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Representation of the Sámi Culture in Tourism in Sweden:

A Thematic Analysis of Marketing Websites from Swedish Lapland

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Abstract:
The following thesis examines the representation of Sámi that reside in the Swedish part of Lapland. Tourism has been a complement to the traditional occupations for many Sámi. However, representations of Sámi in web-marketing may be misleading the tourists in their understanding of the Indigenous people. The aim of the thesis is to examine regional marketing material in Sweden, found online, through a thematic analysis to highlight patterns and themes that are utilized for a competitiveness in the market. The use of language, when referring to Sámi, and adjectives to describe landscape, food, and people were focused upon. Six webpages were analysed, which showed a strong focus of the marketing material on reindeer, languages, handicrafts and food.

Keywords: Indigenous Tourism, Sámi, Indigenous Representation, Tourism Marketing, Sweden.
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Sincerely,
Gynn Heissy Ticao Hernaez and Lukas Mavromatis Klempin
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1. Introduction

In the dawn of time, it is believed that Sámi roamed the land and lived as gatherers and hunters. One of the main food sources, the reindeer, was hunted until the 17th century, when Sámi began to domesticate the beasts. Since then, reindeer husbandry has been a traditional occupation for Sámi (Reindeer herding Sámi, n.d.). However, generated income of reindeer herding has declined, leaving Sámi looking for alternative occupations. It has been noted a change in the occupations of Sámi, where fewer Sámi stay in the traditional occupations, while the majority pursues modern occupations (Pettersson, 2004; Pettersson & Viken, 2007). As income through traditional livelihoods decreases, tourism has been seen as a new occupation for Indigenous people, by providing Indigenous tourism products (Müller & Huuva, 2009).

Tourism was first opposed by many Sámi, as they felt objectified by the tourists that gazed at them, with a limited understanding of their culture. However, in comparison to Finland, the Swedish Sámi experience fewer tourists and experience a higher level of interest in their culture by the tourists. Tourists are perceived more positively by the Swedish Sámi, but perceptions by tourists are still affected by the non-Indigenous tourism operators in Northern Sweden that seek to add value to their own products (Tuulentie, 2006). A typical Sámi business is considered to be a micro company in the rural area and few businesses only employ more than one person, which may limit the ability to market a destination. There is an increase in online businesses, mostly from women, that have been trading Sámi handicrafts, clothing and jewelry to hotels, for example. Typically, the businesses owned by Sámi have a close local market since distance is of issue to reach a larger market (Nilsson, 2014). The Indigenous tourism products consist of guided tours, accommodation, cuisine, traditional singing (yoik), and skills applied in reindeer herding, such as lasso-tossing (Sapmi Park, n.d.; Pettersson, 2004).

Although Indigenous tourism marketing has seen an increase in interest of tourists and academics alike, a further exploration of the marketing of Indigenous tourism
is needed. Vladimirova (2011) explored the marketing of Indigenous tourism on the Kola Peninsula in Russia, while Lindholm (2014) investigated webpages on national marketing websites Visit Norway and Visit Finland through a critical discourse analysis. However, little research has been conducted on the regional marketing of Indigenous tourism in Sweden. Thus, the following thesis will explore regional marketing websites and presentation of Sámi tourism products. The thematic analysis approach was chosen (See Section 4). The knowledge of the topic is based on secondary data, which was collected by both authors. However, interpretations of the marketing material, by the authors, stimulated the discussion of the analysis. The researchers cannot speak for Sámi, as the research is conducted by outsiders with European and Asian backgrounds. However, the thesis is written to assist in exploring and highlighting the themes in the marketing materials of Indigenous tourism for marketing purposes. The attractiveness of the culture is often utilized, by non-Sámi and Sámi tourism operators, to attract visitors.

Therefore, this thesis will aim to explore the representation of Sámi in the tourism marketing websites on the regional level in Sweden. Hence, to achieve this aim, following research objectives and research questions are defined:

**Research Objective:**
- To explore the representation of Sámi in the tourism marketing websites in Sweden with the focus on the regional level.

**Research Questions:**
- What are the representations of Sámi found in the tourism marketing?
- How is language used to describe the Sámi tourism experiences?

The thesis is divided into seven sections. The introduction gives background information on the research problem and the rationale behind the research. The literature review elaborates on Sámi in general and Sámi in the tourism industry. Afterwards, a theoretical framework is presented, which was used for the coding in the analysis, as well as the discussion (See § 4). The methodology outlines the
methods that were chosen for the analysis and provides information regarding the primary data collection. The findings present each webpage that was chosen for the analysis and describes the content of the webpage. Also, an image of each webpage is presented, as an example of the visual representation of Sámi in the marketing material. The findings are presented in form of thematic maps (See § 6) and are discussed, regarding their validity as themes. Lastly, a conclusion is presented, which also highlights the possibility of further research.

2. Literature Review

In the following section, literature regarding Indigenous people in Sweden will be presented, with regards to the involvement of Sámi in tourism, as well as, the tourism products that the Sámi provide to tourists. Furthermore, the current knowledge on the marketing of Sámi tourism products will be explored for a further discussion of the findings.

2.1 Indigenous People in Northern Sweden

The Sámi live in a region to which they refer to as Sápmi, which is a geographical area that covers parts of Northern Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Kola Peninsula of Russia. Nowadays, 80,000 Sámi reside in Sápmi, with 50,000 in Norway, 20,000 in Sweden, 8,000 in Finland, and 2,000 in Russia (Sami in Sweden, n.d.). The number of Sámi is an estimation, as records regarding their ethnicity have not been collected in Sweden since 1945 (Sköld, 2015), and the Sámi identity is rather complex, as language and occupation may determine the identity of a person of Sámi heritage (Nilsson, 2014).
Figure 1 displays the Sápmi region, where the Sámi reside. As Sápmi stretches over four countries, different legislation of Sámi is present. Occupations and culture of Sámi in the four countries have remained similar. However, marketing of the Sámi tourism products varies between countries, where possessive pronouns are used in Russia for marketing purposes, while in Finland and Norway marketing websites did not use possessive pronouns (Vladimirova, 2011; Lindholm, 2014). Nowadays, many Sámi leave the traditional occupations due to economic constraints, especially in reindeer herding, one of the traditional occupations of the Sámi. The decline in income that Indigenous people were able to generate through their traditional occupations and the rural locations of the Indigenous communities led to few sources of income. The technological innovations in natural resource extraction and conflicts in land use further hindered employment opportunities (Engström & Boluk, 2012). Thus, tourism has been adopted by some Sámi, as it proposes a new source of income through which Sámi are able to maintain a modern lifestyle, while remaining in traditional occupations. However, MacCannell (1984) mentioned that tourism is commonly seen as destructive to local identities that exist before the involvement in the tourism industry. Although tourism was seen by some Sámi as a complement to the reindeer herding (Leu &
Müller, 2016), others describe the involvement in tourism as a Hobson’s choice, which is the acceptance or refusal of a single option (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016).

2.2 Tourism in Sápmi

In Northern Sweden, the majority population can be found along the coast line, which proposes a limitation to Indigenous tourism, as Indigenous communities, which engage in reindeer husbandry, can be found in the mountainous inland. The distance to the majority of the population limits the development of tourism, as less infrastructure is present and fewer tourists are attracted. It has been highlighted that in Canada, for example, the landscape of the Northern territories acted as the main pull factor, however, locals and their culture were seen as attractive aspects of the destination. As reindeer herding Sámi live in rather remote areas, the Indigenous culture can act as a pull factor and assist in stimulating business (Pettersson, 2004).

