

Representing Your Own Culture

- Investigating authenticity in an indigenous museum



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Abstract

This project studies cultural representation in indigenous tourism. Indigenous theme and indigenous control are two important factors in indigenous tourism, and an indigenous museum controlled by indigenous people is a representative place for indigenous tourism. Therefore, this project focuses on a Swedish Sami museum. The aim of this project is to investigate different senses of authenticity in the cultural representation process in an indigenous museum. The two major research questions concerns how indigenous culture is represented in a museum, and in which sense cultural representation in an indigenous museum could be said to be authentic.

After the study, it could be concluded that there are four main components in the cultural representation process, which reflects three senses of “authenticity”. *Indigenous museum staff* is the first component. *Indigenous public*, which is the second component as their main source of contemporary culture give feedback about researching and producing cultural representation to indigenous staff, so that *indigenous self-identity*, the third component, is reflected in *different forms of cultural representation*, which is the fourth component. Since non-indigenous public's feedback is seldom about cultural representation, it is not reflected in this process. Different forms of cultural representation reflects “object authenticity”, cultural expressions based on indigenous people's own feeling and identity reflects “existential authenticity”, while new indigenous behavior reflects “emergent authenticity”.

Key words: Indigenous Tourism, Indigenous museum, Self-identity, Indigenous Control, Cultural Representation, Authenticity.

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1. Introduction

When I did this research, I was introduced to a researcher, who is a Sami, works in a museum, and whose husband is a reindeer herder. She invited me to her home to see their reindeer. Since she had to work in the museum and her husband was out to the forest with their reindeer, her son hosted me. I was a little bit surprised when I saw him with very fashionable clothes and a nice car, because I still imagined Sami people living in a tent wearing their traditional dress (Kolt in Sami language). He was 20 years old, but knows a lot about reindeer. He told me he has six reindeer right now, and wants to become a reindeer herder in the future. He showed me his reindeer, cooked the reindeer meat for me and gave me a photo of himself with his Sami kolt. He told me he will attend the tenth session of United Nation Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in New York in May. He will meet many indigenous youth from all over the world and discuss indigenous issues with them.

We discussed a lot about our own cultures, and he asked me to write his name in Chinese. When I wrote it, he said, "Wow, it looks so exotic!" I was surprised to hear that, because I have never thought that my language, the largest mother tongue in the world, is exotic. It is so common and familiar to me, however, in his eyes, it is exotic! In contrast, he might think his culture is common and familiar to him but I view his culture as exotic. And still we represent only two of thousands of cultures in the world.

1.1 Theoretical and empirical relevance

Tourism based on indigenous attractions has become more popular during recent decades. (Butler and Hinch, 2007) There are many discussions about indigenous tourism since then. Hall and Weiler (1992) perceive indigenous tourism as a "special interest" tourism and argued that this kind of "special interest" or "alternative" tourism is motivated by tourists who is either escaping from ordinary life or seeking for different lifestyle. Butler and Hinch (1996) explored the understanding of indigenous tourism and the involvement of indigenous people in indigenous tourism. They (2007: 5) gave a definition of indigenous tourism as "tourism activities in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction." They conclude that indigenous themes and indigenous control are two significant dimensions of indigenous tourism.

Cultural representation is important in indigenous tourism in terms of cultural preservation, however, there are some other issues come up in this process, for instance the identity and authenticity. First, culture is identified differently due to different ideology. (Ryan, 2011) Cultural representation could be influenced by many stakeholders because of their different identification of indigenous culture. In this process, modified indigenous themes, or commercialized tourist sites are unsustainable, and risk destroying the main asset of indigenous tourism: the native culture. Second, whether the cultural representation is authentic caught people's attention. Pettersson (2004) claims that an indigenous museum is “cultural dispossessed”¹ and museums provide staged attractions to public. But “staged attractions” according to MacCannell (1973) are not authentic. Experts have different opinions on “authenticity”. Pettersson (2004) claims that the notion of authenticity in cultural representation still requires to be studied. In light of all this, it is important to do research on cultural representation in indigenous tourism and different senses of authenticity in the cultural representation process.

Besides, what the tourism supplier offers might not suit the interest of the indigenous people. Pettersson (2004) mentioned that although both hosts and guests will benefit from proper development of indigenous tourism, the first question to ask is whether the indigenous peoples themselves are interested in being involved in tourism. Butler and Hinch (2007) argue that it is significant for the indigenous people themselves to control indigenous tourism in terms of owning and managing. Yang (2011) also argues that many indigenous people do not want to work in the cultural representation process because the representation is not authentic and it is too far away from their culture.

There are many different suppliers in tourism. In this project, I will only focus on indigenous museums, because museums are a major supply factor in cultural tourism. (Hall et al., 2008) The International Council of Museums (ICOM) defines a museum as: “A non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment.” (ICOM, 2011) From the definition we can

1 Culture dispossessed refers to culture is not controlled by indigenous people. More details could be seen in section 2.2.4.

see a museum is a center where the culture and history is collected. Moreover, museums play an important role in representing the culture to public.

Cohen (1988) discussed the concept of “authenticity” in indigenous museums, but the definition of “authenticity” seems to be too strict, and further study still needs to be done, in terms of the understanding of “authenticity” in indigenous museums. As discussed above, Pettersson (2004) argues that the understanding of “authenticity” in an indigenous culture still needs to be studied. Therefore, in order to study the notion of authenticity in indigenous museum, I chose to use a Swedish Sami museum as a case study, since the Sami are the largest indigenous people in Sweden. Due to the time limitation, I did not investigate the Sami people outside the museum. Instead, museum staff who are Sami people or with Sami background are investigated in this project.

1.2 Research Aim

As discussed above, in which sense the cultural representation in a museum is authentic still needs to be studied. Therefore, the research aim is to investigate authenticity in the cultural representation process in an indigenous museum. In order to do this, the cultural representation process is also investigated.

1.3 Research Questions

Two research questions are designed in order to achieve the research aim:

- (1). How is indigenous culture represented in a museum?
- (2). In which sense could cultural representation in an indigenous museum be said to be authentic?

2. Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework is presented in this chapter in order to answer the research question. First, I present the background of Sami people and Sami tourism in Sweden. Then three important concepts of Indigenous Tourism, Cultural Representation, and Authenticity are discussed in the following three sections. The theory of Indigenous Tourism provides me an overall understanding of important issues and key concepts in indigenous tourism, such as the important role of indigenous theme and indigenous culture, indigenous control as well as cultural preservation. Since I am focusing on an indigenous museum, cultural representation is a relevant theory as well, because of the function of the museum. Authenticity is a key concept when discussing culture in indigenous tourism. In order to answer the research question, an integrated understanding of authenticity is significant to this project, therefore, I discuss authenticity from different points of view: Bruner's (1994) four types of authenticity, object authenticity (Lau, 2010), existential authenticity (Steiner and Reisinger, 2006), and emergent authenticity (Cohen, 1988). A good understanding of these concepts and relevant issues is a requirement to achieve the research aim and answer the research questions.

2.1 Background of Sami people and Sami tourism

“The Samis are regarded as an indigenous people who form an ethnic minority in Finland, Sweden, Norway, and the Russian Federation” (WCCD, 1993: 23). The area Sami people live is called *Sápmi*, (Figure 1) which will be used in this paper, in Sami language, which means “Samiland, a single Sami person, the Sami people and the Sami language” (WCCD, 1993: 23). They are living in the north part of the four countries. The total area of *Sápmi* measures 157,487 square kilometers. (Samer A, 2011) The population of Sami people depends on the operational definition of Sami people. The population of Sami people is estimated as 70 000, including 40 000 living in Norway, 20 000 in Sweden, 6000 in Finland and 2000 in Russia. (Samer B, 2011)

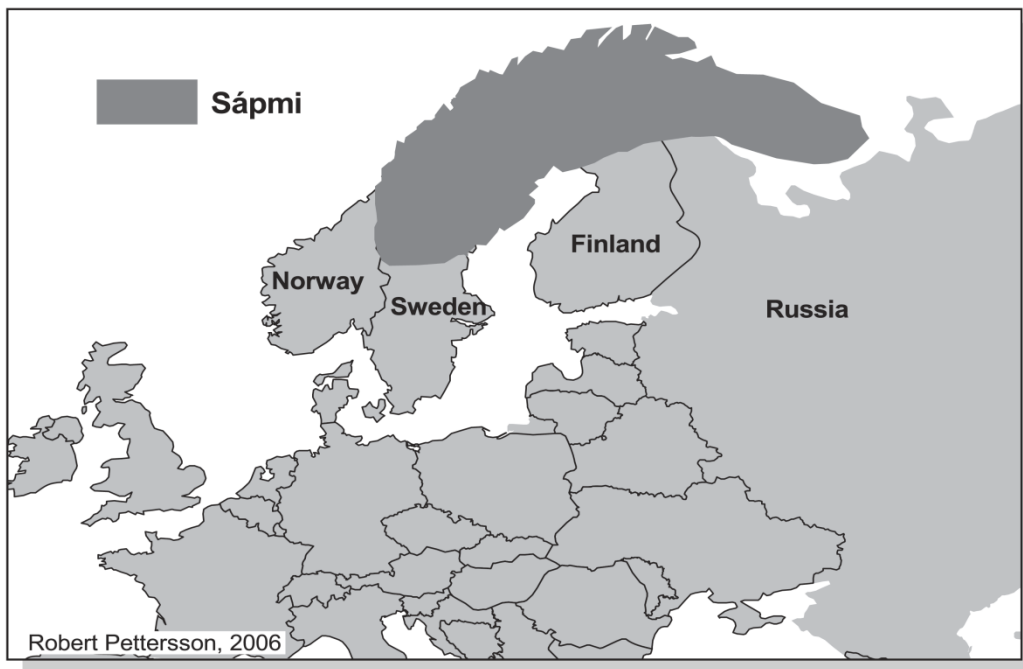


Figure 1: Map of Sápmi in Pettersson and Viken, 2007

It is hard to define who is Sami since Sami people and non-Sami people usually live together in Sápmi and most people have a mixed ethnic background. In Norway, one has to be able to document that one's grandfather or grandmother is a Sami in order to be eligible to vote in the elections for the Sami parliament, while in Sweden, a Sami person should be able to speak the Sami language or consider themselves to be Sami. (Pettersson and Viken, 2007) Sami language belongs to the Uralic family, and is closely related to for instance Finnish. Between 20 000 and 40 000 people can speak Sami worldwide, including 20 000 in Norway, 10 000 in Sweden, and around 3 000 in Finland. (WCCD, 1993) Another estimate gives the figure of 20 000 Sami speakers (Samer B, 2011).

