

Indigenous tourism destination development

The case of Sami peoples in Sweden

Rie Yamamoto

Supervisors

Mikael Backman

Håkan Rodhe

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Tel: +46 – 46 222 02 00, Fax: +46 – 46 222 02 10, e-mail: iiiee@iiiee.lu.se.

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Abstract

Indigenous tourism is a vehicle of sustainable development for indigenous people. However, as the increase in the exposure to a westernized rationale along with tourism development, indigenous tourism development may result in the degradation of indigenous culture.

The purpose of the thesis was to identify significant aspects of indigenous tourism especially focused upon cultural sustainability. The case of the Sami tourism in Sweden was chosen to apply the key factors for cultural sustainability to suggest future implications, by looking into the barriers and opportunities, the stakeholders involved, and the tools used for sustainable indigenous tourism.

The study concluded that indigenous control, participation in decision making, administrative support, community support, and societal marketing are the defining factors for culturally sustainable indigenous tourism, and, most importantly, communication is the key to facilitate the significant factors efficiently.

Executive Summary

The increase in concern over the indigenous culture as an attractive tourist destination facilitates the development in indigenous peoples. The tourism industry creates new job opportunities and helps indigenous peoples to be economically independent. Introducing culture to visitors proves a spark for indigenous peoples to have pride in their culture and can lead to revitalize the culture. However, it is important to note that there are drawbacks in relation to tourism development for indigenous peoples. Expanded economic activities may result in economic leakage from the region, or unfair distribution of wealth. Tourism development can cause environmental and cultural deterioration if it is not managed properly. Indigenous culture must be respected along with the tourism development as the cultural identity means a lot to indigenous people.

The purpose of the thesis is to identify significant aspects of indigenous tourism development and to seek the appropriate strategies for sustainable development, by viewing the Sami tourism in Sweden. The framework of indigenous tourism and the significant factors for the culturally sustainable tourism development were reviewed. Regarding the Sami tourism, the opportunities and barriers, the stakeholders involved, and tools used for the sustainable tourism development were analyzed. Finally the suggestion for Sami tourism and future implication are presented.

The results of the investigation into the defining factors for the culturally sustainable tourism development for indigenous peoples are as follows:

- Indigenous control
- Participation in decision making
- Community support
- Administrative support
- Societal marketing
- Communication

Each factor can not be independent of the others and the factors are mutually linked in a complex framework, reinforcing one another. The last factor “communication” was identified through the Sami tourism case, and the importance of communication should be noted among the significant factors.

The Sami tourism destination embraces the attractive natural environment as well as the fascinating Sami culture. The Sami tourism entrepreneurs often offer the high quality tourism products, introducing indigenous knowledge and culture to tourists with having closer interaction. The tourists who come to Sápmi tend to be willing to pay high prices for the high quality products; therefore, it creates a good match between supply and demand. Utilizing the facilities they have already had makes it easier to enter the tourism business. Furthermore, the unique Sami cultural tourism can take the niche market and doesn't have to be competitive.

However, there are barriers and challenges for the Sami tourism development. The balance between reindeer herding and tourism influences the orientation of further tourism development. Lack of willingness to grow, low incomes giving low potential for further

investment, lack of management and marketing skills are mainly attributable to the small entrepreneurship. Lack of common vision among the Sami tourism entrepreneurs due to the different intensity of business makes it difficult to create a network among the Sami tourism entrepreneurs. Long distance travelling can also be a restriction to bring tourists. Seasonality of tourism trend means inconsistent demand, which requires strategic planning to make the business profitable. The conflict over the property right is a longstanding issue which calls for the solution that is the most satisfactory for all the stakeholders.

The tourism development involves various stakeholders with different interests. Each stakeholder has its own role and responsibility in tourism development and it is advantageous for stakeholders to cooperate and collaborate beyond the given role and responsibility. Stakeholder cooperation approach enables to implement more socially equitable decision making processes and enhance the awareness of the importance of indigenous culture and the understanding in their responsibility.

There has been a lot of effort made to figure out the way to achieve sustainable tourism development. The concept of ecotourism is considered to be suitable for sustainable tourism, and the Nature's Best, eco tourism certification, is one of the tools for guiding sustainable tourism development. The response from the tourism industry reveals that the Nature's Best is not yet seen as a useful marketing tool, although they are aware of the fact that the Nature's Best scheme will do well in the long term. The important finding here is that the Nature's Best can play a role in facilitating communication among stakeholders.

Thus, the factor of communication should be added to the critical factors for the sustainable indigenous tourism development. Establishing communication seems to be a simple task to do, however the importance of communication must not be left aside. Communication among stakeholders facilitates the involvement of stakeholders that affect and are affected by tourism development, which lead to strengthening indigenous control over the tourism development.

Based on the findings, the future suggestions for the Sami tourism development are to establish the Sami tourism network to increase the unity and control over the destination development. In addition to indigenous knowledge, creative products invention will fit into the niche market and allow the Sami tourism to achieve a reliable position with a low degree of competition. Targeting foreign tourists will be the next step as indigenous culture is generally more attractive to foreign people than to domestic tourists and there is also a potential in expansion of foreign tourists market such as Laponia World Heritage area. Therefore, the Sami tourism holds bright opportunities for further development, so that it is important to keep this in mind and to make an effort to cooperate with stakeholders to reduce the barriers and the conflicts.

The suggestions for further research are as follows:

- Tourist perception of cultural authenticity of the destination;
- Media that influences the tourist behaviour;
- Economic leakage of the indigenous tourism development;
- Environmental assessment of tourism impacts and seek out the solution for the negative impacts.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Historically the relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous people has been through the hard times to get along with each other. As is often the case, indigenous peoples were exploited or forced to give up their land for the benefit of non-indigenous peoples. There have been a lot of court cases which discuss the issues on property rights and conflicts between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. For the last couple of decades, the United Nations has initiated the movement towards establishment of indigenous peoples' right. In 1982, the Working Group on Indigenous Populations was launched. The UN designed the International Year of Indigenous Peoples in 1993, and also drafted the Declaration of Indigenous Peoples' Rights to take into consideration at the General Assembly in 1995 (Hinch T., Butler R., 1996). These initiatives have brought the issues of indigenous peoples up to the light of global attention. The struggles of indigenous peoples for obtaining equity and justice are now considered to be a common concern at international, national and local level.

On the other hand, as indigenous peoples obtain more rights, they have more opportunities to be exposed to western-based rationale. Social welfare system could help indigenous peoples to develop their society. Expansion of market and economic globalization affect the economic situation for indigenous peoples, which increases involvement in economic activities outside of indigenous communities. Environmental deterioration is critical for survival of indigenous peoples since their traditional way of living is most likely to have closer relationship with surrounding environment and higher dependency on nature. Therefore, sustainability is the core issue in relation to the development for indigenous peoples. Social, economic, and environmental sustainability are to be considered carefully when development for indigenous peoples is carried out.

Tourism is one of the preferable sustainable development vehicles for indigenous peoples. As opposed to many other resource intensive industries such as the extraction of mineral resources in indigenous land, tourism has more potential to achieve the development in a sustainable manner if it is managed properly. Furthermore, the main attraction of indigenous tourism is most likely to be indigenous culture, heritage and tradition as well as nature in indigenous land. It implies that it is easier to be in a position of strength for taking part in and having control over management and development planning.

Marketing culture as a tourism product, however, involves trade-offs between demand and supply. Demand, that is, what tourists want to experience visiting a destination may not correspond with what the destination really is. It is important to note that commercialization of a culture may result in the authenticity of culture being at risk. The impact of tourism is more influential for indigenous hosts than tourists since the stage of tourism attraction is where hosts go about their normal daily activities whereas tourists only stay there for a short period of time. Therefore, there is a need for proper strategies and careful consideration in its culture when indigenous tourism development is to be carried out. In order to achieve sustainable development for indigenous peoples, therefore, tourism planning and management requires a long term perspective.

1.2 Problem statement

The increase in concern over the indigenous culture as an attractive tourist destination facilitates the development in indigenous peoples. The tourism industry creates new job opportunities and helps indigenous peoples to be economically independent, which strengthens the position of indigenous peoples in the society. Introducing culture to visitors proves a spark for indigenous peoples to have pride in their culture and leads them to revitalize the culture.

However, it is important to note that there are some drawbacks in relation to tourism development for indigenous peoples. Expanded economic activities may result in economic leakage from the region, or unfair distribution of wealth. Tourism brings more people to the destination, which may deteriorate the environment of indigenous lands due to littering or increased amount of sewage water with poor infrastructure. Furthermore, the conflict between indigenous peoples and non-indigenous peoples with regards to land property rights is often observed and needs to be taken into account.

As is mentioned before, indigenous tourism usually presents their culture as one of the main attractions. The impact of tourism on culture can be more serious and delicate than that on natural environment. Littering can be removed by picking up and waste water can be treated in a proper sewage system whereas cultural deterioration is more irreversible or harder to recover. Hence, appropriate policy and strategies are to be developed to prevent indigenous culture from having irreversible impacts and fading out.

1.3 Purpose and Objective

The purpose of this thesis is to identify significant aspects of indigenous tourism development and to seek the appropriate strategies for sustainable development, by viewing the Sami tourism in Sweden.

In order to achieve this purpose, the following objectives were defined:

- To understand the framework of indigenous tourism;
- To identify the critical factors for cultural sustainability in indigenous tourism and apply them to the case;
- To understand the Sami tourism in Sweden;
 - ⇒ To investigate barriers and opportunities for the Sami tourism;
 - ⇒ To explore the role and interest of actors involved in the Sami tourism development;
 - ⇒ To examine tools used for sustainable tourism development;
- To suggest future implications and a set of qualitative indicators for sustainable development.

1.4 Methodologies

The aim of the thesis was to understand the significant aspects of indigenous tourism development for sustainable development and to explore the factors contributing to cultural sustainability for indigenous peoples. To accomplish the objectives, qualitative method was applied to the thesis. The thesis consists of literature studies, field research and review of the literature.

1.4.1 Literature study

Literature on sustainable development, indigenous peoples, tourism, stakeholders, tourism destinations, and cultural authenticity were studied and analyzed. Literature included academic papers and reports from various backgrounds. Cases studied in the literature were woven into the context focusing upon indigenous peoples.

1.4.2 Data collection

Primary data were collected through interviews, email contacts and observation in the field research. Secondary data were sourced from academic papers, articles, reports, statistics, declaration, guidelines announced, internet, and so forth.

1.4.3 Interview

In order to understand the current situation of the Sami tourism and the dynamics of stakeholders involved in the Sami tourism development, approximately 20 semi-structured interviews were carried out in the field research in Sápmi. Semi-structured interview facilitates the communication with interviewees to give them enough room for explaining their opinions.

1.5 Scope and limitation

The paper is focused upon sustainable tourism development especially for indigenous people. Tourism as a tool for development needs careful planning, implementation and management strategies in order to achieve sustainable development. Sustainable development embraces economic, socio-cultural, and environmental aspects, which are inter-linked and influential to one another. The studies on economic or environmental indicators and performance are such interesting fields to be looked into in order to understand the issues around the sustainable tourism development. However, in the thesis, the focus is on the cultural sustainability aspect of indigenous tourism development as the importance of the culture is a salient characteristic for indigenous people and one of the distinctive features of indigenous tourism development. The stakeholders involved in indigenous tourism development are examined in the thesis, yet the tourists' behavioural aspect was left out of the scope as the consumer behavioural issue itself is enough to consist of a whole thesis.

The critical factors for culturally sustainable tourism development were applied to the case of the Sami tourism in Sweden. The number of interviewees was limited from the field research due to the high season in tourism and carve marking period for the reindeer herder. The degree to which the traditional lifestyle means to indigenous people and the circumstances where indigenous people are vary depending on the country or the region where the indigenous people live. Moreover, the indigenous people Therefore, the results of the study may not be applicable to all indigenous people, but the principles of the factors can be generally relevant to indigenous tourism development.

1.6 Outline

The thesis consists of the following parts; introduction, literature review, analysis, discussion, and conclusion.

Introduction part

Chapter 1 consists of the background, research question, purpose and objective, research methodology, scope and limitation, and outline of the thesis.

Literature review part

Chapter 2 presents the background information on sustainable development and indigenous people, and the relationship between tourism and sustainable development.

Chapter 3 gives the definition, framework and characteristics of indigenous tourism.

Chapter 4 focuses on the indigenous tourism development, which includes the impacts of tourism, tourism destination development, stakeholders, and the characteristic of small entrepreneurs in tourism.

Chapter 5 discusses the cultural authenticity and points out the critical factors for cultural sustainability.

Analysis part

Chapter 6 provides the background of the Sami, and the Sami tourism entrepreneurs, and the analysis of the Sami tourism from a marketing perspective.

Chapter 7 examines the stakeholders involved in the Sami tourism development and analyzes the stakeholder cooperation and conflict.

Discussion part

Chapter 8 discusses the issues on the Nature's Best as a sustainability tool, the quality and quantity, and applies the defining factors for the cultural sustainability to the case of the Sami.

Conclusion part

Chapter 9 draws the conclusions and presents the future suggestions.

2. Sustainable development and tourism for indigenous peoples

2.1 Introduction

The concept of “sustainability” and “sustainable development” has been seen quite often for the last few decades, as the concern over the issues in relation to development have increased. Economic development is a common interest for the local, regional, national and global levels. Therefore, to find out how a development can be carried out in a sustainable manner is one of the most challenging issues for all of us.

In 1992, at the Earth Summit, framework of sustainable development was created which is based on Brundtland Report released in 1987. The report describes the concept of sustainable development as “sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (SD Gateway, 2005). Needless to say, resources are not infinite, so we must deal with not only the current situation but also upcoming future for our offspring. Sustainable development had been discussed oftenly with regard to environmental aspect; however, this report also implies the need for taking social and economic aspects into consideration. In order to achieve sustainable development, environmental, social and economic issues must be carefully examined and taken into account. Figure 2-1 illustrates the concept of sustainable development. Sustainable development cannot lie only in one aspect; it can be achieved only by gathering all environmental, social and economic dimensions.

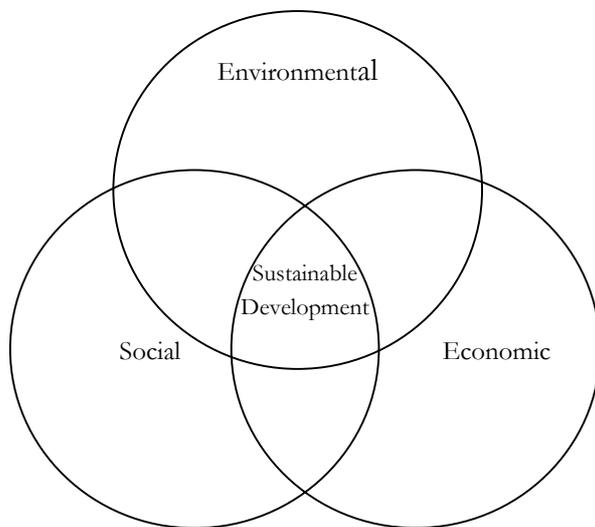


Figure 2-1 The concept of sustainable development

Agenda 21 is one of the achievements attained at the Earth Summit, which is an action strategy for development and environmental issues for the next decades. Agenda 21 has made a wide variety of sustainable development plans launched at local, regional and global level with a broad range involvement from business, local authority to international organization such as the World Bank (SD Gateway, 2005). These initiatives bring sustainable development down to the earth, and increases in the number of people involved has significantly raised the awareness of the importance of sustainable development, which potentially obtains more participation in these development plans.

2.2 Indigenous peoples and sustainable development

Indigenous peoples consist of more than 350 million individuals, representing over 5,000 distinct peoples (Danida, 2004). According to the definition in Art.1 of the International Labour Organization's Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, this convention applies to:

(a) Tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations;

(b) Peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present State boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status,.. retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.(Terralingua, 2005).

In short, indigenous peoples are those who have distinctive social, cultural and economic characteristics and have inhabited the country regardless of state boundaries or legal status while holding their own governing systems.

Indigenous people have been living in association with the natural environment for a long time in their original land and wildlife. The way of life for indigenous people often relies on the sustainable use of resources for their social, economic and environmental nourishment. Indigenous peoples possess unique languages, beliefs, and knowledge, and it is notable that their knowledge and practices have been harmonized with sustainable management of resources. This sustainable balance that has lasted for the past hundreds and thousands of years is nowadays in danger due to environmental deterioration from pollution, modernization of life style, globalization of economy and so on.

Indigenous people tend to depend largely on the natural environment, meaning that it is more likely that they will be affected by the changes in the surrounding environment (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2005). Indigenous peoples' view of development is fundamentally based on their own values, ideas, and procedures. Increasing interaction with people outside of the indigenous society, exposes indigenous people to modernized society, and it may result in conflict between the societies or result in an obligation to find a way to integrate indigenous values with westernized culture.

