

Sami Tourism in Northern Sweden

Supply, Demand and Interaction

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Abstract: Indigenous tourism is an expansive sector in the growing tourism industry. The Sami people living in *Sápmi* in northern Europe have started to engage in tourism, particularly in view of the rationalised and modernised methods of reindeer herding. Sami tourism offers job opportunities and enables the spreading of information. On the other hand, Sami tourism may jeopardise the indigenous culture and harm the sensitive environment in which the Sami live. The aim of this thesis is to analyse the supply and demand of Sami tourism in northern Sweden. This is presented in four articles, preceded by an introductory section describing the purpose, method, theory, background, empirical evidence, and with a discussion and summaries in English and Swedish. The first two articles describe Sami tourism from a producer (article I) and a consumer perspective (article II), respectively. The question is to what extent the supply of tourist attractions related to the Swedish Sami corresponds to the demand of the tourists.

The first article analyses the potential of the emerging Sami tourism in Sweden, with special emphasis on the access to Sami tourism products. The analysis is conducted by using the four Hs: habitat, heritage, history and handicrafts, as outlined by V.L. Smith. It is assumed that the potential for tourism development is also dependent on the spatial distribution of the tourist attractions, and therefore a geographical dimension has been added to the four Hs. The study shows that there is a growing supply of tourism activities related to the Swedish Sami. The development of tourism is, however, restricted by factors such as the peripheral location and the lack of traditions of entrepreneurship.

The purpose of the second article is to analyse which factors influence tourists when they make their decisions about Sami tourism. In the article the respondents are requested to answer a number of hypothetical questions, ranking their preferences regarding *supply*, *price* and *access*. The method used for this is the Stated Preference method. The study indicates that tourism related to the Sami and Sami culture has a considerable future potential, but also that there is, in some respects, a gap between supply and demand.

In the two following articles the interaction between the supply and demand of Sami tourism is studied at one of the largest Sami tourism attractions: the 400-year-old annual winter festival in Jokkmokk. The festival is studied in the light of its development over time (article III), and with regard to the Sami representation at the festival (article IV).

In the third article the development of the festival is analysed in a study based on interviews, and a study of the application forms submitted by the tradesmen and festival leaflets from the past decades. The development of tourism at the Sami winter festival in Jokkmokk is compared with tourism development models, e.g. the life cycle model as outlined by Butler. The analysis shows that the festival in Jokkmokk, thanks to continuously added attractions, has been able to retain a rather high level of popularity, despite its peripheral location.

Finally, the fourth article analyses to what extent the winter festival in Jokkmokk is a genuinely indigenous event, and to what extent it is staged. This is done by examining the Sami representation at the festival, with regard to its content and its spatial location, but also regarding Sami representation in media. Using primarily qualitative methods, three festival areas are identified: a *commercial* trading area, an *activity-oriented* area and finally a *cultural* area. It is argued that the indigenous culture presented at the festival and in media is highly staged, although backstage experiences are available for the Sami and for the tourists who show a special interest.

Keywords: Indigenous Tourism, Sami, Sápmi, Tourism Supply, Tourism Demand, Attitudes, Stated Preference.

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Robert Pettersson

Östersund & Umeå 2004

Preface

The small plant I brought to my office when I moved to Östersund five years ago is now a small tree. Starting as a tiny shoot, the plant has grown bit by bit before my eyes, just like this thesis. The plant, standing in its pot beside me on the windowsill, has seen me working at the computer and listened to everything from my laughter to exhausted sighs.

The gradually growth of this thesis has been watched and supported not only by my plant. First of all I would like to mention Dieter K. Müller, who has given a lot of nourishment to my work. He has supervised me not only through the writing of this thesis, but also through the papers I wrote as a student at the Department of Social and Economic Geography at Umeå University. Dieter has also co-authored two of the papers in the thesis. It was thanks to him that I found my way into the field of tourism and he was the one who talked me into the Ph.D. business. Dieter's help and advice have been really invaluable.

I would also like to thank Ulf Wiberg and Bruno Jansson, at the Department of Social and Economic Geography at Umeå University, who together with Dieter have been great supervisors and have helped me to "weed" my manuscripts.

As a Ph.D. candidate I am tied to the University of Umeå but the main part of this thesis has been written at, and financed by, the European Tourism Research Institute (ETOUR) in Östersund. I have really enjoyed my time here among friends and delightful people. Special thanks to the other PhD students and to Dr. Peter Fredman at ETOUR, who has encouraged me in my work and Perra Lindahl who has joined me in projects related to this thesis and whose company I really enjoy.

As mentioned before, I have received important financial support from ETOUR and their financiers. Life has also been made easier thanks to the Foundation for the Promotion of Expertise Relating to Tourism (*Stiftelsen för kunskapsfrämjande inom turism*), the JC Kempe's Memorial Foundation (*JC Kempes minnesfond*), Nordea's Norrland Foundation (*Nordeas Norrlandsstiftelse*), the Swedish Research Council for Environment, Agricultural Sciences and Spatial Planning (*Formas*) and the Swedish Government's Information Project on Sami and Sami Culture (*Regeringens informationssatsning om samer och samisk kultur*).

I am furthermore very grateful to Mimi Finnstedt who checked my English, and to Anders Ohlsson, Thomas Hallgren-Schaffer, Stefan Leonsson, Erika Olsson and Frida Gustafsson who helped me with the collection of data.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my sister and her family who have provided me with accommodation during my stays in Umeå, and to Mom and Dad, to whom I will go on trying to explain what I am doing.

Last, but not least, I would like to give my heartfelt thanks to Marie. Thanks to the working conditions in Swedish schools she hasn't noticed all the times I have had to

work overtime. In times of downheartedness you have always stood beside me with a deeply rooted and never-ceasing optimism.

Now that this journey has come to an end, the plant I bought when I started working on my thesis deserves a larger pot.

Östersund, January 2004

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Robert Pettersson". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Robert Pettersson

What lies still is easy to grasp;
What lies far off is easy to anticipate;
What is brittle is easy to shatter;
What is small is easy to disperse.

Yet a tree broader than a man can embrace is born of a tiny shoot;
A dam greater than a river can overflow starts with a clod of earth;
A journey of a thousand miles begins at the spot under one's feet.

Therefore deal with things before they happen;
Create order before there is confusion.

Lao Tse

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Introduction

“*Polite and friendly behaviour is better than all the tobacco in the world*” (Svenska turistföreningen 1891, p. 57, author’s translation). In the Swedish Touring Club’s (STF) yearbook of 1891 there are some tips for tourists about how to behave towards Sami people. The quotation above emphasises that the tourists did not need to give away tobacco or other gifts to be treated politely by the Sami people. Politeness and friendliness were all that was necessary. It also indicates that tourism has taken place for some time in the areas inhabited by the Sami.¹

The tourist industry is ever-increasing and constitutes a considerable part of the world’s GNP (World Travel Organization 2003). Moreover, tourism is often advantageous both to hosts and guests, generating employment and income for the hosts, and offering relaxation and new experiences to the tourists. Nevertheless, the development of tourism does not always occur without conflicts (Mathieson & Wall 1982, Smith 1989). This applies particularly in situations where a group of individuals and their culture constitute the tourist attraction (Butler & Hinch 1996, Hall 1994, Pedersen & Viken 1996, Robinson & Boniface 1999), as in the case of the indigenous peoples in the north of Europe: the Sami.

For many western tourists, authentic experiences among the exotic Sami people, who live in what is sometimes called “the last wilderness of Europe”, are of great interest. According to MacCannell (1976) the primary motivation for travel lies in a quest for authenticity. In *Sápmi*², the sparsely populated area that is the home of the Sami, the tourist has a possibility to develop a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of attraction, i.e. the Sami culture. Despite the fact that the Sami have been assimilated into modern Swedish society, the Sami attractions, according to dichotomies outlined by Urry (1990), may be presented as historical and exotic, but experienced as authentic. The need for adjustments creates a situation where the tourists, in *Sápmi* and elsewhere, are to a large extent offered staged attractions.

When discussing tourism related to Sami culture or other “endangered cultures”, disagreements often arise about what authenticity and sincerity really are, or should be (Asplet & Cooper 2000, Taylor 2001, Waitt 1999). This question, not necessarily discussed among the tourists themselves, still remains to be answered. If the development of tourism causes discomfort amongst the Sami actors it will lead to problems in the long run. Tourist attractions arranged to suit the tourist demands may even jeopardise the Sami culture. On the other hand, attractions without any commercialisation would hardly attract any visitors at all (Selwyn 1996). After all, it

¹ *Sami tourism* refers in this thesis to tourism in which the Sami culture is a part of the hosting attraction, and has consequently nothing to do with the Sami as tourists. For further information see the section *What is indigenous tourism?*

² *Sápmi* is the area traditionally inhabited by the Sami in the north of Norway, Sweden, Finland and on the Kola Peninsula in Russia. This area has no exact borders, which explains why maps in this thesis may differ slightly from one another.

is the differences in the Sami way of life from general, everyday life that constitute an important part of the Sami tourist attraction.

Despite the risks regarding tourism development, and although some Sami feel that the Sami should live on reindeer herding alone, many Sami are attracted by the idea of tourism, especially as it is becoming increasingly difficult to make a living from only traditional reindeer herding. Today only a minority of the Swedish Sami are occupied in reindeer herding, and the remaining Sami mainly live outside Sápmi. Moreover, apart from reindeer herding, Sápmi offers only a limited amount of occupational alternatives (Amft 2000, Statistics Sweden 1999). To rationalise reindeer herding, increasing motorisation has taken place in recent years. The more physically demanding herding has resulted in an increasing number of Sami women becoming redundant labour (Pettersson 1999).

Sami tourism entrepreneurs that focus on Sami culture, including Sami skills and knowledge, can combine tourism with reindeer herding and thereby take the tourist attraction with them wherever they go. Furthermore, Sami tourism gives opportunities to spread information about the Sami and Sami culture to visitors. In the long run Sami tourism may contribute to decreasing the antagonism that arises out of ignorance and alienation (Pettersson & Lindahl 2002).

Because of the potential opportunities and risks involved, and the lack of existing knowledge regarding Sami tourism, there is a great need for research in this area. Various aspects need to be studied and analysed. One important question is to what extent the supply³ really corresponds to the tourists' demand. Another is whether or not it is authentic Sami culture that the tourists are offered and how a non-genuine product may affect the Sami culture. Hence, there are practical as well as theoretical problems to tackle in the research field of Sami tourism.

Purpose and demarcations

Developing Sami tourism in northern Sweden is hard because of the peripheral location and the various types of barriers and risks involved in commercialisation of the Sami culture. We may observe an increasing number of Sami people involved in tourism, accompanied with an increasing demand for Sami tourism. However, the planning of, and the knowledge about, Sami tourism is rather limited. Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is to analyse the supply and demand of Sami tourism in northern Sweden. This is done in four studies which are presented in articles I-IV. The studies analyse and discuss Sami tourism with regard to the destination, the infrastructure, the impacts, the accessibility, the special events, the tourists and, last but not least, the interaction that arises from Sami tourism and the exposure of Sami culture.

The first articles discuss the study of the supply and demand of Sami tourism in Swedish Sápmi as a whole. The hypothesis is that there is a discrepancy between the

³ *Supply* can refer to both volume and content, where this thesis focuses the latter.

attractions on offer to tourists today and what tourists would really like to experience. The final articles present studies of a specific case: the winter festival in Jokkmokk (*Jokkmokks vintermarknad*). This attraction is one of the main Sami attractions and takes place in the centre of Swedish Sápmi.