Within the tourism research, a political discourse has been mentioned to whether advantages or suppressions of Indigenous people and their opinions through representations emerge and a special attention of the process of “Othering” in tourism has been brought up (Francesconi, 2011 cited in Keskitalo & Schilar, 2017). The “Othering” in tourism means that the “other” is constructed as the exotic, unique, interesting, shocking etc. and representations are thus regarded to cater the Western tourism gaze (Francesconi, 2011; Said, 1979, Urry 1990 cited in Keskitalo & Schilar, 2017). Dann (1996) mentions that tourism has been grounded in discourse and Kaplan-Weinger (2010) states that the representation of identities and places are manipulated for the sake of business.

Traditionally, developers have regarded Indigenous peoples as externalities in the progress of their business decisions (Johnston, 2006). An example can be observed in Idre, Sweden, where Sámi were in conflict with a local ski facility that sought to expand its slopes. Although both tourism operations benefit from each other, the Sámi were not seen as equal stakeholders in decision-making, and were thought of a less important, by the ski facility, to the local economy. In addition, out of 95 newspaper articles, merely 17 informed on and presented the interests of the Sámi
(Engström & Boluk, 2012). However, some business companies desire the profitable opportunities Indigenous tourism brings as it has a value-added approach in their business (Johnston, 2006).

Destinations strive to market uniqueness and attractiveness a destination represents. Due to the Indigenous Peoples diverse culture and ways of life, a growing interest among tourists are visible which are usually generated by the tourism promotion around the world (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012; Ryan, 2005 cited in Olsen, 2016). For indigenous tourism, the representations of their identity and place are seen as necessity that brings diversity and complexity in a destination, which inevitably creates misrepresentation of their ideas and beliefs (Ren & Blichfeldt, 2011). In addition, Kvenangen (1996 cited in Pettersson, 2004) notes that the attractions for tourists, provided by the Sámi have remained mostly unchanged throughout the past 100 years, while the lifestyle of the Sámi has become increasingly modern. However, Tuulentine (2006) highlights that, in forming visitor expectations, Sámi actively participate, which may differ from other Indigenous peoples. Svanberg and Tunón (2000 cited in Pettersson, 2004) highlight that, through the knowledge that Sámi still possess, promoting a staged authenticity may be beneficial, as the culture and traditions act as pull factors for tourists.

2.3 Marketing of Indigenous peoples and Sámi in Tourism

Smith (1996) outlines that Indigenous destinations are composed of four aspects, which to different extents are used for marketing purposes, which include heritage, history, habitat, and handicrafts (for elaboration see Section 3.3). Depending on the destination, marketing ought to focus on the aspects outlined by Smith (1996). In the marketing of tourism in a destination, Indigenous peoples are frequently used for destination promotions. As stated above, Sápmi tends to be romanticized by the urban dwellers as a rural location and are reimagined by the as rather untouched and isolated. In addition, the location in Northern Europe where Sámi population dwells, it is often described as the “last wilderness of Europe” and the Sami culture is used as the main asset to increase tourism activities (Olsen, 2006; Pettersson & Viken, 2007).
Jamal and Hill (2004) highlight that education alone in Indigenous tourism may be insufficient to satisfy tourists. Thus, entertainment plays an important role in Indigenous tourism marketing.

Figueredo & Raschi (2012, p.22) stated that the conceptualization of rurality is taking place in the urban dweller’s mind and is often characterized as static entities where “time stands still” even though the place and space does not appear to be rural at all. Moreover, various studies have shown that marketers have taken advantage of this conceptualization of rural landscapes as places on the periphery and rural landscapes are being mobilized and reconfigured as tools in marketing the destination (Butler, Hall & Jenkins, 1998). As the marketing materials are highly visual in its form, the pictures play a central role in representing Sámi for tourism purposes which have its consequences as it can raise issues in regard to the misrepresentation of the Sámi way of living (Svakko, 2010). According to Lew, Hall and Williams (2004) the tourism industry often do not ask for permission or guidance from the Indigenous peoples when it comes to the utilization of their pictures for marketing purposes. In addition, the marketing of Indigenous culture usually is focused on the traditional aspects rather than the on the modern aspect of the Indigenous people’s life which creates the romanticized or rather false representation of the culture (Lew, Hall & Williams, 2004). In the marketing of Indigenous tourism, one of the major challenges is misinterpretation and appropriation of Indigenous traditions. As Sámi often experience that their culture is misinterpreted in tourism marketing materials. For example, some tourism companies, tend to use Sámi pictures and offer services that ought to be related with Sámi traditions but are not (Nordisk Ministerråd, 2018).

Research on the marketing of Sámi tourism products has shown different results. Vladimirova (2011) examined marketing material regarding Sámi from Russia, which showed a frequent use of possessive pronouns and Sámi were presented as very different from the population. The use of possessive pronouns should be avoided in the marketing of Indigenous peoples, as marketing material is often not written by Indigenous peoples. Possessive pronouns impose differentiation between Indigenous people and the state, as it imposes a position of power of the
state, which can be referred to as othering (See Ch. 3.4). Lindholm (2014) examined national marketing websites, one in Finland and one in Norway, where possessive pronouns were not used. However, in both studies the authors found that marketing material was written about Sámi and not by Sámi.

3. Theoretical Framework

The following theoretical concepts are presented to assist in the coding of the primary data, webpages on Swedish Lapland, a regional marketing website. The concepts will be used to determine the preliminary themes and will assist in the discussion of potential themes in the discussion section of the thesis. In addition, the concepts will be used to discuss the presented findings and conclude the thesis. The theoretical framework will consist of several sub-sections, each describing one of the concepts that were chosen for the thesis. First, the rights of the Sámi in Sweden will be investigated. Secondly, the concept of authenticity will be presented, as the tourism product and their authenticity lead to discussions within the Sámi communities. Thus, this thesis aims to explore the themes used in the marketing of Sámi in the regional level. Lastly, the 4 Hs of Smith (1996) will be presented, as they assist in understanding aspects of destinations that provide Indigenous tourism products, which will be used in determining the themes for the analysis.

3.1 Indigenous Rights: An Investigation

Regardless of the cultural differences, indigenous all over the world share the common problems in relation to the protection of their rights (UNRIC, 2018). Many countries during the colonization time have defined the indigenous peoples land as a “no man’s land” or terra nullius which caused the foundation in denying Indigenous peoples the rights to their own lands. Countries such as Australia, America and Canada have undergone terra nullius during the colonization era and the land dispossession was often facilitated by disease and extermination. The concepts of terra nullius have perceived indigenous peoples as backward and inferior who lacks understanding the concept of land ownership (United Nations, 2018).
Although, the international community have difficulties in creating legal rights that guarantees indigenous peoples autonomy, cultural integrity and protection of their social needs, indigenous peoples have retained social, cultural, economic and political characteristics that varies from the dominant societies they live in (UNRIC, 2018).

In Sweden, the Nordic Expert Group appointed by the governments and Sámi Parliament has mandated a draft of a proposal where Sámi Parliament should have the right to make independent decisions on all matters. Moreover, the draft concludes agreements with the national, regional and local entities in regard to strengthening Sámi culture and society (Henriksen, 2008). Moreover, the draft is said to be an ongoing discussion as the agreement has yet to be proofread and it was stated that the release will be in autumn of 2019 (Yle, 2016). However, in regard to Sámi representations used in tourism purposes the proposal is rather limited as accessibility to the draft proposal is of issue.