Kimberley declaration, International Indigenous Peoples Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 held at Khoi-San Territory in South Africa, emphasizes that the national, regional and international acceptance and recognition of indigenous peoples is essential to achieve sustainable development. The declaration also mentions the importance of self-determination and indigenous control on their land and resources. It claims that there is a distinct spiritual and material relationship with their ancestral lands and the link is crucial for indigenous people to survive and carry out further development according to their indigenous knowledge systems and culture. It includes the understanding of pastoralism and other hunting and gathering activities as a vital livelihood of indigenous peoples. Other major issues mentioned in this declaration are: the right to equal participation in planning development, concerns over unsustainable industrial activities in indigenous land such as mining, and encouragement of poverty alleviation and health (Tebtebba, 2005).

In 1993, the UN advocated the international year of the worlds' indigenous peoples, whose objective was to reinforce international cooperation in search for solution in human rights,

environment, development, education and health. Between 1995 and 2004, the international decades of the worlds' indigenous peoples was set to follow up the previous year plans (UNDP, 2005). Sustainable development for indigenous peoples has been increasingly discussed at international level and indigenous peoples have been improving at any rate.

Now indigenous peoples are obtaining the equal rights to development, resources and services as all other peoples. However, it is essential to note that the fundamental concepts of development, resources and services for indigenous peoples may be different from those of others. Therefore, sustainable development for indigenous peoples must take the understanding of this difference into account. Participation, control and consensus throughout the development are often emphasized in relation to indigenous sustainable development.

2.3 Tourism and sustainable development

Tourism has become one of the largest industries in the world and has played a leading role in global economy. In 1999, 664million tourist arrivals created US\$ 445 billion of trade and the tourist arrivals' rate grew 4.2 per cent annually. Besides the remarkable expansion of tourism, the development of tourism has become geographically spread and diversified in tourist destinations. In 1950, the top 15 tourist destinations were all in North America and Western Europe, which occupied 97 per cent of the world's total arrival. By 1999, the figure dropped down to 62 per cent, due to the increasing market share and economic transition; particularly in South-East Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, and Latin America (WTO, 2001). Tourism is now considered to be a widespread economic phenomenon all over the world.

As tourism, as one of the main economic sectors, grew larger, the discussion on tourism and sustainable development emerged accordingly. The Inter-sessional Ad Hoc Working Group of commission on sustainable development in the UN held in 1999 recognized that tourism is both currently and potentially a significant contributor to sustained economic growth and sustainable development (UN, 1999). The United Nations has adopted the concept of sustainable development in the context of tourism, and in 1999, decision 7/3 on tourism and sustainable development was accepted, which included an international work programme on sustainable tourism development with the involvement of multi stakeholder dialogue. The implementation and achievement of the programme will be reviewed on regular basis (UN, 2004).

The development of tourism has been recognized as an important economic development tool throughout local community, regional, national and international level (Lewis, 2001). Tourism has appeared to be a main contributor for economy, creating job opportunities, foreign exchange earnings, tax revenues for government and benefits to local communities. Especially for the states which don't have access to sufficient resources such as the small islands in developing countries, tourism can be the only means available for the development with short to medium term perspective (UN, 1999). Tourism has a potential to boost the economy in host communities and stimulate them to conserve cultural and natural assets in order to attract more tourists.

However, there are also negative impacts of tourism. The development of tourism may result in environmental deterioration caused by over consumption of resources, waste generation, and pollution in the course of constructing infrastructure, transportation, or tourism facilities, and tourist activities. The interaction with people from outside the community can degrade cultural values and traditional way of living. The fair distribution of revenue from tourism is also an issue to be considered. The heavy dependency on tourism as the major economic activity holds a great potential of risks in case of economic degradation or natural disaster and

makes the economic system vulnerable and fragile to change. The impacts of tourism vary in the degree and concern along with the factors in complicated tourism systems, yet the assertion that tourism development affects the destination on economy, society and environment is to be made.

Therefore, in order to achieve sustainable development of tourism, it is worth while looking at the concept of sustainable tourism. Although the definition of sustainable tourism can be found in many different contexts and the word “sustainability” can be interpreted in various ways, the core notion of sustainable tourism is to apply sustainable development principles to the development of tourism. WTO addressed the conceptual definition of sustainable tourism development and it is described as sustainable balance must be established between environmental, economic, and socio-cultural dimension to achieve long term sustainability. The best practice of sustainable tourism should: 1) make optimal use of environmental resources; 2) respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities; 3) provide socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders. In addition, fulfilment of tourists’ satisfaction was touched upon. The development of sustainable tourism needs the informed participation of all stakeholders. It also says, “*Sustainable tourism development guidelines and management practices are applicable to all forms of tourism in all types of destinations...*” (WTO, 2004). It implies that these requirements are the minimum codes for sustainable tourism and should adopt more of the consideration in detail in line with the conditions and characteristics of tourism development.

2.4 Tourism and sustainable development for indigenous peoples

The relationships between sustainable development and indigenous peoples, and tourism and sustainable development were discussed earlier. Now, the focus is on how indigenous peoples perceive tourism development for sustainable development. What is meant to be addressed here is not to question the need to have tourism as development tool for sustainable development, but to take a look at the view of indigenous peoples towards tourism development. International Indigenous Peoples Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002, known as Kimberley declaration, mentioned the attitude towards tourism as follows:

Indigenous Peoples, our lands and territories are not objects of tourism development. We have rights and responsibilities towards our lands and territories. We are responsible to defend our lands, territories and indigenous peoples against tourism exploitation by governments, development agencies, private enterprises, NGOs, and individuals. (Kimberley declaration, 2002)

In the same year, there was another international summit for indigenous peoples in Johannesburg, in the context of the Plan of Implementation, tourism development is described as shown below.

We will take responsibility for tourism activities we generate, that these are based on our own development strategies, incorporate the respect for our traditional values, ethics and human rights and conserve our natural and cultural heritage.

We invite governments to participate in our efforts to develop and apply norms, guidelines and regulations on the development of tourism, based on the principles of respect for our rights, the cultures and the integrity of ecosystems. (International Indigenous Peoples’ Summit on Sustainable Development 2 September 2002/Plan of Implementation, 2002)

These two outcomes of indigenous peoples’ summit on sustainable development at international level seem to be of incoherence and discrepancy; the former doesn’t approve tourism development in indigenous lands at all, whereas the latter suggests the preferable way

to develop tourism with view of adoption of tourism development. However, if you look at the Kimberley declaration from the different point of view, it could be interpreted as the description of an indicator with strong refusal against the abuse of indigenous lands and their culture and heritage. In other word, along with tourism development things like putting indigenous peoples or their culture on show, or destroying their lands and territory are never to happen. Showing actors that are involved in tourism development is one of the implications to make sure all actors are responsible for not hassling their identity and lands. Therefore the vision of indigenous peoples towards tourism development comes down to the sustainable development principles requiring the protection of indigenous culture and lands in cooperation with the responsible behaviour of all the stakeholders.

3. Indigenous tourism

3.1 Definitions

The terms used in the literature to describe the indigenous concept vary depending on the choice of authors. The examples of terms used in the indigenous studies are aboriginal, ethnic, native, and first nations etc. The determinant factor for the choice of a specific terminology is usually rooted in the geographic context, the specific cultural group that is the focus of the publication, the purpose of the author, and the types of the target audience (Hinch, Butler, 1996). Regardless of terms chosen, the contents of the studies is to describe races or groups of people who are native to a destination region, the terms seem to intercommunicate; for example, as the definition of ethnic tourism, the definition of indigenous tourism is to be found (Ojeda-Macias, 1996). The term indigenous is widely used in the global and inclusive application. Worldwide recognized bodies such as the United Nations consistently use this terminology (Hunter, Butler, 1996), so that in this paper the term indigenous is used.

Indigenous tourism gives us an image of authentic and representative indigenous experience which attracts tourists to a destination. Some may regard indigenous tourism as a sub-set of ecotourism. Various definitions for indigenous tourism are to be found. It implies its complexity of indigenous tourism. According to Hinch and Butler, indigenous tourism is defined as “tourism activity in which indigenous peoples are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction” (Hinch, Butler, 1996).

Indigenous tourism can also be seen as part of that now copiously referenced cluster of tourism alternatives (Smith, Eadington, 1992). Smith describes indigenous tourism as “... segment of the visitor industry which directly involves native peoples whose ethnicity is a tourist attraction” (Smith, 1996). Smith also introduced the theory of four Hs, that is, habitat, history, heritage, handicraft, and these elements shows the characteristics of indigenous peoples. Beyond the different definition, the idea of indigenous tourism comes down to the indigenous culture and tradition, which involves indigenous peoples’ heritage and history forms fundamental basis for tourism development.

Hinch and Butler perceive indigenous tourism from two key aspects: indigenous control and indigenous theme. The figure 3-1 shows the level of control and theme and the degree of outcomes. The more indigenous peoples are involved in indigenous tourism activities, the higher the control level is. Indigenous theme level shows to what degree the tourist attractions are based on indigenous theme. The combination of low degree of control and indigenous theme absent means the tourism is not indigenous tourism anymore. This matrix helps to identify the extent of indigenous tourism and help to find out where to improve.

Table 3-1 The level of indigenous tourism decided by its control and theme

| | | INDIGENOUS CONTROL | |
|------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | | <i>Low Degree Of Control</i> | <i>High Degree Of Control</i> |
| INDIGENOUS THEME | <i>Indigenous Theme Present</i> | Culture Dispossessed | Culture Controlled |
| | <i>Indigenous Theme Absent</i> | Non- Indigenous Tourism | Diversified Indigenous |

(Source: Hinch, Butler, 1996)

3.2 Framework of indigenous tourism

Mass tourism, a type of tourism, attracts a mass of tourists to a destination. Rapid development of destination with large scale firms, multinational chains and multinational decision making process are involved. Due to its rapid growth, the great numbers of visitors to a destination, and ignorance of local situation, the notion that mass tourism is a form of tourism which is largely responsible for negative impacts at the destination.

Seeing the negative impacts of mass tourism has led to development of a new type of tourism, that is, alternative tourism. This new type of tourism aims at minimizing the environmental, socio-cultural, and economic costs and maximizes the benefits (France, 1997). The major characteristics of alternative tourism are small number of individual travellers, locally provided accommodation and encouragement of slow as well as controlled growth that is within the host capacity without making damages to local environment and culture.

Some sub-types of alternative tourism, such as ecotourism, nature tourism, community tourism lie in the areas of the diagram shown in Figure 3-1 that illustrates the types of tourism within a generic framework and how indigenous tourism fits into the framework.

As is mentioned earlier, two significant factors that determine the indigenous tourism; indigenous control and indigenous theme, that is, indigenous culture. Where indigenous tourism lies in the framework is shown with a grey area in Figure 3-1. However, it is important to keep it in mind that the complexities of definition are to be subject to the movement of a host area within the boundaries of a category or the shift from one type or sub types of tourism to another with rapidity (France, 1997).

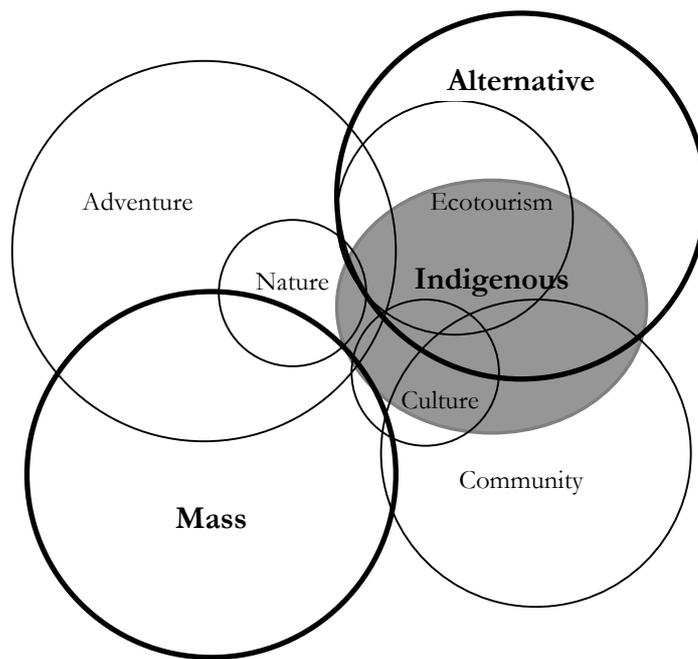


Figure 3-1 Indigenous tourism in the context of major types of tourism, their variants

(Source: France, 1997, revised)

3.3 Geography

The geographical spread of indigenous tourism corresponds with areas or regions where indigenous peoples have their traditional homelands (Zeppel, 1998). The examples of tourism experiences with indigenous peoples are: homestay in Balinese family (Wall, Long, 1996), mountain trekking in the Annapurna in Nepal (Pobcik, Butalla, 1998), meeting Inuit people in the Arctic in Canada (Smith, 2001). Indigenous tourism destinations can be found all over the world. Indigenous tourism has spread into remote and marginal areas, which can be nature reserve, national parks or protected areas (Zeppel, 1998).

In geographic terms, these regions for indigenous tourism destinations lie in deserts, mountains, polar areas, islands, and tropical rainforests. Especially these areas are often considered to be environmentally in danger and include fragile ecosystems and indigenous communities (Zeppel, 1998). The development of infrastructure and transportation has made it easier to access those areas, and increased number of tourists visits the destinations. It is significant to make sure that the fragile environment is protected in the course of tourism development.

3.4 Culture

As the physical environment in indigenous traditional homelands attracts tourists, experiencing indigenous culture is a core reason for tourists to take part in indigenous tourism. Tourists demand for indigenous cultural experience has been growing due to the demand for alternative tourism. Tourists have always been attracted by a chance to experience other

culture, and this fascination has continued for the past four hundred years since the origin of the Grand Tour (Hinch, Butler, 1996).

In order to understand the view of culture, it is worth looking at the definition of culture. An anthropological definition of culture is described as: "... *collectively to a society and its way of life or in reference to human culture as a whole*" (Bohdley, 1994). This illustrates a set of attributes that consists of culture with continuity in temporal line. Another anthropological definition says: "*culture is an integrated system of meanings by means of which the nature of reality is established and maintained*" (Geertz, 1993). It emphasizes that the authenticity and the moral tones are fundamentally rooted to their life experiences and the importance of systems meant in human life (Greenwood, 1989). Culture is, therefore, various attributes that a group of people possesses that are integrated into systems which are fundamentally significant and bring down to the nature of human life.

The final declaration, at the UNESCO Symposium on the protection of traditional knowledge and expressions of indigenous cultures in the Pacific, mentioned indigenous culture and traditional knowledge as any knowledge or expressions that has occurred for the well-being of the indigenous peoples, and the culture was inherited one generation to another to reinforce their identity. The declaration emphasized that indigenous culture is not limited to the examples given. The examples of these are values, dance, music, stories, traditional conservation measures, social institutions, physical environment etc (UNESCO, 1999). To browse the full list of examples, see appendix. It is said that indigenous culture represents not only the traditional formality but also the lands, social and political systems they have nourished since they emerged.

With regards to indigenous cultures as tourist attractions, culture serves as a tourism product, which is often reformed in accordance with tourists demands. New Guinean aboriginal art and handicrafts, Balinese dancing, Inuit sculpture, and Sami camp visits are some of the examples of culture as a tourist attraction. The studies of indigenous tourism usually indicate that there are problematic aspects of commoditization of culture. The issue of authenticity is one of the major discussions among indigenous cultural tourism.

Therefore, indigenous tourism that deals with culture as a tourist attraction needs to be carried out with a close attention to the indigenous culture, which is the nature of indigenous peoples' life. When the development of indigenous tourism results in the deterioration of their own culture, recovery could be a quite difficult task since culture is alive, mobile and fragile to change. Indigenous control of indigenous tourism development is an essential factor to help to maintain their culture.

4. Indigenous tourism development

4.1 Impacts of tourism

As the growth of tourism has been seen dramatic, the impacts of tourism must be considered closely. Although the extent or characteristics of impacts may vary depending on the situation where each destination is confronted, it is crucial to not overlook the impacts of tourism in general. Here, the impacts of tourism will be discussed in a broad sense particularly with emphasis on indigenous tourism.

When a tourism industry starts growing, there are usually some incentives or benefits to develop tourism at a destination (Jafari, 2001). Economic incentives are one of the most significant factors for businesses to be attracted to be engaged in the development. Prospective economic growth can catch the attention of the local community. Along with the development of tourism, there are also other positive impacts of tourism can be seen. Raising awareness of surrounding environment can lead to environmental protection or improvement (Pettersson, 2001)¹. Speaking of the raise in awareness, indigenous culture could be revitalized and indigenous peoples could become more proud of their culture. On the other hand, costs of tourism, that is, negative impacts derived from tourism should also be addressed. As with the benefits of tourism, the costs of tourism are observed in the course of development, during the operation, or emerge as a result.