Tourist activities involving hunting and fishing have greatly increased in popularity in recent years. Since these activities are not necessarily connected to the Sami, or the Sami culture, they are not included in the thesis.

Sami tourism can occur in all the four nation states that Sápmi stretches over. Each nation state has played an important role in providing the framework for Sami tourism. This has led to a situation in which the conditions for Sami tourism differ quite a lot in the four countries. The case studies in this thesis are based on tourism enterprises related to the Sami living in the Swedish part of Sápmi, i.e. the area of the 51 Swedish Sami communities (*samebyar*)⁴.

Outline of the thesis

This thesis is based on four articles linked to this introductory section, and followed by appendices (Figure 1). The *introductory section* states the purpose and demarcations of the thesis and gives a short description of the methods and sources used. It also includes a brief account of indigenous tourism, a presentation of tourism in Sápmi, some empirical evidence from the four studies and finally a concluding discussion and summaries in English and Swedish.

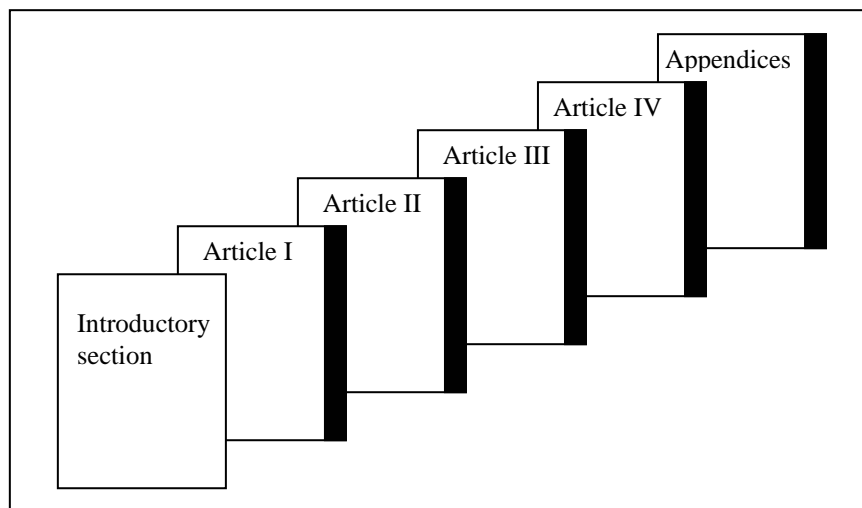


Figure 1. Outline of the thesis.

⁴ *Samebyar* are not physical villages, but co-operative enterprises with defined pasture grounds. Appendix 1 shows these Sami communities and the Swedish reindeer grazing areas.

Article I, “Access to Sami Tourism in Northern Sweden”, is written together with Dieter K. Müller⁵. This article analyses the potential of the emerging Sami tourism in Sweden, discussing the availability of and access to Sami tourism. The article is published in the *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 2001, vol. 1 (1), pp. 5-18.

Article II, “Sami Tourism in Northern Sweden – Measuring Tourists’ Opinions using Stated Preference Methodology”, discusses Sami tourism from a consumer point of view. The article sheds light on questions concerning what kind of products tourists are interested in, how pricing affects their choices and finally how distance affects the demand. The article is published in *Tourism and Hospitality Research – The Surrey Quarterly Review*, 2002, vol 3 (4), pp. 357-369.

Article III, “Indigenous Cultural Events – The Development of a Sami Winter Festival in Northern Sweden”, analyses the annual winter festival in Jokkmokk, Sweden. The study focuses on the development of the festival over time and is published in the journal *Tourism* 51 (3), pp. 319-332.

Article IV, “What and where is the Indigenous at an Indigenous Festival? – Observations from the Winter Festival in Jokkmokk, Sweden”, is written together with Dieter K. Müller⁶. This study analyses the Sami representation during the winter festival in Jokkmokk, and it has been submitted to the *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*.

The thesis ends with five *appendices*. The first appendix shows the Swedish reindeer grazing areas, and the second appendix shows parts of the questionnaire used in the second article. The third appendix provides a map showing Sami tourism enterprises in the southern part of Swedish Sápmi, and the fourth appendix shows the origin of some of the visitors to the winter festival in Jokkmokk 2003. The fifth and last appendix contains a presentation of some of the tourism activities offered by Sami tourism enterprises in Sweden.

Methods and sources

This section provides only a brief description of the principal methods and sources used in the thesis to analyse the supply and demand of Sami tourism in northern Sweden. The methods and sources used are described more thoroughly in the respective articles.

⁵ The empirical work presented in the article has been carried out by the author of this thesis alone, while the theoretical parts are co-authored.

⁶ The parts based on the media survey have been carried out by the author of this thesis alone, while the empirical work, based on participating observation and interviews, as well as the theoretical parts have been carried out together.

The point of departure for the studies has been a review of existing research in the area. These reviews have provided an introduction to the research areas covered and have raised several relevant questions. Although research on Sami tourism is relatively rare, it is possible to compare the situation in Sápmi with indigenous tourism in other parts of the world, such as Australia and North America. In these areas indigenous tourism, and indigenous tourism research, have existed much longer than in Sápmi (e.g. Hinch & Butler 1996, Price 1996). A review of existing publications also shows that indigenous tourism research has seldom focused on the supply and demand in an entire country, as this thesis does.

Besides publications with theoretical approaches and earlier empirical studies, formal and informal interviews have been extremely useful in the research process. They have shown that individuals such as the Sami entrepreneurs are well informed, but that they seldom have much contact or exchange of ideas with the other people involved in Sami tourism. In this context our research has provided an important link between the actors involved.

The first studies are rather comprehensive in order to give an overall view of Sami tourism in Swedish Sápmi. The first study presents an overview of the kind of Sami tourism products that are on offer in Sápmi, and where they are available. The study is based on a survey made in 1999 of all the Sami tourist attractions and enterprises in Swedish Lapland. The analysis is conducted by using the four Hs approach, as outlined by Smith (1996). According to Smith there are four different elements that are influential in the development of indigenous tourism, and that can be a part of the tourist experience; *habitat*, *history*, *handicrafts* and *heritage*. One of the advantages of using the four Hs approach is that it has been used in earlier indigenous tourism studies in other parts of the world, which makes comparisons possible. In the study, the four Hs are supplemented by a geographical dimension, based on a survey of the current situation in the research area. It is assumed that the potential for tourism development is dependent on the spatial distribution of the tourist attractions. The Hs are therefore defined spatially.

After the study of the supply, it is interesting to examine whether there is a discrepancy between the activities offered and the activities desired by the tourists. To answer this question the second study was undertaken. The second study is based on a survey (appendix 2) conducted among visitors in northern Sweden during the summer of 2000. The survey measures tourists' opinions regarding the Sami tourism supply. Measuring tourists' attitudes gives rise to some methodological problems (Ryan 1995). The main problem is that it is not certain that people would actually act in the way they state. In order to measure tourists' attitudes to attractions that are not available at present, a questionnaire with hypothetical questions must be constructed. Thus, the Stated Preference (SP) method is used in the second article. Several sets of hypothetical tourism alternatives are presented to the respondents. These sets contain different choices of supply, levels of price and access. To rank the importance of these three attributes a quantitative approach is necessary. Using SP methodology it is possible to study how tourists state that they would act, if these alternatives really did exist. It is also possible to correlate the stated preferences with

background variables such as age, income, and nationality. The correlation between the stated preferences and the variables is analysed in a linear regression model.

After studying the general supply and demand of Sami tourism in northern Sweden, the focus of the research was directed towards a specific attraction. In the third article the historical development of the winter festival in Jokkmokk is studied. Information was collected through studies of publications relating to the festival and interviews with the main organisers involved in the planning and organisation of the festival. Data was also collected in the local archives by scanning the application forms submitted by the tradesmen from the last thirty years, and studying the festival programmes from the past forty years. These time periods were chosen due to the availability of data, since the great expansion of the festival as a tourist attraction started half a century ago. Finally, the development of the festival is linked to tourism development models that have often been used in other studies of tourism events (e.g. Hall 1992, Getz 1997). Using the models to analyse the winter festival in Jokkmokk facilitates comparison with other events, and makes it easier to predict the probable future development.

The fourth and last article examines the indigenous content of an indigenous festival such as the one in Jokkmokk. In this study the spatial distribution of Sami heritage at the festival site is mapped. To get a picture of how tourists may experience the Sami representation, participant observation was carried out during the festival of 2003. Furthermore, focus group interviews were made with representatives of the Sami in Jokkmokk, who were asked questions in small groups about their festival experiences. The winter festival in Jokkmokk, which offers plenty of visual impressions, is well suited to these kinds of qualitative methods. Qualitative interviews, such as focus group interviews, have shown to be a good complement to the geographically based observations (e.g. Eyles & Smith 1988). Furthermore, the Sami exhibitors were mapped and categorised according to their location at the festival site. Activities on the programme related to the Sami were registered and all other appearances of the Sami or expressions of Sami culture were observed and noted. Finally, the Sami heritage displayed was also observed by examining the reporting of the festival by the Swedish media. This method was used to get an idea of how those that only experience the festival through the media are influenced.

Issues in indigenous tourism

What is indigenous tourism?

Reports referring to *indigenous tourism* are found in many different contexts. A central question to raise in this context is what indigenous tourism really is. In the limited research available that focuses on indigenous tourism, a large number of different definitions are to be found. The different definitions of indigenous tourism often state that it is the indigenous culture and tradition, together with the indigenous peoples' milieu and heritage, that form the basis for tourism development. A definition that focuses on heritage can be seen in the theory of the four Hs of indigenous tourism (Smith 1996) presented earlier and more thoroughly described in article I.

Hinch and Butler (1996) have made an attempt to define indigenous tourism using two key aspects: indigenous control and indigenous theme (Figure 2). They establish that the term indigenous tourism can be applied to activities in which indigenous peoples are involved, with varying degrees of control. In Figure 2 the level of indigenous control increases towards the right.

		INDIGENOUS CONTROL	
		<i>Low Degree of Control</i>	<i>High Degree of Control</i>
INDIGENOUS THEME	<i>Indigenous Theme Present</i>	A Culture Dispossessed	B Culture Controlled
	<i>Indigenous Theme Absent</i>	C Non-Indigenous Tourism	D Diversified Indigenous

Figure 2. Indigenous tourism. Source: Hinch & Butler (1996), p 10.

The second key aspect is the degree to which the tourist attraction is based upon an indigenous theme. In the above figure, the level of indigenous theme increases upwards. Field C, lower left, represents *Non-Indigenous Tourism*, while this thesis mainly focuses on the tourism activities found in field B: *Culture Controlled* tourism. Consequently, the thesis includes less discussion of attractions such as museums showing Sami culture (field A), or Sami involved in other occupations than tourism or mainstream tourism ventures such as hotels etc. (field D).

Zeppel, too, considers the varying degree of control over tourism exercised by indigenous peoples. Zeppel (1998) has listed a number of different limitations that can help indigenous groups to steer the development of tourism (Table 1). The control factors include limiting tourist use and limiting tourist access, regarding both time and place. These limitations are also said to help indigenous peoples not only to exercise control over the development of tourism, but also to develop sustainable tourism. The examples listed below show that sustainable development is dependent on the hosts' ability to set the limits themselves. When setting these limitations, however, indigenous hosts have to elicit the support of institutions and politicians.

