

SKOLT SÁMI PEOPLE'S OPINIONS ON SHARING THEIR CULTURE IN TOURISM

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Kiinnostus alkuperäiskansalaisia ja kulttuuriperintöä kohtaan on ollut nousussa, mistä on seurannut alkuperäiskansalaisten näkyvyyden kysyntä matkailussa. Alkuperäiskansojen kanssa työskennellessä on tärkeää olla kunnioittava ja huomaavainen heidän kulttuurejaan kohtaan ja noudattaa autenttisuuden ja kestävyyden periaatteita. Kulttuuri ja alkuperäisetkansat ovat olleet osa matkailua kautta aikojen, mutta niitä ei ole aina osattu tuoda esiin oikealla tavalla.

Saamelaiset ovat Suomen, Ruotsin, Norjan ja Venäjän alkuperäiskansalaisia, ja heihin liittyviä tutkimuksia on tehty jonkin verran matkailussa. Saamelaiset saamelaisryhmiin, iakaantuvat eri ioista vksi on kolttasaamelaiset. Kolttasaamelaisia tutkittu yleisesti. on vähemmän kuin saamelaisia Kolttasaamelaisten asema matkailussa kasvaa, mikä luo uusia kehitysaiheita. Yksi näistä kehitysaiheista liittyy kulttuuriin. Tämän opinnäytetyön toimeksiantajana toimii Kolttakulttuuri säätiö, joka toivoo kolttasaamelaisten itse päättävän mitä asioita kulttuuristaan he jakavat matkailijoille, ja mitä säilytetään yksityisenä. Koska eri saamelaisryhmillä on erilainen kulttuuri, tämä opinnäytetyö keskittyy kolttasaamelaisiin. Viittä kolttasaamelaisyhteisön jäsentä haastateltiin teemahaastattelussa heidän näkemvksistään kolttasaamelaiskulttuurin käytöstä matkailussa. Haastattelut järjestettiin kesällä 2018.

Kaikki haastateltavat olivat huolissaan tavasta, jolla heidän kulttuuriaan Heidän mielestään kuvataan matkailussa. matkailussa on kvsvntää kolttasaamelaiselle kulttuurille, vaikka se ei ole vielä kovin näkyvä matkailussa. Haastateltavat jakoivat konkreettisia ja aineettomia asioita kahteen ryhmään: niihin, joita voi jakaa matkailijoille ja niihin, jotka tulee pitää yksityisenä. Kolttasaamelaiset käsitvöt ominaisuudet, vhteisöllisvvs ja kuten ia leikkimielisyys, mainittiin asioina, joita voi jakaa matkailijoille, kun taas enemmistö haluaisi säilyttää kulttuurin syvimmät salaisuudet sellaisenaan. Koska kyseessä on vain alemman korkeakoulututkinnon laajuinen opinnäytetyö, tämä aihe vaatii lisäkeskustelua. Tämän opinnäytetyön tuloksia voi käyttää matkailupalveluiden suunnittelussa.

Avainsanat

Sevettijärvi, kolttasaamelainen, saamelainen, matkailu, alkuperäiskansalaiset, kulttuuri, saamelaismatkailu



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Interest in indigenous groups and heritage in general is growing, which results in growing market for presenting indigenousness in tourism. When working with indigenous groups, it is a necessity to remain respectful and thoughtful towards the cultures, and work in an authentic and sustainable manner. Culture and indigenous groups have been part of tourism for a long time, but they have not always been presented in the right way.

The Sámi are the indigenous peoples of Finland, Sweden, Norway and Russia, and there is some research regarding them in the field of tourism. The Sámi includes different Sámi groups, and one of them is the Skolt Sámi. The Skolt Sámi have been researched less than the Sámi in general, but they are gaining a bigger part in tourism, which creates new development areas. One of these has to do with the culture. Commissioner of this thesis is Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation, who wish that the Skolt Sámi can be be the ones choosing which parts of the culture to share to tourists, and which should remain private. Since the cultures differ among the different Sámi groups, this thesis only focuses on the Skolt Sámi. Five members of the Skolt Sámi community were interviewed to gain an understanding of the common opinion on the use of Skolt Sámi culture in tourism, and a theme interview was conducted to approach this topic. Interviews were conducted in summer 2018.

