments. The project was initiated by the National Antique Board (Riksantikvarieämbetet) and five County Administration Boards (Länsstyrelser) – Dalarna, Gävleborg, Värmland, Västmanland and Örebro. The mentioned institutions as well as the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) funded the project. Thirteen destinations were selected to participate in the project, which were scattered throughout the five counties (Intresseföreningen Bergslaget, n.d.). The project recently finished and now faces a period of evaluations.

For the purpose of this paper, the heritage tourism destinations that partook in the above mentioned project will be considered the destinations located within the destination Bergslagen.
3.3 Långban – Mining- and culture village

Långban, in the region of Värmland, has a long history of mining iron ore to produce iron and later steel (Länsstyrelsen Värmland, 2018). Mining for iron ore in the area started in the 16th century and in the late 19th century mining of manganese ore (to produce steel) and dolomite started. Geologically the bedrock and minerals were created 1.8 billion years ago and the area is one of the most mineral rich regions in the world. In the beginning farmers were allowed to mine and produce iron – they were the called Bergsmän – Mountain men. These men created what was called a Bergslag – Mountain Team. The iron produced became canons, railways and much more. In the 1930s the smelting hut was closed and mining ceased it 1972 (Värmlands Museum, 2018).

Today much of the mining landscape of Bergslags – with its mine, shafts, smelting huts, ore and mineral heaps, the Mansion/Castles and other mining buildings from 1500-1900s is one of the most well persevered industrial heritage landscapes in Sweden and probably Europe too. Part of the history of this vast mining landscape is kept at the Värmlands’ regional museum in order to illustrate its’ history, working conditions and social relationships of the mines and smelting huts of “older time” (Värmlands Museum, 2018). In addition, the memory of inventor and engineer John Ericsson, born at Långban in 1803, is kept alive in different exhibitions. Ericsson is among others known as one of the inventors of the propeller (Länsstyrelsen Värmland, 2018).

3.4 Engelsbergs Bruk - The World Heritage

Engelsbergs Bruk in the region of Västmanland is considered as one of the world’s prime industrial heritage sites and was elected into the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1993 (Länsstyrelsen Västmanland, 2018). The nomination read:

“Engelsberg is an outstanding example of an influential European industrial complex of the 17th-19th centuries, with important technological remains and the associated administrative and residential buildings intact.” (UNESCO, 1993).

Engelsbergs Bruk was built on 1681, however mining of iron ore in the area started in the 12th century. With the establishment of the ironworks Engelsbergs Bruk became one of the world’s leading producers of iron and together with other ironworks in Bergslagen made Sweden an
economic leader in iron production for over two centuries, which in turn contributed to the prosperity of the nation during the same period (Länsstyrelsen Västmanland, 2018; UNESCO, 2018). Engelsbergs Bruk was bought by the Ax:son family in 1916 and has since then been under their protection. Today the site is one of few privately owned World Heritage Sites and is open for the public during summer (Fagersta Kommun, 2018).

3.5 Axmar Bruk – A cultural reserve

Axmar Bruk is situated in the region of Gästrikland, just along the coast of the Bothnian Sea. The iron works were one of many that was established during the 17th century in the region due to a royal decree. Years of warfare had created a demand of iron for weapons as well as capital, and the production of iron in the country could produce both. In year 1671 Axmar Bruk was built, with a harbor for shipping accompanying the iron works (Axmar Bruk, 2018).

A castle, an English Park, channels and ponds and many different buildings were built during the centuries of production, but in 1927 the iron works closed. In the 1970s the site opened for tourism after extensive renovations. Today it is open all year around. In 2011 Axmar Bruk became a cultural reserve, representing the mining and coastal industrial heritages in the region (Länsstyrelsen Gävleborg, 2018).
4. Methodology

This chapter will present the methods that will be used to conduct the study. It will present how the sample was chosen, the data collected and analyzed as well as what limitations presented itself during the study.

4.1 Research Approach

This study will have a qualitative research approach and consist of a content analysis. The study will consist in two steps, first to gain information about the context of the study. Second, a content analysis will be used to identify what semantics can be found in the texts and pictures, which in turn are being used to construct representations of the industrial heritage of Bergslagen. The first step, the background information and context of the study was presented in the previous chapter.

4.1.1 The qualitative approach

The qualitative approach was chosen due to its’ character of focusing on words rather than numbers or statistics, such as the case of quantitative research (Bryman, 2002). It can be used in capturing the language and/or imagery used in describing and thus constructing reality (Veal, 2011). There can be a tendency in this type of research to present descriptive results by asking questions such as ‘what’ and ‘how’ in studying a phenomenon. However, this does not mean that the research is strictly descriptive in itself. Qualitative research also aim present explanations, as to ‘why’ it is so (Bryman, 2002). With its constructivist nature the search for explanations also suggests subjective interpretations by the researcher. The interpretations are derived from the information gathered about the social reality in which the phenomenon exists. That is why there is a need for thorough descriptive information, to be able to understand the context. The context in itself then presents the tools to interpretation (Geertz, 1973).

In marketing of destinations for example, qualitative research can be used in understanding what perceptions of the message being communicated creates and how people (the tourists) understand or perceive the message. This can later uncover potential strategic directions a destination can take in marketing or generate different ideas to improve the product being sold (Veal, 2011).
4.1.2 The post-feminist approach

The post-feminist approach to the research was chosen upon reflection of whose cultural heritage was being represented and thus studied in the context of marketing a destination. It focuses on the experiences of women in the social settings and the aim of the research is usually to raise consciousness about social construction, and intend to empower women and change the existing power relations and inequality (Cook & Fonow, 1986). The objective of post-feministic research include both the construction of new knowledge as well as the production of social change (Ollivier & Tremblay, 2000). Feminist approaches can use both quantitative and qualitative methods. The choice of which method to use depends on what question the researcher ask and how she/he think about the data that will be collect (Holloway & Wheeler, 2013). The choice begins with the experiences of women in that particular context and, therefore the particular situation (context) and the purpose of the research should guide the methodological choices.