Table 1. Indigenous control of tourism for sustainable development.

<i>Controls</i>	<i>Example</i>
Spatial limitation	Hosts set limits on entry to homelands and sacred sites
Activity limitation	Hosts establish preferred or permitted tourist activities
Temporal limitation	Hosts indicate appropriate times for tourist access and use
Cultural limitation	Hosts set limits on access to cultural knowledge and rituals

Source: Zeppel (1998), p 73.

Indigenous control is thus often described as an important factor when discussing indigenous tourism. There are, however, further factors that affect indigenous tourism and that must be taken into account. Hinch and Butler (1996) have presented a framework in which indigenous tourism has a temporal and a spatial dimension in relation to the surrounding global tourism industry. In their framework, indigenous tourism is influenced by its environmental context and the impact of the surrounding economy, politics, social demographics, physical environment and, of course, culture.

A conceptual framework

As the foundations of indigenous tourism are similar to those found in other kinds of tourism, a conceptual framework for tourism (Figure 3) has been used to systematise indigenous tourism. Mathieson and Wall's conceptual framework for tourism, presented in 1982, emphasises some of the major components of tourism and places the impact of tourism in a broader context.

At the top of the figure is an element of *tourist demand*, which according to Mathieson and Wall is a relatively dynamic element, including both the actual and the potential demand for tourism at a certain destination. If the tourist decides to go to the destination, the stay in the destination is described as a more static element, including the *tourism destination* itself, the *destination characteristics* and the *characteristics of the tourists*. At the bottom of the figure resulting from the

preceding elements, are the consequential elements of *tourism impacts* and *impact control*.

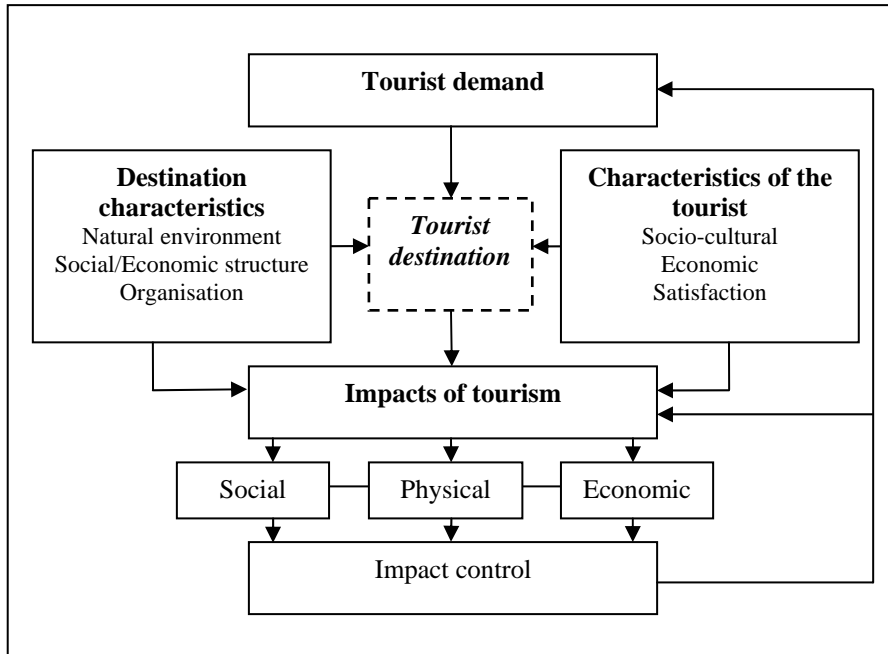


Figure 3. A conceptual framework of tourism. Reproduced and slightly simplified from Mathieson and Wall (1982), p 15.

The studies in this thesis can all be placed in the conceptual framework described in Figure 3. The first article in this thesis focuses on the destination characteristics, while the second article focuses on the tourism demand and the characteristics of the tourist. The third article examines the winter festival in Jokkmokk and discusses a rather broad range of tourism impacts. The fourth and last article also has its point of departure in the tourist destination but focuses mainly on the festival's social impacts. In the centre of the framework is the tourist destination, which in this thesis is the Swedish part of Sápmi. This destination consists of many smaller destinations and attractions, such as the winter festival in Jokkmokk.

The following sections describe the elements in Mathieson and Wall's conceptual framework of tourism more thoroughly, and discuss the framework from the perspective of indigenous tourism.

Tourist demand

The exotic and different in other peoples' cultures and ways of living attract, and have attracted visitors for a long time (Harrison & Price 1996). The growing sector of indigenous tourism shows that there is an increasing demand among tourists for this type of attraction, and many researchers predict that this demand will continue to grow (Butler & Hinch 1996, Price 1996).

What lies behind this tourist demand? Mathieson and Wall (1982) suggest a number of factors that increase the general tourist demand. These factors include: i) rising per capita incomes, ii) the desire to escape from the pressures of everyday urban living, iii) increased mobility and iv) higher levels of education. As seen above, tourist demand is affected by both push and pull factors. Tourism push factors are needs that make people want to take a break and travel away from everyday life, while pull factors are qualities that attract people to a certain destination (Sahlberg 1998).

The factors presented by Mathieson and Wall can also be used to describe the demand for indigenous tourism. Furthermore, Waitt (1999) has stated that indigenous peoples are seen as representing three potential tourist demands: i) an escape to a primeval world, ii) an adventure on an unexplored frontier (the last wilderness) and iii) eco-tourism. Waitt's list of tourist demands emphasises the fact that tourists expect authentic experiences. Although the tourists' desire for authentic experiences is a major factor behind the attractiveness of indigenous tourism, it has been said that what the tourists often get is more or less staged or arranged to suit the demand (MacCannell 1976). The indigenous destinations of today must all be staged to be able to offer a "primeval world" or "a last wilderness". An important question is what should be considered as real, or authentic, and what should not (Asplet & Cooper 2000). Taylor (2001) states that there are as many definitions of authenticity as there are those who write about it. Despite the many pitfalls and examples of poor quality products, the best criterion for authentic indigenous tourism is that it should be built on an indigenous theme, and should allow for a high degree of indigenous control (field B in Figure 2).

The tourist demand for indigenous tourism is often established outside the indigenous areas, and is based on images portrayed in the marketing of indigenous peoples and their cultures. Many tourists visiting indigenous destinations have a predefined picture of the indigenous culture, derived from things such as pictures in brochures or picture postcards, combined with common prejudices (Edwards 1996, Milne, Grekin & Woodley 1998). Consequently, an indigenous theme and indigenous control may not necessarily ensure that tourists get an authentic impression of indigenous peoples. The tourists' demands affect the development of indigenous tourism to a large extent, and support the development of staged settings. The tourist demand creates the necessary conditions for the development of tourism, including providing jobs, incomes and the transfer of knowledge (Notzke 1999). On the other hand, tourist demand may give rise to a commercialisation of indigenous culture.

The destination

The indigenous tourism destination is the arena where supply and demand, or producers and consumers, meet. Mathieson and Wall (1982) have stated that the capacity of a destination to absorb the tourist demand depends upon the interrelationships of a number of complex factors; i) the natural environmental features and processes, ii) the economic structure and economic development, iii) the social structure and organisation, iv) the political organisation and v) the level of tourist development. These factors not only influence how the tourist demand is absorbed, but also influence the impacts of tourism.

When studying indigenous tourism, parallels have often been drawn to tourism research in general, and to rural tourism in particular. Tourism in indigenous areas, which are often in remote, marginal regions, raises global questions concerning matters such as accessibility, land use, sustainability etc. (Butler, Hall & Jenkins 1998). In these areas, tourism development is restricted by limited infrastructure and limited service. Restrictions of all kinds impede a steady development of tourism destinations. Tourism development models, such as the one outlined by Baum (1998) and the life cycle model as outlined by Butler (1980) are often used to analyse the development of destinations.

However, the peripheral location is not only a disadvantage. Hinch (1995) uses examples from Canada to highlight a paradox in the peripheral location of indigenous destinations: their geographic isolation is both a major asset and a major liability. A remote location gives a destination an aura of exclusiveness and the exotic status of being a place where not everyone has been and where not everyone can go.

Although indigenous tourism is often synonymous with tourism in peripheral locations, it should be mentioned that indigenous tourism in North America and Australia, for instance, is sometimes offered in large cities (Hinkson 2003, Petterson & Müller 2001). In such urban destinations the accessibility is greater, but the exclusiveness may be lower. This spatial discussion can be compared with the discussion of *vacationscapes* (Gunn 1997). Gunn points out that a set of tourist attractions clustered together result in a stronger tourism destination.

A peripheral location means long travel time and high travel costs. Not only may the distance to the indigenous area be great, but even after arrival at the indigenous destination the distances inside the area can also be extensive. There can be other restrictions connected to the fact that the destinations are not only located peripherally but often also in sparsely populated areas, such as problems in recruiting labour. In the indigenous areas there are often few occupational alternatives, whereby people often migrate to larger cities to find employers or educational institutions.

The tourist

Much of the research connected to indigenous tourism has concentrated on the hosting area and the impact of guests on hosts (Moscardo & Pearce 1999). Less attention has been paid to the characteristics of the tourists who visit indigenous destinations. Mathieson and Wall (1982) have listed a number of general tourist characteristics; i) the socio-economic characteristics of visitors (e.g. age, sex, income, attitudes etc.), ii) the level of use (number of visitors, distribution in space and time), iii) the length of stay, iv) the types of activity and v) the level of satisfaction. According to Mathieson and Wall these characteristics are important because they influence the magnitude and frequency of tourism and the kind of interaction with the physical attributes of the destination and its people.

Moscardo and Pearce (1999) have studied tourists in indigenous tourism destinations in Australia. They found that the typical visitor was middle-aged, travelled with his/her partner and was rather conscious of his/her role as a tourist. The tourists stated that they wished to achieve a balance between their desire for contact and the risk of disturbing the indigenous everyday life. Due to their interest in interacting with the hosts, learning about the culture and participating in indigenous activities, the visitors were divided by Moscardo and Pearce into subgroups. An important reason for visiting the indigenous area was shown to be a desire to learn more about the indigenous culture.

However, the tourists are not only interested in the indigenous culture itself. They are also interested in other aspects of the indigenous destination, such as the landscape, flora, fauna and the opportunities for outback adventures (Ryan & Huyton 2000). This observation, made by Ryan and Huyton after studies in Australia, is supported by Hinch (1995), who wrote that tourists in Canada's Northwest Territories ranked local people and culture as number two and three after the wildlife and landscape of the destination.

Research into what kind of indigenous activities tourists prefer is limited. However, earlier studies show that a large number of tourists visit attractions that are specifically arranged for tourism (MacCannell 1976, McIntoch & Prentice 1999, Taylor 2001). Examples of these attractions are places providing food and dance shows or even more staged attractions at museums or visitor centres. Besides these kinds of attractions, tourists seem to find their way to small-scale enterprises that offer attractions such as participating in everyday activities. A conclusion drawn in many studies is that international tourists show a larger interest in indigenous attractions than domestic tourists (e.g. Ryan and Huyton 2002).

In conclusion, more research is necessary to find out more about the tourists who visit indigenous destinations. The largest gaps in our knowledge about this group of tourists concern the level of use and the attitude and satisfaction of the tourists. The little research that has been carried out on tourist satisfaction shows a relatively high degree of tourist satisfaction among tourists at indigenous destinations (see for example Notzke's article from 1999 about studies in Canada).