All of the interviewees were concerned about how their culture is presented in tourism. The interviewees thought that although there is a growing demand for Skolt Sámi in tourism, the culture is not that visible in it yet. The interviewees listed tangible and intangible aspects in two separate groups: those that can be shared in tourism and those that should be kept private. Handicrafts and Skolt Sámi traits, such as a sense of community and playfulness, were among the sharable assets, while a majority wanted to keep the deepest secrets of their culture as they are. Due to the limitation of this research, this topic calls for further discussion. The results this thesis provides can be used in the development of tourism services.

Key words

Sevettijärvi, Skolt Sámi, Sámi, tourism, indigenous, culture, Sami tourism

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1 INTRODUCTION

Indigenous tourism is one of the branches in tourism that is not that widely researched. Many people do not know about the indigenous people of the country they are visiting, and if they are introduced to it, it is usually a staged, unethical situation. Neglecting and misusing cultures stirs conflicts between the indigenous people and tourism industry. There is research about indigenous tourism, but it rarely focuses on the Sámi people, and even more rarely to the Skolt Sámi. Grekelä and Nuuttinen (2017) researched sustainable use of the Sámi culture in general, so a focused view is welcomed. Researches based on other indigenous groups (Sinclair 2003; Hill 2011; Wiltshier 2008; Ryan & Aicken 2005) have been utilized to give perception on the general situation.

This thesis focuses on one of the smallest indigenous groups in the world: Skolt Sámi people. Skolt Sámi are a group of Sámi people, with approximately 1 000 members who fulfil the criteria to be considered a Skolt Sámi. Therefore, especially the younger generation shows concern towards the dying culture and traditions, and how "there cannot be a couple where both are fully Skolt Sámi, because everyone is related to each other." (Huhtala 2011.) According to Kolttalaki, a Skolt Sámi is a person that recognizes themselves as a Skolt Sámi and has a parent or a grandparent that has learned the language as their mother tongue or is a descendant of such person. (Finlex 1995; Huhtala 2011.)

One of the biggest reasons for this focus is my own personal background, since I have some Skolt Sámi blood running in my family from my father's side. The connection is far since my great grandmother was the last member in my family that spoke Skolt Sámi, and I or my father have not been raised in the culture. With age, interest in my background and thirst to learn more about the culture and the history has grown. When researching the Sámi, a lot of conflicts about abusing their culture came up and stirred my interest. The Sámi themselves should be the one defining their culture, and therefore be the ones choosing what they want to share in tourism. In Finland, the Sámi Parliament of Finland and the Skolt Sámi Siida council decides on general policies regarding the use of Sámi culture in tourism. (Saamelaiskäräjät 2018, 7.) The commissioner for this thesis is the Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation. The Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation also helped looking for interviewees and they were offering their help if there ever was a need for any assistance. The Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation works to empower the Skolt Sámi culture and language and ensures the continuity of the culture. It was founded in 2008, and it gets funds from maatalousministeriö and metsätalousministeriö, in addition to other funds for different projects. Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation arranges different annual events and courses about the Skolt Sámi culture, and works as a source of information. (Kolttasaamelaiset 2019a.)

This thesis was conducted to find out which parts of the Skolt Sámi culture the members want to share. The idea for this specific topic came when discussing the needs that the Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation has, and what also interests me personally. To approach this problem, it must be seen from the Skolt Sámi people's perspective. Sevettijärvi was the main focus of this thesis, since Skolt Sámi culture is very visible and established there. This does limit the research, but also gives a specific perspective to it. Their wish is to be the ones deciding what parts of their culture they want to present to outsiders. As a result, this thesis provides a baseline for tourism industries on how to include Skolt Sámi culture and traditions in their services.