Historically, post-feminist research has been informed and inspired by feminism and is grounded in feminist values and beliefs (Bryman, 2002; Veal, 2011). It strives to include feminism within the process and focuses on the meaning women bring to their world – how their world is constructed in relation to others. The research is therefor often conducted in settings which are still considered as patriarchal. Feminist research can also be characterized by its diversity, as mentioned above in the possibility of a range of methods that can be used in data collection and analysis (Bryman, 2002; Cook & Fonow, 1986). Ollivier & Tremblay (2000) stated that feminist research is constantly being redefined as the concerns of women comes from different perspectives as it is inter- and transdisciplinary. Issues such as diversity, democratic decision making and the empowerment of women and women narrative must therefore be addressed.

In leisure and tourism studies the feminist and post-feminist approaches emerged in the 1970s and the latter in the 1990, when existing leisure and tourism studies came under scrutiny as scholars uncovered and questioned the hidden assumptions of men and women in the research conducted. It was argued that they had taken for granted, for example, that there existed a freedom of choice when it came to tourism and thus the researchers had ignored the social construct of gender and their power relations, which would have limited or even excluded the choice of women in the matter (Veal, 2011). Later, post-feminist research was concerned with the touristic experiences and the meanings of the experiences among women.
4.2 Content analysis

The content analysis will be the instrument of analyzing of the data collected - the texts and visual images used in online marketing on their websites. The method is a tool to systematically summarize and analyze written, spoken or visual communication. It is used to search for underlying themes in the data being analyzed (Bryman, 2002). Content analysis have most commonly been used to analyze written text, such as document, speeches etc. Which have meant that the method has not been widely used in tourism and leisure research. But the understanding of what can be considered to be a text have widened to include a variety of cultural expressions, such as pictures, videos, advertising material, websites, maps and paintings (Veal, 2011).

The content analysis of texts and images is based on recognizing and counting attributes, which mean that the analysis can be said to be descriptive (Jenkins, 2003). The content analysis aims to examine the manifested and latent content of the text. The manifested content’s visible components - the denotations - that can be counted while the latent content refers to the meaning behind the text – the connotations. Both however, require interpretations which can vary in depth depending on how abstract the content is (Insch et. al., 1997).

The statistical nature of the content analysis suggests it as a quantitative method. The analysis of the content also proposes an objective or neutral collection of the data to avoid bias in categories chosen. This, quantitative side of the method contribute to the repeatability of the research conducted as objective coding of data can be replicable in later studies, if executed correctly (Bryman, 2002). However, as Berelson (1952) pointed out, the content analysis is rooted in qualitative strategy where the aim is to reach qualitative descriptions or explanations of the data collected. To be able to do so the researcher must apply subjective interpretation of the data to find underlying meaning or structures – to detect possible connotations. This in turn puts the focus on themes found in the text in order to be able to detect common ideas communicated within it (Bryman, 2002; Holsti, 1969).

4.3 Sampling

The sample population of this research consisted of the industrial heritage tourism destinations located within the area that today is understood as Bergslagen. Three destinations were chosen and all three had participated in the project Bergslagssatsningen during the last 10 years. Many
Bergslagen destinations have been re-interpreted and used in other forms than presenting the cultural heritage. Such as becoming art museums, music venues, hotels and restaurants – where the cultural and natural heritages of the sites is being used as the interesting backdrop of the business rather than the business itself. Therefore the destinations used in this study must have focused on the cultural heritage of Bergslagen by for example, offering guided tours and working actively with the preservation and exhibition of the material manifestations of the heritage. Yet, it is impossible to contextualize an entire region, with hundreds of sites and centuries of history in just a few pages, thus this research can only claim to represent the findings of representations from the three destinations chosen and not for the entire region.

The destinations chosen were Långban, Engelsbergs bruk and Axmar bruk due to their similarities yet being situated in different counties – Värmland, Västmanland and Gästrikland. Today all three destinations focus on the tourism above ground and not of the mines – showing heritage buildings, infrastructure, living environments, equipment and natural resources and landscapes. All sites has historically been known as iron works - for mining of iron ore and the production of iron.

Since the participating destinations had to meet mentioned criteria to be able to be chosen as part of the study, the sample were chosen through purposive sampling. This type of sampling strategy is one of the most common and an advantage in qualitative research as it has a vast range of sampling techniques to be used across the field, such as homogeneous sampling or expert sampling (Berg & Lune, 2004). The sample is selected based of pre-selected criteria, which are usually based on the research question(s), characteristics of a population or the objective of the research. Also, as the sample chosen aimed to have a similar characteristics homogeneous sampling was also applied. The sample then has unitiies (people, cases etc.) which share the same or similar characteristics, such as background, history, or in people such as age, gender or occupation (Patton, 2005; Veal, 2011). The purposive and homogeneous sampling are both known to be judgmental, selective and subjective, thus being prone to researcher bias. However, this is considered as a disadvantage if the judgment while sampling is poorly considered, for example when it has not been based of clear criteria which in turn was based on the theoretical framework (Bryman, 2002; Patton, 2005).
4.4 Data Collection