Table 4-1 shows examples of the impacts of tourism especially focusing on the impacts of indigenous tourism. The impacts of tourism come in economic, social and environmental sides, presenting both positive and negative aspects. Economic development creates new job opportunities and promotes infrastructure development (Jafari, 2001). At the same time, new job opportunities can be seasonal or unskilled work, which bring about the issues of unemployment in the “off-season”. Development of infrastructure destroys natural environment. Entry into the global market may lead to significant economic leakage from the region or high dependency on tourism as a “mono-industry”.

The more attention is paid to the attraction at the destination, which could be nature or culture of indigenous peoples, the better understanding of environment or traditional heritage that is achieved (Pettersson, 2001). Intercultural communication can ease the tensions between indigenous peoples and non-indigenous peoples. The interaction, however, may be incomplete and lead to misunderstanding or create conflicts with outsiders. The growth in the number of tourists visiting a destination can cause environmental exploitation by extensive use of resources (Leung et al., 2001).

Impacts of indigenous tourism have much in common with other types of tourism; however, what cultural and social change means to indigenous peoples is particular to indigenous tourism. Indigenous peoples have lived with nature for a long time and their lifestyle is closer to the natural environment. Environmental impacts on indigenous people are crucial elements to be considered.

Table 4-1 Impacts of tourism

Positive and negative impacts of tourism from economic, social and environmental perspective

| | Economic | Social | Environmental |
|----------|--|--|---|
| Positive | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create jobs • Generate infrastructure • Develop local products • Expand development • Complement production of other economic activities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Broaden education • Promote international understanding/peace • Reduce: language/racial/political/religious barriers • Reinforce preservation of heritage/ tradition • Promote worldview and membership in the global community • Enhance appreciation of own culture | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase consciousness • Protect wildlife and environment • Draw more attention to cultural heritage site |
| Negative | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Result in high leakage • Have seasonality and contribute to unemployment • Become susceptible to change, rumour, spread of disease, economic fluctuation • Result in unbalanced economic development • Lead to extraneous dependency | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contribute to misunderstanding • Generate stereotypes • Lead to xenophobia • Commercialize the community and its culture, religion, arts, and more • Threaten family structure • Increase instance of crime • Induce conflicts in the host community | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploit natural resources • Increase in erosion • Littering • Pollution • Noise |

Source: revised model from Jafari (2001), and Pettersson (2001)

4.2 Tourism development

Tourism that is well-controlled is often considered as a way to achieve sustainable development for indigenous peoples in terms of environment, culture and economy (Butler, Hinch, 1996, Zeppel, 1997). To be able to find the way to minimize negative impacts of tourism and to maximize positive impacts, it is important to understand how tourism at a destination is developed and the factors that lead to controlled tourism for sustainable development.

4.2.1 Destination

When a region becomes an attractive tourist destination and its resources turn into a business opportunity, there are complex factors that form the development of a destination including infrastructure, tourist services, and attractions as well as marketing and obtaining human capital (Johns, Mattsson, 2005). The destination represents all aspects of tourism: demand, supply, transportation and marketing (Cooper, 1998). The impacts of tourism occur at the destination, where the interaction between hosts and guests takes place. An overview of the destination will give general ideas of the possibilities for tourism development.

The destination life cycle helps to understand a framework of how a destination and its markets evolve (Cooper, 1998). This model is fundamentally the normal product life cycle in marketing terms. However what makes the model distinctive from other curves like this is that the model applies to the development of tourism destination (Aronsson, 2000). Figure 4-1 illustrates the transition of a destination with a view of time and the number of visitors.

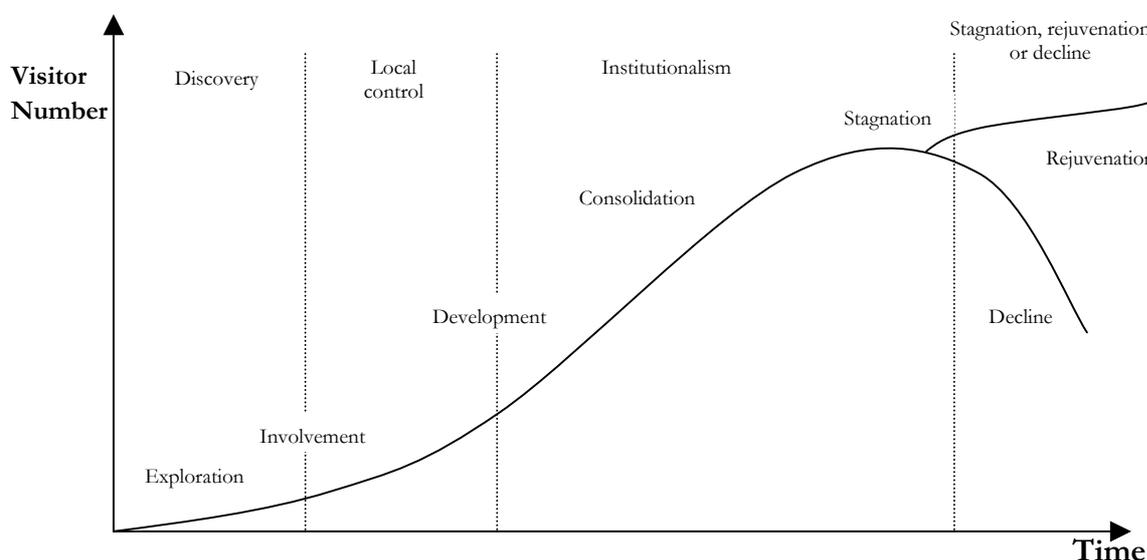


Figure 4-1 Destination life cycle

(Source: Butler, 1980, Cooper, 1993)

When a destination is first introduced to a market, the number of visitors is not significant. As the development of tourism continues and time passes, more visitors come to the destination. In the exploration stage, attractions are there although the tourists do not exist, even if there are some tourists, they tend to be individuals who are the drifters or explorer type of tourists. During the next stage, involvement phase, more people in the local community are involved in tourism and increased and regular volume of tourists arrives to the destination. At this stage, the tourist season and market area emerge, which leads to the pressure of public sector to construct infrastructure and provide support for the development of tourism. The growth of tourist arrivals is increasing but the rate of development is relatively slow (Cooper, 1998; Johns, Mattsson, 2005).

In the development phase, public sectors and businesses are engaged heavily in investing in developing the market destination, and the revenues from tourism become apparent and evident. However at the consolidation stage, the growth rate slows down and the

infrastructure at the destination is getting older, which makes the attraction or the region out-of-date and become unable to expect the expansion of arrivals. After it reaches the stagnation stage, the destination stands at a cross road to decide whether following the decline, keeping the stagnation longer, or undergoing rejuvenation with bringing a new attraction at the destination (Butler, 1980; Cooper, 1998; Loannides, 2001; Moore, Whitehall, 2004).

Although the destination lifecycle model accounts for the time aspects of tourism development, it has been argued that the model lacks consideration of the characteristics of places (Aronsson, 2000). It is questionable if this model is applicable to small-scale tourism destination due to the general characteristic of this model; however, the small-scale tourism development which takes place in the area where mass tourism development is going on can be the case of this model (Ibid). With regard to indigenous tourism development, indigenous tourism is often considered to be small scale tourism. The indigenous tourism industry represents a small subset of the global tourism and many aspects of tourism development that the global tourism industry has control over, especially transportation and marketing (Hollinshead, 1996; Dann 1996). Therefore, the destination lifecycle model is a useful framework to understand the indigenous tourism in the context of global tourism.

4.2.2 Stakeholders

Tourism destinations embrace different interest groups that are recognised as stakeholders. Sustainable tourism development must satisfy all of its stakeholders with a long term perspective (Cooper, 1998). Each stakeholder has its own role and interest to tourism destination development, and stakeholders are encouraged to be aware of their freedom to act with appropriate responsibilities for their actions at the destination (Walsh et al. 2001).

Indigenous people

The indigenous people are the most important stakeholders since they live and work at the destination and significantly they provide the local resources to tourists (Cooper, 1998). In the process of indigenous tourism development, the indigenous people should take the central role in controlling and building the indigenous theme for the destination development (Butler, Hunter, 1996; Zeppel, 1998)

Tourism industry

The tourism industry is a key stakeholder in terms of commercial activities at a destination. The tourism industry is responsible for existing tourism development to a large extent, and pursues a proper return on investment as is typical of being commercial organizations. The long term profit and business survival are core interests to economic entities, and the maintenance of attractive and healthy environmental asset at a destination is necessary to continue the business activities (Middleton, 1998).

The size and scale of the tourism industry varies; therefore, the polarization of the tourism industry can be an issue to be considered. The global tourism industry is often multinational, carrying sufficient resources in terms of capital, expertise and influence, whereas the small entrepreneurs tend to face the lack of funds, expertise, skills and power. Large actors are usually considered to have a low degree of devotion and interest to local destinations (France, 1997; Cooper, 1998), which sometimes result in unsustainable tourism development.

Public sector

The public sector finds tourism development to be a means of gaining income, vitalizing regional development, and creating employment opportunities. The role of the public sector is often to coordinate the interests of stakeholders through regulations or incentives to influence the behaviour of stakeholders in order to achieve the sustainable development for the destination (Pearce, 1992).

Community

The term community can be vague and elusive. It may bring about the question of the range which the word community embraces (Getz, Carlsen, 2004). In the tourism studies, the word community usually refers to the geographical area, so that the community can be defined as citizens within a given locality (Ibid). The community at the destination is also affected by tourism development both positively and negatively. The increase in employment rate and business opportunities are examples of positive impacts of tourism, whereas the deterioration in the surrounding environment or decrease in security that can be brought by tourism development (McCool S.F., Moisey R.N., 2001).

Tourists

Tourists are also important stakeholders in tourism development as the demand of tourists is one of the motive forces for tourism development. The tourism destination cannot be completed without the existence of tourists.

4.2.3 Small entrepreneurs in tourism

Indigenous tourism entrepreneurs are often small. Therefore, it is worth looking into the issue around the small entrepreneurs in tourism industry. Tourism business is a great opportunity for family and small businesses, often representing direct host-guest interactions, which lead to vital customer experiences and satisfaction as well as destination development (Getz, Carlsen, 2004). For example, in the United States the small family owned businesses have generated 46-60% of gross national income (Ward, Aronoff, 1990), and the small firms account for more than 60% of the total in Western, developed economies (Westhead, Cowling, 1998).

Tourism offers the opportunity for easy entry into various types of businesses in the tourism industry. These businesses are often interested in lifestyle, location, and leisure preferences in relation to the field of business for their profit and security (Ateljevic, Doorne, 2000). It is to say that the small businesses in the tourism industry are often operating the property they have already had, requires little or no investment and earns a small amount of revenue. It is often an issue in peripheral regions as it may work as an obstacle to improve tourism products (Nilsson, Petersen, Wanhill, 1999). The failure of small business is attributable to their lifestyle and the lack of ambition to grow (Klenell, Steen, 1999). Many tourism businesses with little capital to invest on further development and weak management skills, which are often caused by the seasonality or low demand periods, and they were reluctant to change the situation or receive advice (Nilson et al., 1999). Other studies revealed that the small entrepreneurs in tourism businesses are often lifestyle oriented and making money is a secondary issue to their lifestyle (Ryan, 1998; Nilson et al, 1999).

Family dynamics is a significant aspect in the family businesses as they often need to find the balance between business and family interests (Getz, Carlsen, 2004). The major difficulties in family businesses are pointed out to be, time pressure, balance between family and work life,

and the space away from customers (Ibid.), as the small and family businesses have a close interaction with guests. On the other side of the same coin, families that own the tourism businesses play an important role in satisfactory tourism experience and the authentic tourism experience for the guests through the closer communication with the residents (Wahill, 1997). Therefore, it can be said that the family businesses are in favour of cultural destination development including indigenous tourism development.

In terms of the contribution to regional development, family or small entrepreneurs embrace both potential opportunities and challenges. Local ownership brings a higher income multiplier effect to the region as family businesses tend to purchase local products in the region (Rodenburg, 1980). The commitment to the region, built due to the ties to the inherited land or family bindings, brings about better attitudes toward conservation of resources (Getz, Carlsen, 2004). However, there are doubts that family or small entrepreneurs may not lead to regional development. One of the explanations for this is that small entrepreneurs sometimes hide underemployment in some economies (Dahles, 1998). Particularly in developing countries, the small entrepreneurs are marginalized and have no choice but to offer the services with cheaper prices, because of the vulnerability of political processes to protect small entrepreneurs or lack of incentives to stimulate the economic activities for the small entrepreneurs (Smith, 1998). The location is also an influential issue. Small or family entrepreneurs situated in remote areas are apt to increase the dependency on intermediaries as the need for the function that connects demand with supply of tourism products (Getz, Carlsen, 2004).

Thus, the small or family entrepreneurs play an important role in tourism development, and hold opportunities for sustainable tourism development. However, there are challenges and difficulties to overcome. It is necessary for small or family entrepreneurs to find the way to tackle the issues while maintaining the set of advantages. Furthermore, it is important for tourism developers to take the characteristics of family or small businesses into account in order to achieve sustainable development.

5. Cultural sustainability

5.1 What is cultural sustainability?

Tourism is the fastest growing industry in the world, and tourist demand has been diversified. Above all, the growing numbers of tourists are interested in experiencing culture and visiting cultural destination (Harrison, 2001). Tourism is seen as a significant source of potential economic growth and independence for indigenous peoples (McIntosh, 2003). It is often pointed out both positive and negative cultural impacts of tourism; cultural revitalization, heightening cultural pride, cross cultural education, loss of authenticity, cultural degradation (Butler, Hintch, 1996; Zeppel, 1998; Harrison, 2001, Smith, 2001).

Indigenous tourism destinations have rich cultures and heritage that attract many tourists. The alien cultural experiences are the motivation for tourists to come to the destination, having the images of exotic, primitive cultures that are different from the everyday experiences of tourists (Harrison, 2001). However, the problem arises due to the gap between the real culture and heritage the host possesses and the images of culture that tourists expect to experience (Smith, 1996). Commoditisation of culture has been often discussed in relation to cultural tourism development (Cogswell, 1996; Hollinshead, 1996; McIntosh, 2003; Wall et al., 2005). Fretcher (1998) presented a model of levels of cultural penetration. Figure 5-1 illustrates three distinctive areas of cultural stage.

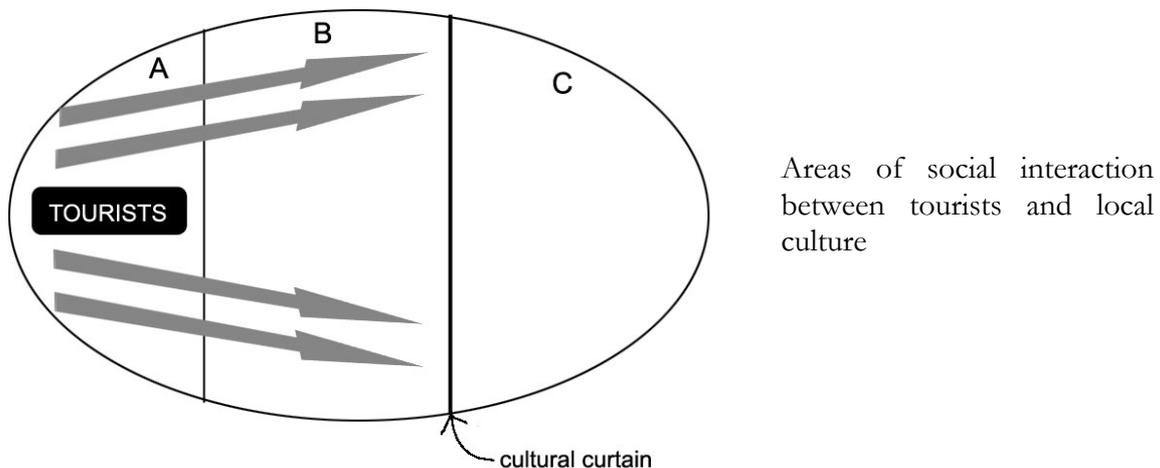


Figure 5-1 Levels of cultural penetration

(Source: Fretcher, 1998)

A: the previous level of tourist penetration into the host culture;

B: the new level of cultural penetration that is considered to be authentic by the tourist but is, in fact, staged authenticity;

C: the true cultural heritage of the host society that maintains its integrity by keeping tourists on the other side of the cultural curtain.

Cultural heritage as a tourist product is penetrated as tourists arrive to the destination. The true cultural heritage of the host is maintained on the other side of the cultural curtain, which keeps the cultural disturbance by tourists from the host culture. The staged authenticity is suggested to be one of the ways to differentiate tourist products by offering tourists enough cultural exposure to satisfy their demand, although the true culture is kept unspoiled behind the cultural curtain. However, Fretcher (1998) also pointed out that this approach may only be effective in the short term as penetration continues along with the increase in tourists' arrivals. Besides, the cultural boundaries of local cultural heritage can be blurred (Fretcher, 1998). The importance of this model is that the levels of interaction between hosts and guests are negotiated according to the demand, and there must be a line that protects the host culture from being damaged.

