

THE REPRESENTATION OF SÁMI PEOPLE ON
FINNISH AND NORWEGIAN TOURISM
WEBSITES IN ENGLISH

Master's thesis
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Tiivistelmä – Abstract <p>Tutkielman tarkoituksena oli selvittää, minkälaisia representaatioita saamelaisista rakennetaan norjalaisessa sekä suomalaisessa matkailumarkkinoinnissa englanniksi. Aineistona oli yksi kunkin maan virallisen matkailumarkkinointiportaalin (VisitFinland ja VisitNorway) saamelaisaiheinen alisivu. Tutkielman teoriapohjana käytettiin kriittistä diskurssianalyysia (esim. Fairclough 1992, Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, Blommaert 2005). Taustatietona käytiin läpi aiempia tutkimuksia saamelaisrepresentaatioista. Metodeissa nojattiin pääosin laadulliseen ja monimodaaliseen analysointiin, jossa pohjana oli Fairclough'n (1992) kolmitasoinen diskurssiaineiston analysointi.</p> <p>Tutkimustuloksista kävi ilmi, että molemmilla nettisivuilla saamelaisrepresentaatiot rakennettiin odotetusti stereotyyppien varaan. Niissä korostuivat erilaisuudet saamelaisten ja länsimaalaisten välillä. Erityisesti saamelaisten perinteisiä elintapoja markkinoitiin, mikä on tullut ilmi myös aiemmassa saamelais- ja alkuperäiskansojen tutkimuksessa. Historiattomuus ja modernin saamelaiselämän huomiotta jättäminen olivat tässäkin tutkielmassa selkeitä tuloksia saamelaisrepresentaatioiden rakentamisessa, mikä on tyypillistä jälkikoloniaaliselle diskurssille. Norjalaisen ja suomalaisen aineiston välillä eroja oli lähinnä tyyliin, siinä missä suomalainen sivu käytti enemmän adjektiiveja, markkinoivaa kieltä, kuvia, ja otti turistit enemmän huomioon.</p>	
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1 INTRODUCTION

Tourism is a major source of income in the north of Finland, Sweden, and Norway, that is, Fenno-Scandinavia¹. In addition to the northern and Arctic environment, nature, various activities and sights, a prominent tourist attraction in all of these three countries is the indigenous people of the north, the Sámi people. The tourism business employs Sámi people in selling the northern experience for tourists by various ways, ranging from restaurant and accommodation services to adventure safaris and cultural experiences. The nationalities and ethnicities of the service providers vary from Sámi, Norwegian/Finnish/Swedish, to others.

The treatment and rights of minorities are always topical subjects of discussion in a world where equal human rights are increasingly fought for. The Sámi people have been a significant part of this discussion, particularly in Europe. Being the only indigenous people in Europe, their influence on the mainstream culture of Northern Europe, and specifically Fenno-Scandinavia, is undeniable. However, because the turns of history have been favorable to allocating power to others, the Sámi have been through a lot of struggle and oppression throughout their history in coexisting with other groups of people. (E.g., Lehtola 2004.) The struggles continue to this day, even though the Sámi have gained some ground throughout the years. Their modern day struggles relate to, for instance, the ever-present questions of land rights (which I will briefly touch upon below in the Sámi people section), and in general how to combine their culture and traditions with the mainstream cultures and regulations.

Tourism can be seen as directly related to these issues. On the one hand it is beneficial to the Sámi in providing knowledge to tourists about the Sámi culture, supporting the Sámi people financially, and maintaining traditions in, for example, producing handicrafts for sales. On the other hand, the tourism industry can also

¹ Fenno-Scandinavia (also: Fennoscandia) is a geographic term used to refer to the Scandinavian Peninsula, Finland, Karelia, and Kola Peninsula. Even though I do not discuss Sweden, Karelia, and the Kola Peninsula areas in this study, I chose to use the term Fenno-Scandinavia, as the definition of Scandinavia does not include Finland.

be looked at as a business with a goal in making money, and this goal might sometimes shadow the benefits of tourism and come in the way of ethical tourism. Consequently, the ways in which the Sámi culture is sold for tourists can in fact be harmful not only for the Sámi image but also for their identities, in, for instance, emphasizing stereotypes and diminishing the oppression. This duality of tourism both as an enabler and an exploiter of the local people and environment is an important focus point in this study, and I am interested to examine what the reality behind these assumptions is.

In this thesis my purpose is to investigate the representation of Sámi people in Finnish and Norwegian tourism marketing, specifically on official tourism websites in English. I am interested in what kind of image of Sámi people is created for tourists, and in essence, how the Sámi are molded into a tourism product. By analyzing two subpages on the official Finnish and Norwegian tourism websites with a focus on multimodality, I am going to use critical discourse analysis to interpret the ways in which the image of Sámi people is constructed, and what kind of image that is. I will reflect the analysis against the historical, cultural, and political background of Sámi people in these countries, as well as the duality of tourism discussed above, and keep an eye open for possible problematics in the representations.

To be able to understand the current state of the Sámi, it is important to understand the past. Therefore I will begin this study by briefly reviewing the history of the Sámi people, and introducing their culture. After that, I will concentrate on the theoretical background that I will apply to this research. The analytical and theoretical basis will mainly be in critical discourse analysis (e.g., Fairclough 1989, 1992,; Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, Blommaert 2005). In addition, I will use the (discourse analytical) concept of representations (e.g., Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009). After the background theory section, I will review some previous studies on the representations and images of Sámi people in tourism and other areas (e.g., Pietikäinen 2000, Pietikäinen & Leppänen 2007, Levy

2006, Mathisen 2004, Olsen 2006, Potinkara 2012). The background section with a history review, theories, and previous studies will provide a cultural and discourse analytical basis for my own analysis. All of this will be researched from the historical and cultural background of the Sámi people, keeping in mind the differences between Finland and Norway.

In terms of locating this study within a field, it will mainly fall into critical discourse studies on minority representations. Combining minority studies, specifically about Sámi people, and tourism representations from a critical discourse analytical point of view is a needed topic of research. There are some studies of Sámi people in terms of tourism representations (e.g., Olsen 2003, 2006), but where this study differs from the previous ones is that the focus is specifically on the genre of official governmental tourism promotion websites² in English. Focusing on the English data will be insightful because the material is directed towards an international audience of potential tourists, with possibly little or no background information about the Sámi people, thus leaving room for building the sort of images and tourism product the creators wish to build. The English language and the international audience inevitably affect the nature of material: The discourses are most likely somewhat different from the ones that are directed to local audiences with local languages. The venue of publication, the internet, also offers a lot of freedom and various tools to build representations. Through multimodal analysis it will be interesting to see how, for instance, text, images, and layouts all contribute to creating representations. The genre³ of official government tourism marketing websites adds its own significance to the results because it reflects the official stands of these states in how they wish to promote Sámi tourism.

My primary research question is: How are the Sámi people represented on official Finnish and Norwegian tourism websites in English? Related to this, my

² VisitFinland.com and VisitNorway.com

³ In discourse analysis, genre can be described as a fixed linguistic and social practice that is recognized by its users. (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009: 80–81).

subquestion is: How are the representations of Sámi people different between tourism websites of Finland and Norway? In addition to these, I will explore the threats and opportunities of the representations to the Sámi people and tourism providers, and try to examine how much the representations are in touch with reality. In essence, my interest lies in how ethical Sámi tourism really is.

1.1 The researcher's position

Before continuing further on, it is to the purpose to contemplate what the author's role as a researcher is in this study. Minorities can be a very sensitive topic of research because there always exists a danger of "stepping on somebody's toes," or a possibility of taking someone's side - the minority's or the majority's, in which case someone might always get offended. A researcher should be objective, but on the other hand, the premise as well as subconscious attitudes can affect the research - particularly in critical discourse analysis. One problem with studying the Sámi is that at times opinions emerge from within the Sámi community that condemn research done by outsiders. For instance, a Finnish Sámi researcher (herself a Sámi) Elina Helander (presently Helander-Renvall) has stated that research about the Sámi should be done from the Sámi perspective, with their own cultural and informational concepts, instead of "blindly following Western paradigms" (Helander & Kailo 1999: 232). The belief seems to be that, in the end, Western and Sámi cultures are so different that a Western perspective on Sámi issues will twist the results in one way or another.

In the same book by Helander and Kailo, one of the most influential Finnish Sámi artists Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (deceased 2001) concurred with Helander's opinion by stating that the "white population" never even considers that there might be other schemes and measurements of things than their own, and this is why majority research of Sámi culture and issues is not right (Helander & Kailo 1999: 129). These opinions are understandable because, in a way, research done from a Western point of view is simply another way of adapting the Sámi culture to the majority's norms. Nevertheless, the reality is that there are not enough Sámi

scholars to cover all aspects of research related to them, and on the other hand, banning research of an ethnic group from another ethnic group is simply another form of discrimination. From my point of view, I feel justified to study Sámi representations, even though I am not Sámi, because for a researcher, the whole world should be open for study. The importance is in spelling out one's premises and point of view. Inevitably, my background knowledge and my experiences shape the direction of my study. My knowledge of the Sámi culture is not first-hand, but it is mostly based on a few academic courses related to Sámi history and culture, and the reading I have done for this thesis. In addition, I have resided in Northern Norway in Tromsø for a year in 2012–2013, which has been, and still is, an important town for Sámi culture. There I observed the modern Sámi as not being isolated or differentiated from the majority, but being an established part of society, not standing out because of their heritage. This reality already speaks against the differentiation between the majority and Sámi people that is being upheld in tourism.

Being a member of the Finnish majority culture, the underlying societal conceptions about the Sámi might have an effect on my ways of thinking, but as a researcher, I will aim for a non-biased perspective. On the other hand, as my theoretical point of view is in critical discourse analysis, I am conducting this research somewhat in solidarity with a dominated group, which is a common principle of CDA (van Dijk 2001: 353), acknowledging the unjust use of power that this group has encountered.

2 THE SÁMI PEOPLE

In this section I will briefly go through the main historical and cultural developments of Sámi people, picking up events in history that in my eyes are meaningful for the purpose of understanding the remainder of this study, and the reasons for conducting a study of this kind in the first place. This way I will try to

reason how Sámi stereotypes⁴ have formed, my point of view being mostly in the relationships of Sámi and majorities. It should be noted, however, that in this chapter I am not making accounts of specific Sámi groups' histories, but instead building a general image of the main points in the history of all Sámi people.

In this chapter I will mainly rely on Lehtola's (2004) clear and concise work on Sámi history, as well as course material and lecture notes from a Sámi nation course I took in early 2013 at the University of Tromsø.

The Sámi is a general term for a group of people who traditionally have resided in Northern Fenno-Scandinavia, who are regarded as the only indigenous people in Europe. It should be noted already here that the term Sámi is an umbrella term for various different groups of people, who can be very different from each other. For example, it has been said that the difference between ethnic Finns and Finnish Sámi people is smaller than the difference between the Finnish Sámi and other Sámi groups (Viken & Müller 2006: 1-2). The Sámi have inhabited the northern parts of Fenno-Scandinavia and Russia's Kola Peninsula since time immemorial. There are both archaeological and linguistic evidence of the Sámi from around the first millennium, the oldest archaeological evidence being human skulls in Varanger Fjord in northeast Norway from around 800 BC (Lehtola 2004: 21).

There have been different points of view to the ethno-genesis of the Sámi. From around 1980s a common theory among historians has been that Sámi, Norse, and proto-Finnish ethnicities emerged as a result of a differentiation process taking place within northern Fenno-Scandinavia among the different heterogeneous groups of hunter-gatherers living there (Hansen 2013). A general distinction between the Sámi and Norwegians, Finns, Swedes, and Russians can be said to reside in their lifestyles: the Sámi have traditionally been more hunter-gatherers, whereas the ethnic majorities have been more or less agriculturalists. The different

⁴ With regard to the term *stereotype*, this definition in the Oxford Dictionary (2014) corresponds with my understanding and use of it: "A widely held but fixed and oversimplified image or idea of a particular type of person or thing."

Sámi groups have altogether ten different Sámi languages, of which Northern Sámi is the most widely spread, and is spoken most widely in northern Norway. The Sámi languages belong to the Finno-Ugrian language group and are related to Finnish. (Lehtola 2004: 11.)

Because of their remote locations and nomadic lifestyles, the Sámi have been able to practice their traditional cultures and religions for longer than the majorities, as, for instance, the waves of Christianization and industrialization took longer to reach the North. Christian missionaries reached the Sámi from around 1600s and 1700s. The pastors condemned the Sámi's traditional religious and cultural practices as heathen and destroyed most material evidence of it, which is why original Sámi culture has been difficult to trace. Some of it, however, has remained, for example, in the form of oral tradition (such as *joik*, the traditional Sámi communication in the form of song). The Sámi philosophy has been based on the cycles of nature, where people are a part of nature and live by it, following its seasonal change. (Lehtola 2004: 28.) This is a clear reflection of the nomadic lifestyle, in which the Sámi followed the course of nature for obtaining livelihood. According to Helander and Kailo (1999: 214), living in nature makes one aware of how every part of nature, including people, animals, rocks, and other creatures, live in relation to each other. The reality of the Sámi has traditionally consisted of the physical world and the spirit world, in between which shaman men and women, the *noaidi*, operated as spiritual guides both for individuals and communities. (Lehtola 2004: 28, Helander & Kailo 1999: 214.) The noaidi helped people in crisis situations, such as with illnesses, and were able to visit the spirit world to "restore harmony" (Lehtola 2004: 29).

Alongside Christianization, other Western ideals and rules began to permeate the Sámi communities around the same era. The Lapp Codicil in 1751, an addition to the agreement defining borders between Sweden and Norway, is regarded as the first codification of Sámi rights. This is also seen as the beginning of a stronger separation between different Sámi groups, because the area where they lived was

divided (Viken & Müller 2006: 1). The codicil guaranteed, for example, free traffic and transfer of reindeer across national borders in the north. Before this, the Sámi relied on their own Siida system, which consisted of autonomous territorial Sámi areas. The Siida areas were officially recognized in the codicil. Unfortunately the Lapp codicil marked the deterioration of Sámi's independent rights, as ideas of private and state landownership, and separating arable land from pasture land, began to emerge. In 1848 in Norway, a parliamentary bill decided that Finnmark (the northernmost county in Norway, a prominent Sámi area) became a colony of Norway and the state became the official owner of the land. The Siida system was forgotten with this bill, and Sámi traditional rights were replaced with equal rights not based on ethnicity. (Nyyssönen 2013a.)

The mid-1800s was also the beginning of the Norwegianization policy in Norway. Due to the social Darwinist ethos of the time, Norway created a legislation with which the Sámi, as well as Kvens (coastal Finns in Norway), were more or less forced to assimilate into the Norwegian society. For instance, the Norwegian language was emphasized in many issues: Sámi schools were operated in Norwegian, and Norwegian citizenship (as well as land ownership) was dependent on Norwegian language skills. The idea was to civilize and in this way "rescue" the Sámi. The Norwegianization policy lasted almost for a century. (Lehtola 2004: 44–45.)

Alongside the Norwegianization policy, Sweden began practicing its own ways of dealing with the Sámi. The Sámi faced a policy of segregation and isolation, the motto of which was "Lapp ska vara Lapp" ("A Lapp must remain a Lapp"). Thus, instead of assimilating the Sámi into the rest of the society, they were kept away from ethnic Swedes and given their own school system. (Lehtola 2004: 45–46.)

In Finland, the traditional Sámi communities were bound to change from around 1600s as the north began to be colonized by Finns. Even though the Swedish Crown issued placards ensuring that the colonists and the Sámi could live side by

side, there were issues, such as the Finns' "slash and burn" cultivation method. During this time, many Sámis assimilated into the Finnish culture by becoming farmers, and were even given Finnish names. (Lehtola 2004: 32.) Further changes occurred in Finland as municipalities were established in 1865. Because of, for instance, land use conflicts that denied the use of fishing waters and hunting grounds, for many more Sámi people it became sensible to become an agricultural colonist and leave the traditional Sámi livelihood. This was in part also due to the reindeer herding law, according to which reindeer herding areas were to be kept side by side with agricultural areas. As a result, reindeer herding became mostly a secondary livelihood. (Lehtola 2004: 42.)

A significant change for the Sámi in general occurred in the 1800s, when the Sámi area was divided into four parts by national borders: Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. These borders were gradually closed, which was harmful for the Sámi, as borders were on traditional reindeer migration routes. Even though the situation was confusing, the Sámi were able to adapt by moving, giving up migration, or attempting to conceal it. (Lehtola 2004: 36-37.)

There has been some Sámi mobilization in Norway, Finland, and Sweden since the 1870s, but the first Sámi congress was held in Trondheim, Norway on February 6 in 1917. This date is still celebrated as the national Sámi day. However, due to various problems the Sámi movement was rather inactive after this until the 1940s. For instance in Norway, the general condescending attitude towards the Sámi did not help their cause, and the Swedish paternalistic approach of trying to preserve the Sámi culture, thought to be good for them, had its hindrances. In the 1940s, Sámi organizations were established in each land. In Finland, the first Sámi union was established in 1945, even if it had no constitutional power. However, there became real needs for Sámi mobilization after the Second World War because of industrial intrusion killing Sámi villages (e.g., the establishment of hydropower in Sodankylä, Finland) and the deepening assimilation in schools. (Nyyssönen 2013b, Lehtola 2004: 57.)

The 1960s have been dubbed the time of the Sámi Renaissance, when a second generation of Sámi activists began demanding the revival and revitalization of Sámi culture, and demonized modernization, majority societies, and choices made by older Sámi generations. During this time the Sámi entered the global organization of the Indigenous peoples, and adopted the status of indigenous people. (Nyyssönen 2013b.) In addition to politics, the renaissance highlighted Sámi arts. For example, a Finnish Sámi artist Nils-Aslak Valkeapää had a great influence in popularizing the joik by bringing it to the stage, and the traditional Sámi handicrafts were revived and became protected under the Sámi Duodji trademark. (Lehtola 2004: 70.)