2 INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN TOURISM

2.1 Niche Tourisms Connected to Indigenous People

At its best, tourism brings economic benefits and develops the destinations that practice it. The world is becoming one, making it possible for anyone to go and learn about almost any location in the world. The reason why tourism is especially important for minorities such as indigenous people is much deeper than just the economic advantage it gives. Indigenous people, aboriginal peoples, first peoples and native peoples are terms referring to the original inhabitants of a certain area, e.g. the Sámi people of Finland. Receiving interest and admiration towards a culture that is on a brink of extinction generates pride among the members of such culture, which helps with a lot of psychological problems these communities often face (Ryan & Aicken 2005, 70). Since tourism is considered to be a reliable source of external revenue, it is well promoted in today's globalized world (Smith & Robinson 2006; Ryan & Aicken 2005, 70). There are many names used for the type of tourism that happens in cooperation with the indigenous peoples, such as rural tourism, ecotourism, cultural tourism and indigenous tourism.

Indigenous people often live in rural areas, making it challenging to reach them in some cases. This makes their community to distance themselves from the majority, resulting in all kinds of economic hardships. Therefore, rural tourism can increase the economic status of the area. Rural tourism refers to tourism that is located in rural areas, includes small scale enterprises, is connected to nature, evolves around heritage and traditions, is sustainable and local (George, Mair & Reid 2009). Rural areas are often connected to agriculture, and in the case of the Sámi people, reindeer herding plays an important role. It is exotic for foreigners, making it very attractive.

Indigenous tourism has a close relationship with nature, and therefore in some cases indigenous tourism is connected to eco-tourism and considered a sub-set (Sinclair 2003). The biggest reason that tourists want to travel to indigenous lands is often the untouched nature (Länsman 2004, 23). Basically, eco-tourism

is supposed to be a sustainable way of tourism, where the environment and people that live in it are protected by practicing respect. Eco-tourism may sound like a sustainable way to practice tourism, but it actually does more harm than any other type of tourism, especially to indigenous people. This is because eco-tourism often focuses on those sacred and protected sites and national parks and practicing tourism in those areas makes the community feel like they are losing their right to them. These sites can get demolished due to big masses of people coming to see them, since it often results in littering and other type of vandalism, whether its intentional or not. (Ryan & Aicken 2005, 5; Johnston 2006.)

When researching indigenous groups in tourism, cultural tourism seems to be the common term used. The definition for cultural tourism is tricky. The main reason is that tourism is considered cultural as it is (Smith & Robinson 2006): everything that has to do with tourism has to do with the local culture. Every area has its own culture, which in this sense makes all tourism cultural tourism. Definitive description of the term 'cultural tourism' is more about the feelings and beliefs of the locals, referring to tourists that are interested to educate themselves about the local culture deeply. Culture has been the reason for travelling from the beginning of tourism. (McKercher & Cros 2002, 3–6; Butler & Hinch 1996, 3.) The customer can be either an international or domestic traveler, since countries' cultures differ between cities. This kind of tourism has both negative and positive effects on indigenous people, which is why sustainability is a key factor. Sustainable cultural tourism means presenting the culture authentically, and therefore providing the recipient with knowledge (Ryan & Aicken 2005, 78).

Even though all these terms are used for the tourism happening around indigenous communities, they can be misleading. When talking about tourism that evolves around indigenous groups, we should talk about indigenous tourism. Indigenous tourism includes four elements, them being habitat, heritage, history and handicrafts. What this refers to is that the community needs to be habiting a certain area, with rich culture, history and traditions. These elements must be included in the practiced tourism for it to be called indigenous tourism. The term Sámi tourism will also be used in this thesis. Sámi tourism refers to tourism that offers services that include Sámi culture. It can be tourism based on the Sámi, where it is practiced by a Sámi community member, or tourism that abuses Sámi culture, where the practitioner comes outside of the community and abuses and benefits from the culture without any connection to the community. (Saamelaiskäräjät 2018, 3; Butler & Hinch 1996, 287.)