Sami people have lived in Sápmi for at least 2 000 years, although there is some possibility that Sami lived there even earlier, but this has not been proved. Sami people have lived on different activities, from hunting, and fishing in the beginning to reindeer herding, farming, and handicrafts, during recent 400 years. (WCCD, 1993) Although it is difficult to identify the Sami culture since there are more similarities than differences between Sami people and non-Sami people, typical characteristics include the Sami language, reindeer, the Sami tent, the Sami traditional dress, as well as the strong anchorage in traditions. (Pettersson and Viken, 2007; Samer B, 2011) Müller and

Pettersson (2001) provided a table illustrating the representation of Sami culture in pictures in Sami brochures in northern Sweden, which shows reindeer herding is the most featured character of Sami culture, although only about ten percent of the Sami population is working as reindeer herders now (Samer B, 2011; WCCD, 1993). Sami Traditional costumes follows as the second most featured character. (Table 1)

Feature	No. of pictures	Percent
Reindeer	40	43.5%
Traditional costumes	18	19.6%
Handicrafts	16	17.4%
Sami tents	15	16.3%
Sami flag	3	3.2%
Total	92	100%

Table 1: Representations of Sami culture in tourist brochures in 1998, developed from Müller and Pettersson, 2001: 8

The establishment of Sami parliament is a sign that the Sami group is stronger than before, and it also causes the preservation and support of Sami culture (Pettersson and Viken, 2007). In Finland, Norway and Sweden, Sami people have their own parliaments, which is a sign that the Sami society is stronger than before during these last two centuries. The national states in Norway and Sweden began to recognize and regret their earlier suppression of Sami culture. For instance, the Swedish supreme court recently rejected 105 landowners' claim that Sami reindeer owners do not have the right to herd reindeer in the landowner's properties in Nordmalings municipality. (Sametinget, 2011) This is a victory for the reindeer industry and an encouragement for the Sami. It also reveals that the State Supreme Court accepts the right of indigenous people to use traditional land.

Also there is a development of Sami institutions and some support systems. Therefore, a Sami flag has been created, Sami names started to be used again, Sami language is used

more often such as using Sami language in place names, and also many Sami museums have been created. These museums are the Sami centers in their communities. (Pettersson and Viken, 2007) During my visit to Sápmi, I experienced the result of this change myself, which will be discussed more in the analysis section.

Because of the decrease of traditional lifestyles and the increase of new occupations, Sami tourism has become popular (Pettersson and Viken, 2007). The Sami tourism development in the four countries in Sápmi are different from each other. The situation in Finland is very complex and Sami tourism has not been well planned and developed (Saarinen, 2001). For instance the representation of Sami culture in the Santa Claus Tourist Center in Rovaniemi, Finland is mixed with Anglo-American Christmas traditions. Norway is considered to be successful examples for the Sami tourism development, in terms of Sami tourism organizing and Sami people's involvement. Sami people are involved in Sami tourism in terms of experience and activities in Norway. Sustainable Sami tourism and Sami tourism entrepreneurs have a fast development in Sweden (Pettersson, 2004). In the following section, indigenous tourism is discussed in more detail.

2.2 Indigenous Tourism

Indigenous community, peoples and nations are discussed all the time through history. Some characters are recognized:

- a. Occupation of ancestral lands, or at least of part of them*
- b. Common ancestry with the original occupants of these lands*
- c. Culture in general, or in specific manifestations*
- d. Language*
- e. Residence in certain parts of the country, or in certain regions of the world*
- f. Other relevant factors.*

(State of the World's Indigenous Peoples, 2010: 4)

Although indigenous people have one or more of these characters, the term “Indigenous people” does not have a universal definition, because the understanding is always changing and one term of definition might be adoptable in one group but not in others, therefore, self-identification is stressed by the United Nations, that indigenous people

define their own identity (State of the World's Indigenous Peoples, 2010). Thaman (2002) argues that indigenous people are self-identified communities. But gradually they are defined by the attitudes and perceptions of mainstream populations. Indigenous people and indigenous culture is exploited as an important attraction for tourism. Indigenous tourism is therefore emergent and has become popular.

2.2.1 The definition and the role of indigenous tourism

The definition of indigenous tourism has been discussed in many contexts. Butler and Hinch (2007: 5) gave a definition about indigenous tourism:

Indigenous tourism refers to tourism activities in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction.

From this definition we can see that the direct involvement of indigenous people and indigenous culture is considered as two vital dimensions in indigenous tourism. Butler and Hinch (2007: 5) emphasized that culture gives “the centrality of attractions in tourism”. Indigenous culture plays an important role in indigenous tourism. Surveys in northern Australia indicate that 44% of all domestic visitors and 58% of international visitors want to experience Aboriginal art and culture. (Zebbel, 1997) O’Gorman, and Thompson (2007) did research on Mongolian tourism perceived that the second main reason for international visitors to Mongolia is the historical and traditional Mongolian culture. Due to the globalization and harmonization, indigenous culture often is under a great risk to become extinct. The direct involvement of indigenous people is also significant for indigenous tourism, since they are the ones representing their own culture, and they have the authority to tell people what their culture is.

Butler and Hinch (2007) argue that indigenous tourism is not isolated from other types of tourism. Indigenous tourism has connections to environmental or nature-based tourism, cultural and heritage, as well as adventure tourism (Harron and Weiler, 1992). This connection could be seen from indigenous people's lifestyles, where the environment and nature provide for indigenous people, and indigenous culture is the central attraction for indigenous tourism, therefore, indigenous tourism can not be separated from the tourism types listed above. Tourists might experience several different kind of tourism during a

trip, such as one day of a historical tour, one day with a nature-based tour, one day with an ecological tour and then, a one day visit some indigenous community. Although the increased tourists could bring an influx of indigenous tourism, commercialization consequently becomes a problem for many tourist sites. Yang (2011) investigates an “indigenous theme park” in China, and argues that the indigenous people themselves do not appreciate this kind of commercialized indigenous tourism. Ryan (2011) however argues that indigenous tourism provides opportunities for local people to have a better quality life. It has close relationships among the political, social, economic and physical environment. Summarizing the discussion, we can say that indigenous tourism is important both to indigenous people and non-indigenous society.

2.2.2 Positive or Negative?

There are many discussions about whether indigenous tourism development is good for indigenous culture or destroy the culture during these decades. As Butler and Hinch (2007) discussed, culture in indigenous tourism has very complex meanings and is very difficult to define. Ryan and Aicken (2005) argue that the perception of indigenous people and their culture has always been changing, that different people have different perceptions on the meanings of culture and a person will change their views even on the same cultural tourism theme after a while, such as when recalling a visit to a native village years later, with new experiences in between. Butler and Hinch (2007) argue that culture is not only the tangible characters that people can see, such as the handicraft, special dress, songs, dances, etc. Intangible values and principles are also part of the culture, such as different forms of hospitality by indigenous people.

MacCannell (1973) argues that what the tourists see is usually performed and staged by the tourism providers. This performed culture is commodified and is too far away from the original culture to be called authentic. Ryan and Aicken (2005) argue that many indigenous groups involved in indigenous tourism are facing the extinction of their culture because of over-exploitation and commercialization. Yang (2011) argues that indigenous tourism destroys the culture because the authentic culture has to be modified in order to entertain the tourists. Therefore, the development is harmful for the culture preservation if it is not protected and represented properly in the development process.

However, indigenous tourism is also considered as a tool of cultural preservation (Ryan, 2011). An example could be the presentation by Francois Gittins and the Weemol Aboriginal community in central Arnhem Land in Fulbright Symposium in 1997 (Zeppel, 1997), the Le Camp Bodeidei in central Arnhem Land that foundations are established for preserving Aboriginal culture, involving Aborigines to the tourism activities, (ie. handicraft, language, dancing, and stories) consequently lead the cultural revival in the area. Cohen (1988) argues commodification could also help local and ethnic communities recognize their culture and it is a tool for self-representation. Macdonald (2005) argues that using transnational and commodified methods, e.g. indigenous tourism, festivals, and events, etc. could give an alternative way for constructing the indigenous people's history and culture, since it can help establish the significance of local experience.

Indigenous tourism is considered as a way for cultural survival. (Zeppel, 1997) For instance, since the Western cultural hierarchies in Australia focus on fine art, the Aborigines in South Eastern Australia have not been recognized because they do not have any cultural heritage based on art. The only traditional Aborigines are from northern Australia. However, after the development of Aboriginal tourism in S.E. Australia, their culture has been recognized and accepted again. Therefore, Aboriginal tourism provide opportunities for culture survival.

Steiner and Reisinger (2006) argue that tourism could bring opportunities for local communities to redefine their culture. Tourism is also considered to be a contributor to cultural and economic development in indigenous communities, and it enhances the dynamics of culture and also provides opportunities to try new expressions of culture. (Pettersson and Viken, 2007) For instance, traditions and heritage displays are important to local people because display is a good way to remind people of their cultural roots.

Overall, indigenous tourism and commodification could both bring negative and positive results to local communities. Indigenous tourism is to some extent harmful to culture in terms of destroying the traditional culture but also helps cultural preservation in terms of providing opportunities for local communities to re-examine and redefine their own culture.

2.2.3 Indigenous Museum

A museum is the center of collections and exhibitions representing the objective. (ICOM, 2011) An indigenous museum owned or managed by indigenous people functions as an indigenous cultural research and education center, which is a representative center of indigenous tourism. It collects and spreads information about the vanishing handicrafts, architectures, dresses, and way of living. However, Lonetree (2009) argues that an indigenous museum could also be influenced by the central government. She pointed out that indigenous museums in America only chose the positive image and drop the history of colonization and violence because the federal government controlled the museum and wanted it to convey a good image. Lonetree (2009: 334) concludes that an indigenous museum should give more power to indigenous people for them to express themselves and “tell the truth” in terms of presenting the entire history of colonization explicitly.

A museum is also a place gathering indigenous culture so that tourists will have a brief view of indigenous culture without traveling all the way around indigenous areas if they want to know the variation of a culture (Butler and Hinch, 2007). A museum should not only collect past history, culture but also should collect contemporary culture (Steen, 2004). Bursell (2005) argues that the transformation of human existence during the twentieth century is not showed in museums, since most museums emphasize collecting pre-industrial society. As she puts it, collecting today is for tomorrow.

The collection of both historical and contemporary experience gives the museum an opportunity to be the witness of the development of human experience. In this process, no artificial and replica collections should be showed in a museum. (Hooper-Greenhill, 1995) Children and young people should be involved in the evaluation of museum, because, they can provide valid new views and experiences. In addition, children are not only audience of cultural practices, but also they are cultural producers. (Potter, 2006) Dialogues with its audiences are required in a museum, through listening, and communicating, not only with current audiences, but also potential audiences. In some

tourist sites, indigenous culture is adjusted to meet the tourist's demand, and financial gain is their main goal. (Yang, 2011) Aronsson (1997) argues that museums provide “staged culture”, which is considered as inauthentic according to MacCannell (1973). Therefore, the issue of authenticity is raised in the museum, and we ask whether the physical and digital representations portray authentic culture. Issues about “authenticity” will be discussed in chapter 2.4.

2.2.4 Indigenous Control

From reading literature about indigenous control, I would argue that we can understand indigenous control from two dimensions. Before explain these two dimensions, an overview of indigenous control and indigenous theme is necessary. Butler and Hinch (2007) illustrated these two important components of indigenous tourism in the following figure (Figure 2).

		Indigenous Control	
		Low	High
Indigenous Themes	Present	A. Culture dispossessed	B. Culture controlled
	Absent	C. Non-indigenous tourism	D. Diversified indigenous

Figure 2: Indigenous tourism defined
Source: Hinch and Butler, 2007: 6

From this matrix (Figure 2) we can see that, Butler and Hinch (2007) provide three categories of indigenous tourism, with non-indigenous tourism as a separate category. Field A represents tourism with indigenous themes but lack of indigenous control, which the call “culture dispossessed”. Although there might be some indigenous attractions or activities, they are not controlled to a significant extent by indigenous people. An

example of this could be an indigenous “theme park” (cf. Yang, 2011) owned and managed by outside interests. Field B, culture controlled, represents an ideal indigenous tourism with high indigenous control and the presence of indigenous themes. Pettersson (2004) considers museums to belong to Field A. But I would argue that a museum about indigenous culture owned and managed by indigenous groups would belong to Field B, because indigenous culture is controlled by indigenous themselves. Field C represents a lack of both indigenous culture and control therefore it does not represent indigenous tourism at all. Finally field D represents a lack of a central indigenous attraction, but the tourism is controlled by indigenous people, for instance casinos or whale watching trips operated by indigenous people.