3.2 Authenticity of Indigenous tourism products

The following section of the research will present and discuss the concept of authenticity with regards to Indigenous tourism in Sweden. Research regarding the authenticity of Sámi has been frequent over past decades and thus will be used as a basis of understanding the authenticity of the Indigenous tourism products in Northern Sweden. More generally, authenticity as a concept will be explored to characterize the approach in Indigenous tourism, which will then assist in the analysis of marketing material, in form of regional promotional websites, regarding the Sámi tourism products.

Wang (1999) highlights that authenticity in tourism is associated with ambiguity, as authenticity in many cases cannot explain the motivations of tourists to partake in tourism. However, in certain niches in tourism, authenticity finds more relevance. One of the niches is Indigenous tourism. In Indigenous tourism, tourism products may be perceived by tourists as authentic, although they might not accurately represent the lifestyles that the Indigenous peoples live. Constructive authenticity explains the tourism product being constructed to serve the purpose of
seeming authentic and to satisfy the tourists (Wang, 1999). Hence, the packaged guided tours make it accessible for the tourists to experience certain places or events that are otherwise restricted for non-Indigenous people (MacCannell, 1999). Pettersson (2004) however, highlights that the utilization of culture leads to discussions and conflicts, regarding the extent of the utilization.

Due to competition in the tourism marketplace arising, the simplified representations of destinations are considered to be one of the main keys to attain competitiveness in the tourism market (Keskitalo & Schilar, 2017). In Sápmi, it is the culture that is being marketed and is usually seen as a complement to other experiences in the region (Müller & Huuva, 2009; Viken & Müller, 2006). As the Sámi culture and traditions act as an important pull factor for Sápmi and an increase in the number of tourists is evident, one ought to consider the authenticity of the tourism products. Moreover, in attracting tourists in the peripheral and indigenous areas, indigenous tourism providers have a propensity to make indigenous tourism products as efficient, manageable, reliable and repeatable (Kelly-Holmes & Pietkäinen, 2014).

As highlighted by Kvenangen (1996 cited by Pettersson, 2004) tourism products provided by the Sámi have not undergone much change recently. Hence, in the creation of an authentic experience in an efficient and reliable manner, local and global constraints may arise (Arnould & Price, 1993; Gonzalez, 2008; Lawson & Jaworski, 2007). The local constraints take into account the legitimacy and access of the linguistic, culture and material rights and the global constraints relates to the mobilization and marketing of the indigenous tourism to be able to compete in the global tourism market (Kelly-Holmes & Pietkäinen, 2014). Vladimirova (2011) further elaborates on the effects that the marketing of Indigenous cultures for tourism purposes imposes on the relationship between Indigenous peoples and nation-states. The representation of the Sámi, as exotic and in some cases even as primitive, leads to nation-states, which are non-Indigenous people in a state, positioning themselves above the Indigenous peoples. The nation-states construct a skewed image by the use of possessive pronouns, which further establishes an unbalanced relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.
Vladimirova (2011) examines representations of the Sámi on the Kola Peninsula in Russia and the effects of the advertising of Indigenous tourism products and the tourists’ expectations is shown to be highly influenced by the nation-states (Vladimirova, 2011).

Pettersson (2004) argues that the provision of authentic tourism products is difficult, as the lifestyles of the Sámi constantly change with technological advancements. He further argues that current lifestyles of the Sámi have to be adapted, or staged, to satisfy the tourists. Furthermore, Niskala and Ridanpää (2016) highlight that a romanticised image of the Sámi is supported by the Sámi themselves. However, Green (2000 cited in Pettersson, 2004) and Saarinen (2001 cited by Pettersson, 2004) note that the impacts of the staged authenticity of Sámi tourism products on the culture is under discussion within Sámi communities, as the Sámi culture is exploited to different extents. In studying the languages use in tourism in Sápmi region, Pietikäinen (2013) found that the discursive practices of authentication lie between the hosts’ and tourists’ interaction and that Sámi experience is a way of showing cultural pride and a chance to market their heritage, although due to the discussions further investigations ought to be conducted.

3.2.1 Self-Orientalism and Staged Authenticity

Yan and Santos (2009) highlight that self-orientalism, historically, is a self-representation that caters to the outsider’s preconception of a people. Thus, stereotypical beliefs, regarding a people, are used to satisfy tourists. Feighery (2012) further notes that self-orientalism is used to construct representations and tourism products to satisfy the western gaze. Yan and Santos (2009) and Feighery (2012) note that self-orientalism emerged through the Western image of Eastern cultures. However, self-orientalism may be apparent in Indigenous tourism, as Indigenous people are seen as exotic.

The concept of staged authenticity refers to the staging of culture in order to create an impression of authenticity for the tourists (MacCannell, 1973). This concept is based upon the Goffman’s front and back theory (1959) where the front region
serves as the meeting point for the guests and hosts i.e. reception. The back region is the place where the hosts can retire the performances and can relax or prepare for the next meeting. In addition, the back region is close for the tourists, where props can be hidden. McCannell (1999) further elaborates that the reality needs to be exaggerated in order to remain interesting or attractive. As for the Sámi, some tour guides wear the traditional clothing or kolt, whereas kolt is only worn during special occasions such as weddings or holidays (Svakko, 2010).

3.3 The Aspects of the Indigenous Tourism Product (4 Hs)

Smith (1996) presents that Indigenous tourism consists of 4 aspects, which are known as the 4 Hs. The aspects of the Indigenous tourism are interrelated yet vary in specific destinations. An understanding of the 4 Hs is thus important in Indigenous tourism. Hinch (1995 cited in Pettersson, 2004) highlights that for many tourists in rural areas the landscape is the greatest pull factor. This is further supported by Smith (1996), who refers to the environment and landscape as the habitat, which is one of the Hs in Smiths’ 4H approach to understanding the aspects of Indigenous tourism. Hinch (1995 cited in Pettersson, 2004) further notes that locals and their culture are also important pull factors when attracting visitor. Furthermore, it is noted that the habitat of Sápmi is very attractive to tourists, as had been noted by Smith (1996) and Pettersson (2004). The traditions of the Sámi and livelihood, which are part of the attractiveness of the Sámi tourism products are another aspect of the Indigenous tourism product. The traditions and occupations would fall in the category of heritage, which is the second H (Smith, 1996). Although Pettersson (2004) highlights the changes in the lifestyles that Indigenous people live, Smith (1996) outlines that the heritage also consists of the knowledge that the Indigenous people have, which the Sámi still maintain despite changing technology. The third H, history, is concerned with the governing of the Indigenous communities (Smith, 1996). In Sweden, Indigenous people are separated in different communities, or Samebyar. The Indigenous communities of Sweden are at a larger scale governed by the Sametinget (Sametinget, n.d.). The last H of Smiths four Hs are the handicrafts, which can both include t-shirts and hand-crafted items (Smith, 1996).
As the aspects of the 4 Hs vary depending on different communities, or Samebyar, the promotion of the destinations may differ as well. The Sámi way of living is highly attached to nature and thus the marketing of Sami tourism products is mainly focused on the indigenous culture, heritage, traditions and the indigenous land. Yamamoto (2005) stated that in marketing culture as a tourism product, it often involves trade-offs between demand and supply. The demand refers to what tourists want to experience, and supply may not live up to the expectations. Hence, it is notable that the commercialization of culture arises issues in authenticity of a culture. Thus, discussions may arise as to how much the aspects of the Indigenous culture and Indigenous tourism should be utilized in promoting the destinations to tourism.