5.2 Indicators of authenticity

Cultural dynamics bring about another important issue of authenticity. The authenticity of the tourism destination, site, and experience offered as tourism products is an important aspect to figure out how to develop indigenous cultural heritage tourism in a culturally sustainable manner. Jamal and Hill (2004) developed a framework of authenticity under three dimensions; the objective (real), the constructive (socio-political), and the personal (phenomenological). The framework uses two aspects of space and time to contextualize authenticity. Table 5-1 shows the dimensions and aspects to address authenticity in tourism context. The discussions on the politics of identity and ethnicity are increasingly of concern (Cogswell, 1996). Table 5-1 matrix helps to categorize the relationship between object and experience as one integrated unit through its physical and cultural context. The concept of time and space in cultural tourism plays an important role in locating the peoples and places of the destinations (Jamal, Hill, 2004). For example, take a cultural theme park that has the performance of traditional dancing and the exhibition of ancient architecture. With regard to the time axis, ancient architecture itself belongs to a historic time, but if it is made for the exhibition and placed in a cultural park, then it will shift to heritage time. The traditional dancing played as a show in a cultural park, and then it belongs to the resident and visitor time.

Table 5-1 Dimensions and aspects addressing authenticity in the tourism context

| Aspects of authenticity | Dimensions of authenticity | | |
|-------------------------|---|---|--|
| | Objective (real) | Constructed (socio-political) | Personal (phenomenological) |
| Time | Historic time | Heritage time | Resident/ Visitor Time |
| Space | Real and genuine found in pre-modern locations, outside one's own spurious society (e.g. sights, markers, 'scientifically' dated material artifacts, "genuine" objects) | Production (manufacture) of attraction, community, destination; enclavic space (e.g. social-political landscape influencing nationhood, destination image, sense of place, heritage/historic)reconstructions , etc.) | Interactive, performative touristic space; heterogeneous space (e.g. tourists and residents engage in sense-making, narrative and interpretive meaning-making encounters with situated place and contextual space) |
| Approach | Authenticity is a fixed property of object/event; pre-modern as original/ unique | Meanings negotiated and emergent; political contest among stakeholders; space is mediated by ideological and technological forces; symbolic and constructed authenticity | Psychological (perceptions/ emotions); Experiential and existence-based, phenomenological, where meanings emerge through the social relations that are situated and embodied in the touristic space (and place) |

(Source: Jamal, Hill, 2004)

Historic time perception describes the objective point of the period in time where an object is judged with regard to its authenticity takes place or took place in the real world; a monument or an ancient architecture itself is the real objective in its original location. On the other hand, constructed authenticity involves negotiation and emergence through political procedure of stakeholders. Cohen (1988) addressed the constructive authenticity as the authenticity that can emerge through negotiation or be enacted through substantive staging. Personal authenticity can be interpreted as the host and guest relationship, where guests experience a continuous time flow from the past to the present and the future in the course of communication with the host.

Thus, the authenticity of tourist destinations involves a complex interrelationship between object, time, place and space. Identification of the authenticity in the tourism context reveals that the socio-political negotiations and personal interactions can decide the authenticity of tourism destination; stakeholders involved in tourism play significant roles in not only

developing an authentic destination but also by evaluating the authenticity of the destination. Socio-political negotiation between stakeholders poses the question of power distribution and social equity. Each stakeholder has its own interests, and it is inevitable to have conflicts among them.

5.3 Defining factors for cultural sustainability

5.3.1 Indigenous control

Indigenous sovereignty has facilitated the control and management over tourism development effectively (Zeppel, 1998). The factor of control is a key in discussion on tourism development, since those who have control are usually able to decide critical issues such as the scale, speed and nature of development (Butler, Hinch, 1996). King and Stewart (1996) emphasis on the importance of indigenous control over the tourism development because they know the resources, have the property, and have few alternative sources of livelihood (King, Stewart, 1996).

First of all, the destination development of indigenous tourism takes place in the indigenous homeland where natural or cultural resources are to be consumed or transformed into tourism products, to some extent. The impacts of tourism affect the indigenous lands on the destination as well as, needless to say, the indigenous peoples who have been living there. The identity of indigenous peoples should be reflected to the destination development. The inputs from indigenous peoples are essential for creating an authentic representation of the destination. The authenticity of destination leads to the emphasis on the distinctiveness of a destination (Go, 1989). Secondly, in terms of personal authentic experiences of tourists at a destination, the interaction with indigenous host plays a vital role in deciding how tourists perceive and interpret the destination and the encounter with indigenous culture.

Zeppel (1998) suggested the limitation of tourist access and use to indigenous lives, setting up allowance levels for tourists to be able to explore (Zeppel, 1998). Table 5-2 shows the limitations and examples. The limitations are established from time and space dimensions, the important aspects of sense of place, to activity and indigenous culture. Hosts should be the indigenous peoples at the destination as the indigenous people themselves know their identity and how or where to draw the line between allowed or not allowed access. The local indigenous value system is often different from that of western norms (Sofield, 1996). This limitation works as the cultural curtain, which keeps the true indigenous culture and heritage untouched by tourists. It is necessary for indigenous people to have the opportunity and right to have their opinions adopted to the destination development strategies.

Table 5-2 Indigenous control of tourism for sustainable development

| Controls | Examples |
|---------------------|--|
| Spatial limitation | Hosts set limits on entry to homelands and sacred sites |
| Activity limitation | Hosts establish preferred or permitted tourist activities |
| Temporal limitation | Hosts indicate appropriate times for tourist access and use |
| Cultural limitation | Hosts set limits on access to cultural knowledge and rituals |

(Source: Zeppel, 1998)

5.3.2 Participation in decision making

Constructive authenticity is formed through destination development. Destination development involves stakeholders; each stakeholder has its own role in destination development, and stakeholders gather and construct the destination. During the process of planning and development of a destination, it is natural to have problems and conflicts of interests so that there is a need for seeking out the resolution for the difficulties and appropriate decisions for providing benefit to all stakeholders.

Stakeholders' participation in decision making is not a new idea, but its importance in destination development must not be ignored. Destination development involves the interests from various stakeholders and it often leads to the conflicts among them. The destination is a common ground for stakeholders with different views and interests, and the destination development should be carried out in a way which preserves resources of the destination and beneficial to all the stakeholders (Aas, Ladkin, Fletcher, 2005).

In order to make decisions that will provide benefits to all stakeholders and will minimize the negative impacts on the destination, it is critical to be aware of the potential risks by choosing the decision and understand the interests of stakeholders. Jamal and Getz (1995) described the importance of the stakeholders' involvement in decision making as:

a process of joint decision making among autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organizational, community tourism domain to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or manage issues related to the planning and development of the domain. (Jamal, Getz, 1995).

Participation in decision making will give the opportunity to discuss what each stakeholder wants and which scenario the destination really needs.

5.3.3 Community support

The indigenous ownership and control has to be supported by the community (Sofield, 1993). The community at a tourism destination is an integral component of the tourism system, and it affects and is affected by the tourism development (Walsh et al., 2001). It is inevitable to face clashes of interests among community in nature. Conflicts regarding landownership are often the issue of indigenous tourism development, and it becomes a barrier to develop tourism at the destinations. In order to create culturally authentic destination, it is essential to have the community understand indigenous culture and values and to make sure that the interpretation of indigenous knowledge is appropriate (Yuksel, 1999). The understanding and cultivation of positive relationships stands upon the community support.

The unity of community leads to utilization of local knowledge to ensure that the decisions are well-informed and appropriate (Yuksel, 1999). It also enables the community to acquire knowledge, insights and capability of building authentic destination (Bramwell, Lane, 1999). The care for local culture gives the community the chance to realize the importance of hearing the voice of those who are affected by tourism development. In addition, the advantage of the community support lies not only in the culturally authentic destination development but also the economic development of the destination. Resolution of conflicts and reaching a consensus during the tourism development process tend to avoid the cost for the settlement of conflicts in the long term (Yuksel, Bamwell, 1999). Mutual understanding enables them to come up with cost effective solutions for preserving resources (Bramwell, Lane, 1999).

5.3.4 Administrative support

Indigenous people have often faced the difficulties in obtaining the legitimate right due to the historical background. Although a lot of efforts have been made that were designed to improve the circumstances around indigenous people and the establishment of legitimate right for indigenous people, there is still room for improvement of legislation satisfactory to indigenous people (Greathouse-Amador, 2005). Therefore, it is the administrative support that consolidates indigenous control over tourism development.

As is often the case with indigenous tourism entrepreneurs, the scale of business is relatively small (Getz et al., 2004). Fiscal incentives or regulations can contribute to correct the imbalance between large companies and small businesses at a destination, and to allow the small businesses to have a voice to develop an authentic destination. Cultural heritage conservation programmes can be initiated and supported by administrative board as the preservation of cultural heritage involves the high costs as well as the revenues from tourism (Aas et al., 2004). It is rational for the administrative board to develop both incentives and genuine support for tourism.

5.3.5 Societal marketing

Sustainable tourism destination development can be achieved by a strategic planning approach with balanced marketing strategies (Cooper, 1998). Marketing of indigenous heritage points is a contradiction between the conservation perspective and the conventional consumer oriented marketing, whereas heritage marketing is to consider the need of supplier first (Hall, 1996). To maintain the authenticity and integrity of the cultural experience, the indigenous hosts cannot accommodate large number of visitors (Ibid.). Existing marketing strategies may fall into putting the indigenous people in a position of inequity, while they may have to pay for the higher costs than other stakeholders involved in tourism development by way of loss of cultural identification or tradition (Walle, 1993). Thus, indigenous cultural tourism development should take the societal marketing approach that embraces both the need of the customers and the well-being for the host society, and it is to say that the societal marketing approach is more socially equitable way of marketing (Walsh et al., 2001).

As it is crucial for culturally authentic destination development to have societal marketing strategies, the implementation of the societal marketing should be considered. Middleton and Hawkins (1998) mentioned that destination images should be jointly agreed representation reflecting and respecting the characteristics of the destination, and the process should be developed through partnerships and stakeholders' participation in the management of tourism (Middleton, Hawkins, 1998).

6. Sami tourism

6.1 Background

6.1.1 Geography

The Sami people is one of the indigenous peoples living in four countries; the Kolara Peninsula in Russia, northernmost Finland, the coastal and inland parts of northern Norway, and parts of Sweden from Idre northwards. Figure 7-1 shows the region, which is called Sápmi(Samiland). The total number of the Sami people is about 70 000, and 20 000 sami people are living in Sweden (Samitinget, Regeringskansliet, 2005). The definition of a sami is not settled, however, the Sami Parliament Act describes those who have a right to vote in elections to the sami parliament as: those who regard themselves as sami, use or have used sami as a language in the home, have parents or grand parents who use or have used the sami language, or have a parent who is or was listed in the electoral rolls for the Sami parliament (Samitinget, Regeringskansliet, 2005).



Figure 6-1 Map of Sápmi land in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia

(Source: Länsstyrelsen i Norrbottens, http://www.fjallen.nu/sapmi/index_en.htm)

6.1.2 History

The Sami have lived in the traditional lands for thousands of years. Archaeological findings reveal that people lived from 9 000 to 4 000 B.C. along the Arctic coast by fishing, gathering, and hunting wild reindeer. The way of living at the time was putting up tents made of skin that could easily be removed (Samitinget, 2005). As most of indigenous peoples experienced, in the middle ages, the Nordic states took control over the Sami regions, and the sami were obliged

to pay taxes to the states accordingly (Beltrán J., Phillips A., 2000). These states attempted to put out the Sami culture by taking over their traditional region to Christianity and forcing them to change their names to Germanic names (Pettersson R., 2001).

In 1993, the Sami parliament, *sametinget*, was founded to follow a decision made by the Swedish government. The importance of this establishment was an acknowledgement of the Sami as an indigenous people group. The Sami parliament enabled the Sami to take part in society planning and take what the Sami needs into consideration. The Sami parliament, an institution that represents all the Sami people, encourages the identity of the Sami and promotes the interest for social and political issues among all the Sami (Samitinget, 2004).

6.1.3 Culture

The Sami language is one of the important parts of Sami culture. The language belongs to Finno- Ugric family, and has three distinct forms: east Sami, central Sami, and south Sami (Swedish Institute, 1990). The Sami language has been spoken in northern Europe for thousands of years and it is said to be close to Finnish. In 2000, the Sami language was declared to be one of Sweden's minority languages. The richness of the Sami language is illustrated by over 300 different words for snow and ice (Samitinget, Regeringskansliet, 2005).

Another distinctive Sami culture is the traditional song styles called joik, lavlu/ laavloe and vuelie. Joik is a song of the essence of the subject, expressing personal and spiritual feelings and often compared to American indian chanting. Laavloe has lyrics while vuelie is a story about a person or an event and sometimes with chanting but without words. The traditional musical instruments are the flute and the bullroarer. The bullroarer, a horn of wood with a string attached, makes sound by touching it around the head (Beltrán, Phillips, 2000). Nowadays this traditional music meets modern music and creates new status of pieces such as jazz mixed joik or trans-joik.

The religion of the Sami has disappeared since the Sami were forced to change to Christianity; therefore, today the religion is no more important to the sami than to the people in Sweden. But a long time ago, the Sami believed in a cosmos, which is divided into three spheres: the underworld, the real world, and the celestial world (Samitinget, Regeringskansliet, 2005). The Sami shaman, Noaid, interpreted the will of the gods using sacred drums decorated with symbolic images (Beltrán, Phillips, 2000). These drums were burnt when the Sami was obliged to be Christianized.

Duodji is the Sami word, which means typical Sami handicraft such as clothes, tools, household utensils, hunting tools and embellishments. The materials used for handicrafts are the bark of the birch tree, reindeer, bone, horn, leather, tin and silver. (Pettersson, 2001). The Sami handicrafts are deeply associated the livelihood and way of life; the products are designed and produced in relation to the demands of the forest and mountain environment (Sámi Duodji, 2005).

The Sami culture represents language, music, religion, cloth and handicraft, which are distinctive from those who live in Scandinavia. However it is noted that reindeer herding is, needless to say, one of the most important identity elements of the Sami (Beltrán J., Phillips A., 2000). Nomadic lifestyles and strong reliance on reindeer husbandry have been a core of uniqueness of the sami living in the region.

6.1.4 Means of livelihood

For thousands of years, the Sami lived by hunting wild reindeer for obtaining fur and food (Beltrán J, Phillips A, 2000). In the 16th century, reindeer herding was developed to have reindeer domesticated, and it became the foundation of Sami livelihood. The Sami moved with the reindeer herd to the mountains in the summer and the coniferous forests in the winter. During the 20th century, reindeer herding started to focus on meat production. The work was done mostly by foot or on skis at the time.

Around 1960's reindeer herding began to use modern techniques such as snowmobiles, helicopters, and trucks to collect the reindeer herd or transport them from one place to another. This modernized way of reindeer herding made it much easier for reindeer herders to do their heavy work, however, these machines became a heavy expense for reindeer herders to take care of (Borchert N., 2001). Today about 10-15 % of Sami population in Sweden work in the reindeer herding industry. However reindeer herding is still one of the important sources in the traditional Sami regions and it has a symbolic value for most of the Sami (Samitinget, 2005).

Apart from reindeer herding, the Sami are engaged in a range of small, local businesses, which have something in common; the businesses have close association with industry, environment and culture (Samitinget, 2005). Tourism is one of the growing industries for the Sami in Sápmi.

6.1.5 Tourism trend

The Sápmi land mainly covers mountain regions, and the nature has attracted tourists for a long time. The distance from the populated part of Sweden is between 400 and 1500 kilometres. Lapland achieved the position of a top tourist destination in the beginning of the 20th century thanks to the construction of railway lines and tourist infrastructure (Pettersson, 2001). Southern part of Sápmi has long attracted tourists with its beautiful nature. There is a distinctive pattern of seasonal visit to the mountain regions in Sweden. Comparing to other tourist areas in the sub-arctic and arctic regions, the Swedish mountain regions have extensive services and greater accessibility (Heberlein T.A., Fredman P., Vuorio T., 2002). The local county administration boards and the Swedish Tourist Association (STF) manage 8000km of hiking trails, mountain huts and visitor centres (Ibid.).

There is a seasonal tourist pattern. A statistics show that the northern part of Sápmi has more tourists in summer season, whereas the southern Sápmi attracts more visitors in winter (See Appendix II). The destinations provide a wide range of activities such as hiking, horse riding, water rafting, fishing and hunting, canoeing, and so forth. In winter, the southern Sápmi regions are popular destinations for skiing.

