LOCAL CULTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL TOURISM
Japanese tourists' perceptions of the culture of Saariselkä and the views of Japanese travel agents

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

In tourism, cultures are often used as resources to attract tourists. This is because tourism is generated by difference. So that the culture of a tourist destination can be consumed by tourists the culture needs to go through commodification, a process through which part of the culture turns into a product or a service. Knowing how a culture is used for tourism practice is important from the viewpoint of the cultural sustainability of tourism.

The present study primarily aims at examining how the local culture is dealt with by the Japanese in Saariselkä through tourism. The study concentrates on how Japanese tourists perceive the local culture during their stay and how the Japanese travel agents construe the experience of the tourists.

A qualitative approach was applied in this research in order to understand the views of the Japanese deeply. Interviews were conducted qualitatively to gather the data from participants. For the analysis of data, content analysis was chosen as the analysis method. Using the method, the common themes were identified from the data, with which the author further argued the viewpoints of the interviewees.

The results of the analysis indicate that tourists perceive the local culture differently depending on their concept of culture. The tourists, who had an idea that cultures differ due to surrounding environments, were aware of regional cultures within a nation. They related some of their cultural experience to the culture of Saariselkä. The results also revealed that the former kind of tourists are interested in the local culture more than the tourist agents assume.

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Matkailussa kulttuureja käytetään usein resursseina jotka houkuttelevat turisteja. Tämä johtuu siitä, että matkailu perustuu eroavaisuuksiin. Jotta turistit voivat kuluttaa matkakohteen kulttuuria tarvitaan kulttuurin tuotteistamista, eli prosessia jolla kulttuurista tulee tuote tai palvelu. Kulttuurin pysyvyyden kannalta on tärkeää tietää miten kulttuuria käytetään matkailun hyväksi.

Tämän tutkimuksen tavoitteena on tarkastella miten japanilaiset turistit käsittelevät paikallista kulttuuria Saariselän matkailussa. Tutkimus keskittyy japanilaisten turistien näkemyksiin paikallisesta kulttuurista heidän vierailunsa aikana ja siihen miten paikallisten japanilaisten matkatoimistojen virkailijat ymmärtävät turistien näkemyksiä.

Näkemyksiä tutkittiin laadullisesti, jotta näkökulmia voitaisiin ymmärtää tarkasti. Aineistot kerättiin kvalitatiivisella haastattelulla ja ne analysoitiin käyttäen sisällön analyysiä. Tätä metodia käyttäen oli mahdollista tunnistaa toistuvia teemoja aineistossa jotka mahdollistivat haastateltavien näkökulmien tulkinnan.

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että turistit mieltävät paikallisen kulttuurin eri tavalla riippuen siitä miten he ymmärtävät kulttuurin käsitteen. Turistit jotka ajattelivat, että kulttuurit eroavat toisistaan ympäristöstä riippuen, olivat tietoisia paikallisista kulttuureista yhden maan sisällä. He yhdistivät osittain omia kokemuksiaan kulttuurista Saariselän kulttuuriin. Tulokset osoittavat myös, että yllä mainitun tyyppiset turistit ovat kiinnostuneita Saariselän paikallisesta kulttuurista enemmän kuin matkatoimiston virkailijat arvelivat.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Tourism, culture and people

Tourism is a very common activity in the world today. A major reason why it is common around the world is its economic influences (cf. World Tourism Organization, 2011). As an industry, it generates a huge amount of profit, thus is practiced in most nations actively. In addition, though tourism was once only for a handful of rich population, nowadays it is commonly practiced by ordinary people around the world because of socio-political changes and technological development. An important feature of tourism related to this is that tourism is primarily about the movement of people from their home environments to somewhere else, as will be argued later. Moreover, as an activity tourism is said to have economic, environmental, social and cultural consequences to the place where it is practiced (Welford et al., 1999). Such consequences are different among places depending on how a place is commodified for tourism, namely what and how the elements available at the place are used as services or products. Focusing on the cultural consequences of tourism, the present study explores how culture is dealt with in a tourist destination.

Culture is important in tourism, because different cultures[1] are practiced at different places and are used as resources to attract tourists. This is derived from the fact that tourism is primarily about experiencing differences. This is apparent in international tourism, in which differences are easily perceived. Though cultures are commonly used to make a place interesting to

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[1] In this paper, 'culture' as an uncountable noun refers to the concept of the word 'culture', and the countable noun 'a culture' refers to a specific culture

tourists, how they are used is totally contextual. That is, each tourist destination has its own way of using the culture available, and the socio-political situation of cultures is different from a place to another. Furthermore, the backgrounds of the visitors are also different among places, for instance there are many Finns visiting Bangkok, yet the number of Finns visiting Seoul is not as high as the former. Yet, then again, there are many Japanese visiting Seoul. As such, each tourist destination has a different ratio of visitors in terms of e.g. nationalities. Besides, it is assumed in this study that people comprehend meanings constructively, so it is supposed that culture is understood differently by people in various contexts. Namely, how a culture is experienced by tourists as well as what culture is available vary among tourist destinations. Therefore, each tourist destination should be studied separately, considering its own contexts.

1.2. Research setting and the structure of the present paper

Taking into consideration the nature of tourism, the present study primarily aims at examining how Japanese tourists experience the local culture during their stay in Saariselkä, and how the Japanese travel agents construe it. The Japanese are one of the major groups of international tourists visiting Saariselkä. During their stay, they are exposed to cultures different from their own, and many of them participate in activities in which they can experience something cultural. Understanding how they experience the local culture is important from the viewpoint of cultural sustainability. Sustainability here refers to the ability to develop something continuously. For using the local culture in tourism sustainably, its status quo needs to be examined, since without realizing how it is actually consumed by tourists, one cannot be sure whether or not the current tourism practice concerning culture is on the right course.

Setting what is argued above as motivation, following two questions were set as the research questions in the present study; How do Japanese tourists experience the local culture in Saariselkä as international tourists? How do Japanese travel agents understand tourists' views to the local culture? In order to answer these questions, both Japanese tourists and travel agents were interviewed in Saariselkä. The data was collected and analyzed qualitatively, in order to understand their views deeply. For the analysis of data, content analysis was chosen as the analysis method. Using the method, the common topics were identified from the data, based on them the interviewees' views were further argued.

In this introductory chapter the importance of the present research was discussed. Since culture is a central concept in this study, Chapter 2 introduces the view to culture this study takes together with other views. Chapter 3 discusses the features of tourism, especially with regard to culture. After that Chapter 4 deals with the design of this research, and the result of analysis is shown in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 6 recaps the findings of the research. In addition, some limitations this study entails and implications for future studies are further argued in the chapter.

2. CONCEPT OF CULTURE: A CULTURE IS NEGOTIATED

2.1. Ways of defining culture

Although the word 'culture' is very common to us, it is a very abstract word. Therefore it is difficult to conceptualize it unanimously. Indeed, "there is no commonly acknowledged 'correct' concept of culture" (Dahl, 2004, p.20). Culture as an English word stems from the Latin word 'colere', which means 'to cultivate' (Dahl, 2004). In the nineteenth century, the word is said to refer to "a noun of configuration or generalization –as an abstraction and an absolute (way of life)" (Sarangi, 1995, p.2). Around that time, the word also referred to what is nowadays called as high culture (especially in the West). High culture refers to the cultural activities of the elite (Martin & Nakayama, 2004). Namely the way of life practiced by the elite was taken as the right way of life in those days.

The word culture was once seen only as 'national culture' as well. A national culture refers to the culture which is shared (or prevalent among political majorities) in a society. Even nowadays when people use the word culture they often refer to this national culture e.g. Japanese culture, Finnish culture, etc. Yet, various smaller cultures also started to be recognized in the 20th century, because of rapid social changes (Martin & Nakayama, 2004). Nowadays smaller cultures, such as regional cultures and the cultures of ethnic minorities are recognized broadly. Different cultures are recognized among companies as corporate (or organizational) cultures as well. As such, evolving from the way of life among the elite or the political majority, culture is nowadays subcategorized to a great extent.

Academically the word culture started to be conceptualized in 1950's (other than in the field of anthropology and history) (Sarangi,1995). Around that time Kroeber and Kluckhohn listed more than a hundred of the definitions of culture (1952, in Martin & Nakayama, 2004). Some of the definitions gathered "emphasized culture as a set of patterns of thought and beliefs; others viewed culture in terms of a set of behaviors; still others focused on the nonmaterial aspects of human life or on the material aspects of societies" (Martin & Nakayama, 2004, p.78). Below is the definition they made;

> Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action. (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 357 in Sarangi, 1995, p.5)

This definition can be said to be a conventional definition of culture because of its background. As the fields of study concerning culture have surely developed after 1950's, there are a lot more definitions of cultures nowadays. An important change in the trend is that nowadays some scholars focus also on what culture 'does' rather than what it 'is' in their definitions. Spencer-Oatey (2000) has defined culture in a more or less similar way as the Kroeber and Kluckhohn, yet also with a different perspective. According to her "culture is a fussy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioral norms, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behavior and his/her interpretations of the "meaning" of other people's behavior" (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, p.4 in Dahl, 2004, p.4). Her definition varies from Kroeber & Kluckhohn's especially in that the definition mentions personal

interpretation and cultural influence to it. Personal interpretation is a very important aspect when culture is discussed in the context of cross-cultural issues, as how one understands a certain thing is often seen different by another. The influence of culture is also a very significant point in Spencer-Otaey's definition. Including cultural influence to interpretation, the definition mentions what culture does to people together with what culture is to them. In line with this view, Sarangi (1995) claims that some researchers shifted their focus from what culture is to what it does, to avoid stereotyping culture. So among the definitions of culture, nowadays there are the ones trying to make out its meaning and the ones focusing on its influence.

A number of scholars also conceptualized the structure of culture, which are referred to as cultural models. Classic examples of cultural models are the iceberg (Hall, 1976) and the onion (Hofstede, 1991). According to Hall, culture is like an iceberg in the sense that what we can notice easily as cultural is only a part of it, and the rest is not really visible like the part of an iceberg under the surface, thus it is often difficult to notice. The part of culture on surface includes typically our behaviors and also some beliefs. The rest, the most beliefs under behaviors and values still under beliefs, are usually unconscious. Values are situated on the bottom of an iceberg, thus are the most difficult to become conscious. If cultural elements are located closer to the surface or on the surface, it is also easier to be changed and consciously learned at the same time as being easier to notice.

The latter one, the cultural onion by Hofstede, is a somewhat similar model to the iceberg. In this model, culture has layers like an onion, and each

layer has different cultural elements. Similar to the part of culture on the surface in the iceberg model, the outer layers are more easily accessible to outsiders and vice versa. The most outer layers of culture are 'symbols', and the core of the culture is 'value'. There are also layers of 'heroes' and 'rituals' between the outer layer and the core. In addition 'practice' penetrates from the outer layer to the core, indicating that our practice is connected to various levels of these cultural elements. In the both models, value (or belief) is located in somewhere deep in fundamental parts in the structure, with contrast to behaviors or symbols, which are easily observable.

The discussion on the definitions of culture exemplifies the fact that culture can apparently be understood in various ways. In some of those views, values are regarded as an important element, as are essential in the cultural models above for example. In fact, some scholars distinguished the definitions of culture with focusing value and corresponding elements. Thus the next subchapter deals with culture further with focusing on the values people have.

2.2. Value, knowledge and mind

Busch (2009) regards value as an important element distinguishing the definitions of cultures. According to him, in the definitions of culture a culture is considered either as a set of knowledge or a set of values. In the former way of viewing culture a culture is a set of knowledge shared by certain groups of people, which can be learnt when necessary, though is not always easy to do so. Such knowledge provides people with how things are done in certain ways in certain cultures. Compared with the former, the latter is about how things 'should' be done. In this way culture is seen as norms, which implies preferences

in action/thought in certain contexts in a culture, while in the former 'a suitable action/thought' is only applied to situations. Thus, if a culture is seen as a set of values, there involves the judgment of people sharing values. Sharing then forms a majority group of people since it creates "hegemonial definition" (Busch, 2009, p.8). This means that certain power is attached to the group which practices it over the other smaller groups when a culture 'to be followed' as a set of norms is practiced by many. Besides, culture in the latter sense is not easily learnable compared to the former, since values (or norms) are under the influence of hegemonial power. This presence of power is what differs the most between the value oriented and the knowledge oriented definitions.

Martin & Nakayama (2004) also assumes that value is important in the definitions of culture. They introduce the following two types of definitions of culture which have different approaches; anthropological definitions and social psychologists' definition. According to them, the former definitions suppose that value and tradition form the core of cultures. The definition argued in the previous subchapter developed by Kroeber & Kluckhohn can be said to belong to these, because it clearly regards values and traditional ideas as the core. On the other hand, in the latter definitions culture is supposed to be located in the mind of people. An example of the social psychologists' view to culture is the definition developed by Hofstede, who supposes that culture is the "programming of the mind", and also "the interactive aggregate of common characteristics that influence a human group's response to its environment" (Hofstede, 1984, p.21). As one can see easily, here the focus of his definition of culture is the mind of people. In sum, the difference between these anthropological and social psychologist views is thus whether focusing on a set

of values or on the mind people have.

In both views above value is considered as a variable of different manners of the definitions of culture. As shown, value is apparently thought as essential to a culture in a number of definitions of culture. In this study it is assumed that value is essential to culture especially in the sense that Busch argues. Namely, Cultures determine certain preferences in action/thought in certain contexts. The reason why the view is applied to this study is that it is supposed that meanings are contextually and discursively constructed under the presence of power. The next subchapter argues this view more to clarify the approach to culture this paper takes.

2.3.   A constructionist view to culture and meanings

A constructionist approach to culture is taken in this study. The approach is introduced in Busch (2009) together with a primordial approach. According to him, the definitions of culture can be either primordial or constructionist in the ways how culture is defined. A primordial approach to culture sees that cultures exist independently without human interference, though it influences people. This indicates that people cannot change cultured and that the meanings of phenomena stay the same in all situations. On the other hand, in a constructivist approach it is supposed that people influence cultures, and they (re-)construct those adjusting to situations. It exists in and between people, and the meanings of phenomena may change in each situation.

All the points of views to culture argued so far can be said to be primordial. In those views a culture is regarded as something which has a stable

shape and influences people. The Hofstede's definition of culture introduced as a social psychologist's view supposes the human mind as the core of a culture, yet as he says 'programming of the mind' the definition does not include the idea that people adjust the content of culture. Besides, although Spencer-Oatey's view includes personal differences in terms of interpretation, her definition primarily focuses on culture itself, as in the definition a culture influences human interpretation rather than human interpretation influences the content of culture. So these definitions are also primordial ones, in which phenomena have stable meanings.

The constructionist approach is described well by the concept of discourse. As said, from this point of view a culture is thought to exist in and between people, and its content changes as people adjust it to situations. Discourse here means "an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being" (Parker, 1992 in Phillips & Hardy 2002, p.3). In addition, it is assumed that what comes into being through discourse is influenced by the contexts i.e. "psychical and social aspects of situations" (Martin & Nakayama, 2004, p.99) and power. Power here means not only the relations among people but also normative power derived from value, which was already discussed in the previous subchapter. Namely, it is supposed that one produces and adjusts how s/he recognizes objects i.e. meanings of objects, considering the situation which s/he is in and being influenced by value oriented preferences either consciously or unconsciously. Because this approach enables to study each individual's view in a certain situation independently rather than presupposing it by cultures, the present study takes this approach to culture.

At the same time as enabling to focus on each individual's view the discursive view explains sharedness of meanings too, with the concept of ideology. Ideology here means "a set of social (general and abstract) representations shared by members of a group and used by them to accomplish everyday social practices: acting and communicating" (Jaworski & Pritchard, 2005, p.5-6). Because discourse concerns social contexts and power, the meanings produced are influenced by those. This is very apparent in social norms, namely socially preferable actions/thoughts shared by a group of people, because the normative power influences the meaning of an action/thought produced in a situation. So discourse concerns sharing meanings as well.

This study concentrates on the meaning of culture which Japanese tourists and agents have and their perceptions of the local culture as already explained in the beginning. Now, putting the argument on the constructionist view to culture into the present study, Japanese tourists' and agents' concepts of culture (= the meaning they produce) is studied together with how they perceive local cultures (=the reality perceived based on their concept of culture). Besides, as they comprise groups consisting of people who have certain cultural background and participate in the same activities (i.e. Japanese tourists as a group and Japanese travel agents as another), shared features of their concepts are especially focused. Before proceeding to Chapter 3, the next subchapter deals with intercultural issues related to tourism, as there are a number of cultures involved in the present study.

2.4. Intercultural Communication and Tourism

In situations where two or more cultures appear we need to be take account of cultural differences, because people may have different ideas on the same thing depending on cultures they have. This is obvious from the discussion on discourse as well, i.e. if different contexts and power are present the reality produced are also different. Intercultural communication then is a field of study in which situations where two or more cultures are involved are dealt with. Since tourism involves the movement of people from their home environment to another, there involves also intercultural issues as well.

There are many factors influencing people in intercultural settings. For instance, Hall, who is often regarded as the father of the field, has identified cultural difference in e.g. proxemics i.e. people's distance in interaction, time orientation and high/low contexts in the delivery of message (cf. Hall 1959, 1966, 1976, 1994). Together with those nonverbal communicational aspects, identity value orientations among cultures have been also studied in the field, by such as Condon & Yousef (1975) and Hofstede (1984). In addition, a number of scholars studies also identity (cf. e.g. Adler, 1977) and adaptation in intercultural contexts (cf. e.g. Mansell, 1981). Further, nowadays the ability to cope with communication in intercultural settings, called intercultural competence, is studied as well (cf. e.g. Salo-Lee, 2007). As seen, intercultural communication deals with a range of topics concerning interactions among people whose cultural backgrounds vary and influence each other.