The impacts of tourism

Tourism activities create impacts (Mason 2003, Mathieson and Wall 1982). The term *carrying capacity* is often used in relation to the impacts of tourism. Carrying capacity can be said to be the maximum number of people that can use a destination without an unacceptable change taking place. Attracting a large number of visitors is not an end in itself. Neither tourists nor locals gain by the number of visitors becoming too large. The destination then risks losing its exclusivity and may become too crowded, both for the hosts and for the guests.

Researchers and tourism entrepreneurs no longer talk in terms of a magic number of visitors. Today the concept of carrying capacity is used to indicate the degree of change involved and its direction, and to assess the level of change that is acceptable (Walmsley & Lewis 1993). Mathieson and Wall (1982) state that carrying capacity levels are influenced by two major groups of factors, namely the earlier mentioned characteristics of the tourists and the characteristics of the destination.

Tourism, including the number of visitors, gives rise to both positive and negative impacts in the destination area. These impacts are often divided into economic, social and environmental impacts. Table 2 shows positive and negative impacts of tourism, divided into three dimensions: an economic, a social and an environmental. Tourism impacts affect both hosts and guests, but as locals spend more time in the destination area, they are the most affected by positive and negative factors. For them the degree of tourism development can be a difficult balancing act between “wanting to” and “not wanting to”.

The positive economic impact, including job opportunities, is often given as a reason for getting involved in tourism. Tourism consumption, however, does not only bring income to the tourism entrepreneur. There will also be indirect economic effects in the local economy connected to tourism producers. This means that the economic impact from tourism, thanks to multiplier effects, is larger than simply the direct incomes of the producers (Mathieson & Wall 1982, Pearce 1989).

When a culture forms the base of the attraction, as in the case of indigenous tourism, it is important to consider the social impacts of tourism development. It has already been mentioned that indigenous tourism can be a way of increasing the visitors' knowledge and, hopefully, a way of decreasing antagonism towards indigenous peoples. On the other hand one of the risks of indigenous tourism is that it may give rise to a “disneyfication” of the indigenous culture. Indigenous tourism often involves staged, metaphoric and touristic images (Cohen 1993).

Table 2. Possible impacts of tourism.

	<i>Economic impacts</i>	<i>Social impacts</i>	<i>Environmental impacts</i>
<i>Positive</i>	Job opportunities	More contacts	Increased consciousness
	Higher incomes	Increased knowledge	Protection of wildlife and environment
	More varying occupations	Improved self-confidence	More attention to cultural heritage
	Broader economic base	Improved situation for women	
	New activities	Population growth Better social service	
<i>Negative</i>	More seasonal jobs	Alienation	Erosion
	Rise in prices	Criminality	Littering
	Increased dependence	"Disneyfication" of culture	Pollution
	Costs of development		Noise

Source: Remodelled from Hall & Page (1999), p 122.

The main question is, consequently, how the specific nature of indigenous peoples is to be retained when tourism development threatens to commercialise their culture. Sustainable indigenous tourism must be based on development controlled by the indigenous peoples themselves. One concrete step in this direction would be to construct exclusive "tourist places" where the tourism activities could take place. At these places it would be easier to influence the tourists' perceptions and attitudes (Milne, Grekin & Woodley 1998). Furthermore, this could mean more privacy for the locals at the same time as tourists have a high degree of access to the supply.

If there is a great demand for indigenous tourism in the future it will be increasingly important to have control over the impacts involved. Hinch (1995) proposes four principles, drawn from experience of indigenous tourism in Canada. Firstly, a greater control of tourism development is required. Secondly, in view of the complex issues that arise from tourism, education programmes are essential. These education programmes are as important for hosts as for guests. Thirdly, tourism should not be treated as the only strategy for economic development, but as one component of a diversified strategy. Finally, tourism development should be limited to a level that allows effective local control, which implies slow growth and small-scale development.

One way to control tourism impacts is to organise those involved into a larger network. For instance, the *Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association* (CNATA) was established in 1990 to promote, protect and preserve the integrity of indigenous tourism (Getz & Jamieson 1997). Among other things this association has paid attention to the loss of cultural identity that tourism might engender. In another part of the world, Australia, governmental attempts to achieve a sustainable

development of indigenous tourism have been criticised for only paying attention to the economic impact of tourism (Whitford, Bell & Watkins 2001).

Tourism in Sápmi

The research area, situated in the very north of Europe (Figure 4), is characterised by its peripheral location, its lack of development, its sparse population and its limited infrastructure. In this area, the northern half of Sweden covering approximately 250,000 km², live only about 10 % (i.e. 1,000,000) of Sweden's population. The residents are preferably found along the coast, while the traditional Sami population and also the Sami tourism are found in the inland parts. In Sápmi, as in other indigenous areas, these characteristics are not only restrictions but are also an important part of the attraction of the area. The Sami culture, combined with the "wilderness" landscape, attracts an increasing number of visitors.

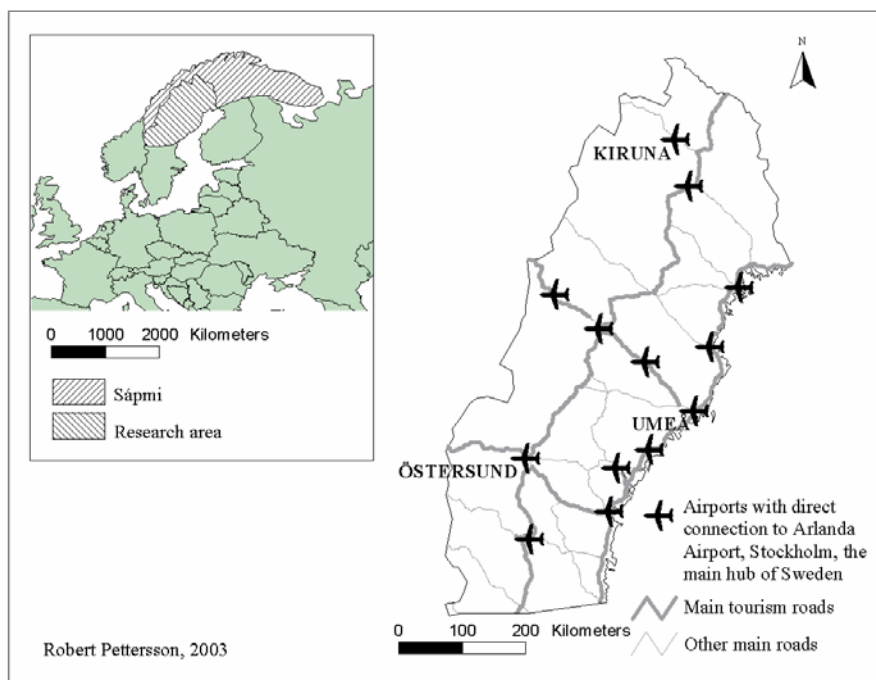


Figure 4. Top left a map showing Sápmi and the research area. On the right a map showing northern Sweden with main roads and airports.

Tourism development based on the Sami and Sami culture has a different history and different conditions in the four nation states that comprise Sápmi. Besides national legislation and rules, considerable regional differences regarding, for example, Sami language, traditions, and relations to the non-Sami population affect the preconditions for reindeer herding, but also for tourism development. Hence even within the nation state the Sami area is rather heterogeneous explaining different regional development.

During recent decades the Norwegian Sami have made considerable efforts to develop long-term sustainable Sami tourism. In Finland many fortune hunters, Sami and non-Sami, have made often controversial and criticised ventures in Sami tourism. In some Finnish cases bogus Sami ceremonies have been invented and marketed for tourists, and fake souvenirs have been sold as Sami handicraft (Gustavsen 1998, Viken 1997a). The small group of Sami living in Russia, on the Kola Peninsula, have hardly been involved in tourism activities at all (Lyngnes & Viken 1998).

Among the Sami in Sweden today scarcely one in seven, or about 2,500, are involved in reindeer herding, and are members of the Sami communities; *samebyar*. Tourists have visited the Swedish Sami for a relatively long time, even if specialised activities have been sporadic up until the last decade. For example in the late 19th century, tourists in Swedish Sápmi could visit Sami camps and chapels. In some places tourists could be invited into the Sami tent, where they were offered a traditional Sami meal. If they were lucky they might also have been invited to sleep in a Sami tent for the night. Travellers in the north of Sweden valued the Sami men for their skill as guides (Nilsson 1999, Tottie 1977).

Even though the Sami tourist attractions have remained relatively unchanged for the last century, much has changed in the Sami society. Some of the greater changes are the less nomadic lifestyle and the motorised and modernised reindeer herding (Kvenangen 1996). Despite these changes, it is often seen as advantageous, in a tourism context, to promote a traditional image of the Sami. Moreover, the Sami still have considerable knowledge of nature, animals and plant species, and of course of the indigenous Sami culture, which is of great interest to visitors (Svanberg & Tunón 2000).

Tourist attractions in Sápmi

Today there are many reasons for the Sami to start tourism enterprises, for example the recent decline in reindeer herding and the increased interest in tourism entrepreneurship shown by many young Sami. There is also a large demand from tourists for Sami tourism. The supply and demand of Sami tourism meet at Sami tourism destinations. Today there are an increasing number of tourist attractions in Sápmi, and although they are all based on Sami culture and heritage, there is a wide variety of activities for the interested visitor to discover⁷.

It is possible to split the Sami tourist attractions into different categories based on their characteristics (Table 3). Many producers, and consumers, strive to create *authentic* experiences, where the visitors can find genuine products, but it is often hard to provide a genuine supply when the surrounding community changes over time. Nevertheless, it is rather common that Sami tourism entrepreneurs market experiences such as Sami everyday life, but naturally the Sami everyday life usually needs some adjustments to suit the tourists. The lucky tourist may, nevertheless, be

⁷ The location of Sami tourism enterprises in the northern and southern parts of Swedish Sápmi is shown in article I and appendix 3, respectively.

fortunate enough to witness a genuine reindeer calf marking during their visit to Sápmi.

Most Sami tourism, as well as other kinds of tourism (Chhabra, Healy & Sills 2003, MacCannel 1976), is more or less *arranged* or staged to suit the visitors. In Sápmi there are ongoing discussions about how staged attractions at staged meeting places may harm the Sami culture (Green 1999 & 2000, Saarinen 2001, Viken 1997b). Aronsson (1997) refers to museums and festivals as examples of staged attractions. Both Sami museums and Sami festivals are found in the Swedish part of Sápmi.

In the sparsely populated mountain region, where many of the Swedish reindeer herding Sami live, the *landscape, flora and fauna* play an important role in tourism. Many of the tourist attractions in Sápmi take place outdoors, or in the indigenous habitat as Smith (1996) prefers to call it. In the Sami habitat, reindeer are a natural ingredient and constitute an important attraction and are a symbol of Sami tourism. The use of reindeer is increasingly common in Sami tourism.

Another of Smith's Hs is *handicraft*. The Sami handicraft is such an important part of Sami tourism that it deserves its own category. Both the making of the handicraft and the places in which it is sold can be considered as tourist attractions. They are the most common attractions in Sápmi and probably also have the greatest degree of accessibility.

Finally, the *non-physical* attractions should also be mentioned. These include pictures and texts in the media for instance on television and in newspapers. Due to their colourful costumes and interesting culture the Sami are often exposed in the media. Sami culture is used by both Sami and non-Sami promoters to sell Sami or non-Sami destinations or products. For example many tourist brochures contain illustrations related to Sami culture. For a lot of people these non physical experiences are their first contact with the Sami culture. In contrast to the physical tourist attractions, which are almost solely are found in Sápmi, tourists can come into contact with these non-physical attractions outside Sápmi.