A recent study carried out by Nutek (2005) shows that the mountain region tourism in Sweden has declined for the past couple of years (Nutek, 2005). In line with the growing concern in the situation, more expectations have been placed upon the Sami tourism (Norrländska Socialdemokraten, 2005).

6.2 Sami tourism entrepreneur

6.2.1 Background for the emergence

The Sami tourism entrepreneurs have started to emerge, especially the last decades. The major reason for the Sami to become engaged in tourism business is the fact that it is difficult to make their living only on reindeer herding.

The Sami has lived on reindeer herding, hunting and fishing for a long time. The changes for the last decades in their sources of livelihood are driven by the shift in the surrounding environment. The main factors that make it harder for the Sami to live solely on reindeer herding are the loss of grazing land, predators, environmental degradation, and the Chernobyl disaster (Swedish Board of Agriculture, 2005).

The decrease in grazing land is caused by a various forms of land use in the area; forestry, agriculture, tourism, hydro-electric power and general urban expansion. Forestry is one of the industries in the Sápmi, and its operation and road expansion for the trucks reduced grazing areas. Hydro-electric development caused the erosion of river beds, and overtook the migrating routes. Tourism development also brought disturbance to reindeer husbandry. New amenities for tourists and activities for tourists resulted in hardship for the reindeer (Ibid).

Predators are another issue for reindeer husbandry. Bear, wolf, wolverine, lynx and eagle are dangers for reindeer but the predators are protected by law. Although the state provides some compensation for the reindeer killed by predators, the Sami have no way of protecting their herd against them (Ibid).

Environmental degradation affects the food for the reindeer herd. Lichens, winter food of reindeer, grow at a slow rate. Transformation of biodiversity and soil erosion caused the reduction of lichen cover. The number of reindeer herd has declined considerably since the peak of 1991 (Ibid).

The Chernobyl disaster, in 1986, affected a large part of the reindeer grazing area by radioactive fallout. Reindeer that eat contaminated lichens are also affected. The state provided the compensation for the expenses and losses (Ibid), but the demand for reindeer meat declined accordingly.

Thus, there are various factors that have affected reindeer husbandry to build up barriers for the well-being of the Sami and reindeer herding.

6.2.2 Who are the Sami tourism entrepreneurs?

The Sami tourism entrepreneurs are often young and female Sami as the modernization of equipment for reindeer herding allowed them to have more time other than reindeer herding. The Sami who were marginalized and lost their traditional roles in reindeer husbandry have started up tourism businesses (Pettersson, 2001).

The Sami tourism entrepreneurs are relatively small and often family owned. Some are open all year around, others are open only during the winter or the summer, or both. They often have other jobs besides tourism operation, so that tourism business is operated as a side business. The family owned company is convenient, especially when one of the members cannot spare time on the tourism business due to other work or business to deal with, other member of the family can replace the work for the time being. However, the complex mixture

of multiple businesses and work makes it difficult for the Sami entrepreneurs to find a good balance between reindeer herding or other occupation and tourism.

6.2.3 Geographical distribution

The Sami tourism enterprises are situated near urban centres such as the major towns in Lapland or tourist resorts such as Ammarnäs, Tärnaby/ Hemavan, Åre and Mittådalen. In 2001, there were approximately 40 Sami tourism entrepreneurs, and the majority of them started their operation for the last decade (Pettersson, 2001). Figure 6-2 shows the location of the Sami tourism entrepreneurs.

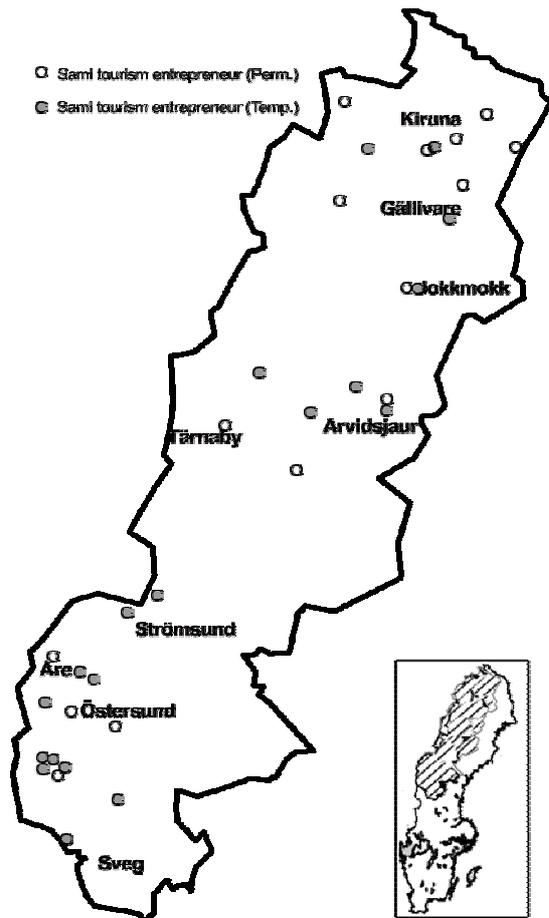


Figure 6-2 Location of the Sami tourism entrepreneurs

(Source: Pettersson, 2001)

6.2.4 What do the Sami tourism entrepreneurs offer?

The Sami tourism offers the activities that allow tourists to experience the Sami culture. Guided tours in nature, staying in traditional Sami huts, the Sami traditional food such as reindeer meat, fishing and hunting, horse riding and meeting reindeer are the typical services offered by the Sami tourism entrepreneurs. The activities may vary depending on the season; in winter, dog or reindeer sleigh, and snowmobile are the popular means to show tourists around the area, while in summer, walking or horse riding are the main ways to get around.

Other example of activities is the exhibition of Sami culture. Open air museums show the traditional Sami architecture, display the Sami cultural goods such as drums, clothes, and handicrafts, explaining the history of the Sami. Story telling, one of the great features of Sami culture, keeps tourists entertained.

Some of the Sami tourism entrepreneurs offer accommodations such as rooms, cabins, or the traditional Sami huts. The arrangements of activities are often available according to the preferences of the guests.

6.3 Sami tourism to the market place

Commercial organizations use ‘marketing mix’ to manage the demand in relation to the products supplied at a destination. Marketing mix consists of four P’s; product, price, promotion, and place (Gilbert, 1998). Kotler and Armstrong (1996) defined the marketing mix as the set of marketing tools that work together to affect the marketplace. The marketing mix is used in the process of achieving the goal of the business, and each factor is helpful to analyze the market trend to be able to respond to the changes in the market. In addition to four P’s, people, employees of tourism businesses who interact with guests, is another important factor. Through these marketing factors it is attempted to understand the tourism products offered by the Sami tourism entrepreneurs and figure out their position in the market. Table 6-1 shows the marketing mix in the context of the Sami tourism.

Table 6-1 Marketing mix of the Sami tourism

| | |
|-----------|---|
| Product | High quality Unique (indigenous knowledge + creativity) Utilization of property |
| Price | High Exclusive |
| Promotion | Word of mouth Website Local tourist information office |
| Place | Geographically dispersed Long distance Simple distribution channel |
| People | Indigenous knowledge Lack of marketing experience |

Devising a **product** will generate a high level of customer satisfaction, and it can influence the characteristics of future demand. Product formation, therefore, involves the careful consideration (Gilbert, 1998). The Sami tourism products are generally high quality in terms of the close interaction with the guests. As the operation is relatively small scale, the Sami tourism entrepreneurs can take a small number of guests. It enhances the quality of the services to the guests and results in high customer satisfaction.

Unique Sami cultural activity is distinctive feature to be able to take advantage of. Some ambitious owners of the Sami tourism entrepreneur offer the activities that are based on not only the indigenous knowledge but also incorporate creative ideas. For example, the Sami

traditional cuisine is one of the main attractions for the Sami cultural experience, and an entrepreneur has an eye on the slow food boom to integrate the Sami traditional knowledge with the trend beyond the framework of indigenous culture.

Another example of creative product is milking reindeer. The Sami used to milk reindeer a long time ago, but the tradition has nearly disappeared. The owner has a biology background and is reviving the tradition through tourism product development. Thus, the indigenous knowledge plus creativity makes the products unique.

Another characteristic of the Sami tourism product is that the Sami tourism entrepreneurs utilize their property for tourism business purpose; renting out the cabins which are used as the base camp for the reindeer herding during the off season for reindeer herding, taking tourists around by helicopter and snowmobile that are the important equipment for reindeer herding, and so on. The effective utilization of the asset reduces the cost to enter and maintain the business.

Price is, the second ingredient of Ps, connected to product design and the quality to be delivered (Middleton, 1998). The Sami tourism products are usually high quality and also high price. The tours are often organized with a limited number of guests and limited time of the season. Exclusive tours usually cost more than 100-150 euros per day, which allows only those who can afford to participate. This works as a restriction to maintain the small scale operation. Due to the work for reindeer or other occupation, the time applicable to the tourism operation tend to be confined to a certain period of time. It may raise the price to maximize the profit level. Thus, price influences the demand in the short run and regulates the supply of the tourism product.

Promotion is the descriptive part of the marketing mix, and the communication activities are carried out by the entrepreneurs, or through tourism organization or tourist boards to influence the potential customers (Gilbert, 1998). All promotion communicates messages that contain images, motivations, and incentives about the destination for the customers to make choices (Middleton, 1998). Most of the Sami tourism entrepreneurs depend on the promotion through word of mouth, website, and the local tourist board. Marketing products through the travel agency can be seen less commonly among the Sami tourism entrepreneurs. The image of the Sami culture is often used for the destination marketing.

Place means not only the location and access but also the distribution of the tourism products. What makes tourism products distinctive from other products is that the tourism products take the special form of distribution where there is no transfer of ownership taking place and the services are just simply rented or consumed (Buhalis, Laws, 2001). The tourism products must be available and accessible to guests. The location of the Sami entrepreneurs is geographically dispersed and the destination requires the long distance travel. There are airports in major towns, and railway and main road take tourists to the destination.

The transportation network increases the accessibility; however it can still be a restriction for tourists to visit the destination if the customers find it difficult to access the desired products. The distribution system of the Sami tourism is rather simple. The majority of the Sami tourism entrepreneurs deliver their products without having intermediaries, meaning that the guests find the products through internet, word of mouth, or local tourist board. Some Sami tourism entrepreneurs sell their products by way of intermediaries such as international tour operators or retail agencies. Figure 6-3 illustrates the structure of distribution channels.

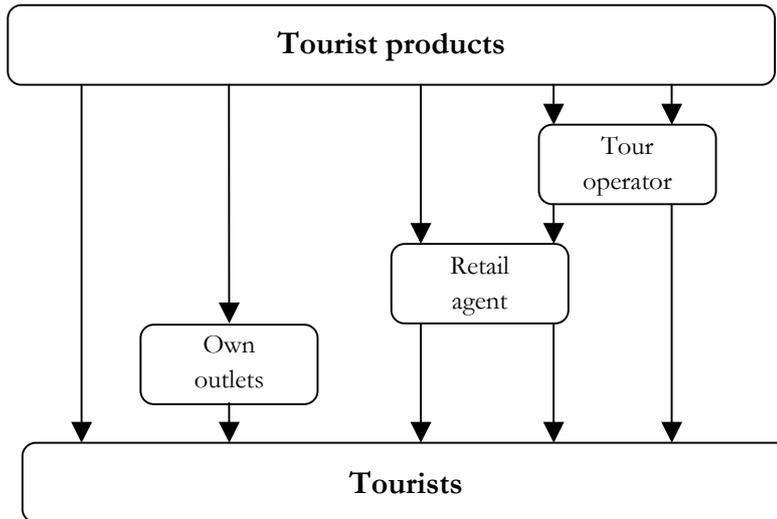


Figure 6-3 Structure of distribution channels for tourist products

(Source: Wanhill, 1998)

People means human resources needed to provide and deliver tourism products and services to tourists. Those who are involved in tourism business can be self-employed or employees at all levels to deal with guests. The Sami have indigenous knowledge that is useful to create unique products and deliver directly to guests. Indigenous knowledge is an exclusive characteristic and gives the Sami tourism entrepreneurs advantage over other tourism businesses. On the other hand, the seasonality of the operation and the lack of experience in tourism businesses result in the weak management skills. Besides, most of the Sami tourism entrepreneurs emerged during the last decade and their businesses are still in the developing phase to find out the better way of running business through trial and error.

7. Sápmi destination development

7.1 Systematic framework of Sami tourism

There are various stakeholders involved in Sami tourism. The stakeholders' dynamics plays an important role in the formation of authentic destination. The boundary defined here includes the main stakeholders who affect or are affected by the development of tourism destination. Figure 7-1 illustrates the stakeholders involved in Sami tourism.

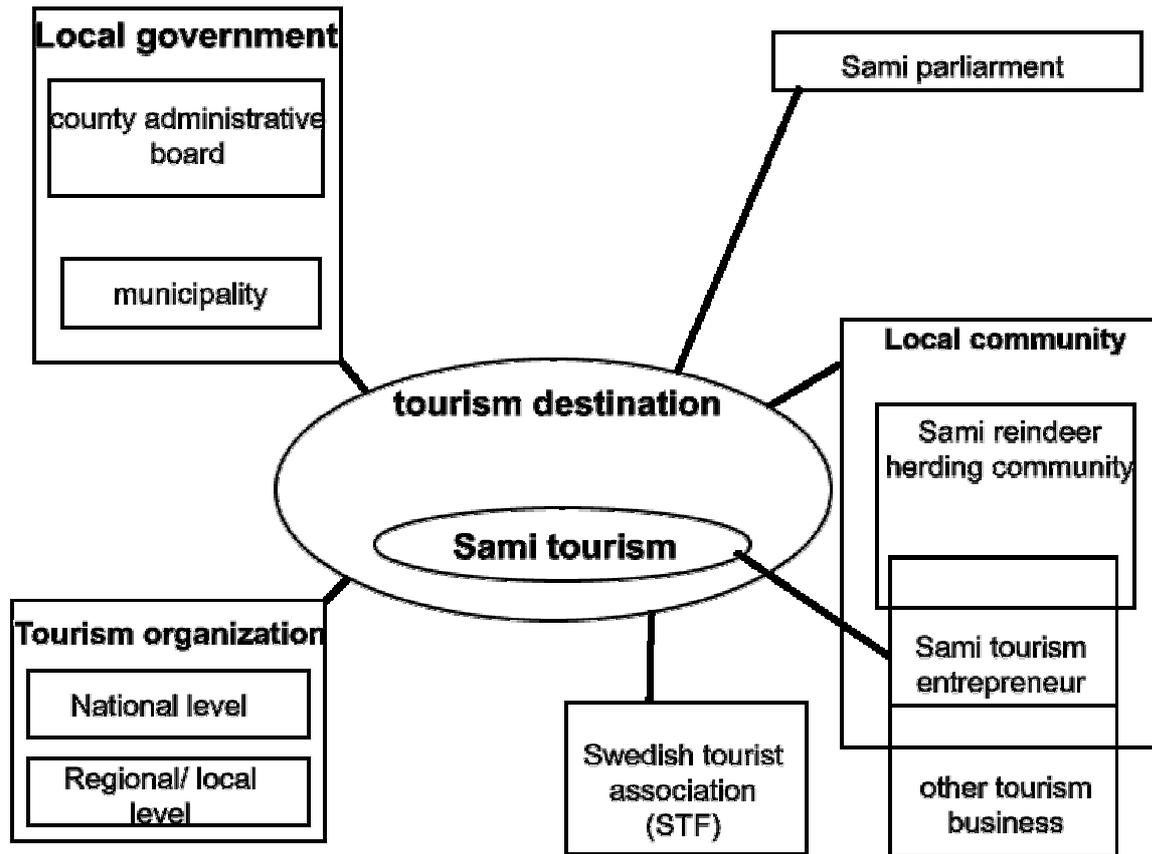


Figure 7-1 Stakeholders involved in Sami tourism

7.1.1 Tourism business

Sami tourism entrepreneurs

The Sami tourism entrepreneurs provide tourists with services that allow tourists to experience the Sami culture. The Sami tourism entrepreneurs have direct interaction with tourists, and the interactions greatly influences how tourists interpret the Sami culture at the personal authenticity level. One of the main roles of the Sami tourism entrepreneurs is to communicate with tourists in the front line and also to obtain immediate feedback or response from tourists. Smith described this role as “culture broker”; the responsibility of culture brokers is to mediate between hosts and guests as well as to take a responsibility for ethnic imaging and cultural trait selection (Smith, 2001).

On the other hand, the destination contains activities and attractions that the Sami entrepreneurs offer. Another role of the Sami entrepreneurs is to create a part of constructive authenticity of the destination. It requires the input from the Sami peoples about how their culture is to be presented.