Alongside the renaissance, several Sámi organizations and associations were established, and the cooperation between different Sámi groups increased. The idea of Sápmi as a sign of cultural, ethnic, and regional fellowship emerged. Sámi parliaments were founded in each Fenno-Scandinavian country in the early 1990s, and the first real pan-Sámi institution came to practice in 1997. (Lehtola 2004: 72, Nyyssönen 2013c.) A major inspiration for political mobilization and cooperation was the Áltá conflict in the early 1980s in Norway. A turning point (according to Lehtola 2004: 9) in Sámi political and cultural history, the Áltá conflict was about fighting against a hydro-electric dam that was planned for the Áltá river in Finnmark, northern Norway. Long before the 1980s, industrialization and post-WW2 reconstruction caused a lot of damage for nature, a considerable amount of which in the form of river dams harnessed for hydropower. These actions were harmful for the Sámi and their livelihoods because of floods, destruction of reindeer pastures, and the general disturbance of the natural state of the environment. The Áltá conflict gathered both nature protectionists (non-Sámi) and Sámi activists to demonstrate against the building of the dam, in hopes of preserving nature and fight for the future of reindeer herding and Sámi rights. (Lehtola 2004: 76.)

The conflict went as far as protestors having to be forcefully removed from the area, hunger strikes in Oslo, and an attempt to blow up a bridge. Despite the upheaval, the dam was built, although “in the cleanest possible way.” (Lehtola 2004: 76–77.) Even though the dam was built, the Áltá conflict had major effects for Sámi rights. Norway was forced to take Sámi needs more into consideration and, for example, in 1980 they appointed a Sámi affairs committee to safeguard their cultural and legal rights (Lehtola 2004: 73). Today, Finland, Norway, and Sweden all have their own Sámi Parliaments, the youngest of which is the Swedish one, which was founded in 1993. Possibly because of the Áltá conflict, the Norwegian Sámi parliament has more power than for instance the Finnish one, and they have been able to improve Sámi conditions a great deal. (Lehtola 2004: 80.) Nevertheless, differences of opinions exist also within the parliaments, which are a further proof that the Sámi even within separate countries are not unanimous about how to deal with issues (Nyyssönen 2013c).

After the Áltá conflict Norway ratified the ILO 169 convention in 1990, which is the major legally binding international instrument specifically for the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples. Even to this day in 2014, Norway is the only country out of Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Russia to ratify the convention. As Lehtola (2004: 85) stated, the problem for these other countries is the property rights conditions. Nevertheless, Finland ratified a preliminary agreement for minority rights in 1995, which Lehtola (2004: 85) grants is a tighter commitment, for instance, in securing Sámi languages.

In addition to the Sámi parliaments, the Sámi mobilized in other ways as well, such as in different Sámi youth organizations and the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, where the focus from the beginning has been on emphasizing indigenous people’s rights to land and water, and the right to self-determination. With regards to youth organizations, one mentionable accomplishment by them in Finland was a demonstration in Rovaniemi in 1996 against the use of traditional Sámi garments for tourism purposes. (Lehtola 2004: 78–80.) Nevertheless, in Finland this still

seems to be a problem. As recently as in November 2013 (Yle 2013) there was criticism against the use of Sámi garments at Levi World Cup (a skiing event) in Lapland where non-Sámi promotion employees wore Sámi clothing in apparently inappropriate ways. One of the event organizers, Riitta Karusaari, who was interviewed in a news article, thought it was appropriate to utilize Sámi culture in the event promotion, whereas a Sámi craftswoman, Meeri Ojanperä, who was also interviewed, was offended by the inappropriate use of Sámi garments and the continuing exploitation of Sámi culture. According to the article, the reason for this sort of exploitation of the Sámi culture seems to be that the Finns are simply unaware of the possibilities of offending the Sámi with actions such as these.

For the Sámi, tourism has been a complementary subsistence to reindeer herding since the 19th century, and particularly since the 1960s the tourism flow to the area has increased due to better accessibility (Pedersen & Viken 1996, as cited by Viken 2006: 9). Viken and Müller (2006: 2-3) pointed out that the rise of leisure society has given rise to Sámi tourism as well, through activities such as dog-sledding, fishing, and snowmobiling, which often are Sámi led. The positive effects of Sámi tourism in, for instance, providing employment and maintaining traditional Sámi activities and handicrafts are undeniable, but questions of the ethics of tourism particularly concerning indigenous people should also be considered. As it was stated by Fennel (2005: 7): "Although tourism is often touted as being a savior in many regions, experts, including the UN, suggest that it has failed because of the 'displacement of local and indigenous people, unfair labor practices, corruption of or disrespect for culture and a myriad of other human rights abuses, along with environmental contamination.'" Balancing out these two sides of the issue is also one of the focal points in this study.

In practice, the effects of Sámi tourism for traditional subsistences can be easily harmful, as Puuronen (2011: 130) pointed out. Some visiting tourists disregard private Sámi territories when practicing, for instance, fishing, hunting, or berry picking, and the increasing nature tourist activities often disturb reindeer herding.

From a representational perspective, the exploitation of Sámi culture by Finnish tour operators has had a great significance in contributing to a one-sided, romanticizing, and exoticising image of the Sámi, which masks the true reality and problems of the Sámi (Puuronen 2011: 148). The balancing out of Sámi representations from inside and outside is also a main issue in this study and in tourism. Olsen (2003: 16) made note of how the Sámi are in a way dependent of the images created of them because they lack power to establish images of their own. This is the unfortunate truth in the lives of many minorities.

Nevertheless, in general, the current situation among the Sámi is rather good and solid, in comparison to what it has been in the past. As Lehtola and Länsman (2012: 13) stated, it is extremely positive that the Sámi today are relatively autonomous, most of them are proud of their culture, and the attempts to improve Sámi rights are fought on local, national, and international levels. Many struggles have been won already, but the traces of oppression and colonialism are deep and still observable, as it will be seen in this study as well.

3 BACKGROUND - THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Studying the representation of an indigenous minority in tourism discourse is not a simple research topic within a restricted area of academics. Instead, various perspectives need to be taken into consideration in order to reach logical and justified conclusions, and it is the author's choice to decide what those perspectives are. These choices are essential in terms of results and might dictate the direction of those results: Leaving out one perspective will leave more room for the others and thus emphasize other issues. For this study, I have chosen a few aspects that I will combine to gain comprehensive results about the topic. Coming from a linguistics background, I will use that background in discourse analysis to investigate the issue on the one hand, and on the other hand combine this to the more socio-

cultural aspect of Sámi studies. In this section I will review the background theories that are essential to my study.

3.1 Discourse analysis

The main theoretical basis of this work lies in discourse analysis, which is an approach used in, for instance, linguistics and social sciences. Before delving into what discourse analysis means, it is in order to determine what is meant with the term *discourse*. Blommaert's (2005: 3) definition of discourse fits into my understanding and application of the term. He wrote that discourse "comprises all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and developments of use." Consequently, any stretch of human activity or language use can be regarded as discourse. Fairclough (1992: 4) separated *discourse* and *a discourse* by using the first term for language use, and the latter one for particular types of discourse. He clarified the first term further by emphasizing language use, that is, discourse, as a social practice that is a form of action for people to act upon the world and each other (Fairclough 1992: 63). For comparison, another notable discourse analyst J. P. Gee (2008: 2–4, 115) separated *Discourse* (with a capital *d*) and *discourse* in a slightly different way: Language use combined with other social practices constitutes *Discourse*, whereas language use by itself is *discourse*. Thus it is important to signify which school of definitions one chooses to use, as they can be different from each other. Nevertheless, as I am following Fairclough's definition in this study, discourse as a term for language use refers to online tourism marketing for international audiences, whereas as a particular type of discourse (*a discourse*) my focus is on a few subpages on official tourism promotion website: in particular, subpages about Sámi people. The latter could be divided even further into pieces of texts and separate images.

Having briefly defined the key concept discourse, I will now discuss the theories of discourse analysis in general. Essentially, in discourse analysis, different phenomena of cultures and societies are studied through the lens of language use.

Discourse analysis is based on the assumption that meanings are created in language use situations; inherently, in social interaction, and language does not carry meaning in itself. (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009: 11–12.) Thus, even if language is at the core of discourse analysis, but instead language is used as a window into a further understanding of the world. Fairclough (1992: 4) explained the diversity of discourse analysis by the intertwinement of language analysis and social theory, which is a good manifestation of the multidisciplinary of discourse analysis and proves that it can be applied in various fields of research. This intertwinement, according to Fairclough, occurs through three dimensions: the text dimension, the discursive practice dimension, and the social practice dimension. First, the text dimension simply acknowledges that every language use situation is a piece of text (a concept I will open up a bit more below in the methodology section). Second, the discursive practice dimension is about how the texts are produced and interpreted, possibly by combining different types of discourses. Third, as the name reveals, the social dimension is for scrutinizing how the social circumstances of the situation have an effect on the discourse. To apply these dimensions to this study, the following example can be created: The piece of text under analysis is a subpage on a tourism website that is created from a tourism marketing perspective for an international audience, and is designed by government officials who work for the national tourist board. A simple classification such as this can be broadened for further analysis.

Therefore, for the purpose of this study, discourse analysis is a worthwhile starting point. I will be looking for meanings in discourses, and see how they are effect by the different actors that go into creating the discourses: the creators, the audience, the historical and cultural context, as well as language.

3.2 Critical discourse analysis and the power of language

Discourse analysis as such is a rather wide starting point, so I am narrowing my theoretical background to critical discourse analysis – also because it is a legitimate theoretical point of view for my purpose. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a

subclass of discourse analysis where researchers attempt to find hidden connections and causes in discourses (Fairclough 1992: 9), in order to direct attention to issues that have been unnoticed but might subconsciously have an effect on people. This idea of hidden and unnoticed meanings has an essential relation to the power of language. Language, and thus discourse, has the power to represent, limit, define, challenge, change, and position the world and its issues, using both small, individual expressions and larger societal phenomena (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009: 53). However, as Blommaert (2005: 25) put it, it is hard to understand how power is used in discourses from the surface level, and for that purpose there is critical discourse analysis: It reveals the ways power is practiced through language use.

On a larger scale, one could think of the power of language as the fundamental force in the processes that shape us into citizens of societies. Through the discourses that we consume and grow with, our perceptions of reality are built as we learn (versions of) what is true and what is false, and what type of hierarchies of issues the world is built on (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009: 53). We learn to trust certain sources, or discourses, over others. We learn about the general, societally and culturally dependent truths often before we learn to start seeking our own truths and developing a critical mindset. When it comes to Sámi people and other minorities, the majority's knowledge about them is greatly shaped by media discourse and education. In the context of Finland, for instance, inadequate accounts of Sámi people in history books and news, as well as demeaning jokes and comedy sketches of the Sámi all have contributed to a certain general image of the Sámi in the Finnish mindset. In turn, this has resulted in Finnish people not fully understanding the endangered state of Sámi culture and language, which makes it less important for them to safeguard and support the development of Sámi issues. (Puuronen 2011: 138, 144.)

Because of consequences of the unjust use of power, such as the example mentioned above, critical discourse analysis has been and is focused on studying

“dominance, discrimination, power, and control” (Wodak 1995: 204) and does not shy away from controversial topics in order to gain results that could have helpful impacts on societies even in practice. As van Dijk (2001: 353) put it, these results are gained not only by describing discourse structures, but also explaining them in terms of social interaction and social structure. “Empowering the powerless, giving voices to the voiceless, exposing power abuse, and mobilizing people to remedy social wrongs” (Blommaert 2005: 25) might seem very ambitious goals, but directing attention to issues of injustice is always important and should be done, if there is even a slight possibility of making a difference.

Therefore, critical discourse analysis is a reasonable perspective to acquire for studying issues related to minorities. Previously, critical discourse analysis has touched issues on, for example, ethnocentrism, anti-Semitism, and racism (van Dijk 2001: 361). Even though this study might or might not reveal prejudice or discrimination, as this section on CDA and my reflection about myself as the researcher above revealed, CDA is about finding ways of using power to discriminate against people, and for this reason I will strive for the same. Inevitably, the goal is not to encourage unjust use of power.

What sort of power, then, are we dealing with in this study? Van Dijk (2001: 355) explained the concept of hegemony by power being embedded in “laws, rules, norms, habits, and even a quite general consensus.” Based on the history of the Sámi, the power inflicted on them by the majority can be categorized into hegemony, as for instance class domination and racism have been openly practiced against the Sámi. Power can be applied to practice in the form of, for instance, public discourses and mind control. In public discourses, “virtually all levels and structures of context, text, and talk can in principle be more or less controlled by powerful speakers, and such power may be abused at the expense of other participants” (van Dijk 2001: 357). In practice, experts of their respective fields have power to control what they publish, and in the case of media, editors, journalists, and other professionals behind publishing have power to choose what they

publish and how. Mind control, on the other hand, signifies how recipients of dominant discourses can accept and adopt messages and opinions that they consume. Sometimes they are obliged to do so (e.g., in schools), other times there are no alternative discourses, or the recipients might not have knowledge to challenge the discourses they are most exposed to. (van Dijk 2001: 355–357.)

Hegemony (through, for instance, public discourses) affects minorities via the minds of the majorities. In Finland and Norway, as well as in international tourism, people's knowledge of the Sámi relies heavily on public discourses and mind control. With no first-hand contact with the Sámi, the image that the majority has about the minority is dependent on discourses people have chosen to believe, either by obligation or choice. For example, Puuronen (2011: 119) pointed out that in some Finnish history books the Sámi are barely mentioned or even left out. He also made a significant note about how popular Finnish television sketches (*Hymyhuulet* and *Pulttibois*) in the turn of 1980s and 1990s, in which the Sámi were portrayed as dirty alcoholics, definitely has had an impact on how the Finns perceive the Sámi. Attempting to discern one's image of the real Sámi based on these types of accounts of the Sámi in the public discourses is surely difficult, as it requires one's own initiative and interest to look further from the information that one is given.

In terms of international tourists, who have even less first-hand contact to Sámi culture, their knowledge of the Sámi might be restricted to even fewer accounts in the public discourses, but it is also possible that they have researched the Sámi themselves, or rely on information they receive from tourism promotional material. Viken (2000, as cited by Olsen 2003: 6–7) studied potential German tourists' knowledge of the Sámi in 1996. These tourists were mainly interested in traveling to Arctic Norway. Viken found that 43% of the people had no previous information about the Sámi area, and those who did have some knowledge of it (33%), had gained it mostly from travel brochures or previous trips. Already from

this short account it becomes evident that tourism marketing has power in creating representations about the Sámi for international audiences.

3.3 CDA critique

Before moving on after observing critical discourse analysis and the power of language, it is good to review some critique concerning critical discourse analysis. Blommaert (2005: 31-37) covered some critique made previously by others, and also introduced a few points of his own. I will choose some of these points for closer inspection, and consider the critique from my study's position. The first point, originally introduced by Widdowson (e.g., 1998) is that critical discourse analysis is always biased, in spite of perhaps claiming the contrary. The criticism is that in CDA a certain point of view is adopted by the author, which leaves out analyses of how a text can be read in several ways. However, I would argue that this is the case in other fields of study as well, such as in discourse analysis in general. Usually, an extensive outlook on the data is impossible in the scale of one study. I acknowledge this point about CDA being biased but in a way I see it as justified, because the objective in critical discourse analysis is to scrutinize the power of language, with the intention of possibly making a difference. If the intent is to draw attention to injustice, it is difficult to be completely unbiased. It can be a moral dilemma for the researcher: Is it even fair to objectively observe injustice?

Related to this point, Schegloff (1997) alleged that in CDA the author's personal political biases and prejudices, which are often merely based on social and political common sense, become visible in the analysis of the data. This is also an understandable point, and in CDA, where the above mentioned bias is possibly more accepted than elsewhere, the author has a bit more leeway in being subjective. Perhaps this aspect of bringing forth personal opinions in research could have something to do with Blommaert's (2005: 34-35) disapproval of too much focus on linguistics in CDA, when ideally CDA should be both linguistic and social scientific. If the author's background is more or less strictly linguistic and

there is not as wide of a background in social sciences, could it be easier thus to express personal political opinions?

Either way, I think objectivism should be strived for, but as I mentioned above, perhaps in CDA the focus on power struggle and also giving voice to the voiceless are premises that tend to give more freedom to deviate from a strictly scientific approach to the topics. As the name declares, the intent is to be critical, which almost inevitably causes objections somewhere in the audience.

To put this critique to the scale of my study, the danger of being biased or focusing on one's own point of view, or practicing CDA from a limited perspective, are all valid possibilities. Nevertheless, being aware of these pitfalls makes it easier to avoid them. What is more, as I have emphasized already, spelling out one's premises and goals is extremely important. To explain in detail the background knowledge one personally has, the focus one takes, and the goals one wishes to reach, will make the analysis and the results justified.

3.4 Representations

In this section I will briefly discuss the theoretical background of representations in discourse analysis and relate it to the current study.

The previously discussed power of language provides an excellent transition to the topic of representations. Critical discourse analysis, the power of language, and representations are three very closely knit concepts. Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009: 56) connected power and representations by explaining the representational power of discourse as the ability of discourses to represent and present world phenomena and people as true. More specifically, it relates to the notion of power because, in a way, the power of discourses creates the knowledge we have, and our knowledge consists of representations. What are representations, then? In short, representations are productions of meanings. Every one of us relates a certain meaning to a certain concept, and with language, that meaning is produced into a

representation. (Hall 1997: 15.) Eventually, the definition of representations is one of the principles of discourse analysis: “Meaning does not inhere in things, in the world, but it is constructed, produced” (Hall 1997: 24).

Representations are culturally dependent because to be able to function in a society and interact with people, we need to have a common understanding of the main concepts that we use. However, because every individual is different, our personal representations differ to some extent. One could think of representations as choices, even if the choices are not necessarily always conscious, or in our hands. Nevertheless, as Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009: 56) put it, each of the different options of representing the same issue has its own consequences. This could be illustrated with the help of larger issues, for instance, ideologies, religion, and politics. Everyone believes their own meaning and representation of the issues is right and true, whereas the next person with a different belief system has a different thought of what is right and true. Saying, believing, and thinking that there is a god has different consequences from saying, believing, and thinking the opposite. Consequently, representations can become problematic because everyone has their own version of truth, and an ultimate truth is in most questions not possible.

In the following chapter I will examine what the study of representations can be in practice.