Table 3. Different categories of tourist attractions in Sápmi.

<i>Tourist attraction</i>	<i>Examples</i>
<i>Authentic</i>	Everyday life
<i>Arranged</i> (staged)	Museum, festival
<i>Nature</i> (habitat)	Mountain hike with Sami guide
<i>Handicraft</i>	Production and sale
<i>Non physical</i>	Media, marketing

Furthermore, the different attractions above can be temporary or permanent. Many of the attractions are seasonal and the tourists often have to check open hours and book their visits in advance.

The lack of accessibility is a common restriction regarding tourism in remote and sparsely populated areas (Lundgren 1995). There are, however, many gateways to the tourist destinations in the Swedish part of Sápmi, see Figure 4. The easiest and most common means of access is by air or by car (Fredman et al. 2001). Many visitors approach Sápmi via the highways that run in a south-north direction along the coast or in the interior. Basic tourist services, such as restaurants and accommodation, are available in and close to the traditional nodes and towns, which can be found at intervals of about 100 kilometres along the major roads. This infrastructure serves also the local population and hence, the location of tourist services mirrors to a large extent the population distribution in the area. The Tourism development has thus mainly evolved around the existing service infrastructure.

Today's population centres are based on historical market places where Sami and Swedish traders met. Most of these markets that also served administrative purposes and allowed the state to exercise power faded away and lost their importance. An exception can be found in Jokkmokk, a traditional Sami centre and today the Swedish town that has maintained the strongest Sami profile. There the local winter market has been transformed into an annual festival. It is nowadays one of the largest and most famous tourism attractions in the Swedish part of Sápmi.⁸ The festival is an interesting attraction because of the fact that it consists of many different, small attractions. Paradoxically the peripheral location, the often harsh weather, the lack of accommodation and transport alternatives contribute to the exclusive attraction of the festival. In recent decades the festival has had a constant, or even increasing, number of visitors. As the development of tourism in connection with the festival has progressed, inquiries about accommodation, food and transport have extended to the surrounding towns. This shows that even if an attraction is limited in time and space, it may affect a much larger area. A similar Sami event that attracts many long-distance visitors is the Easter festival in Kautokeino in Norway.

Many of the indigenous tourism destinations are dependent on the entrepreneurs having a high level of professional skill and expertise. Something speaking in favour of Sami tourism is an increasing interest among young Sami to study tourism. Nowadays it is often possible to study tourism as a distance programme, which makes it easier for many Sami students to combine studies with reindeer herding, for example. Furthermore, indigenous peoples in the Northern Hemisphere have recently been offered a bachelor degree programme in Circumpolar Studies, with Indigenous Tourism as a term-course. This course is an interesting example of a rather rare phenomenon, namely that indigenous people from several continents cooperate with each other to strengthen the development of indigenous tourism.

Some of the Sami tourism entrepreneurs who are active today are very knowledgeable, without having studied the subject. They have learned a lot during the decades that they have run their tourism enterprises. These businesses are important as they provide successful examples and the entrepreneurs possess

⁸ This attraction is more thoroughly described in article III and article IV.

invaluable knowledge that can be passed on to younger tourism entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurs with long experience are important for the establishment of Sami tourism networks, which can strengthen the sector in the long run through the exchange of ideas and experiences. In an effort to strengthen and develop profitable and sustainable Sami tourism in Sweden, two separate networks have recently been established. These networks, one in the southern part of Swedish Sápmi and one in the northern part, aim to collaborate on issues concerning Sami tourism development. Initially the main discussions in the networks have concerned what Sami tourism is, and should be. In the long run, the aim is to establish long-term business collaboration.

Tourists in Sápmi

Sami tourism attracts various kinds of tourists. In Table 4 the tourists in Sápmi are divided in two main groups. The first group of tourists, those with a *special interest* in the Sami and Sami culture, is a rather small category of visitors looking for exclusive and exotic experiences on their own, or in small groups. These visitors generally live outside Sápmi, often abroad. The fact that the tourists with a special interest travel long distances to experience indigenous tourism is also seen in other indigenous societies (Ryan 2002). Their main reason for travelling to Sápmi is often to take part in Sami tourism, and they are prepared to pay for a tourism activity that stretches over several days. They are often rather conscious of their roles as tourists in Sápmi and are interested in learning more about the Sami and Sami culture. Tourists in this category are ready to spend a lot of money, if the activities offered appeal to their interests. Examples of tourism activities that suit this group include those described in article II: participation in Sami everyday life, visiting a Sami camp or mountain hikes with a Sami guide.

Table 4. A hypothetical presentation of two categories of tourists in Sápmi.

	<i>Special interest</i>	<i>General interest</i>
<i>Origin</i>	National, global	Local, regional
<i>Number</i>	Few	Many
<i>Exclusiveness</i>	High	Low
<i>Consciousness</i>	High	Low
<i>Preparation</i>	Well prepared	Poorly prepared
<i>Willingness to pay</i>	High	Low
<i>Examples of attractions</i>	Everyday life, Sápmi hike	Museums, events

The second group of tourists, here called the tourists with a *general interest*, is more numerous than the first group. These tourists are, however, not prepared to spend as large amount of money as the ones in the first group, and they often combine visits to Sami with visits to non-Sami attractions and activities. They seldom express an interest in learning more about Sápmi and the Sami as the motive behind their visit

to Sápmi, and they may not even look upon themselves as tourists. Furthermore, the tourists with a general interest often live within Sápmi or in northern Sweden, and they may even be Sami themselves. They rarely prepare themselves expressly for the tourism activity. Examples of activities that attract this kind of tourist include Sami museums and visitor centres (e.g. *Ájtte* in Jokkmokk, *Sápmi* in Karasjok, Norway and *Siida* in Inari, Finland) or Sami events (e.g. the winter festival in Jokkmokk, the Easter festival in Kautokeino, Norway and the Sami festival in Hetta, Finland).

A supplementary study was made at the same time as the case studies in Jokkmokk (article III and article IV) to try to find out where the festival visitors came from. The visitors at the winter festival in Jokkmokk could mainly be classified as tourists with a general interest. Furthermore, there are also non-Sami activities that attract visitors to the festival in Jokkmokk. Nevertheless, the strongly Sami-influenced festival is a good occasion to observe many visitors during a limited time. The study was made by noting the registration numbers of more than 1,000 cars during the festival in 2003. The study showed that the visitors that came by car were foremost local and regional, in particular from the surroundings of Jokkmokk and the coastal strip to the east. Appendix 4 shows the origin of the cars that were observed in the study made during the winter festival of 2003.

Besides cars and rental cars there were also about 50 hired coaches each day at the festival in Jokkmokk. The study shows that these buses were mainly registered in northern Sweden, especially in the larger cities along the coast. These buses are often rented by tourism entrepreneurs (non-Sami), who arrange packaged day trips to the festival in Jokkmokk, with accommodation at hotels in towns situated between 100 and 250 kilometres from Jokkmokk. Traffic counts made by the festival organisers show that a majority of the visitors come by car and bus, and only a minority come on the fully booked trains or chartered aeroplanes. Because of the limited infrastructure in Sápmi, other Sami tourism attractions also tend to be visited mainly by tourists travelling by car.

The fact that the temperature during the winter festival days in Jokkmokk affects the number of visitors to a large extent also supports the supposition that a large number of the visitors to Sami events are local or regional. A regression model testing the number of visitors in relation to the temperature in the period 1982 to 2002 shows a significant correlation (sig. <0,05) between the number of visitors and the mean temperature. This significant relationship indicates that many visitors decide at a very late stage whether to go to the festival or not. Many of the visitors must thus live at a distance of no more than a day's journey. These results showing the local and regional origin of tourists correspond to earlier studies of tourism in Sweden. For instance Jansson (1994) has shown that the counties in northern Sweden receive most tourists from their own county.

However, the two kinds of tourists in Sápmi presented above are only generalisations. In fact there are as many kinds of tourists in Sápmi as there are tourists. Although they are travelling in Sápmi, the tourists themselves may not necessarily look upon themselves as tourists. In this thesis people taking part in

activities or attractions defined as Sami tourism are all considered as tourists in Sápmi.

Tourism interaction in Sápmi

The following section will discuss the actors and factors that influence interaction in Sami tourism, as well as the restrictions to this interaction and its impacts.

Tourism always involves an interaction between the producers and the consumers of tourism (Figure 5). Direct and indirect economic factors, for instance monetary incomes and employment opportunities, are recognised as driving forces in tourism. Economic development through tourism is increasingly one of the strategies being chosen to foster the economic independence of indigenous peoples (Hinch & Butler 1996) and the Sami are no exception. The interaction between producers and consumers can thus not only be seen in financial transactions from consumer to producer, but also as social and cultural exchanges in both directions (Aronsson 1993). There is a two-way exchange of knowledge and experiences between the producer and the consumer. This exchange is in terms of environment, culture, activities and so on.

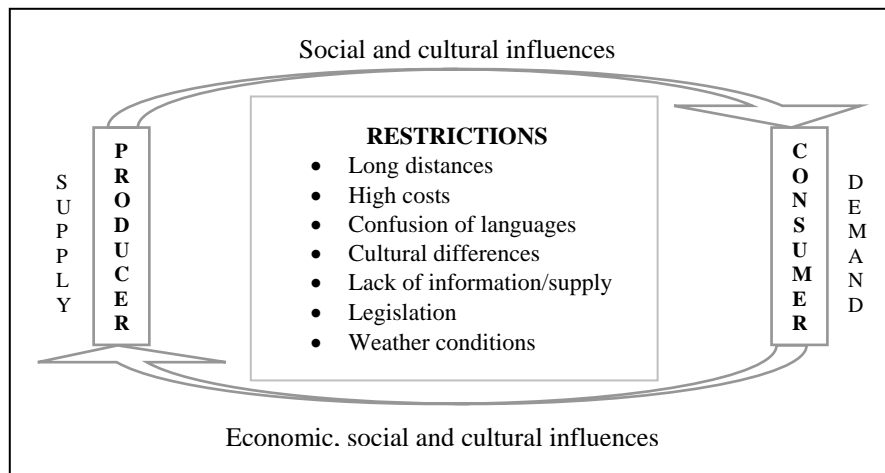


Figure 5. Tourism interaction and restrictions concerning producers and consumers of Sami tourism.

Sami tourism offers visitors relaxed experiences in rural settings, which provide a contrast to many people's everyday life. The interaction is, however, only possible if tourists choose to travel to Sápmi and take part in the activities provided by the Sami tourism entrepreneurs. The decision to visit Sápmi and the consequent exchange between producer and consumer involve overcoming various restrictions. These restrictions are connected to time, space, culture and so on (Getz & Jamieson 1997,

Hägerstrand 1991, Lundén 1989, Walmsley & Lewis 1993). Easy access to tourism activities is a determining factor for the development of tourism in any area (Shaw & Williams 1994).

The fact that Sápmi is situated far from the areas where most people live entails long-distance travelling and high travel costs. There are also restrictions related to the fact that the law regulates certain activities such as fishing, hunting and the use of snowmobiles. These restrictions, applied in certain areas or during certain periods, reduce tourists' access to Sápmi. Naturally, to attract tourists it is important not only to provide tourist attractions and activities, but also to be successful in spreading information about these attractions. When marketing an area or an attraction, the different cultures and different languages in the target area can also constitute a restriction.