The Sami tourism entrepreneurs are relatively small and family owned companies. They often have a connection with reindeer husbandry, as meeting reindeer is one of the main Sami cultural attractions for tourists. The members of the Sami economic and administrative association for reindeer husbandry also have fishing and hunting right within the district of the association. Therefore fishing and hunting tours are also popular activities for the Sami tourism entrepreneurs to start up and propose.

Other tourism business

Other tourism business is composed of other tourism entrepreneurs than the Sami, tour operators, travel agencies and so on. The common interest of tourism business is to make the most of tourism development. The seasonality in the Sami destination is a crucial issue. In winter, snow attracts tourists to ski resorts or winter attraction, whereas in summer, nature activities become the main attractions. Figure 7-2 shows the seasonal structure of tourism attraction. Some are open only for certain seasons when most tourists come. A destination with a mixture of seasonal tourism businesses needs to solve the problem during the off season.

The situation where tourists arrive at the destination and the half or most of the tourism businesses are not open makes the destination unattractive. If tourists cannot find the necessary facilities such as accommodations or places to eat, they are most likely to have negative impression of the destination. This seasonal transition requires the strategies for tourism businesses to catch the attention of tourists all year around in order to facilitate improved usage of the existing utilities.

There are multinational or large scale tourism businesses that seek for the development of all year around destination. These multinational businesses aim to be effective to attract guests; the more tourists come to the destination, the more profitable it is. One of the multinational businesses at the destination expressed that the Sami cultural attraction can be a part of the summer attraction but the Sami culture itself is not strong enough to support a large amount of tourists at the destination.

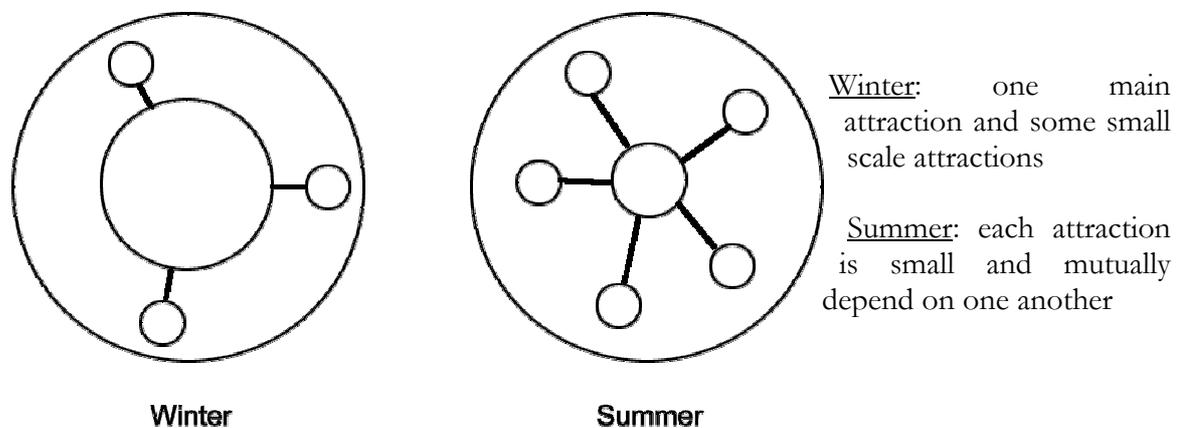


Figure 7-2 Seasonal structure of tourism attraction

7.1.2 Tourism organizations

Tourism organizations in Sweden have a diversified structure. The tourism organizations can be divided into two levels; national level, and regional and local level.

At the national level, **the Swedish Tourist Authority** is an independent governmental body that is responsible for developing strategies, compiling statistics tourism and coordinating in relation to Swedish tourism. The task of the Swedish Tourist Authority is to coordinate governmental efforts to contribute to the development of the tourism sector and to establish the cooperation system among the government, regional authorities, municipalities and the tourism industry. Monitoring the tourism trends and cultivating expertise in the tourism development are also the missions of the Swedish Tourist Authority for the purpose of taking an initiative for positive development process in the tourism sector. The Swedish Tourist Authority promotes the network and cooperation between public and private sector in order to facilitate the effective use of resources in the process of tourism development (Swedish Tourist Authority, 2005).

Besides the Swedish Tourist Authority, three other tourism organizations participate actively at national level. **The Swedish Travel and Tourism council** is owned equally by the Swedish government and the tourism industry, promoting tourism destination in Sweden to foreign countries. The main objective is marketing, information, coordination and distribution to the travel trade, media and consumers (Swedish Travel and Tourism council, 2005). **The Swedish Travel and Tourist Industry Federation** is a representative of the travel and tourism industry in Sweden. The mission is to promote and facilitate the tourism industry through creating the preconditions for development and sustainable profitability in cooperation with government at all levels (Swedish Travel and Tourist Industry Federation, 2005). **The Swedish Tourism Network** aims to improve the conditions of the travel and tourism sector in Sweden by providing information and influencing opinion in order to increase the benefit of the members (Swedish Tourist Authority, 2005). The Swedish tourist authority, the Travel and Tourism Council and the Travel and Tourist Industry Federation share a common goal: *to make Sweden attractive as a tourist destination and to keep the Swedish travel and tourist industry profitable and competitive* (Ibid.).

At the regional and local levels, the counties, regions or municipalities can organize their own tourism organizations as formal economic or legal relations between national and the regional or local level doesn't exist (Ibid.). Local tourist information board is one of the examples of such organizations, and usually the main activity is promoting the tourism at the destination and creating a network around tourism industry and authorities. Some organizations is run by the industry, while others are supported by regional or local government.

7.1.3 Local government

Municipality (kommun) and County administrative board (Länsstyrelsen) provide support for economic development in the region. A project for economic development is usually organized in the period of one year to three years depending on the context of the project and there is a need for a beginning and goal in order to enact the project. The important factors in deciding which project is to be prioritized are economic development, business growth, and creation of job opportunity. Tourism destination development needs local governmental support in constructing infrastructure, establishing tourism economic associations to promote the destination and help tourism entrepreneurs to market their products.

Protection of cultural heritage in the region is also the role of local government in cooperation with cultural authorities. The Sami related cultural heritage such as conservation of the ancient

Sami huts plays an important role in creating objective authenticity at the destination. For example, the Norrbotten County spent 60 million SEK (5.5 million Euros) in the year of 2000, and has their own goal that one third to one quarter of the cultural fund the county has should go to the Sami related cultural heritage site. This case applies only to the physical heritage with regard to ancient architecture.

7.1.4 Sami parliament

The Sami parliament (Samitinget) is an autonomous body returned in general elections but also has a national authority. In the tourism destination development context, the Sami parliament plays a role to distribute the funds from the state and the EU to the Sami related projects, and to take part in the legislation development for the Sami rights, and education for the Sami and also transmission of information on the Sami condition to the public.

The Sami Parliament is responsible for the Sami EU- programmes, Objective 1 and Interreg III A, which is estimated to have a total turnover of 252 million SEK (about 27.5 million Euros) during the years of 2000 and 2006 (Samitinget, 2005). The fund goes to the economic and cultural development in Sápmi. However, the power of Samitinget is limited and it serves mainly as an administrative body (Beltrán, 2000).

7.1.5 Swedish Tourist Association

The Swedish tourist association (STF) is one of Sweden's largest voluntary organizations, operates 315 youth hostels, 8 mountain stations and 40 mountain huts in Sweden. It also has travel and publishing department to promote the tourism efficiently. STF aims at offering authentic natural and cultural activities with high quality in a sustainable manner.

In relation to the Sami tourism destination, STF's operations spread over the Sápmi region, offering accommodations and natural and cultural activities. STF has a large network in the Sápmi, which sometimes falls into conflicts with the interests of the Sami tourism businesses.

7.1.6 Sami reindeer herding community

All Sami have the right of reindeer husbandry but the exercise of this right requires the membership of Sami reindeer herding community, that is, the Sami economic and administrative association for reindeer husbandry (sameby). There are 51 associations in the Swedish part of Sápmi (The Swedish Board of Agriculture, 2005). The right of reindeer husbandry includes the right to use land and water for their own needs and that of their reindeer, to pasture reindeer, to do fishing and hunting, to build chalets, and to extract timber from the forest for domestic needs as well as for craft products (Ibid).

A part of the members of sameby runs the Sami tourism entrepreneur as a side job, as it is difficult for reindeer herders to make their living only from reindeer herding. Within the members of sameby, some understand the necessity for tourism to be introduced, others concern about the negative impact of tourism such as disturbance for reindeer herding. Allowing tourists to fish and hunt in the district as tourism activities is a concern for all the members in the district, thus it should be carried out in cooperation with other members in the district.

7.1.7 Local community

Local community in the Sami tourism destination means the Sami and non-Sami who live in the community. In terms of the interests in the tourism development, the Sami can be categorized as the Sami who are members of the sameby and the Sami who are not members of the sameby. Membership of the sameby indicates the right to keep reindeer as well as fish and hunt in the sameby area. Tourism development can be a disturbance for reindeer herder as reindeer are sensitive to changes. Exclusive rights to carry out fishing and hunting for the members of the sameby in the district cause frustration over the business opportunity.

Non-Sami residents in the community are also a part of local community. Some welcome tourism development for the well being of the business in the region and infrastructure development that enhances the convenience of transportation and the comfort of life, whereas others express disagreement toward tourism development because of the negative impacts tourism brings to the destination. The nature of reindeer herding sets up a controversy in the community. Private land owners are not contented to have reindeer migration route through their property. There are many court cases going on, which makes it difficult to create a unity in the community.

7.2 Stakeholder cooperation and conflict

7.2.1 Business to business

The cooperation between the Sami tourism businesses can be seen in the form of taking tourists from one Sami tour operator to another; e.g. one operator brings tourists by snow mobile to the attraction, and another operator takes care of the tourists serving traditional Sami lunch or dinner. The main barrier for the Sami entrepreneurs to cooperate is the geographical distribution. The location of the Sami entrepreneurs is geographically dispersed so that it is difficult for small entrepreneurs to create a network among the Sami tourism entrepreneurs.

There have been attempts to set up the Sami tourism association that provide the opportunity to the Sami tourism entrepreneurs to get together. Some Sami entrepreneurs set aside a time to hold a meeting to discuss the quality of their tourism products and sometimes decide to put joint advertisements together. The potential benefit of the cooperation between the Sami tourism entrepreneurs is high; 1) market their products efficiently as the Sami tourism entrepreneurs offer the common theme of the Sami cultural experience, 2) embody the totality of the cultural authenticity of the Sami 3) empower the entity to represent the Sami tourism entrepreneurs. Morrison (1998) also pointed out the function of tourism organizations as a 'builder of community pride' and its main goal is to enhance the quality of life for the residents as well as the visitors.

Despite the fact that the cooperation between the Sami tourism entrepreneurs has been doing well and the advantage of creating an entity that represents all the Sami tourism entrepreneurs is expected to be fruitful, it has not reached the stage to set up such an organization. The difficulty in organizing the comprehensive Sami tourism association lies in the difference in business intensity, the lack of funds and time to be allocated. Many Sami tourism entrepreneurs are engaged in reindeer herding or other businesses and run tourism business in their spare time. In addition to the gap between part time and full time entrepreneurs, it is not easy for small scale business owners to pay for the membership fee to maintain the organization. Although the emergence of the Sami tourism organization is looked forward to, there are still some barriers to overcome.

Marginal part of the Sami tourism entrepreneurs is in cooperation with the large actors at the destination. From the large actors' point of view, the partnership with the small Sami tourism entrepreneurs requires the reliable relationship in a long term perspective as the large actor usually makes its marketing plans relatively in advance and the marketed products should be available upon the arrival of the guests. The quality of the products is to be high, so that knowledge of the Sami is a significant factor for the Sami tourism entrepreneurs to have a partnership with the large actor.

The accessibility from the large actor to the Sami attraction is also an attribute to take advantage of. The benefit for the Sami tourism entrepreneurs to cooperate with the large actor is the acquisition of regular number of guests that lead to stable assured income. In order to be able to accommodate the guests from the large actors, the Sami host needs to have the capacity for dealing with them. The majority of the small Sami tourism entrepreneurs do not have the sufficient capacity as most of them are engaged in tourism business as sideline.

Some Sami tourism entrepreneurs are reluctant to have the guests from large actors. The reason is that mass tourists tend to expect the typical representation of the Sami culture and the interaction with the host can be superficial due to the large number of guests. However, it is not always true that large actors bring massive numbers of customers and ask the hosts to provide 'on display' diverse types of attractions. For example, in Kiruna, the Icehotel is considered to be a large actor whose attraction itself can bring tourists to the destination. At present, the Icehotel has three scheduled Sami activities as well as the tailor-made Sami experiences upon customers' request in cooperation with the Sami entrepreneurs. One of the activities, reindeer sleigh rides, set the maximum number of participants to be eight, and the price is relatively high. The responsibility to create culturally authentic experience is understood to be the Sami tourism entrepreneurs and therefore the Icehotel would not intervene in the process of making their tourism products. This comes from the reliable relationship with the Sami entrepreneur and the respect for the Sami culture. This is a good example of how indigenous control is implemented in the form of limiting the number of tourists to their land and having freedom to decide the presentation of the Sami culture.

7.2.2 Business and authority

Tourist information office is located in each major town in Sápmi. Tourist information office is run by tourism industry in cooperation with the respective local authority. Tourists are able to collect the travel information as well as to apply for the tours or activities offered by the member of the association. According to Gartrell (1998), the roles of this tourism organization are to: 1) manage and provide destination attractions; 2) manage and plan infrastructure on which tourism depends; and 3) facilitate tourism promotion and marketing research.

The Sami tourism entrepreneurs often do not have marketing experience, and capacity to carry out the effective promotion by themselves in addition to the fact that there is no Sami tourism organization at present. Therefore, this tourism organization provides an opportunity for the Sami entrepreneurs to market themselves with other tourism businesses. The barrier for taking part in this cooperation for the Sami entrepreneurs is again the lack of funding. The membership fee for the association can be a heavy expense for the small sideline tourism businesses.

Constructing infrastructure necessary for tourism development is of interest to both business and authorities. The well-being of businesses in the region means higher tax revenue return. In Åre, multinational companies and the municipality collaborated to build large scale amusement

facilities. The cooperation between business and authorities encourages and stimulates the tourism destination development.

7.2.3 Land ownership

The conflict over land ownership is a common challenge for indigenous tourism development. Indigenous peoples often have the history that outsiders came to take over their land and resources. Now reserves and homeland areas are the main focus for indigenous tourism development in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the USA (Zeppel, 1998). The land right for indigenous peoples is often established by law; e.g. Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 (New Zealand), Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976 (Australia) (Ibid).

In Sweden, under the Reindeer Husbandry Act, the Sami have the right to herd reindeer, use land and water, carry out hunting and fishing, build chalets, and extract timber for their own and reindeer sustenance within the districts defined. However, in recent years the conflict between small private landowners and reindeer herders has been brought to the court to settle the land property issue. What makes the issue complicated is the constitution of ownership of the grazing land. The private landowners who sue the reindeer herders claim that reindeer harm the trees in their forests. The Sami are likely to lose their grazing areas due to lack of written documentation required by the courts. Taking the oral tradition of the Sami and the history into account, the settlement by the courts can be tougher decision to the Sami. The conflict doesn't happen on the larger forests or state owned forest, where the right of the Sami to herd reindeer is recognized (Beltrán, 2000).

Another Swedish law which makes the land use to the interests of many actors is the right to public access. The right to public access means that people are allowed to use nature for outdoor activities without paying for the access. The right is true of the tourism businesses as well, so that the tourism entrepreneurs who provide activities in nature have the right to do so without having a contract between the private landowner as long as the businesses are able to explain the meaning of the right to public access and take protective measures to follow the general rules of care to nature (Swedish tourism authority, 2005). The Swedish tourism authority also emphasizes that from a sustainable tourism development perspective, the businesses should contribute to the local income and the importance of collaboration between the business and company to offer higher quality of products (Ibid). STF owns many accommodations and travel facilities in Sápmi, and the activities of STF are sometimes competitive to those of the Sami tourism entrepreneurs.

In Sápmi, the natural and cultural asset is also the interest of conservation. Laponia, large part of northern Sápmi, was inscribed as a mixed natural/cultural World Heritage property in 1996 (Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, 1997). Laponia consists of four national parks and two natural reserves that occupy 95% of the site. Approximately 99% of the land is state owned (Beltrán, 2000). The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, a national body, is responsible for funding, supervising and managing Laponia, and the county administration of Norrbotten provides general administration, supervision and implementation of management plans.

Thus, the conflict over the land ownership is caused by the interests of many actors and different regulations applied to the land. Due to the ambiguous land right, some of the Sami expressed unwillingness to take part in the tourism development unless the land ownership issue is solved. Self determination is a significant concern to mobilize the full potential of the Sami. Those who are involved in the conflict have a pessimistic outlook about the settlement in the near future due to the complexity.