However the term 'Cross-cultural' Communication is often used in the same way as Intercultural Communication, these two have different features

as are distinguished by e.g. Gudykunst (1987). The best way to describe the difference is that while Cross-cultural Communication studies cultural groups of people Intercultural Communication examines the interaction of people whose cultural background differ. In other words, Intercultural Communication focuses more on individuals than the former. In Cross-cultural research it is supposed that an individual belonging to a culture communicates with another individual belonging to another culture, so there is interaction which takes place across those two cultures. In this way, cultures which interactants belong to are regarded as the sole influential factor to the interaction, and their cultures stay separated.

On the other hand, intercultural researchers consider that individuals having different cultural backgrounds negotiate their 'contexts' in interaction and thereby they create a third culture for their communication. What is important here is the fact that contexts change all the time, so what is influential in a situation does not necessarily have much influence in another. In short, the main differences between 'Cross-cultural' and 'Intercultural' are the levels of focus (groups or individuals) which limit what to influence interaction and the possibility of the third culture building (cf. Chen & Starosta, 1998, p.133). Between these two ways of thinking, an intercultural one is more consistent with the constructionist view to culture this study follows, with the common focus on individuals rather than groups.

In the field of Intercultural Communication, intercultural adaptation has been a focus for a long time. There are many models conceptualized in the field, describing the process of adjusting to a new cultural environment. Among

the models dealing with adaptation, U-curve Model and culture shock as a stage in the model (cf. e.g. Chen & Starosta, 1998) is famous not only in Intercultural Communication but also in many other fields of study as well. Intercultural adaptation is about the relation between hosts and strangers (Anderson, 1994). Besides, it usually concentrates on the process of sojourners' and (voluntary and involuntary) immigrants' adaptation to a new culture (Martin & Nakayama, 2004). Sojourners here refer to the people "who move into new cultural contexts for a limited time and a specific purpose" (Martin & Nakayama, 2004, p.266). Namely, a sojourner is a person lives in a foreign environment for sometime

The theories of adaptation are not usually applicable to tourists since they do not live in another place. In contrast to sojourners, a tourist stays at a place only for a short period of time, thus during their stay as tourists they do not experience adaptation to others much. Concerning this, in the context of intercultural competence Martin (1986) indicates that students have less possibility to grow their intercultural competence if the length of their stay is shorter (in Penington & Wildermuth, 2005, p.169). Besides, it is reported that students can go through only several phases of culture shock while being in intercultural environments for six weeks (Arenson, 2003, in Penington & Wildermuth, 2005, p.169). Among different kinds of tourists, some backpackers would stay at a place for six weeks or more, but others usually stay much shorter than that. Taking account of these facts, although in the sense of host-stranger relationship the theories of intercultural adaptation can be applied to a tourist visiting a foreign place for a short period of time, s/he would not be regarded as a subject to adaptation. In addition, as will be argued in the next chapter, tourists consume cultural differences in the context of tourism rather than adjusting to

those. So cultures are not negotiated, but rather stay separated (though, this is contextual, so it is also possible that cultures are negotiated). In this sense interaction among people would stay cross-cultural in tourism. Therefore, though intercultural issues are taken into consideration in this study, these are not expected to appear much.

3. FEATURES OF TOURISM AND CULTURES IN TOURISM PRACTICE

3.1. Tourism, mobility and places

Tourism , as is argued below, has various features. In this study it is seen as an industry, as an economic, social and cultural phenomenon, and as the movement of people from a place to another. A fact shared by all the views above is that tourism is discussed especially focusing on the places where it is practiced. In addition, these views are related to the commodification and sustainability of culture in tourism, which are argued in 3.2. and 3.3. To elaborate, tourism has influences to the cultures of the place where is it practiced, depending on how it is done. Keeping that in mind, below discusses the features of tourism.

3.1.1. Tourism as an industry

Nowadays tourism is a very common activity which many countries are involved in. Once travelling abroad was only for a handful of rich people, but in developed countries it has already become reasonable enough to the majority. Because of economic development it is getting more and more easily available to the people in other countries as well. Of course, there are also many countries whose citizens never go abroad in their whole lives, yet those countries may have some famous tourist destinations which attract foreign travelers. In addition, needless to say, those countries from which many people travel around the world, would also actively attract international tourists to their own lands. That is to say, that though the participation would not be balanced among nations and citizens, tourism is still a worldwide industry to which most nations are related in a way or another, and international tourism is "one of the world's

major trade categories" (World Tourism Organization, 2011, p.2). Concerning this, in the exports of service in the world, 30% is generated by tourism (World Tourism Organization, 2011). These describe how large tourism is as an industry and how influential it is against the world economy.

According to Welford et al. (1999) tourism has similar features as many other industries in that "it consumes often scarce resources, produces waste by-products and requires specific infrastructure and superstructure needs to support it." (p.167). As Welford et al. indicates, it always entails negative aspects caused in the process of making products or services. This is nearly unavoidable since without any resource we cannot produce anything. The concrete characteristics of tourism differ from one place to another, depending on e.g. geographical features, climate, history and the development of facilities. For instance, what is used as resources for tourism in Phuket in Thailand is totally different from the ones used in Moscow in Russia, because of the differences between these two places. In other words, what give influence to tourism at a tourist destination is dependent on each place (discussed more later). Such diversity among tourist destinations makes it difficult for tourism to be legislated (Welford et al. 1999). This implies that tourism as an economic activity should be studied in case by case with understanding its contexts.

3.1.2. Tourism as movement of people

Tourism almost always concerns the movement of people, because it is about people visiting places (either physically or virtually). According to Sharpley (2009), when seen as the movement of people, tourism is often defined either technically or conceptually (p.6). The former definitions are such which look at

the types of travelers (e.g. tourists, excursionists and crews) and measure relevant data (e.g. the number of travelers, the lengths of stay, distance from home, etc.) numerically. These manners of definitions are often seen in social sciences, where quantitative approaches are used to study subjects. The latter, conceptual definitions deal with the meaning or function of tourism with a presupposition that tourism is a leisure activity. A notable difference of these definitions from the former is that though the former relies on statistic numbers the letter tries to study the subjects from the viewpoint of tourists, based on the idea that they are the center of any tourism activity (Nash 1981 in Sharpley, 2009). Compared with the former approach, the latter is anthropologic in that meanings are often sought through qualitative ways. These two ways of definitions have been often used in the study of tourism in terms of the movement of people.

However, these two approaches above entail problems. A major problem the conceptual definitions have is the fact that tourism is regarded as leisure naturally excludes other kinds of travelers than those who travel solely for leisure, such as the ones who travel for business or education. In reality there are various kinds of travelers who have different purposes than leisure, so ignoring those from the beginning would limit the validity of studies. Another problem which both kinds of definitions have is the concepts of dualism. That is, as Larsen, Urry and Axhausen (2006) points out, the nature of tourism was analyzed with dualisms such as home – away, (= work – leisure) etc. Yet, although such dichotomies would have made sense when it was conceptualized in the middle of the last century, the situation is very different now. Factors e.g. technological development, economic development and political changes

influenced the characteristics of tourism in such a way that those polarized features do not have clear-cuts anymore. For instance, nowadays an airline ticket is not as expensive as it used to be, and this weakened the distinction between home and away, making it much easier to go 'away' from 'home'. As such, many definitions of tourism conceptualized in the last century are not always consistent with the changes the time caused.

The famous concept of 'tourist gaze' by Urry (1990), suggesting that tourists consume their destinations visually, is also based on the idea that travel is for leisure and the distinction between 'home' and 'away'. According to this concept, travelling, limited to leisure, is about consuming the scenery of places different from own surroundings e.g. for gathering photographs. However, nowadays the modes of travel is also diverse though it could have been more about taking pictures of places as the evidence of their being at places before. For instance, when one visits a beach in Hawaii for surfing, the core activity for the person is a sport, but not necessarily the visual consumption of the place (it is possible that the visual consumption is also done). Furthermore, though physically there is difference between home and away, the difference may not play a major role to him/her because the primal motivation is surfing but not visiting the place itself (i.e. doing is more important than being). So, in addition to 'seeing', 'performing' (or experiencing) can be the core motivation of traveling as well. As such, the content of leisure as the motivation of travel is also difficult to define. What leisure includes depends largely on viewpoints. Moreover, as already discussed, leisure is not the only reason for traveling.

The UNWTO's view to an international traveler answers to these

problems to some extent. Hall, Muller & Saarinen (2008) has summarized the view with using the word 'visitor' (visit means "the stay in a place visited during a trip") (p.10). Following are the UNWTO's criteria for an international visitor summarized by them;

(1) The place of destination within the country visited outside the traveler's usual environment.

(2) The stay, or intended stay, in the country visited should last no more than 12 months, beyond which this place in the country visited would become part of his/her usual environment.

(3) The main purpose of the trip is other than being employed by an organization or person in the country visited.

(4) The traveler is not engaged in travel for military service nor is a member of the diplomatic services.

(5) The traveler is not a nomad or refugee.
(Hall, Muller & Saarinen, 2008, p.10)

In this definition, specific purposes of travelers are not mentioned. Defining a traveler in the context of tourism with the notion of environment and the length of stay, this definition allows including various types of travelers to be included into the participant of tourism, while excluding e.g. the people visiting their own home or visiting a place which is going to be their own home environment. Applying the aspects of technical definitions to limit the range of travelers, qualitative studies of tourism can have better generalizability while deepening the understanding of targets qualitatively.

In order to adjust to the changing circumstances of tourism, researchers also started to study tourism as part of the mobility of people (Larsen, Urry & Axhausen, 2006). To elaborate, tourism is "voluntary temporary mobility of people" (Hall, Muller & Saarinen, 2008, p.5) in relation to other types of mobility e.g. migration, refuge, etc. Mobility in this context means the

flow of people among places. This makes sense as a way to overcome the dualisms existing in the field of study, since this does not limit the purposes of travels to be taken into consideration and following this way we do not need to argue the border between e.g. home and away, but can just see the movement of people as mobility. As the types of travels have become so diverse and its participation has become unclear, it became difficult to draw lines between 'a travel activity' and 'not a travel activity'. Putting differently, it is now nearly impossible to define tourism clearly. Thus by looking at travelling as part of mobility of people among others, researchers do not need to face those impossible questions and can still study it from various viewpoints. This concept of mobility is in line with the definition of an international traveler above, because both of these do not limit the specific purposes of travel but focus on time and place. In this research, thus, tourism is seen as part of mobility.

3.1.3. Tourism as an economic, social and cultural phenomenon

As Timur & Getz (2008) explains, tourism is "a socio-cultural and economic phenomenon with broad economic, social, cultural and environmental consequences" (p.221). First and foremost, tourism is a worldwide economic activity as explained. As an economic activity it is primarily associated with following these stakeholders; tourists, local service/product providers (hosts) and tourist agencies (also transportation is important for mobility). In order for tourism to be viable at a place, tourists visit the place and buy touristic services/products offered by local hosts. This exchange is facilitated by travel agencies which match and/or create demand for supply, while gaining profit for themselves from their service. Besides, tourism is also a socio-cultural phenomenon. From this point of view, tourism is about mobility of people

within/between societies and cultures as argued above. Tourists, the people engaging in the temporary mobility motivated by various reasons, go between societies and cultures, and give some influence to own and other societies and cultures. In this sense, tourism is both a social and a cultural phenomenon.

As important as the concept of mobility of people is the idea that a place is performed to become a tourist destination. Sheller & Urry (2004) indicates that a place is performed in the context of tourism, rather than just being there. In this sense, a place is where tourism products or services are offered and consumed. Local hosts make use of places for their products and services in a way that it is visited by their targeted tourists, and tourists visit the places to consume what hosts offer (which is related to the places). This action, the hosts' commodification of places, or making products from hosts' own environments, is essential in tourism because a place itself is not consumable in nature. So that a place can be used in tourism, a performative character has to be attached to the place. Furthermore, Sheller & Urry (2004) discusses that the directions of the temporary mobility in tourism, meaning the places to be visited, are always on move. This suggests that a place is visited by tourists if the performance of the place is consistent with what tourists want, and that what tourists want changes time to time. This performance of places and the movement of people from one place to another are also a social and a cultural phenomenon as well as an economic phenomenon.

It has been already argued that tourism is an industry, so it naturally entails economic consequences depending on demand and supply. In addition, since the industry exploits places, it of course influences the environment of the

places in performance. While performing as a place for tourism, as already discussed, the place is used in a different way from how it is traditionally used. Such a way of using a place can cause damage to the flora and the fauna in the surroundings of the place. To the environment of the place, development in the number of facilities and people can be a cause of deterioration since the environment experiences rapid change. However, nowadays, more and more people are becoming conscious of this, and it led to the emergence of Ecotourism, which takes into consideration the preservation of environment of the place and further using it as a theme for the products and services. Not in the least, in the background of this phenomenon is the fact that nowadays conserving environment is regarded as profitable (cf. Jamal & Stronza, 2009).

Socio-cultural consequence of tourism typically comes from the fact that, to negotiate successfully with tourists, hosts need to distinguish themselves from other tourist destinations by using the resources they have. There are several types of resources to make distinction from other places, such as nature and cultures. In practice, these resources have to be transformed into products or services so that tourists can come and consume these (=commodification). Besides, when hosts proceed to make products or services from these (namely commoditizing these) they consider tourists' demand primarily, since what they make may not be sold at all otherwise. As a result of this more or less demand-led commodification of nature or culture exploited appears differently in the products or services made from those before commoditization. It may influence the cultural environment of the host communities, possibly causing some changes in the way of lives in host communities.

As one can see easily tourism is about the mobility of people among places, based on the commodification of the places by making use of various resources available. Without a doubt, the process of commodification is very important in tourism, since it can both benefit and cause problems to the place and locals. In addition, it is an economic, social and cultural phenomenon which has economic, ecological, social and cultural consequences. Since tourism entails these consequences, tourism practices should take into consideration all of these so that tourism is sustainably performed. In fact, Welford et al. (1999) argues that the sustainability of tourism is dependent on economic, environmental and socio-cultural elements. Here, it is worth reminding that both the commodification process and the sustainability of business concern following crucial stakeholders including; hosts, tourists and tourist agencies as will be argued later. Therefore, all stakeholders should have good understanding of these two phenomena in tourism so that tourism practice would not harm the place in use thus tourism can be practiced there constantly (cf. Welford et al.,1999). These two keywords, namely commodification and sustainability, will be discussed more below.

3.2. Commodification of cultures in tourism

In this paper it has already been mentioned that a place needs to be performed in order to become a tourist destination. What is practically done for performance is to make products or services from hosts' own environment, and such a product/service needs to be a good resource to differentiate the place from others considering what tourists demand and what they want to offer. Lately, to achieve this differentiation, a culture is used very much as "a resource for tourism" (Hall, Muller & Saarinen, 2008, p.198). Nowadays, many people know that there are

different cultures than their own. In such a context it is very natural that a culture is regarded as a resource to create difference. Owning to the fact, cultures are commoditized in the context of tourism. This is because, as a place is not consumable, so is also a culture. So that a culture can be used in tourism, it has to be transformed into products or services.

Because of its purpose to be distinctive from other tourist destinations and to be visited by tourists, a culture very often is commoditized in such a way that it becomes desirable to tourists (Bunten, 2008). However, according to Smith & Robinson (2006), in the globalized world tourism is also very important as "an international system of exchange" (p.2). What this implies is that tourism enables hosts (in the Smith & Robinson's context nations) to promote themselves in a way that it is politically and socio-culturally favorable to them, as well as enhancing their own economy. This explains that hosts selectively choose what to show to tourists while trying also to offer what tourists want. Therefore, commodification of culture is the result of the negotiation between tourists and local hosts.

It has been explained here that culture itself cannot be a product. Since a culture and a product is not the same thing, the product cannot possess the contexts of the culture fully. So when making products from a culture decontextualization is unavoidable, and its influence can be crucial to cultures. For instance, decontextualized cultural performance is said to lose its value (cf. Kirtsoglou & Theolossopoulos, 2004). This is mainly because that when a cultural product does not possess the control of its own use, the consumers of the product can use it in whatever way they want. As people do not care about the

original use of the product in terms of the culture of origin, any arbitrary meaning is attached to the product, or the product simply becomes cultureless. So that the production of culture does not become decontextualizing commercialization but controlled commodification, what is discussed above, namely consumer demand, hosts' desired presentation of themselves and the process of cultural production, all of these have to be taken into consideration. Putting this in another way, the reason why commodification should be controlled is to gain sustainable development in terms of culture. Thus, the next subchapter argues the sustainability of culture in tourism.

3.3. Tourism and cultural sustainability

With referring to Welford et al. (1999) it has been discussed that tourism has four different manners of consequences, including economic, environmental, social and cultural consequences. Nowadays, these four consequences of tourism are widely regarded as the components of sustainable development of tourism in the academic context. Pantin (1997) defines sustainable development of tourism as "management by a community of the sustainable utilization of its eco-cultural resources up to certain specified limits while simultaneously maximizing the equitable distribution of socio-economic benefits accruing to the community" (p. 25, in Pantin 1999, p. 225). He also states that the focus of sustainable tourism is "supply-side" (Pantin, 1999, p.223). Consistent with Pantin's view, Timur & Getz (2008) also argues that these four elements are the components of sustainability of tourism. He further explains the function of each component referring to WTTC et al. (1995);

Ecological sustainability is concerned with ensuring development that is compatible with the maintenance of essential ecological processes, biological diversity and biological resources. Social and cultural sustainability ensures that development increases people's control over their lives, is compatible with the culture and values of people affected by it, and maintains and strengthens community identity (Timur & Getz, 2008, p.221-222).