The restricting factors affect the accessibility of the tourism area and of the tourism activities, to a greater or a lesser degree. Access to outdoor recreation can be seen from many angles. Sandell (1997), for example, presented technical, behavioural, socio-cultural, socio-political, eco-political, legal and educational frames of reference. Regarding Sápmi, technical factors such as inland highways, railroads and airports increase the accessibility, and socio-cultural factors, such as the Swedish right of common access (*allmansrätten*), are also positive. Because of the Swedish right of common access tourism activities take place on common land, i.e. areas accessible to everyone. The consequence of this is that tourism development is of interest to many parties (Saarinen 1998, Sandell 1998). This fact is of special relevance in an area like Sápmi, which is characterised by a large proportion of vulnerable, small-scale businesses. One important question is, therefore, how these interest groups can jointly develop tourism, including matters such as protection against negative economic, social and environmental impacts (Aronsson 1997).

In addition to restricting components and accessibility dimensions, there are also other actors and factors influencing tourism in Sápmi. Interest groups such as Sami organisations, Swedish county administrative boards (*länsstyrelser*) and non-Sami locals living in the area are all important actors. Over the past years these groups have been involved in a debate focused principally on land-use rights. Questions of hunting, fishing and land ownership have given rise to a heated debate, sometimes in connection with Sami tourism development (Arell 1995).

The Sami tourism development has also been influenced by the way reindeer herding has developed in the area. Lately, as incomes from reindeer herding have decreased, Sami tourism activities have increased. In an initial phase subsidies from the European Union have shown to be an important factor for tourism development in Sápmi. Many of the tourism entrepreneurs that decide to develop tourism activities are, nevertheless, cautious, and usually start on a small-scale to test whether it is going to work at all (Gustafsson & Olsson 2001).

Empirical evidence

Results from article I

The first of the four articles, *Access to Sami Tourism in Northern Sweden* (Müller & Pettersson 2000) focuses on the production of tourism related to the Sami and Sami culture in northern Sweden. The study shows that there is a growing supply of tourism activities related to the Swedish Sami. The tourism development is, however, restricted by factors such as the peripheral location and the lack of traditions of entrepreneurship. The peripheral location, together with the fact that the type of attraction offered is often expensive, results in a rather exclusive kind of tourism that may exclude certain households.

In the first article it is stated that all four of Smith's Hs (habitat, heritage, history and handicrafts) are present in the Swedish part of Sápmi, even though it is a geographically isolated area. It is argued that the different spatial distribution of the four Hs gives rise to different degrees of accessibility, which affects the potential for success of the various tourism enterprises. The geographical pattern of tourist attractions in Swedish Sápmi to a large extent mirrors the population distribution. The attractions are often located rather close to urban centres or close to tourist resorts that can provide tourist services such as restaurants, shopping facilities and accommodation.

In most cases the kind of tourist attractions on offer in Swedish Sápmi presuppose that the tourists are rather well informed before they arrive in the area. Tourists travelling in the north of Sweden who have little previous knowledge of, or interest in, the Sami culture are quite unlikely to discover the Sami tourist attractions that are on offer. However, tourists that visit, phone or write to tourist information offices before or during their trip can get access to updated information.

Despite the fact that the number of Sami tourism entrepreneurs in the Swedish part of Sápmi is rather limited, there has been a relatively fast growth of tourism during the past years. The analysis in article I is based on a survey of all the 68 Sami tourist attractions in Swedish Lapland in 1999. Besides tourism enterprises, supply and demand in Sápmi can meet at museums, festivals and through Sami handicrafts. After the publication of the study described in article I, supplementary studies have been carried out. These studies show that the supply described in article I is similar to the supply in the southern part of Swedish Sápmi (Gustafsson & Olsson 2001). In 2003 approximately 40 Sami tourism enterprises were operating in the Swedish part of Sápmi, of which the majority were established during the past ten years. Among more recently established Sami tourism enterprises, there is a tendency towards small-scale enterprises and increasingly exclusive activities. The small-scale Sami tourism entrepreneurs only have limited knowledge about where their visitors come from, and what they are interested in.

Results from article II

The second article, *Sami Tourism in Northern Sweden – Measuring Tourists’ Opinions using Stated Preference Methodology* (Pettersson 2002), takes a consumer perspective. If the first article in this thesis shows that there is a supply of Sami tourism attractions and activities in northern Sweden today, the second article shows that visitors travelling in northern Sweden represent a large demand for Sami tourism. Every second respondent has already experienced Sami tourism and four out of five would like to participate in Sami tourism in the future.

But are the Sami activities that are on offer those that are demanded by the tourists? When comparing the results from the first two articles it is possible, in some respects, to point out a discrepancy between the supply (production) and the demand (consumption). Figure 6 shows the three main types of supply and demand for Sami tourism activities in northern Sweden. The figure is based on the hypothetical supply alternatives used in the study (article II), and a similar classification of the Swedish Sami tourism activities on offer (from article I, but also listed in appendix 5).

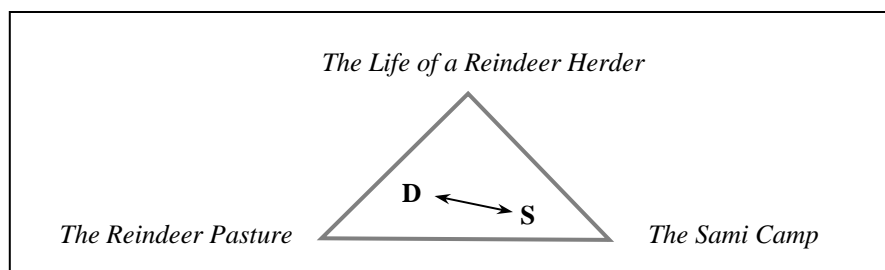


Figure 6. Main types of Supply (S) and demand (D) for Swedish Sami tourism activities. The double-ended arrow shows the principle discrepancy between supply and demand.

As seen in Figure 6 the supply (S) of Swedish Sami tourism activities is currently focused on the kind of activity described as *The Sami Camp*. The demand (D) expressed by tourists travelling in northern Sweden is, on the other hand, closer to *The Life of a Reindeer Herder*, and especially closer to the activity described as *The Reindeer Pasture*. One reason why tourists seem to prefer the reindeer pasture may be that this attraction not only involves learning more about Sami culture but also offers a chance to approach and appreciate the Sami habitat. The discrepancy between the supply and demand for Sami tourism may also be explained by certain restrictions on the tourists’ demand, such as a feeling of discomfort when taking part in other people’s everyday life.

Besides the tourists’ attitudes and preferences regarding the tourist attractions and activities offered (supply), the second article also discusses the price of these activities and the access to the activities. The analysis, using a linear regression model, shows that the price appears to be the attribute that affects tourists’ attitudes

and preferences most, i.e. more than supply and accessibility. Although the respondents prefer shorter driving distances, the car drive seems to be a part of the attraction and contributes to the feeling of leaving the urban milieu for something else.

The categories of tourists that appear to be most attracted by Sami tourism are middle-aged, well educated women, travelling by car, that have visited the area on previous occasions and who tend to live outside Sápmi. A large potential can also be seen in visitors from abroad, for instance tourists from Germany. In the study there is also an interesting group of tourists who are not interested in Sami tourism. This type of tourist states a lack of interest in Sami culture in general, a lack of time and other restricting reasons such as age or ill health. This group tends to live closer to the Sami attractions or even inside Sápmi to a larger extent.

Results from article III

The third article, *Indigenous Cultural Events – The Development of a Sami Winter Festival in Northern Sweden* (Pettersson 2003), describes one of the largest Sami tourist attractions: the winter festival in Jokkmokk in northern Sweden. The festival in Jokkmokk started as a trading place but has developed to become a large tourist attraction. The number of organisers involved in the festival has grown. The largest increase was after the 1950's when it started to develop as a tourist attraction. The only organiser that is no longer involved in organising the festival is the Swedish State, which originally established it in 1605.

The traditional trade fair is, and has always been, an important part of the festival in Jokkmokk. The results from the study reported in the third article show that the number of traders and market stalls has increased during the last decades to stabilise at about 200 tradesmen distributed along about 500 market stalls each year. A majority of the tradesmen come from northern Sweden, and one out of five has Sami-related merchandise for sale. All kinds of merchandise are sold at the trade fair, but there is a dominance of handicraft products.

Festival leaflets from the last decades show that the festival has much to offer besides the trade fair. The number of tradesmen, as well as the number of activities, has increased during the last decades. The largest increase is in the number of exhibitions and shows, but also the number of outdoor activities and seminars has increased. The festival activities tend to extend into the neighbouring villages to Jokkmokk. Consequently the festival influences a larger area than before.

The analysis shows that the festival in Jokkmokk, thanks to the continuous addition of new attractions, has been able to retain a rather high level of popularity despite its peripheral location on the Arctic Circle in northern Sweden. After 400 years, the Sami culture and its role as a market still makes the winter festival in Jokkmokk unique. However, other activities have become an increasingly important part of the

festival. It is interesting to compare the development with different theoretical models and try to predict what will happen in the future. A conclusion drawn in the third article is that if the festival can retain its Sami characteristics and continue to add new attractions, it will remain popular, both with the Sami and tourists.

Results from article IV

The fourth, and last, of the articles, *What and where is the Indigenous at an Indigenous Festival? – Observations from the Winter Festival in Jokkmokk, Sweden* (Müller & Pettersson 2004), states that the tourist experience of the indigenous culture is often limited to staged culture in museums, exhibitions and festivals. In the article it is argued that the indigenous culture presented at the winter festival in Jokkmokk is highly staged, although backstage experiences are available to the Sami and to the tourists who show a special interest.

In the study three separate areas of the festival are defined. The first one is the *commercial area* where the traditional trade fair is found. The second one is the *activity area*, with the activities offered at the lakeside in Jokkmokk. The third and last festival area is named the *cultural area* and it includes the Sami museum and the Sami educational institution.

The Sami representation differs in these three areas. Much of the Sami influences in the festival are found in and among the market stalls in the commercial trading area. The most common Sami attributes in this area are Sami handicrafts and the colourful Sami costumes, worn both by tradesmen and by Sami visitors to the festival. In the activity area at the lakeside, the Sami culture is often a part of the attraction. Here the most common Sami symbols are reindeers and Sami tents. In the culture area, the museum presents Sami culture in many ways, although in a rather static, historical way. In addition to the exhibitions there are also seminars and lectures during the festival. At the Sami educational institution there are many Sami craftsmen selling genuine Sami handicraft.

The media survey that was undertaken shows that reports from the festival were common, especially in the local newspapers and in newspapers from northern Sweden. Altogether almost one hundred cuttings were collected during the weeks before and after the festival. The cuttings included many photographs, and a conclusion drawn in the article is that the photographs from the media survey present a more exotic image than the image experienced at the festival site.

Interviews show that the festival is enjoyed by the Sami is very important to them. However, the Sami have the feeling that Sami culture has to some extent been pushed aside, away from the centre of the festival. The interviews also show that the Sami (insiders) experience the festival in a different way than the tourists (outsiders). The Sami experience more non-staged activities than the tourists. The

article concludes that the festival is both an important indigenous attraction, and an annual forum for displaying and redefining Sami culture.