7.2.4 Predators

The interests of stakeholders are divided over the issue of predators for reindeer such as bear, wolf, lynx, and so on. The predators cause damage to the reindeer stock, so that reindeer herders are allowed to carry out preventative hunting of bear and lynx, in addition, the state also annually compensates for the damage caused by predators to reindeer (Länsstyrelsen Norrbottens län, 2005). Meanwhile, there is considerable discussion about the need for the protection of predators as the population of the predators is relatively small.

The County Administrative Board is responsible for keeping the track of the size and dispersion of predator populations. The result of the inventory is used as the record of the species in the county as well as the important base for the financial remuneration to reindeer herder and the decisions on the objectives of preventative hunting (Ibid.).

From a tourism perspective, the preservation of the rare animals and the abundance of biodiversity can bring up an opportunity for nature tourism attraction. The case of the national park in Kenya as such attracts a lot of tourists to the destination because of the preservation of biodiversity. In Sápmi, there are tourists who are wealthy and willing to pay more to see the rare animals in the nature.

However, the preservation of biodiversity requires the careful consideration for the area that is affected by the conservation. Clüsener-Godt (2002) pointed out that the conservation project should “... *identify how to improve living conditions for the inhabitants of concerned areas as a basic requirement for human security, with special attention to food and fodder production and the rational use of biodiversity for the benefit of local populations.*”(Clüsener-Godt M., 2002). For the sustainable development, not only economic, environmental well-beings, but also the socio-cultural aspect should not be ignored. In the Sami context, the preservation of predators may increase the tourism business opportunity and contribute to the environmental protection, while the existence of predators is threatening for reindeer herders to run economically viable reindeer husbandry and to maintain the Sami reindeer herding culture.

7.3 Initiative for sustainable tourism development

7.3.1 Ecotourism

The definition and concept of ecotourism can be found in many different ways in the literature, but the unique form of tourism has become well-known and popular due to the greening of markets, increasing awareness of the vulnerability of the environment, the well educated tourism developers, and the appreciation that ecotourism provides a good relationship between ecology and economy (Björk, 2000).

The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) defines ecotourism as “*responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people*”. In addition, TIES also indicates the concrete principles for those who are involved in ecotourism activities as follows:

- Minimize impact;
- Build environmental and cultural awareness and respect;
- Provide positive experiences for both visitors and hosts;
- Provide direct financial benefits for conservation;

- Provide financial benefits and empowerment for local people;
- Raise sensitivity to host countries' political, environmental, and social climate;
- Support international human rights and labour agreements (TIES, 2005)

Thus, Ecotourism covers economic, environmental, and socio-cultural aspects of issues in relation to tourism. Sekercioglu (2000) pointed out that ecotourism can be a vehicle for community-based conservation if it is conducted emphasizing on the well-being of local ecosystems and communities (Sekercioglu, 2000). It is to say that ecotourism can be a useful initiative for indigenous tourism as its sensitive consideration is not limited to economic, environmental aspects but also covers the respect for the cultural heritage.

7.3.2 Nature's Best

The Nature's Best is a quality labelling system for Swedish ecotourism, launched in 2002. The Nature's Best was developed by various stakeholders such as travel associations, land owners, nature conservation associations, non profit organizations, public authorities, tourist industries and more than 30 companies and 20 national associations participated in the process of creating criteria. In 2005, 62 tour operators and 101 tours have been Nature's Best approved (Nature's Best, 2005). The Nature's Best ecolabel is run by the three following organizations; the Swedish Ecotourism Society¹, the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation², and the Swedish Travel and Tourism Council³. The Nature's Best holds six principles, and the criteria that approved tour operators are in compliance with correspondence to each principle. The six basic principles are as follows:

- Respect the limitations of the destination – minimise the negative impacts on local nature and culture;
- Support the local economy;
- Make all the operators activities environmentally sustainable;
- Contribute actively to nature and cultural conservation;
- Promote knowledge and respect and the joy of discovery;
- Quality and safety all the way. (Nature's Best, 2002)

The Nature's Best certifies tour operators and tour products. The tour operators that wish to have the Nature's Best label purchase a "Start-up Package" which contains the information and application form. The applications will be accepted with the application fee, and the labelling committee will examine the cases whether to be approved or not. The Start-up

¹ The main organisation responsible for Nature's Best and the certifying process. The Society was founded in 1996 and has approximately 300 members, most of whom are small or medium sized enterprises (Nature's Best, 2005).

² The biggest environment- and nature-preservation non-government organisation in Sweden with 170,000 members. They have been working for a century to preserve Sweden's natural heritage (Nature's Best, 2005).

³ Jointly owned by the Swedish State and the Travel Association (non-government tourism organisation). The council is committed to marketing Sweden as a travel destination on both the domestic and international markets (Nature's Best, 2005).

package and application fee cost between 500 and 3500 SEK (approximately 53-375 Euros) depending on annual turnover. To be qualified to the Nature's Best, tour operators must apply to the criteria, have an environmental plan and a destination analysis plan, and fulfil a training course on ecotourism and the Nature's Best. An annual fee, imposed on approved tour operators, varies between 1000 and 15000 SEK (approximately 107-1610 Euros) according to companies' annual turnover (Nature's Best, 2002).

At present, 5 Sami tour operators are approved to the Nature's Best and there is one approved tour operator that has Sami subcontractors. The main activities of certified tour products are enjoying the nature by horse back riding, reindeer sleigh, or hiking, and staying in the Sami traditional accommodation and having Sami traditional cuisine. The prices of the tours range from one day horse riding tour for 750 SEK (approximately 80 Euros) to eight day tour for 27500 SEK (approximately 2950 Euros).

8. Discussion

8.1 Nature's Best for the Sami tourism

8.1.1 Marketing tool

Here are the considerations on how the Nature's Best has been functioning as a marketing tool for the Sami tourism entrepreneurs. One of the large travel agencies in Sápmi expressed that none of the clients ever asked them if they have the certified ecotourism label or their contractors are certified so that the awareness of this certification scheme on the market is very low and it is not interesting for business purposes, although they are aware of the fact that the ecotourism certification scheme is a good trial and good for environment from the long term perspective. A Nature's Best approved Sami tour operator perceives that the Nature's Best label is a helpful tool for sustainable development and considers this ecotourism scheme to be a positive achievement, yet, the benefits in terms of marketing seem to be low. Thus, the businesses are aware of the advantages of introducing the Nature's Best from sustainable development perspective. However, the Nature's Best has not been seen as a valuable marketing tool for the Sami tour operator.

8.1.2 Cultural sustainability tool

How can the Nature's Best criteria contribute to cultural sustainability for the Sami? Considering the significant factors for cultural sustainability, the Nature's Best can play an important role in supporting the Sami tourism development in a culturally sustainable manner. First of all, the Nature's Best criteria pointed out that ecotourism is more compatible with traditional livelihoods and indigenous cultures as one of the benefits and the criteria attach a value to the local culture and cultural heritage conservation. This creates a sound background for the preservation of the Sami culture. The complexity in land ownership is a critical issue for the Sami and often for other indigenous people to take care of. The Nature's Best criteria require the applicants to inform the land owners of the tourism activities that are taking place. The communication with the land owners reduces the risk of conflicts over the land use. Respect for reindeer husbandry is mentioned in the criteria, which facilitates the smooth operation of reindeer herding. Thus, the Nature's Best takes the issues that are crucial to the Sami culture and indigenous tourism development fundamentally into account.

In addition to the robust background, the criteria provide the applicants with helpful steps to be able to fulfil the cultural sustainability factors: indigenous control, participation in decision making, governmental support, community support, and societal marketing. Knowledge on the destination and the culture and interpretation of knowledge are fully respected. Setting limitations on the number of visitors is based on the care for social capacity at the destination. These are in favour of indigenous controls over the authentic image of the destination and the limited number of guests. Communication with other stakeholders is encouraged, and that makes it easier to bring stakeholders to participate in the decision making. The strong network among the tour operators and respective organization such as conservation and tourism association enables them to have more of a voice in decision making. The Nature's Best is supported by the Swedish State so that governmental support has been attained and more assistance can be expected. The emphasis on the contribution to the local economy enhances the support from the local community. Providing high quality products, and improvement in quality are well promoted, and it will be a great advantage in the market. Close interaction with guests improves authentic cultural experience. Certified tour operators must have thorough

knowledge on the destination, values, and understanding of local in great account, and it helps to create authentic destination images that will help to market the destination.

Thus, it is clear that the Nature's Best criteria are in favour of culturally sustainable destination development. It is notable that Nature's Best programme facilitates communication between stakeholders and the interaction leads to the solution of conflicts, the empowerment of the Sami tour operator and the community, and the implementation of cultural sustainable indigenous tourism destination. The Nature's Best is a useful communication tool for indigenous tourism development, although the Nature's Best targets tour operators and tour products only in Sweden. It will be useful to apply the fundamental principles of the Nature's Best to the indigenous tourism development that aims to achieve culturally sustainable destination.

8.1.3 Opportunities and barriers for the Sami tourism entrepreneurs

The Nature's Best ecotourism label has potential opportunities for the Sami tour operators. The criteria are not so difficult to fulfil for the Sami tour operators as the small scale operation usually fits into ecotourism principles. In addition to the advantages discussed in the previous section, creating networks between businesses which share the values of ecotourism can increase the motivation to participate in tourism development in sustainable manner and broaden the business chances. The Nature's Best effectively promotes the approved tour operators on their website or through publications, which is a great advantage since the small Sami tour operators are often lacking the capacity for the efficient promotion. Training courses and seminars organized by the Nature's Best deepen the knowledge on ecotourism. Access to the practical information such as insurance facilitates the smooth operation and enables to avoid unnecessary risk as the small operators tend to neglect this kind of procedure and often have scarce knowledge of them.

On the other hand, there are barriers and challenges for the Sami tourism entrepreneurs to take part in this ecotourism labelling scheme. The major barrier is the lack of time to spare for the procedure such as collecting the documents required for the application and having capital to invest on the application and annual fee. Although the fees are reasonable for the small scale operators, it can be a heavy expense for seasonal tour operators considering the operating rate per year. Another challenge is the target of certification. The travel and tourism products and the owner of the tourism products are the objects for the Nature's Best labelling system. The tourism products offered by the small Sami tourism entrepreneurs are sometimes tailor-made upon guests' requests and the tourism products may not be provided due to time constrains from other occupation that the operators are engaged in.

8.2 Less can be more?

A recent study shows that the mountain region tourism in Sweden has declined for the past couple of years (Nutek, 2005). This can be a concern to all the stakeholders who are involved in tourism in the region. What does the decrease imply to the tourism development in the region?

First of all, it is important to consider the measures taken in drawing the conclusion that the mountain tourism has declined. In the study, the number of nights which visitors spent in the respective towns and regions were examined. Tourism development is usually evaluated in quantitative measures such as the number of bed nights and the number of visitors. As is often the case with mass tourism marketing, if the destination shows a decreasing trend, one of the strategies taken is to lower prices. Less costs for visitors can attract more visitors. It

may result in the increase in negative impacts due to the exceeding carrying capacity at the destination.

Considering the fact that the mountain regions in Sweden have good tradition in ecotourism, an implication of the decline in the number of visitors can be the increase in the quality. To back up the assumption, there are statistics on the bed nights and the revenues in four major counties in mountain regions showing that even though the number of bed nights decreased, the total revenues of the accommodations did not drop as the number of bed nights did (See appendix III).

A small hotel owner in the region used to have customers booked through a travel agency most of the season. Although the hotel obtained a larger number of tourists by way of the intermediary, the profit stayed small because the hotel offered the accommodation for cheaper prices to the intermediary and there is a need for the extra staff to take care of a large number of customers. The owner stopped taking customers through the intermediary and promotes the business via internet, providing a small scale bird-watching tour. Now that the profit level has been considerably improved due to the reduced costs on the maintenance and extra employees. In addition, the smaller number of visitors decreases the negative impact on the bird-watching nature area.

One of the Sami tourism entrepreneurs had a similar experience. At first, the entrepreneur offered a short tour through the whole season. The entrepreneur found it difficult to balance the time allocated between the tourism operation and reindeer herding. The owner decided to organize longer tours during limited times of the season. The tour is exclusive and also expensive. By offering an exclusive and high quality product, it is easier to find the time in relation to reindeer herding and to regulate the number of visitors. It reduces the potential in exploitation of environment and culture, maintaining the profitable business operation.

The challenge in this shift is to find the demand and the customers who can afford the exclusive and expensive tour. It is critical to succeed in marketing the tour product to customers who are willing to pay higher for the high quality and the exclusive tour. Higher quality products should be accompanied with suitable insurance and attitude and must meet the tourists' demands and expectations. Here, it is important to note that the destination has the advantageous background to lead to the success in the high quality and high price tour products. The visitors to the Sápmi are often willing to pay high price for high quality tour product (Pettersson, Lindahl, 2002). Therefore, it is clear that the Sami tourism entrepreneurs have an advantage that makes it easier to access the targeted market.

Thus, the decline in tourism in terms of quantitative measure such as beds per night does not necessarily mean the decline of the tourism industry at the destination. The quality of tourism products may be harder to measure, but the guiding tools, such as Nature's Best and Tour Quality certification⁴, for sustainable tourism are widely available in Sweden and it is helpful for the tourism entrepreneurs to improve the quality of products. Small scale and small number of visitors with high quality products can bring more profits and lead to more sustainable tourism development. "Less can be more" strategy has a potential in sustainable tourism development; however, it requires appropriate marketing strategy to be able to obtain the customers who are interested in the products.

⁴ Quality assurance certification for tourism initiated by ETOUR. ETOUR is a research institute set up in 1997 in Sweden as a EU structural funding programme for the development of tourism industry.

8.3 Cultural sustainability in the Sami tourism context

8.3.1 Indigenous control

The degree of indigenous control of the Sami can be said to be well maintained as a whole. The awareness of cultural authenticity among the Sami tourism entrepreneurs is relatively high. The small or family owned Sami tourism entrepreneurs implement the small scale operation, which makes it easier to control over the tourist's activities and regulate the number of tourists. The Sami also have their national governmental body, the Sami parliament, and it facilitates the argument in self-determination of the Sami. Exclusive right of reindeer herding to the Sami enables the Sami to have better control over the cultural representation⁵, although it is argued that the exclusive right deprives the business opportunity of the non-reindeer herding Sami and the non-Sami population.

On the other hand, the conflict in land ownership has not been properly settled yet and it might take a while to solve the problem. The ambiguous situation on land ownership impedes indigenous control over the land and motivation for further tourism development. The Swedish government has not signed the ILO convention 169, which is hoped that efforts will be made to improve the land ownership argument. Moreover, there is still room for improvement to provide more opportunities for the Sami who do not own reindeer to take part in tourism, as the Sami hold the attractive culture regardless of ownership of reindeer. The Sami who are marginalized due to the modernization of reindeer herding can play a role in indigenous tourism development. Promoting the empowerment of the female Sami by providing business opportunities and training also enhances the indigenous control.

8.3.2 Participation in decision making

The background for the participation in decision making has been steadily established. The Sápmi land embraces the diversity of nature, which attracts the attention of environmental NGOs, such as Taiga Rescue Network⁶. The network supports the sensitive development in the boreal region by creating the platform to have a voice to the decision making process. The Nature's Best contributes to stimulating stakeholders' involvement in tourism development and enhancing the network among the actors in order to incorporate the opinions of all the stakeholders.

However, some of the small Sami tourism entrepreneurs find it difficult to participate in the network due to lack of time and fund. The network organization for the Sami tourism entrepreneurs has not been fully established yet due to the same reason. It is anticipated to launch a network organization of the Sami tourism entrepreneurs as the organization will strengthen the unity of the Sami tourism businesses and enable them to participate more effectively in the decision making.

8.3.3 Community support

Owing to the decline of the mining industry in the mountain regions and the difficulty in reindeer herding, the communities in the regions have waited for the emergence of alternative

⁵ In Finland, the reindeer herding is not limited to the Sami. The Santa Claus Park in Rovaniemi offers the plastic reindeer next to the Sami doll. (Pettersson, 2001)

⁶ Taiga Resucue Network (TRN) is a non governmental organization aiming at sustainable development in boreal regions. TRN was established in 1992, there are more than 200 participants of the network (TRN, 2005).

industries in order to sustain the community economic development. Thanks to the rich nature and cultural diversity in the regions, the communities have a great opportunity to develop tourism.

Unfortunately, the conflicts within the community do not help to develop tourism destinations in the community. The community contains the Sami who have the right to herd reindeer, the Sami who don't own reindeer, and non-Sami people. The interests in the tourism development are different; the property rights issues cast a shadow over the unity of community. It is very important to ensure an early solution to the land ownership conflict and the right of reindeer husbandry in close coordination with other stakeholders.