2.2 Indigenous Tourism Around the World

In the world there are 70 countries with indigenous population, with altogether about 370 million indigenous people (Chakrabarti & Masaquiza 2018). Therefore, a broader picture needs to be painted. By focusing only on Finland or the Arctic area, we would be ignoring the majority of indigenous people. Also, by examining the other indigenous groups similar problems can be identified and by researching their ways of solving these problems, the problems can be easier to solve in other parts of the world too. Conducting research on indigenous people is challenging, and that is a result of many factors. One of these factors is that enquiring for a research permit can result in the indigenous community seeing it as a one-way trade, where only the researcher gains something with the article, and it does not promote the community (Ryan & Aicken 2005). Gaining trust and proving the benefits of the research is important for the success of the research.

Due to indigenous groups' respect and admiration for the nature, mass tourism is a threat. Tourism that happens in areas with indigenous people has to do with their heritage, and therefore attracts certain types of tourists, usually interested in culture and experiences. Therefore, it is not likely that mass tourism will ever arrive on indigenous lands. By having a specific target market and understanding it, the small enterprises that often work in these areas can meet the needs of the travelers by focusing on distinctive and high-quality products. (Jokiaho & Lavia 2007, 21; Butler & Hinch 1996, 311.)

When the development is executed by local community members, the community will be more open to change (Wiltshier 2008). Abuse of indigenous people's rights happens all over the world, but the rest of the population remains unaware of this since these matters are rarely reported, and even when they are, they only manage to strengthen the stereotype of angry and extreme indigenous groups (Ryan & Aicken 2005). Listening to the indigenous groups is also happening in e.g. New Zealand, where The New Zealand Tourism Board often consults the Maori organizations when wanting to use the Maori culture in tourism. This way, the Maori can give rules and requirements, and therefore make sure the locals gain the benefits from this exchange. (Länsman 2004, 23.) Due to the misuse of their culture by tourism, trust is lost, and the community wishes to be in charge. Therefore, by putting the community first, sustainable and responsible development will be accomplished (Länsman 2004, 25).

With some indigenous groups, e.g. in the North-America, contact between the community members and the tourists are filled with tension due to prejudice. The tourists do not feel welcome and the locals feel like they are just tourist attractions and that they just must accept it since it brings a lot of money to the community. Another big problem around the world has to do with the marketing of areas with indigenous population. The indigenous are presented as something mythical, magical, exotic and historical, and sometimes in marketing the indigenous people are presented as certain characters, and these are usually not very flattering. This is not only harmful to the indigenous, but also the tourists feel tricked when the reality is far from what was seen in marketing. (Länsman 2004, 21–22; Butler & Hinch 1996, 84; Carr, Ruhanen & Whitford 2016.)

2.3 Indigenous Tourism in Sámi area

Tourism in the Sámi area is very controlled, and it follows the guidelines it is given. Problems that have occurred with the increasing number of tourists have been solved, and tourism in the area is sustainable and ethical. Tourism plays an important role in spreading authentic image of the Sámi around the world. One of the most important aspects of Sámi tourism is focusing on cooperation and taking responsibility over the use of products, culture and areas that belong to certain Sámi families and communities. (Saamelaiskäräjät 2018, 6.)

The knowledge of Sámi languages and traditions has been shrinking for the past generations, and interest to restore these traditions has been growing since 1970's. Reasons for this new interest could be globalization and the need for human nature to evolve and change. To revive traditions and even make "new ones" based on the ones that are no longer in use can be healthy for the community and on the other hand it can provide new services for tourists. However, it is important to awaken the locals' interest in their roots first. The locals can be activated by assuring that reviving heritage brings economic and mental benefits to the community. (Jokiaho & Lavia 2007, 23–25; Magga 2018, 53, 70–72.)

Tourism has grown both globally and in our Finnish Lapland. Since the towns in far North of Finland are quite small, there are more tourists than locals during the high season. For the Sámi, it is traditional to form "väärtisuhde" – a certain type of relationship between the Sámi person and another person. This relationship used to be between friends or acquaintances that visit each other and there is an exchange of gifts or other services. The relationship is based on loyalty and often built due to a need of something from the other person. Originally these relationships were required to be long lasting. These people used to often be chosen as each other's children's godfathers/mothers and therefore considered family, and these relationships could be "inherited". Travelers would spend their nights with a Sámi family and give the family something, and the Sámi family would return the favor. This exchange and communication went on, and these relationships could turn into friendships. The meaning of these relationships was changed by 1970. While some of these relationships were built with the loyal customer, a lot were just purely based on customer service, and nowadays money is expected in exchange for service. (Länsman 2004, 8, 11, 33, 46–52, 54–56, 59, 63, 75–76; Saamelaiskäräjät 2019; Nieminen 2014, 34–35.)