4 PREVIOUS STUDIES

After reviewing the theories of discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, and representations, I will continue the background section of this study by taking a closer look at previous studies that relate to the topics of Sámi representations and tourism in the north. From a wider perspective, there are numerous studies that relate to the aforementioned topics, but I have narrowed down my selection of studies to ones that will further my understanding of the initial research questions in this study. This way I will try to determine what is already known around this

topic, which findings contribute to my research questions, and where the current study can be placed in the field of similar research. The research that compiles this literature review is not merely in the field of discourse analysis or linguistics, but also, for instance, in tourism studies. As I have pointed out previously, one must take into account several aspects when studying minority representations.

4.1 Sámi representations in discourse analysis

First, I will examine research that is closest to the area of minority representations from a (critical) discourse analytical point of view. A great deal of the critical discourse analysis involving Sámi people in Finland has been done by Sari Pietikäinen and various colleagues. Pietikäinen has studied, for instance, Sámi and other ethnic representations in newspaper texts and media, Sámi identity, and how the Sámi people live in a multilingual periphery. Central to the last point is the current project Pietikäinen is involved in, namely, *Peripheral Multilingualism* (2014). In this project the focus is on how multilingualism in indigenous and minority language contexts leads to language change. Even if the general focus of the project is on language change, it has been studied from perspectives that are useful for my research as well, specifically because the project involves a lot of scrutiny on the tensions and creativity that operating between different languages causes. Working in the tourism industry is at the core of multilingual activity in the north of Fenno-Scandinavia as well, and it is an excellent example of how globalization works. In fact, globalization and power are also key terms in *Peripheral Multilingualism*.

An example of the usefulness of this project to the current study is a recent paper about the construction of the periphery on a Sámi tourism website advertising guesthouses (Kauppinen 2013). In this study Kauppinen recognized, though critically, tourism as an opportunity of mobilization for the Sámi, and found how the periphery as a homogenous concept was challenged on the website to instead be constructed as a hybrid and polycentric space. These sorts of findings are

promising concerning challenging other concepts in the periphery as well, perhaps even representations.

Returning back to Pietikäinen's work, her doctoral thesis (2000) and several papers around it about ethnic representations in newspaper texts and particularly about Sámi identities and representations in Finnish media are among the closest accounts to the topic of my study. The differences to my study are the venue of publication, audience, language, and field: She studied representations in Finnish media where the audience was also Finnish, whereas I am studying tourism websites directed for international audiences in English. In her 2003 paper Pietikäinen used critical discourse analysis to examine how journalistic practices and choices were used in building Sámi identities and representations in newspaper texts. The number of news related to the Sámi was not very high, and this fact combined to the analysis of the existing news lead Pietikäinen to the conclusion that the representations of Sámi contribute to create a marginalized image of them, rather than including them as equal in the public discussion. This was revealed by analyzing the textual and linguistic resources the journalists used.

The results of the above work were meaningful because media has such a powerful role in our lives. Media (I wrote about this already in the theory section above) is directly connected to concept of the power of language: We learn to trust certain media to gain knowledge about world affairs, and being critical of the information we receive does not occur to everyone. Inevitably, if we read the news from a source we trust, the information that we process will contribute to our understanding of world affairs. Media significantly shape and create our knowledge and opinion networks. Thinking about the results of the above study and the power of media in relation to tourism, the results cannot be directly applied to, for instance, images created in tourism marketing – specifically for international audiences. However, successful tourism marketing does create at least tempting images for tourists, if they result in traveling to the advertised

destination and buying the advertised products or experiences. The power of discourse in marketing is indeed what makes people buy products.

Pietikäinen's research on Sámi issues sometimes takes interesting forms. In 2007 Pietikäinen and Leppänen used a method called textual intervention to examine Sámi stereotypes in different texts. Textual intervention concerns editing texts into different points of view, which, according to the paper, is the best way to understand how texts work (Pietikäinen & Leppänen 2007: 177). In this case the researchers picked texts (e.g., a joke and a school book assignment for children) representing Sámi and Finnish stereotypes, and changed the Sámi targets to Finnish ones and vice versa. This switch seemed to strongly emphasize the otherness of the Sámis in relation to the strong identity of the Finns, highlighting also the ascendancy of the Finns. In this study the colonial history of the Sámi was discussed in how it still contributes to their representations: Apparently it is common in postcolonial discourses to include characteristics of wildness, freedom, and animalism to the representations of the (formerly) oppressed ones (Pietikäinen & Leppänen 2007: 176). This has been true in the Sámi representations as well, their stereotype being greatly characterized by, on the one hand, wild sexuality, and on the other hand, childlike ignorance. Even though these stereotypes are not as strong as they once were, it is important to realize that they still exist. In regards Sámi stereotypes in tourism, this post-colonial stereotype is less likely to be found in tourism, as the stereotype is not politically correct and thus not appropriate for marketing. Nevertheless, traces of it can be expected, such as the characteristics of wildness and freedom.

The audiences in different discourses should be discussed again after the previous account. In Pietikäinen and Leppänen's (2007) study the texts chosen to undergo analysis were texts published in Finland for Finnish audiences by Finnish creators. These circumstances inevitably affect the end result of the texts, as it was seen in the diminishing way the Sámi were compared against Finns. In tourism, and particularly tourism marketing for an international audience, similar results cannot

be expected, but as these representations are created in Fenno-Scandinavian countries, some remnants of them can be expected.

4.2 Sámi representations and identities in tourism

Continuing with reviewing previous studies, I will now focus on previous studies about Sámi representations as well as issues related to their own sense of identity in the field of tourism.

Museums are an important part of (indigenous) tourism activities and services, and a good opportunity to bring forth minority agendas or rhetoric. Sámi culture and history are featured in many national and regional museums, but there is also at least one specifically Sámi museum in each Fenno-Scandinavian country: one in Finland, one in Sweden, and at least three in Norway (Potinkara 2012). There have been quite a few studies about the messages and representations conveyed through museums and museum exhibitions about the Sámi (e.g., B. Olsen 2000, K. Olsen 2003, Levy 2006, Potinkara 2012), which can be counted in the representations of Sámi in tourism, only in a different venue than, for instance, on tourism websites. I am using these studies in my background because the audiences are the same (tourists), and I expect my results to be comparable to those of the museum representation studies.

Levy (2006) studied Sámi representations in seven museums in Sweden, Norway, and Finland, focusing on the differences in representations between museums that were managed by Sámi people and members of the ethnic majorities. Levy situated the research between studies on indigenism and the politics of representations, denoting that archaeological representations (just as a critical discourse analytical representations; my note) are inherently political because they are about who controls the interpretation, and connects people to a place (Levy 2006: 136). Levy found interesting differences in representations depending on who was running the museums, which is a significant finding, because in the case of museums, differences in representations lead to different messages to the audience about the

history and identity of the Sámi. Levy observed that in many majority managed national and regional museums the exhibitions included authoritative narratives and architecture, highlighting the “heroic” periods of the nations, in which the Sámi exhibitions were often either excluded from the main ones (being in different floors or galleries), or totally absent. The Sámi run museums, on the other hand, were smaller, as they focused only on the Sámi history, but also rural and outdoorsy, “integrating the land, climate, and Sámi adaptation into single exhibitions” (Levy 2006: 142). Levy asserted that the Sámi’s own museums reached more realistic and comprehensive representations of them. This study showed the power the majority has in relation to the other, the minority, and how this power is used in creating representations of the other. Levy concluded the dilemma of Sámi representations as a question of “how to maintain distinctiveness in the face of hegemonic nationalism” (Levy 2006: 144), also adding how the hegemony is now even stronger for the Sámi, under the European Union.

Potinkara (2012) added to the topic by reviewing previous studies on Sámi representations in museums and in his own analysis focused on two Sámi managed museums from a discourse analytical point of view: Siida in Finland and Ájtte in Sweden. He pointed out that some previous studies have criticized Sámi museums for not really deviating from the majority museum exhibitions, many of which convey a strong image of the Sámi as the primitive other. In his analysis he concurred with this discovery and did not find the Sámi museums perfectly representative of reality. For instance, in both museums the traditional Sámi culture was presented without history, as timeless, excluding some important cultural developments, and excluding the modern Sámi lifestyles. Potinkara also made note of the fact that the Sámi are often portrayed as a unified group of people who all share a similar mindset and way of life. In the museums this was proven in that southern Sámis (actually, a majority of the Sámi people live outside of Sápmi) were not mentioned at all, and those who are not connected to reindeer farming were left out as well.

This practice of persistently connecting the Sámi to a traditional lifestyle is an important part of the stereotypical touristic representation of not only the Sámi, but other indigenous peoples too. In relation to the Sámi, previously it has been observed by, for instance, Tuulentie (2006) and Olsen (2003, 2006). The traditionality is emphasized particularly in excluding modernity from the Sámi. Tuulentie demanded that the Sámi should be recognized as part of the modern. She brought up the fact that the stereotypical images of Sámi that are used in tourism are created by the outsiders' interests to Sámi identity and culture, and this in effect has led to the common denial or criticism of the modern features of the indigenous people because it is regarded to be part of their authenticity. As Olsen (2006: 37) put it, "to become a tourist attraction, indigenous peoples have to keep alive an image where features assumed to be modern have no place." By excluding modernity, the "traditional versus modern" dichotomy as well as "Sámi as the other" are accentuated. These are typical Sámi stereotypes on a larger societal level as well, and tourism is one of the several methods of keeping alive this disparity (Olsen 2006: 38). Olsen studied Norwegian Sámi representations in local and regional tourist brochures and tourist sites, and thought of this radical differentiation between the Sámi and the Norwegians (which could be generalized to the Westerners) strange, considering the fact that in reality the daily lives of these two groups greatly resemble each other today. Nevertheless, from a touristic point of view maintaining this differentiation makes sense: Difference attracts people. Observing and reflecting ourselves against different cultures is a way of defining our own identities as well.

The previous statements of the attraction of difference can be explained in several ways. Viken and Müller (2006: 1) maintained with previous studies (Saarinen 2001, Pettersson 2004, as cited by them) by agreeing that it is exactly the exotic Sámi features that attract tourists from outside. In a general sense, by positioning Western culture as the norm, other cultures are judged for deviating from it. Even if it is not explicitly admitted, the stereotypical features of a less modernized and more primitive culture – the indigenous culture as inferior – is what the tourists

are fascinated by. From a Western point of view cultures are ranked with “the more modern, the better” mindset and the difference of the other becomes the attraction. (Viken & Müller 2006: 2-3.) Along the same lines, Puuronen (2011: 148) observed how in Finland the exoticism of the Sámi is commercialized for tourists, which creates a very “one-sided, incorrect, romanticizing, and exoticizing image, behind and under which the real lives and problems of the Sámi are hidden.”

Mathisen (2004) studied the general representations of the Sámi throughout history, mainly focusing on the Norwegian Sámi but also observing the general European opinions of indigenous people. From a European standpoint, according to Mathisen (2004: 24), a common way of understanding the other, that is, the indigenous people, has been the dichotomy of the indigenous as on the one hand “noble savages” and on the other hand as “irresponsible children of nature.” This dichotomy has now evolved to the modern conception of the Sámi, which relies on an image of the ecologically aware Sámi. The Western opinion today, in a world of approaching ecological catastrophes, seems to be that indigenous peoples’ relationship with nature is something the majority should learn from. This image of the Sámi as the people of nature is a common representation used in tourism, which can be deduced from my data as well. The Sámi, however, do not necessarily see how their traditional world views could help the modern environmental struggles. As Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has said, indigenous peoples’ traditional knowledge of the environment does not offer solutions to the problems that technology has caused for nature (Helander & Kailo 1999: 122-123). Thus this representation is not necessarily how the Sámi people see themselves. Mathisen claimed that in the minds of the majority, this natural image of the Sámi and a wide acceptance of their special position to nature are used as a “moral cure for the injustice of colonialism” (Mathisen 2004: 17).

This modern representation or image of the Sámi as the ecological people has its roots in past hegemonic representations, as Mathisen proved. He related the modern representation to the self-criticism of Europeans, where the indigenous

people are romanticized to become the epiphany of paradise, somehow reflecting the mythical past of Europeans (Mathisen 2004: 18). The first accounts of the Sámi people, in classical literature, described them as “the ultimate hunting people,” living out of raw and uncultivated nature, but with missionary activities and witch-hunts from the 17th and 18th centuries onwards, more evil representations of the Sámi became used. This, essentially, is how the dichotomy introduced above was born.

To conclude this section, I will add in a concrete example of Sámi representations in tourism from a report that was done for the Finnish Tourism Board about how foreign tour operators market Finnish culture for potential tourists (Kiviluoto et al. 2008). In this report, particularly images were analyzed. For instance, in the English material, targeted for United Kingdom audience, Sámi culture marketing relied on photographs of people and traditional Sámi clothing. The marketing images had either single Sámi people or several people in them, either several Sámis or Sámi people with tourists. In the latter type of images the Sámi were usually guiding the tourists in activities such as husky or reindeer sledding. In addition, reindeer were common in the photos, and there was also a few occasions where Sámi shamans were depicted. A rather interesting category of photos was one where the tourist in some way tried out the Sámi culture by, for instance, in wearing Sámi clothing or in some other way testing the Sámi role. (Kiviluoto et al. 2008: 26–28.) These sorts of results are stereotypical and expected, but because the marketing material was created by foreign tour operators, it will be interesting to see how much my data, created by Finns and Norwegians, corresponds to it.

5 SET-UP OF THE STUDY

Before continuing to discussing my data and analysis, I will open up my research aims a bit more in this chapter. As stated in the introduction, my main research question is: How are the Sámi people represented on official Finnish and Norwegian tourism websites in English? In the answers to this question I will analyze two subpages on the two countries’ (Finland and Norway) tourism

websites individually and by comparison, and determine what sort of similarities and differences they have. Thus my subquestion is, how are the representations different between these countries? As my data consist of the official tourism promotion websites of each country, I can make assumptions about what is the official stand of the country to using the Sámi people in tourism – and in the genre of official tourism marketing.

Drawing from the previous research on Sámi representations in tourism and elsewhere, this study is situated at the intersection of critical discourse analysis of ethnic minority representations, tourism studies, and Sámi studies. These roads have crossed in different ways in research before, but an examination on the tourism official websites and comparison of the use of the Sámi people in Fennoscandinavian countries' tourism is lacking. This study will be a good starting point for further research on the modern tourism representations of Sámi people.

As regards reasons for studying such a topic, it might reveal the state of equality, or inequality, in countries with a large ethnic majority and a very small indigenous minority. I am hoping to find out more about the relationship of the majority people and the Sámi, and studying tourism is interesting in this sense because, as the history shows, it is very easy for a majority to mistreat and use a minority for their own benefit. In regards the concept of hegemony, this relationship will be interesting to observe in my data as the power in its creation originates in governments. Tourism is in a way a dangerous opportunity for misusing, particularly making financial profit at the expense of the Sámi.

6 DATA SELECTION AND COLLECTION

In this section on data selection and collection I will explain how I came about choosing my data.

As I have mentioned above, the topic of this study is to analyze Sámi representations on Finnish and Norwegian tourism websites in English. The data

possibilities for this type of topic are abundant, as tourism is an important source of income in Fenno-Scandinavia and particularly in the north. Being the only indigenous people in Europe, the Sámi people are regarded as a tourism attraction in the north and are of interest to many tourists. As a result, and possibly also a reason for this, there is a vast amount of tourism companies who use the Sámi culture in one way or another to provide services and experiences for their customers. The companies' services are various, ranging from hotels and restaurants to providing outdoor adventures, museums, selling material goods, and so on.

Instead of picking my data at random from a vast collection of tourism companies, I decided to focus on the official tourism promotion websites of Finland and Norway. These websites can be seen as representing the official, national stances of tourism marketing, and keeping in mind the delicate subject of this ethnic minority who live across the borders several countries, it is interesting to see how these two different countries choose to represent the Sámi. These websites are rather powerful because they are official and government-funded, which can lead to many tourists and potential tourists to regard them as trustworthy. Accordingly, what the official tourism bodies choose to pick as tourism attractions and how they choose to represent them is also representing the countries' official stance on marketing their country for potential visitors.

Thus, my primary data are on the two following websites: 1. <http://www.visitfinland.com>, and 2. <http://www.visitnorway.com>. These websites are designed by officials of each country in an attempt to promote their country as a tourism destination. VisitFinland is managed by the Finnish Tourist Board (Finnish: Matkailun edistämiskeskus) that is a part of the Ministry of Employment and the Economy in Finland. According to their website (VisitFinland 2014), the Finnish Tourist Board is "responsible for actively promoting Finnish tourism in its capacity as a national expert in the sector." VisitNorway, on the other hand, is designed by a state owned company,

Innovation Norway, as commissioned by The Norwegian Ministry of Trade and Industry. The website is said to be “the official travel guide to Norway” (VisitNorway 2014). Both of the websites are designed for international audiences, but the difference is that VisitNorway is also available in Norwegian, whereas VisitFinland is not available in Finnish. VisitFinland has nine different language options, which seem to have the same content, while VisitNorway has 15 different versions of the website in different languages. Of these versions three are in English: the international edition (which apparently is the default version when one accesses the site from a country whose language is not available on the website), the UK version, and the US version. These different versions are explained by the booking options related to the options on the site. For instance, the site advertises travel options to Norway from the chosen country. However, the actual content of tourist attractions and destinations does not seem to be targeted for particular nationalities, but it more or less the same on the different versions of the website. The only difference is the Norwegian version, which is apparently designed for Norwegian audiences. For example, the website under my analysis has a more limited content in Norwegian, possibly based on the assumption that Norwegian visitors have more background information about the Sámi.

Both VisitFinland and VisitNorway have various options for a researcher to choose content relating to the Sámi people. As my analysis will be mostly qualitative, instead of choosing numerous different subpages related to the Sámi, I will focus on one subpage per website and analyze those in close detail. My reasoning behind choosing particular subpages for analysis is their accessibility. Basically, I have chosen subpages related to the Sámi that are easily found from the front page without using the search options, but because the site constructions are different, pathways to the analysis targets are also different. I will explain the pathways in detail in the Analysis section, as well as further information about the subpages. The subpages I have chosen are titled “Chill out with the Sámi people” on VisitFinland (<http://www.visitfinland.com/article/chill-out-with-the-sami->

[people/](#)), and “The Sami” on VisitNorway (<http://www.visitnorway.com/en/What-to-do/Attractions-Culture/The-Sami/>).

Screen caps of the subpages are available in appendices 1 and 4.

7 METHODS OF ANALYSIS

In this chapter I will discuss the methods I have chosen to use in my analysis, and justify the reasons for why these particular methods are useful in answering my research questions.