The data of this study was collected from the official websites of the three different destinations within the period of May 7 to 13 2018. As the websites of the destination were the most relevant in marketing the destinations for tourism they were chosen as the source of data. The websites were all in Swedish and textual content used was thus in Swedish and has been translated by the researcher for the purpose of presenting the findings. The content of the websites used were the promotional texts and pictures used in marketing. All pictures and texts of the websites used in the content analysis were collected and saved. The total of generated content is mentioned below. Data that was not taken into account of the content analysis and were eliminated if they were pictures of bad quality, duplicates, navigational texts, contact information, banners, thumbnails, icons, buttons, lines and other design elements. The three websites used for gathering the data were; https://varmlandsmuseum.se/langban/, https://www.axmarbruk.se and http://www.engelsberg.se/

The entire data content of the websites were collected, generating a total of 54 pages of text and 288 images. Långbans website produced a total 26 pages and 19 images, Engelsbergs Bruk website eight (8) pages and eight (8) pictures, and Axmar bruks website had a total of 20 pages and 261 images. The amount of the content were obviously quite different in size. However, as the aim of the study is not to quantify the data collected the researcher found no issue with the amount of available data on each website.

4.5 Data analysis

The data analysis of the pictures and texts was conducted using the general techniques of Conventional Content Analysis. As described by Hsieh & Shannon (2009), while conducting the Conventional Content Analysis the researcher should avoid using predetermined codes or categories and in its place allow the categories to appear from the data itself. The researcher should immerse oneself in the data in order to gain new insights about the content (Kondracki & Wellman, 2002). Miles & Huberman (1994) explains that the data must be read thoroughly and word by word in order to derive the appropriate codes, from which concepts or key thoughts will appear. It is however important to make notes of initial subjective impressions or thoughts of the content being analyzed. As the analysis process continues the codes will start to reflect more than just one key thought. This will lead to labels or categories being formed, which are based on how the different codes are linked together. Later these categories can be
arranged into overall themes. Collier & Collier (1999) also suggests a process of different stages in how to immerse oneself into the data while conducting the content analysis. Steps such as Familiarization and Inventory of the content is implied to be crucial steps before Analysis, Tabulation and later Statistical analysis of the content.

The data was analyzed in an interpretive matter by the researcher, with the intention to identify distinct categories. Some texts and pictures were categorized into several categories, since the categorization was in according to main objectives in the text or picture. As a result, 14 categories were formed with several sub-categories to each, which were believed to be representations of Bergslagen in the marketing material. The categories included Nature, Heritage buildings, Historical Portraits and Entertainment among others. Later these categories were arranged into four themes; Nature, Manifestations of the heritage, Historical Importance and Touristic interpretations.

As the objective of this research was to detect whether androcentric discourse is apparent in the representations of Bergslagen in the marketing material, the focus of the content analysis also turned to the people being represented in the text and pictures. Grounded in literature of post-feminist theory and androcentricism the researcher wanted to detect if potentially connotations existed within the content. Of course, the denotations of the words or motifs were categorized into gender (man or woman) or age (adult or child) for the statistical analysis. The texts and pictures were then cross-tabulated into the thematic groups. However, people were only apparently present in two of the four themes – the Historical Importance and Touristic interpretations, leaving the other two themes void of people, which in turn could suggest another category – “no people”.

4.6 Limitations

As the content analysis is a descriptive method – since it describes what is there, it does not reveal the underlying structures or motives of the patterns that have been detected. This mean theory must be applied in order to analyze and understand the data found. Theory applied will thus influence the categories used in the data collection and analysis stages. Berelson (1952, pp. 147) stated that “Content analysis stands and falls by its categories”. The process of sampling and coding can therefore include elements of subjective judgement of the researcher. Data availability and the process of sampling can introduce some bias, while developing codes
and coding involves interpretation by the researcher. Which also can risk the researcher overlooking what is not said or manifested in the particular text or image, which in turn may result in a loss or missing of meaning (Berelson, 1952; Leiss et. al.,1990).

Content analysis can quantify the meaning of the text studied, thus it can uncover, for example terminology and in what frequency it occurs in the text. As it follows systematic procedures it can be replicable. However, it is considered that the initial coding of the text is crucial to the establishment of categories that will be analyzed, if the coding is inaccurate it can then be presumed that the findings are invalid. However, using a coding schedule or coding manual make the process transparent and therefore should be replicable. Hsieh & Shannon (2009) recognize that one challenge with the Conventional Content Analysis can be failing to gain an understanding for context of the content and therefore consequently failing to identify the key categories. Which in turn can suggest that the findings do not represent the data accurately. This can in turn generate an issue of reliability and validity in the research since the described issues can question the credibility within the constructivist research paradigm. According to Lincoln & Guba (1985) the researcher can establish credibility by putting the research through different actions, for example peer debriefing, several coders, triangulation or negative case analysis. However, due to time constraints of the research none of the other actions were possible do conduct in order to establish the credibility.
5. Findings

The following chapter will summarize the recurrence of representations in texts and pictures in the data that have been analyzed. Some of the pictures and texts were categorized into more than one category depending on the predominant motif and/or meaning detected.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Pictures (N = 395)</th>
<th>Texts (N = 678)</th>
<th>Total (N)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineral</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage Buildings</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anecdotes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The name</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bergslagen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Portraits</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food &amp; Board</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhibitions</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Events</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fourteen categories were found in the analysis (see table 1). A total of 1073 representations were found across the three websites. Representations of nature were found to be the largest category, mostly found in pictures, a total of 17% of the representations. The pictures included motifs such as fields, flowers and trees, while in texts as descriptions of scenery. Nature was followed by historical heritage buildings, which also were more prominent in pictures rather than in the texts – a total of 13% of the representations. The motifs here were of buildings that had an historical connection to the industrial heritage, while in the textual content it was also descriptions of what type of buildings were present at the scene. Overall there were small intervals between the following categories, which were the Name (10%), Historical portraits (9%) and Events (9%). The two former categories were mostly textual representations, such as, the name of the site and names of historical persons connected to the site respectively, while events were mostly represented through pictures from events that had been.