Even for domestic travelers, Lapland is seen as a romantic and exotic location. In Länsman (2004) research, domestic travelers are comparing Lapland to Italy: they are as far apart, and the difference is as big. Relationship with the locals makes the trip unique, and it is a place where people go to escape their daily lives and to strengthen relationships. What service providers should remember is to respect the people and their culture, and not "carnivalize" their heritage to make it seem more exciting and magical for tourists. It is important to keep the service authentic, ethical and not make up something that does not really exist in the culture. The services should be based on authenticity, and productization of Sámi culture should happen in cooperation with the Sámi. Educating on Sámi cultures and languages is a priority and keeping the Sámi traditions alive benefits the development of tourism in Lapland. (Jokiaho & Lavia 2007,28–29; Länsman 2004, 131, 146–149; Saamelaiskäräjät 2019.)

A research about the reason for travelling to Finnish Lapland has been quite well established. When looking at the purpose of travel for tourists in Finnish Lapland, it seems that nature is the top reason they are attracted to the area. This reason includes enjoying the landscapes, wilderness, hiking, winter activities and experiencing aurora borealis. Other attributes that usually gained high points in these researches were sauna, sightseeing, food, destination's safety and low prices. Interestingly options such as culture, cultural events and socializing with locals gained the lowest votes. (Saarinen 2006, 73; Manninen & Ylimartimo 2018, 54; Visit Lapland 2017, 41.) In general tourists in Lapland seem to be more attracted to nature and surroundings, than the people and culture.

The Sámi have showed their opinion towards non-Sámi entrepreneurs using their culture in their services. Using someone else's culture only for financial gain is unacceptable and using culture for gain can feel like abuse to the community. Services that are presenting the Sámi culture but done by an outsider usually have little to do with the actual culture. The Sámi hope that non-Sámi entrepreneurs share knowledge about the Sámi and keep the service authentic and not e.g. pretend or dress up as a Sámi. Sharing this incorrect image of the Sámi is harmful for the Sámi community and vitality of Sámi culture. Other problems that have been brought up are the high tax rates and prices for handicrafts, use of fake handicrafts, misleading marketing, "Lapin Kaste", using sacred Sámi beliefs such as Shamanism in tourism, lack of workforce and migration from the Sámi area. (Jokiaho & Lavia 2007, 28; Grekelä & Nuuttinen 2017: Saamelaiskäräjät 2019; Saamelaiskäräjät 2018.) Especially the so called "Lappish ceremony" has gained a lot of anger among Sámi people. "Lappish ceremony" is a name used for a ritual that involves playing a shaman drum, making spells, covering one's face in soot, alcohol and a "baptism" to this imaginary group of people (Saarinen 2006, 74). It is in no way a Sámi cultural occurrence, and only made for tourists, which understandably angers the community.

Every man's right enables anyone to enjoy the nature, but since tourism is growing and an increasing number of people are picking berries and mushrooms in nature, it creates concern. Masses of people burden the nature, especially fauna that takes longer to reproduce. Additionally, it bothers the community since some families have always been using certain areas and do not appreciate strangers for taking over them. There has been discussion whether the right should be changed somehow, but no decisions have been made. (Länsman 2004, 24–25.)

Suggestions for ethical sustainable use of Sámi culture in tourism, the importance of authenticity, knowledge and pedagogical aspects, and also taking other industries and ecological sustainability into account is recognized. (Grekelä & Nuuttinen 2017.) Actions have been made to meet these suggestions in a form of "Kulttuurillisesti vastuullinen saamelaismatkailu" project. This project aims to create ethical guidelines for responsible and socially, culturally, ecologically and economically sustainable Sámi tourism. (Suomi 2019; Saamelaiskäräjät 2019.)