3.4 The concept of ‘Othering’

According to Wang (2000), the tourists are mesmerized by strangeness, newness and exotic of a place or people. The encounter of this differentiation of places, regions or the lifestyle of people living there can be called as the otherness. Other is defined in the Oxford Dictionary (Oxford Dictionary, n.d.) as: “Used to refer to a person or thing that is different or distinct from one already mentioned or known about.” Vichiensing (2017) notes that the Othering of a people results in oppression and exclusion. In addition, discrimination is a form of Othering and is seen as a violation of equity and equality in a society. Furthermore, Othering can occur through exploitation on an individual or social level to sustain positions of power. Jensen (2011) further highlights that Othering is multidimensional, as it can occur in different forms and contexts (Jensen, 2011; Vichiensing, 2017). Vichiensing (2017 p. 127) notes contexts of Othering as: “gender, sex, race, social class, or religion.”

3.5 Sustainability of Sámi tourism

The task of forming and promoting tourism products that are culturally tied to a place is often faced with difficulties as such tourism products are rather seen as unpredictable and ephemeral (Bardone, 2013). Thus, in addressing the needs of
forming indigenous tourism products, a need for effort and innovation is required for the business to survive (Blekausane, Brandth, & Haugen, 2010).

Moreover, as locations of such tourism products are rather located in rural areas and the rural localities are faced with issues of stagnation and declining in the social and environmental health of the rural communities, where out-migration and aging population is rather evident among Indigenous people (Bontje & Musterd, 2012). Thus, it can be rather difficult for Indigenous tourism providers to sustain the momentum. In addition, given the impacts of aging population and out-migration the Indigenous tourism providers struggle as lack of resources and skills are limited (Ritchie & Crouch, 2003). Furthermore, there is a seasonal pattern and there is a statistic that shows that the northern part of Sápmi has more tourists during the summer season while the southern Sápmi have more visitors during winter due to its popularity among skiers (Yamamoto, 2005).

As for our case study area of Sámi in Sweden, the Sámi tourism providers tend to be of small scale and family owned which rather results to self-commodification amongst the Sámi providers as the tourism activities brings emotional burden as the tourism experience is part of the daily routine. Self-commodification is defined as a set of beliefs and practices where an individual chooses to construct a marketable identity by exploiting one’s background to create an attractive commercial image and strives to retain a sense of self (Bunten, 2008). As Sámi have been presented in tourism marketing materials as exotic and the “Last Nomads of Europe”, the modern way of living of Sámi have deconstructed the romanticized and untouched stereotypes and myths amongst tourists (Lehtola, 1999). Olsen (2006), in the study of the Norwegian tourism industry, observed that the Sámi representation as being “the Other” still persists and that the representations are exhibited in the manner of 19th century anthropological exhibitions. Saarinen (1999), stated that the representation of the Sámi in the old travelogues have been a process to which Sámi themselves have not been able to provide much contribution or opinion. However, there is a strong commodification of Sámi culture i.e. Sámi dolls, reindeer skins and shaman drums. In addition, the reindeer, reindeer husbandry, the tent or lavvu, have been well-known symbols of
Sáminess (Olsen, 2003, Silven, 2014; Viken & Müller, 2006). These symbols have been the focus in the tourism industry and the use of these symbols have been challenging on the sustainable use of the Indigenous culture for tourism purposes.

4. Methodology

The following part will outline the methodology of the research. Similar studies have been conducted, regarding the promotion of Sámi tourism (Svakko, 2010; Vladimirova, 2011; Lindholm, 2014). Prior research was conducted at national scale, except for Russia, where Sámi are found in a small part of the country. Thus, a thematic analysis of both pictures and texts was chosen for the thesis, as the promotion of Indigenous tourism at a regional scale, in Sweden, has not been researched. A qualitative approach to the research will also assist in exploring and highlighting themes in the marketing material of Sámi tourism in Northern Sweden.

As the authors wanted to investigate the perceptions of Sámi, an important aspect of Indigenous research, namely Indigenous methodologies, would have aided the methodology section to ensure ethical approaches to the material. In Indigenous methodologies, the researchers identify their position in the research as outsiders. The importance to identify how the research benefits Indigenous peoples is highlighted in literature (Olsen, 2006; Champagne, 2015). The initial plan of interviews in the research may have also provided Sámi with a platform to speak on (Kovach, 2015). However, for the investigation of marketing material, Indigenous methodologies may guide the research to some extent. Champagne (2015) highlights that the interpretivist approach is an approach where researchers interpret the findings, based on the understanding gained from secondary data. Furthermore, Indigenous methodologies assisted the researchers in identifying themselves as outsiders in the research. One of the authors, Heissy Hernaez, comes from the Philippines, while the other researcher, Lukas Klempin, comes from Germany.

The following section of the thesis will discuss the aspects of the methodology and the approaches chosen to answer the research questions, which were presented in
Section 1. First, the process of primary data collection, for the analysis, will be presented. Sampling and coding of the data will also be presented. In addition, an elaboration of the marketing material will be presented to the reader to provide background information of authors. The scopes and limitations of the thesis will also be discussed.

4.1 Data Collection

Secondary data is collected and presented in the literature review and the theoretical framework, which will assist in the exploration and analyzation of the regional marketing websites. Primary data will be collected from both the regional marketing websites, as well as, the marketing websites of Sámi tourism businesses that are featured on the regional marketing websites in Sweden. A thematic analysis will assist in highlighting patterns in the marketing material. Webpages on the marketing website [www.swedishlapland.com](http://www.swedishlapland.com) will be chosen based on the title of the webpage. Webpages that had titles relating to Sámi were read and coding was used to highlight the patterns of themes

4.2 Coding

Braun and Clarke (2006) describe coding as a process of identifying themes relevant to the topic or research objective. The coding was chosen by the authors based on similar studies regarding Indigenous tourism in Sápmi. Bauer (2000 cited in Joffe, & Yardley, 2004) mentions that coding should be done based on secondary data, which was collected before the research was conducted. Furthermore, it is noted that the coding in a thematic analysis should be decided upon according to the research question(s). Secondary data will assist in deciding on themes, which will be further divided into keywords in the text. Joffe and Yardly (2004) also mention that in the coding process the researcher must decide at what scale to code, such as each sentence, each paragraph, or webpages. As the webpages consist of short but rather many paragraphs, paragraphs were chosen to highlight patterns of themes. In addition, paragraphs often discussed the same topic in several sentences, which further supported the choice of paragraphs for the thematic analysis.
Initial coding was derived from the literature review and the theoretical framework, which consisted of the 4 Hs presented by Smith (1996) and the concept of ‘othering’. As literature, regarding the marketing of Sámi, was read, expectations of themes in the marketing material were present. However, the coding evolved throughout the process, as the authors did not know what themes were present in the material that was used for the analysis. The codes and themes were quantified to examine whether patterns of language use existed in the promotional material. A thematic map will show the main themes and subsections (or codes) for each theme for a further discussion of the promotional material.