The three different sites presented different recurrence of representations. The findings for each site is presented in Table 2 below. The recurrence of representations differed across the board. With nature as the most frequent category in two of them, while the working environment had the most recurrence at the third site.
These categories were then organized into four dominant themes, which were *Nature*, *Manifestations of the heritage*, *Historical Importance* and *Touristic interpretations*.

Table 2. Recurrence of Categories by sites (N = 1073)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineral</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage Build.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anecdotes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The name</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bergslagen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Port.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food &amp; Board</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhibitions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Events</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Frequency of categories by thematic groups (N = 1073)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thematic Groups</th>
<th>Pictures (N = 395)</th>
<th>Texts (N = 678)</th>
<th>Total (N)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineral</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manifestations of heritage</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage Buildings</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical importance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anecdotes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The name</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bergslagen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Portraits</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touristic interpretations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food &amp; Board</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhibition</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Events</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The results of the analysis indicates that the most frequent of these themes were the *Historical importance* of the site itself, accounting for 34 % of the sample. This presented itself (for example) through the occurrence of important dates in history, anecdotal stories claimed by the site, portraits of people through history who had impacted the site as well as the mention of the name of the site – which was the most common recurrence. This was followed by reinterpretations of the heritage for *Touristic interpretations*, which made up 25 % of the sample, with representations such as guided tours or other activities, restaurants and food as well as facilities for lodging, entertainment and events, usually traditional events, such as Christmas fares, at the sites. The *Nature* representations followed with 21 % of the sample. The heritage of the natural scenery and industrial landscape of the sites were represented by forests and trees, lakes and ponds, mineral and ore, but also the cultivated landscapes such as gardens. However, it is important to note that the “natural scenery” surrounding the sites can also be considered as being cultivated for industrial purposes. Lastly, the *Manifestations of the heritage* represented 20 % of the sample. This included the physical manifestations of the industrial history, such as buildings, tools and equipment as well as clothes and representations of production and working.

### 5.1 Nature

The nature is a prominent theme in the marketing materials of all three destinations. Almost as frequent in pictures as in texts. Natural elements detected in the material were woods, mountains, waters, gardens (cultivated landscape) as well as natural resources such as iron ore and other minerals, which have been of great importance during the mining history. Thus two sub-categories to the category Nature were formed – “Nature & Scenery” and “Natural resources & Mineral”. Figure 1 below shows a sample representing the representations of Nature in pictures.

![Figure 1. Representations of Nature in pictures. Source: 1) Värmlands Museum, 2018. 2) Axmar bruk, 2018. 3) Värmlands Museum.](image)
The images representing natural scenery were often void of people, with the exception of representations of activities being exercised in nature by people – such as guided tours. On the other hand, a majority of the pictures of nature also had buildings or other infrastructure, most commonly historical heritage buildings. In the textual content the nature was manifested through descriptions of the landscapes surrounding the destinations. Such as “[...] still has much of the original beauty with the great deciduous trees, ponds and gazebo.” stated at Axmar Bruks website. In several of the texts natural scenery and resources were mentioned together, “Engelsberg had the access to iron ore, watercourses, systems of lakes and vast forests and was therefore an excellent site for an iron works” (Engelsberg bruk, 2018).

The representations of the natural resources were fewer than of the nature and scenery. The visual images found on the analysed websites had three representations, natural resources were always present on the context of an exhibition. In the textual content, representations of natural resources were commonly combined with the history of the heritage and the importance of the natural resource for the site. As the example from Långbans website: “[...] one of the most mineral rich places in the world. 1,8 billion years ago these mineral were formed, and the iron ore begun being mined in the 16th century”. (Värmlands Museum, 2018).

5.2 Manifestations of the heritage

Another prominent theme were the manifestations of the cultural heritage and material culture. In this category heritage buildings, infrastructure and interior, working environments, tools and equipment, clothes and products of mining were included.

The heritage buildings were represented both in a historical context as well as of today. However, 80 out of the 136 representations were pictures or texts depicting these buildings today. Most representations of heritage buildings were visual. The pictures often showed the buildings in nature setting and without people present. The buildings depicted ranged from castles and gazebos, houses to water wheels and other buildings used for production. In the textual content the buildings were mentioned, for example in the context of preservation - as in the example from Engelsbergs website: “The only ironworks in Sweden that preserves buildings as well as the technical equipment” (Engelsbers bruk, 2018). In addition, as in the text about the history of Axmar Bruk: “In the middle of the park a stately house was built, commonly known as the “castle”, which was finished in 1866” (Axmar bruk, 2018).
Below in Figure 2 a few visual representations of the manifestations of the heritage can be found. It ranges from buildings to clothing (shoes) which all are part of a tangible, thus manifested representation of intangible culture.

**Figure 2.** Representations of the Manifestations of the heritage in pictures. Source: 1) Engelsbergs bruk, 2018. 2) Värmlands Museum, 2018. 3) Engelsbergs bruk, 2018.

The representations of working environments and material culture related to production were tools, equipment and clothes as well as what was produced – canons or railroad. In comparison to the representations of heritage buildings half as many representations of the working environment were found, 75 in comparison to 136. Only seven of the 75 representations were then found in pictures, which were of the working environments and tools in said environment. Nonetheless, representations in the textual content were many referring to the production in historical terms, word often used were mining and production, “Already in the 16th century iron ore was being mined in order to produce iron at Långban” (Värmlands Museum, 2018).