This explanation is brief and may lack in details, but covers the main ideas of each part of sustainability. The content of these sustainability concerns the management of the four consequences of tourism in a way that these consequences positively influence tourism while being profitable to the supply-side, namely the hosts. In this paper, following these ideas above, sustainability is regarded as managing such consequences.

Since this paper focuses on culture in tourism, here discusses further the cultural sustainability. It was written above that cultural sustainability is such that the influence of development generated by tourism is in harmony with the culture of local communities where tourism is practiced. More practically, Savage et al. (2004) indicates that cultural sustainability deals with abilities to commodify the elements of local culture which local communities have. These are consistent with each other, because the value of local culture is influenced by the way how culture is commodified, and so that tourism can be in harmony with local culture commodification has to maintain the original contexts of culture as much as possible.

Kong (2009) also regards cultural sustainability as the ability for commodification. According to her, together with enabling to produce cultural

commodities cultural sustainability assists the local communities to form their identities in relation to globalization. Indeed, because of globalization identities of people are more subcategorized, meaning that nowadays identities vary from national to local levels. In this globalized world, local people may form renewed cultural identities and present those to other people through successful cultural tourism. This would be more about the result of culturally sustainable tourism practice, yet this also is very important to local communities to maintain their cultures thus is worth taking account of. From these aspects it can be said that the main concern of the cultural sustainability in tourism is undoubtedly commodification and its results.

It has been argued by numerous authors that all stakeholders of tourism should share ideas on sustainable development and cooperate for its realization so that it can really happen (Timur & Getz, 2008). This is clear, because not only hosts but also other stakeholders have to consider it in order for cultural commodities to carry their cultural contexts. That is, if tourists or travel agencies do not pay attention to it the cultural contexts of culture cannot be exhibited through cultural products, resulting only in consuming commodities. This definitely threatens the value of culture. In order to avoid diminishing the value of culture, all stakeholders need to consider contexts.

Related to this, Welford et al. (1999) points out that the supply-side and the demand-side do not understand and send wrong signals to each other in tourism. If this is true, it makes difficult to achieve culturally sustainable tourism. As already stated, tourism is a result of the negotiation between hosts and tourists. If the local hosts do not understand tourists' demand cultural

commodification can be performed in a way that it is not preferable to tourists and tourism fails to develop local communities, and if tourists do not understand what the local hosts exhibit through tourism it also jeopardizes the value of the local culture. Furthermore, Hjalager (2004) argues that there have not been many studies of tourism which cover hosts' and tourists' attitudes together. In addition to them, travel agents should be also studied together, since they often mediate the other two groups. To be able to see the whole picture of tourism practice at a place, one must look at the viewpoints of the all sides. Otherwise analysis of tourism practice would provide unbalanced pieces of information on the practice, thus is not substantially helpful to the sustainable development of local communities and cultures through tourism. Therefore, in order to ensure the cultural sustainability in tourism, thoughts of those important stakeholders have to be clarified.

This chapter dealt with the features of tourism. In this study tourism is regarded as an economic, social and cultural activity having various consequences. It is also supposed that tourism is based especially on the mobility of people and the places where it is practiced. Furthermore, it is assumed that tourism requires the commodification of available resources without which a place cannot be used as a tourist destination. The way how resources are commodified then influences the sustainability of culture, as it can be done in different ways. Each tourist destination should hence take care of how own culture is commodified.

4.   RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1.   Description of the present study

The present study focuses on the Japanese tourists visiting Saariselkä as a tourist destination, where the Japanese make one of the major groups of visitors. The aim of the study is to find out part of the tourism practiced there. To elaborate, the primary object of this study is to examine how the local culture is dealt with by the Japanese tourists visiting there and the travel agents mediating the tourists and the local service providers. It was argued in the previous chapter that culture of tourist destinations needs to be taken care of, and if crucial stakeholders' perceptions of culture are not shared, all the attempts to manage cultural issues may end in vain. Therefore it is very important to know how the crucial stakeholders perceive culture. By examining Japanese tourists' and agents' views to the local culture, it is expected that the study reveals part of the current situation of how the local culture is used in tourism in Saariselkä in relation to its commodification, which can be then connected to the cultural sustainability of tourism there. In this study a fieldwork was conducted by interviewing Japanese tourists and workers of travel agencies in Saariselkä to achieve the aim of the study. Here, before proceeding to the methodological issues, Saariselkä as a tourist destination and the Japanese as tourists are first discussed more in detail below to put these into the context of this study.

4.1.1.   Why studying the Japanese visiting Saariselkä

As already explained, this paper studies how culture is dealt with by Japanese tourists and Japanese travel agents in Saariselkä. Saariselkä was chosen for the place for the fieldwork because it is suitable to the study in various ways. First,

the place is an internationally famous tourist destination. Besides, all tourist facilities are concentrated in a small area. These make it possible to have an access to international tourists very easily. In addition, though the major source of tourism is nature in Saariselkä, cultural tourism is also available there. The availability of both sorts of tourism would enable tourists to perceive the place more flexibly than when a place offers only either of these. Furthermore, both naturally and culturally what Saariselkä offers is very unique, differentiating the place from many others. In short, the place is desirable for this study since it is easy to find international tourists and since its background makes it easy to gather the information wanted.

Among the international tourists visiting Saariselkä, the Japanese were chosen as the target group of this study because of several reasons. First of all, since they are one of the major groups of international tourists coming to the place, so it is not difficult to find an enough number of interviewees for the study. Secondly, the Japanese differ from other major groups considerably, as others are the 'Westerners'. Related to this, because of the fact that many Japanese do not have a good command of English, it is difficult for many researchers to collect data from them unless researchers speak Japanese fluently or provide with interpreters. Namely, although they can be found at the place easily, it is rather hard to reach them for research. Therefore, for the sake of providing other researchers and stakeholders of the tourism in Saariselkä with some data which are relatively difficult to collect, the Japanese were chosen as the target group for this study.

4.1.2. Lapland and Saariselkä as tourist destinations

Saariselkä is located in the northern part of Finnish Lapland. Lapland is a region in Finland, covering the northernmost area of the country. In Finnish Lapland, tourism is an industry which has been growing rapidly, replacing the traditional industries of the area; agriculture, forestry and fishery (Hall, Muller & Saarinen, 2008). Nowadays, for both local Finnish and Sami people, it is very difficult to maintain their lives with traditional industries listed above. Because of technological advancement and globalized economy especially, those industries have changed drastically, and as a result those do not provide them with enough money for their livings if practiced in the traditional way. Therefore, as an alternative industry to those, tourism has become an important way of making livings in Lapland.

Lapland is visited by both Finnish and international tourists. Tourists visit there to enjoy e.g. trekking and fishing in the summer time, and northern lights watching, skiing, dog/reindeer sledging and meeting Santa Claus in the winter time. Together with these, there are also tourist sites where tourists can be exposed to Sami people and their culture. Common nationalities to be found there among international tourists are British, German and French. In addition, the number of Russian tourists has been growing recently. Together with these "Western" tourists, many Japanese tourists can be also found in the winter time especially in the following areas; Rovaniemi and Saariselkä. The former is visited almost solely because of Santa Claus. There are two amusement parks in the city whose theme is Santa Claus, and are very famous among international tourists including the Japanese. The latter, Saariselkä, is visited primarily for northern lights watching.

Saariselkä is located in the northern part of Lapland, approximately 200km north from Rovaniemi, the capital of the region. The village started its development as a tourist resort, so it was not a village in a traditional sense before touristic development began. Tourists arrive on the village either by bus (from Rovaniemi) or air (flights from Helsinki to Ivalo, and from Ivalo airport by bus). The village has some hotels, restaurants, souvenir shops, and a supermarket. There is also a tourist information center called Siula. The area is nowadays very well known as a tourist destination where tourists can enjoy various activities, especially in the winter time. In the winter time, tourists enjoy northern lights watching, skiing, dog / reindeer sledging. Besides, there is also Sami 'cultural' tourism is available in the northern Lapland, since it is part of Sápmi (the Sami homeland). Sami cultural tourism is available especially in the town of Inari, which is the cultural center of Sami, and from Saariselkä it takes one hour to reach there by bus. (However, because public transportation is not provided well, it is hard for tourists to visit there) In Saariselkä, Sami culture is available at Siula (an information and shopping center) where is an exhibition about Sami people and their culture. In addition, reindeer sledging is often connected to Sami people, so tourists may face their culture there as well.

4.1.3. The Japanese as tourists

The Japanese are known as one of the enthusiastic international travelers in the world. As shown in European Travel Commission (2009), the percentage of the money the Japanese have spent among the sum of the money spent on international tourism has decreased in the past two decades. However, the Japanese are still the world's seventh most money spenders for international tourism (WTO, 2011). Thus, although the number of the Japanese travelling

abroad has decreased, their influence to international tourism markets is still strong. According to Japan Tourism Agency (2011) the number of the Japanese traveling abroad has been around 16,000 thousands in recent years. The recent peak year was 2006, when 17,535 thousands of Japanese went abroad. In 2009, the number decreased to 15,446 thousands, but in the next year it increased up to 16,637 thousands. From the data provided by Japan Tourism Agency it can be said that apparently the number of Japanese engaging in travelling abroad has been stable. Currently the most popular tourist destinations to the Japanese are China, USA, South Korea and Thailand (European Travel Commission 2009). Among European countries, France and Germany are the most popular destinations, followed by countries such as Switzerland, Italy, UK, Spain and Austria.

Finnish Tourist Board (2011a) shows the information on the Japanese tourists in Finland concisely. According to them, there were about 109 thousands of travelers from Japan in 2010. Among them, 10 % was on their business trips, and 61% was on leisure. The number of Japanese tourist has declined from the previous year for approximately 40 thousands, yet compared with the sum in 2008, the number of Japanese visitors increased (Finnish Tourist Board, 2011b). Looking at the sum of 2009 as an exception, the number of Japanese visiting Finland annually seems to be about 100 thousands. In 2010, about 50% of the Japanese visiting Finland stayed in the country for one to three nights, and 30% of them leaved for another country within a day (Finnish Tourist Board, 2011a). 43% of the Japanese visitors came to Finland by way of package tours, which is a very common way for them to travel abroad. Some figures in Finnish Tourist Board (2011b) prove that the Japanese do not spend much

money in Finland per visit compared to other major groups such as Germans and Britons, yet the amount of money they spent per day is much more than theirs. This would also suggest that the Japanese stay in Finland for a shorter period of time than many other major groups. The most popular destination in Finland to the Japanese is Helsinki region, namely the capital area (Finnish Tourist Board, 2011c). The second most popular destination is Northern Lapland, and the third is Rovaniemi, the capital of Lapland located in the southern part of Lapland.

Varamäki (2004) has studied what kind images Japanese tourists, who visit Finland, have toward the country. In her questionnaire, she asked Japanese tourists to list five things which they think are associated with Finland. The things which are most often associated with are; 1. The Moomins (n=89), 2. Lakes and water (75), 3. Forests (68), 4. Santa Claus (52), 5. Nightless nights (37) / Northern lights (37) / Sauna (37) (p.53). Among these, Santa Claus and Northern lights are strongly connected to Lappish tourism. This implies the fact that Lappish (winter) tourism is relatively common with the Japanese who visit Finland. In addition, there were also other Lappish things mentioned by respondents. Those include; reindeer (23) and Sami people (4). This fact implies that many Japanese tourists are not familiar with Sami people, or do not come up with them when thinking about the country at least. Yet, there could have been more people associating Finland with these Lappish elements if the questionnaires had been distributed in the winter time (the questionnaires were answered in summer, in flights from Japan to Finland).

In Japan there is a number of travel agencies organizing trips to the village throughout winter. Those travel agencies organize both tours with tour

conductors and tours for which they only reserve tickets for transportation and hotel rooms. The former is more popular for aged people, and the latter is used more by younger people. Since Saariselkä is a popular winter tourist destination to the Japanese, two travel agencies, intended only for Japanese tourists, open their offices there in the winter time. The most of Japanese tourists visit there to see northern lights. Yet during the daytime, when the northern lights do not appear, many of them participate in day-time activities such as dog/reindeer sledging and skiing, as already mentioned. They may also visit restaurants and souvenir shops in the village where Finnish and Lappish products are sold. Usually Japanese tourists stay at Saariselkä for a couple of days and then leave for either Rovaniemi or Helsinki.

4.2. Methodology

4.2.1. Research questions

Taking into consideration the context of Saariselkä and the Japanese tourists visiting there, two research questions were developed for this research, with a view to finding out how culture is dealt with by Japanese tourists and travel agents in Saariselkä as part of the tourism practice there. In addition, in order to answer these RQs smaller questions answering parts of those were also developed. Below are the RQs for the present study;

RQ1: How do Japanese tourists experience the local culture in Saariselkä as international tourists?
RQ2: How do travel agents understand tourists' view to the local culture?

RQ1 concerns how the local culture of Saariselkä is experienced by Japanese tourists. In order to answer this question, following subordinate questions are

focused; what is the common concept of culture tourists have; what tourists commonly perceive as the local culture; how their concepts of culture and perceptions of the local culture are related. Focusing on these questions the present study approaches to how Japanese tourists experience the local culture. RQ2 was formulated to examine how the Japanese travel agents see Japanese tourists' view to the local cultural experience as mediators between the tourists and local service providers. The subordinate questions made for this RQ are; how much tourists and travel agents share their ideas on the concept of culture; how the agents understand the tourists' view to the local culture. These two questions are answered for the sake of studying the agents' understanding of the Japanese tourist.

4.2.2. Data collection

A qualitative data collection method was chosen for this research. One of the important characteristics of the method is that it is a suitable way for gathering information concerning the concepts people have (Frey, Botan & kreps, 2000). In addition, as Trochim (2006) indicates that the method enables researchers to collect vey detailed data on research subjects. Since this research studies the tourists' perceptions of culture and aims to examine it as close as possible, following these views the qualitative method was used for this research. Yet, it is worth mentioning here that data gathered by way of qualitative method may lack in generalizability as Trochim (2006) also points out. A quantitative method usually has higher generalizability, but then again it is not suitable for collecting detailed data on research subjects. An ideal solution for this dilemma is to employ both of the methods, but in this research time limitation did not allow to do so. Yet, Alasuutari (1995) points out that the generalizability of qualitative

researches can be solved with adequate references. Therefore, although it entails some potential difficulties related to generalizability, this research uses only the qualitative one with referring to other existing studies, in order to retrieve deeper information on the subject.

Data was collected by way of tape-recorded, semi-structured interviews. Interview was chosen as the data collection method because of following reasons mentioned by Billham (2006) ; a) interviewees can answer to questions with their own words openly, b) the interactive relationship between interviewers and interviewees make it possible to e.g. clarify interviewees' answers when needed and c) interviewers can collect data from interviewers throughout their communication (i.e. not only from interviewees' formal answers for questions but every sentence they utter may entail valuable information). The interview format selected is semi-structured, which has the features of both structured and unstructured. That is, in a semi-structured interview prepared questions are asked, but depending on how interviewees respond to them interviewers ask more relevant questions freely for the sake of deepening the answers given. In order to analyze the interviews those were tape-recorded and saved in a digital form. Together with a recorder a memorandum was used during the interviews as well.

The prepared questions for tourists consisted of three parts, including a) information on interviewees' visit to Finland / Saariselkä, b) their perceptions of culture in general and c) their perceptions of the local culture of their place of stay (Saariselkä). The first part was asked for the sake of gathering interviewees' background information which might influence their answers,

such as how many times they have visited Finland / Saariselkä. In the second part the researcher asked questions to see what culture means to interviewees. The last part was made to gather information on how interviewees perceived the local culture. All the questions and their translation are attached as Appendix 1.

The questions for travel agencies also consisted of three parts, which are a) their work experience in Finland / Saariselkä, b) their perceptions of culture in general and c) their perceptions of the local culture of their place of work (Saariselkä) as travel agents. For the same purpose as the first part of tourist interviews, the first part of travel agent interviews was also intended to gather background information as travel agents which might give influence to their answers for other questions. The second part was the same as the one for tourists except for the fact that the researcher asked them to answer questions as travel agents. In the last part the interviewees were asked to tell their cultural experience at work, including their views to tourists' cultural experience (see the Appendix 1 for all questions).

The researcher set 30 minutes as the minimum length of each interview. The length was determined with considering the nature of the qualitative approach, namely eliciting as deep information as possible. The average length of actual interviews was about 40 minutes for tourists and 50 minutes for agents. Before starting interviews the researcher told interviewees that they can answer the questions freely with their own words, and if they do not feel like answering certain questions they do not need to. The researcher also instructed to the interviewees that they can go back to previous questions and add their comments to those anytime they want. These were told to interviewees

in order to collect data naturally and as detailed as possible. The language used in the interviews was Japanese, due to the fact that many Japanese speak only the language. Using their mother tongue must have also influenced the data collected positively, since they could answer questions without obstacles caused by language skills.

4.2.3. Data analysis

Qualitative Content analysis (also called as thematic analysis) is applied to this study as the method of analysis. According to Gibson & Brown (2009), it "refers to the process of analyzing data according to commonalities, relationships and differences across a data set" (p.127). In addition, such commonalities, relationships and differences are discussed in terms of themes appeared in data. The analytical approach is well applicable to this study, since it deals with the commonalties and relationships of ideas on the local culture in the context of tourism among Japanese tourists and travel agents. Therefore, the data is analyzed by identifying themes from interviews and examining the relationships among them. As Alasuutari (1995) recommends, while discussing the results of the analysis what has been discussed in previous chapters is referred to in order to make the analysis reliable in an academic context. Below further discusses briefly the procedure of the analysis taken in this study.