Pettersson (2004) pointed out that Sámi have very much evolved, regarding technological advancements, which led to a theme being authenticity. Authenticity is presented above. As Sámi have adopted new technology for the reindeer husbandry, authenticity may be an issue in promoting Indigenous tourism (see § 3.2). Other themes that were decided upon were the 4 H’s presented by Smith (1996), which include different aspects of the Indigenous tourism products. Pettersson (2004) establishes that nature is an important aspect for tourists that visit northern destinations. Thus, habitat (see § 3.3) may be of importance in the regional promotion. Furthermore, heritage, handicrafts, and history may be relevant as they encompass the different aspects of Indigenous tourism products.

Amongst the concepts that were used as themes, language plays an important role in the promotion of Indigenous peoples. Lindholm (2015) argues that the promotion of Indigenous peoples in the third person could be a sign of an unequal power distribution between Sámi and the majority population. In addition, Vladimirova (2011) found that, in Russia, possessive pronouns were used to describe and promote Sámi, which indicates an ‘Othering’ of the Sámi.

4.3 Material used for the analysis

The initial aim of the thesis was to conduct semi-structured, in-depth interviews with Sámi that are actively engaged in the tourism industry. The purpose of the interviews was to explore the perspective of Sámi tourism entrepreneurs regarding their representation for marketing (i.e. websites). The main theme, that was going to be discussed in the interview, was the authenticity of tourism products.
Furthermore, the authors aimed to identify to what extent the culture of Sámi is utilized to remain competitive in the market.

A request for the interview was sent out to Sámi tourism operators in the second week of April. As no response was received by either of the authors, an alternative research objective was chosen (see § 1).

Regarding the material being used the thematic analysis, secondary data was used to present a background for the reader. The secondary data is linked to the Indigenous studies with a strong focus on Indigenous people in Scandinavia and the Kola Peninsula in Russia. Primary data was collected from the website www.swedishlapland.com, which is a regional tourism marketing website. The choice of the website was due to the extensive research that has been conducted on websites at a national level (Svakko, 2010; Vladimirova, 2011; Lindholm, 2014).

An aspect that needs consideration in the following analysis is the background of the authors for all webpages. Three out of the six texts that are analysed are written by the same author. The information regarding the background of the author does not state whether he is Sámi or Swedish. The lack of background information was also observed for the other authors that wrote texts for the webpages. However, photographers were presented as Sámi, which could lead to the conclusion that the authors are not Sámi.

As the study explores the representation of Sámi in tourism, only webpages related to Sámi tourism businesses and events were chosen. Webpages present both images and texts to tourists, which are both considered in the analyzation. Texts are presented in short paragraphs, which were divided by pictures.

4.4 Scope and Limitations

The study focuses on webpages that promote Indigenous tourism products on the website www.swedishlapland.com. Svakko (2010), Vladimirova (2011) and Lindholm (2014) conducted similar studies, where marketing material regarding Sámi and their tourism products was analyzed. While Svakko (2010) focused on marketing material at a national level, the authors of this thesis focus on marketing at a regional level, namely the Swedish part of Lapland. In addition, Svakko
(2010) focused on the visual representations of Sámi, while Vladimirova (2011) and Lindholm (2014) on linguistic aspects of the marketing material. Adding to the current knowledge regarding Sámi tourism products, as well as exploring the representation of the Sámi more generally is the scope of the following thesis. The use of regional marketing was chosen, as tourists would be likely to visit such websites, after tourists chose Swedish Lapland as a destination.

The qualitative nature of the thesis may be criticized, due to prior studies conducted in the marketing and representation of Sámi, which could be used to theorize how Sámi are represented. However, the thematic analysis was chosen, as the secondary data regarding the representation of Sámi showed different approaches in the marketing materials. The thematic analysis approach for the research may be scrutinized, as clear outlines for the thematic analysis approach are lacking. For the following thesis, the approach presented by Braun and Clarke (2006) was utilized to guide the analysis. A limitation that ought to be mentioned is the lack of responses of Sámi for interviews that would have further added to the analysis by exploring the perspective of Sámi tourism operators. The use of, only, a regional tourism marketing website may give limited results, as brochures and similar websites, as well as, websites owned by the Indigenous people may show different themes. The lack of diversity in the marketing material could affect both findings and conclusions drawn from the discussion.

Regarding the authors and photographers that contributed to the marketing material, it seems unclear whether people are Sámi or not, which could limit the conclusions that are drawn from the analysis. The background information may have given insight into the choice of words and pictures in the marketing material. Although some photographers are said to be Sámi, the webpages do not explicitly state which photographer provided which picture, which further limits conclusions drawn about the photographers and their contributions.

5. Findings: Six Webpages Regarding Sámi Tourism
As Sápmi, the land of Sámi, encompasses the Swedish part of Lapland (see § 2.1), the marketing website www.swedishlapland.com was chosen for the analysis. The authors chose six webpages on the website discussing Sámi tourism businesses, as well as the annual winter market in Jokkmokk, which has been held for over 400 years. The webpages both provide texts and images for the potential tourists to observe. As both texts and images are presented to the tourists, the authors chose to analyze images, as well as texts.

The 6 webpages include different tourism products in Swedish Lapland that tourists may participate in, which are presented below in a detailed description of the texts and the images. Furthermore, a thematic map will be created to visually illustrate the themes that were reoccurring in the marketing material regarding Indigenous tourism in Sweden. The descriptions will be supported by quotes from the texts and images will be presented in forms of screenshots in the appendices of the thesis. The descriptions and the thematic map will be used to discuss the themes that are used in the promotion of Indigenous tourism products at a regional level in Sweden.

A noteworthy aspect of the analysis is that half of the texts on the six webpages were written by the same author. Whether the reoccurrences of the author impacted the analysis will be discussed below in Chapter 6.

5.1 Sápmi Slow Food with Ingritt Pilto (https://www.swedishlapland.com/stories/sapmi-slow-food-with-ingrid-pilto/)

As the title of the webpage suggest, food is the dominant aspect of both pictures and texts. The author of the article highlights usages of slaughtered reindeer, but also notes that some usages are either traditional or not practiced any longer. As reindeer meat plays a large role in the diet of Sámi, reindeer in relation to food, were frequently presented.

“Have you ever eaten the muzzle? Or blood pancakes made from dried reindeer blood that has been dried in an inside-out stomach before being mixed into the pancake batter? For the Sámi, the reindeer is no throw-away item. Hides were tanned for clothing, sinews became sewing thread, antlers were ideal for knife
handles and other tools, and the hooves were boiled for glue. Nothing was worthless; everything had a use.”
(Stenlund, n.d.)

The quote above shows the description of the food at the destination as different from what one might be used to. The author differentiates the Sámi cuisine from the food tourists may otherwise eat.

The use of pronouns when addressing Sámi was not frequent, yet present. However, the author of the promotional material often referred to Sámi tourism operators by stating the names of the people involved. In addition, the usage of possessive pronouns, such as our, was not present in the entirety of the text.

Figure 1: Food cooked by Sámi (Swedish Lapland, n.d.)

Figure 1 presents a picture of meat being fried over a fire. The picture was chosen, as the webpage presented rather few pictures. In addition, the food was the dominant aspect of the webpage. Other pictures include reindeers standing on a hill. Figure 1 appears to have been taken indoors and a person can be seen preparing food in a second pan. Reindeer meat is also the most presented food item in the article, which further supports the choice of the picture as a sample. As food is the dominant aspect of the article, the fact that adjectives are highlighting the
food, is not surprising. Adjectives being used include healthy and local, which may give tourists incentives to try the cuisine of Sámi.