### 5.3 Historical importance

The largest category was the historical importance the sites seemed to identify themselves as being. There were 360 representations found in this theme, but only five were in the visual content, leaving this theme the smallest in representations in pictures. In this category historical references such as dates, anecdotes, stories, the mentions of the sites importance and name were included, as well as the historical portraits and mentions historical persons who had played some part in the history of the heritage. Below, in Figure 3 three of the five pictures in this theme illustrate the type of representations found in this theme. Even though there were few pictures, the visual content can also be appropriate as an illustration of the textual content, since it too focused on portraits of people and the name of the site.
The historical references in the visual content were exclusively portraits or photographs of people. All portraits were of men, either a portraits of an esteemed man or group photos of working men. There were no historical references in the pictures of women or children. In the textual content the references of the names of historical/important people were used as the equivalent to the portraits. Names of men were the majority, where their position and contribution often followed the introduction of the name. No children were mentioned, with exception of the mention of the “daughter of” or “brother of”. However, they were not categorized as children in the analysis. “The brothers John and Nils Ericsson were both prominent people, who both put their stamp in the world and in Sweden”, stated at Långbans website (Värmlands Museum, 2018). Women were mentioned in the textual content 18 times, in comparison to the 75 times men were mentioned. It was however common that the same women were mentioned several times, portraying them as particularly important, as Brita Behm of Axmar Bruk: “Brita Behm, generally known as Iron Brita, became 85 years old and, at the time of her death in 1755, had been the ruler of the iron works for 58 years” (Axmar bruk, 2018).

As there was only one other representations in pictures of the historical importance all other were of course in the textual content. It was mostly the mention of the name of the site itself and its’ importance in history: “Then a string of incidents happened at Långban that changed the world forever.” (Värmlands Museum, 2018) and “Engelsbergs Bruk is the best preserved ironworks in Sweden.” (Engelsbergs bruk, 2018). Noticeably absent is the use of the name of the region Bergslagen, which was not mentioned once in the textual content of any of the websites.
Dates of importance were also visible in the historical texts of the heritages. Often in a timeline or in anecdotal references. Anecdotes or short stories were used to tell important historical facts, such as one of from Engelsbergs Bruk: “Engelsbergs Bruks name and oldest history is related to the freedom fighter and army commander between the years 1435-1436 Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson” (Engelsbergs bruk, 2018).

### 5.4 Touristic interpretations

The touristic representations were of tourists, touristic activities such as guided tours, conferences or parties, of touristic facilities such as restaurants, shops or lodging. The category also included a theme of entertainment – such as exhibitions or events. These representations were of the reinterpretation of the cultural heritage for tourism.

Here the representation of entertainment was the largest and most commonly in pictures of events. Events depicted were traditional Swedish events such as Walpurgis Night and Christmas fairs. Pictures of exhibitions were scarce with only seven representations. The exhibitions were represented through pictures of natural resources in an exhibition setting (such as mineral) or of historical portraits as posters for the exhibition. In the textual content the events and exhibitions were less represented. Representations were found in the texts of them, such as: “In this exhibition you can follow John Ericson’s work on constructing the world’s first-ever-armored aircraft gun”, from Långbans exhibition Monitor (Värmlands Museum, 2018).

Representations of food or lodging were usually found in pictures of the facilities, such as the hotels, cafés and restaurants. However, there were no representations in the pictures of actual food or produce. Instead, there were pictures of exteriors, some interiors and usually for food it was pictures of plates. In the textual content it was representations of what types of facilities for food and lodging existed. Such as: “In Anna Karolinas kitchen in John Ericssongården, you will find savory home cooking and homemade cakes”, from Långbans website (Värmlands Museum, 2018).

Touristic activities, such as guided tours, were represented in pictures by groups of people joining the activity. In the textual content the activities were described as something to do while at the destination. Not all however were about the guided tours as the sites also functions as
conference and wedding venues. In the pictures of the activities people were often present as 43 representations of people or tourists were found. In these, eight were men and eight were women, children were also present in three of the representations. The rest were of people in groups, which were not categorized into different genders.


Figure 4 above illustrates what representations of tourism were found in the visual content.

5.5 Representations of People and Gender

In two of the themes people were specified in categories and gender specified in sub-categories – in Touristic reinterpretations, where people were represented as tourists, and in Historical Importance, where people were represented in historical portraits. However, the content, which were pictures of people or mentions of names, can be considered small with only 14 % of the sample, which was a total of 151 representations. Table 4 provides an illustration of the representations of people and gender in the categories mentioned previously.

Table 4. Representations of people and gender in categories and sub-categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical Portraits</th>
<th>Pictures (N = 4)</th>
<th>Texts (N = 93)</th>
<th>Total (N)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tourists</th>
<th>Pictures (N = 43)</th>
<th>Texts (N = 11)</th>
<th>Total (N)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groups</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the *Touristic interpretations* theme people were more frequently represented in the visual content and not as much in the textual. However, people in this category only represented 4% of the representations in the entire sample. In the pictures people were represented as tourists or staff, where pictures of only tourists were more frequent than those of staff. In the pictures of touristic activities people are seen in groups of two or more, on guided tours or at events. Further, people were of course present in different settings. For guided tours, for example, the groups were found in nature, often with a building in the background. These pictures were eclectic in terms of gender and age, and were therefore not categorized into man, woman or child. Only pictures where one or a few different people were in focus the gender and age were recognized and categorized. Men and women were present in the same amount of pictures – eight each, while children were present in three. Noticeably, children were present in pictures with one woman or with a woman and man, representing a family. In the textual people were only mentioned gender neutral, as a group of tourists or visitors.