The tape-recoded interviews were transcribed first with a view to making it possible to approach it as textual data. For transcription, an unfocused way of transcription was taken as a transcription method (Gibson & Brow, 2009). Following the method, the interviews were transcribed with focusing on what was uttered. The total number of transcribed texts was approximately 60 pages

in A4. After transcribing, the textual data was examined for identifying codes, which illustrate key ideas of the interviewees concerning the study (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). After examining the codes, sub-codes within the codes were further identified to comprehend better the concepts the interviewee had. After the codes were reduced or modified to make them analytically suitable, the relationships among the codes were studied for analyzing the interviewee's common views related to the research.

4.2.4. The schedule and the location of the fieldwork

The fieldwork took place in January 2011 and its length was five days. Interviews were primarily held at a hotel in Saariselkä. The hotel was chosen for the fieldwork because of following reasons; a) Japanese tourists visit the hotel regularly in the winter b) a travel agency's office, intended solely for Japanese tourists, is open there throughout the season in the hotel c) a worker of the travel agency and the hotel permitted conducting this fieldwork. Because of these conditions, all the tourists interviewed are the people who stayed at the hotel. For the interviews to travel agents, in addition to the worker of the office open at the hotel, the researcher interviewed workers of another travel agency, who have their office open in every winter in another hotel in Saariselkä. Both of the travel agency's offices function as mediators between tourists and local service providers, by introducing tourists the activities available in Japanese and reserving those on behalf of them.

4.2.5. Research participants

The interviewees for tourist interviews were chosen randomly from Japanese tourists by the researcher at the lobby of the hotel, by asking if they would be

interested in participating in the research. The interviewees were asked for participation in the research on their arrival to the hotel or whenever they passed by the lobby, and the researcher scheduled the interviews together with those who wished to cooperate, depending on when they would have time. Interviews were also conducted at the same lobby, using a table available. The travel agents interviewed were asked by the researcher beforehand via email if it is possible to interview them. The researcher visited their offices to record the interviews during the daytime, when they would have time and would not be busy. All the interviewees agreed on the conditions of the research and signed to the agreement (see Appendix 2)

Four Japanese tourists participated in the fieldwork. T1 is a male office worker, aged between 30-40 years old. T2 is a female university student, whose age is about 20 years old. T3 is a male, also an office worker between 30-40 years old. T4 is a housewife, aged between 60-70 years old. They all came to Saariselkä as groups with Japanese tour conductors, and their length of stay at the hotel was a couple of nights. Interviews were conducted in their second evening in Saariselkä.

To all tourists it was the first time to visit Finland. They all used package tours, of which their duration of stay in Finland was four to five days including the stay in Saariselkä for a couple of nights. All of them visited Saariselkä first in their trip by air via Helsinki-Vantaa Airport, and they were going to Rovaniemi after leaving Saariselkä (except T1, who was going to Helsinki after leaving Saariselkä). From Rovaniemi, T3 and T4 were then going to Helsinki and T2 was going to Naantali by way of Tampere (then from

Naantali to Helsinki). In the end of their stay in Finland, they all left to Japan from Helsinki-Vantaa.

For the interviews to travel agents, the researcher visited two hotels in which they have their offices during the winter season. All the agents were male, and were working at Saariselkä only in the winter time. The first agent interviewed, A1, has his office in the hotel in which all tourist interviews were conducted. It was the fifth winter for him to spend in Saariselkä as an agent, and he was the only worker of the office at the time of the interview. The other agency had an office in another hotel, located near the hotel in which tourist interviews were conducted. There were two agents working at the agency, having different tasks. A2's duty was office work, while A3's duty was customer service. It was the first winter for both of them to work in Saariselkä, although both have been working in tourism for a long time. Since they have separate tasks in the office, they were interviewed together in order to elicit information from them as much as possible, supposing that they complement their answers each other as agents working at the same agency.

5. RESULTS

In this chapter the results of the data analysis are discussed. This section consists of four parts, each of which corresponds to the subordinate questions made for answering RQs (see 4.2.1.). Subchapters from 5.1. to 5.3. concentrate on answering RQ1, and 5.4. focuses on RQ2. 5.1. argues what concepts Japanese tourists commonly see in the word 'culture'. 5.2. deals with the local culture which is commonly recognized by them. Then 5.3. discusses the relation between their concept of culture and the perceived local culture, and what can be deduced thereby. Finally, in 5.4. the travel agents' understanding of the tourists' view to the local culture is discussed with referring to 5.1.-5.3.

As explained in 4.2.3., the data is analyzed mainly by focusing on common themes identified from the interviews. In order to analyze the interviewees' views to the themes clearly, many extracts from the interviews are used. In addition, the ideas discussed in previous chapters are referred to when necessary, to deepen the understanding of the results. Because the language used in the interviews was Japanese, all the extracts were translated from Japanese to English by the researcher. The original Japanese texts are found in Appendix 3. Here, before proceeding to the detailed results, figures summarizing the themes and the sub-themes identified as a result of analysis are presented in the next page. Figure 1 shows the themes and sub-themes concerning the concept of culture the tourists had. Likewise, Figure 2 describes the themes and sub-themes of the local culture of Saariselkä they perceived.
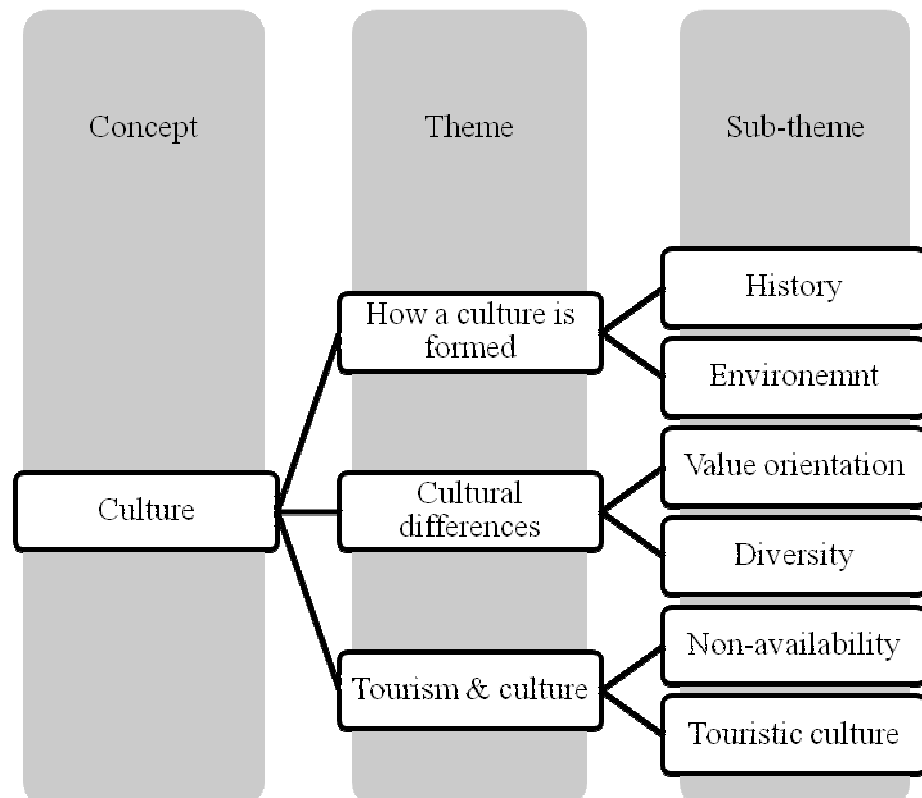
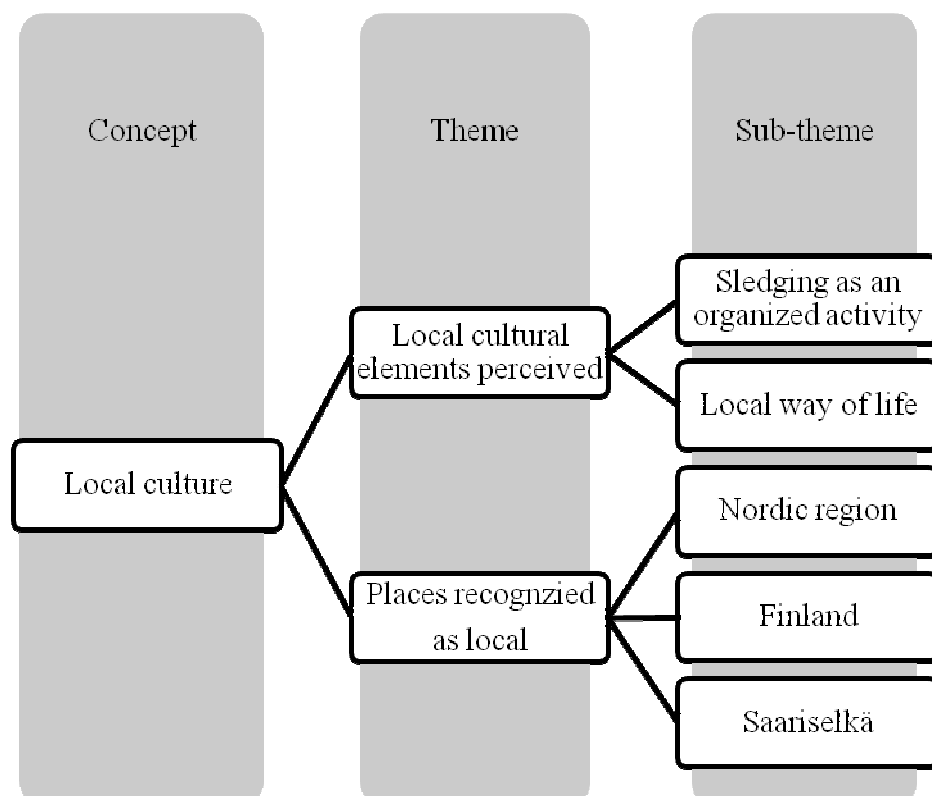**Fig. 1 Themes and sub-themes identified regarding culture**

Fig. 2 Themes and sub-themes identified regarding the local culture

5.1. Tourists' concepts of culture

This subchapter deals with the concept of the word 'culture' which the Japanese tourists have, for answering the first subordinate question for RQ1 namely their common ideas regarding the concept. There were apriori codes, or pre-modified themes for this question to see the tourists' views, which are 'what culture is', 'cultural difference' and 'tourism and culture'. The first theme was later modified to 'formation of culture' in order to be coherent to the actual results of the interviews. Thus this subchapter discusses their views to the concept culture along with the themes. Besides, several sub-themes (sub-codes) were also indentified in each theme, so each theme is argued with using the sub-themes. Generally, despite personal differences, they seemed to share certain ideas on culture. Following are their concept of culture being shared.

5.1.1. Formation of a culture

Here discusses the first question to be answered for RQ1, which is "what the common concept of culture tourists have". When explaining their concepts of culture, all the tourists mentioned how it is formed. Looking at it closely, two sub-themes were further identified. These include 'history' and 'environmental influence'. The former theme was evident in all interviewees' answers explicitly, as they all explained that culture is something to be handed down from one generation to another. This idea is shown well in T2's explanation of culture;

Extract 1

    T2: I think a culture is the history of a nation.

    Q: What kind of history do you think can be called as culture?

    T2: I major in Japanese literature, and picture scrolls are my field of research. And when I see the same story being handed down to each period of time by picture scrolls, I can see the fact that those have been developed

    Q: How have those been developed?

T2: I can see the process that pictures turning to the modern Japanese picture, I think culture is also formed in that way.

It is easily observable in the extract above that T2 thinks a culture is handed down from one generation to the next and its form changes as people develop it. This view was observed from others as well. For example T4 explained below;

Extract 2

Q: What do you think is a culture like?

T4: I think it is something raised by the citizens of a nation. Japanese culture has been brought up by the Japanese and Finnish culture by the Finns, so cultures differ a lot among nations.

In this context development has a similar meaning as history, because development is a process. That is, both share the feature that things proceed as time goes by. As such, all tourist interviewees commonly had the idea that cultures have developed as people have succeeded those in history. The focus on history (or tradition) in the concept of culture is seen from Kroeber & Kluckhohn's definition (see 2.1.), so this idea seems to be common elsewhere. In addition, this view also connotates that history influences the form of a culture. That is, there are different cultures in different places because the people living in each place have their own history distinctive from others.

The other sub-theme identified, 'environmental influence' was mentioned by T1, T3 and T4 together with the former theme. The idea they shared on this topic is that the characteristics of a culture is influenced by the surrounding nature. T3 explained his idea as follows;

Extract 3

Q: So why do you think history means a culture?

> T3: For instance, climate, well, receiving the most influence from it the way of life changes regardless of our will. What I think is generated from that is such as a set of values or a language. For instance in Tohoku area in Japan their dialect is such that they do not have to move their lips to pronounce much as it is a cold place. Accumulation (of those practices) in such a situation forms a culture.
>
> Q: Did you mean that a culture is formed through external factors and accumulation of history?
>
> T3: Yes that is right.

This view indicates that in his understanding the features of a culture are dependent on the surrounding environment, to which people adjust themselves. His example of the dialect spoken in Tohoku area in Japan illustrates his idea that the people living in a certain environment lead their lives adjusting to the environment, and by practicing the way of life a culture is formed. Similarly, T1 and T4 also explained that people adjust to certain environments and it makes different cultures. Their view to environmental influence means, in other words, that there are different cultures where living environments are different.

From the themes emerged it can be said that their ideas on culture are primordial, in other words a culture exists as it is, being shaped through history and by environmental factors. Although their views to culture include people's involvement in the formation and succession of a culture, they focus on the practice of cultures rather than the people practicing those. A constructionist view pointed out by Busch (see 2.3.) to the formation of a culture, hence was not heard from any interviewee.

5.1.2. Cultural difference

Answers to the question asking cultural differences further described how they understand culture. When answering to the questions pertaining to cultural

difference, interviewees commonly talked about following sub-themes; 'value orientation' and 'cultural diversity'. The first sub-theme was evident among the interviewees in the context that it is something which varies among cultures. The latter sub-theme concerns what kinds of cultures they recognize, in other words, how they categorize different cultures with their understanding to their concept of culture.

It was discussed in Chapter 2 that culture can be regarded either as a set of knowledge or values. In addition, 'value' is regarded as the foundation of a culture in an anthropological viewpoint to culture, and an important element in Kroeber & Kluckhohn's definition of culture as well. In the interviews all the interviewees had the idea that there are different sets of values among cultures, thus cultures vary. T2's explanation why China is in bad terms with Japan in her opinion shows her ideas on the difference between Japanese and Chinese culture in terms of values. In addition, her mention on the culture of the United States also indicates her view to values.

Extract 4.

Q: Do you ever think about the reasons why Chinese people do things in that way?

T2: I think it is about history, as I said.

Q: Then do you think that it is also about cultures?

T2: Did you mean that cultures are in conflict?

Q: Do you think that there is something cultural in the conflict?

T2: I think there is. The reason why Japanese people look down on Chinese people, or do not like them, is that they produce a lot of copy products and they do not really take care of copyrights, or isn't it? But I think these are part of their culture as well.

Q: I see. Here we talked about the difference between Japan and China. What do you think about the people who have different ways of thinking like that?

T2: It depends on nations.

Q: For instance China was explained negatively, but what do you think about others?

T2: Others? I think that (the culture of) America is irresponsible

Q: In what sense do you think they are irresponsible?

T2: They do not do things seriously. For example, I think they make many mistakes in a bill. Well, I mean, if it is seen by Japanese people.

In the extract above at least two different sets of values other than her own can be observed. She explains the relation between Japan and China with copyrights, which she thinks is not strict in China compared with the situation in Japan. Her last remark on China "but I think these are part of their culture" would imply that though she thinks such a practice should not be granted in Japan, it is acceptable from the viewpoint of Chinese culture. Looking at what she said this way, two sets of values (i.e. Japanese and Chinese) can be said to be present. Likewise, her remarks on the culture of America include the comparison between the Japanese values and the American values in her view. This recognition of the difference among Japanese, Chinese and American cultures indicates her idea that different people look at phenomena differently (copyrights and bills), at least on a national level.

Other three interviewees used the word 'value' clearly to refer to the people who have different orientation to culture. Their common view is described well in T1's explanation on his view to different views to culture than his.

Extract 5.

Q: Do you think that there are people who have different ideas on culture than yours?

T1: I think so.

Q: What other ways of thinking to culture do you think are there, if you have any idea?

T1: I think values differ. The views to culture differ depending on people's beliefs in their lives and ways of life. If one thinks highly of natural environment s/he may think that human culture does not deserve being preserved, yet on the other hand specialists in anthropologists may not see nature as cultural as they would see that it is not torched by humans.

In the extract he illustrates the view that people having different values look at phenomena differently, with referring to anthropologists and those who are interested more in nature. T4's explanation to different values was very similar to T1's in that she compared the views to culture between archeologists and the people who vandalize culturally important objects. T3 used generation gaps as the example showing the difference in values among people. Though their examples differ in the contents, they share the point that there are various groups of people who differ in terms of their value orientations. Therefore, 'value' seems to be regarded as an important element of culture. Here, in relation to 5.1.1. it is worthwhile to mention that although they talked about different cultural groups based on values, they did not commonly recognize those as cultural. It was only T3 whose concept of culture includes those as cultural groups.

The second sub-theme of cultural difference is diversity. Various units of cultures are observed from the interviewees' remarks, describing their concepts of culture further. The concept of national cultures was indeed heard from all interviewees. As discussed in 2.1., this sort of view, namely a nation as unit of cultures has been very common in the world. T1, T3 and T4 mentioned also smaller levels of cultures than national ones, though T2 did not. Nations as cultural units are clearly shown in Extract 4, in which T2 compares Japanese culture with that of Chinese and America. Other interviewees also mentioned words such as 'Finnish culture', implying that there is a culture shared in Finland.