First, from a broad perspective, my research methods are qualitative. Nevertheless, quantitiveness or numbers in one form or another will become of use in a few places as I count the occasions where certain types of discourses have been used. In those cases, the numbers of occurrences have a meaningful effect on the results, but in the end, the analysis of those occurrences as well will be qualitative. In terms of qualitative research strategies, in linguistics the general way of handling data is often descriptive and/or interpretative, which is the case in this study as well. Descriptiveness is definitely not enough in a study such as this one, which is why the main focus of analysis is on interpretation and explanation. The addition of explanation to methods is of high importance in critical discourse analysis: It reveals implicit power relations, and in my case representations, which are not obvious on mere superficial description.

In critical discourse analysis, methodological choices vary. As stated by Meyer (2001: 14), “critical discourse analysis is not a method, but rather an approach constituting itself on different levels.” In addition, in relation to data collection, Meyer (2001: 18) concurred that CDA could be seen rooted in Grounded Theory (theory that is induced from a corpus of data), since data collection is usually not a phase that must be finished before the analysis can begin. Instead, data collection and analysis are intertwined into one process, where they complement each other. The first analysis of data can determine the further direction of data collection. Meyer further noted (2001: 15) how the difference between CDA and social

sciences is that in CDA, the line between social scientific research and political argumentation is sometimes crossed. The process of analysis in CDA is first and foremost hermeneutic, meaning that it lies on interpretation – exactly as I earlier laid a stronger emphasis on interpretation instead of description. In essence, interpretation means that the process of analysis is about grasping and producing meaning relations (Meyer 2001: 16).

Despite the fragmentedness of CDA methods, some general lines can be drawn, depending on whose school of thought one chooses to follow. Fairclough (1989, 1992) developed practical and somewhat easy guidelines to follow in CDA methodology. First, he distinguished the three levels of methodology, which arose in my thoughts above already: description, interpretation, and explanation (Fairclough 1989). In order to be able to interpret the data, it must first be thoroughly described. Furthermore, to reach a critical level of analysis, Fairclough added the stage of explanation, where social theory is applied in order to reveal the underlying meanings beyond the surface.

Another three-level methodological division also developed by Fairclough (1992) is more concerned with the practical level of conducting CDA, dividing it into dimensions. First, on the discourse-as-text level the researcher is concerned with the surface level of the data, such as vocabulary, text structure, grammar, and so on. Second, the discourse-as-discursive practice level focuses on aspects related to the production and consumption of the text, which consequently turn the concrete pieces of texts into discursively meaningful units of, for instance, intertextuality. Third, the level of discourse-as-social-practice draws attention to the larger societal and social structures of power and ideologies.

Blommaert (2005: 29) wrote that generally CDA targets “linguistically defined text-concepts,” but multimodal discourse analysis (e.g., Meyer 2001, Iedema 2003) is also a widely practiced way of doing discourse analysis – and critical discourse analysis. Multimodality in this context means that not only text in its traditional

form is taken into account in the analysis, but also images of all kinds, colors, layouts, and salience of different elements are analyzed in looking for meanings. Iedema (2003: 33) explained the trend towards multimodality in the realization of two issues: Language is not at the center of meaning making anymore, and the boundaries between language, image, layout, design, and so on, have become blurred. The impact of “electronic communication, the globalization of trade and commerce, and the increasingly political-cultural mix of the countries in which we live” is at the core of de-centering language in meaning making (Iedema 2003: 33). The internet and different websites are prime examples of this, which is why taking a multimodal standpoint in this study is in order. This means that in analysis, the meanings of different elements - not only text - are taken into consideration.

As a side note, for instance Iedema (2003: 39) broadened multimodality to all kinds of human meaning making because “the meaning work we do at all times exploits various semiotics.” Even in talk we apply various resources (speech, gestures, facial expressions, physical distance, etc.) in order to create meanings. Following this definition, all communication could be seen as multimodal.

Returning to data and methods, what one chooses to analyze is partly governed by the data: Surely, if the data is mainly text, it is appropriate to focus on it, but in analyzing, for instance, advertisements, videos, or different online material, it is in order to pay attention to all the elements that compile this piece of text and scrutinize their meanings.

This brings me to the term *text*, and what I intend to use it for. In discourse analysis, as well as in linguistics in general, text often has a wider meaning from the one we are used to in our everyday language. In discourse analysis text can be used to refer to any instance of language use, whether it is written, spoken, visual, or multimodal. Accordingly, in this study websites or parts of websites are

regarded as texts that consist of traditional text, images, color, and possibly even videos and sounds.

With these methods I will proceed to the analysis, which will be organized in the following way: First I will analyze the chosen subpages separately, and then by comparison. In each separate analysis I will analyze the different elements of the websites that I find most meaningful, but mostly the written texts and images in detail. I will also pay attention to the layout organization and colors. All of this I will reflect against the cultural and historical background, as well as the previous studies and theory.

8 ANALYSIS

After having established my background, set-up of the study, and methods of analysis, I will progress to the analysis. I will begin by separately analyzing each subpage, and then do a comparison between the two.

8.1 VisitFinland

The first subpage I will analyze is on the Finnish Tourist Board's tourism promotion website, VisitFinland.com. From this website, for closer scrutiny I chose a subpage titled "Chill out with the Sámi people" (appendix 1). The site pathway to find this subpage is as follows: *VisitFinland.com* → *Destinations* → *Lapland* → *All articles* → *Chill out with the Sámi people*. Before taking a closer look at the page under analysis, I want to point out a few things about the Lapland main page. There are four highlighted articles (i.e., the thumbnails of those articles) on the Lapland main page, titled "Best of Lapland," of which two can be interpreted to include references to the Sámi. However, these references are not very explicit because the word *Sámi* is not mentioned. Even if some of the images could be interpreted as belonging to the Sámi culture, a person who is unfamiliar with typical Sámi features might not see the connection. The first article with a possible Sámi reference is a video article titled "Mad about Arctic Winters," which includes a photo of a reindeer herder and reindeer. The herder (male, middle-aged) is dressed

in clothes that do not reveal whether he is Sámi or not (a woolen sweater and a fur hat). It is good to keep in mind that Finland is the only Nordic country where reindeer herding is not strictly a Sámi activity, unlike in Norway (and Sweden). In Finland, Finns (non-Sámi colonists in the north) have practiced reindeer herding already since the 1600s (Lehtola 2004: 42). On the other hand, reindeer is traditionally connected to the Sámi, being one of the most common symbols related to their culture.

The other highlighted article with a possible Sámi reference is titled “The Magical and Mythical Lapland” and it has a photo of a *kota*, a traditional Sámi dwelling (hut), covered in snow. The article itself is about Finnish folklore, which is said to stem greatly from Sámi beliefs. I will not go to a deeper analysis of this article, but there is a possibility that the writers have included both Finnish and Sámi folklore under the “Finnish folklore” label.

8.1.1 Chill out with the Sámi People

On the Lapland main page the “Chill out with the Sámi people” article is the only one (on the list of nine articles) with the word *Sámi* in the title, signifying that the focus of the article is the Sámi culture. It is also the only article with a photo of a Sámi person in traditional clothing. I chose this article for closer inspection because of these explicit markers of Sámi culture.

The site construction of “Chill out with the Sámi people,” starting from the top of the page, is as follows:

- Banners with the website logo, name, map of Finland, and navigation of the website (i.e., links to the main sections, search function, language options).
- A photo slide show (the photos are available in appendix 3) with 12 photos related to the Sámi. The photos can be browsed manually. Under each photo there is a short caption. The heading of this sub-page (“Chill out with the Sámi people”) is on the left hand corner of the starting photo, in white, simple, capital font. The photo is on the center of the page, being three columns wide (three columns is the main area where the content of the site is – there is empty space on both sides).

- The main textual part of the website is in a column on the left side of the page. It is an article consisting of an introduction and four sections, each with a subheading. In total the text is 719 words. Below the article are its categories and tags.
- The column on the right is labeled “Related links” and it includes a list of both informational and commercial links related to the Sámi culture and tourism activities.
- The middle column has a small map of Finland at the top, with the Lapland area marked.
- Below the columns there is a section of other similar articles with the heading “Recommended – You might also like these fine articles.” These are other articles on the website that are related to Lapland and the Sámi.
- In general, the background color of the entire page is dark grey. The background color of the main column (which is divided into three columns as described above) in the middle is black, and the text on it is light grey. Links are light blue. The heading on the photo is in white, as well as the captions under the photos. The colors and the layout create a professional, clear and simple overview of the site. The colors are rather neutral and there is not a lot of contrast.

I will first take the starting photo under closer inspection. The photo is the most salient feature on the site and it catches the reader’s attention first. It is a large photo, covering the full three columns in width, with the heading on the upper left corner of it, where there is enough free space for it. The photo is of a smiling, middle-aged man depicted from his chest up, dressed in a traditional blue Sámi coat with a lot of colorful ornaments on the collar and chest, and a fur hat. He is positioned on the right side of the photo, looking to the upper right side over the photographer’s shoulder, not directly to the camera. It looks as if he is standing outside in cold winter weather, surrounded by snow. It appears to be very windy, possibly a snow storm. The man’s face is somewhat weatherworn and there is ice on his moustache. Despite this fierce weather, the man looks happy and is smiling.

It is clear that this photo represents the Sámi as the Arctic people who are used to a cold and chilling winter weather and enjoy it, hence the happy look on his face. Pondering on the choice of this photo as a starting image for this photo series, and this article, it seems a reasonable choice as it is the only photo in the collection where a Sámi person is depicted alone, photographed from a short distance, and

wearing traditional Sámi clothing. Other photos in the collection with Sámi people in them include multiple people, non-traditional clothing, or their faces are not shown. Moreover, the facial expression on the man in the photo is welcoming and friendly, whereas in most other photos the people's faces are not visible enough to distinguish facial expressions. The only other photo with a smiling Sámi in the collection has also a tourist wedding couple in it.

The man does not look straight into the camera, but slightly away. For instance Machin and Mayr (2012: 70–71) divided gaze into demand and offer, meaning, if the person in the photo is looking straight at the viewer, s/he is demanding something, whereas a gaze directed elsewhere is more of an offer to imagine what the person in the photo is thinking. Thus, the man in the photo is not demanding a response from the viewer, and not inviting the viewer to interaction, as it were. Instead, he is looking slightly upwards, and in combination with his facial expression, it can be interpreted as him looking into a bright future, perhaps. The man is definitely depicted in a positive light. He is photographed from a short distance, which takes the viewer closer to his inner state, rather than seeing him as a far-off isolated object. With this style, the viewer can objectively contemplate on what the man is thinking.

The photo goes well with the title, "Chill out with the Sámi people," perhaps creating an image of what it would be like to chill out with the Sámi: Learning to enjoy the cold winter weather like they do. The word play with *chill*, which can be interpreted as relating to both the cold weather and the relaxed activity of hanging out with the Sámi, is both witty and fitting. The heading in general conveys an easy access for the tourist to the culture of the Sámi – *chill out* with them, relax while immersing yourself in the culture. The verb *chill out* separates the Sámi culture from our formal, modern culture where people are busy and follow certain schedules. This way, attention is drawn to the timelessness of Sámi culture that follows the course of nature.

The caption under the photo reads:

“The Sami possess a rich cultural heritage and are known for their close connection to the land they live on. Whether you are the adventurous type or like a more leisurely pace, let the Sámi people guide you into their world and lifestyle. Inari, Enontekiö and Utsjoki are some of the best places to explore the mythical past and present of the Sámi.”

A few points in the caption are related to the stereotype of the Sámi, and other indigenous peoples, as nature-loving and nature-respecting people with a rich mythical culture: Emphasis is laid on their *rich cultural heritage* and *close connection to the land they live on*. The nature relation is one of the most essential parts of Sámi stereotypes, and as Mathisen (2004) wrote, in the modern world where the Westerners' nature relation is fading, positive discourses on the natural and ecological Sámi (and other indigenous peoples) are common. The mythicism is another stereotypical aspect related to the Sámi. For the Sámi, the North or their culture is not necessarily mythical (Helander & Kailo 1999: 46), but again the mythicism is a representation coming from the outside. It is based on the dichotomy of old Sámi natural religion and Christianity. To use the Sámi myths even in tourism marketing might be a sign of spiritual crisis in the West, which Helander and Kailo (1999: 217) brought up: Some Western people are bored with their own religion(s) and are seeking new spiritual grounds in other cultures. Particularly for women the patriarchy and duality (men vs. women) in Christianity can feel old-fashioned in the modern age, and this is why a natural religion could offer them new aspects for life (Helander & Kailo 1999: 217).

The marketing aspect of this website becomes evident already in the caption, as the reader is addressed with *“Whether you are the adventurous type or like a more leisurely pace --”*, which are categories to which anyone could be put. The writers do not want to leave out anyone. In terms of the style of the caption in general, the authors use a lot of adjectives (*rich, mythical, adventurous, leisurely*), which makes the text more lively and also advertising, instead of merely informational.

With the phrase “-- let the Sámi people guide you into their world and lifestyle” the writers are creating an image of an easily-enterable world and culture; perhaps trying to bring these worlds (majority and minority) closer, as they have otherwise been rather strongly separated. This is done by not elevating the Sámi to an unreachable level, but not elevating the tourist above them either.

On the other hand, the Sámi are referred to in the third person, so this text seems not have been written by them, but instead by an authority who are most likely Finnish, which can be seen to signify the Finnish dominance over the Sámi. The third person arrangement is used throughout the text on this site. For a simple comparison, a textual intervention changes the nature of the text. Transforming the pronouns to first person, as if the text was written by the Sámi, creates a different feeling:

“We, the Sámi, possess a rich cultural heritage and are known for our close connection to the land we live on. Whether you are the adventurous type or like a more leisurely pace, let us, the Sámi people, guide you into our world and lifestyle.”

Thus, a mere contemplation on the change of subject seems to change the tone of the text into a more welcoming one. Nevertheless, had the Sámi written the text themselves, they might have chosen a different approach.

The text part of the website (appendix 2) is its most informational part. To begin with the heading and subheadings, all of them (except the last subheading about food) emphasize a very participatory and a relaxed way for the tourist to experience the Sámi culture: *Chill out **with** the Sámi people; **Let** the Sámi guide and teach you; Fish, hunt and hike **with** the Sámi; **Join** the Sámi events and celebrations* (my emphases). Again it appears as though the goal is to make the Sámi people easily approachable, instead of treating them and their culture as unapproachable tourist attractions to merely look at. In a way this is characteristic of indigenous tourism: The term itself is defined as “locally-based business activities related to the daily life, history, traditions, art, artifacts, and environments of an indigenous group -- is controlled by and ongoing on in the natural environment of the group in question”

(Viken & Müller 2006: 3). However, in this case it is uncertain whether these activities are controlled by the Sámi, even if the text implies that they are involved in the activities.

Another aspect of this participatory way of being a tourist is related to what Kiviluoto et al. (2008) brought up in their report about how Finnish (and Sámi) culture is advertised by foreign tour operators. As I mentioned above, with regards to Sámi culture, photos in the marketing material often create scenarios where the tourist is trying out the role of a Sámi person, for instance, in wearing Sámi clothes or engaging in Sámi activities. Therefore, the encouragement of activities such as fishing and hunting with the Sámi provide the tourist ways of experimenting what it is like to be a Sámi. This seems to be an integral part of Sámi tourism activities on VisitFinland.

The same theme continues elsewhere in the text as well, for example in the first paragraph: “*Join the festivals and activities of the locals, get to know their way of life*” (my emphases). With this encouragement for engaging with the Sámi, several thoughts arise. First, the tourist needs to learn from them about traditional lifestyles and living in harmony with nature (including hunting, fishing, and making handicrafts). Second, the Sámi are represented as a friendly, down-to-earth, easily approachable group of people who are happy to share their wisdom and traditions with the tourist. Third, the tourist attraction is the Sámi way of life, and the best way to experience it is to engage in it, to experiment what Sámi life is like. Finally (as mentioned above), to engage in activities with the Sámi, the tourist is on the same level with them. In this way, it feels as though there is an attempt to avoid hierarchies and the underlying “we are above them” arrangement, diminishing otherness. Maybe the Sámi are even elevated a bit, as the tourist *lets them teach you*. However, the old hierarchy and otherness can be sensed in other ways, as I will show below.

In the introductory chapter, as well as in the rest of the text, the third person arrangement (when referring to the Sámi) is continued, as the Sámi culture is presented for the tourist by an authority of sort. “*We introduce you to just a few ‘Sámi things’*” (my emphasis) may sound somewhat authoritative, as if the Sámi require an outside force to introduce themselves to tourists. Machin and Mayr (2012: 84) bring forth this idea how text producers can create opposing collectives, us and them, and make it sound as though the authors’ ideas are the readers’ as well. Here, it is likely that *we* refers to the Finnish Tourist Board behind this article, but there is the question of which side the reader relates to more: *we* as in the text producers, who are most likely Finns, or *them* as in the Sámi. It is probable to assume they side with Finns, as they presumably have more similarities with them.

A sidenote to make about the first chapter is in the choice of words: “*Sámi things*” (my emphasis) does sound a bit mundane, and it being in quotation marks makes the reader wonder why they did not choose a more descriptive word, such as *activities*.

Next, the timelessness of Sámi culture is referred to with the metaphor “*Leave the clock behind and experience the vast expanses of the breathtaking Sámi homeland*” (my emphasis). It creates a separation between our modern, urban world and their traditional, natural world, where our world is busy and we are concerned with schedules all the time, whereas the Sámi do not care about time as much as us, and live according to nature’s cycle. The tourist is being tempted with the thought of not having to worry about schedules, which relates to tourism in an essential way: Relaxation and taking time off one’s duties is a fundamental point in mass tourism. It is thus very appropriate that timelessness is an essential Sámi value, as it can be used in tourism marketing.

The marketing aspect as a way of creating a product out of Sámi culture is once more seen in the use of adjectives, which add to the attractiveness of the

destination. With figurative and exaggerating adjectives such as *breathhtaking* and *unlimited*, the text is elevated to the marketing style.