2.4 Negative Impacts of Indigenous Tourism

Tourism can also be a negative aspect for the community for a couple of reasons. Cultural erosion is happening everywhere, and tourism can be to

blame. This can be seen by the demolition of archeological sites, buildings, cultural landscapes and heritage cites, damaging movable cultural property, stripping the culture from its meaning and intangible values. Intangible assets are also a victim to the erosion, these assets being the people of the community, performers and artisans. In general, using indigenous cultural assets for the tourism companies' own gain, abuse of the indigenous rights and copyright issues alongside using the culture inappropriately for promotion are some of the biggest problems among all indigenous groups. (McKercher & Cros 2002, 67–70, 88–89; Grekelä & Nuuttinen 2017, 42.)

In the subject of heritage, it is hard to name artists, copyrights or even names of the products. The traditional handicrafts and skills are owned by the community members and have some rules on how to use them, but these rules are not set by any laws. (Jokiaho & Lavia 2007, 30.) Therefore, these traditions can be easily stolen, like in the recent case about the Skolt Sámi mittens. In the case, an American was selling a Skolt Sámi mitten's pattern for own gain. This was understandably not acceptable by the Skolt Sámi community, but due to the lack of copyright laws not much can be done about it.

"Made in China" products that replicate the traditional items can be seen sold instead of authentic, hand-made products. This disrespects the meaning behind the handicrafts and the money tourism could bring to the community goes away from it, giving the community no gain from the situation. Some aboriginal people have started making items specifically for tourism. This means making something once essential for living made in a more decorated and artistic way so that it will sell better. This is stripping it off the original purpose, but still being able to call the item traditional. This happens due to globalization and because this way the community will ensure sales by providing the customer with a desirable and compact sized souvenir. (Ryan & Aicken 2005, 152.)

Tourism in general has an impact on the community, possibly damaging their environment, lands and culture, alongside other problems such as conflicts, mental problems and crimes. The non-indigenous population can cause

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conflicts to the indigenous population even if their actions are well intended. This happens often due to lack of information and education. Indigenous art is seen as a sacred part of the culture, so their art being performed by a non-indigenous person is appropriation. Practicing indigenous tourism without cooperation with the community can be experienced as an attempt to steal their traditions. (Ryan & Aicken 2005, 5, 70, 76, 81; Johnston 2006, 7; Butler & Hinch 1996, 4–5.)

Cultural appropriation is an international problem that can be purely disrespecting, but often it is due to misunderstanding and lack of information. This highlights the need for sharing the meanings behind the culture and explaining and showing what non-indigenous people can do with this culture and what in not acceptable. Tourism should not make the indigenous people feel like "sights" or "objects" and communities' opinions should be heard (Butler & Hinch 1996, 313). Tourism should be used as a tool of education to teach about the real culture of an indigenous group (Ryan & Aicken 2005, 125).

2.5 Managing Indigenous Tourism

Cultural tourism management and tourism management need to find a link in order to practice cooperation and find a "common ground." Since these factors differ so much from each other, there must be a common understanding of which one is dominating, and which one is going to have to modify the process to fit the other's goals. By working with the community, the business has better chances at succeeding. Cooperation with the locals can save time and even money: the locals' skills and knowledge will make products and services more desirable for the customer and remaining good relationships with the locals will make it easier to work in the area. Unfortunately, this level of relationship is rarely achieved, due to lack of tourism sector's understanding how cultural heritage management works, and on the other hand cultural heritage management not understanding the whole concept of tourism. (McKercher& Cross 2002; 9–10, 17–24, 99; Jokiaho & Lavia 2007, 22–23.)

There is a need for rights, policies and protocols when working with indigenous people, to provide the maximum security and certainty for the community of the use of their culture. (Ryan & Aicken 2005, 77; Sinclair 2003; McKercher & Cros 2002.) Sinclair (2003) acknowledges the same challenge this thesis addresses: defining what parts of the indigenous culture are used and what remains private. Community should be heavily included in decision making on all the levels of tourism enterprise. By providing operational guidelines the development of tourism can happen while protecting the people and their community. In the demanding tourism market, destinations are pushed to think of alternatives for mass tourism, and countries with indigenous population have comparative advantage.