Although T2 did not mention any other units of cultures, other

interviewees shared some ideas on other cultural units. They commonly recognized regional cultures within a nation as a unit of cultures. For instance, in Extract 3 T3 refers to the culture of Tohoku area in Japan when he explained the relation between the characteristics of the dialect of the area and its surrounding natural environment. T4 also talked about the culture of Tohoku in her interview. When discussing the local cuisine of Saariselkä, she mentioned Tohoku and Kansai area to explain the difference in the taste of food in regions, following her mention that the local food in Saariselkä had a strong taste.

Extract 6

> T4: I think that local people created the taste of food naturally for their health. The taste of food in Tohoku and Kansai, or somewhere cold and hot in Japan is different. I think it is the same here as well.

As such, they perceive regional cultures within a nation in relation to natural environment. Each of them mentioned at least several areas in Japan when giving examples of cultural differences in Japan, like T4 does in Extract 6. Furthermore, they see urban and rural differences in regional gaps as well. They consciously made difference between Saariselkä and Helsinki when they explained what they would still like to do in their trip, regarding the former as a rural place and the latter as an urban place. They assumed that there are different features between these places. T1 talked about his interest in design, and his explanation continued to the difference between Saariselkä and Helsinki in terms of that.

Extract 7

> Q: If there are different activities available here and in Helsinki, do you think there is cultural difference too?
>
> T1: I think there are more artificial things in Helsinki, while h more the things making use of nature are found here
>
> Q: What differences do you think it generates if there are more natural or artificial things at a place?

T1: People's way of thinking give influence to culture, and things like industrial design seems to have the feel that it is created from materials. It seems to be relatively free, so there is a large influence from people's free ideas.

Q: Did you mean that it is like that in cities?

T1: Yes, in cities.

Q: What influences do you think are there if there are more natural influences?

T1: I think things being available are used there.

His explanation of the difference between Saariselkä and Helsinki suggests part of his concept of urban and rural cultures. He sees that in an urban culture nature does not affect people as much as in rural areas, thus people can have influence on their lives more while in a rural culture people are more subject to influences of nature. Putting this differently, living environments and the ways of life are different between urban and rural areas in his opinion. Similar ideas were heard from T3 and T4 as well. Both of them supposed that culture is different between Saariselkä and Helsinki in e.g. the way of life and scenery. They shared the idea that the culture of Saariselkä as a rural place and that of Helsinki as an urban place are different as surrounding environments vary between those.

The tourists' recognition of different cultures and what has been discussed as their recognition of environmental influence to culture in 5.1.1. seem to be related, since they refer to environmental differences when distinguishing cultures. In 5.1.1. it was argued that T1, T3 and T4 share the view that the features of cultures are dependent on surrounding environments. Here it appears that they see cultural differences within a nation based on the environmental factors e.g. hotness/coldness and being rural/urban. In contrast, T2, not having the idea of surrounding environmental influence to culture but national history as the factor that constructs culture, recognized cultures only on

national levels. Therefore, whether or not taking into consideration the surrounding environments of cultures in which those exist, can be said to be reflected in how a person perceives different cultures.

5.1.3. Tourism and culture

The third theme is 'tourism and culture', namely the tourists' concept of culture in the context of tourism is focused here. When answering to the question that how much important culture is in tourism, all interviewees had the opinion that culture is important in tourism in relation to 'non-availability', something not available at his/her own home environment. Thus this is taken as a sub-theme within the theme. In addition, some views to the culture of tourist destinations, named here as 'touristic culture' were heard from T1, T3 and T4 as a mutual topic. This is also picked up as a sub-theme common to them.

The first sub-theme is named as 'non-availability', as they described that culture is important in tourism because it is not possible to experience in their own living environments. This kind of view is introduced in this paper with referring to Urry's notion of the tourist gaze (see 3.1.2.). As discussed in Chapter 3, tourists indeed come to a place for consuming something not available at his/her living environment. For instance, B answered to the question in the following way (note also the fact that she uses only national cultures as examples, pertaining to 5.1.2.);

Extract 8

Q: How much do you think is a culture important in tourism?

T2: It depends on nations.

Q: How is it different among nations?

T2: Well, I do not mean to look down on them, but I do not come up with anything when thinking about the culture of America, but for example there are Pyramids and camels in Egypt, and reindeers in Finland.

Q: I see. You told me that the importance varies among nations, yet if talking about culture in general, how much do you think is it important in tourism?

T2: I think it is very important.

Q: Why do you think so?

T2: If I were a sightseeing ambassador[2] and I were to advertise a certain place, I introduce to people that here is this kind of unique culture. This makes them feel like visiting the place, doesn't it? So I think it is important.

Q: So did you mean that a culture is important in tourism in order to make people visit the place from somewhere outside?

T2: Yes.

Q: Why do you think it is important in advertising the place?

T2: I think cultures are unique in each nation. People get attracted to the things which they can experience only when they visit certain places, or don't they? This is the reason why.

T2's idea on the importance of culture is clear in Extract 8. As already explained, she is of the opinion that culture motivates people to visit a place because it is not available in the home environment. This view was observed from the all interviewees. When describing the importance of culture in tourism, T3 and T4 discussed the relation between availability and the contemporary information technology. Following is T3's view to it.

Extract 9

Q: How much do you think is a culture important in tourism?

T3: It is my personal view, but tourism is a hundred percent about cultures. Doing only shopping would be also okay, but it is lacking in something. If possible I would like to have mutual understanding with locals.

Q: Why do you think it is a hundred percent about cultures?

T3: For instance, if one wants to do shopping, in the contemporary society the person can do it in Japan as well. What really is the purpose of visiting a place for tourism is seeing or experiencing the things which we can do only at the place visited. I think it is the original purpose of tourism.

---

[2] A Japanese term referring to a person or a position in charge of the promotion of tourism at a place e.g. a municipal government

T3: And when excluding what we can do with advanced information technology, I think tourism is to see something directly, to feel the local air from it, and to talk with locals.

As seen in Extract 9, he is of the opinion that because of the development of technology the purpose of tourism is to have experiences available only at certain places. T4 also had the same idea in that because various pieces of information are available the purpose of tourism is to actually visit a place and see things with own eyes rather than seeing something cultural only through screens. Non-availability therefore is a reason why culture is important in tourism, which is shared by all the tourists.

Some views to 'touristic culture', here referring to the culture present at a place used for tourism differing from the local culture itself, was mentioned by T1, T3 and T4 in relation to the importance of tourism. It was thus taken as the second sub-theme here. When describing the local culture of Saariselkä, it was observed that T1 and T4 regard the culture of the place as a tourist destination. After T1 said that there is a culture of tourist destination at the place, following was heard from him;

Extract 10

Q: Is there anything you feel or think about the culture of this place as a tourist destination?

T1: Information boards in the town. In a tourist destination there are many people visiting the place for the first time, so I feel that that kind of places take account of simplicity in those boards.

Q: Have you visited places where it is not taken into consideration?

T1: Yes there are places like that. For instance, at a bus stop in a place where is regarded as a tourist destination by locals, there is often a sign indicating the bus stop which is easily understandable to foreign visitors. But at a place where locals originally have lived, there is not any board indicating what is where. I think there are many places in Japan which are like that, where foreign visitors cannot understand anything.

In his opinion a tourist destination is prepared for visitors, rather than showing

the place as it is to locals. A similar idea was observed from T4 as she explained that Saariselkä as a place for outdoor activities to tourists though it might not be the same to locals. She also recognized the fact that the way how the place looks like to tourists is not the same as how it does to locals. Furthermore, as seen in the extract below T3 had another viewpoint to the touristic culture, arguing that tourism should be an entertainment at the same time as a chance to learn cultures.

Extract 11

Q: What did you mean by entertainment?

T3: For example, simply put, it is to entertain the people who participate in it. I think, intercultural communication or something, or tourism should be staged in a way that it is fun to know the local culture. I think it is needed for the people who plan tourism or trips.

Q: Do you mean that they should not provide tourists with something local as it is, but make it enjoyable?

T3: It should not be like "Here is Saariselkä, here is the Northern Finland, now you see it".

Q: So it makes difference if they (service providers) say only "Here is Saariselkä" and there are only forests in front of them. How does it make difference, from tourists' point of view?

T3: You mean if it is staged or not?

Q: Right.

T3: Well, simply it enables tourists to understand the meanings of things which they cannot understand themselves otherwise. And, I think getting to know new things is fun.

Q: So it makes it possible to recognize those things

T3: Right. For instance, toady, after we participated in reindeer sledging we heard about the reason why reindeers have antlers and in what cycle those are shed and re-grown. When listening to the explanation people were like "oh, really". I want this kind of things.

In the extract he says explicitly that places should be staged for tourism. This view is close to the one suggested by Sheller and & Urry (see 3.1.3.), according to which a place is performed for tourism. Though he did not use the word 'commodification' (see 3.2.), his idea is consistent with it. T1 and T4's view is also along with it in that a tourist destination is consciously made different from the place for locals (i.e. the location where locals live). Considering both

'non-availability' and 'touristic culture', it seems that how the tourists consider tourism and culture together is consistent with an academic view prevalent in the study of tourism discussed in Chapter 3.

In this subchapter, issues concerning the tourists' common concepts regarding culture were discussed. The tourists interviewed commonly supposed that cultures are formed through history, and values are important elements in each culture. They all also believe that culture is important in tourism because it attracts people with its non-availability in home environments. In addition, T1, T3 and T4 shared the idea that cultures differ depending on surrounding environments, and based on that they recognized different regional cultures smaller than national cultures, including the culture of tourist destinations. On the other hand T2 did not see environmental influences to the features of cultures, nor smaller cultures than national ones. Therefore, whether or not recognizing environmental influences would have influenced their perceptions of different kinds of cultures.

5.2. Tourists' Perceptions of local culture

'Tourist perceptions of local culture' is examined here for the sake of finding out their common views to the local culture of Saariselkä. In the interviews, their images, experience and what they want to experience concerning the 'local culture' were questioned to examine their views to their meanings of the concept 'local'. There are two main themes developed from the result of the interviewees. The first theme is 'the local culture perceived' meaning what elements of the local culture they use when explaining the local culture (i.e. what cultural elements belong to the concept 'local'). The latter theme is 'the places

recognized as local', referring to the place which appear in their interviews as the local place. That is, what places are attached to the word 'local'. Again, there are several sub-themes found in each theme. These themes are introduced with using the sub-themes below.

5.2.1. The local culture perceived

To study what is commonly regarded as the local culture of the place the tourists were visiting (i.e. Saariselkä) their cultural experiences were examined. The interviewees told their views to the local culture differently, as they all have unique experiences. Yet there are two common topics identified, the first of which is 'sledging as an organized activity', and the other is 'the local's life'. The sledging activity was used for explaining cultural experience by all interviewees. In addition, the interviewees told their ideas concerning the local's way of life when describing their local experiences. Generally, corresponding to the result of 5.1. T1, T3 and T4 seem to share some views which T2 does not have, due to the different ways of recognizing cultures.

As explained in 3.4.2., sledging is a popular activity in Saariselkä. It appeared from the interviews that either reindeer or dog sledging is often arranged as a part of tours. Among the interviewees, T1 and T2 participated in dog sledging while T3 and T4 took part in reindeer sledging. The topic was told by the interviewees in different contexts, an apparent difference is that while T1, T3 and T4 explained their experience in relation to the local tradition, T2 mentioned sledging in terms of the interaction with a local. T3's view was already revealed in the in Extract 11 that he takes reindeer sledging as cultural through the explanation about reindeer's antlers. Later he also added following

as local cultural experience through the sledging activity

Extract 12

> Q: About reindeer sledging, you have already told me about antlers as cultural experience, but-
>
> T3: There was also an explanation about shoes
>
> Q: What kind of explanation was it?
>
> T3: They make shoes from reindeer hides, and those are said to be the warmest shoes in the world

Considering Extract 11 and 12 together, he seems to show his interest in the local cultural practice through the sledging activity. In addition, the appearance of words such as "warmest shoes" and "cycle" (of reindeer's antlers shed and re-growing) can be connected to the local environment, since he understands culture as something developed through practices under the influence of a certain environment.

T4, also participated in the reindeer sledging, experienced the activity differently, as she talked about sledging to explain her experience that she saw the Sami traditional costume. However they experienced the activity differently, their experiences share a point. What they share is that the experience was about something traditional to the local culture, which is related to the local environment. In addition, however T1 did not participate in the reindeer but the dog sledging, he connected his experience to local tradition. After he said that the dog sledging is cultural, he continued that when there was not any road or car in the past, a dog sledge would be a valid method of transportation. According to him, dog sledging was a historical and cultural experience in this sense. Here, it is worth pointing out that he also experiences the sledging as cultural with relating it to the local environment together with T3 and T4.

In contrast, T2 talked about the sledging activity only when she described her experience in interacting with a local, which is extracted below.

Extract 13

> Q: Have you talked with locals here?
>
> T2: Yes, at an activity.
>
> Q: How did you feel about it?
>
> T2: He was friendly. We are going to have a dinner with him later.
>
> Q: Is he working at the safari?
>
> T2: He is working at the Husky farm
>
> Q: Why did you all decide to have a dinner together?
>
> T2: He said he wants to know about Japan. He was friendly and kind.

The extract above was the only part of her interview when she talked about her experience concerning the sledging activity. The interaction with him can be regarded as her personal experience, yet also as an example of her experience in the local's friendliness, since she added that all locals were also friendly after the extracted part. In this sense her experience can be seen as cultural. She shares the broad topic of the sledging as an activity through which something cultural is experienced, though the content of experience vary from those of the other interviewees.

From interviews the interviewees' 'interest in the life of locals' was observed commonly, so is focused as the second sub-theme concerning the local culture they perceive. T2 showed her interest in the local's way of life through her experience in the shower room of the hotel she stayed at.

Extract 14

> Q: You have been here only a day, yet have you experienced any local culture?

T2: I was surprised at the shower room. There is not a bathtub. There is only a shower, and it is right next to a toilet. So the whole floor in the room gets drenched. I wonder why their culture became like that.

Though she did not come up with any other local cultural experience, in the extract she wonders the difference in a shower room between the place and her home environment, generated by inconvenience. The other three interviewees told their interest in the life of locals with talking about local shops. Their common idea is that by visiting the shops which locals use (rather than souvenir shops) they can see a part of the local's life. They further shared their willingness to do so. T1 mentioned his desire to visit local shops as something he still wanted to do in his trip.

Extract 15

Q: Is there anything cultural you would like to experience, if not restricted only to organized activities?

T1:   There are shops which we can visit in the town. Well, it is what I am doing now. It is like an exploration.

Q: Why do you want to do it?

T1:   I like visiting supermarkets and markets. Like we talked about the difference in people's values, I am very interested in the things such as what kind of food is eaten and what kind of products is distributed. I think that especially at supermarkets we can see what is sold and what kind of people there are to some degree. Besides, I like this kind of wooden architecture, so I like visiting this kind of buildings.

He has the opinion that a supermarket is a place where one can see a part of local's life. In addition, as he says "it is what I am doing now", the locals he refers to are the people in Saariselkä. T4 also mentioned that she wants to visit local supermarkets in the trip to see what is sold. T3 also thinks in this way, yet as he had already visited a supermarket before the interview he explained in detail how the local culture can be seen at a supermarket.

Extract 16

    T3: I observed what are sold and how those are sold at a supermarket.

    Q: What kind of things were there?

    T3: Basically it was not different from a Japanese one. The supermarket sells perishable food right next to the entrance, then there is a section for the food used for breakfast like breads corn flakes. Yet I found that there were products in the section which are not located there in Japanese supermarkets. Is that called as cracker? There were also cookies on which jam is put and is coated by chocolate.

In this extract he compares the allocation of products in supermarkets between the one he visited in Saariselkä and the ones in Japan. As discussed above, T1, T3 and T4 were interested in the local culture observable at local shops. Their views and T2's experience about the local life in Extract 14 are not similar in that while the former seeks for cultural experience actively, the latter does not. Still, both are told in relation to the local's way of life, so in that sense they all share their recognition of a part of the local culture.

Pondering cultural models discussed in 2.1. a significant point about their experiences is what they listed as cultural. When talking about cultural differences in general, all of them used the word 'value', as something which distinguishes a culture from another. In cultural models such values are located on a deeper level. However, when telling their cultural experiences it turned out that what they described as cultural related to the local place are the things located on more shallow levels in the models, which are easier to recognize e.g. activities, food, other products etc. Since their length of stay was short, it makes sense that their experiences did not go deep as to something related to values. From this point of view it can be said that the cultural models argued grasp the tendency of tourists' recognition well. There is thus a gap between how they

conceptualize culture and how they really recognize it in practice.

5.2.2. The places recognized as local

In the interviews many places were referred to as local. Here those places are examined supposing that the places used in explaining the local experiences would indicate how they perceive the 'local' place. The places they commonly used in the interviews are categorized as followings; Nordic region, Finland and Saariselkä. The first two places were used by all interviewees, while the last one was used by the interviewees except T2.

The term Nordic region was used by all interviewees in a way or another. T1, T2 and T3 used the word commonly when explaining the reason why they came to Saariselkä for northern light watching. The extract below exemplifies how T3 used the term.

Extract 17

> T3: I think Nordic region, Alaska and Canada are the places famous for northern lights watching, but I heard that there is nothing else to do than watching northern lights in Alaska and Canada, so I thought it is better to come here.

T1 also used the term in the same way as T3 did. T2 also used the term in the same way, yet she used the term in other contexts as well. On this point T1 and T3 were different from T2, because they did not use the term in other contexts than as a northern lights watching sight. The extract below is an example showing how T2 used the term.