In the second paragraph, some informational points are embedded within the promotion. These styles are combined, for example, in the first sentence: *“The Sámi area of Northern Lapland offers year round unlimited outdoor and indoor activities, and most of all close contact with the unique culture of the Sámi – the only indigenous people of the European Union.”* Here, tourist activities are embedded in the information that the Sámi are the only indigenous people of the European Union. With the phrase *most of all*, it is emphasized that close contact with the Sámi is the most important tourist attraction in Northern Lapland. The indigenoussness of the Sámi is a significant part of the attraction. The expression *close contact* signifies participation, but on the other hand it can have a strange association to it, when it is used in relation to a group of people: Even if above I sensed a feeling of equality between the tourist and the Sámi, with this expression the feeling is that the authors are making the people and their culture the attraction that tourists will want to be in close contact with. The wording makes sense from the Western majority’s point of view, as it emphasizes the exoticness and otherness of the Sámi in relation to us, which, as explained above, is what attracts the Western majority about the Sámi.

The following sentence goes: *“The Sámi live in the Northern parts of Finland, Norway and Sweden as well as in parts of North-Eastern Russia.”* It is not mentioned that this is the traditional cultural Sámi area, and that most (60% of the Finnish Sámi, according to the Sámi Parliament of Finland 2014) Sámi people today live outside of this area. The wording does give the impression that all the Sámi live in this area, which is not correct.

The first chapter is concluded with a statement of the Sámi situation in Finland: *“In Finland, the Sámi population is approximately 9 000 strong, and the preservation of their endangered language and culture is governed by an autonomous parliament of Inari.”* The part about the parliament is basically incorrect information due to the choice

of preposition (*of*). This makes it sound as though there is a *Parliament of Inari* that is in charge of Sámi issues, when in fact it is the Sámi Parliament of Finland (Finnish: Saamelaiskäräjät, Sámi: Sámediggi) that is only located in Inari. This is a small error that could have been avoided by using the correct preposition, *in*, and maybe a bit more explanation about the parliament.

The second chapter, titled *Let the Sámi guide and teach you* lists tourist activities to embark on and places to visit in the Sámi area. It begins with an interesting metaphor: “*Accompany the ‘cowboys of the North’: join the Sámi in the municipalities of Inari, Enontekiö and Utsjoki, the only area in Finland with a Sámi majority.*” To use a metaphor such as cowboys of the North is probably based on the traditional reindeer herding characteristic of the Sámi. In the following sentence in the paragraph the tourist is encouraged to “*let your Sámi hosts lead you to their reindeers and learn lasso-swinging,*” lasso-swinging also being an integral part of being a cowboy. However, taking the metaphor into closer inspection, its use becomes interesting as cowboys in the traditional sense are often linked to their counterpart, Indians, who are the indigenous people of Northern America. In the Western mindset the cowboys were the “good guys,” which makes the Sámi and cowboy comparison interesting, deviating them from the usual indigenous counterpart of cowboys.

The second sentence of the chapter in its entirety says: “*Let your Sámi hosts lead you to their reindeers and learn lasso-swinging, let them teach you their handicraft or take a lesson in Sámi cooking.*” Thus the role-trying and participatory tourism theme continues, combined with typical Sámi activities. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that Sámi handicraft and cooking lessons stand out of the list because they are not connected to other Northern tourist attractions than Sámi culture. Activities with reindeer are typical for Northern tourism as they usually involve also being outdoors, in this way combining Sámi tourism to nature tourism, which is quite common in Northern tourism. With activities such as Sámi handicrafts and Sámi cooking, the focus is only on Sámi culture.

Following is a paragraph focusing on the mythical aspect of Sámi culture: “*The Sámi witch drum is today a popular tourist item, originally used by medicine men as a tool, along with the Sámi chant called joik, to fall into a trance in order to reach a level of communication with the Spirits.*” In a clever way, souvenir marketing is masked in information about Sámi shamanism by stating that the witch drum is a popular tourist item. The mythical aspect is accentuated by using a capital letter in the word *Spirits*. The mythicism was mentioned already in the starting photo’s caption, so the content creators seem to regard it as an essential part of Sámi culture and tourism. To use it as an attraction relates to the representation of the indigenous other through differences, in this case Christian versus pagan. As Helander and Kailo (1999: 217) pointed out, some Westerners’ boredom with their own spiritual worlds can lead them to seek spiritual insights from other cultures. The commercialization of the witch drum has not been as widely practiced in Norway as it is in Finland (see my comparison between VisitFinland and VisitNorway below). Helander and Kailo (1999: 216) made a note about the commercialization as well, as it seems to be that once a part of culture dies, it somehow becomes common possession for everyone to use – thus the witch drum is regarded as an appropriate souvenir, at least in Finland.

The last paragraph in the *Let the Sámi guide and teach you* chapter is about the Sámi museum Siida in Inari. The museum is said to be an “*absolute must*” for a tourist to visit and that it covers “*all aspects of the Sámi culture, past and present, as well as Lapland’s extraordinary environment.*” As the point of the text is to promote these locations, the exaggeration is understandable, even if it is not entirely true. As Potinkara (2012: 173) found in his study of Siida and a Swedish Sámi museum, in Siida traditional Sámi culture is represented without history and without clear indications to different times in history, and depictions of modern characteristics of Sámi culture are lacking. On that account, to claim that the museum covers all aspects of Sámi culture’s past and present, is an erroneous claim.

Moving on to the third chapter titled *Fish, hunt and hike with the Sámis*, this short, one-paragraph chapter is focused on different nature activities the tourist can experience. The chapter lists fishing, hunting, mushroom and berry picking, and hiking as activities, but only the first one is accompanied with the expression “*with the Sámis*.” However, the hiking activity is connected to Sámi mythicism: “*Hike to the sacred fells, like Saana in the Kilpisjärvi area, or to the seitas, the holy stones and gateways to the spirit world.*” In this way, the writers are combining Sámi tourism and mythicism to nature and sports tourism. In regards Norwegian Sámi tourism, according to some sources (e.g., Olsen 2003: 7) Sámi tourism is usually only an addition to other tourist attractions in Norway, such as travelling to Nordkapp and visiting natural attractions. I do not have information on what is the situation in Finland in this sense, but adding nature and sports activities to Sámi tourism is a means of attracting more tourists to Sámi culture.

Addressing the reader as *you* is used before this chapter already, but it caught my eye here because the chapter begins with “**You** can fish with the Sámi,” and further says “or **you** can hunt and pick wild mushrooms and berries --” (my emphases). Using the second person pronoun to address the reader definitely makes the text feel more personal.

In addition to the activities, this chapter also promotes a few locations: the village of Hetta “*where Sámi culture is alive and strongest*,” the Fell-Sámi Visitor centre in Hetta, and Raittijärvi, “*the last genuine Sámi village.*” Raittijärvi does not have access by road and is not at least known for having typical tourist activities, but even the mere mention of it adds to the authors’ expertise.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to different Sámi festivities, with the title *Join the Sámi events and celebrations*, and it presents various Sámi festivities from January to August. The chapter begins with the promotion of Skábmagovat, the Indigenous Peoples’ Film and TV Production Festival, where “*you can celebrate the end of polar night*,” as the festival takes place at the turn of January and February. The concept

of polar night, which is the time of year when the night lasts longer than 24 hours in the North, is not explained. It is probably assumed that a reader interested in the North already knows what it means. In the same sentence, the Sámi national day of February 6 is mentioned.

The middle paragraph in the festival chapter introduces different fishing competitions and reindeer races in March and April "*all over Lapland,*" adding, "*don't miss the last and biggest race in Inari,*" although a specific date for this is not mentioned. After this, the Sámi's "*most important holidays, Annunciation (March 25) and Easter*" are mentioned, and they are described as the season for "*baptisms, weddings, markets, concerts, and dances.*" Baptisms and weddings are surely not tourist activities, but they are mentioned as examples of Sámi culture. Even though the term baptism is not explained further, it is likely that it refers to the Christian sacrament wherein a child is baptized into Christianity. Lastly, this chapter lists other Sámi events, such as the Music Festival of Indigenous Peoples, Ijahdis idja.

The article is concluded with a short chapter titled *Delicious Sámi food*. The first paragraph lists different types of Sámi food, with the encouragement to "*try creamy salmon soup, smoked or dried reindeer meat, willow grouse sausage, sautéed reindeer with Lappish potatoes and lingonberries, fried arctic char or salmon or Lappish bread and cheese with cloudberry jam.*" Instead of merely listing these dishes, to encourage the tourist to try out the food makes the food also a tourist activity.

This rather superficial analysis of VisitFinland's subpage "Chill out with the Sámi people" concludes the first part of my analysis. A general image can be built of Sámi representations that rely on stereotypes, but also emphasize an easy-to-approach, engaging, and active touristic image of them. The reader was addressed personally and encouraged for active Sámi tourism. On the one hand, the representation created of Sámi people was friendly and easy to approach, but on the other hand, in terms of culture, history, and modernity, the overall

representation was left somewhat vague – possibly because the focus was on promoting tourism activities.

8.2 VisitNorway

The next website I will analyze is on the “official travel guide to Norway,” VisitNorway.com. The site construction of VisitNorway is a lot more complex than that of VisitFinland. The front page has a myriad of sections, articles, links, photos, videos, and so on, all related to tourism activities. Similarly to VisitFinland, VisitNorway does not have directly Sámi related links or sections on the front page. There is a search option one could use, but as I explained in the data selection, I chose to follow a way that seemed the most logical for me, in order to arrive to a page involving Sámi people in tourism. Thus, first I chose the “What to do” section at the top of the page (next to other sections such as “About Norway,” “Where to go,” “Booking,” etc.). The “What to do” section is divided into eight different types of activities, such as “Family & Fun” and “Active Holiday.” Under “Attractions & Culture” there is a link to “Sami culture.” The link leads to a subpage titled “The Sami,” which is the site I shall analyze in this section.

8.2.1 The Sami

This subpage is titled simply as “The Sami” (screencaps of the full page are available in appendix 4). The site construction of it is as follows:

- The subpage has a white background, and the main options of the site (links to “Home,” “Booking,” “About Norway,” “Where to go,” etc.) remain at the top of the page. These options as well as the language, weather, and other choices on the right hand corner remain on each page as one navigates through VisitNorway.
- On the upper left hand corner there is the VisitNorway logo, which is a red rectangle with the text “Norway – Powered by nature” inside it in white, capital letters.
- The main article with text and images is centered on the middle column of the page, and the right hand column has, for instance, the map of Norway, option to search for accommodation and travel options, related videos, and related links about both Northern Norway and Sámi culture.

- Below the article, there are more options for finding tourism activity providers, and below that, links to related articles on VisitNorway with more information about the Sámi and Northern Norway, as well as advertisements.
- The lowest part of the page has further site navigation options and links. The site construction is very similar to the one on the Finnish site, but the difference is that there are more links and advertisements. In addition, the text is smaller on the Norwegian site, which makes it possible to include more content in it.
- The article itself begins with a large, two-column wide photo of a reindeer sled with a tourist(s) sitting on the sled, and a man dressed in Sámi attire holding the harness, apparently teaching the tourist(s) how to ride the sled. The photo has a caption on the right lower corner in light grey font (more about the caption below).
- Below the photo, there are more of the, apparently, same links as at the top of the page (“Home,” “What to do,” etc.), and below this there is the heading of the article and the actual article.
- Next to the heading, on the right side of it, there is some sort of figure drawn in light grey dots, which is very hard to even notice on the first glance. It is unclear what the image depicts.
- The article consists of four chapters and three subheadings. There are also two smaller photos on the left hand column, next to the text. The text itself is 680 words.
- As mentioned, the background color of the page is white. The heading and subheadings are in red color, the introduction chapter text is in dark grey, and some words within the text are bolded black. Links appear in blue.

I will begin with the photo above the text of the article, which is the most salient element on the page. This was also the case on the Finnish site. This photo, as mentioned above, depicts a situation of Sámi tourism where a Sámi man is teaching tourists to ride a reindeer sled. The setting of the photo is a snowy landscape, with a mountain and some trees on the background, and two Sámi *kotas* (huts) on the left background behind the reindeer. The reindeer is foregrounded in the photo, and the Sámi man, sled, and tourists are behind it. The reindeer’s harness is decorated in Sámi style and colors. It is unclear whether there are one or more tourists sitting in the sled because the Sámi man is standing in front of them, but at least a blond woman with smiling eyes, wearing a blue winter overall, looking at the reindeer, can be seen sitting on the sled. The Sámi man is standing next to the sled, smiling, and holding the reindeer’s harness. His body is slightly

positioned toward the sled, but he is still looking at the reindeer, which makes it seem as if he is teaching the tourist(s) how to operate the sled. The Sámi man is dressed in a long reindeer fur coat, reindeer fur shoes and a colorful blue, white, and red Sámi hat. The man has a friendly smile on his face.

This photo is filled with stereotypical Sámi elements, which emphasizes the fact found in other studies (e.g., Kiviluoto et al. 2008) about how it is precisely visual markers that make the Sámi culture recognizable for outsiders. These elements in this photo are the reindeer, sled, the *kotas* and the Sámi man's clothing. In addition, the photo setting of being outdoors, surrounded by snow, also adds to the stereotypical image of the Sámi. This photo is a typical Sámi tourism photo in another way as well. As Kiviluoto et al. (2008) found, in tourism images the Sámi are often depicted with the tourist, and the tourist is frequently found trying out the role of the Sámi, by engaging in typical Sámi activities. In the previous analysis section, it was discovered how Sámi activities were described as engaging the tourist in Sámi activities, with the Sámi as guides. In this particular photo, the role of the Sámi man is of a guide, but as he is not sitting on the sled himself, it can be determined that the tourist would ride the sled without him. Thus, this photo represents Sámi as the guide, and the tourist engaging in the Sámi role.

The photo caption reads "*Try reindeer sledding with Sami people in Tromsø, Norway.*" This text adds to the above analysis, as it encourages trying this activity specifically with Sámi people. As I have mentioned previously, a difference between Finland and Norway that might affect this situation is that reindeer herding is more specifically a Sámi activity in Norway, as it is secured as a Sámi subsistence in order to maintain the traditional herding of reindeer, whereas in Finland it is not strictly reserved for the Sámi. The end result of this possibly affects tourism. The reindeer is arguably a very prominent tourist attraction in the north, thus, in Norway, to encounter domesticated reindeer, the tourist has a larger chance to encounter Sámi culture as well - if the reindeer owners choose to promote it. In

Finland the owners are not always Sámi, so there is a possibility of relating reindeer also to the (northern) Finnish culture.

An interesting detail about the photo and its caption is that if one opens the photo in another tab on ones browser, or saves the photo, the original name of the photo becomes visible and it says "*sami_finnmark.*" Finnmark is the northernmost and easternmost county in Norway, and a very traditional Sámi area. However, the caption on the photo names the place as Tromsø, which is a city in northern Norway not in the county of Finnmark, but in the county of Troms, which is situated south of Finnmark on the western coast. This sort of slight mistake does probably not occur to most of the site's visitors, but it still can be misleading as this particular landscape and Sámi man are not located in Tromsø.

After the starting photo analysis, I will now take a closer look at the two other photos in the article before moving on to analyzing the text. These photos are small, approximately one third of the size of the main photo, and they are situated one above the other on the left side of the text. They make the article seem more lively, being positioned next to the text. The first photo is of a young Sámi girl dressed in Sámi clothes, holding a bouquet of flowers and a small pink purse. The girl is looking down, making her face not fully visible. The photo is a close-up, and the girl is photographed from approximately above her knees up to the top of her head, and she fills the whole photo. The close-up allows the viewer to see the detailed embroidery of her dress and hat, as well as the flowers. Depicting innocent-looking children might awaken warm emotions in the viewer. The reason for choosing a photo of a little girl could also be to ensure the viewer that Sámi culture is passed on from generation to generation. This message is communicated by using, again, the traditional Sámi dress.

The girl is gazing downwards and her eyes are not visible in the photo. For instance Machin and Mayr (2012: 70-73) discussed the meaning of gaze in images, drawing attention to the symbolical meanings of up and down in Western culture:

Up is generally good, and down is bad. Gazing down is often interpreted as the person being sad, but as here the photo is of an innocent looking child, I am more drawn towards the attempt to awaken feelings of warmth and nurture in the viewer. The girl might be shy or scared in an innocent sort of way, which many viewers could see as endearing. In a way it is a clever way to attract the viewer's attention, but on the other hand, the possibility of communicating vulnerability with the girl's gaze could create mixed feelings in the viewer.

The next photo is of a Sámi man, dressed again in traditional Sámi clothes, accompanied by a reindeer. There is a white background, which is most likely snow. The man is holding the reindeer by its horn, facing the reindeer, and the photo is taken from behind the reindeer, leaving only the animal's back and head visible in the photo. The man is left slightly behind the reindeer, but his full Sámi clothing is visible. The man is looking at the reindeer and holding its horn, which creates an assumption that he knows what he is doing in terms of taking care of the animal in the right way. His facial expression is neutral, and he looks concentrated on the reindeer. He is not looking at the camera, thus not demanding a response from the viewer, which seems to be very common in Sámi tourism images: All the photos both on this site and the Finnish site have Sámi people in them, gazing away from the camera. As Machin and Mayr (2012: 70-74) affirmed, not gazing at the camera is an offer, an invitation to imagine what the person in the photo is thinking. In this photo, particularly as the reindeer is foregrounded in front of the man, attention is drawn towards the man's caring of the animal. It is good in creating a sense of trust: The man clearly knows what he is doing. Nevertheless, the photo is still very stereotypical with well known Sámi symbols: reindeer, Sámi clothes, and snow.

Moving on to scrutinize the text part (appendix 5) of the article, the main heading is very simple: *The Sami*. The heading leaves the reader to expect a general view on the Sámi culture for a tourist, which the article does, from its chosen perspective. As a sidenote, the word *Sámi* on VisitNorway is spelled without the accent above

a. There are different ways of spelling the word (*Sámi, Sami, Saami*), and the one without the accent is also found in the Collins English Dictionary (2014). In the Norwegian language, the word is also written without the accent. The Sámi language(s) use the accent, which is possibly why its use is spread to English as well. Nevertheless, according to my knowledge, the different spellings do not have larger differences or different connotations.

The article introduction begins by stating that *“the Sami are Norway’s indigenous people,”* which is both correct and incorrect information, as the Sámi surely are this, but at the same time they are not tied to any specific Nordic country exclusively. They are also the indigenous people of Finland, Sweden, and Russia. Possibly for the sake of this being Norway’s tourism promotion, the authors have chosen to use this emphasis.