Therefore, firstly indigenous control could be understood as the culture management by indigenous people, which could be interpreted as designing, controlling and organizing cultural productions. Hall et al. (2008) argue that some limitations and control are required to guarantee the indigenous culture. Indigenous themes need to be designed, organized, collected and presented to visitors. During this process, culture needs to be managed. If the culture is managed by non-indigenous people without personal experience of the indigenous culture and way of life, there is a greater risk of misrepresentation of the culture.

Culture management by native indigenous people is an important dimension of indigenous control in the process of cultural production. For instance, Zeppel (1997) presented the Iban people's management of longhouse tourism in Sarawak, the Malaysian part of Borneo. A longhouse is a traditional long and narrow house, and it is usually divided into many single rooms for people to live. Now, many of the longhouse is open to visitors as a tourist attraction either via tour operators or via the local community. Tourism in Sarawak is controlled by the community where Iban residents operate their own tourist guesthouse at the longhouse in Nanga Kesit, a traditional Iban community, located in central Sarawak. (Welcome to Nanga Kesit, 2011) This is considered as a great involvement of indigenous people in local communities and the Iban hosts think they are moving from “culture providers” to “culture managers”. (Zeppel, 1997)

Another dimension of indigenous control is intellectual and cultural property. Asplet and Cooper (2000) argue that it is important for souvenir makers to respect the intellectual

and cultural property rights of indigenous peoples to guarantee and maintain the authenticity of cultural design. There are significant copyright issues for the tourism industry relating to the images of indigenous people, handicrafts, cultural sites and landscapes used in tourist marketing, as presented by Ian Delane in Fulbright Symposium (Zeppel, 1997). Cohen (1992) argues that the intellectual and cultural property such as cultural design becomes an important fundamental factor of indigenous control in the indigenous market. Hall et al. (2008) argue that property rights on visual representations of indigenous people are not guaranteed to the local community.

Many indigenous themes are used without agreement of the indigenous people. For instance, non-indigenous people use indigenous groups' image without permission. There are many conflicts resulting from this. (Saarinen, 2001) Therefore, intellectual property rights might be useful for indigenous people as a protection from non-indigenous people using their image, handicrafts, etc., and to provide a way to spread indigenous culture in a controlled manner. In an indigenous museum, indigenous copyrights are mostly guaranteed because of the international law of cultural property. (Karp and Lavine, 1991) Therefore, issues of indigenous intellectual property is not focused in this project, but it is still an important issue to keep in mind when doing research of indigenous tourism.

Overall, indigenous control is significant to indigenous tourism, in terms of cultural management by indigenous people and having intellectual and cultural properties. Indigenous people have the right to decide and present their own culture, from the management level to employee levels. After having an overview of indigenous tourism and important issues, such as cultural preservation and indigenous control, I will narrow down a relevant theory to this project, cultural representation, because cultural representation is an important element in an indigenous museum.

2.3 Cultural Representation

2.3.1 *The definition*

Hunter, (2011: 336) summarizes the main characteristics of touristic representations:
Representations originate as 'things-in-themselves' (people, costumes, food, features of the natural and built environment or other unique iconic features)

and are transformed *visually* into photographs or film; *verbally* into factual or scientific accounts, news reports, myths; *aurally* into music, song, speech; *physically* into miniatures, simulations, souvenirs; *digitally*, in any combination, into networks.

Representation is the display of an object in a location. It gives people an entire view, feeling and understanding of the objects. Even though representations could provide people a picture of an object, a representation is produced by people, and as such it might be subjective or even biased.

2.3.2 The problematic part of cultural representation

McIntosh and Prentice (1999) argue that museums have a vital function in the society in terms of representing the history and culture. What is represented is determined by how the museum staff interpret it. Hunter (2011) argues that cultural representation is influenced by social factors, and so is not accurately representing a culture. There are many discussions between whether cultural representation is “genuine” or “fake”. Brown (1995) stated that touristic representations truly describe the destinations and their residents. Hollinshead (2000) argues that representations are ‘true’ because they are tangible and real, and they “deceive” because they only convey appearances in terms of certain social conventions.

Ryan (1997) argues that cultural representation becomes a tool for indigenous political identity. Ryan (2011) further argues that non-indigenous communities often misidentify indigenous people and culture. Pretes (2003) also argues that ethnic groups are also treated as a tool for national construction and maintenance. Since indigenous people are mostly the minorities in their countries, the state's cultural and policy always has some impacts on the representation of indigenous culture. Hunter (2011) argues that indigenous people often are used by central governments for national identity and unity. Central governments has the power to select the parts of a culture which could bring positive result for national identity and drop the negative parts. Yang (2011) also argues that political policies have a significant influence on cultural representation so that the representation will be selected and modified to the public by the powerful stakeholders, which might not be the real culture itself any more. These discussions show that cultural

representation is highly dependent on stakeholders and which stakeholder has the power to decide what to represent.

Hunter (2011) argues that ethnic groups are always represented for economic and social purposes by governments. The government represent the ethnic culture in order to develop the local community's economy, therefore, the representation always are treated as a marketing tool. The interest of tourists is a central figure in the cultural representation. (Hunter, 2011) Ryan and Aicken (2005) argue that tourists have significant social influence, but it is not easy to satisfy every type of tourists. For instance the Nadaam festival, which is a contest in three manly sports, has a long history of celebrating indigenous culture in Mongolia. Nadaam is considered to be the essence of Mongolian culture (O'Gorman, and Thompson, 2007). However, international visitors and domestic visitors have different demand of it. International visitors do not appreciate it since they visit Mongolia in order to see the historical culture, while domestic visitors are quite enjoy in it. Thus, the indigenous tourism in Mongolia faces a big challenge in terms of how to satisfy both international tourists and domestic tourists. Tourists' feelings are usually investigated and analyzed so that the cultural representation could meet their needs and culture itself is maintained at the same time. In summary, cultural representation is important because it becomes the identity of the local residents and indigenous people associated with social, political and economic power.

2.3.3 Important factors in cultural representation

There are some important factors in cultural representation. One important factor is stakeholders. As discussed above, different stakeholders have different interest in cultural representation, therefore, it is important to recognize different stakeholders in a tourist section. Yang (2011: 564) provided a framework for cultural representation in an ethnic park (Figure 3). There are four groups of stakeholders, namely governments, park management, park employees and tourists are identified by Yang. Each stakeholder has different influence on cultural representation. Yang (2011) concludes that the government has most power over the cultural representation in the park so that the park becomes a tool for the government to advance a political aim. Tourists have a great influence in the park as well, and therefore the cultural representation is also very commercialized. Museum staff produce the cultural representation following the government's orders and help the government to achieve their political purpose.

Therefore, the stakeholders is an important factor, because it determines the empowerment in the cultural representation process.

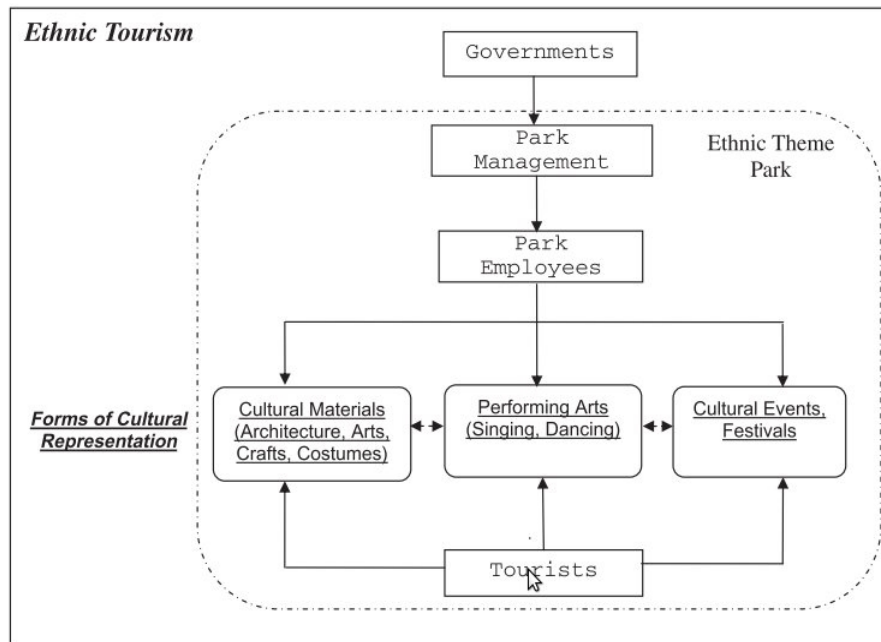


Figure 3: Cultural representation in a tourist section from Yang, 2011: 364.

Another important factor in cultural representation is the involvement of indigenous people. Yang (2011) stresses that indigenous people themselves, working in an indigenous tourism section, play a fundamental role in representing the indigenous culture and interacting with the visitors. Stone (2005) also argues that indigenous people play a central role in museum exhibitions presenting their own history and culture. Pettersson and Viken (2007) argue that current involvement of indigenous people is usually found at the lowest levels of the indigenous tourism sector, and not in management positions. Hollinshead (2007) argues that indigenous people should be involved and empowered to a much greater degree so that they can present their culture, provide sources for culture, and correct the misleading or inappropriate images of indigenous culture in indigenous tourism.

Updated infrastructure, facilities, as well as technology are important in a museum. (Hunter, 2011) For instance, exhibitions have traditionally consisted of pictures and artifacts, but in recent decades film and multimedia exhibitions have become common. Innovation is required in exhibition programs in a museum. (Lang, Reeve, and Woollard, 2006) Technology is always changing and this innovative technology is required in a

museum. Different technologies for representing culture have different results. More developed technology is used in representations in post-modern society, such as multi-faceted digital interpretation of real artifacts, multi-way communication among hosts and visitors, and so on.

As a summary to this section, cultural representation is problematic and diverse. Cultural representation is often exploited as a tool for political purposes, such as national identity, or for social purpose, such as economical development. Stakeholders, involvement of indigenous people in all levels of the tourism industry, infrastructure and facilities are important factors in cultural representation. These important factors will be investigated in order to answer the research questions.

2.4 Authenticity

The concept of authenticity is not as easy as it may seem, especially in the tourism industry, and there is no definition generally agreed upon.

2.4.1 Authenticity is negotiable

Some earlier attempts of defining authenticity were rather simple and viewed authenticity as a clear-cut phenomenon. McLeod (1976 in Cohen, 1988: 375), working as a museum director, defined authenticity as "... any piece made from traditional materials by a native craftsman for acquisition and use by members of local society (though not necessarily by members of his own group) that is made and used with no thought that it ultimately may be disposed of for gain to Europeans or other aliens". This definition is rather strict, and does not allow any non-indigenous involvement in the process.