When managing indigenous tourism, sustainability should be a goal. To meet this goal establishment of political, socio-economic, environmental and cultural sustainability is a must. Culturally, this means providing information to the tourists about the culture, beliefs and people throughout the visit. This will show respect to the community and enhance the experience of the customer. Since indigenous groups are very earthly, environmental sustainability is important. In addition to following the rules and regulations, highly trained guides and small group sizes should be favored. When planning tourism in these areas, all kinds of ecological changes should be minimalized. Socio-economically it is important that tourism benefits the locals, and it improves their life rather than complicates it. Tourism should not decrease the possibility to practice traditional livelihoods, because if a community relies purely on tourism for economic value, there is a risk that there is a change in demand for tourism. In political sustainability's point of view, listening to the community is the key for successful tourism on all sides. (Ryan & Aicken 2005, 78–81.)

3 THE SKOLT SÁMI

3.1 Brief History of Skolt Sámi

To understand the situation that the Skolt Sámi are in today, we need to understand their history. This helps us understand their relationship with tourism too. The Sámi people have been known as a "exotic" group of people, since they differ from other Europeans geographically and linguistically (Seurujärvi-Kari 2000, 41-43). The Skolt Sámi are a Sámi minority from an area between Finland, Russia and Norway, and this has led to regional differences. The Petsamo area used to be the heart of Skolt Sámi, but today there are no Skolt Sámi living there anymore. (Linkola & Linkola 2000, 3–4, 8; Pennanen & Näkkäläjärvi 2000, 158.) Today, the number of Skolt Sámi people in total is only about 1 000, and only about 600 of those live in Finland (Paulaharju 2009, 47; Saaminuett 2019). This paragraph is only a brief touch on the Skolt Sámi peoples' history, traditions and culture, just to give a better understanding of this group. This part was read and checked by a Skolt Sámi community member, to ensure the reliability of the text.

The Sámi have been living in the Kola Peninsula ever since 6 000 B.C. (Sverloff 2003, 12). The culture of the Skolt Sámi has been influenced ever since the Middle Ages, starting with the Orthodox religion impact, and in the 16th century Monk Feodorit started to turn the Skolt Sámi into Christianity. Many of Skolt Sámi were baptized, and the Skolt Sámi became the Western most group that were part of the Orthodox church. The Skolt Sámi lived on the borderline of the west and the east, which made them vulnerable for changes every time there was a political issue. Due to this, reindeer herders lost their stocks and in some areas the Skolt Sámi culture disappeared due to being assimilated to the main population. The World War 1 reduced the number of Skolt Sámi even further. The biggest change in their life happened when the Petsamo area became part of Finland in 1920 and their interests were not taken into consideration when dividing their land and making the Skolt Sámi citizens of 3 countries. This resulted in losing the traditional rights to fishing and reindeer herding in their traditional areas, and therefore not being able to gain their livelihood from the nature anymore. All the numerous evacuations after this resulted in a lot of Skolt Sámi dying because of foreign diseases that they did not have immunity for, the reindeer being slaughtered, and losing their home towns. (Linkola & Linkola 2000, 5, 15; Sverloff 2003, 32, 162; Pennanen & Näkkäläjärvi 2000, 162, 164, 166.)

In 1949-1952 the Skolt Sámi were moved to their current homelands, presented in Figure 1, the number 6. being roughly the area where most Skolt Sámi are situated today. The Skolt Sámi from Suonikylä live in the Näätämö and Sevettijärvi area, while those from Petsamo and Paatsjoki Lapp villages live in Mustola, Keväjärvi, Tsarmijärvi and Nellim. Most of the Russian Skolt Sámi from the Kola Peninsula live in Lovozero, which is considered the historical area for the Eastern Sámi. The Skolt Sámi moved to year-round housings, and the tradition of winter village and seasonal changes of houses was lost. This resulted in losing a lot of culture because these social gatherings were not there to support them. After the last evacuation, the young Finnish Skolt Sámi no longer wanted to go back to their homelands in Russia. Due to going to the army at young age the Skolt Sámi had grown up with Finnish people, making staying in Finland more desirable. (Linkola & Linkola 2000, 18, 24; Jefremoff 2005, 8; Seurujärvi-Kari 2000, 83; Sverloff 2003, 46, 135; Pennanen & Näkkäläjärvi 2000, 158, 163–166.)