The introduction continues as follows: *“Travel to Northern Norway to experience their culture. Learn to throw a lasso, or try reindeer sledding.”* It seems that the theme here is similar to the one on the Finnish site, encouraging the tourist in Sámi activities and most of all in experiencing the culture. Already from the introduction the authors are writing of the Sámi in third person: *“experience **their** culture”* (my emphasis), which also follows the same pattern as the Finnish site. The opposition of us and them is thus created already in the beginning.

After the introduction, the first chapter begins interestingly with *“The Sami people are sometimes referred to as Lapps, but prefer to be called Samis.”* The reason for beginning the first chapter with information such as this is a bit vague. The term *Lapp*, which derives from *Laplander* or *Lappish* is an old term that the outsiders created upon first encounters with the Sámi, but the term was later replaced by Sámi, which is more descriptive as it is also the Sámis’ own name for themselves. However, to use this sort of information in the beginning, without explaining further the use of these different words, and specifically by stating *“but prefer to be called Samis,”* the authors are signaling respect for the Sámi. The authors also want

the tourist to know this, in order not to offend the Sámi. Perhaps there is a hint of fear in expressing this; fear of offending an oppressed minority, who have been known to rebel against oppression.

The first chapter continues to briefly mention the 11,000 year old culture of the Sámi, and that *“The Sami were at one with nature, and lived in tents (lavvo) and turf huts whilst they followed the reindeer.”* The sentence is rather vague in many ways. First, the use of tenses suggests that these actions occurred in the past, which they inarguably did, but for instance to say the Sámi were at one with nature suggests that this is not the case anymore, and there is no information about when it ended. Second, the expression *“followed the reindeer”* as a euphemism for reindeer pastoralism is somewhat unclear, and for a reader with no background information about the reindeer subsistence does not give a clear perception of what it means.

The topic of reindeer is continued in the next paragraph, which reads *“Reindeer herding is still central to Sami culture, even to this day, and crucial to the subsistence of the Sami, providing meat, fur and transportation. Reindeer sledding (link) is popular in Finnmark in winter.”* Emphasizing reindeer seems to be crucial in promoting Sámi tourism, and the stereotypical Sámi value of reindeer is taken into consideration. However, the above declaration possibly exaggerates the actual role of the reindeer in the lives of modern Norwegian Sámis, where not every Sámi has connections to reindeer herding. Moreover, to state that the reindeer is still crucial for the Sámi in providing transportation is surely not true. Reindeer herders, for instance, rely on snowmobiles during the winter and other motorized vehicles other times of the year.

The second chapter is titled *Karasjok – the Sami capital*. Karasjok is a small town in Northern Norway and an important Sámi centre, because, for instance, the Sámi Parliament of Norway is situated there. The first paragraph advertises the Sápmi Culture Park:

*“Experience the culture and history of the Sami people at **Sápmi Culture Park**. A great place to hear the Sami joik, eat Sami food, meet Sami people, purchase Sami souvenirs, visit Sami dwellings and get acquainted with the Sami’s best friend – the ubiquitous reindeer. Sápmi is located in Karasjok, at the edge of Finnmarksvidda.”*

Similarly to the Finnish site that advertised the Finnish Sámi museum Siida, the Norwegian site emphasizes the Sápmi Culture Park as a good place to go to get to know the central aspects of Sámi culture. Sápmi Culture Park is advertised as a place for Sámi culture and history, but the second sentence does not reveal the different time spans of the things that they list. For instance, if one can visit Sámi dwellings at Sápmi Culture Park, to which time period does this relate to? These sorts of ambiguous structures and word choices again emphasize the denial of history of Sámi culture as it is presented for outsiders, speaking of traditional or typical Sámi characteristics that exist somewhere in an indefinite period of time.

The rest of the second chapter is concentrated more on Karasjok, mentioning its *“recognised Sami institutions and living Sami culture,”* as well as the Sami Parliament and reindeer. The word choice for *living* Sami culture slightly stands out. It might occur to the reader that the writers had the word *lively* in mind, which communicates something being full of life or active, whereas *living* literally is the adjective for something being alive. This is most likely a mistake based on the Norwegian word for *lively*, which is *livlig*, thus being rather close to *living*. Perhaps the writer’s mother tongue is Norwegian, making it easy for this type of mistakes to occur. Nevertheless, a mistake or not, to describe Karasjok having a *living* Sámi culture can create a thought of Sámi culture not being alive in other places, which is not the case.

The third chapter is dedicated to Sami festivals, as the title reveals. It includes information about the Sámi National Day celebrations, The Easter Festival, and finally the Riddu Riddu Sámi festival. The historical background of the Sámi National Day is briefly explained (*“the date the **first Sami congress** was held in*

1917”), after which different ways of celebrating the day are listed, for instance: “*Sami week in Tromsø, for example, features **reindeer racing**, lasso throwing championship, a Sami market and more.*” Here, it is noted that the day is celebrated in Oslo as well, which is a good reminder of Sámi culture not being tied to the north only.

The following paragraph is about the Easter Festival, which I will take a closer look at. The full paragraph goes as follows:

*“The Easter Festival: Traditionally Easter was the time of year when the **reindeer-herding** Sami gathered in the towns of Karasjok and Kautokeino to celebrate the end of winter. Easter was also a time for **weddings**. Today celebrations are still religious in character, but Easter is also a time when Sami culture takes centre stage, with many events in both Karasjok and Kautokeino. The **Sami Grand Prix** and the **annual reindeer race** are two of the highlights, but other events include concerts, theatre performances and exhibitions.”*

Here, my attention is drawn to the use of tenses. In the first two sentences, past tense is used, accompanied with the adverb *traditionally* in the first sentence. No specific time in history is defined for these traditional activities, which again stresses the stereotype of indigenous people having no history, so to speak. As mentioned in the previous studies section, for example, Potinkara (2012) noticed this feature in Sámi museums, particularly as the modernization of Sámi culture is a feature left with less or no attention.

After the first two sentences in the traditional Sámi culture, focus is brought back to today. The next sentence states that “*today celebrations are still religious,*” which caught my attention because the first sentences did not mention the traditional celebrations being religious. Furthermore, it is not in any instance specified what kind of religion they are relating the Sámi to – is it Christianity or perhaps the original Sámi religion? With regard to the latter, it should be noted that the Norwegian site does not exploit the mythicism and mysticism of the old Sámi

religion and culture in the way that the Finnish one does. For instance shamans are not mentioned on the Norwegian site.

The last paragraph in the Sámi festivals chapter is about the Riddu Riddu Sami Festival, which “puts on an extensive programme featuring *music, film and art* from around the world.” The text emphasizes Riddu Riddu as “a platform for various indigenous and non-indigenous people to meet,” and in this way lowers the threshold for the tourist to join the festival, not highlighting that it is specifically a Sámi festival.

Finally, the last chapter in this article is titled *Strong culture*, and it includes a few informational points about the Sámi culture that are not related to tourism activities as such. The first paragraph goes:

*“For a long time the Sami were an **oppressed people** and their culture was in danger of dying out. Today the Sami stand stronger than most other aboriginal people in the world. They have their independence day, and their own flag and parliament.”*

Even if the oppression is mentioned here, the temporal aspect of it all is left unrevealed with expressions such as “for a long time” and “today.” For the reader, there is no way of knowing how long of a period *long time* is, and when *today* begins. In addition, to merely mention that the Sámi were oppressed does not uncover who they were oppressed by, and to what extent, and how it ended. Surely, such things are complicated to explain briefly in this sort of context, and it is difficult to decide the appropriate way to present it as part of tourism marketing. Nevertheless, as it is seen here, this kind of language use can further emphasize the sense of Sámi culture without history; an aspect mentioned above several times.

The next two sentences state that the Sámi “stand stronger than most aboriginal people” today, and have their own Independence Day, flag, and parliament. With no further explanations for why they stand strong, it seems as if the Independence

Day, flag, and parliament – all very Western concepts of independence – are used as proof that the Sámi are better off than other aboriginal peoples. Even so, it is rather ambiguous as to what their role is, exactly, next to the majority culture.

Following is a short paragraph about *“other important elements of the Sami culture,”* naming the language with its different varieties and the joik, *“the Sami traditional song.”* A listing this short does not seem to bring further value to the topic, as these elements are literally merely mentioned, as it were for the sake of mentioning.

Next, as part of the *Strong culture* chapter, Mari Boine is mentioned as a *“famous Norwegian artist of Sami descent who has helped to strengthen this trend.”* The indexical reference *“this trend”* is left unclear as to what it refers to – the previously mentioned joik or something else. In this paragraph it is further noted that Mari Boine *“uses her Sami background and the folk music of Northern Scandinavia in her music.”* The intent is possibly to give an example of how Sámi culture is manifested in modern culture. The text also includes a link to further information about this artist.

Finally, the article ends in a short description of the modern day Sámi:

*“Sami people live nowadays in an area which spreads from Jämtlands Län in Sweden through Northern Norway and Finland to the Kola Peninsula in Russia. There are some **100,000 Sami** living here, about half of them in Norway.”*

The area described here is the cultural region known as Sápmi, the traditional Sámi area, but this information is lacking, for example, not acknowledging that most people of Sámi origin today live outside of this area. Nonetheless, there are different sources about these numbers, but the fact that it is assumed in this article that all Sámi people live in the Sápmi area is misleading and wrong.

From this analysis of the subpage *“The Sami”* on VisitNorway, I can draw conclusions of Sámi representations again being built upon stereotypes and a very

traditional image. The overall tone of this page was emphasizing information instead of marketing. This could be seen, for example, in the language, which kept a certain distance to the reader. However, on this subpage there were many details that caught my attention for a more critical analysis, for instance, expressions that gave a vague or misleading impression of Sámi history or culture. This was the most stereotypical way of constructing Sámi stereotypes in this article: the denial of history and modernity by using vague temporal expressions and not locating events and traditions in specific periods of time. The representation of Sámi people was thus left rather ambiguous.

8.3 Comparison: VisitFinland vs. VisitNorway

After a separate analysis of the two websites, I will now continue the analysis by focusing on differences between the chosen subpages on VisitFinland and VisitNorway. As I mentioned in the Data selection part, I selected the first most easily found Sámi related subpages that included more or less general information about Sámi tourism. In this sense, VisitNorway's "The Sami" and VisitFinland's "Chill out with the Sámi people" are the most corresponding subpages on each website. They both provide an overall introduction to the country's Sámi tourism for possible tourists who have little or no prior information about the Sámi. However, there are many differences in the content and in the Sámi representations they build, which I will scrutinize in this chapter.

First, I will take the photos under closer inspection. The Finnish site has a slide show of twelve photos (all the photos are available in appendix 3), with only the first one visible as one enters the page; the rest can be browsed manually. The Norwegian site has altogether three photos that are all positioned in the article, of which all three include Sámi people dressed in traditional Sámi clothes. The Finnish photo slide show, on the other hand, includes people, most likely Sámi, in seven out of twelve photos, but only in five of them the people have external markers of Sámi culture, namely, traditional Sámi clothing. Two of these are close-ups of a woman's Sámi clothing, the other one of her chest picturing various

ornaments, and the other one of her shoes and dress hem. Her face is not visible in these photos, because the intent is to focus on the hand-made clothing. The other photos with people in full Sámi outfits are the starting photo of the slide show, which I analyzed above, and a photo of a Sámi man leading a reindeer sled with a tourist couple sitting on it. In addition, there is a photo with two men standing at their yard, and the men are otherwise wearing casual and modern outdoor clothing apart from Sámi hats. This photo, by the way, is the only one that has names of the photographed people in the caption (*"The Sámi father and son, Lauri and Timo Hetta"*). The people in the slide show photos that are not explicitly signified as Sámi are a baby in a Sámi crib and three people on snowmobiles photographed from behind, although one of the latter ones has a white winter garment that could be Sámi.

It is obvious, thus, that both the Finnish and the Norwegian site rely on external markers of Sámi culture to signify that the people in the photos are Sámi. In general, considering that the content of the sites is about Sámi culture and tourism in general, it seems that for the creators of these sites, Sámi culture manifests itself in the people. Nevertheless, the people are not identified, apart from the one Finnish photo. Instead, with the use of Sámi clothes they are all classified into one unified group of Sámi people. Even when they are photographed alone, as individuals, their personal identities are left unrevealed. The Finnish site deviates from this in the one photo, where two Sámi men are identified and named, but it does make one wonder why only these people in the slide show are named. Is it because they are photographed on their home yard, or is it because they resemble the Western norm because they are not wearing full Sámi outfits? If the latter possibility is true, an assumption can be made that once Sámi people are wearing Western clothes, they become individuals to the Western viewer, instead of being parts of the unified group of the Sámi.

In addition to photographs of people, both sites include reindeer in their photos. Out of the twelve slide show photos on the Finnish site, two of them include

reindeer: The first one is a photo of a reindeer herd out on a snowy pasture, with a light red sky (most likely sunset) in the background, and the other one is of a Sámi man leading a reindeer sled with a tourist couple (a British wedding couple, as the caption notes) sitting on the sled. Interestingly, the Norwegian site has a similar photo to the latter one as the article's main photo, which I analyzed above in its own section. This one is also photographing tourists or a tourist (it is not visible whether there are more than one) sitting on a reindeer sled, and a smiling man dressed in Sámi clothes is holding the reindeer's harness, as if teaching the tourist how to ride the sled. These photos are the only ones on both sites that include both a Sámi person and tourists in them. In the text, the Finnish site emphasizes tourist activities including the Sámi people as teachers and guides, but the reindeer sled photo is the only one depicting this.

On the Norwegian site, two out of three photos include a reindeer, and all photos include Sámi people dressed in traditional clothing, so it seems that VisitNorway relies somewhat more on visually stereotypical Sámi elements than VisitFinland. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the Norwegian site has only three photos, whereas the Finnish one has a slide show of twelve photos altogether, which leaves more room for a variety in photos.

The Finnish slide show also relies on stereotypical Sámi elements in many photos, as it was noted, for instance, in the form of Sámi clothing, handicrafts, reindeer, and traditional Sámi dwellings. Modernity is touched upon in the photo of snow mobiles, a photo of the modern architecture of Sajos (the culture centre of the Sámi in Inari), and the photo of the two Sámi men who are not dressed in Sámi clothes. The general style in the Finnish photographs is darker in color than the one in the Norwegian photos, for example as the reindeer herd photo is photographed against a darkening sky, and there are a few photos where northern lights are included. This seems to go with the article, which emphasized the Sámi's mythic side, whereas the Norwegian one left out mentions to Sámi mythicism altogether.

This leads me to pay more attention to the texts. In terms of the length of the texts, the texts are more or less the same size: The Finnish article consists of 719 words and the Norwegian one of 680 words. In general, the Norwegian article's text is more informational in character, whereas the Finnish one has a clear promotional style to it. The Finnish text often addresses the reader as *you*, and encourages the reader to *join* and *try out* different activities. The imperative form is used in the Finnish text 20 times, and a softer encouragement *you can* is found in five instances. The Norwegian one also uses imperative in encouraging the reader to *experience* and *try out* things, but only in the introductory paragraph and the Karasjok chapter, altogether eight times. In addition, the pronoun *you* is used only once to address the reader, whereas the Finnish text uses it 13 times. The Finnish text is also made more promotional by the use of a few metaphors and tempting and sometimes exaggerating adjectives, such as *breathtaking*, *outstanding*, and *extraordinary*. The Norwegian text does not include metaphors and is more hesitant in using adjectives, particularly the aforementioned type of adjectives, keeping to less extravagant ones such as *great*.

Addressing the reader personally and using marketing-type adjectives are things that make the Finnish text seem livelier than the Norwegian one. Another fact contributing to the liveliness is the difference in focus: The Finnish text is focused on tourist activities, whereas the Norwegian one is more concerned with describing different places, Sámi culture, and events in an informative way. The title *The Sami* is thus descriptive of the article's content, and the same can be said for the Finnish title *Chill out with the Sámi people*, which accentuates the participative character of the text. In the Finnish article, factual information by itself is reduced to the beginning of the article, or embedded in the activity descriptions, whereas the Norwegian text includes facts about Sámi culture scattered around the article.

Regarding differences and similarities in the articles' content, the most significant similarity is that both articles have dedicated a chapter to Sámi festivals. Surely the

festivals they discuss are different as they take place in different countries, but in this section both mention the Sámi National Day, Easter festivities, and reindeer races. Both VisitFinland and VisitNorway, thus, seem to consider Sámi festivals as important tourist events. Concerning reindeer otherwise in the texts, the Norwegian text mentions reindeer ten times, often related to reindeer herding and sledding, when the Finnish one seven times, mostly in relation to food or reindeer races. The Finnish text lists different kinds of Sámi food in the last chapter dedicated to Sámi food, whereas the Norwegian text mentions Sámi food only as a concept, part of the National day celebrations. In the latter mention, the phrase concerning food is “*of course Sámi food,*” where the expression *of course* can create some confusion, because the food has not been mentioned elsewhere in the article.

In addition, the focus is different concerning which aspects of Sámi culture are emphasized. In the Finnish article, the topic of Sámi mythicism is put forward several times both in photos and in text, but the Norwegian article refrains from any mentions to. With the focus on tourist activities, the Finnish article embeds some aspects of nature tourism in them, when the Norwegian article’s focus is on Sámi culture. This focus allows the Norwegian article be somewhat informative about culture, which is shown, for instance, in the last chapter titled *Strong culture*. In this chapter, the Sámis’ oppression is briefly mentioned, as well as languages, and one Sámi artist, Mari Boine, is mentioned by name. The Finnish article leaves out mentions of the oppression or individual Sámi people in the text, but they do mention that the culture is endangered. As it was noted above, VisitFinland also identifies two Sámi men in one photograph. The men are dressed rather modernly, which I suspected being the reason for their identification. Mari Boine is introduced as “*a proud symbol of Sami culture in urbane, **modern** Norway*” (my emphasis), so the similar pattern seems to continue: the Sámi need modern characteristics in order to be identified as individuals.

Both articles make the same mistake of claiming that all Sámi people live in the north, giving the impression that Sámi culture is still restricted to this particular

area. As the tourist activities and events are also about celebrating traditional aspects of Sámi culture, there are hardly any references to the modern reality of the Sámi. The Norwegian text even emphasizes how reindeer herding is still central and crucial to Sámi culture, which is not the case for the majority of Sámi people. VisitFinland does not specify to whom and to which period of time the Sámi activities and their way of life refer to. Neither article, thus, makes clear distinctions between history and today, and both articles connect Sámi culture to traditional ways of subsistence.