As mentioned in the chapter of the *Historical Importance* theme (see chapter 5.3) people were represented visually in just four pictures, which all were of men. Either an historical portrait of a man important to the place. Or, of a working team standing together for a group photography, wearing working clothes and sporting equipment or tools, representing the work they were doing in their working place, which then obviously were a place for men. As mentioned, women and children were not depicted in any of these pictures. In the textual content men and women were mentioned a total of 93 times, here the representations were in form of the names. Women were mentioned 18 times, while men 75 times. Men were often referred to by their title, such as Captain, Patron, *Bergmästare* (head of the Mine), Farmer, Architect, Professor or King, as examples. While women were often referred to in relation to a man, such as “the sister of”, “the widow” or “the daughter of” even though some of the mentioned women carried legacies on their own. As one text from Axmar Bruk exemplifies: “*Albrecht Behms daughter Brita, married to professor Johan Swede, became a widow in 1697 and took over the responsibility for the operation of Axmar Bruk*” (Axmar bruk, 2018). Or the story of the siblings of Långban: “*Their sister Anna-Karolina had to stand back to the success of her brothers, but was considered to be the most bright of the siblings*” (Värmlands Museum, 2018). Anna-Karolina is mentioned frequently on the Långban’s website, as the sister of two prominent brothers. However, her legacy at the site today as well as through the marketing on the website is as being the name of the restaurant: “*In Anna-Karolinas kitchen in John Ericssongården*”
While the whole manor or house, in which the restaurant is, is named after the famous son John Ericsson.

When adding the two categories where people were present, men represented in a majority of the representations with a total of 58 %, while women counted for 17 %. See figure 5 below for illustration of people by gender.

![Figure 5. Recurrence of people by gender](image)

As mentioned, people were only apparent in two of the fourteen categories. Which suggests another sub-category – “No people”. Figure 6 below demonstrates recurrence of people overall in the sample in order to understand that dynamic.

![Figure 6. Recurrence of people versus no people in the sample.](image)
6. Discussion

The findings of the analysis of the marketing material revealed several different representations of the industrial heritage. The different themes of representations found contribute to the understanding of how marketers have interpreted the destination and its’ heritage for tourism. The representations found in the marketing material, and perhaps more importantly, which were not found will be discussed further in this chapter. The discussion will attempt to outline how these representations creates and reproduces the destinations. It is thus imperative to interpret these representations in order to understand why they exists and why we, including the tourists, interpret them as such. The post-feminist lens will be applied on most of the representations in order to understand them, which will be discussed in the later sections of this chapter. Firstly, the role of representations of a destination is shortly discussed. Followed by a discussion of the findings in relation to the contexts of Bergslagen and industrial heritage tourism.

The marketing of destinations for tourism involves a great deal of contextual considerations. Cultural heritage tourism marketing must therefore take into consideration the delicate situation of the heritage itself, since it is both the resource and product being sold (Archer et. al., 2012; Dallen, 2006). As Ren & Blichfeld (2011) expressed, destinations will promote themselves in reference to the qualities of said heritage. These places are therefore marketed and considered as a genuine or authentic place to visit. The texts and pictures used in marketing will therefore represent the heritage for the potential visitors, thus becoming the genuine representation of the destination and of the heritage itself. However, the representations can become a concern if they are not correct to the adherent heritage, if it for example becomes distorted as some narratives are not being told or marginalized (Pashkevich, 2017; Ren & Blichfeldt, 2011). On the other hand, it can benefit the destination to try to simplify the representations by not telling too many narratives at once. It can therefor become a matter of choice – conscious or unconscious – by the marketers of which ones to tell (Keskitalo & Schilar, 2016). The narratives and thus the representations can therefore become stereotypes. The representations of the heritage become a construct of the context and it also suggest an existing power struggle where some meanings are enhanced while others are suppressed within the existing constructed reality where the heritage exists (Ren & Blichfeldt, 2011). As Bergdóttir (2016) and Coleman (2004) explained it is often the women narratives that becomes marginalized in this power struggle, as man has been considered as the norm in cultural heritage regeneration. It is
therefore imperative to problematize and question the process creating a destination through the marketing of a heritage, in order to detect which structures generates these power struggles.

A place such as Bergslagen is rich in context and connotative meaning. It is a place where centuries of hard work in search of the lucrative resource have characterized the landscape and culture (Jakobsson, 2009). The aim of this research was to analyze and thus try to understand what representations of the industrial heritage of the region are being projected through marketing today. The research found that several different representation exists, creating an idea of Bergslagen as lush in nature with historical buildings and architecture complementing the scenery, which in turn have created the opportunity for the reinterpretation of the heritage site for tourism – while proudly stating the historical and continued importance of the heritage to the region and nation. With the growing interest in industrial heritage tourism in Sweden a parallel historical version of the region of Bergslagen have been created (Jakobsson, 2009; Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2014). This version can be credited to the narratives being told and thus the representations being produced, among others through marketing.

The historical importance of the site itself was found to be the most frequently reoccurring representation in the marketing material used for the destinations. It suggests that it has been important to maintain the image of each destination as a separate and irreplaceable entity in the great scheme of the development of the nation of Sweden. However, there are hundreds of such sites in Bergslagen, which all have been a part of the backbone that built the Sweden in the 17th-19th centuries (Ekman, 1996; Jakobsson, 2009). As regional and national projects have tried to connect the many different sites in the last few decades (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2014), little of these actions can be found on the websites of the three cases. What has been important to promote is the sites separately and not as a part of the entire region. The notion of Bergslagen as one destination was not be found, as the name of the region is never mentioned on any of the websites. The sites instead promote their own importance and fails to connect to Bergslagen, which could suggest that the heritage of each site is considered too important to be considered as shared within a larger region. In turn, it could strengthen the local identity and enforce a sense of community by connection to local history and heritage. Dallen (2006) recognizes the importance of host pride as one of several means of heritage tourism sustainability. It may also reduce conflict and opposition if the host community pursue a collective aim of how the heritage could and should be consumed (Kersetter et. al., 1998). On
the other hand, as the Bergslagen identity and pride is not evident of the sites, does a desire of continued projects of the creation of the destination Bergslagen even exist?