5.2 The mindset of Geunja
(https://www.swedishlapland.com/stories/the-mindset-of-geunja/)

The second webpage presents an idyllic, remote location, which offers stays in Ecolodges and traditional Sámi accommodations. Natural features of the destination are presented and highlighted through adjectives, which include magical and wonderful. The nature appears to be an attractive feature to the author of the webpage. Pictures, regarding the nature, include the accommodation standing amongst trees and in front of a forest. In the background, mountains can be observed.

Food is another aspect of the experience that is promoted in the webpage. The guests are involved in the cooking through the stay. However, foods include porridge and locally grown vegetables. In addition, reindeer meat is also part of the cuisine, although the focus of the food is on fish, vegetables, and berries.

The author further highlights the history and heritage of Sámi, which includes handicrafts being presented to the tourists. In addition, the host is said to be very willing to share stories and beliefs of Sámi to the tourists. The author highlights that no question is un-answered and the host appears eager to answer questions regarding the culture of Sámi.

The othering of the Sámi seems apparent towards the end of the text, where the author returns to a “another kind of civilization.”, which highlights a difference
between Sámi and tourists in daily situations. Furthermore, the author highlights the lack of electricity and a separation from technology, as the author needs the assistance of the host to reach a babysitter. Furthermore, the author referred to the host as “our host”, which could be observed as a form of othering. The text was the only webpage out of the sample to use possessive pronouns when referring to the host, or Sámi.

Figure 2 displays tourists on a boat trip on the lake Lill-Tjulträsket, which needs to be crossed to reach the lodges. The picture displays the use of life preservers and a motorized boat, which highlights the use of modern technology by Sámi. The picture was chosen, due to the author mentioning the lack of technology throughout the experience, which may affect the tourists’ perception of Sámi. As the picture presents modernity, it may inform the tourists of modern lifestyles Sámi live.

5.3 Experience the culture of the Forest Sámi
(https://www.swedishlapland.com/stories/experience-the-culture-of-the-forest-sami/)
The third webpage that is being presented is concerned with reindeer herding, to a greater extent than the previous webpages. Thus, the reindeer play an essential role in the promotion of the tourism business.

“With his white beard, inquisitive eyes and warm smile, one first impression you might get of Lars Eriksson, surrounded by Rudolf and the other reindeer, is that of a good-natured gnome, wearing a kolt, a traditional Sami costume.”
(Bergström, n.d.)

The host, Lars, is presented as a traditionally living Sámi in the first paragraph of the text. The beginning of the text, which is presented above, may strengthen the othering of the Sámi. Although the text appears to be good natured, the difference between the host and the tourists is very apparent.

Figure 3: The Host in Traditional Clothing (Borg, n.d.)

Figure 3 displays the host at the destination in a traditional Sámi outfit. The picture provides tourists with an impression of how Sámi may dress. However, the webpage further presents pictures of Sámi in contemporary clothing, which may counteract the image tourists initially perceive.

The text highlights the nature surrounding the residence and the occupation, which includes reindeer herding, but also tourism, through a museum and café that can be visited. Furthermore, the importance of the nature to the hosts and their family is highlighted in the text. The text further informs the reader about the history of the
host, in which discrimination played a rather large role. The host was sent to a Swedish school, where he was not permitted to speak his own language and was urged to remain in the school for education. However, the host explained his wish to follow the traditional occupation of reindeer husbandry. Furthermore, the text elaborates on the need to supplement reindeer husbandry to support and provide for the family.

The reindeer husbandry is the most dominant aspect of the text, with the wilderness of the surrounding nature being frequently mentioned. The text elaborates the branding of calves and the ability of the Sámi to tell apart reindeers. Furthermore, the reader is informed about the Sámi travelling with the reindeers during their migration periods and living a nomadic lifestyle. However, the usage of snowmobiles is also mentioned, which highlight the adoption of technological advancements of the Sámi.

5.4.1 Jokkmokk Winter Market

Two webpages on [www.swedishlapland.com](http://www.swedishlapland.com) presented the annual winter market in Jokkmokk, which has acted as a trading place for Sámi for over 400 years. The winter market is an essential event for Sámi, as it contributes greatly to the income that Sámi are able to generate, through the interactions with tourists (Jonsson, n.d.).

The market provides Sámi with an opportunity to sell both food and handicrafts to tourists. Furthermore, reindeers appear to an attraction as well, as a caravan of reindeers are led through the winter market (Stenlund, n.d.; Jonsson, n.d.)

As two webpages in the sample present and promote the annual winter market in Jokkmokk, both webpages are presented below. However, the webpages may promote similar aspects of the market. The two webpages are not written by the same author, which may lead to differences in the use of language, such a pronouns and adjectives used to highlight aspects of the experience. The first webpage is written by Jonsson (n.d.) with the title ‘Jokkmokk Winter Market –
with a taste of history and nature’. The second webpage being analyzed is ‘Jokkmokk Winter Market. And the story continues’ (Stenlund, n.d.).

5.4.2 Jokkmokk Winter Market – with a taste of history and nature

The fourth webpage promotes the winter market in Jokkmokk, which has been held annually for the past 400 years. The text is the longest of the webpages investigated, which shows different aspects of the Sámi tourism products in Jokkmokk. The text begins to highlight the coldness of Jokkmokk, as the winter market is held in early February. The text further highlights the various choices of food that tourists can enjoy at Jokkmokk winter market. Food that is presented includes reindeer meat, and berries, with many adjectives describing the foods. The text also presents handicrafts that are offered at the winter market. Quotes from Sámi are presented to the reader, which gives Sámi a voice, as the article is not written by a Sámi.

The natural features, apart from the temperature, are not mentioned, as the focus lies on the food and handicrafts that the Sámi provide. Reindeers are also mentioned in relation to both cuisine and Sámi occupations. However, as reindeer meat appears rather important in the Sámi cuisine, reindeers are often mentioned in relation to food.
Figure 4 displays a picture of the annual winter market in Jokkmokk. A caravan of reindeer is led through the winter market, with Sámi children sitting on sleds. In the background, Sámi can be seen selling handicrafts and food to tourists, although the attention of tourist appears to be on the caravan. The picture was chosen, as it presents the different aspects of the winter market. More pictures are presented on the webpage, which show Sámi that sell their goods at the market, as well as, pictures of the goods that tourists can purchase.

5.4.3 Jokkmokk Winter Market. And the story continues
(https://www.swedishlapland.com/stories/jokkmokk-winter-market-and-the-story-continues/)

The fourth webpage promotes the annual winter market in Jokkmokk, where traditionally Sámi came to trade. The text focuses on the history of the winter market. The Swedish state is said to have tried to interfere and tax the trade of Sámi. Thus, the Sámi have started to hold the market in February, which was aimed to hinder interference due to the cold and harsh conditions in Jokkmokk.
The text also provides information about changes that have occurred over time, which mainly include the provision of balloons and other inauthentic goods. However, goods produced by Sámi that are not traditional are also provided to tourists. In addition, the text explains that the market attracts tourists from all over the world.

The dominant focus of the webpage is the food that Sámi sell, with a variety of meat, in particular reindeer meat, fish, and berries and vegetables. However, meat is the most mentioned food in the webpage. Sámi culture and heritage is another aspect presented on the webpage, although the meat is more dominant, which is also highlighted in the amount of adjectives used to promote the various foods presented in the text, which include healthy, local, and traditional.