Discussion and conclusions

The tourist and the tourist demand

During the last decades indigenous tourism has attracted more and more people, and Sápmi is no exception to this trend. At the same time as the Sami tourism supply increases in Sweden, the tourist demand related to Sami tourism seems to remain at a high level, and may even increase in the future. Furthermore, in an international comparison, Sweden in its entirety seems to be considered as a safe and affordable place for tourists at present.

The studies presented in this thesis, like other studies, show a wide variety of tourists that are interested in indigenous tourism. The fact that indigenous tourism is often only one part of a tourism experience speaks in favour of tourists with many different interests and backgrounds. The division into tourists with a special interest in Sápmi and tourists with a general interest presented in the thesis is, of course, very tentative. On the other hand, it is a way to explain not only two different kinds of tourists, but also a way of defining two different kinds of tourist demands: small-scale/exclusive and large-scale/general.

In the second article, tourists travelling in northern Sweden were asked questions about Sami tourism, in particular questions related to small-scale/exclusive Sami tourism. The total population of respondents includes both tourists with a special interest and those with a general interest, but the former are in the majority. It can be assumed that questions about large-scale/general attractions, such as museums and festivals, would have resulted in somewhat different answers. Probably tourists that could be categorised as having a general interest would have stated a greater degree of approval.

The studies in this thesis show that there is a discrepancy between the supply and demand for Sami tourism, and it is suggested that this gap may be explained by factors such as a strong interest in the Sami habitat or a feeling of discomfort when encroaching too closely on Sami people. The latter problem has also been observed in other studies. In an Australian study Moscardo and Pearce (1999) pointed out that a tourist visiting indigenous attractions may be balancing a desire for contact with the indigenous hosts with concern about encroaching on the indigenous community. Activities such as a walk with a Sami guide in open countryside may thus feel more comfortable than, for instance, an activity like a visit to the Sami camp, where an awkward feeling of encroaching on Sami everyday life may arise.

In the case of the winter festival in Jokkmokk, no attempts have been made to measure the tourist demand. However, the large and growing number of visitors indicates that the festival is offering activities that appeal to tourists. It seems that, paradoxically, the peripheral location and the cold winter climate contribute to the large tourist demand. Indigenous tourism in peripheral areas involves long and often

expensive travel (Hinch 1995). This fact gives the tourist visiting indigenous attractions status.

However tourists visiting Sami and other indigenous destinations are not unaffected by factors such as accessibility and cost. In some ways it is pointless to compare the different levels of price and distance: a cheap price and a short driving distance are obviously preferable to a high price and a long driving distance. It is, nevertheless, valuable to ascertain that the price level in general affects tourist demand more than the level of accessibility, especially as the price is easier to adjust than the driving distances. Since small-scale Sami tourism, such as that analysed in the second article never will, or should, become a mass tourism business, it is possible to offer exclusive and rather expensive attractions, that are particularly aimed at tourists with a special interest in the Sami. The later studies in the thesis show that there is also a large demand for activities such as indigenous festivals from tourists with a general interest.

The supply and the destination

The studies focusing on Sami tourism in northern Sweden show a small but well-established branch of tourism with a large potential. Today, Sami tourism is offered at a wide variety of destinations, with everything from exclusive small-scale mountain hikes to large events such as the winter festival in Jokkmokk. A tendency in many of the Sami tourism destinations is an increased interest in spreading information about the Sami and Sami culture. Another tendency is that there are a growing number of examples of cooperation regarding Sami and indigenous tourism. As showed earlier examples of cooperation are for instance business networks and education programmes.

Like indigenous destinations in other parts of the world, Sami tourism destinations are affected by their peripheral location in relation to where most people live. However, the studies show that a peripheral location may contribute to a feeling of exclusiveness and may emphasise the contrast to the urban visitors' everyday life. Many recently started Sami tourism activities in the southern part of Swedish Sápmi are situated more off the beaten track compared with earlier established activities (Gustafsson & Olsson 2001). The frontier of the "exotic" and the "untouched" seems to be moving further into the periphery each year, which could explain why indigenous peoples sometimes express a feeling of being edged out by tourists.

These studies show that Sami tourism attractions are often located close to towns or tourist resorts, in order to have access to tourism infrastructure. Also at a specific attraction, such as the winter festival in Jokkmokk, many attractions are clustered together, not only in space but also in time. With reference to Gunn (1997), now that the number of Sami tourism attractions has increased, it is possible to talk in terms of a Sami vacationscape (Saarinen 2001). Gunn points out that a set of tourist attractions clustered together result in a stronger tourism destination. Today a tourist

in Sápmi can find different Sami entrepreneurs offering Sami activities, Sami meals, Sami handicrafts and accommodation in Sami tents, all within a limited area.

Many of the Sami tourism destinations in the Swedish part of Sápmi, including the winter festival in Jokkmokk, show that a Sami community can engage in tourism without this involving any serious conflict. However, there are warning signals from indigenous tourism in other parts of world that show that a development of indigenous tourism can involve economic, social and environmental risks, which brings us to the next section: *the impacts*.

The impacts

Environmental impacts caused by tourism, such as erosion and pollution, are rather easy to measure and thus possible to regulate. There are no examples from the Swedish part of Sápmi that significant environmental impacts caused by tourists have occurred. Social impacts, on the other hand, may be harder to observe and thereby harder to control. However, today there are only a limited number of examples from the Swedish part of Sápmi that indicate that the Sami culture has been negatively influenced by tourism development. The negative impacts discussed are how tourism may damage Sami culture and how it may disturb reindeer herding. However, some Sami communities state that they have become involved in tourism development in order to be able to direct visitors to areas where they will not disturb the reindeer.

Green (1999) has stated that the exotic Sami culture is a major tourist attraction, which means that the tourists have certain expectations when they arrive in Sápmi. If the Sami fail to live up to the visitors' expectations, a feeling of non-authenticity may arise among the tourists. Green states that the reindeer herders of today are torn between being a representation of Sami culture and part of a modern industry. A Sami reindeer herder with a cellphone is genuine in the context of the reindeer industry, but may disturb the experience of the Sami tourist searching for authenticity.

The most important positive impacts of Sami tourism include job opportunities and higher incomes. Modern methods of reindeer herding are physically challenging and make it hard for women and elderly people to participate in working with the reindeer, so tourism will probably continue to be a popular alternative occupation. Another positive impact of Sami tourism, which lies beyond the financial gains, is the opportunity it gives to spread information to visitors. Sami tourism entrepreneurs refer increasingly often to this as an important driving force. Since 2001 the Swedish government has supported an information project aimed at spreading information and knowledge about the Sami and Sami culture in Sweden. One part of this information project focuses on Sami tourism as a way of creating information flows. The transfer of knowledge from the Sami to tourists can easily become the strongest driving force in Sami tourism.

One impact of indigenous tourism that is hardly ever mentioned is that it helps to preserve indigenous culture (Notzke 1999). In the Swedish part of Sápmi this can be seen by the fact that tourists provide the major market for the products of many Sami craftsmen. Without the tourists much of the Sami handicraft would never be made. On the other hand tourist demand may stimulate the production of non-traditional Sami handicraft, adjusted to suit the tourists. Medina (2003) goes even further, claiming that tourism in Belize has contributed not only to maintaining but also to rediscovering Mayan culture. Old traditional dances and songs are reproduced as a result of research into the traditional culture.

Indigenous tourism awakens a debate about the commercialisation and “disneyfication” of indigenous culture. A lot of people support the indigenous peoples in their demand that no one other than themselves should decide what is authentic or not, and how indigenous tourism should be developed. The indigenous peoples themselves are, on the other hand, divided in two groups, one seeing the opportunities in commercialising the indigenous culture and one seeing the risks. Tourism development is an act of balance between these opportunities and risks.

Future supply and demand

Predicting the future supply and demand for indigenous tourism in general, and especially Sami tourism in northern Sweden, involves a great deal of uncertainty. This study and others indicate that there will be an increase in indigenous tourism in the future. Nevertheless, indigenous tourism must face some challenges. Firstly, indigenous tourism has shown to be an act of balance between opportunities and risks. There is a great need for co-operation through networks and a forum is needed for discussing the opportunities to raise consciousness regarding the risks involved. Secondly, further education and co-operation that stretches beyond the individual company or destination are of importance. Thirdly, this thesis shows that certain categories of tourists are more likely to participate in Sami tourism than others, for instance women, those who have visited northern Sweden on previous occasions, certain nationalities and tourists travelling by car. Marketing that targets these different categories of tourists could perhaps reduce the discrepancy between the tourism supply and demand and result in more satisfied tourists. Fourthly, further research is necessary to develop a strong and sustainable branch of tourism.

In the light of this thesis, several conceivable directions for further research concerning Sami tourism can be discerned. For example, little is known about tourism activities such as Sami eco-tourism or tourism connected to Sami food and Sami music. It is suggested that these activities can provide future niches for Sami tourism, and their potential, organisation, and possible impacts should be further investigated. We should also examine how co-operation should be organised between these and other Sami tourism enterprises.

Not only the future supply should be studied, but also the future demand. Ryan and Huyton (2002) describe a partly new type of tourist; the post-modern *post-tourist*. This is a tourist that is very conscious of his/her tourist role, and is aware of making an escape from his/her everyday world into a superficial attraction. If this consciousness really exists among future tourists, the discussion about authenticity is not as relevant as it has been supposed. Consequently, Ryan and Huyton suggest that the term *authorisation* may be a better term than *authenticity*, as it redirects the questions of who authorises and what is authorised.

Hinch (1995), among others, has stated that the final decisions concerning if, how and when indigenous tourism should be developed and marketed must be taken by the indigenous peoples themselves, in the Sápmi case by the Sami. Within the framework of the existing laws and regulations, the decisions should be based on knowledge gathered through surveys of Sami attitudes, and should also take into account the position of researchers and non-Sami residents in Sápmi. When working towards sustainable tourism it is important to work from long-term planning towards a future that not is predestined (Reid 1998).

A problem in the Swedish part of Sápmi has been the lack of an authority with overarching responsibility for Sami tourism. The Swedish Sami Parliament, since its establishment in 1993, has mainly worked with questions concerning reindeer herding. However, the Sami Parliament has recently stated that Sami tourism is also an important part of the future economic base of the Sami community. Hopefully the Swedish Sami Parliament will increase the level of co-operation with Sami authorities in other parts of Sápmi and with authorities concerned with indigenous tourism in other parts of the world .

Interesting examples of indigenous tourism, both emerging and existing, can be found at many different places in Sápmi and in other parts of the world. These tourism enterprises are in fact competing for the same group of visitors, and can benefit greatly by utilising knowledge from each other's failures and successes. Ultimately both hosts and guests will benefit from the development of well-organised and sustainable indigenous tourism. However, the first question to ask is if and to what extent indigenous peoples themselves are interested in becoming involved in tourism activities.

Summary

Indigenous tourism is an expansive sector in the growing tourism industry. The Sami people living in *Sápmi* in northern Europe have started to engage in tourism, particularly in view of the rationalised and modernised reindeer herding. Sami tourism offers job opportunities and enables the spreading of information. On the other hand, Sami tourism may jeopardise the indigenous culture and harm the sensitive environment in which the Sami live. The aim of this thesis is to analyse the supply and demand of Sami tourism in northern Sweden. This is presented in four articles, and an introductory section describing the purpose, method, theory, and empirical evidence, and with a discussion and summaries in English and Swedish.