Industrial heritage tourism has become important for community revitalization, both in an economic and cultural sense (Halewood & Hannam, 2001; Jakobsson, 2009). As mentioned in previous section, this can create a strong sense if local identity which in turn creates locals with a strong sense of pride of the local history and heritage. As was found on the different websites, it has been important to communicate what the sites has meant for the development of the local community historically. However, the attractiveness for tourists to visit may not be the local importance and history, but rather what impact the site has had in relation to the region Bergslagen and the nation of Sweden on national identity and thus national pride of the visitors themselves. As none of the sites had an English or “other language” option it can be assumed that the marketing is aimed at a specific market – the domestic. It can therefore be understood that the national importance is being more important than the local. Which implies that the intent is for domestic tourists to visit and enjoy “their” industrial heritage. Which raises the question, who does the industrial heritage belong to and therefore also represent?

Tourism was also found to be of the representations of the industrial heritage. Reinterpretation of the industrial heritage and the sites has made it possible for the heritage to be maintained and developed. While preservation of heritage is a hard task to accomplish as heritage should be considered as dynamic and evolving (Dallen, 2006), tourism can therefore be understood as a next step in the evolution of the industrial heritage sites. Tourism then becomes a part of the history, it encourages changes infrastructure to be better suited for tourists, it changes convention of what should be highlighted as important, which then introduces another type of or changes the existing culture.

The nature has historically been the resource at the industrial sites (Ekman, 1996; Jakobsson, 2009; Pashkevich, 2017) and today it is as much as resource as it was then. Though the nature might be exploited quite differently today it is still a means of revenue. The representations of nature sets the industrial heritage in beautiful scenery and landscapes, with lush fields of flowers and trees growing tall. However, this might not be as accurate and genuine as one might have thought. The nature was historically cultivated in accordance to the industry. Today it instead represents a beautiful setting for the industrial heritage. As mentioned, the nature was cultivated by people, which implies that people was very much involved in the exploitation of
nature historically. Nature was tamed by men excavating it through mining and creating landscapes suitable for such an industry. However, the representations in the content analyzed showed nature often void of people. Why are people not represented in nature today? Nature is evidently as much as part of the cultural heritage as it is the natural heritage. It means that the representations of nature are not as representative of nature as is could be. Though people were often physically missing in the nature representations and the manifestations of the heritage, culture and thus heritage does not exist without people, which implies that people were present unconsciously. As the cultivators of nature and landscape, and as producers of architecture or products of industry their presence and thus their representations in the marketing materials could therefore also be detected even though they were missing.

The manifestations of the heritage was found to be the environments, infrastructure, products, tools and clothes. In short, it was the places where men had worked, what men had produced and what tools men had used when doing so. While interpreting these representations it becomes evident that the heritage which is presented is the heritage of men. However, the industrial sites have been a workplace for men (Ekman, 1996), which then suggests that it is sensible that it is the male heritage that is preserved and presented. The same can be said for the previous section considering the nature. As mentioned in the previous section, the natural environment was cultivated and tamed for the male workplace, which in turn then implies that the landscape can be considered male as well.

Post-feminist thought problematize androcentric discourse where man is considered superior to woman (Bailey & LaFrance, 2017). However, it is not only women that that are being marginalized, but other groups as well, such as children or different social classes. They are then considered as being “other” to the standard and thus less typical human (Bergdóttir, 2016; Roberts, 2014). As mentioned, men could be assumed to be the producers of the manifestations or the heritage. In the two themes where people, and thus men were present, they were represented mainly through portraits of the higher class, such as Patrons, Professors and so on, while the working class was depicted in a group photography, clearing showing them as workers. Which in turn establishes a clear difference in class between the two groups. Women were also represented in these themes, however only representations of the higher class, where daughters or wives of the Patrons and Professors were depicted. As mentioned previously children were not represented, nor were immigrants. Women were therefore not the only ones
being neglected in the narratives being told. Children, immigrants, people of different social classes were also missing in the narratives.

Tourists were represented in the content as well. Most commonly they were depicted in groups of people, representing a guided tour or an event. While close-ups of tourists were few they were categorized into gender and age (adult or child). In the pictures people tended to look at someone (such as a guide) or something (such as a tool), suggesting a genuine interest by people in the history and heritage being showed. In the gender specific pictures heteronormative standards could be detected as children were depicted with a woman, suggesting her as being the mother, or with a woman and man, suggesting them as a family unit. In the textual content tourists were represented as a group of people – “the tourists”, which in combination with the group pictures of tourists suggests industrial heritage tourism as gender neutral and for an eclectic and inclusive group. However, this might not be the case as children are poorly represented as tourists. As children were not represented in any of the other dominant themes either, it makes it evident that the industrial heritage is not a heritage of or for children. On the other hand, were represented at the sites, as the textual content describes women as daughters - they must have been children once. Children are also tourists, as a few pictures as well as the children’s prices on the websites illustrates. Again, post-feminist thought describe man as the standard, whereas all other are “other”. Which in turn places people in order on the social hierarchy. Then androcentric discourse places man on top, while the others become less important (Bem, 1993). Therefore, the narratives of children, women or any other becomes less important in the narratives being told and sometimes even completely disregarded.