Extract 18

> Q: It has been a day since you had arrived here, has your trip been going as you had expected?
> T2: I enjoy this. Nordic region is nice.

The interviewer mentioned only the word 'here' to indicate where she was

deliberately. Then she answered with using the word Nordic region to clarify the 'local' place. Although she used the word Finland in the interview as well, like in Extract 18 she also referred where she is as Nordic region many times.

Similar to other interviewees, T4 also experienced the place she visited as Nordic region in certain contexts. For example she used the term when she told her local experience with food. She explained that the bread she ate at Saariselkä is something of Nordic region. She also consciously makes difference between the culture of Finland itself and the culture of Saariselkä. It can be observed from her remarks below

Extract 19

Q: What images did you have on the local culture here before coming here?

T4: You mean, here?

Q: Yes, this local place.

T4: So it is not about the whole Finland but about this place where I am visiting now?

Q: Sure you can think that way.

From the extract it can be inferred that she regards Saariselkä and Finland as different places. Besides, as explained above, she seems to discern Nordic region from these two places as well. Apparently, 'here' means Saariselkä to her in Extract 19, and her use of the word 'the whole Finland' implies her understanding that there are different cultures in Finland. From this point of view as well, it can be said that she takes the culture of Saariselkä and that of Finland differently. Moreover, the fact that she used the word 'Nordic region' in some contexts while she is aware of different levels of cultures in Finland, would imply that what she refers to as something of Nordic region is the thing prevalent in the region in her view. Namely, while she refers to Saariselkä when talking about the local place in the extract above, she also attached other places to the

concept 'local' depending on topics. Similarly, in Extract 11 T3 differentiates Saariselkä as a part of Northern Finland from the whole country, and he talks about Nordic region in Extract 17. This would also mean that he categorizes cultural elements into different places. The same was observed from T1 as well.

In contrast, T2 did not use the word Saariselkä at all. Below is an example illustrating how she perceives the local place.

Extract 20

> Q: What images did you have on the local culture before coming here?
>
> T2: About Finland, I had an image of Santa Claus.
>
> Q: Is there anything else than Santa Claus which you imagined?
>
> T2: Besides Santa Claus, it is cold, and Nordic designs
>
> Q: What do you think belong to Nordic design?
>
> T2: Such as Marimekko.
>
> Q: Is there anything else than Marimekko?
>
> T2: After I had decided to visit Finland I got to know Iittala.

The interviewer asked the same question to both T2 and T4, but as shown in Extract 19 and 20 their answers are very different. In Extract 20 above T2 uses both Nordic and Finland to talk about the local culture. Throughout the interview the mixture of these two was observed, and there did not seem to be consistency. For instance, in Extract 18 she refers to Nordic region to the word "here", though in Extract 20 she instantly says "Finland" referring to "the local culture". Other interviewees also used the word 'Nordic', yet since T2 does not use the word Saariselkä the appearance of 'Nordic' and 'Finland' was much more often than others. In fact, what she is interested in is primarily about these two larger places, which includes the Moomins, Santa Claus, northern light and reindeers (as something Finnish, see Extract 8). These are all listed as something associated with Finland by Japanese tourists in Varamäki's study (see 3.4.3.). Since T2 does

not mention the culture of Saariselkä at all and what she listed as cultural is consistent with Varamälki's study's result, her perception of the local place can be said to be limited to Finnish and Nordic.

Generally, as argued, T1, T3 and T4 understood the term 'local' as something of Saariselkä in the interview. Yet, when pondering how they explained local experiences discussed above, they seemed to see Saariselkä in three layers including the culture of Saariselkä; Nordic region as the largest unit and Finnish national culture as a smaller unit than the first, and the culture of Saariselkä as a regional culture in Finland. The fact that they discern the culture of Saariselkä from that of Finland would mean that they construe their experiences differently (the culture of Saariselkä or of Finland) depending on phenomena. Likewise, Distinguishing Finland from Nordic region would also mean that they suppose certain phenomena in Saariselkä prevalent in all Nordic countries. The fact T1 and T3 used the term Nordic when talking about northern lights would exemplify their recognition that those are commonly observable in Nordic region, in contrast to the sledging activity which was described as something about Saariselkä. As argued, T1, T3 and T4 regard the local culture basically as the culture of Saariselkä, yet there is a layer of cultures in their recognition of the local culture.

To summarize this subchapter for answering the question "what tourists commonly perceive as the local culture", the tourists commonly recognized the local culture of Saariselkä through the sledging activity, in which they all participated. The tourists, who regarded the local experience primarily as something of Saariselkä (T1, T3 and T4), related the sledging activity to the

tradition of the place. They also commonly saw visiting local shops as cultural, from which they can be exposed to the culture of locals not commodified for them. On the other hand, T2, not recognizing the local culture as that of Saariselkä, did not pay attention to the local tradition. Her interest was thus limited to the symbols she related to Finland as a country and Nordic region.

5.3. Views to culture and the local culture considered together

This subchapter concentrates on the relation between what is observed from 5.1. and 5.2., namely the interviewees' concept of culture and the cultural elements perceived as local in Saariselkä. Firstly 'non-availability' and the perception of culture are argued together below. After that the relation of the interviewee's views to environmental influence to culture, cultural diversity and their interest in culture is discussed. To summarize first, those interviewees, who perceive cultures smaller than national ones on the basis of environmental differences, recognized the local culture as that of Saariselkä at the same time as regarding some elements as Finnish or Nordic, i.e. as a regional culture distinct from a national culture. As they recognized cultural differences in a nation they showed their interest in some parts of the culture which is not commodified for them particularly.

5.3.1. Availability and recognition of local culture

It was shown in 5.1. that all interviewees think culture is important in tourism because tourists want to experience something which is not available in their home environments. Following this view, they talked about the local culture of Saariselkä with what is unique to their eyes. Sledging is a good example, as was regarded as unique to all the interviewees, and was told as a cultural experience.

Together with sledging, some interviewees said that eating at the hotel they stayed at was cultural, as the food was different (cf. Extract 6). Some also mentioned that the architecture of the hotel is cultural, considering how wood is used in the entrance hall (not in the same way than in Japan). As such, many of what the interviewees listed as cultural are the things commoditized for tourists, either as organized activities or as part of the service offered to them (which is culturally different from their own culture).

However, T1, T3 and T4 talked also about what is not commodified for tourists as cultural. This is well illustrated by Extract 15 and 16. In these extracts T1 and T3 shows their interest in part of the local's life, which is not particularly commodified for them. They and T4 indicated in the interviews that they want to see local's life in other places they visit, namely in Helsinki and/or Rovaniemi too. What this implies is that the interviewees' recognition of the local culture is not necessarily restricted to what is commodified for them. Therefore, following their interest tourists may consume a place regardless of intended commodification. This would mean that the performance of a place in the sense of Sheller & and Urry (in 3.1.3.) is not always related to how tourists consume the place. Still, for both commodified and non-commodified elements, non-availability seems to function as a common motivation as the interviewees told their experience primarily comparing with their own culture.

5.3.2. The relation among environmental influence, cultural diversity and interest in the locals' way of life

In 5.1. and 5.2. many similarities among T1, T3 and T4 were observed. They shared following ideas, which seem to be connected to each other; the influence

of environment to the characteristics of cultures, the diversity of cultures more detailed than national cultures, and their interest in part of the local's life. Based on the idea that there are different cultures where surrounding environments differ, they recognized various cultures in a national culture. It was argued in 5.2. that they all used different levels of cultures (inc. Saariselkä, Finland, Nordic region) when talking about the culture they perceive as local at Saariselkä, In addition, they mentioned potential cultural differences between Saariselkä as a rural place and Helsinki as an urban place as well. This fact would suggest that they see regional cultures within a nation at least.

In contrast, T2 used only national cultures and regional cultures (as a larger unit of culture as a national cultures) when explaining her perception of culture. Another difference between her and other interviewees is that she did not take account of environmental influences to the characteristics of cultures while others did. Considering the fact that she did not recognize smaller cultures than national ones while others do together, it is possible that what makes difference in the recognition of cultures is whether or not having the idea that environmental factors influence the characteristics of culture. If so, it can be said that T1, T3 and T4 see the culture of Saariselkä differently from the culture of Finland itself, because they believe that cultures differ from a place to another due to environments, and also that such environmental differences are found within a nation. No matter how they understand the cultures there, having the concept of environmental influence would have made it possible for T1, T3 and T4 to mention various cultures within their explanation of 'the local culture' asked.

Furthermore, their interest in the local culture was dependent on their recognition of places. That is, if they do not recognize a place it is not even possible to regard cultural phenomena as something local to the place. It is very natural that T2 did not show her interest in the culture of Saariselkä as she did not recognize the place, construing her experience either Finnish or Nordic. In contrast, the other interviewees, who are of the opinion that the culture of Saariselkä differs from the culture of Finnish national culture, saw part of their experience and interest rather in relation to Saariselkä. This would mean that in order to become interested in something local (e.g. a regional culture, which is smaller than national cultures) one needs to perceive the place as a smaller unit than a nation first. This would enable them to understand their experience as something local to the place they are visiting.

To recap, there are two important facts observed from 5.1. and 5.2. The first is that the interviewees considering environmental influences to the characteristics of cultures (T1, T3 and T4) recognized the culture of Saariselkä as a regional culture smaller than a national culture. On the other hand, T2, whose concept of culture does not include cultural differences caused by surrounding environments, did not recognize smaller levels of cultures than national cultures. This would imply that tourists have to have some ideas justifying cultural diversity that make it possible for them to see cultures more detailed than on a national level, so that they can perceive local cultures more. The other important fact is that those interviewees perceiving the culture of Saariselkä were interested in the local cultures, especially the life of locals, which is not necessarily commodified. T2 did not show interest in the local's culture much, as she did not perceive it. Therefore, answering RQ1, the tourists

experience the local culture differently, based on their recognition of the local place. In short, in order for the tourists to recognize local cultures and enjoy those, they first need to learn a viewpoint which allows them to look at cultures on a local level. This is an aspect needed to be taken into account for the cultural sustainability of tourism.

5.4. Comparison of the tourists' views with those of travel agents'

In this subchapter, local Japanese travel agents' concepts of culture and their views to tourists' interest in the local culture is discussed with referring to what has been discussed in this section already for answering RQ2. This subchapter consists of two parts, which answer subordinate questions for RQ2. 5.4.1. discusses the issues regarding the first question, namely how much tourists and travel agents share their ideas on the concept of culture", and 5.4.2. deals with the agents' view to the tourists' interest in the local culture. A1(working at the first agency) had a similar viewpoint to the meaning of culture as T1, T3 and T4. A2 and A3 (working at the second agency) also share their view to culture that of tourists on some aspects, yet they explained the concept of culture differently from others. Although the agencies look at the meaning of culture differently, nonetheless, their opinion on the tourists' interest in the local culture at Saariselkä was the same. Below the agents' view to culture is discussed first, and after that their views to tourists' interest is examined.

5.4.1. Concepts of culture compared

Here the agents' views to culture are compared with those of tourists with using the sub-themes identified from tourists' interviews, supposing that how they conceptualize culture may influence their view to the tourists' interest in the

local culture argued in 5.4.2. The agents seem to share the main themes concerning culture with the tourists, yet they also seem to have different viewpoints than tourist on some issues.

A1 seems to have similar ideas on environmental influence to cultures with the tourists interviewed. He also thinks that the characteristics of a culture, especially the temperaments of people and ways of life are influenced by the surrounding environment, as he explained below.

Extract 21

Q: Is there anything else than the characters of people which differ among cultures? It does not need to be about people.

A1: Here is very cold, and the sun does not rise for a month, but on the other hand it does not set in the summer time. In this sense climate is also related. Depending on that ways of life vary. And here the population density is not high like in Japan.

Q: I think so too, population density is different here.

A1: Therefore, if someone has lived in a certain environment since childhood it makes difference.

Q: So you think ways of life differ due to living environments?

A1: Yes those differ depending on environments.

This environmental influence to the characteristics of cultures was not mentioned by A2 and A3. However, their concept of culture included the idea that culture is succeeded from the past, which is also identified as a sub-theme in 5.1. After saying that a culture can exist because there is history as well, he explained the following

Extract 22

A2: So called national characters have foundations. Accumulation makes a national character, and it then makes an abstract mass called a national culture.

A3 also commented a similar idea later, and the view is the same as those of tourists. Yet this aspect was not observed from A1 at all. Thus, although the

agents share some ideas concerning the concept of culture with tourists, they do not share their ideas between them.

When talking about the relation between tourism and culture, the agents also indicated the importance of non-availability. A1 described that culture is important in tourism because it may be fun to feel cultural differences. This view of consuming cultural differences is very similar to those of the tourists. A2 also seemed to have an idea connected to non-availability in his explanation of the importance of culture. He explained his opinion on the importance in the following way;

Extract 23

> A2: In tourism, people visit places like representatives of own nations, so it has an aspect of the interaction of peoples. And in tourism, daily life of course shifts to special occasions. In this sense culture in tourism reveals the differences in different occasions. So tourism entails the presentation of own cultures and the representation own nations as its function, more than politicians.

Although other interviewees explained the importance of culture from tourists' viewpoint, A2 described the function of tourism from a more abstract view. Still, "the shift from daily life to special occasions" would indicate the same idea as what other interviewees meant. Special occasions would imply environments which are different from own home, thus are different from daily life. In this sense the focus of this idea is also non-availability. In addition to that his idea focuses on cultural exchange among peoples, which was not observed from tourists or other agents. On this point his view to the importance of culture in tourism is different from others, yet as just written, they seem to share the idea of non-availability.

From the agent' interviews topics related to 'touristic culture' were also observed. It was evident in both of the agents' interviews when they talked about the sledging activity available in Saariselkä. Their descriptions of the activity showed also how cultural they regard sledging, and also how they see the locals. For example, A1 mentioned the following when talking about local organized activities;

Extract 24

Q: So the dog sledging is the most popular activity here.

A1: Yes, though it may be originally from somewhere like Canada.

Q: How long has it been practiced here?

A1: I wonder how long, but it should have been practiced for a long time. There are three companies offering dog sledging here.

Q: But you think it is originally from North America.

A1: I think so. Here people used to use reindeers.

Q: Then what do you think about dog sledging as a cultural activity?

A1: As a cultural activity, it has been practiced here for a long time so it has been localized well, though it is meant for tourism. It was not for a means of transportation here but for tourism

Q: Then do you think reindeer sledging has different background?

A1: Yes. There have been people who hold reindeers here from the past, although it is nowadays meant for tourism. So it is not the same as dog sledging.

In Extract 24, A1 thinks that the current sledging activity is cultural as a touristic practice rather than in a traditional sense. Similarly, A2 and A3 were of the opinion that both dog and reindeer sledging are not cultural now in terms of its background. They used the word 'artificial' to indicate that those are for tourist activities. Yet they said that it is cultural in the sense that those are a means of earning money to the locals. At the same time as showing their view to touristic cultures, these remarks indicate their focusing on the meaning of sledging to the service providers, while the tourists saw the meaning in relation to the tradition of the place. Considering the fact that the tourists did not talk about issues related

to the life of the local service providers, it can be said that the agents the local's life differently from them.

It seems that the agents talked about similar topics as the tourists regarding culture in the interviews, yet their views were not identical to those of tourists. A1 did not mention much about the historical aspects of culture, which was heard from all others. Likewise, the concept of environmental influence to culture was not heard from A2 and A3, though it was shared by T1, T3, T4 and A1. Furthermore, as argued above, the agents took account of local service providers when talking about local cultures, though it did not appear in tourists' interviews. As such, though they share similar topics and some similar views when talking about culture, their ideas also differ in many aspects.

5.4.2. Tourists' interest in the local culture and agents' view to it

The agents' understanding of the tourists' interest in the local culture is examined here. All the agents told in their interviews that Japanese tourists' primal reason for visiting Saariselkä is to see northern lights. In fact, the all tourists interviewed said that they came to the place to watch northern lights. This makes sense since they all visited there by way of package tours in which the main purpose to visit there was northern lights watching. However, despite the results of the tourists' interviews the agents were doubtful about the tourists' interest in the local culture. Although they said that many Japanese tourists are interested in the Sami culture and ask about it from them, they also assumed that the tourists' interest in cultures is little compared with the interest towards northern lights and other activities using nature. Although A1 said the tourists are interested in the local culture, as the extract below shows he also mentioned

their interest toward culture is not high.

Extract 25

> Q: You said the primal reason for their visiting here is to see northern lights. This would be more about activities related to nature, but compared with those what do you think about the importance of activities related to culture like Finnish family visiting?[3]
>
> A1: The proportion of their interest in natural activities against cultural ones is 9:1 or 8:2. I think more than 90% of their interest is toward northern lights.

Similarly, A2 views that the tourists have little interest in the local culture.

Extract 26

> Q: Do you think that Japanese tourists look forward to interacting with locals?
>
> A2: I think they do. Frankly, yes they do look forward to it.
>
> Q: I see.
>
> A2: And there is little demand on visiting Finnish family. This is because that there are activities and nature available here. Because of these they do not really want to know the local culture that much.
>
> Q: So they want to interact a bit with locals, but they are not interested in anything further.
>
> A2: They are not.

As shown above, both agents assume that tourists have little interest in culture there because of activities related to nature. However, interestingly, both suppose that the tourists want to interact with locals. Their views towards the tourists' interest in communicating with locals are observable for instance in Extract 29, and A1 also said the same in his interview. Considering these together, the agents seem to believe that the tourists are interested in the local culture (including local people) a little, yet compared with nature activities available their interest toward culture is very small.