8.3.4 Administrative support

Local governments provide various means of support for economic development in the regions. Tourism destination development stimulates the economic growth, which gain the revenues for the local government in return. There has been a range of projects supported by the local government in cooperation with other organizations, sometimes making use of EU structural funds, to develop tourism destinations, offer training and education for the human resources required to achieve sustainable tourism development and so on. Some of the Sami tourism entrepreneurs have participated in the project and received the benefit from the improved knowledge and skills out of the project. There was a project for the Sami woman, which help to empower the role of the Sami women. Thus, local governments are actively involved in tourism development to support local and regional development.

Yet, the longstanding challenge in property rights still lies ahead of future development. It is imperative for the administrative body to seek for a set of legislative framework for the property rights with the respect of the Sami traditional culture and satisfactory result for all the stakeholders. Administrative support can play a role in settling the conflict and coordinating the interest of stakeholders.

8.3.5 Societal marketing

In order to achieve the culturally authentic destination, it is important to take not only the demand of tourists but also the need of the supply side into account. The awareness of the importance in cultural authenticity among the stakeholders seems to be relatively high. The large actors at the destination tend to be in cooperation with the Sami tourism entrepreneur, allowing the Sami entrepreneur to take fully control over the activity offered without intervention and having a trust relationship between them. Another thing to be pointed out is that most of the Sami tourism entrepreneurs promote their tourism products for themselves and often do not have the intermediary to market the products. It reduces the risk of misinterpretation of culture by intermediary, however marketing products as a layman's job is not an easy task to do.

The emergence of the Sami tourism network will play a significant role in societal marketing. It enables the Sami to decide the representation of cultural authentic destination and appropriate image of the Sami culture. Existing gap in the degree of the tourism operation among the Sami tourism entrepreneurs and balancing the tourism operation with reindeer husbandry are some of the challenges to implement the development of the Sami tourism network organization.

8.3.6 Communication

Looking through the significant factors for the cultural sustainability in relation to the Sami people, the factor “communication” is found to be a key to support and facilitate the coordination of all the factors discussed.

Communication among the Sami tourism entrepreneurs helps to build up a strong base of cultural representation. Involvement of all the stakeholders in decision making process requires the system that can strengthen understanding one another. In order to obtain community support, the resolution of the conflicts should be accomplished soon. The communication in the community eases the argument and may lead to the settlement of the problems. Informing the government of what is needed to be done to achieve culturally sustainable destination development smoothes the progress of getting support. As to societal marketing, it is essential to have the communication and understanding between the Sami tourism entrepreneurs and those who market their products in a culturally authentic manner. The close interaction with visitors is also important to offer authentic experiences. Thus, the factor “communication” stands on top of the other factors to be accomplished.

9. Conclusions

Indigenous tourism is a type of tourism that indigenous people are directly involved in through having control over the tourism or/and its culture is the core of the attraction. The level of indigenous control and its cultural theme characterizes the indigenous tourism. Indigenous tourism lies in the global tourism context in which indigenous people as a part of global tourism players interact with other stakeholders. Indigenous culture is vulnerable by nature, therefore it is important to seek ways to prevent the cultural degradation in order to ensure long term sustainable tourism development for indigenous peoples.

Indigenous control, participation in decision making, community support, administrative support and societal marketing are the important factors to develop culturally sustainable destination development. Each factor is not independent of others and the factors are mutually linked in a complex framework, reinforcing one another.

The Sami tourism has emerged in earnest for the last decade, and the tourism development is still in a development phase. The Sami hold indigenous culture and knowledge which attract tourists and the natural environment in Sápmi is also fascinating to be a tourist destination. The Sami tourism entrepreneurs often utilize the facilities to create the tourism products, which makes it easier to enter the business. The characteristic of the Sami tourism products is that the products are usually high quality and it enables them to have close interaction with guests and it leads to the culturally authentic experience. Due to the decline in mining industry and reindeer herding, the tourism development is a great opportunity for regional development. The Laponia area was registered on the UNESCO World Heritage list, and the destination has become popular worldwide. Having attractive tourist destinations in the area is an advantage for Sami tourism. The tourists who come to the Sápmi region tend to be willing to pay a high price for the high quality products. The unique Sami cultural tourism can be a niche market and doesn't have to be competitive.

However, there are barriers and challenges for the Sami tourism development. First of all, the balance between reindeer herding and tourism influences the orientation of further tourism development. Lack of willingness to grow, low incomes giving low potential for further investment, lack of management and marketing skills are mainly attributable to the small entrepreneurship. Lack of common vision among the Sami tourism entrepreneurs due to the different intensity of business makes it difficult to create a network among the Sami tourism entrepreneurs. Long distance to the tourism destinations can also be a restriction to bring tourists. The seasonality of tourism trend means inconsistent demand, which requires strategic planning to make the business profitable. The conflict over property rights is a longstanding issue which must be solved in a way that is the satisfactory for all the stakeholders.

The tourism development involves various stakeholders with different interests. Each stakeholder has its own role and responsibility in tourism development and it is advantageous for stakeholders to cooperate and collaborate beyond the given role and responsibility. The stakeholder cooperation approach enables them to implement more socially equitable decision making processes and to enhance the awareness of the importance of indigenous culture and the understanding in their responsibility.

There has been a lot of effort made to figure out the way to achieve sustainable tourism development. The concept of ecotourism is considered to be suitable for sustainable tourism, and the Nature's Best is one of the tools for guiding sustainable tourism development. The response from the tourism industry reveals that the Nature's Best has not yet been seen as a

useful marketing tool, although they are aware of the fact that the Nature's Best scheme will do well in the long term. The important finding here is that the Nature's Best can play a role in facilitating communication among stakeholders.

Thus, the factor of communication should be added to the critical factors for the sustainable indigenous tourism development. Establishing communication seems to be a simple task to do, however the importance of communication must not be left aside. Communication among stakeholders facilitates the involvement of stakeholders that affect and are affected by tourism development, which can lead to strengthened indigenous control over the tourism development.

Finally, the future suggestion for the Sami tourism development is to establish the Sami tourism network to increase the unity and control over the destination development. In addition to indigenous knowledge, creative products invention will fit into the niche market and allow the Sami tourism to achieve the position in the context of a low degree of competition. Targeting foreign tourists will be the next step as indigenous culture is generally more attractive to the foreign people than to domestic tourists and there is also a potential in expansion of foreign tourist market such as Laponia World Heritage area. Therefore, the Sami tourism holds bright opportunities for further development, so that it is important to keep this in mind and to make an effort to cooperate with stakeholders to reduce the barriers and the conflicts.

10. Suggestions for further research

In the thesis, each stakeholders' perspective was considered, however the tourist perception of the culturally authentic destination was left out of the focus. Hence, the following fields are suggested for further research.

- Tourist perception of cultural authenticity of the destination;
- Media that influences the tourist behaviour.

The thesis was focused mainly upon the cultural aspects of sustainability. In order to achieve the sustainable development, economic and environmental dimensions should be looked into. Therefore the suggestions for further research on the indigenous tourism are:

- Economic leakage of the indigenous tourism development;
- Environmental assessment of tourism impacts and seek out the solution for the negative impacts

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Email contacts

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Per Erik Jonasson. (2005, July 21) Personal interview

Felicia Löfgren.(2005, July 21) Personal interview

Nejla Sparrok.(2005, July 21) Personal interview

Maud Mattson. Njarka sami camp. (2005, July 22) Personal interview

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Anna Forsberg. Holidayclub. (2005, July 21) Personal interview

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Appendix I

UNESCO Symposium on the protection of traditional knowledge and expressions of indigenous cultures in the Pacific islands, Noumea, 1999, the final declaration. Definition of traditional knowledge and expressions of the indigenous cultures of the Pacific islands

(Source: http://www.unesco.org/culture/copyright/folklore/html_eng/declaration.shtml)

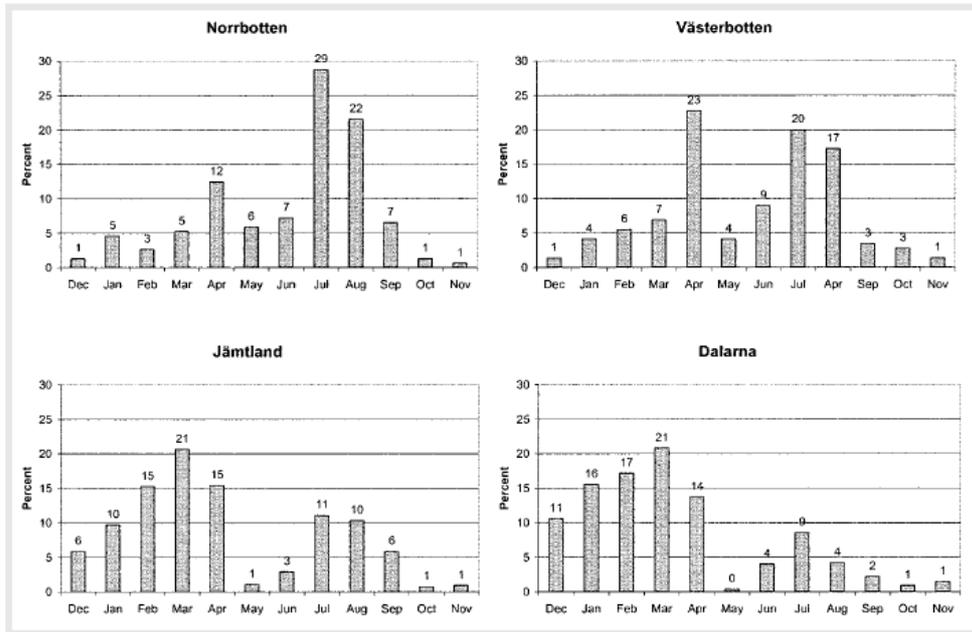
I - Definition of traditional knowledge and expressions of the indigenous cultures of the Pacific islands

The traditional knowledge and expressions of indigenous cultures are defined as the ways in which indigenous cultures are expressed and which are manifestations of worldviews of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific. Traditional knowledge and cultural expressions are any knowledge or any expressions created, acquired and inspired (applied, inherent or abstract) for the physical and spiritual well-being of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific. The nature and use of such knowledge and expressions are transmitted from one generation to the next to enhance, safeguard and perpetuate the identity, well-being and rights of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific. This knowledge and these expressions include and are not limited to:

- spirituality, spiritual knowledge, ethics and moral values,
- social institutions (kinship, political, traditional justice),
- dances, ceremonies and ritual performances and practices, games and sports,
- music,
- language,
- names, stories, traditions, songs in oral narratives,
- land and sea and air,
- all sites of cultural significance and immovable cultural property and their associated knowledge,
- cultural environmental resources,
- traditional resource management including traditional conservation measures,
- all material objects and moveable cultural property,
- all traditional knowledge and expressions of indigenous cultures held in ex situ collections,
- indigenous peoples ancestral remains, human genetic materials,
- scientific, agricultural, technical and ecological knowledge, and the skills required to implement this knowledge (including that pertaining to resource use practices and systems of classification),
- the delineated forms, parts and details of visual compositions (designs),
- permanently documented aspects of traditional indigenous cultures in all forms (including scientific and ethnographic research reports, papers and books, photographs and digital images, films and sound recordings).

Appendix II

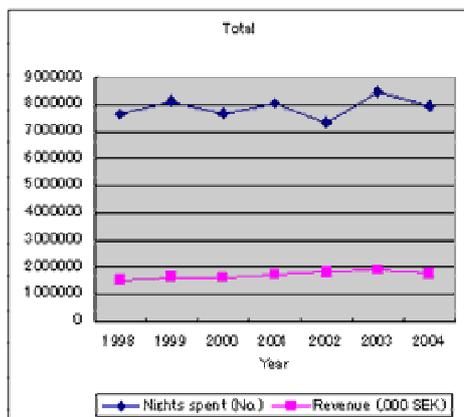
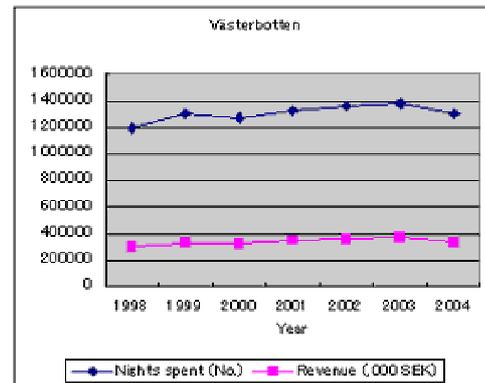
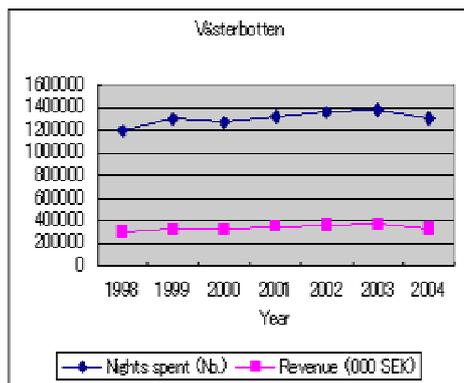
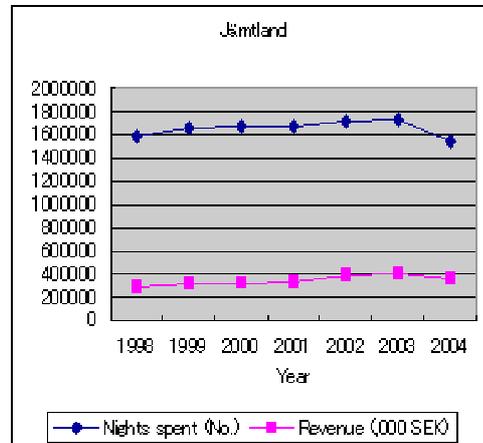
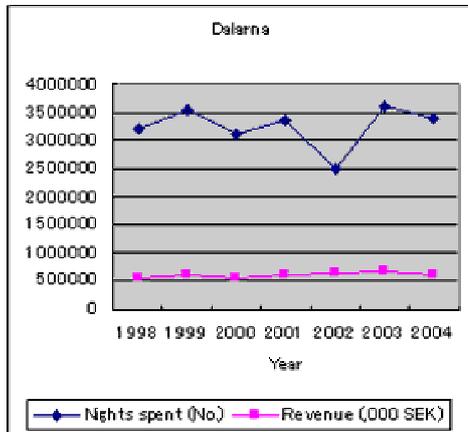
Seasonal transition of visitors.



(Source: Herberlein T.A. et al.)

Appendix III

Transition in the nights spent and revenue in the four counties.



Appendix IV

Questions for the Sami tourism entrepreneurs

1. What is your main activity?
2. How long have you been doing the business? How has your business been?
3. Are you from the region? Do you belong to sameby?
4. What kinds of tourism products do you provide? How much of your tourism product does sami related tourism account for?
5. Who are the customers?
6. Is there any cooperation with government or local authority?
7. Do you think tourism helps to develop the region?
8. What do you think are the benefits of tourism development to the region?
9. Are there any barriers or challenges to develop tourism in the region? If there are, what are they?
10. Do you see any impacts of tourism in the region?
11. Do you observe cultural degradation or environmental deterioration due to tourism activities?
12. Do you take any actions or measures to prevent negative impacts of tourism from happening?
13. What can be done to prevent the Sami culture and environment from being destroyed? And who should be involved in it?
14. Are you a nature's best certified operator? What are the reasons to /not to obtain the certification?

Questions for other tourism businesses

1. What is your main activity?
2. How long have you been doing the business? How has your business been?
3. Are you from the region?
4. What kinds of tourism products do you provide? How much of your tourism product does the Sami tourism account for?
5. Who are the customers?
6. Is there any cooperation with government, local authority and businesses?
7. Do you think tourism helps to develop the region?
8. What do you think are the benefits of tourism development to the region?
9. Are there any barriers or challenges to develop tourism in the region? If there are, what are they?
10. Do you see any impacts of tourism in the region?
11. Do you observe cultural degradation or environmental deterioration due to tourism activities?
12. Do you take any actions or measures to prevent negative impacts of tourism from happening?
13. What can be done to prevent the Sami culture and environment from being destroyed? And who should be involved in it?
14. Are you a nature's best certified operator? What are the reasons to /not to obtain the certification? Is it an important factor to choose the operators who are certified?

Questions for local government (municipality, länsstyrelsen)

1. What does your institution mainly do?
2. What is the impression of the Sami situation nowadays? (social, environmental, economic)
3. How have you been working with the Sami people?
4. What do you think of the level of involvement of the Sami people in decision making?
5. What are the barriers and challenges for the Sami regions to develop?
6. What do you think of tourism as a development option for the Sami people? Are there any alternatives for the Sami regions to develop?
7. What kind of support can your institution provide?
8. What is the impression of the Sami culture?
9. What do you think of the current cultural situation of the Sami peoples?
10. How do you think tourism development affect the Sami culture?
11. What is your opinion about marketing culture?
12. What can be done to prevent the Sami culture and environment from being destroyed? And who should be involved in it?
13. Do you have any cooperation with businesses?