In conclusion, both subpages followed the established trend of Sámi representations in tourism, but the slightly more modern style of VisitFinland's subpage *Chill out with the Sámi people* deviated a bit from this trend. VisitNorway's subpage *The Sami* provided a more traditional, narrow, and perhaps conservative overall image of Sámi tourism, as they relied on conventional photography and a very informational style in the text. VisitFinland provided more points of view to Sámi culture and tourism, as well as liveliness and tourist engagement in the language, which overall gave a more relaxed feeling of Sámi tourism.

9 DISCUSSION

After the analysis, I will now continue to discussing my findings in general, in relation to my background, and further into the implications that I see as important. In this study I set out to study how Sámi people were represented on two tourism websites in English, the websites being one subpage on the official Finnish tourism promotion portal VisitFinland.com and the other on the corresponding Norwegian website, VisitNorway.com. By using critical discourse analysis and multimodal methods of analysis, I analyzed the websites both individually and by comparison. Even though I had my methods chosen, I also wanted to keep the analysis process open and observe which aspects of the data become important enough to select into the analysis, in terms of answering my research questions. This led to paying close attention to photographs, textual content, and word choices. This revealed how the construction of representations is

affected by various elements of discourse. I expected to find some injustice in the representations of this minority, because the history of Sámi people in coexisting with the majorities has been characterized by oppression and forceful assimilation. In the end, it has not been a long time since the oppression ceased, and remnants of it are definitely still around. I wanted to see whether this is seen in tourism promotion today, and critical discourse analysis was the correct tool to observe that.

Regarding the results of my analysis in general, the similarity between the two subpages was in relying on stereotypical and traditional representations of the Sámi, emphasizing their indigenous culture and roots, even if it meant disregarding modern aspects of their culture. The differences were mainly in the different methods of building these representations: VisitFinland did it more promotionally, modernly, and focused on engaging activities, whereas VisitNorway relied more on a conservative promotion of information about culture and destinations.

Based on previous studies on Sámi representations, I could expect to find marginalization and relying on stereotypical images of the indigenous other. Pietikäinen's (2000, 2003) findings on Sámi representations in Finnish media showed that the number of Sámi related news in itself was small, and when Sámi issues were discussed, the created images contributed to a marginalized representation of this minority. My findings concur with a marginalized image, even if the venue in my study was different from that of Pietikäinen's. The Sámi culture in tourism was presented as a separate entity not related to the majorities. My data included no explicit references to Sámi culture sharing common features with Norwegian or Finnish cultures. Even if in reality, for instance, the nature tourism activities discussed on the Finnish site are not strictly Sámi, the text made them particularly Sámi activities. The Norwegian site acknowledged the oppression of the Sámi, but did not reveal the reasons or the oppressing forces, nor did the Finnish site give reasons for why stated that Sámi culture was endangered.

With no references to the majorities, no room is left for building an equal relationship between the two, or hardly any relationship at all. The only hint of a relationship between the two groups is that in both articles the third person plural pronouns were used in referring to the Sámi, and the Finnish article even used the first person plural pronoun in referring to people behind the article who presented the Sámi people to the audience. By not giving room for the Sámi to present themselves, the old hegemony is continued. In this way, both constructed a juxtaposition of us and them, making the Sámi the other.

Postcolonial representations of the indigenous people often include characterizing them with wilderness, freedom, and animalism, as well as childlike ignorance and wild sexuality. Pietikäinen and Leppänen (2007) found these characteristics in several types of texts of the Sámi in Finland, such as jokes and school books. Features of animalism, wild sexuality or ignorance are more likely to be found in fictional discourses that are not made in an attempt to sell anything, than in marketing material. Tourism texts are a different discourse type compared to those, and as their goal is to promote Sámi culture, it is expected that explicitly or implicitly negative characterizations are left out of the discourses. Nevertheless, other post-colonial features that are not negative could be seen: At least hints of freedom were found particularly in the Finnish text's representations, as it, for instance, encouraged the tourist to *"leave the clock behind"* and explore the Sámi homeland with the locals. This way, the value of timelessness can be paralleled with the value of freedom.

More than the aforementioned typical postcolonial discourses, my results showed that the Sámi representations in tourism rely mostly on presenting the Sámi as people of nature, who still live according to their traditional lifestyles. In this sense, my results are in accordance with, for example, Tuulentie's (2006) and Olsen's (2003, 2006) findings, which indicated that particularly in tourism the Sámi are connected to a traditional lifestyle and denied of modernity. There were hardly

any references to the modern realities of the Sámi people in my data. Instead the touristification was based upon accentuating stereotypical and so-called traditional features of the Sámi culture. This was done visually on both websites by including, among other things, traditional Sámi clothing, reindeer, traditional Sámi huts, and the northern winter nature in the photos, which are all highly stereotypical external markers of Sámi culture. The Norwegian main photo was of a tourist in a reindeer sled and a Sámi man as a guide, and the Finnish main photo was a close-up of a Sámi man in a winter setting, and the use of these as the most salient elements of the articles is a sign of trusting well-established Sámi elements in attracting tourists. The difference in these, however, was that the Finnish photo (in fact, all photos on the Finnish site) was not stylistically as traditional as the Norwegian one, so it would seem that the Norwegian site was somewhat more conservative in their representations. This difference in style and thus representations was seen in the texts and other photos as well. I will return to this later.

I reviewed a few studies on Sámi representations in museums, namely, Levy (2006) and Potinkara (2012). Levy found (in Sweden, Finland, and Norway) that where Sámi exhibitions were integrated into the exhibitions of the ethnic majorities, the political and hegemonic power was clearly visible, as the Sámi parts of the exhibitions were often diminished. In Sámi run museums, on the other hand, the Sámi exhibitions were more realistic and comprehensive. This division can be seen as an indication of the power of who is in charge. Reflected against my study, the use of third person pronouns when discussing the Sámi revealed that the representations were most likely created by members of majority cultures, which definitely has an effect on the nature of the representations, possibly making them more authoritative and stereotypical. Nevertheless, Potinkara's (2012) research on a similar topic revealed that not even the Sámi museums, which are focused on Sámi history and culture, do not deviate to a great extent from the stereotypical representations, particularly in terms of presenting the Sámi without history and

excluding modernity as well as some important aspects of the Sámi culture. Perhaps this can be regarded as the general style of Sámi representations in tourism, which the Sámi follow because they are grown to be dependent on the representations created by outsiders, since they lack power (in terms of e.g., politics and number) to create representations themselves.

Nevertheless, there were a few references to the modern Sámi lives in my data, such as the mention of Sámi parliaments in both articles, but the overall sense of what is part of the present reality of Sámi people and what is past was left unclear. For instance, there were no explanations about how many Sámi people still rely on the traditional ways of subsistence, such as reindeer herding or fishing and hunting. Similarly, most Sámi people in the photos were photographed in traditional Sámi clothes, but there were no clarifications about what kind of situations these clothes are used in. A reader can get an idea that the Sámi wear these clothes every day and still live by their traditional lifestyles, which is incorrect.

However, in both articles there were a few points that were separated as being part of the past, with the use of past tense or other temporal expressions. The Norwegian text noted that the Sámi *were* at one with nature, *lived* in tents and turf huts, *followed* the reindeer, and *were* an oppressed people, signifying that these are parts of the past. Nevertheless, by adding that reindeer *are* still central to Sámi culture, but not providing further information about the modern times of Sámi, the overall image of what it means to be Sámi today was very vague. In the Finnish text, the only aspect that was at least somewhat marked as belonging to history was the Sámi witch drum, which was mentioned to *originally* have been used by medicine men to fall into a trance, but today *is* a popular tourist item. Thus the mythical, non-Christian aspect of Sámi culture was carefully signified as being history, but on the other hand, in a few other parts of the text some mythical aspects, such as sacred fells and holy stones, were left unmarked in terms of

whether they are parts of history or still in practice. With methods such as these, both articles contributed to a representation of Sámi people as people without history. For instance Potinkara (2012) found the same in his research about Sámi museums, which seemed to emphasize the traditional and stereotypical image of the Sámi – interestingly, regardless of whether the museums were run by the Sámi or outsiders. Olsen (2006) reasoned the use of the traditional image well by stating that the Sámi need to keep alive this traditional image in order to become a tourist attraction. This was indeed the case with my data as well. This raises the question of whether it is worth the money made in tourism industry to maintain this stereotypical image of the Sámi. Can it be justified with the promise of bringing money and employment to Sámi people? A Finnish Sámi artist Nils-Aslak Valkeapää pointed out in 2001 that a living culture is in a constant state of change, and for this reason does not belong to a museum (Helander & Kailo 2001: 121). The same argument can be applied to other aspects of tourism as well: Keeping up this representation that is stuck in some past period of time, even on tourism websites, further communicates the idea of a culture that is not alive anymore.

The definitive reason for maintaining this image is that a tourist attraction must be significantly different from the everyday reality of the tourist in order to become interesting enough to visit. Thus the Sámi people are represented through their traditional and stereotypical image, because in reality they are too similar to the tourist. The inherent differences between the tourist and them are accentuated and presented in different ways, either through activities, such as in the Finnish article, or through traditional culture and destinations, such as in the Norwegian article.

A common practice to do this in images, as was already found out by Kiviluoto et al. (2008), is to tempt the tourist with photographs of Sámi people in traditional clothing, as well as with depicting situations for the tourist to try out the Sámi role. Kiviluoto et al.'s (2008) material was tourism marketing material of Finland created by foreign tourism operators for international audiences, but the results can

somewhat be applied to the material created by official national tourism promotion organizations for international audiences, which is a category my data belongs to. The significance of audience is crucial: As my data was in English, the group of potential readers is vast – people whose mother tongue is English, or whose mother tongue is not available in the website's language options, or who for other reasons prefer to explore the website in English. Nevertheless, on both sites it seems that the with language options on the upper right corners of both sites the content is translated as it is to several other languages, such as German and Russian. Assuming that the text remains exactly the same, the content is the same for visitors of different languages, which means that these same representations are communicated even to a larger audience. From a brief examination of the different language options, however, I found out that the Norwegian version of the text on the Norwegian site is considerably shortened from the original version, whereas the Finnish site does not even have a Finnish version of the entire website. The meaning of this is clear: The local audiences require a different approach to the topic as their background information of the Sámi is different.

One of the principles of discourse analysis is that meaning is created in language use situations. This is an interesting point to consider as one takes into account the creators and the audiences of the articles. How do the representations change along the way from the creators' plans to the potential tourists' impression? As each potential tourist or a visitor of the site is different, it is impossible to make generalizations of the reception, but from a researcher's standpoint, in this study I have attempted to critically dissect what the objective representations were. The representations were built with care in order not to disturb the promotional goal of the websites. In addition, the genre of official government-funded tourism marketing creates significant restrictions for what to present and how. As the goal is to sell the tourist attraction that is Sámi culture, it is not beneficial, specifically in such brief articles, to go deeper into the reasons of why the Sámi culture is endangered (as the Finnish text noted) or why the Sámi were and oppressed

people (as the Norwegian text mentioned). Decisions have been made about what is important enough from a tourism point of view to bring out, and from that perspective the creators have seen it appropriate to focus on the stereotypical Sámi images.

The intertwinement of history, hegemony, and power was visible in the representations created in both articles. The articles were most likely devised by members of majority cultures, which was seen most clearly in referring to Sámi people in the third person. This practice reduces the role of the Sámi people from an equal group of people to a tourist attraction that requires an outside authority to be presented to potential tourists. Furthermore, this positioning makes it easier to seize on the differences between us and them, and it also makes it easier to include implicit traces of the past in the text, as opposed to what the representations would be like if Sámi people themselves were more involved in the creation of them. In my critical premises of the study I was prepared to find perhaps more traces of the past oppression than I actually did, but in reality the genre of tourism marketing makes the content creators extremely careful of avoiding any type of discrimination. Thus the approach is professional and cautious. Due to the slightly livelier, more colorful, and modern touch of VisitFinland, in my opinion, VisitNorway gave a more traditional and cautious impression.

On the whole, my results and the results of the previous studies all emphasize the practice of stereotyping the Sámi in tourism, and this practice is more often than not criticized. Stereotypical Sámi characteristics arise from distinguishing this group of people from others. In fact, as part of the Sámi emancipation and organization, they themselves also sought features that separated them from other groups of people, in order to build their own collective, positive identity. The danger in this is and has been that once people are grouped into one unity, the diversity and pluralism within that group are often lost. (Valkonen 2009: 11-16.) In

tourism the threat of this is quite major. Specifically so in the genre where my data belongs to: official online tourism marketing for an international audience. In this material the Sámi parts belong to a larger tourism marketing scheme for the whole country of either Norway or Finland, so the focus on Sámi tourism is not very deep, making it easier to rely on stereotypes for a general image of the Sámi people.

In reality, the diversity within the Sámi culture and people who regard themselves as Sámi is vast. There are several classifications of different Sámi identities, and in the modern era even the feature regarded as the most typical of the Sámi, connectedness to nature, is not something that each and every Sámi can identify with (Nyyssönen 2013c). Even historically the Sámi have not been homogenous, but always multilingual, -cultural, and -religious (Lindgren 2000: 68). Thus, both the history and the modern reality of over 60% of the Sámi people living outside of Sápmi, practicing various different lifestyles, collide with the image that the tourism industry is conveying.

Nevertheless, the reasons for relying on traditional and stereotypical representations of the Sámi in tourism are somewhat understandable. Considering the assumption that the content creators of my data are not Sámi themselves, and considering the long traditions of typical Sámi representations in tourism, it is easy to rely on these. As it was noted in a news article about Finnish tour operators misusing Sámi garments in tourism marketing (Yle 2013), the reason for doing this was simply ignorance from the tour operators' side. I suppose this is the general reason for many issues where Sámi culture collides with other cultures: People are not educated enough about each others' cultures, histories, and the correct ways of dealing with each other.

Representing the Sámi as an indigenous people without history is a part of the stereotyping. In my analysis I found that in Sámi tourism marketing, the line

between the past and the present was rather ambiguous. For instance, the tourist activities presented on the Finnish site and the tourist destinations presented on the Norwegian site can be described as traditional – even if the word *traditional* was not used more than a few times on each website under my analysis, the message was conveyed in other ways, such as refraining from using temporal expressions. *Tradition* is defined as, for example, “a continuing pattern of culture beliefs or practices” (Dictionary.com 2014), so if something is traditional, it is difficult to place it in a specific period of time. Resorting to traditionality is an easy way of avoiding specificity, in addition to making the described activities and destinations sound important.

When contemplating the Sámi representations in tourism, it is important to keep in mind one of the main principles of tourism that Viken and Müller (2006) brought up, which I have mentioned above a few times: The tourist is fascinated by difference, so in creating Sámi representations, there is an increased aim to emphasize cultural differences. Thus it is easy to fall in exaggeration and avoid realistic representations, if they are too similar to the tourist’s reality. The goal of making money, in combination with ignorance and following traditional Sámi tourism representations, can overshadow ethical goals of treating everyone with respect and equality.

All in all, my results showed that the Sámi representations on VisitFinland’s subpage “Chill out with the Sámi people” and VisitNorway’s subpage “The Sami” were rather similar. Both sites contributed to a generalizing and stereotypical representation of the Sámi people, with some differences in the methods of how this was done. VisitNorway relied on somewhat more stereotypical imagery of the Sámi: There were only three photos, which all were very stereotypically Sámi in nature (with reindeer and traditional Sámi clothing), and the focus in the text was on some general and traditional cultural features, as well as on Sámi destinations. The latter can also be said about the content of VisitFinland’s text, but there was

more emphasis on tourist activities. In terms of photos, VisitFinland had more of them (12), even though they were on a manually operatable slide show. The content had some differences, such as how and how much there were referrals to modern times, or to the oppression of the Sámi, which was mentioned by VisitNorway but not by VisitFinland. Nevertheless, the main difference on the two sites was the style. The Finnish site addressed the reader more personally and as the focus was on tourist activities, the style was very engaging with a rather lively language, using a lot of adjectives, which in combination with the modern style of photography created a relaxed image. The Norwegian site, on the other hand, was more descriptive and simple in style, and the conservative photo style combined with the informational text style contributed to a very traditional representation of Sámi tourism.

10 CONCLUSIONS

After reviewing the results and the analysis, I will now draw some final conclusions of the whole study.

The Sámi people as Europe's only indigenous people have endured a considerable amount of change and struggle for defining their identities ever since outside forces began to permeate their communities. Sámi cultures are based on natural ways of living and on following nature's course, which has collided with modernizing majority cultures. Assimilating to majority cultures while sustaining their own cultures, fighting for indigenous rights, struggling against exploitation, and making their voices heard are problems to this day. Tourism is one of the arenas where Sámi culture can be seen both thriving and being exploited. On the one hand tourism is helpful in maintaining traditional Sámi culture features and bringing employment, but on the other hand, as it has been seen in this study, tourism has many pitfalls, such as emphasizing stereotypical representations of Sámi culture and thus exploiting it in order to make profit.

As I have noted above in several instances, Sámi representations in tourism have strong traditions of emphasizing differences to Western cultures and thus accentuating the traditional Sámi features and lifestyles. This can be explained by the fact that tourists seek differences to their own cultures upon travelling. Consequently, instead of presenting the modern reality and diversity of the Sámi today, it is considered to be more interesting for the tourist to get to know traditional Sámi culture, which provides more differences to reflect against the tourist's own culture.

In my analysis, in comparing VisitFinland's and VisitNorway's websites on Sámi tourism, I found persisting stereotypes on both sites but somewhat different approaches to them. VisitFinland used livelier language, a more tourist engaging approach, and more photos, which had a modern, somewhat more artistic touch to them. VisitNorway, on the other hand, relied on a descriptive, more objective approach in the text, and used only a few photos, which were all very traditional in terms of topics.

Neither of the websites presented the diversity of Sámi culture, in the past or present, nor what it means to be Sámi today. The focus on both sites was on traditional Sámi tourist activities and destinations today. Sámi history was not specified, and the past oppression was given very little or no attention. The reasons for limited representations probably lie in ignorance and following the once created exoticizing Sámi images. In my opinion, in order to avoid blindly following these old trends, there should be more research into these issues and more importantly, collaboration in the tourism industry between the Sámi and members of majority cultures. It should be negotiated what kind of representations of the Sámi are appropriate for all parties, and how Sámi culture could be used in tourism without exploiting it.