The first two articles describe Sami tourism from a producer (article I) and a consumer perspective (article II) respectively. The question is to what extent the supply of tourist attractions related to the Swedish Sami corresponds to the demand of the tourists.

The first article analyses the potential of the emerging Sami tourism in Sweden, with special emphasis on access to Sami tourism products. The analysis is conducted by using the four Hs: habitat, heritage, history and handicrafts, as outlined by V.L. Smith (1996). It is assumed that the potential for tourism development is also dependent on the spatial distribution of the tourist attractions, and therefore a geographical dimension has been added to the four Hs. The study shows that there is a growing supply of tourism activities related to the Swedish Sami. The development of tourism is, however, restricted by factors such as the peripheral location and the lack of traditions of entrepreneurship.

The purpose of the second article is to analyse which factors influence tourists when they make their decisions about Sami tourism. In the article the respondents are requested to answer a number of hypothetical questions, ranking their preferences regarding *supply*, *price* and *access*. The method used for this is the Stated Preference method. The study indicates that tourism related to the Sami and Sami culture has a considerable future potential, but also that there is, in some respects, a gap between supply and demand.

In two following articles the interaction between the supply and demand of Sami tourism is studied at one of the largest Sami tourism attractions: the 400-year-old annual winter festival in Jokkmokk. The festival is studied in the light of its development over time (article III), and with regard to the Sami representation at the festival (article IV).

In the third article the development of the festival is analysed in a study based on interviews and a study of the application forms submitted by the tradesmen and the festival leaflets from the past decades. The development of tourism at the Sami winter festival in Jokkmokk is compared to tourism development models, e.g. the life cycle model as outlined by Butler (1980). The analysis shows that the festival in Jokkmokk, thanks to continuously added attractions, has been able to retain a rather

high level of popularity, despite its peripheral location on the Arctic Circle in northern Sweden.

Finally, the fourth article analyses to what extent the winter festival in Jokkmokk is a genuinely indigenous event, and to what extent it is staged. This is done by examining the Sami representation at the festival, with regard to its content and its spatial location, but also regarding Sami representation in media. Using primarily qualitative methods, three festival areas are identified: a *commercial* trading area, an *activity* oriented area and finally a *cultural* area. It is argued that the indigenous culture presented at the festival and in media is highly staged, although backstage experiences are available for the Sami and for the tourists who show a special interest.

In conclusion, there is a supply of Sami tourism in northern Sweden today, and the tourist demand will probably remain at a high level or even increase in the future. However, Sami tourism faces some challenges: i) an increased consciousness of the opportunities and risks involved is important, ii) further education and co-operation is necessary, iii) marketing should be adapted to suit different target groups and finally iv) further research is necessary to develop Sami tourism into a flourishing and sustainable industry.

Svensk sammanfattning

Liksom övriga urbefolkningar i världen har samerna under lång tid attraherat besökare. Under de senaste årtiondena syns en tydlig tendens till att samerna i norra Sverige i allt större utsträckning börjat intressera sig för turism. Detta sker inte minst mot bakgrund av att en moderniserad och rationaliserad rennäring ofta tvingar samerna till sysslor vid sidan om renskötseln. Turismen utgör för samerna inte enbart en potentiell inkomstkälla, utan den erbjuder även tillfällen att sprida information om samer, samisk kultur och Sameland, eller Sápmi som samerna själva kallar sitt land i nordligaste Europa.

Turism kopplad till urbefolkningar, som de svenska samerna, kan dock också innebära vissa risker. Exempelvis kan man riskera att exploatera den samiska kulturen alltför hårt, eller utarma den känsliga naturmiljö där samerna är verksamma. Åsikterna om, och i så fall hur, denna typ av turism ska bedrivas går starkt isär. Kunskaperna kring turism kopplad till urbefolkning i allmänhet, och kopplad till de svenska samerna i synnerhet, är idag bristfälliga.

Denna avhandling studerar samisk turism, företrädesvis i norra Sverige. Den samiska turismens utbud och efterfrågan studeras initialt i två artiklar som beskriver samisk turism ur ett producent- (artikel I) respektive ett konsumentperspektiv (artikel II). Hypotesen är att det idag finns ett glapp mellan det turisterna erbjuds och det som turisterna verkligen efterfrågar. I ytterligare två artiklar studeras en av de största sameturistiska mötesplatserna mer ingående, nämligen Jokkmokks vintermarknad. Marknaden beskrivs dels utifrån dess turistiska utveckling över tiden (artikel III), dels utifrån marknadens representation av den samiska kulturen (artikel IV).

I den första av de fyra artiklarna, *Access to Sami Tourism in Northern Sweden*, beskrivs producentens sida av svensk turism kopplad till samer och samekultur. Syftet med denna artikel är att analysera potentialen i det växande segment av turismen som fokuserar på samer i norra Sverige. Artikeln inriktar sig på utbudet av, och tillgängligheten till, samiska turismprodukter.

Artikeln börjar med att ge en beskrivning av samerna och deras kultur samt relationen mellan samerna och turismen i norra Sverige. Den efterföljande analysen utgår ifrån V.L. Smith's fyra H:n - habitat (livsmiljö), heritage (arv), history (historia) och handicraft (hantverk). Smiths koncept modifieras och tillämpas på den samiska turismutvecklingen i norra Sverige. Analysen baseras på en undersökning, gjord 1999, omfattande 68 samiska turistattraktioner och företag i svenska Lappland.

I artikeln fastställs att det finns ett ökande utbud av turism som fokuserar på de svenska samerna och den samiska kulturen. Den turistiska utvecklingen försvåras dock av restriktioner såsom ett perifert läge och bristande företagstraditioner. Det perifera läget, och den ofta dyra produkten, resulterar i en relativt exklusiv typ av turism som stänger ute vissa hushåll. Turism kopplad till samer och samekultur kan

även vara svårt för den enskilde besökaren att hitta till. Ofta förutsätter turism i Sápmi att besökaren kommer någorlunda väl förberedd.

Den andra artikeln, *Sami Tourism in Northern Sweden – Measuring Tourists’ Opinions using Stated Preference Methodology*, bygger vidare på den första artikeln. I den andra artikeln undersöks, utifrån ett konsumtionsperspektiv, vad turister i norra Sverige uppskattar och efterfrågar när det gäller turism som fokuserar samer och samekultur.

Syftet med artikeln är att studera vilka faktorer som spelar in, och hur mycket de spelar in, när turister fattar sina beslut om att köpa en sameturistisk produkt eller inte. Genom Stated Preference metoden ombeds respondenter att värdera ett antal hypotetiska turismalternativ. Respondenternas åsikter mäts utifrån tre attribut; i) de samiska entreprenörernas *utbud*, ii) *priset* för detta utbud och slutligen iii) *tillgängligheten* till utbudet. De tre attributen varierar i sin tur i vardera tre olika alternativ. De tre utbudsalternativen är exempelvis deltagande i samiskt vardagsliv, besök i samelägret samt vandring med samisk guide i renbeteslandet. Studien bygger på en enkätundersökning (se bilaga 2) bland drygt 600 turister i norra Sverige sommaren 2001.

I studien framkommer att denna typ av turism efterfrågas av en stor grupp turister och således har en stor potential i framtiden. Här framkommer också att det idag finns ett visst glapp mellan utbud och efterfrågan. Detta glapp syns exempelvis när det gäller vilka typer av utbud som efterfrågas respektive erbjuds. Populärast var en vandring i renbeteslandet med samisk guide, det vill säga det av de i studien ingående utbudsalternativen som är ovanligast idag.

De olika attributens inverkan på turisternas värderingar studeras genom en linjär regressionsmodell. Av de tre undersökta attributen visade sig priset vara den faktor som påverkar turisternas värderingar mest. Bland turisterna i norra Sverige återfinns det största intresset för samisk turism bland nationalitetsgruppen tyskar, kvinnor, bilturister samt de som besökt området tidigare.

En av de största enskilda mötesplatserna för samisk turism är Jokkmokks marknad. I den tredje artikeln, *Indigenous Cultural Events – The Development of a Sami Winter Festival in Northern Sweden*, beskrivs marknadens turistiska utveckling över tiden. Marknaden grundades av den svenske kungen redan 1605 och har sedan dess år för år utvecklats turistiskt, men den huvudsakliga turistiska utvecklingen har ägt rum under de senaste 50 åren.

Analysen i artikeln bygger på studier av aktörerna bakom arrangementet, samt det utbud och de aktiviteter som knallar och andra erbjuder under de tre marknadsdagarna i början av februari varje år. Utifrån intervjuer, knallarnas marknadsansökningar och de senaste årtiondenas programblad tecknas en bild över utvecklingen. Denna utveckling diskuteras med hänsyn till exempelvis Butlers modell för turismutveckling.

I artikeln konstateras det att antalet aktörer bakom marknaden har ökat, men att det fortfarande är marknadshandeln med omkring 200 knallar som dominerar marknadsbilden. Tendensen är att utbudet på senare tid har gått från bruksföremål mot konstföremål. Vid sidan om marknadshandeln har antalet kringaktiviteter ökat kraftigt. Här märks främst turistaktiviteter, utställningar, visningar och föreläsningar. Omkring en tredjedel av det tidigare och det nya utbudet har samisk prägel, och det är alltså denna del som särskiljer och profilerar marknaden. Trots ett avskilt läge och ett kärvt vinterklimat behåller marknaden efter 400 år sin popularitet och lockar årligen omkring 40,000 besökare. Den bibehållna populariteten kan i huvudsak förklaras av att man kontinuerligt tillfört nya attraktioner.

Den fjärde och sista artikeln, *What and where is the Indigenous at an Indigenous Festival? – Observations from the Winter Festival in Jokkmokk, Sweden*, studerar i vilken utsträckning det är en iscensatt samisk kultur eller inte som visas under Jokkmokks vintermarknad. Hur samisk ter sig den samiska marknaden för besökaren?

Till skillnad mot de tidigare artiklarna bygger den fjärde artikeln i huvudsak på kvalitativa undersökningsmetoder, såsom fokusgruppintervjuer och deltagande observation. Under marknaden kartläggs var och hur den samiska kulturen syns och märks. Dessutom ingår det i artikeln en delstudie som tittar närmare på vilken bild av marknaden som sprids i svensk media.

Mycket av det samiska finns i och bland marknadsstånden. Vid sidan om det kommersiella marknadsområdet definieras även ett mer aktivitetsinriktat område nere på sjön, samt ett kulturområde uppbyggt kring museet Ájtte och Samernas utbildningscenter. Det framhålls i artikeln att turisterna i stor utsträckning erbjuds tillrättalagda samiska miljöer, även om det genuina finns att upptäcka för de initierade och för dem som letar. Än mer tillrättalagd och exotisk än på själva marknaden är den bild som media visar av det samiska i rapporteringen från Jokkmokks vintermarknad.

Sammantaget kan man utifrån studierna i denna avhandling konstatera att det idag erbjuds ett relativt brett utbud av samisk turism i norra Sverige. Det råder vidare en stor efterfrågan på detta utbud och det mesta talar för en bibehållen eller ökande efterfrågan i framtiden. Turism i Sameland har dock vissa framtida utmaningar: i) ökad medvetenhet om risker och möjligheter är viktigt, ii) fortsatt utbildning och samarbete är nödvändigt, iii) marknadsföring av samisk turism måste i större utsträckning ta hänsyn till olika målgrupper och slutligen iv) fortsatt forskning är nödvändig för att utveckla en hållbar samisk turism med en bibehållen resursbas.

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