The agents' view to the tourists' interest in the local culture was not close to how many of the tourists explained their interest. It was argued in 5.3.

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[3] An organized activity, in which tourists visit an actual Finnish family to experience Finnish culture. According to the agents it is not available as it is not offered anymore.

that T1, T3 and T4 were interested in the life of locals, and they commonly share the idea that it is observable from local shops e.g. supermarkets. In addition, they connected their experiences in organized activities (i.e. sledging) to the tradition of local people. This fact does not indicate the degree of their interest in the local culture, yet if they were not interested in the local culture much they would not have said that they want to visit local shops to observe the differences at least. This active attitude toward non-organized activity would indicate that they are interested in the local culture more than 'a little'.

Furthermore, they did not mention the interaction with locals as their local experience, though the agents suppose many tourists want it. It seems natural that they did not talk about interaction with locals as their cultural experience if considering the cultural models. Related to this, as expected, there was not any mention on adaptation to the local culture (see 2.4.). What they explained as cultural are the things which are listed in the outer layers in cultural models as already discussed. At the time of interviews, they had been in Saariselkä for one and a half day, so it would have been too early to notice something cultural from the interaction with locals. Together with this, the fact that tour conductors talk with local service providers on behalf of them in many occasions as their command of English is not good, should have influenced to the result as well (note that in Extract 9 T3 says that he would like to have mutual understanding with locals when explaining the concept of culture, though he did not mention his interest in locals in his local experience). Because of these, they may not have had cultural experience in interaction, neither anything intercultural despite the agents' view.

However the agents do not seem to be aware of some of the tourists'
attitude to the local culture, their view seems to capture T2's attitude well. T2 did
not mention anything about her local experience other than about interacting
with locals and about a shower room (see Extract 15 and 16). In Extract 16 she
talks about her cultural experience, but it can be construed as inconvenience
caused by the shower room (as she says that she wants to introduce a Japanese
one). Besides, her interest observed is only toward the famous symbols
regarding Finland e.g. northern lights, Santa Claus and designs, which all were
actually regarded as Finnish or Nordic. Thus she does not seem to have active
interest in the local culture.

To recapitulate 5.4. and to answer RQ2, the comparison of the agents
view to the tourists' interest in the local culture and how they really are
interested in it reveals that the agents are not fully conscious of the tourists'
interest, though they surely understand some tourists well. The agents and the
tourists share some views with regard to the concept of culture, but it apparently
does not enable the agents to see how the tourists see the local place well. This
fact is consistent with the view suggested by Welford et al. (1999) that the
supply-side and the demand-side do not understand each other in tourism (see
3.3.). This would mean that the travel agents, as mediators between local service
providers and tourists, need to understand the tourists more for better cultural
sustainability in tourism there. As Timer & Getz indicates (see 3.3.), without
understanding the tourists' views, it is hardly possible to make culture really
sustainable in the context of tourism. As the mediators between tourists and
service providers, they can definitely influence the tourism practice in a way that
the local culture is better recognized and experienced.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary of the results and discussion

The purpose of the present study was to examine the Japanese tourists' concept of culture, their perceptions of Saariselkä's local culture, and how the local Japanese travel agents understand these. It was conducted with a view to revealing part of the tourism practice at Saariselkä, especially with regard to culture. The interviewees' views were studied by way of analyzing the content of the interviews qualitatively. The results of the analysis suggest that tourists perceive the local culture of the place they visit differently depending on how they comprehend the concept of culture. The results also point out that the travel agents understand how some of the tourists see the local culture while they are not aware of other tourists' views.

The results of this study indicate that all the tourists interviewed share certain ideas concerning the concept of culture, while there were also ideas shared only by some of them. The all tourists interviewed appeared to have an anthropological concept of culture similar as the definition of Kroeber & Kluckhohn (1952). They all supposed that cultures are formed through history, handed down from one generation to another. In addition they shared the idea that each culture has its own set of values, which differ among cultures. Moreover, in their opinion, cultures are important in tourism because those attract people by non-availability, that is, because of the uniqueness which is not available at tourists' home environments. The opinion is in line with the commodification of culture in tourism explained in Chapter 2.

There were also views shared only by three tourists out of four (T1, T3 and T4). They saw that cultures vary because of surrounding environments. They recognized units of cultures smaller than national ones, and they commonly talked about regional cultures existing within nations. Related to the fact, they assumed that there is a touristic culture at a tourist destination different from the culture which the locals of the place practice. They also shared the view that a tourist destination is performed with regard to the characteristics of tourist destinations, like Sheller & Ully (2004) suggests. Thus it can be said from the results that the academic view to the characteristics of tourism is common among some tourists as well. Not having these ideas, T2 recognized the local culture of Saariselkä differently from the other three. Though the other three connected some of their experiences at the sledging activity to the culture of Saariselkä, her perception of the 'local' places was limited to a national level, namely to the national culture of Finland at best. For instance she perceived the sledding activity as local cultural experience like others did, yet her description of the experience referred only to Finland.

The three tourists also commonly connected their experiences at the sledging activity to the history/tradition of Saariselkä with mentioning on its surrounding environment. To elaborate, the three tourists perceived and were interested in the local's way of life not commodified for tourists through the local supermarket and other shops they visited. In contrast, as T2's perception of the concept 'local' was limited to a national level, she did not mention anything about the culture of locals living around Saariselkä which the other three perceived. This proves the fact that the tourists' interest can be diverse than the visual consumption explained by Ully (1990). Since T2 did not recognize the

culture of a tourist destination or a culture smaller than a national one, it seems natural for her not to perceive the culture of locals (which is not commodified for them) in the same way as the others did. Considering the fact that the experiences they told were dependent on how they recognize culture and the local place, the results can be said to be in line with the concept of discourse (cf. Parker 1992 and Martin & Nakayama 2004 in Chapter 2), according to which reality is constructed contextually.

This study also examined how the Japanese travel agents staying at Saariselkä understand the Japanese tourists' view to the local culture. In order to find it out the agents' view to the concept of culture and the local culture was also studied. The results show that the agents share some of the ideas about culture with tourists, but their views also varied from those of tourists. Their views differed from those of tourists especially in that the agents take account of the supply-side, namely the local service providers. It was not heard from any of the tourists interviewed. Furthermore, although they shared some ideas on the concept of culture with the tourists, it did not enable them to understand how the all tourists see the local culture. Their opinion on the tourists' interest in the local culture captured T2's view well, but was not close to how the other three are interested it. That is, the three tourists were interested in the local culture of Saariselkä more than the agents assumed.

Two important facts concerning the cultural sustainability of tourism in Saariselkä can be deduced from the results of this study. First, tourists need to have a point of view to culture which allows them to recognize cultures smaller than national ones so that they can be conscious of and enjoy the local culture

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available at their destination as local experience. In this study, it appeared that T2, not taking account of cultures other than national ones or having the idea that the characteristics of cultures vary because of environmental conditions, did not perceive her experience as something of Saariselkä at all. On the other hand, T1, T3 and T4 perceived the local culture of Saariselkä as a different culture as the Finnish national culture, based on their view that surrounding environments differ among places in a nation. Considering the difference between T2 and others, tourists apparently need to have a viewpoint, with which they regards their cultural experiences as really local. As argued above with referring to discourse, how they perceive an object is dependent on such elements which influence recognition. Thus, making use of the results of this study, local service providers may reconsider what part of the local culture they present with connecting it to their business, and how they would achieve it. What the Japanese tourists see in the place as cultural would be predicted from the findings to some extent. It may be then possible for them to provide services for the Japanese more under their control.

The other important fact on sustainability is that there is still room for travel agents to take actions for better cultural sustainability of tourism in Saariselkä. From the facts discussed in this study, it can be said that the agents can encourage the tourists to have cultural experiences more actively. Although all the agents provide tourists with some information related to their stay, it does not include the local culture much. Thus, as the mediators between locals and tourists, travel agents can provide the tourists interested in the local culture with more information with which they can construe local phenomena more culturally. Furthermore, they can provide the tourists not perceiving local cultures with a

point of view which enables them to see local cultural phenomena as local. These would influence the cultural sustainability of the tourism at Saariselkä positively, with improved recognition of the local culture.

However, there is a limit in what agents can do. It was discussed in Chapter 2 that commodification is led primarily by consumer's demand. In this sense, if a tourist does not recognize the local culture or are not interested in it at all, it is not even possible to commodify the local culture. Moreover, it was also argued that what the service providers commodify is influenced by their will, in that they commodify what they want to offer selectively. In other words if the local service providers are reluctant to make use of their local culture it will not be commodified. Therefore, if the locals want to offer their local culture, it is possible for the agents to assist the local providers in interweaving the local culture more into the existing tourism practice. Concentrating on certain groups of tourists, the agents can provide them with the means which help them to recognize the local place better for cultural sustainability.

There is an interesting fact pertaining to Intercultural Communication drawn from the results as well. It can be reconfirmed from the results that intercultural adaptation is not really applicable to tourists staying at a place for a short period of time. As reported by Martin (1986) and Arenson (2003), it takes much longer time for one to process intercultural adaptation (see Chapter 2). To add, the tourists interviewed must have had interaction with service providers or other locals more or less, what typically varies among cultures pertaining to communication (discussed in Chapter 2) was not mentioned by them at all. This also exemplifies the fact that it is difficult to

construe cultural experiences in interaction really as cultural in a short stay. Thus, however it is sure that staying at foreign environments definitely provides tourists with cultural experiences, it does not necessarily influence their competence to cope with intercultural issues.

The results of the present study would be useful in various ways. For instance, in the context of Saariselkä local service providers can use those to reconsider what part of the local culture they want to present, and how they would do so. In addition, the findings may enable them to predict how the Japanese tourists move in the place. It may be then possible for them to provide services for the Japanese more efficiently throughout the place. At the same time, the travel agents may assist service providers' attempt to commodify the local culture in a way in which supply meets demand better with referring to the results of the study. Academically, the results of this study revealed an interesting relationship between local cultures and commodification. The study supports the view that tourists' cultural experiences at a place are not limited to commodified products/services. This view would be useful in studying the consumption of culture in the context of sustainability. Finally, to conclude, the results of the present study would be useful for better tourism practice at Saariselkä as well as understanding behaviors of people engaging in tourism from the field of tourism and Intercultural Communication.

6.2. Limitations and future implications

Though the present study achieved what has been discussed above, it has some limitations as well. Theoretically, the content analysis applied to this study has limitations in the results. Hsieh & Shannon (2005) pointed out that there is

possibility that the context of the data is not understood entirely, thus the result of the analysis does not depict the data well. Besides, they also argue that compared with other qualitative methods content analysis is not good at a "nuanced understanding" (p.1281). If so, there is a limit in the content analysis pertaining to the depth of the analysis. Using other methods, there hence could be more facts inferable from the data gathered, as this study focused only on the commonality in topics.

There are two more issues to consider concerning the research design. Since a qualitative approach was applied to this study the number of the participants to the research was small. This made it possible to analyze the viewpoints of the participants in detail, but more tourists could be examined in order to grasp the Japanese tourists' behaviors more precisely. In addition, the schedule of the interviews could have influenced the results of the research. All the tourists were interviewed one and a half days after they had arrived in Saariselkä. If the interviews were conducted if the interviews had been conducted at the end of their stay in Finland, the results would have been different. Saariselkä was the first place in Finland that they stayed at in their trip, so at the time of the interviews they have not experienced other places in Finland yet. After visiting other parts of Finland, their recognition of Saariselkä could be different from how they explained in the interviews. Pondering these facts, although the time did not allow in this study, it would have been the best if the tourists had been examined both quantitatively and qualitatively. For instance, together with the qualitative interviews conducted, a questionnaire could have been used together quantitative data. This would have provided with more aspects on the subject.

Together with the analysis method and the research population, it is worth considering the research subjects. First, in the case of the Japanese there is also the need of studying tour conductors who often accompany Japanese tourists. Because of their English proficiency, the Japanese tourists often communicate with locals through the conductors. In fact, some of the tourists interviewed said that they listened to the locals at organized activities by way of the tour conductors' interpretation. Their point of view as well as other points argued right above hence remains to be examined for better understanding of the status quo of the tourism practice in Saariselkä concerning the Japanese.

Moreover, local service providers should have been studied together for revealing the tourism practice concerning culture. Indeed, this point has been pointed out in Chapter 3 with referring to Hjalager (2004). Tourists and local service providers are the most important stakeholders in tourism without a doubt as tourism is based on the people visiting places and the people offering products and services. An even more important fact is that how local cultures should be dealt with in tourism is dependent on the locals' will. Thus the viewpoints of local service providers are indispensable in understanding the local tourism practice.

In future, together with covering the limitations discussed above how other major groups of tourists experience Saariselkä would be also studied for better understanding the tourism practice at the place as a whole. It is because that tourists coming from different locations visit Saariselkä with different contexts. It would provide valuable data on tourists' perceptions of the local culture, which can be then used for planning the sustainable use of cultures in

tourism more comprehensively. This can be said to other tourist destinations as well. In order to understand how cultures are used and thereby managing it successfully, such practice needs to be examined at each tourist destination.

To study the tourists' experiences at tourist destinations, it would be also beneficial to focus on the service offered at the place through which tourists and service providers communicate, from the viewpoint of Intercultural Communication. Though the interviewees of the present study did not mention the interaction with locals as cultural experience much, it would be able to elicit tourists' experiences pertaining to their cultural experience with locals by concentrating on it and analyzing it in detail (cf. e.g. Räsänen, 2011). Studying the interaction between local service providers and various groups of tourists would provide with valuable information regarding the sustainability of the tourism as it concerns the tourists' local experience.

Furthermore, one would study the relationship among how a tourist destination is advertized at a certain location, what images on the place the tourists coming from the location have, and how they perceive the place through their local experience. Since reality is discursively constructed, how tourist destinations are advertised may have considerable influence on tourists' images and perceptions of the place. The way of advertising the places and the tourists' understanding of the advertisement can be crucial to cultural sustainability of tourism, as it can both limit tourists' perceptions or bring more local cultural elements on lights.

In this chapter, some limitations and implications of the present

study were drawn from the results. As explained, there still remains much to be studied further. Nevertheless, the author of this study believes that the present study contributes to the development in the studies related to cultural sustainability of tourism, as well as in the sustainability of tourism in Saariselkä with describing some aspects of the actual international tourism practice there. The usefulness of the results of this study would rise when there are more studies dealing with similar subjects. Therefore it is expected that the tourism practice of various tourist destinations as well as Saariselkä is further investigated by other researchers.

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APPDENDICES

Appendix 1 : Interview questions and its English translation

Questions in Japanese

● 日本人観光者の方への質問
１．　サーリセルカ滞在について
―滞在スケジュールを教えてください。
―サーリセルカ（又はフィンランド）滞在は初めてですか。
―なぜサーリセルカを訪れようと思いましたか。
―旅行は期待していた通りに進んでいますか。

２．　文化の意味について
―文化とはどの様なものだと思いますか (文化は何を含むと思いますか)。
なぜそう思いますか。
―文化ついて、自分の考え方とは異なる考え方を知っていますか。
　知っている場合：どの様な考え方を知っていますか。それをどう思いますか。
―観光において文化はどれくらい重要だと思いますか。なぜそう思いますか。

３．　現地（サーリセルカ/ラップランド/フィンランド）の文化について
―現地の文化に関して滞在前はどの様なイメージを持っていましたか。
なぜそのようなイメージを持っていたと思いますか。
―こちらに来てから現地の文化を見たり経験したりしましたか。ある場合、どの
ような物・事を見たり経験したりしましたか。また、それをどう思いますか?
―現地の文化に関して、滞在中に見たり経験したりしたい物・事はありますか。
ある場合：それはどの様な物・事ですか。なぜ見たい/経験したいと思いますか。

● 旅行会社の駐在員の方への質問
１．　仕事の経験について
―具体的な仕事の内容を教えてください。
―サーリセルカ（又はラップランド）ではどれくらいの期間仕事をしていますか。
―こちらでの仕事は順調ですか。

２．　文化の意味について（観光業者として）
―文化とはどの様なものだと思いますか。(文化は何を含むと思いますか)。
なぜそう思いますか。
―文化ついて、自分の考え方とは異なる考え方を知っていますか。
　知っている場合：どの様な考え方を知っていますか。それをどう思いますか。
―観光において文化はどれくらい重要だと思いますか。なぜそう思いますか。

３．　現地（サーリセルカ/ラップランド/フィンランド）の文化について
―仕事中に文化的な物・事を見たり経験したりすることはありますか。具体的にはどの
ような物・事ですか。
―仕事で現地の文化を使用することはありますか。する場合、文化のどの様な
面を、どの様に使用しますか
―日本人観光客は現地の文化を見たり経験したりしたいと考えていると思いますか。
そう思う場合：どの様な物・事を見たり経験したりしたいと考えていると思いますか。
―（必要なら）ラップランドに住む先住民サーミ人について聞いたことはありますか。

English translation for the questions

- Questions for Japanese tourists:
 1. About staying at Saariselkä:
-Would you tell me the schedule of your trip?
-Is this the first time for you to visit here?
-Why did you decide to visit here?
-Has your visit been going as you had expected?

 2. About the meaning of culture:
-What do you think is culture? (What does it include?) Why do you think so?
-Is there any other view to culture you know?
(If s/he knows other views) What do you think about those views?
-How important is culture in tourism? why do you think so?

 3. About local culture (the culture of Saariselkä/Lapland/Finland) :
-What kind of image did you have on the local culture here before visiting?
-Have you seen/experienced anything related to the local culture after arriving?
 (If yes) what kind was it? How did you feel about it?
- Would you still like to see something related to the local culture before leaving?
 (If yes) what kind of things would you like to see?