![Figure 5: Jokkmokk Winter Market (Utsi, n.d.)](image)

Similar to figure 4, figure 5 presents a picture of the market, where many tourists can be seen roaming around. In addition, many market stalls can be seen in the background. The author mentions that the tourists are middle-aged, although tourists of a variety of ages can be observed in the picture. Figure 5 does not show any particular aspects discussed in the text, such as food and handicrafts, yet the picture provides an image of size to the potential tourists reading the webpage.
The text discusses the Sámi languages, which have over 200 words to describe the quality and consistency of snow. The author gives information on what dialect, or language, of Sámi is being referred to, but it appears unclear whether the same language is being referred to throughout the text. The text also discusses reindeers and nature to some extent, although the main focus of the article is both on language and snow. The text further elaborates, which types of snow are of higher quality for activities, such as skiing. Apart from the use of the languages, Sámi culture and traditions, as well as, tourism businesses are not much discussed in the text.

The text draws comparisons to other Nordic Indigenous peoples, such as the Inuit, which may generalize Indigenous peoples in Nordic countries. Furthermore, comparisons to different geographical areas in the United States of America are drawn, with regards to the types of snow.

The text presents Sámi and their languages in third-person, as no particular Sámi business is presented by the author. Thus, the use of names of Sámi tourism providers is not used in the text. However, no possessive pronouns were used throughout the text.
Figure 6 displays a herd of reindeers walking over a snow-covered ground. Infrastructure is not present in the picture, which highlights the wilderness aspect of reindeer husbandry. In addition, mountains can be observed in the background and plants and trees can be seen at the foot of the mountain.

6. Thematic Maps and Discussion

The following section of the thesis presents the findings of the analysis in form of thematic maps. The thematic maps are not presented in a hierarchical structure and themes are treated as equally relevant to the marketing of Sámi and the analysis. Furthermore, the themes and their relevance in the marketing will be discussed in the following section, to allow the reader to observe thematic maps, while reading the discussion of the themes. As forms of Othering may be present in all themes, discussions regarding the existence of Othering will be integrated into the discussions of other themes.
Figure 7 presents the categories that are being investigated. The choice of categories, or themes, occurred after secondary data was collected and is based on the literature review (section 2) and the theoretical framework (section 3). The 4 H’s, presented by Smith (1996) were used to determine the aspects of the Sámi tourism products that are further discussed. The investigation will consider the language being used in the marketing material, which includes adjectives being used in descriptions and how the authors refer to Sámi in the texts. However, changes to the themes, mainly food as a theme, occurred after the marketing material was collected and read through. Each of the sub-categories is further divided, based on the primary data that is being investigated. Furthermore, the presentation of Sámi in images will be investigated, in relation to authenticity, as Sámi live modern lifestyles (Pettersson, 2004). A discussion will follow the presentation of thematic maps to determine the existence and importance of the themes presented.

The marketing material, that was collected and analysed, showed no indication of the heritage of the authors. While some of the photographers are specifically presented as Sámi, one might argue that the author(s), as they are not presented as Sámi, are Swedish. In addition, no connection to Sámi was stated by any of the authors in the texts. Similar to Vladimirova (2011) and Lindholm (2014) the texts were written about Sámi, not by Sámi, which may indicate a form of differentiation. Lindholm (2014) highlights that the use of language when referring to Indigenous people may display a power relation. Vladimirova (2011) found that, in Russia, possessive pronouns were reoccurring in the marketing material.
However, Lindholm (2014) also highlights that referring to Indigenous peoples in third-person might imply a form of Othering.

The marketing material may also be subject to self-orientalism, which is used to appeal to the western idea of the people (Feigherly, 2012). As limited information regarding the author(s) is presented in the marketing material, one might argue that the authors knowingly present Sámi in a certain manner. Sámi authors may present themselves in a certain way to attract more tourists.

6.1 Nature

Figure 8: Nature in Sámi Tourism

Figure 8 presents the themes regarding the nature, or habitat. As presented in section 2.2, the natural feature is an important pull-factor for Indigenous tourism. Thus, nature was chosen as a theme, which is further divided and analysed. Language and remoteness were chosen as sub-themes, based on the marketing material.

Literature regarding Indigenous tourism highlights the importance of natural features to tourists, as in Canada it was said to be the most attractive aspect of rural tourism, and Indigenous tourism (Pettersson, 2004). In addition, habitat is one of the four aspects that Indigenous tourism comprises of (Smith, 1996). The use of pictures and languages are evident in the marketing material, through the extensive use of adjectives to describe the landscapes that the authors enjoy.
One might argue that the description of landscapes and provision of pictures displaying landscapes, Sámi are shown to be very remote and disconnected. However, due to the colonization of the Swedish Lapland, by the Swedish population and the rather small population of Sámi living in Sweden (Sámi in Sweden, n.d.) the Sámi are integrated in the Swedish society. Furthermore, the adoption of technology and contemporary life styles of Sámi (Pettersson, 2004; Engström & Boluk, 2012) further support the argument that Sámi are not as disconnected and as remote, as the pictures and descriptions in the marketing material may appear.

The remoteness may to some extent be an issue of authenticity, where the host may construct an image for tourists to compete in the market, as electricity was not present (MacCannell, 1999). As reindeer husbandry requires large geographical areas, remoteness of reindeer herders ought to be expected. However, the involvement in traditional occupations does not mean that Sámi are disconnected from technology, as electricity and vehicles, such as snowmobiles, are used in reindeer herding (Pettersson, 2004).
6.2 Handicrafts

The handicrafts presented in the marketing material included tools, clothing, and materials used to produce handicrafts. Tools that are presented included traditional tools with purposes in the former and contemporary lives of Sámi. However, souvenirs and pieces of art are presented at the Jokkmokk winter market, which are not produced to serve purposes like the traditional tolls do. Clothing is presented as well, which includes both contemporary and traditional clothing. Pictures present Sámi in tourism experiences wearing traditional clothing and Sámi wearing traditional clothing at the winter market in Jokkmokk. Sámi wearing contemporary clothing are more dominant in the pictures in the marketing material.

Handicrafts is another aspect of Indigenous tourism that are presented by Smith (1996). The webpages show that handicrafts include both traditional tools, but also souvenirs. In addition, clothing and jewellery is also a reoccurring theme. As Nilsson (2014) highlights, the distance is a barrier for many Sámi, which appears to reoccur in the marketing material, most handicrafts are presented in the promotion of the Jokkmokk winter market. The provision of souvenirs and art, as was presented in Jokkmokk, may be due to change in lifestyles of Sámi. Tourism products are said to have remained the same, yet Sámi lifestyles have change over the past 100 years, which may impose that crafts and art have changed with the lifestyles (Pettersson, 2004).

Regarding the clothing of Sámi, it is noted that traditional clothing is used at events, but contemporary clothing is used much more frequently (Pettersson,
Although Sámi presented in pictures on the webpages mostly wear contemporary clothing, the marketing material does not mention the rare use of traditional clothing, which may impact expectations of tourists. One might argue, that Sámi are presented as people living in a contemporary lifestyle, due to the use of modern clothing, and modern technology. However, some pictures display Sámi in traditional clothing, which could influence the perceptions and expectations of tourists. The use of traditional clothing could also be a form of self-orientalism. Yan and Santos (2009) highlight that self-orientalism is used to satisfy expectations of tourists.