MacCannell (1973) argues that the search for authenticity is the basic motivation of tourists, however, what tourists see is always constructed, performed and does not reveal the truth, which he calls "staged authenticity" (or the *front region*). He concludes that only the *back region*, where indigenous people prepare and design their objects and performances, could be said to be authentic. Cohen (1979) argues that tourists who are searching for authenticity are of different types. For instance, some tourists only observe the authenticity aesthetically; and some tourists are traveling in order to find

their “spiritual roots”. Therefore, even in the performed objects, tourists still could perceive their own understanding of “authenticity”, which might be the “staged authenticity” of MacCannell (1973). McIntosh and Prentice (1999) even suggested that tourists could create their own experience of “authenticity”, because tourists have their own insights on authenticity based on their previous experience and knowledge.

Lau (2010) criticizes MacCannell for not distinguishing between the two types of authenticity that he identifies: “relationship authenticity” and “object authenticity”. According to Lau (2010: 480), relationship authenticity refers to “truthful human relationships or individuals interacting on the basis of their real selves which can be suppressed by the untruthful and false front region”. And object authenticity refers to everything ranging from life processes (e.g. cooking and washing), activities (e.g., recreational games, religious rituals, cultural performances), artifacts, and so on. Therefore, “authenticity” is not a static word. It is not just about genuineness or realness (object authenticity), but it also contains the relationships between tourists and objects that they see. And it is not proper to say the performed or staged attraction is inauthentic, because “authenticity” itself is a word that is “negotiable”. (Cohen, 1988)

Cohen (1988: 374) argues that authenticity is “negotiable”. It is because academics and tourists have different understandings of “authenticity”. The former believe that “only a cultural product which appears authentic in all of its varied aspects would be acceptable as 'authentic'” while tourists “will differ in the number and kinds of traits necessary to their mind to authenticate a cultural product.” (Cohen, 1988: 378). For instance, a mass-produced indigenous handicraft made from plastic with some indigenous designs might be accepted as an authentic product by tourists but might be criticized by social scientists because it is not made by indigenous people.

Cohen (1988: 378) argues that “there exists a continuum leading from complete authenticity, through various stages of partial authenticity, to complete falseness.” Professionals, such as curators of museums, view “authenticity” as “complete authenticity” while people without much knowledge will easily accept a product with some indigenous characteristics as an “authentic” product. Timothy and Boyd (2003) argue that authenticity is intimately connected to history, and that only historically accurate objects and culture could be considered truly authentic. However, due to the

lack of knowledge about the past, complete authenticity could not be achieved in tourist sites. Instead, commercial interests interpret history and represent it to tourists.

2.4.2 Bruner's four types of authenticity

Bruner (1994: 399) gave four types or four levels of authenticity. The first level stands for being credible and convincing in terms of making the appearance resemble the original, which could be called “authentic reproduction”. He argues this is the fundamental task for most museums to make the productions believable to the public. The second level is to make the appearance not only similar to the original but make it a complete and perfect copy that is accurate historically, and verified by experts in the field. In this sense, authorized indigenous souvenirs with perfect quality made by non-indigenous people could also be called “authentic” products, because it is copied, guaranteed by an authority, and could be found in indigenous culture. Also the authorized performed indigenous dance discussed by Yang (2011) could also be counted as this level of authenticity.

The third sense means original. In this sense, no reproduction is authentic. The third level of authenticity, which is the one discussed by social scientists above, can hardly be achieved in practice. The authenticity that MacCannell (1973) argues belongs to this third level so that the staged or performed production does not belong to this sense of authenticity. However, in a museum where they can have the original collection, this sense of authenticity could be achieved. For instance the antique and original handicraft in historical museum represents authentic culture. The fourth level means properly authorized, certified, and legally valid. This level refers to the legal recognition of authenticity and it implies the notion of authenticity. It is not the matter of whether the site or object itself is authentic or not, but the matter of who has the power to decide what is “authentic”.

2.4.3 Existential Authenticity and Emergent Authenticity

Steiner and Reisinger (2006) argues authenticity is “always about free choices, not about maintaining traditions or being true to some past concept of individual, social, or cultural identity.”, which brings a concept of “existential authenticity”. Steiner and Reisinger (2006) argue that MacCannell's (1973) staged activities could be counted as host

authenticity in terms of they themselves decide how to present themselves to others. They conclude that “claiming and exercising that freedom is the ultimate expression of existential authenticity.” In summary, hosts' own feelings and expression of their own culture belongs to existential authenticity and in tourism industry, indigenous people choose what to present to guests not others decide what they should present, which is the essence of “existential authenticity”.

Existential authenticity shows the important role of hosts' own understanding and own expression of their own culture in the concept of “authenticity”. Cohen (1988) the view of visitors towards host culture is changing all the time. He also argues that new meanings of a culture are always appearing, which could be referred as “emergent authenticity”. Asplet and Cooper (2000) claim that the understanding of authenticity is always changing and even the experts who define what is “authentic” might change their perception over time. A good example is the American Disneyland. In the beginning, experts claim that Disneyland is a completely commercialized popular entertainment. But right now, it becomes an important symbol of contemporary American culture. Therefore, over time, the understanding of culture is always changing and new meanings are always added to the host's culture, which is the central meaning of “emergent authenticity”.

These two views of authenticity show that “authenticity” is not a given, static concept. It could be defined only by the hosts themselves, while new meanings could always appear over time. Therefore, when discussing “authenticity”, it should be considered that the concept of authenticity is complex and dynamic.

2.4.4 Who has the power to decide

Despite these different types and different opinions on authenticity, different stakeholders have different opinion on what is authentic as well. As Yang (2011) illustrated in her study on an ethnic folk village, several managers think what they represented in the village is adjusted to meet their tourists demand but it still stands for the authentic culture; 41 percent of her respondents working as employees think the staged shows are too commercialized and less valuable; while most of the tourists think the shows are authentic. Managers, employees and tourists have different views about the authenticity. McIntosh and Prentice (1999) argues that what is and is not authenticity

depends very much on the viewer, because of their different interpretation of the past and existing culture, and their different interest.

Ryan and Huyton (2000) argue that because of different purpose among different stakeholders, the meaning of authenticity is determined by who authorizes and what is authorized. Macdonald, (2005: 287) also argues that the origins of things and practices are not the matter of authenticity, what matters is “the perspective from which they are now seen”. This argument is match to Bruner's (1994) fourth type of authenticity discussed above. An example is that if the government has the most power to affect the tourist cite, they can decide what “authenticity” is according to their political purpose, such as selecting the perspective that stands for national identity. Therefore, authenticity could not easily be determined or judged, it depends on who has the most power and from what perspective they define it. This is important to know when discussing “authenticity” because it could help people not rely on one source of a claim of “authenticity” since it might be claimed strongly by one stakeholder to achieve its own goal. Thus, in order to know “authenticity”, all stakeholders' views should be investigate so that the meaning of it is not bias.

Overall, I think “authenticity” is a troublesome word. The meaning and sense of authenticity is negotiable, dynamic, and diverse. It can refer to an authorized copy/performance (Bruner, 1994), which can also be called “staged authenticity” or even inauthentic (MacCannell, 1973; Yang, 2011). It can refer to an original object (Bruner, 1994, Lau, 2010), while “emergent authenticity” recognizes that even modern inventions could become authentic (Cohen, 1988). Different stakeholders have different interpretations of authenticity (Cohen, 1979; McIntosh and Prentice, 1999; Yang, 2011), and the interpretation depends on who has the power to interpret it (Ryan and Huyton, 2000; Macdonald, 2005). Therefore, when using the term “authenticity”, one needs to define it clearly and discuss where the authority to declare something authentic lies.

3. Methodology

In this chapter, how I conducted this project is presented. I first present how I selected the case and the reason I chose qualitative research. Three methods, namely semi-structured interview, participant observation, and data analysis, are conducted in collecting data so that I can get enough generalized material to answer my research questions. These three methods are presented one by one in this chapter.

3.1 Case study and qualitative research

Case study provides researchers opportunities to connect theories and empirical studies in a research site, therefore research questions could be answered in the process of a case study. (Bryman, 2001) As discussed above, an indigenous museum is indigenous cultural and historical center and it is a representative place to study indigenous tourism. After studying relevant theory, which is presented in the earlier chapters, I started to look for museums in Sápmi and try to contact them asking whether they could allow me to conduct empirical research. In the beginning, telephone interview was designed, as Smith (2010) stresses that telephone interview could give researchers more opportunities to get access to more places than face-to-face interview because of travel time and expense limitations.

There are four main museums about Sami culture in Sápmi, including two museums in Norway, namely Varjjat Museum and Karasjok Museum, one in Finland called SIIDA in Irari, and two in Sweden, which is Ajtte Swedish Mountain and Sami Museum in Jokkmokk. The director in Ajtte museum in Sweden replied to me and accepted to be interviewed, but he suggested me to visit them instead of telephone interview, because I will not be able to feel the Sami culture on phone. Booth et al. (2008) suggested making good use of our supervisor and experts. I asked my supervisor, and also Robert Pettersson, who is an expert of Sami museum in Sweden, for suggestions. They both think observation is a direct way to collect empirical data, and I will collect more data than telephone interview. Then, I decided to go to the north to have observation myself.

Since this study is focus on museums in indigenous tourism industry and how the museums represent Sami culture, a deeply and thoroughly understanding of the phenomenon is important, qualitative research, therefore, is conducted in this project.

(Bryman 2001; Booth et al. 2008; Smith 2010) I will focus on the interpretation of my understanding of the indigenous tourism. Statistics or deduction of a theory are not necessary. Three mixed methods are used in this study, including semi-structured interview, participant observation, and document analysis. These different methods could be complemented to each other and improve the validity and reliability of the data. (Bryman, 2001) In addition, mixed methods will provide multiple data source, which could bring a richer picture and wider the array of the data and limit the bias of a data from one method. (Smith, 2010)

3.2 Semi-structured Interview

3.2.1 Reasons of using semi-structured interview

The interview is quite popular in qualitative research, because of its flexibility in terms of flexible in time and space between researchers and interviewees, although interviewing, transcription of interviews, and analysis of transcriptions are quite time-consuming. Semi-structured interview is adapted in this project, because the research requires more generalized, flexible, rich, and detailed data from the interviewees. Semi-structured interview can on one hand give me some topics to be addressed during the interviews, and on the other hand can provide opportunities for interviewees to express their personal views and insights, which is more important to a qualitative research. (Bryman, 2001)

3.2.2 Interview Guide

Interview guide was designed based on the research questions and the theory framework. (Bryman, 2001) The first draft of interview guide was designed in three themes, namely *Sami Culture, the Supply of Sami Culture and Tourist Reactions*. 28 questions are designed in the first interview guide. The questions are open-ended, and semi-structured, so that the interviewees could talk more according to the guide and provide more information. After the interview guide was decided, the first interview was conducted outside Ajtte Museum when I had an opportunity to meet my first interviewee in Stockholm. During the first interview, I was too rely on the interview guide, which led the interview ended within 30 minutes after finish asking all the questions. When I listen

to the record of the first interview after coming back home, I realized there are many questions and topics that I can ask more deeply and discuss with my respondent.

Thanks to this failed interview that it gave me an opportunity to adjust my interview strategy and interview guide, so that during the following interviews, I tried to ask deeply with interesting topics and make the interviews conversations instead of asking and answering questions. Then I modified my interview guide based on the information I collected during the first interview and formulated an interview strategy. I designed my new interview guide with four main topics, namely *topics about Sami culture, about their research and their production, about the management of museum, and about the cooperation*. Eight interview guides were based on these four main topics with some changes according to the respondents' different position and level in the museum, in order to answer my research questions.