Next, I will briefly note what the limitations of my data mean. My data was rather small, only two subpages, which I analyzed in detail. With data this small, the

results cannot be generalized extensively. Nevertheless, based on the similarities between the subpages under analysis, a loose general image can be built about the representations on these two national and official tourism promotion websites, which I described above in the Discussion chapter.

Continuing concerning the size of my data, for this level of detail in the analysis, there were enough data. With different data choices I would have received different results. Initially I planned to include also a Swedish site in the analysis, but that would have made the comparison more difficult and also the analysis less detailed, which is why I chose to leave it out. An additional reason for this was that personally I had most information about the Sámi in Finland and Norway. On the other hand, had I chosen only one site for analysis, I would have been able to have an even more detailed analysis. However, in terms of future research options, a three or even four-way analysis of the same kind as this study, including Russia and Sweden, would undoubtedly be interesting.

Based on this study, a variety of other possibilities for future research arise as well. I noticed that VisitFinland is not available in Finnish, and the Norwegian version of VisitNorway is somewhat different from the English one. Thus and interesting topic for further research would be to compare how the Sámi representations differ on tourism marketing material directed for local versus international audiences. Other interesting options for further research would be, for instance, to have a larger data and focus on selected elements (such as photos), or choose content creators both from Sámi and Finnish/Norwegian origin and see whether the constructed Sámi representations are different.

The results of this study can be useful for different fields of research: the linguistic or discourse analytical community, Sámi and other (ethnic) minority researchers, as well as the tourism field. The results hopefully offer some insights for the tourism industry itself, because I hope no one intentionally wants to communicate a vague or erroneous representation of the Sámi. Perhaps the results will be useful

for the Sámi people and the Nordic societies in general, as Sámi rights are still frequently debated.

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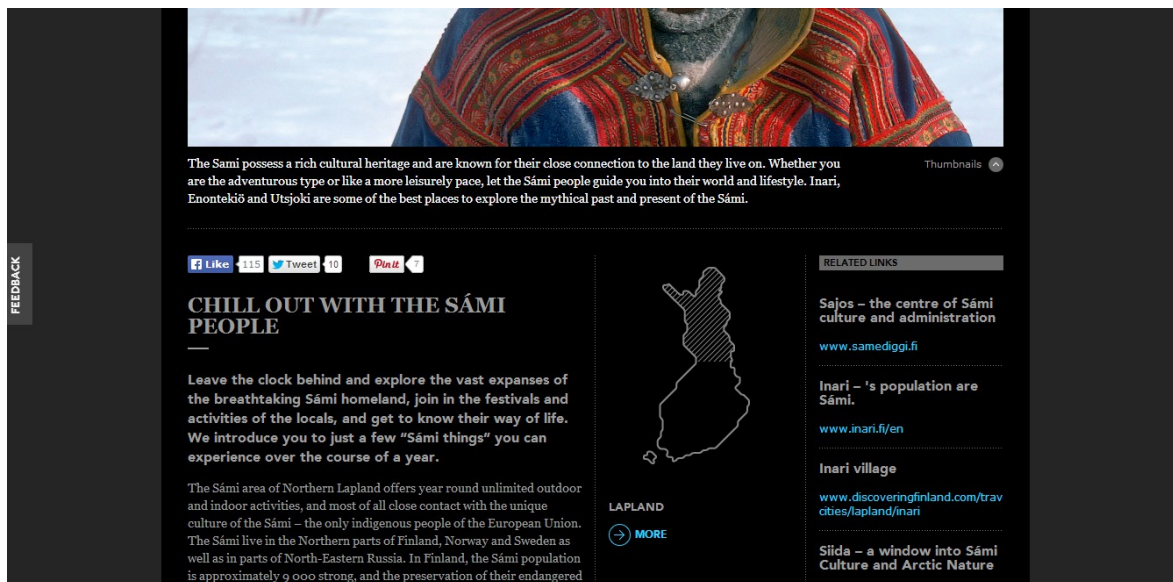
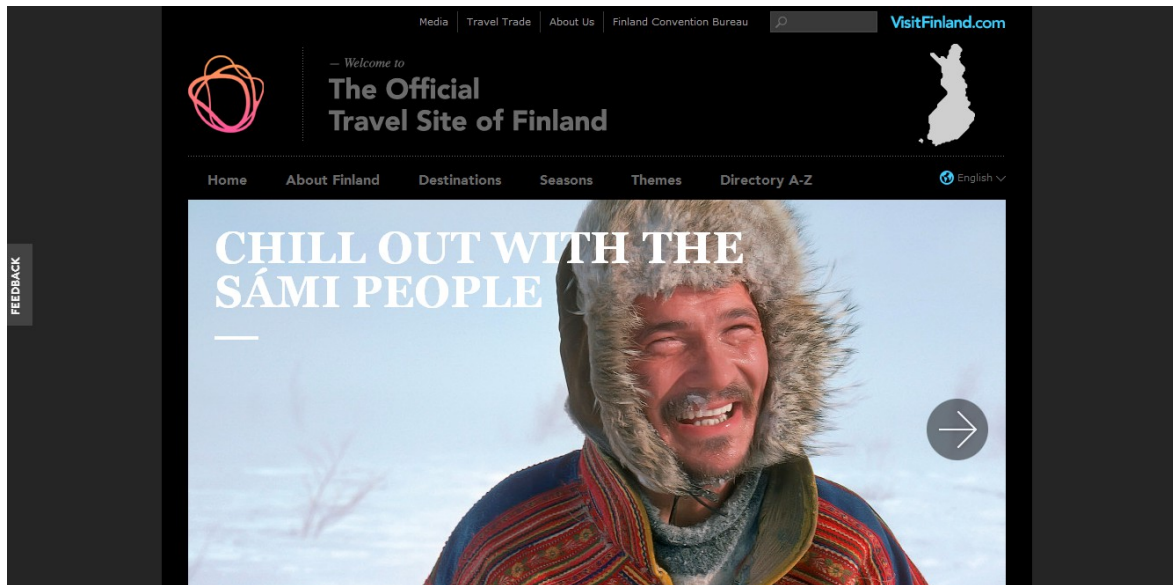
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12 APPENDIX 1

Screencaps of the subpage Chill out with the Sámi People on VisitFinland.com.

<http://www.visitfinland.com/article/chill-out-with-the-sami-people/> (Accessed 26 March, 2014.)



culture of the Sámi – the only indigenous people of the European Union. The Sámi live in the Northern parts of Finland, Norway and Sweden as well as in parts of North-Eastern Russia. In Finland, the Sámi population is approximately 9 000 strong, and the preservation of their endangered language and culture is governed by an autonomous parliament of Inari, Finland.

LET THE SÁMI GUIDE AND TEACH YOU

Accompany the "cowboys of the North": join the Sámi in the municipalities of Inari, Enontekiö and Utsjoki, the only area in Finland with a Sámi majority. Let your Sámi hosts lead you to their reindeers and learn lasso-swinging, let them teach you their handicraft or take a lesson in Sámi cooking.

The Sámi witch drum is today a popular tourist item, originally used by medicine men as a tool, along with the Sámi chant called the joik, to fall into a trance in order to reach a level of communication with the Spirits.

A visit to the village of Inari, the heart of the Sámi homeland, and to Siida, the museum of the Finnish Sámi, is an absolute must. The outstanding, internationally acclaimed indoor and outdoor museum covers all aspects of the Sámi culture, past and present, as well as Lapland's extraordinary environment. Siida's enticing gift shop and the village's many other craft shops offer plenty of interesting design products made of natural materials as well as local food and delicacies.

FISH, HUNT AND HIKE WITH THE SÁMIS

You can fish with the Sámi, even in winter in the salmon rich Teno River or in the Inari Lake. Or you can hunt and pick wild mushrooms and berries like the rare golden colored cloudberry. Hike to the sacred fells, like Saana in the Kilpisjärvi area, or to the seitas, the holy stones and gateways to the spirit world. In the picturesque village of Hetta, where Sámi culture is alive and strongest, the Fell-Sámi Visitor Centre points you to the right trails, and to Raittijärvi, the last genuine Sámi village, which has no access by road.

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In March and April, you can participate in ice-fishing and salmon fishing competitions or visit reindeer races all over Northern Lapland. Don't miss the last and biggest race in Inari where the champion is crowned and reindeer herders from all over Lapland gather. The races usually end with a dance of the reindeer herders and gold-miners at the legendary Kultahovi-Hotel. That's also the season for baptisms, weddings, markets, concerts, and dances, when the Sámi also celebrate their most important holidays, Annunciation (March 25) and Easter. In April, the traditional Ski Race, the most northern ski-marathon in the world, is held on the tracks of an ancient mail delivery path from the village of Hetta in Finland to Kautokeino in Norway.

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DELICIOUS SÁMI FOOD

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History of the Sámi
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Museum Sámiland in Kittilä
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Enontekiö
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Seitala – travel and fishing services near river Teno
www.seitala.fi/e_index.html

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Kuislaiv or hoodoo skin-sami through four villages all take place in August.

DELICIOUS SÁMI FOOD

Sámi food is always fresh and local, such as reindeer, fish, berries, game, and wild birds. Try creamy salmon soup, smoked or dried reindeer meat, willow grouse sausage, sautéed reindeer with Lappish potatoes and lingonberries, fried arctic char or salmon or Lappish bread and cheese with cloudberry jam.

To finish it all off – visit the tradition-steeped Kalastajan Majatalo or "the Fisherman's Inn" at Karigasniemi where the locals meet, make music, dance and sing the not-so-traditional karaoke on weekends.

CATEGORIES:

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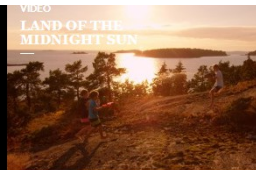
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13 APPENDIX 2

The complete text of the Chill out with the Sámi People article on VisitFinland.com.

<http://www.visitfinland.com/article/chill-out-with-the-sami-people/> (Accessed 26 March, 2014.)

“CHILL OUT WITH THE SÁMI PEOPLE

Leave the clock behind and explore the vast expanses of the breathtaking Sámi homeland, join in the festivals and activities of the locals, and get to know their way of life. We introduce you to just a few “Sámi things” you can experience over the course of a year.

The Sámi area of Northern Lapland offers year round unlimited outdoor and indoor activities, and most of all close contact with the unique culture of the Sámi – the only indigenous people of the European Union. The Sámi live in the Northern parts of Finland, Norway and Sweden as well as in parts of North-Eastern Russia. In Finland, the Sámi population is approximately 9 000 strong, and the preservation of their endangered language and culture is governed by an autonomous parliament of Inari, Finland.

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To finish it all off - visit the tradition-steeped Kalastajan Majatalo or "the Fisherman's Inn" at Karigasniemi where the locals meet, make music, dance and sing the not-so-traditional karaoke on weekends.

CATEGORIES:

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14 APPENDIX 3

Photo slide show on Chill out with the Sámi People on VisitFinland.com.

<http://www.visitfinland.com/article/chill-out-with-the-sami-people/> (Accessed 26 March, 2014.)













15 APPENDIX 4

Screencaps of the subpage The Sami on VisitNorway.com.

Photo credits: Reindeer sled photo: Bård Løken/NordNorsk Reiseliv; Sámi girl photo: Johan Wildhagen/Innovation Norway; Sámi man with reindeer photo: Terje Rakke/Nordic Life.

<http://www.visitnorway.com/en/What-to-do/Attractions-Culture/The-Sami/>

(Accessed 26 March, 2014.)

The screenshot shows the 'The Sami' page on VisitNorway.com. The page features a large header image of a reindeer sled being pulled by a reindeer in a snowy landscape, with a person in traditional Sami clothing. Below the image is a search bar and navigation menu. The main content area includes a section titled 'The Sami' with a sub-header 'The Sami are Norway's indigenous people. Travel to Northern Norway to experience their culture. Learn to throw a lasso, or try reindeer sledding.' This is followed by a paragraph: 'The Sami people are sometimes referred to as Lapps, but prefer to be called Samis. Their culture has been developing in Northern Scandinavia since the arrival of the first people 11,000 years ago. The Sami were at one with nature, and lived in tents (lavvo) and turf huts whilst they followed the reindeer.' There are three sub-sections: 'Reindeer herding', 'Reindeer sledding', and 'Karasjok - the Sami capital'. The 'Karasjok - the Sami capital' section mentions 'Sápmi Culture Park' and 'Sápmi Parliament of Norway'. A sidebar on the right contains a 'Map of Norway' and a 'Search & book' section with a search form for accommodation. The search form includes fields for search area, check-in and check-out dates, number of rooms, and a search button. Below the search form is a 'Related videos' section with three video thumbnails.

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The Sami

The Sami are Norway's indigenous people. Travel to Northern Norway to experience their culture. Learn to throw a lasso, or try reindeer sledding.

The Sami people are sometimes referred to as Lapps, but prefer to be called Samis.

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Reindeer herding is still central to Sami culture, even to this day, and crucial to the subsistence of the Sami, providing meat, fur and transportation. [Reindeer sledding](#) is popular in Finnmark in winter.

The first encounter with Sami culture for most travellers, however, often takes place by the roadside. Sami selling souvenirs, including **colourful local costumes**, shoes and hats, reindeer skins, wooden and leather handicrafts and the likes, are not an unusual sight in [Northern Norway](#).

Karasjok - the Sami capital
Experience the culture and history of the Sami people at **Sápmi Culture Park**. A great place to hear the Sami joik, eat Sami food, meet Sami people, purchase Sami souvenirs, visit Sami dwellings and get acquainted with the Sami's best friend - the ubiquitous reindeer. [Sápmi](#) is located in Karasjok, at the edge of [Finnmarksvidda](#).

With its recognised Sami institutions and living Sami culture, [Karasjok](#) is the Sami capital with almost 3,000 inhabitants. You will find a thriving Sami culture here, as well as the **Sami Parliament of Norway**... and some **60,000 reindeer** spending the autumn and winter months in Karasjok. Karasjok's nearest airport is Lakselv, approximately 75 kilometres away (an hour's drive).

[Kautokeino](#) is the other big centre of Sami culture in Norway.

Sami festivals
Sami National Day: The Sami celebrate their National Day on 6 February - the date the **first Sami congress** was held in 1917. The day is marked differently in different places. Sami week in Tromsø, for example, features **reindeer racing**, lasso throwing championship, a Sami market and more, while in Oslo, the carillon in Oslo City Hall plays the Sami national anthem as

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The Easter Festival: Traditionally Easter was the time of year when the **reindeer-herding** Sami gathered in the towns of Karasjok and Kautokeino to celebrate the end of winter. Easter was also a time for **weddings**. Today celebrations are still religious in character, but Easter is also a time when Sami culture takes centre stage, with many events in both Karasjok and Kautokeino. The **Sami Grand Prix** and the **annual reindeer race** are two of the highlights, but other events include concerts, theatre performances and exhibitions.

Riddu Riddu Sami Festival: This Sami festival taking place in Kåfjord, Troms, every July puts on an extensive programme featuring **music, film and art** from around the world, attracting some 200 artists and 3,000 visitors every year. There are many activities for children too. A platform for various indigenous and non-indigenous people to meet, Riddu Riddu celebrated its 20th anniversary in 2011.

Strong culture

For a long time the Sami were an **oppressed people** and their culture was in danger of dying out. Today the Sami stand stronger than most other aboriginal people in the world. They have their **independence day**, and their own flag and parliament.

Other important elements of the Sami culture are its **language** (the various Sami languages are very distinct from Norwegian) and the **joik**, the Sami traditional song.

Mari Boine is a famous Norwegian artist of Sami descent who has helped to strengthen this trend. She is a proud symbol of Sami culture in urbane, modern Norway. She uses her Sami background and the folk music of Northern Scandinavia in creating her music.

Sami people live nowadays in an area which spreads from Jämtlands Län in

Sweden through Northern Norway and Finland to the Kola Peninsula in Russia. There are some **100,000 Sami** living here, about half of them in Norway.

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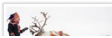
Land of the Sami



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10 northern lights experiences in Central Troms



Reindeer sledding

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Reindeer sledding

Let reindeer drag you across the white plains of Finnmark in Northern Norway.

Reindeer sledding



Top 10 winter activities in the North Cape and Western Finnmark

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Troms Reiseliv runs a year-round tourist information office for Troms County.

Tourist information in Troms

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16 APPENDIX 5

The complete text of The Sámi article on VisitNorway.com.

<http://www.visitnorway.com/en/What-to-do/Attractions-Culture/The-Sami/>

(Accessed 26 March, 2014.)

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The Easter Festival: Traditionally Easter was the time of year when the **reindeer-herding** Sami gathered in the towns of Karasjok and Kautokeino to celebrate the end of winter. Easter was also a time for **weddings**. Today celebrations are still religious in character, but Easter is also a time when Sami culture takes centre stage, with many events in both Karasjok and Kautokeino. The **Sami Grand Prix** and the **annual reindeer race** are two of the highlights, but other events include concerts, theatre performances and exhibitions.

Riddu Riddu Sami Festival: This Sami festival taking place in Kåfjord, Troms, every July puts on an extensive programme featuring **music**, **film** and **art** from around the world, attracting some 200 artists and 3,000 visitors every year. There

are many activities for children too. A platform for various indigenous and non-indigenous people to meet, Riddu Riddu celebrated its 20th anniversary in 2011.

Strong culture

For a long time the Sami were an **oppressed people** and their culture was in danger of dying out. Today the Sami stand stronger than most other aboriginal people in the world. They have their independence day, and their own flag and parliament.

Other important elements of the Sami culture are its **language** (the various Sami languages are very distinct from Norwegian) and the **joik**, the Sami traditional song.

Mari Boine is a famous Norwegian artist of Sami descent who has helped to strengthen this trend. She is a proud symbol of Sami culture in urbane, modern Norway. She uses her Sami background and the folk music of Northern Scandinavia in creating her music.

Sami people live nowadays in an area which spreads from Jämtlands Län in Sweden through Northern Norway and Finland to the Kola Peninsula in Russia. There are some **100,000 Sami** living here, about half of them in Norway.