6.3 Culture

Figure 10: Culture in the Marketing Material

Figure 10 presents the most presented themes regarding the culture of Sámi in the marketing material. Beliefs of Sámi are presented in the primary data (see § 5.2), where the host was informing tourists about the different beliefs and traditional practices of Sámi. Furthermore, the tourists were able to stay in traditional lodges. The languages of Sámi are also presented in the marketing material (see § 5.5).

The culture of Sámi is a reoccurring theme in the marketing material, as it is a rather broad theme, which includes the beliefs of Sámi, traditional practices, and the languages. The host at a destination (see § 5.2) was happy to share information and answer questions regarding Sámi. In addition, the guests were able to stay in a traditional accommodation facility.
Chapter 5.2 showed a destination without electricity and limited communication to the outside of the destination, which one might argue is a staged experience, as the host may have a different lifestyle. The pictures, however, show the adoption of modern technology, such as life preservers and motorised boats. One might argue that in Section 5.2, the host actively forms the experience through the inherited culture. Tuulentine (2006) outlines the active participation of Sámi in forming expectations and experiences, which is apparent in the marketing material. Furthermore, Pettersson (2004) highlights that a staged experience may benefit in the attraction of tourists. As Sámi tourism providers, in Sweden, are often found in the inland, competitiveness is important for Sámi tourism. The use of culture to attract tourists is apparent to remain competitive in Section 5.2. However, the pictures in Section 5.2 show a modern boat and tourists wearing life-preservers, which indicates that the experience not entirely staged, as Sámi adopt new technology (Pettersson, 2004). The use of modern technology is presented in the pictures, which highlights that Sámi are using modern technology.

The Sámi languages may provide issues in the marketing, as Sámi do not speak one universal language, but rather languages that differ depending on the region. Thus, utilizing language(s), as seen in Chapter 5.5, may result in generalised imagery tourists have, as the language that the webpage presented was mentioned once in the beginning of the text. It seemed unclear whether the author discusses the same language throughout the text.

History, particularly past discrimination, is another sub-category identified in the text. Section 5.4.3 highlights the provision of information regarding the history of the winter market. The Swedish State tried to tax the trade between Sámi at the annual winter market. Furthermore, the imposing of the Swedish culture on Sámi is presented in the marketing material (See § 5.3). Wang (1999) further mentions that past discrimination may be a form of differentiation and thus a form of Othering. Furthermore, the past discrimination of a Sámi is presented, which could highlight a difference in power between Sámi and Swedish people (Jensen, 2011).
One might argue that the Othering, in form of past discrimination, is not a theme, as the frequency of the history is not as apparent as other themes in the marketing material. History of Sámi is merely presented in half of the marketing material, which could be used to argue that Othering is not apparent, regarding history. However, as Sámi are said to be involved in the marketing of their culture, and the exotic culture is said to be important in attracting tourist (Olsen, 2006), one might argue that highlighting differences between Sámi and Swedish is necessary in the tourism marketing to attract tourists.

### 6.4 Food

![Food in Sámi Tourism](image)

In the texts of the marketing material, food is a reoccurring theme. Thus, figure 11 presents the different sub-themes of food in Sámi tourism. An important aspect of the Sámi cuisine is the presentation of the food to the reader. The description of food is highlighting the difference of the Sámi cuisine to the foods the reader may be used to (see § 5.1). The food of Sámi is described as healthy, which is a reoccurring adjective used in the description. Furthermore, the fact that all parts of a reindeer are used after slaughtering the reindeer is observed to be reoccurring. The marketing material also highlights the variety of food that tourists can enjoy at destinations, which include reindeer meat, fish, berries, and vegetables, which are said to be locally produced.
The foods being presented include, reindeer, fish, berries, and vegetables. The food is said to be healthy and marketing material highlights that all parts of reindeer are used. Due to the exotic meat that tourists may not have access to in their places of residence, the marketing material mentions that even vegetarians try the meat.

Food was an unexpected theme in the marketing material. Thus, literature regarding food in Indigenous tourism was searched for. Moginon, See and Saad (2012) highlight the importance of food in tourism development. Food, as an aspect of tourism products, has seen increasing attention by stakeholders, especially tourists, whom view food as increasingly important in tourism experience. Thus, food has also been adopted in the marketing of Indigenous tourism destinations. In addition, food is said to be part of the heritage of the Indigenous peoples (Moginon et al., 2012).

Reindeer meat is the most mentioned food item in the marketing material, which could support the claim that the cuisine is closely linked to the culture of Sámi. However, marketing material (see § 5.1) highlights that Sámi cuisine has changed and adapted over time, which may limit the argument that the food is linked to the heritage. Although, Moginon et al. (2012) highlight that food is closely linked to the culture and heritage of Indigenous peoples, one might argue that the change in the Sámi cuisine might counter the claim.

7. Conclusion

The research questions for the investigation are stated as follows:

- How are Sámi represented in the tourism marketing websites in Sweden?
- How is language used to describe the Sámi tourism experiences?

The representation of Sámi in the regional web-marketing in Sweden was investigated, using the thematic analysis approach. Although some texts and images may indicate a form of Othering, the arguments to support the claim are not frequent, which leads to the conclusion that if Othering occurs it is not a
reoccurring theme in marketing material. Sámi are often presented by using their first and last names, or referring to Sámi as host, unlike similar studies, such as Svakko (2010), Vladimirova (2011), and Lindholm (2014), regarding Sámi tourism marketing. Vladimirova (2011) mentions the use of possessive pronouns, while Lindholm (2014) highlights the use of a third-person narrative, which was not found in the case of the regional marketing in Sweden. As is highlighted, unethical uses of Sámi culture does occur, yet in the analysis no such promotion was found, which leads to the conclusion that an unethical use of culture does not occur on Swedish Lapland.

The natural aspects of Sámi tourism appear to be important in the promotion of Indigenous tourism, as the description of landscapes is frequent in the marketing material. In addition, the use of adjectives, such as magical and wonderful, which shows that such adjectives are also a common theme in promoting Sámi tourism. The sense of remoteness is used in the marketing material, even in Jokkmokk, the harsh weather is a reoccurring theme. The importance of the nature in Indigenous tourism is highlighted by both Smith (1996) and Pettersson (2004), which was also found in the analysis of regional marketing material in Sweden.

Handicrafts are used to promote Sámi at the Jokkmokk winter market (see § 5.2 and § 5.4), however the theme of handicrafts is not as frequent as other aspects of the Sámi tourism products. Cultural aspects, such as languages and practices are more apparent and frequent in the marketing material, as the exotic culture of Sámi is attractive. Although, articles present the handicrafts of Sámi, the use of handicrafts is not as frequent as nature or food.

Although the importance of food in Indigenous tourism is highlighted (see § 2.3), the frequency of food in the marketing material was surprising. However, the argument that food is part of the heritage of Indigenous peoples supports the frequency of the theme, as the culture of Indigenous peoples is one of the aspects of Indigenous tourism (see § 3.3). The cuisine, consisting of reindeer meat, is a utilised aspect of the Sámi tourism in most webpages that were investigated.
The thesis explored the marketing material at a regional level, regarding Sámi tourism, which was found online. Further research may be necessary to further explore the research problem stated above. One might consider researching marketing material, such as brochures and magazines, which might highlight other themes. Furthermore, a linguistic approach in the marketing material may further highlight the use of language. Although the thesis explores themes in the regional marketing of Sámi tourism, further research opportunities are present.

The thesis explored the marketing material at a regional level, regarding Sámi tourism, which was found online. Further research ought to investigate a larger variety of webpages of different authors to highlight themes.
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