3.2.3 Conducting interviews

During the following interviews, I had the new version of interview guide (See Appendix 1) and had the main topics in mind. I tried not to stick to the questions and tried to inspire interviewees to talk more deeply and give their insight of their interested topics. In the end of each interview, all questions in the interview guide are asked plus some more interesting relevant and useful information brought up by the interviewees. Questions are rephrased to more oral and practical questions instead of too academic questions, so that the interviewees could have better understanding of the questions. (Booth et al. 2008) For instance, I did not mention “authenticity”, in stead, I asked them to talk about what they think their culture is and how do they produce and design their representation. I was aware that my interpretation of the key concepts might be subjective. I tried to reduce and limit this subjective by reading more theories after the interview and think more reflexively. I recorded all the interviews. Transcriptions have been done immediately after all the interviews, so that I can write down what the respondents' reaction before I forgot. Each interview takes around four hours to be transcribed in order to maintain the depth of each conversation.

Respondents of interview covered from guide, reception, researchers, to directors in the museum so that opinions will be collected from different levels in the museum. In the end, I had six respondents, which are named “The Director”, “The Guide”, “Researcher

A”, “Restaurant Manager”, “The Receptionist”, and “Researcher B”, respectively in this project. Each interview was conducted from half an hour to one and a half hour. Two key respondents, namely the director and researcher A, were interviewed twice in order to add more insights. Transcript was analyzed by coding and classifying three themes, namely Identity, Authority, and Authenticity.

3.3 Participant Observation

3.3.1 *Reasons of using participant observation*

Participant Observation is one of the several methods in qualitative research to understand the nature of phenomena. Participant observation is “a way to collect data in naturalistic settings by ethnographers who observe and/or take part in the common and uncommon activities of the people being studied.” (DeWalt, and DeWalt, 2002: 2) It provide a context for interviewing, document collecting and analysis. The researcher will become an observer and take part in the activities in the field. Data needs to be collected during the participant observation, including notes, informal interviews or conversations during the observation. This data is as crucial as the data collected in other methods, such as semi-structured interviews, because it can provide the fundamental understanding of the phenomena and provide visual, auditory, touching even taste sense through the participant experience. (DeWalt, and DeWalt, 2002) On the other hand, this personal feelings might make participant observation too subjective and with bias because of individual personality. Comparing with other researchers' work is a good way to lower these limitations. It is also important for an observer to keep in mind to take notes and observe effectively, which means to attend and see as much as possible to improve the quality of the observation. (DeWalt, and DeWalt, 2002)

3.3.2 *Conducting Participant Observation*

During my visit to the museum, I had the opportunity to get access to it, including nine permanent exhibitions and three temporary exhibitions, two projects, the computer room, playing place for kids, the studying room both for visitors and employees, the souvenir store, the library, and the restaurant. It is important to make appointment before conducting fieldwork. I first contact with the director of the museum and he promised to meet me during one week and would introduce me to his staff. He first introduce me to a

tour guide so that I can have an opportunity to have an overview of the exhibitions and projects. That is my first observation. During the observation, informal talks are taken in order for me to understand better, which is also stressed as an important factor to gain more useful empirical data according to Bryman (2001). During the observation, informal talks only conducted between the guide and me. No ordinary visitors are included, because I am focusing on the museum staff's perspective. Another observation is conducted in two more specific projects. The project producer who is in charge of the two projects introduced the process she made it to me. These two observations gave me both a broad and a micro view of my research object, which enables me have a better understanding of my research field. The last observation is taken outside the museum, in a researcher's house. It gave me a brief view of normal Sami people's life.

Notes and photographs have been taken during all the observations. Informal conversations were recorded and further formal interviews have also been taken in order to get more insights of my respondents. Similar observation article (Pettersson, 2004) has been compared in order to avoid my personal bias on the phenomena.

3.4 Document Analysis

3.4.1 Reasons of using document analysis

Qualitative content analysis could also be called “coding”. (Bryman, 2001; Smith, 2010) This is the process to sort the collected data into proper categories. In this process, categories in the coding system play an important role. A certain number of categories are required in order to make the analysis reliable and in a certain degree of details. Five to fifteen categories are recommended. (Smith, 2010). In addition, categories were revised in the analysis process, for instance, to add some new categories when I find it difficult to put some information in the existing categories. Highlighting and making notes of our material is necessary when analyzing paper material. (Smith, 2010) English version of their website is focused on in this process. I also use Google Translate and ask friends to translate the Swedish version for me when I find some relevant topics in Swedish even in Sami.

3.4.2 Conducting document analysis

Document analysis is conducted by collecting material from different sources and analyze them. (Smith, 2010) There are many sources of document, including personal documents (e.g. diaries, letters, etc.), official documents (e.g. official reports, acts of parliament), documents from mass-media, etc. Four criteria might need to be considered when collecting material, namely authenticity, meaningfulness (clear and comprehensive to the researcher), credibility and representativeness. The source of the material determines their standing point and purpose, therefore, it is important to examine the context of the source in order to understand the material better. (Bryman, 2001) Bryman suggested some steps for collecting documents: have a research question, be familiar with the context within the document, be familiar with several documents (6-10), have some categories and formulate a schedule for collecting data, finally test and revise the schedule. During my document collection process and I tried to follow this suggestions.

In my research, no personal documents are collected because I focused on the museum and did not ask my respondents to provide any personal material, although I encouraged them to express their personal opinions during my observation and interview. Except that I did not ask any other personal data, because I can not see the necessity to ask them to provide any diary of work or we did not communicate via letters.

Official document is collected to be analyzed as a complemented method. Material from the Swedish Sami Parliament- *Sametinget*, the Sami online information center – *Samiskt Informationscentrum*, Sámi Youth project, websites of Ajtte Museum in Sweden, Varjjat Museum and Karasjok Museum in Norway, as well as SIIDA museum in Finland, news about Sami from local newspaper are collected and analyzed. Information from these websites could provide more macro information and the context about Sami in terms of policies, public news, networks, so that I can have better understanding besides the observation and interviews namely my personal experience in the museum.

3.5 Summary of methodology and critical reflections

As discussed above, qualitative research, with three methods is conducted in this project. Different methods could offer rich information for my research. Interviews could give me deep understanding of my research field and I can gain views from my respondents

in depth. Participant observation could give me an opportunity to feel the indigenous culture myself, how the culture is represented and the notion of authenticity in this process. Data analysis could provide me richer information that I can not gain from interview and observation, since they are taken in one museum. Document analysis is based on websites of other museum and other website, therefore, it can give me more general information.

In addition, each method could make up the disadvantage of each other. For example, the data collected from interviews could be subjective in terms of the personal opinion of the respondents and some topics might be omit during the interview; information collected from participant observation might be too subjective of my own judgment; document analysis may stands for bias voice because of the source, authors and their purpose. (Smith, 2010) Therefore, these three methods are complementary to each other and the information from diverse perspectives and a wider array of data could help me get closer to the nature of qualitative research.

Furthermore, these mixed methods provide me more general material so that I can have better understanding of the research issues. It also helped me think reflexively and not rely on one source of material so that I can analyze material and answer questions from a broader and critical view. In the end, I had eight interviews and three observations in the museum, and one observation in a reindeer herder's farm. After coming back from the north, I felt like I had collected enough data to answer my research question.

However, I also kept in mind some limitations during the empirical research. Language is a barrier for my data collection. For instance, neither my respondents nor I am native English speakers, and the restaurant manager asked the director to be her interpreter. This might cause some misunderstanding and limit the degree of the understanding of each other. The language barrier could also be seen in document analysis since most of the information is either in Sami or in Swedish. I conquer this barrier by asking some native Speaking people and ask them to give me the context behind the data.

Another limitation is that I was not be able to contact with Sami people outside the museum. I was aware that Sami people's involvement is significant to Sami tourism. However, due to time and resource limitation, I only talked to Sami people worked in the museum. This leaves further research of Sami people's involvement in Sami tourism.

4. Findings and Analysis

Empirical findings and theoretical framework are connected and analyzed in this chapter in order to answer the two research questions. In the first part of this chapter, I presented three stakeholders in the studied museum, because the stakeholders determine who is in charge of the cultural representation. This can also give the reader an overview of the structure of the museum. In the next section of this chapter, I argue for my own answer for the first research question: “How is indigenous culture represented in a museum?” Finally, I provide my understanding of how different senses of authenticity relate to the cultural representation in the museum, in response to my second question: “In which sense could cultural representation in an indigenous museum be said to be authentic?”

4.1 Three Stakeholders of the museum

As discussed in Chapter 2.3, different stakeholders have different influence on cultural representation. Three groups of stakeholders are identified in this project. This division is based on my interviews and the theoretical framework of cultural representation.

The first group is the foundation of the museum which directs the museum's development, gives tasks to it, and also is the main financial supporter. The foundation was formed by five entities, namely the two main Sami organizations in Sweden, Svenska Samers Riksförbund (SSR, two seats on the board of directors) and Same Ätnam (one seat), which is the oldest organization, and three levels of governments: the municipality of Jokkmokk (one seat) and the county of Norrbotten (one seat) and the Swedish state (one seat). This foundation shows that the museum is managed by both non-indigenous authorities (Central and local governments), and indigenous authorities (two Sami organizations), with the government and Sami organizations having the same number of seats in the board of directors.

Therefore, judging from the large formal influence by indigenous groups, this could be classified as Culture Controlled (see figure 2) in the model of Butler and Hinch (2007), because indigenous themes are managed mostly by indigenous people themselves.

About 70 percent of the museum's funding comes from the government, and the remaining is about equally divided between visitor fees, and additional income from the museum shop and renting out rooms for conferences and other events. The financial dependence on the government is therefore much greater than the dependence on visitors, and it becomes important to ensure that the influence of the government does not become too great, at the expense of the indigenous people.

The second group of stakeholders is the museum staff, including the managers, researchers, and other employees. The museum has three sections, the administrative section, the public section and the archive section. The administrative section usually do not engage in the cultural representation process. The public section contains many researchers who are the direct producers for the exhibitions and projects in the museum. The archive section include their main research source and collection, such as the museum library, and the collection of objects. Most of the museum staff are Sami or have a Sami background, which is significant for cultural representation. As discussed in the Cultural Representation section, indigenous people themselves play a fundamental role in representing their culture and interacting with tourists. (Stone, 2005; Yang, 2011) Although I did not study other Sami people outside the museum, all my six interviewees are Sami or have a Sami background, therefore, their opinions are some samples of native Sami people, which is still valuable.

The last group is the general public who is the direct consumer and audience of cultural representation. There are two types of visitors to the museum. One type is the Sami general public, either from Sweden or from the other countries that make up the *Sápmi*, and the othen type is non-Sami visitors from Sweden or abroad. Although the indigenous public and non-indigenous tourists are both treated under the header the general public due to their lack of formal influence over the museum, I separate tourists and locals because they have different purposes when visiting the museum. In one of our interviews, the director of the museum said:

We are also a part of the Sami society. In the narrow side, our museum is for the Sami people but in a broader view, our museum should be involved to communicate about Sami culture with a much broader public of Sweden and also from other countries. We have many visitors from other countries, especially during the summer. (An interview with the director of the museum in April, 2011.)