The research found that some inherent gender roles are being perpetuated through stereotypical ideas of gender. By reducing women in history to roles in relation to man, such as widow, wife, sister or daughter one can detect the lack in importance the women have played throughout history at the sites. The women mentioned and detected in the content analysis were also of higher social class, as previously mentioned as the daughter of the Patron or wife of the Professor. Nothing is thus told of all the other women and noticeably also all the children. Generic ideas tells us that women took care of the home and the children (Bergdóttir, 2016). Is the homestead then not as an important part of the heritage as the workplace? Thus, following the previous accepted norm the restaurant was named after a woman, since the woman stereotypically was the homemaker while the man was the breadwinner. Androcentric discourse implies that the different genders must fill different roles in society in order for the
social order to exist (Lakoff & Bucholtz, 2004; Martin & Papadelos, 2017). Thus, by continuing to stereotype women as different from men the marketing of the destinations today helps in maintaining and reproduce the patriarchal social order in which we live.

Just as many other industrial heritage sites, Bergslagen is steeped in nostalgia. These landscapes represent centuries of hard work (of men), the taming of nature (by men), human ingenuity and life lived there. Therefore it is the history, technology and architecture that will awaken the sense of nostalgia in the people who visit (Halewood & Hannam, 2001). The consequence is therefore that it those narratives of men that are being reproduced and thus becomes the representations of the entire industrial heritage. As Roberts (2014) pointed out, exhibitions of cultural heritage in this way tend to produce heteronormative collections of narratives, where man and masculinity continues to be considered as the norm. Language used in these texts and pictures then becomes powerful in perpetuating ideas and stereotypes of gender (Bailey & LaFrance, 2017; Bem, 1993; Berger & Luckmann, 1967). As androcentric semantics can be found in prejudicial understandings about gender (Mills, 2008), continuing such narratives women’s sense of identity and place in society is in turn upheld (Aitchison, 2005).

As Kolcun et. al. (2014) suggests, it is the semiotic language chosen in the marketing material that shapes and creates the first knowledge and image of the heritage for the tourists. How the product, the industrial heritage, then is presented on the websites creates the dominating representations which the destination later will depend upon for its attraction value (Waterton & Watson, 2014). Thus the making of the place and the construction of representations belongs to the tourism authorities and can therefore be considered as reflexive and changing in accordance to who is participating in the production of what it is to become (Hall, 2011; Lew, 2017).

In conclusion, the analysis found several different representations of gender stereotyping and polarization as the textual and visual content used in marketing materials expressed a continued androcentric worldview. Systematic exclusion of women’s and alternative narratives because of androcentric discourse and patriarchal structures has created these interpretations of the representations. The evident physical representations of men and male heritage have created these representations. Still, what is missing or marginalized in the images and texts is equally telling in why these representations exists.
7. Conclusions

The aim of this research was to analyse the representations of industrial heritage through marketing material used by tourist destinations in the area of Bergslagen. Specifically, it aimed at using post-feminist theory in order to detect androcentric discourse in the representations found. The theoretical framework provided insight into the underlying structures and power struggles of hierarchal order that are being reproduced through the marketing material used by industrial heritage tourism destinations in Bergslagen.

The findings revealed several representations of the industrial heritage. The dominating representations of the destinations were of nature, historical importance, manifestations of the heritage and the touristic interpretations. Bergslagen and its industrial heritage is represented as a place with a long history, where nature has and still plays a pivotal part in its attractiveness, where touristic activities are based on history and traditions, where the historical reminiscences have developed into resources of their own. However, there was a repetitive use of the male heritage in the texts and images, which were found in the environment and landscapes as well as the overwhelming mention of men in the content in comparison to the recurrence of women or children. It therefore becomes evident that the male heritage is being perpetuated through the marketing, while the fewer depictions of other alternatives being marginalized in the representations. The androcentric semantic used, which is not always evident and thus detected as connotations, reproduces stereotypes traditional gender roles connected to the patriarchal legacy of Bergslagen.

Although, dominating representations were of the male heritage and manifestations of men, some representations of women were found in the content. By taking informed decisions on the reimagining of the marketing material, women as well as the others narratives, can come to claim the space they deserve on the websites. The traditional portrayal of people, should not determine how they are depicted today. By including images and stories of the others the desire for the “genuine” and “authentic” heritage expressed by the tourists becomes today’s reality. The simplified and stereotypical representations, which previously have been assumed as a necessity for attractiveness, have done the opposite – created a place of exclusion, which is not genuine nor authentic to its heritage, and thus can become less attractive and desired by the tourists.
Further, the area of Bergslagen have been considered as an important destination for continued development of industrial heritage tourism in Sweden. It was therefore surprising that all three sites, being located within the region, had chosen not to acknowledge the region on their belonging to the area in the promotional materials. As the government of Sweden recognises the region as the main destination of industrial heritage tourism (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2014) it should be understood as beneficial to be associated with such a region. Efforts of creating the destination of Bergslagen through different projects thus feels redundant. It should therefore be imperative to embrace the heritage of Bergslagen and use it as an asset in marketing. It will also affirm the interest the sites themselves have in future projects of the development of industrial heritage tourism in their region, which in turn can assure future projects to be launched. Further efforts are needed in order to provide the destinations with the coherent representations of the industrial heritage, which in turn can create a destination genuine to its heritage.

As industrial heritage tourism is one of the fastest growing speciality markets within heritage tourism further research possibilities of this subject are many. Since this research was limited to the analysis of marketing texts and images of the three destinations, it allows for further research and analysis of other types of marketing materials and platforms, perhaps representations conveyed through social media. It would be interesting to include an analysis of marketing materials from the industrial heritage sites in other parts of the world that also have been reinterpreted for tourism, in order detect whether a set of similar representations exists there. Further research will be valuable in the decoding of industrial heritage representations and illuminate the necessity for the understanding and acknowledgement of what a real and genuine heritage is, in order to adopt strategic directions to improve experiences created for visitors.
References