- Questions for Japanese travel agents:
 1. About work experience
-What sort of job do you practically do?
-How long have you been working in Lapland
-Has your work been going well?

2. About the meaning of culture (as a worker in a tourist's agency)
 -What do you think is culture? (What does culture include?) Why do you think
 so?
 -Is there any other view to culture you know?
 (If s/he knows other views) What do you think about those views?
 -How important is culture in tourism? why do you think so?

 3. About local culture (the culture of Saariselkä/Lapland/Finland)
-Do you see/ experience anything cultural (related to the local culture) during
  your work? If you do, what kind of things is it?
-Do you use the local culture in your work? If you do, what kind of things do you
use, and how do you use it?
-Do you think that Japanese tourists want to see/experience the local culture?
 (If yes)What kind of things do you think they want to see/experience?

Appendix 2: Letter of consent and its English translation

インタビュー調査協力の同意書

この度は「観光における文化の持続性」の研究のためのインタビュー調査（以下調査）にご協力下さり、誠にありがとうございます。調査に関する以下の説明事項をご確認頂いた上、調査に参加して下さる場合は用紙下部の署名欄にご記入お願いします。

・調査の所要時間は３０−６０分です。

・調査を正確に記録するためにインタビューを録音させて頂きます。

・録音されたインタビューを本研究者以外が聞くこと、使用することはありません。

・調査によって収集された情報は研究目的以外で使用されることはありません。

・参加者の方の個人情報は匿名で扱われ、第三者に知れ渡ることはありません。

・調査中、参加者の方には研究内容に関わる質問に答えて頂きます。

・参加者の方は、答えたくない質問があった場合、その質問は答えなくても問題はありません。

・参加者の方が調査を途中で中断したくなった場合、いつでも中断することができます。

・調査への同意は、この同意書の提出後もいつでも撤回できます。

ユヴァスキュラ大学
人文科学学部　コミュニケーション学科
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上記の本研究に関する説明事項を理解し、研究の為の調査への参加に同意します。   平成　　　年　　　月　　　日 お名前 _____

Letter of Consent for Interview

Thank you for cooperating with this interview for my research on 'cultural sustainability in tourism'. Please read through the terms on the interview below first, then sign your name in the box if you accept the conditions of this interview.

- This interview takes 30-60 minutes.
- For accurate data collection the interview is tape-recorded.
- The tape-recorded interview will be heard only by the researcher conducing this study.
- The information collected through this interview is used only for research.
- Your personal information in this interview is used anonymously, thus a third person does not recognize you in the research.
- During the interview, you are asked to answer questions concerning this research.
- If you encounter a question which you do not want to answer, you can skip the question.
- You can stop/cancel the interview in the middle if you feel like doing so.
- Your agreement on this interview can be withdrawn anytime after you sign this.

Takumi Aoyagi
University of Jyväskylä
Faculty of Humanities, Department of Communication
Master's Programme in Intercultural Communication
Email: XXXXXXXXXX@jyu.fi
Tel: +358-XX-XXX-XXXX

I understand the terms of this interview and agree to participate in it
Date: **Signature:**

Appendix 3: Extracts in Japanese

Extract1
T2: 文化ですか、その国の歴史ですかね。
Q:　では例えば、どのような歴史が文化だと呼べると思いますか
T2: 私は専攻が国文で、結構絵巻物とかの分野なんですよ。だからそういう絵巻物とかみて、時代の、同じ話しが各時代に受け継がれていく感じを見ていると、なんかやっぱ発展してるのがわかるから。
Q:　どのように発展して―
T2: 今みたいに日本絵になっていくのがよくわかるので、やっぱそうやってつくられていくものなのかな、と思いますね。

Extract 2
Q:　文化とはどのようなものだと思いますか。
T4: その国々の人々が育てた物だと思うんですね。日本は日本人が育てた文化、フィンランドはフィンランド人が育てた文化、ですから当然国によって色々違う。

Extract 3
Q:　なぜ文化とは歴史だと思いますか。
T3: その土地で、例えば、気候だとか・・・あとなんだろ、一番大きいのは気候か、によって、どうしても生活様式って変わってくるじゃないですか、そこから自然発生的に生まれてくるのが、例えば価値観であったり、言語であったりすると思うんですよね。だから例えば、日本の東北の言葉って寒くて口をあまり動かさなくていいようにってなっているじゃないですか。で、その中での積み重ねが文化になっていっているのかなっていう。
Q:　外的要因があって、そして歴史が積み重ねられて文化ができていくという―
T3: そうそう。

Extract 4
Q:　なぜ中国の人達がそういうことをやったりとか理由とかを考えることはありますか。
T2: やっぱり、さっき言った歴史ですね。
Q:　そうすると、それもまた文化的な事だと思いますか。
T2: 文化として対立している、ということでしょうか。
Q:　今対立しているのは、文化的な部分があるとかそういうことでしょうか。
T2: でも、ありますよね。日本が中国の人をバカにしている、というか中国をあまり好きじゃないのは、コピーとかすごくつくっていたり、著作権とかあまりちゃんとしないじゃないですか、でもそれはやっぱり中国の人の文化かなって思います。
Q:　今出てきた日本と中国のように、違う考え方を持っている人について思いますか。
T2: 国によりますね。
Q:　例えば今中国の話しだとネガティブな感じでしたが、他はどうですか。
T2: 他ですか。他は、アメリカだったら適当、ですね。
Q:　どの辺が適当だと思いますか。
T2: 適当ですよね。会計とか、けっこう間違えているとか思います。まあ日本人から見るとですけど。

Extract 5
Q:　ご自身とは文化について違う考え方を思っている方は居ると思いますか。
T1: あると思いますよ。
Q:　どのような考え方があると思いますか、もしなにかあればですが。
T1: 価値観のちがいですかね。やっぱりその人たちの生活の信条や感じによって見方が違って r 来ると思う。やっぱり自然環境を重視すると人工的文化は保護にあたいしないと考えるでしょうし、もっと人類学の専門の方だと自然っていうのは人間がタッチしていないから文化って言えるかってことはあるかと思います。

Extract 6
T4: その土地に暮らしている人達が自然に自分の身体のために味をつくってきたものだと思うんですよね。日本でも東北の人と関西の人では、寒い所と熱い所では味が違うようにこっちでもそうなのかなって思いますよね。

Extract 7

Q: 出来るアクティビティがこことヘルシンキでは違うとしたら、文化的には違うと思いますか。

T1: 多分ヘルシンキのほうが人工的な物が多くて、こちらは自然を利用したものが多い。

Q: 自然のものか人工的なものが多いとどの様な違いが出てくると思いますか

T1: まあ人の考え方が、文化に多く影響を及ぼすが、工業デザインなんかはそうなんでしょうけど、素材から作り出すというような感じがある。比較的自由な感じがあるので、人の自由な発想が大きくなってくる。

Q: それは都市の方がということですか？

T1: 都市の方がということです。

Q: 自然の影響のほうが大きいと、どのような影響があると思いますか。

T1: あるものを利用すると言う感じになると思う。

Extract 8

Q: 観光において文化とはどれくらい重要ようだと思いますか。

T2: 行く国によりますね。

Q: 例えば、どういうふうに違うと思いますか、国によって。

T2: そうですね、バカにしているわけじゃないんですけど、アメリカだったら、アメリカの文化ってそんなに思いつかないけど、だけどエジプトとかだったらピラミッドとか、ラクダとか、まあフィンランドだったらトナカイとか、だから国によりますね。

Q: 国によって重要性は変わるという話ですが、文化一般と観光だったらどれくらい重要だと思いますか。

T2: かなり重要だと思いますね。

Q: なぜ重要だと思いますか。

T2: 一番、自分が観光大使になったとして、呼び込みたかったら、こういう特有な文化があるって知らせたほうが行ってみたいってなるじゃないですか。重要だと思いますね。

Q: では外からそうやって観光で人を呼び込むには文化は大事っていうことでしょうか。

T2: はい。

Q: なぜ呼び込むに当たって文化は大事だと思いますか。

T2: なんかやっぱり文化ってその国特有のものだと思うんですけど、そこに来たらそれを体験できる、というかそこだけのものになんか惹かれるじゃないですか。だからですかね。

Extract 9

Q: 観光において文化とはどれほど重要だと思いますか。

T3: 個人的な話しなんですけど、１００％文化だと思ってるんですよ観光って。買い物だけでおわっちゃうの、まぁそれもそれでいいのかもしれないですけど、それはちょっと寂しいなと思って、出来れば現地の人との意思の疎通をはかれればと思っていますね。まあ中々言葉の壁があるので難しいですけど。

Q: なぜ、１００％だと思いますか。

T3: 例えば、買い物目当てだったら、今の世の中だったら日本にいたって買えるじゃないですか。で、究極の所その土地にいって観光をすることの目的はなにかって言ったらその土地でしか見れないものとかその土地でしか体験できないものをすることだと思うんですよね。それが観光の本来の目的だと思っていて、それって、今色んな情報化が進んだ中で出来る事を省いて行くと直接見る事だったりだとかそれからまあ空気を感じる、現地の人と話す、というところになるんじゃないかなと思うんですけどね。

Extract 10

Q: 観光地の文化に関して特に感じる事、思う事はありますか。

T1: 結構町の表示、観光地って初めてくる人がおおいですよね観光地って、そうすると、わかりやすい表示に結構気を使っていると感じますね。

Q: 今まで行った所、場所によってはそうでない所もあるということでしょうか。

T1: 場所によってあると思います。例えば観光地、認識している場所だと、バス停、観光地だったらバス停だよっていう表示が、色んな国の方が来る所だと分かりやすい表示が書いてあったりと言う事がありますけど、元々の地元の人が住んでいるような所だと、どこになにがあるといったような表示がまったく。日本なんかそういう場所多いですよね。外国人の方が来るとなんだろうってなるような。

Extract 11

Q: エンターテイメントとは具体的にどのような事でしょうか。

T3: 例えば、平たく言うなら、そこに参加している人達を楽しませるということ。異文化コミュニケーション、というか、その文化を知る事を楽しいと思えるように演出をしてあげないといけないと思うんですけど、それが観光とか旅行とかを企画する側としては必要なのかと思います。

Q: 現地のものを生でだすのではなく未加工のままおいておくのではなくて、観光客の方が楽しめるようにするということですか。

T3: ここがサーリセルカですよ、ここがフィンランドの北の方なんですよ、さあみてください、ではなくて。

Q: やはり、はいサーリセルカです、といって森があるだけだと違うということですかね、どのように違いますかね、観光客の方からすると。

T3: それがあるとないと？

Q: はい。

T3: いや純粋に一つ一つの意味が、ただ自分で見るだけではわからないものが、わかるようになりますよね。で、やっぱり知る事ってたのしいと思うんですね。

Q: 認識できるようになるという―

T3: うん。例えば今日トナカイのソリいって、終わったあとに、となかいの角はなんのためにあるのかとか、どれくらいの周期ではえかわっているのかとかっていう説明があったんですけど、それを聴いている人達は皆やっぱりそうなんだってなるんですよね。ああいうの、やっぱほしいなと思いますね。

Extract 12

Q: トナカイに関しては、文化的だなっていうのは、さっき角のお話はありましたが―

T3: あと靴の話し。

Q: どのような話しでしたか。

T3: トナカイの毛皮を使ってくつを作る、であれが、いま世の中にある靴で最も暖かい靴と言われているっていう。

Extract 13

Q: こちらの、現地の方とお話をしたりはしましたか。

T2: あの、アクティビティで。

Q: そこでは何か感じましたか。

T2: フレンドリーでした。このあと一緒にご飯を食べるんです。

Q: それはサファリの方ですか。

T2: ハスキーファームの人です。

Q: なぜそのような事になったのですか。

T2: なんか向こうが日本のことを知りたいって。とてもフレンドリーで優しくしてくださって。

Extract 14

Q: こちらにきてまだ一日ですが、こちらにきてから何か現地の文化を経験したりしましたか。

T2: ビックリしたのはお風呂ですね。湯船が無いじゃないですか。シャワーだけで、でトイレと繋がっていて、一面水浸しじゃないですか。なのでなんであんな文化になったのか気になりますね。

Extract 15

Q: 他にはまだ、アクティビティに限らないとしたら、まだ文化を体験したい事はありますか。

T1: ちょこちょこ入れるお店とかかありますよね、街なんかに。まあ今やってるんですけど。探検してるっていうんですか。

Q: なぜそういうことをしたいと思いますか。

T1: あの、スーパー、市場とか私行くのが好きなんですが、さっきの話しで、色々と価値観が違っているっていう、特にスーパーとかそうだと思うんですけど、どんなものを食べているかとか、どういったものが流通しているかとか、大変興味がありますので、そういったところ、特にスーパーに行くと、どんなものがあるかどんな人がいるかある程度わかると思いますので行ってみたいと思いますし、あと、こういった木造建築とかあると結構いいなという感じで、見て回るのは好きです。

Extract 16
T3: スーパーでどんなものをおいてるかとかとかどういうふうに売っているのかとかけっこう見てました。
Q: どのようなものがありましたか。
T3: 基本やっぱりあの日本と何か変わるかって言うとかわらないんですよ。でも例えば、あそこのスーパーって入ってすぐ置いてあるのって生鮮食品、があって、でちょっと進むとパンとかコーンフロストとかそういう朝食でつかうようなものとか、そこにおいてあるものがあまり日本においてないものがあったりする。クラッカーっていうんですかね、ビスケットとか、そこにジャムがのっかっていてチョコレートでコーティングされてるやつ、日本だったらお菓子として売られているようなものがそういうコーナーにならんでいるのが。

Extract 17
T3: オーロラって言うと北欧とアラスカやカナダがあると思うんですけど、アラスカやカナダだとオーロラ以外に行く所が無いと言う話しだったのでだったのでだったらこっちに来た方がいいと思いました。

Extract 18
Q: 来てから一日経ちましたが、旅行は期待していた通りに進んでいますか。
T2: 楽しいです。北欧良いですよね。

Extract 19
Q: こちらの現地の文化について、滞在される前はどのようなイメージをもっていましたか。
T4: あのここの場所で。
Q: はいこちら、現地ですね。
T4: フィンランド全体じゃなくてここのいま滞在している所のことで。
Q: はい、ではこちらで。

Extract 20
Q: 現地の文化に関して、来る前はどのようなイメージを持っていましたか。
T2: フィンランド、サンタクロースのイメージですね。
Q: サンタクロースの他にはありますか。
T2: サンタクロースの他にはあと、寒そう、あと、北欧デザイン。
Q: 北欧デザインというとどういう具体的には、ものがありますか。
T2: マリメッコ、ですかね。
Q: 他には、マリメッコ以外にはなにかまだありますか。
T2: フィンランドいくって決めてからイーッタラとか知りましたね。

Extract 21
Q: 人の気質以外には文化で何が違ってくると思いますか。人間が関係なくてもいいのですが。
A1: だいぶね、ここは寒いですしね、一カ月くらいは日が出てきませんし、逆にね、夏になると日が出っぱなし、昇りっぱなしというのもありますので、そういった意味で気候とかもありますよね。それによって生活も変わってきますし。日本とちがって人口密度がね。
Q: そうですね、人口密度は、だいぶ違いますね。
A1: ですので、それで小さいころから生きていると違いますよねきっと。
Q: ライフスタイルですね、は環境で変わってくる。
A1: そうですね、環境でかわってくる。

Extract 22
A2: 所謂 国民性とは礎からできているものですよね。そういったものの積み重なりから国民性となり、それで国の文化という抽象的な一つの塊となる。

Extract 23
A2: 観光についてはやっぱ、日本人を代表して来るようなものですから、所謂人と人との交わり合いですから、そういう要素を持っているわけですね。それと当然日常性から非日常性になるのは当たり前のことですから、そういう意味で観光の中での文化っていうのは、局面局面で見ると全く違うスタンスが出てきてしまう、ということですから、観光って言うのは伝道師的な意味があると思います。国の代表という意味合いがあるんですよ。政治家よりも。

Extract 24

Q: それで、一番人気なのは犬ぞり―

A1: そうですね、元々は多分犬ぞりはカナダとかそっちのほうでしょうけど。

Q: いつごろからこちらでは犬ぞりをやっているんですかね？

A1: いつ頃からでしょうね。長いとは思います。犬ぞりの会社は三つあるんですけどね。

Q: でも元々は北米から来たものだと―

A1: そうですね、そうだと思います。こっちはどちらかと言うとトナカイだと思うんですけど。

Q: では文化的なものとして犬ぞりをどう思いますか。

A1: 文化的な物として、もう長くやってきていると思いますので、根付いている。まあどちらかというと観光用ですよね。昔、交通手段として使ったというわけではなくて観光用ですね。

Q: そうするとトナカイはまた違った背景があるというか。

A1: そうですね。昔からこちらに飼っている方がいて、で今は観光用になっていますけども、ちょっと違うと思います、犬ぞりとは。

Extract 25

Q: こちらに来る第一目的はオーロラということですけど、そういう自然のものと比べてこういう文化的な、フィンランド人の家を訪れるとか、そういうのの重要さはどう思いますか。

A1: 多分９対１とか８対２とか。まず、９０％以上はオーロラ。うちに来る方は。

Extract 26

Q: 観光客の方は現地の人と接すると言う事を楽しみにしていると思いますか。

A2: 結構楽しみにしていると思います。正直に言って楽しみにしています。

Q: そうなんですね。

A2: ええ、だからフィンランド人宅訪問というのはあるがそれにはほとんど要求がない。というのは、ここにはアクティビティとか自然があるのでそこまで文化を知りたいとは思っていないでしょう。

Q: ただ現地の人とちょっと接したい。それ以上に興味を持つ人は―

A2: いないですね。