From this quote, we can see that tourists are usually non-indigenous people from outside *Sápmi*. Tourists and the Sami public are different groups and it is important to separate them, because, they gave different feedback to the museum and they have different influence on the museum, which will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

4.2 Cultural Representation

From the empirical study, I would argue that the formulation of cultural representation in the indigenous museum could be interpreted as consisting of four components: first, decision making; second, sources for contemporary culture; third, identification of indigenous culture; and finally, representation of their identities.

4.2.1 The decision maker - museum staff

It is important to know who is the decision maker in the cultural representation process, because this determines the result of a cultural representation. As discussed in chapter 2.3, cultural representation could be a tool for governments to achieve political goals, such as national unity, constructing a national identity, or national construction. (Hunter, 2011; Pretes, 2003; Yang, 2011) We can see that governments usually have political influence on indigenous tourism.

The director told me that the museum has three purposes: first, to be the principal museum of Sami culture in Sweden; second, to be a special museum for nature and culture in the mountain region; and finally to provide information for mountain tourism. But their main focus is on Sami culture. One aim of the museum is, according to the director: *“To inform about Sami culture and to communicate with the public.”* He told me that the board only discusses the long-term strategy of the museum. They do not discuss details of the cultural representation in the board. It is the museum's task to decide how to implement the strategy and decide what to represent in the museum.

Seven or eight years ago, their strategy was to attract visitors and they achieved that goal already, through cooperation with local destination development organizations, cooperation with tour enterprises, advertising in travel magazines, and also through word of mouth. Right now, their three-year strategy is about the Lapponia World Heritage area (Figure 4). They received about 8.2 million Swedish Kronor in funding from European Union, and they will take part in “Lapponia Process” to build an information center about nature close to the area together with another six or seven places.

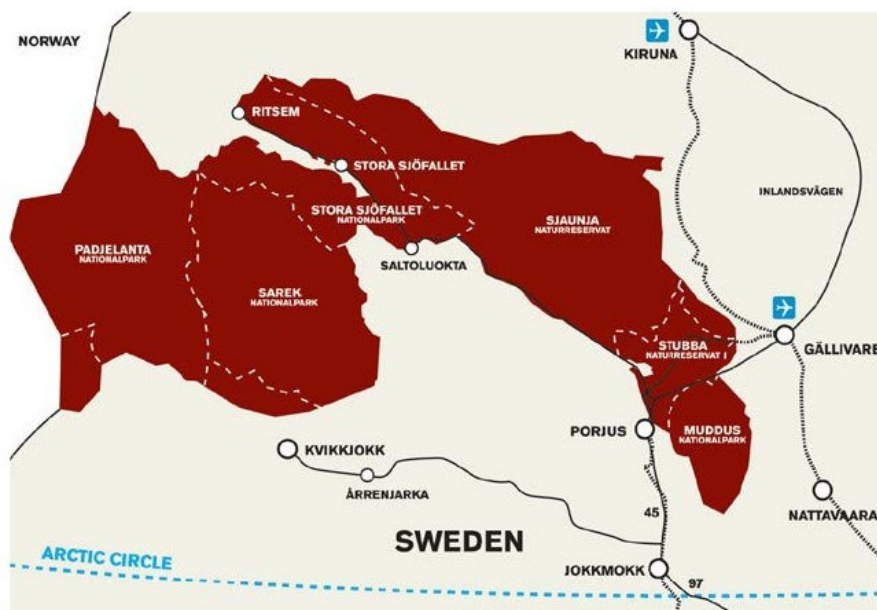


Figure 4: Map of Lapponia World Heritage site (from its official website: <http://www.lapponia.nu/eng/>).

The government's mission in the museum stresses development connected to Sami culture, rather than political or economic motives. The board usually gives the museum the right to decide what they want to represent. Researcher B told me that “*We have a big part of deciding ourselves, in the organization.*” The board does not tell them what to do, it is for the staff themselves to decide. Researcher B continues: “*We are able to write a suggestion about what we should do next year, so I sit down with the people working in the public area in the museum and we are thinking about how we could contribute to the goals that are set for the museum, and we are giving the suggestions,*

First to the director, and if he thinks they are good suggestions he takes them to the board, of the museum, and he introduces them, and they say OK, yeah, we would like to do this. So do that the next years.” She furthermore says that government's interference is minimal, with the suggestions of the museum staff being routinely accepted: *“I can't even think of one idea that they haven't liked yet.”*

Based on the above, I would argue that the museum staff is the main decision maker in the cultural representation process, because I can not see any strong political and economical purpose of the foundation, but instead, empowers the museum staff to decide what to represent in the museum.

4.2.2 The main source – the Sami public

As discussed above, the third stakeholder is the general public, including Sami public and non-Sami tourists. Although the director introduced that they have visitors in a broader sense that they will serve not only for Sami public but also for non-Sami public, I would argue during their production of cultural representation, the Sami public is their main source of information.

The director talked about the behavior of non-Sami tourists:

Many of our visitors are people from Germany, for example, and they are all the way to north cape and they decided to visit some places and we are among their many destinations. Then they go back and perhaps they never come back in many years in the future. But if they think that our museum is worth visit, they will tell others that you must visit the Ajtte museum in Jokkmokk. (An interview with the director of the museum in April, 2011.)

From this statement we can see, that non-indigenous tourists are their short-term target group, because this kind of tourists usually visit the museum once and seldom give continuing feedback. The director told me that visitors sometimes send e-mails, and that the museum asks visitors to write their comments in the reception so that they can

improve their service, but the feedback is mostly positive, and seldom provide professional feedback about Sami culture. Plus, the director's response supports Butler and Hinch's (2007) finding that indigenous tourism is connected to many other types of tourism. They argue that tourists often combine many different kinds of travel during their holiday, for instance, one day they will enjoy the landscape, another day they will visit some historical heritage, and then they will use one day for an indigenous tour. These tourists from abroad, traveling not only for the indigenous tourism, like the director said, will not come back again in the future, therefore, this group of visitors are not their long-term target group.

Supporting this view, Researcher B described the feedback by the tourists: *“I think people have too little knowledge about Sami culture, to give ideas. It's more likely that we can give ideas to other people to develop information about Sami culture, than the other way around.”* Lack of knowledge is a factor that non-indigenous tourists could not give enough feedback or have very much influence to the museum. Then who is their long-term target group and who gave them feedback and influence them the most? The answer, given to me by several interviewees, is the Sami public.

The director told me that it is very unusual that the non-indigenous tourists will leave comments *“It's very unusual, very unusual. It can be more from the Swedish public, or the local public. “Why do you show that? This was a thing my grandmother gave to the museum, why don't you show it today?” Of course that type of questions, but that's from the locals.”* And these locals are mostly Sami.

Several respondents told me that Sami public is their main target group when they doing research. Potter (2006) argues that dialogues with the museum's audiences are necessary, through listening, and communicating, not only with current audiences, but also potential audiences. Since some of the researchers also work as tour guides, this provides direct access to the public, and a valuable source of feedback. But not all audiences gave the researchers valuable feedback. A researcher told me that *“I try to get this variation of the area and people live in different areas. So I do not want to just focus on just one area, so I have to go. But it is only Sami that I interviewed for this project, no Swedes.”* We can see that Sami people from all areas in Sápmi are her main source for researching contemporary culture.

A researcher told me the most important factor for her to conduct research: *“From my museum, and in my work, I have the most important group, which are Sami visitors, like this collection. Because, they can value it so much more.”* We can see the museum staff recognize Sami people as their important audience, because they can provide valuable information from their experience, which is significant for native indigenous people control their own culture.

Sami youth is also involved a lot in the producing process in the museum. Potter (2006) also suggests that children and youths should be involved in the producing process of museum, because they are not only a part of the audience but also could provide fresh ideas and suggestions for the production. Both Researcher A and Researcher B told me that they communicate with Sami youth frequently when they producing their projects, because they are now learning Sami knowledge in school and this museum could give the youth opportunities to know their history and culture, at the same time, the museum staff could get feedback from the youth based on what they learn from school.

Researcher B told me that she usually talked to Sami children and her own contacts: *“My brother works as a reindeer herder, so if I'm writing something about reindeer herding, I'm giving him a phone call and I'm giving him the text and ask “is this good or is it a strange thing to say”, and then he often has something to say about it, maybe you should not use that word or take it in another angle or something, so it's good to have this contact.”*

The library and the artifact collection are some other sources in the museum for doing historical research. The learning process in a museum is also considered a significant area of resourcing and training staff (Bagot, 2006). The library in a museum is an important resource for the staff doing research and collecting material. Researcher B told me she always go to the library to obtain historical knowledge about indigenous issues and she was glad the museum has a library for them to do research. I have the opportunity to visit the library and except book collections, they also have a collection of Sami *Joik*, which is their traditional song. Different joik could be heard all around the

exhibition area. Besides the library, Researcher A told me the source of the exhibition is the museum's collection in their basement. It is a historical collection from original Sami people and institutions.

Overall, the Sami public is their main source in the cultural representation process about contemporary culture. Due to the lack of knowledge, non-Sami tourists do not give very valuable feedback on this process. Therefore, the Sami public has more influence, and contribute more to the museum than tourists. Although non-Sami public does not provide valuable feedback in the museum's cultural representation process, it does not mean that the non-Sami public is not important to the museum. They are still one group of visitors that the museum aims to inform about Sami culture. But what I argue is that non-Sami public do not influence the cultural representation process, which to some extent does not make the museum too commercialized. The library and the artifact collection are mostly for doing historical research.

4.2.3 Identifying indigenous culture – Visible and Invisible characteristics

As discussed above, the museum staff is the main decision maker in the museum and the Sami public is their main influence in the cultural representation process. The next step is to see what the museum staff's perception of indigenous culture are, which will be presented in the section about the result of cultural representation.

As discussed in chapter 2.1, Müller and Pettersson (2001) conclude that reindeer herding (Figure 5), traditional costumes, handicrafts, Sami tents, and the Sami flag are the main characteristics representing Sami culture in brochures. This could be seen from almost all websites about Sami culture. Although most of my respondents could not tell what exactly Sami culture is, because of the dynamic and diverse nature of culture, they still talked quite a lot about Sami culture, which could be seen from two aspects: visible characteristics and invisible characteristics.



Figure 5: reindeer²

Nature has become part of their culture, because indigenous people rely on nature and the wilderness in their original lifestyle. Sami people living on reindeer herding, fishing, could not live without nature. Lapland is a world heritage site and a representative example of the *Sápmi* landscape. Researcher B talked about the connection between Sami culture and Lapland: *“The world heritage area became a heritage area because of the extraordinary nature and the living Sami culture. Our information could be all about Lapland... We live in Lapland, ... it is a part of Sápmi...”* The indigenous Sami culture was an important factor for the decision to make Lapland a world heritage site.

Most of the respondents could list the visible characteristics, but what they emphasized is their feeling and living culture, which is always changing and difficult to describe. Researcher B told me about what she thinks it means to be Sami, the changing Sami culture and the difficulty of showing these changes:

We had a visitor, I think he was from Japan, and he asked in the reception area that is it possible to become Sami people? Can I become a Sami? You think that is an easy question to answer, I know of course you can, because

² All photographs in this thesis are taken by the author.

you are not a Sami person. And you are not in your genes a Sami, because you have to both feel like a Sami, and you have to be a Sami. But still that question is interesting, because some people are moving here, as a world is today, people are moving in different directions and into different cultures. And you can get married to a Sami person, and become a part of culture. Then it is not a really.. of course, as a tourist, it is easy to say, no, you can not. But if you are a part of the culture, and you feel like a Sami person, are you a Sami person? And we do not want to answer that question. (Interviews with a museum researcher in April, 2011.)

From her expression, we can see that, even a Sami person can not easily answer the question *who is a Sami?* The idea of “feeling like a Sami person” gave me a new perspective on Sami culture. Many interviewees told me that it is important to them to feel like a Sami. But I was wondering: since they are working in the museum, if *feeling like a Sami* rather than wearing a traditional dress makes them Sami, how do they show that to their visitors? Researcher A told me that it is important for her to feel that she is a Sami, but it is not important for her to show this to others: *“I do not feel like it is important to show any outsiders that I am a Sami. It is not valuable for me that they know that ... So I do not put on my dress to show other people that I am a Sami.”* This is a big difference of indigenous identity from the visible characteristics to the invisible spiritual identity. I can feel that the Sami people working in the museum are very proud to be Sami.

Moreover, from the quotations we can also see the changing status of Sami culture over time. Researcher B specified this change of understanding of their culture: *“I think it has been more positive thinking about Sami culture than I can see for instance in my own life, when I went to school on the other side of the street, it was not that popular being a Sami person, as it is today, today we are more proud of the culture, so that's positive.”*

Overall, based on the interviews, Sami sources and the literature, I would argue that it is important for indigenous people themselves identify their culture. Although it is hard to

describe, the museum staff as Sami people still could express their identity, through visible characteristics, such as reindeer, the traditional dress *kolt*, their language and flag, as well as invisible characteristics, such as whether or not they feel like a Sami, and their lifestyle.

4.2.4 The cultural representation – exhibitions, projects, interactions.

The result of the cultural representation is what people could see and feel in the museum. From my empirical research, I would argue that the museum staff as Sami people, their identities as Sami people are represented in the museum through exhibitions, projects and interactions with their visitors. The layout of the exhibitions, which is the first image when people entering the museum, is designed similar to a reindeer enclosure. Besides that there is a traditional Sami tent in the middle of the hall before main exhibition area (Figure 6). They put carpets, water pots, fireplace, and some other items that Sami people used in their daily life. This tent stands for the historical lifestyle of Sami people, although in contemporary times, not very many people live in this kind of tent.



Figure 6: The Sami tent.

Müller and Pettersson (2001) found that the traditional Sami *kolt* dress is the second most common picture in Sami tourism brochures. The Sami *kolt* and silver objects were used for protection and decoration by Sami people, which is showed in the exhibition *Costume and Silver*, with a collection from nine areas in Sweden. (Figure 7) The reason they put different styles of *kolt* from different areas is that they want Sami people to

recognize their own *kolt*, no matter they are from the north or the south. They also use the local dialect in the sign of exhibitions to let Sami people recognize their own dialect.



Figure 7: Different styles of Sami costumes in different areas.

The Settlers (Figure 8) exhibition, about Sami, Swedish and Finnish settlers, shows their settlement life from a hundred years ago to the 1940s. This exhibition is quite simple with different models of different homes of the settlers, without any modern technology.



Figure 8: One settler family building their house.

As discussed in the chapter 2.2.3, a museum should not only collect past history and culture, but also document contemporary culture. (Steen, 2004) The director told me that it is important for his museum to not only introduce the historical life to others but also the modern life, although according to one researcher involved in the exhibition about contemporary culture it is more difficult and less interesting to show the modern life.

The exhibition about historical and modern life of Sami people, called *Passage of Time* (Figure 9), shows the development of Sápmi.



Figure 9: The development of Sami lifestyles through history.

The exhibition *Passage of Time* is in the entrance passage of the main exhibition areas. When I was walking there, it gave me an overall impression of the life that Sami people had, from a man carrying a fish to a man riding a motorbike. The exhibition is made by pictures with labels as explanations, which might not be attractive enough for visitors. More modern technology could have been used in this exhibition.

Regardless of the technology, this exhibition contains a picture of the modern lifestyle of a Sami reindeer herder, sitting on a motorbike. Not very many exhibitions show the contemporary culture. It is easy for a museum to present the history of a culture but it is difficult to present the living culture. It is very difficult and less interesting to visitors, because Sami people live a modern life similar to the majority population. Globalization and harmonization have caused many particular aspects of the Sami lifestyle to disappear, to be replaced by more modern and practical solutions.

The museum's exhibition of *Laponia* shows the nature, and the living Sami culture, as well as giving more practical information about visiting the mountains in the area. It is not surprising to see that they have many exhibitions about nature in the museum. Examples of exhibitions about nature could be seen in the Laponia project, and in the

multimedia show called *The River*, which was made to show the development around the Kalix, Vindel and Lule rivers through history. Unfortunately the show does not work, and there is not sufficient money to repair it.

The exhibition called "*To utilize*" tells visitors about Sami life during the last hundred years of traditional lifestyle, until about 50 years ago, when the population largely adopted a modern lifestyle similar to the majority population. Indigenous people's belief is also a character of indigenous culture. The exhibition called "*Trumtid - to embrace life*" shows the religion of Sami people. *On the road* shows the Sami people's movement for food and water, for warmth and protection.

In addition to permanent exhibitions, the museum also has some temporary exhibitions, such as handicraft, Siberian indigenous people, birds, and so on. The Sami Winter Festival is a big event for Sami people in all areas of Sápmi. This museum participates in the festival as a cultural center (Pettersson, 2004). Visitors from all over the world went to the museum to learn about the Sami culture. The festival is also a great opportunity for the museum to spread Sami culture worldwide. In addition, different conferences are also held in the museum, as the director said it is a meeting place for people to discuss either Sami issues, or the local issues where Sami people live.

During my visit to the museum, there was a conference called "The Future of Jokkmokk" held in the museum. Many people were walking through the museum, discussing issues, exchanging ideas and having lunch in the restaurant. I realized why the director called the museum as a "*meeting place for people from up to the north and to the south*". One issue about whether to support a mine project in Jokkmokk was raised in this conference, which reveals the conflicts between governments and the local people, especially Sami people. A new mine could bring job opportunities, bring economic growth to the region but it is harmful to the nature and the environment which Sami people relying on.

Researcher B told me that “*Many people in Jokkmokk are positive about this mine, saying 'oh, it's really good for Jokkmokk, we're so few people, and now we're going to have more work'. It's a short-term solution, 15 years later we have just a hole and have a destructed nature.*” No one will know whether this project will be passed or rejected, but this kind of conflict between economic development and sustainable development has occurred several times in the Sami areas. Several of the staff members interviewed were enthusiastic about the Laponia World Heritage site, since it can prevent development destructive to nature and to the Sami who rely on it for a living.

Besides these exhibitions, Sami culture is also represented through interactions between staff and visitors, which at the same time shows the important role for a staff to be a Sami. As discussed above, indigenous people themselves play a fundamental role in cultural representation. This is also recognized by the museum staff. Researcher B explained her understanding of the significance of indigenous people's involvement:

You saw when we have people working as the guide in the museum? Those who we hire who are not Sami people themselves, often find it is difficult to do a guide tour in the museum, because it could be hard to answer even an easy question. When I get a question like this, I have my Sami culture, and I feel secure about it when someone ask me: “Well, do you eat a lot of fish in the summer?” “In my family we do”. That can be my answer, even I am employed in the museum, and I have to give my personal opinion. “Well, do you work with reindeer?” “Well, in my family we do, my grandfather grow up as...”. Often, there will be this kind of personal stories... And it is easier for me to answer, because I can answer about myself and it is not a lie whatever what I say. Because, I do not want to lie about other people, and they are really afraid of generalizing. (Interviews with a museum researcher in April, 2011.)

From this quotation, we can see that the interaction between employees and visitors is a direct way to reveal the real life of indigenous people and it shows the importance of involving indigenous people in the cultural representation process. Non-indigenous people could not answer the questions because they did not have personal experience with indigenous life. With indigenous background, they can tell the tourists about their

own culture, what they live on, what they believe, their dress, their lifestyles, and their arts. Thus, when tourists ask questions about indigenous culture, they can easily tell the tourists what they think and perceive, both from their personal view as an indigenous person and from the organization's view as an employee of it. On the one hand, they can tell the tourists their own experience, their own personal opinions on their own culture, while on the other hand, since they, as employees in the indigenous tourist sites, also receive service management and other training, they can provide professional answers and service as well. Although non-indigenous people can provide professional service to tourists, they do not have the particular cultural experiences of an indigenous person to share with tourists. Therefore, the involvement of indigenous people is a direct way to represent indigenous culture to tourists.

Overall, these four processes are important components for cultural representation in the studied museum, namely, museum staff as the decision maker, not the government, so that political aims are not present; the main influence on the representation of contemporary culture is the Sami public, not the demands of non-Sami tourists, preventing commercializations; the decision makers' Sami identities, which facilitates their understanding of Sami culture; and finally the exhibitions of the museum.

4.3 Authenticity in the museum

In Chapter 2.4, I discussed the complexity of the concept of authenticity. The meaning of authenticity is negotiable, dynamic and diverse. It is hard to define and judge what is authentic and what is inauthentic, because it depends on who views it and who has the authority to define it (Ryan and Huyton, 2000). In the museum, the museum staff has the most power to decide what to show to others. During my visit, the observation and my analysis, I can see three senses of authenticity in the museum: object authenticity, existential authenticity and emergent authenticity.

4.3.1 Object authenticity

A museum presents staged culture according to Pettersson (2004). As discussed in Chapter 2.4, MacCannell (1973) wrote that staged culture is not authentic. Lau (2010) argues that a distinction should be made between “relationship authenticity” (which might not be reflected in the museum), and “object authenticity” (which may very well be). Both original and replica objects could be seen in the museum. Researcher A is in charge of two projects. One is about the Sami handicraft (Figure 10), and this exhibition is made by native Sami people. These handicrafts are or were used by Sami people in their everyday life.



Figure 10: Handicraft of different shapes and sizes

Although the exhibitions are chosen by the museum staff, and are represented to others, I would argue this does not mean the cultural representation is not authentic. The objects in these exhibitions such as the handicraft exhibition, made or used by native Sami people, stand for the original lifestyles that Sami people had. These are authentic following “object authenticity”. The exhibitions illustrate the historical characteristics of indigenous people. It can also be classified as the third of Bruner’s (1994) four types of

authenticity, in which “authenticity” stands for “the original”. Therefore, “object authenticity” could be seen through the cultural representation process in the museum.

There are many exhibitions produced in the museum that use life-size replicas. According to the second of Bruner's (1994) four types of authenticity, replicas could be counted as “authentic” as long as they are guaranteed by authorities – in this case the researchers of the museum. Figure 11 shows one of their exhibitions with a life-size figure of a Sami woman feeding her two reindeer and a dog. Overall, this kind of copies, as Bruner (1994) argues, give people an impression of the real thing, and it is often hard to exhibit an original object, therefore, an accurate copy used in a museum could be counted as “authentic”.



Figure 11: A Sami woman is feeding her animals.

4.3.2 Existential authenticity

Existential authenticity could also be seen in the museum. First of all, according to Steiner and Reisinger (2006), host's own feeling, own identity, own expression about their culture, belongs to “existential authenticity”. As discussed above, several

respondents expressed that they think “feeling like a Sami” is the essential part of being a Sami. Steiner and Reisinger (2006) also argues the process of participating and presenting the host's culture to others can be counted as “existential authenticity”. Since the museum staff are mostly Sami people, and their main source of information is from Sami people, therefore, they are freely representing their own culture to others. We can classify this as “existential authenticity”.

During the interviews, many respondents told me that their source and inspiration of the projects and everyday works relies very much on the Sami public. When researcher A and B prepare their projects, they usually talk to their contacts, which are from different areas in *Sápmi*. This communication with native indigenous people guarantees the indigenous control by and a high degree of involvement from the indigenous people. Although it is hard to say how much the museum staff will use the indigenous people's opinions in their projects, at least they have the awareness that their main target group is indigenous people and try to use their opinions. From this we can see that Sami people themselves encourage people to express their opinions and present their culture, which is the essence of “existential authenticity”.

4.3.3 Emergent authenticity

Whether mass-produced cultural productions can be authentic is disputed. Asplet and Cooper (2000) consider cultural production made by native indigenous people to be genuine, and mass-produced souvenirs are not considered authentic. The Sami museum has a souvenir store. All souvenirs in the museum, however, are not made by Sami people. Butler and Hinch (2007) conclude that most tourists buying souvenirs in order to remember their trip and very few tourists would take “authenticity” seriously. Not many tourists prefer to buy a genuine product which might cost very much. Instead, they would rather choose to buy some affordable ordinary souvenir that can remind them of their holiday. The Receptionist, who participates in choosing the products in the store, told me that she tried to find products made by Sami people. However, Sami people do not produce the souvenirs demanded by tourists, so the museum staff also tried to find

something that does not conflict with the character of the area. Although the souvenirs are not produced by Sami people, it is chosen by Sami people, and also it is new product with the local characters. This kind of emergent products one day might be recognized by experts as authentic as well. Cohen (1992) uses the term “emergent authenticity” to describe that gradually the understanding and perception will change and new products will become recognized as authentic culture.

Overall, despite the complexity of and the disagreements about the concept of authenticity, I have been able to identify three senses of authenticity. Object authenticity could be seen through the cultural representation material. Some of them are original, while some of them are certified copies. Both types of objects could be called “authentic” according to Lau (2010) and Bruner (1994). Existential authenticity could be seen through Sami people's self-identity. The museum staff have a strong sense of Sami identity. This feeling belongs to “existential authenticity” according to Steiner and Reisinger (2006). The perception of culture is always changing, but new emergent culture and new meanings of culture will gradually be recognized as authentic. This is Cohen's (1992) definition of emergent authenticity. I could identify all three forms of authenticity in the museum.

5. Conclusion

This study explored the cultural representation in an indigenous museum as well as the authenticity in the process. Two research questions are asked in order to achieve the aim: (1) How is indigenous culture represented in a museum? (2) In which sense could cultural representation in an indigenous museum be said to be authentic? In order to answer the questions, relevant theories have been studied, including an overview of indigenous tourism, cultural representation, and authenticity. The study was conducted in a Swedish Sami museum. Semi-structured interviews, participant observation and document analysis were applied in the empirical study, with the interviews being the most important. During the study, I was able to collect sufficient amounts of data to answer the research questions.

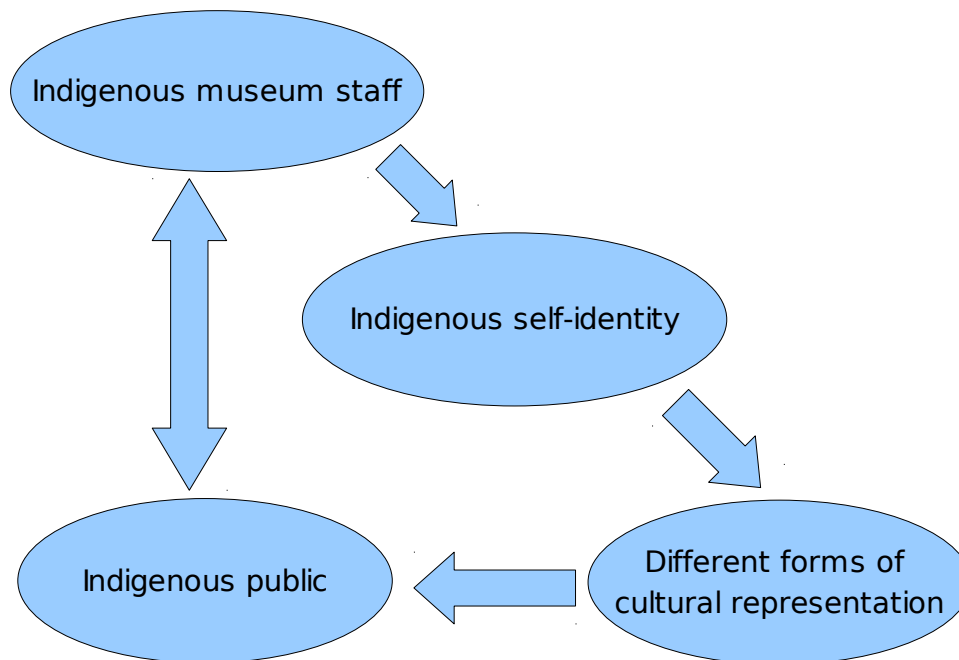


Figure 12: Cultural representation in an indigenous museum (own figure).

After the study, I would conclude that cultural representation process contains four main components, and in this process, three senses of authenticity could be achieved, which could be seen in the figure above (Figure 12). There maybe some other components as well but those do not reflect any sense of “authenticity”. For instance, the components of

“government” in Yang's figure (Figure 3), reflect inauthentic representation according to her.

First, indigenous museum staff should be the decision makers in the museum. Many scholars point out that cultural representation could become a tool for governments' political purposes, and then the result of cultural representation is not what the indigenous people want to see. (Hunter, 2011; Pretes, 2003; Yang, 2011) From the empirical study, the government did not exercise political control in the museum and the museum staff has the most power to decide what to do. Moreover, most of the museum staff are indigenous people. Therefore, indigenous culture is controlled by indigenous people themselves.

Second, since the museum staff has the most power to make decisions, it is important to see what the sources of their research are. The library and historical collections are their main sources for history and past culture. The indigenous public is their main source for information about contemporary culture. This is important because a museum should not only collect history but also should collect living culture (Steen, 2004). Museum staff have interactions with indigenous public. These interactions include personal contact, getting feedback and comments from the indigenous public, and when the museum staff is doing research for their projects. These interactions guarantee the museum staff being aware of the living culture of the indigenous people they are representing. However, this does not mean museum staff should not have interactions with non-indigenous groups. Interactions with non-indigenous group could be useful, but it is not for the cultural representation process, because of the lack of indigenous knowledge in the non-indigenous group. Not being influenced too much by non-indigenous tourists' demands helps preventing the cultural representation from being too commercialized. That is also the reason why non-indigenous public is not included in Figure 12.

Third, how museum staff identify indigenous culture is another important component for cultural representation. From the empirical study, the museum staff can identify visible and invisible characteristics of the Sami culture, based on their own Sami identities. Visible characteristics include traditional dress, reindeer, flag, and language. Invisible characteristics include whether or not they feel like a Sami, and their contemporary lifestyles. The understanding and perception of culture is changing all the time, and indigenous people's lifestyles are also changing, both due to external factors, such as

globalization and lack of control, and internal factors, such as indigenous people's own search for a better life. Therefore, it is important to represent the changing culture, although it is difficult.

Finally, the result of the cultural representation process is different forms of cultural representation, which are easily seen in the exhibitions and projects in the museum. Interactions with visitors could reflect the indigenous staff's invisible identification, which is a fundamental factor in cultural representation. (Yang, 2010) What people could see in the museum is determined by the decision maker, and the decision maker's identification of indigenous culture.

Authenticity is a part of the cultural representation process. The complexity of and different senses of the concept of authenticity have been investigated in the museum. Different cultural representation material could reflect "object authenticity". Both of original material and guaranteed material could be called "authentic" according to Lau (2010) and Bruner (1994). Indigenous people outside museum are not studied. But since all the respondents are indigenous people and they have close interaction with other indigenous people, therefore, the respondents reflect some opinions of indigenous people, although they can not represent the entire indigenous population. And they have strong self-identity and have freedom to express their identity in the cultural representation process. Therefore, their own feelings and own expression of their culture, even when this breaks with tradition, can be classified as "existential authenticity" according to Steiner and Reisinger (2006). The perception of culture is always changing, but this changing will gradually be recognized as authentic over time. The changing culture and new indigenous products are recognized and represented in the museum, which matches Cohen's (1992) definition of "emergent authenticity". Therefore, using these three senses of authenticity, the cultural representation is "authentic".

Overall, I would conclude that indigenous people should be involved in the cultural representation process so that different senses of authenticity could be reflected in the cultural representation. The involvement should include decision making, management, research and production. Figure 12 shows the importance of indigenous people's involvement. Non-indigenous people might be able to create "object authentic"

indigenous culture in a museum, but “existential authenticity” or “emergent authenticity” could not be reflected.

After conducting this study, I have a better understanding of how indigenous culture is represented in a museum and in which senses the cultural representation in an indigenous museum could be said to be authentic. Although studying one indigenous museum only provides a glance of indigenous tourism, I have investigated several important issues in indigenous tourism: indigenous control, cultural representation, and authenticity. Cultures are always changing, some disappear, others appear, and existing cultures can develop in new directions. Authentic culture, therefore, is hard to define. Indigenous people's self-identification should be encouraged, but if the indigenous people do not want to live their traditional way of life, we do not have the right to stop them. The Sami museum is a good example of an indigenous people being allowed to represent their own culture, both historical and contemporary. Authenticity in indigenous tourism is an interesting field, which deserves further study.

Reference:

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Appendix 1- Interview Guide

1. Sami people and Sami culture:

What do you think is typical of Sami culture?

Do you think the understanding of Sami culture has changed? How?

Are you a Sami?

Do you have relatives working on the traditional Sami occupation, such as reindeer herders and fishers?

How many Sami people work in the museum? What are their positions?

Are they satisfied with the Sami products in the museum?

Do you know what Sami people's work are these days?

*2. The representation of Sami culture in the museum: *

What is your target customer group?

What products/activities do you have to present Sami culture in your museum?

How do you make the Sami culture into those products/activities?

How do you collect information about Sami culture?

Do you continue doing research on Sami culture? How?

What is the source of the research?

Where do you apply fund to support your research or projects?

What is the foundation of the museum?

What is the strategy of the museum?

What role does the museum play in the community do you think?

What factors influence the cultural representation in the museum?

Do you think your products are too commercialized to visitors?

How do you manage the products not to be too commercialized?

Could you talk about the developments in exhibition techniques?

How do you use the techniques in your exhibitions?

How would you like to develop your museum? Are there any obstacles and threats?

*3. The cooperation: *

Do you work together with other Sami organizations?

How do you cooperate with those organizations?

Do you have any cooperation with other museums? How is it going?

Are there any factors that you do not want to cooperate with?

Do you cooperate with tourism organizations? Could you talk about it?

* 4. Tourist reactions: *

Do you keep in touch with your visitors? In what ways?

Do you receive any feedback from visitors? In what ways?

If so, will you adjust your products and service according to the feedback?

Do you have a general notion about tourists' feelings towards Sami culture?

Do you know what the tourists' demand about Sami culture?

Do you think there is any gap between what tourists expected and what you provide in the museum? If so, how do you manage to decrease these gaps?