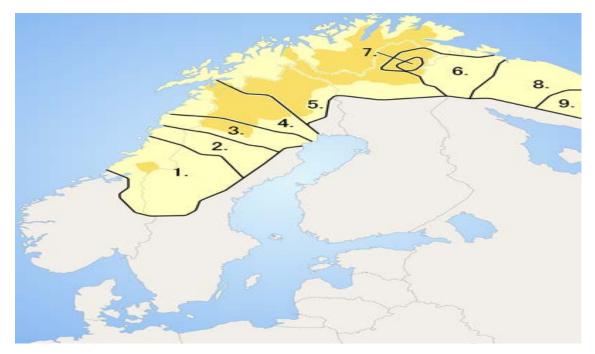


Figure 1. Sámi languages large 2. Map of the Sámi area, 6. Skolt Sámi (Wikimedia Commons 2008)

Because the young were against going back, the older generation agreed on staying in Finland to keep the community whole. Due to being citizens of three countries, their common culture has some differences depending on the location. The traditional livelihoods were not as profitable anymore, and many Skolt Sámi had to take wage work and adapt to the mainstream culture. Due to the lack of workplaces and housing, the young Skolt Sámi were forced to move away from the area. (Linkola & Linkola 2000, 18, 24; Jefremoff 2005, 8; Seurujärvi-Kari 2000, 83; Sverloff 2003, 46, 135; Pennanen & Näkkäläjärvi 2000, 158, 163–166.)

3.2 Traditional Lifestyle

Because of seasons, people had to move around to gain their livelihood from the animals and nature (Seurujärvi-Kari 2000, 135). In spring the families living in inland moved to their clan lands in spring areas near forests and lakes to mark the reindeer calves and start fishing. The older children stayed at the dormitory, and only the parents, youngest children, animals and elders went to the spring areas. During midsummer families moved to summer areas to fish, soften reindeer and sheep skins and to let the reindeer graze. During August or September, the inland families moved to their autumn homes that were chosen for being ideal for fishing and herding; autumn was time for gathering the stock and returning any possible lost reindeer to their designated owners. The reindeer were taken care of near the housings, so they became tamed and stayed around their owners. This was also the time for hunting. (Linkola & Linkola 2000, 7, 11–14; Paulaharju 2009, 48–62, 63–76, 85; Sverloff 2003, 30, 136; Seurujärvi-Kari 2000, 135–138; Pennanen & Näkkäläjärvi 2000, 163.)

The Skolt Sámi returned to their winter village during the second half of December for the next four months. Winter was time for socializing and organizing village meetings, where all families were present and even women had a say. The older children went to school when in winter village. The place for the winter village changed if the people felt so, and all the building were taken down and moved to a new area. Housings were often turfs, log shelters or Sámi teepees, but in the 20th century most Skolt Sámi lived in small log houses.

Next to their house were often different kinds of storehouses. These meetings – Saa´misiidsååbbar – are still organized once a year both in Näätämö and Nellim-Keväjärvi area. (Linkola & Linkola 2000, 7, 11–14; Paulaharju 2009, 48– 62, 63–76, 85; Sverloff 2003, 30, 136; Seurujärvi-Kari 2000, 135–138; Pennanen & Näkkäläjärvi 2000, 163.)

The land was considered to be "God's land", so there was no need to buy or rent it. Waters and lands were owned by families so that bigger families had understandably more land. This was checked and discussed in meetings if needed. Agreements were made only by mouth and they were considered binding. If someone was to violate the agreement, there was penalty; either discipline or even a banishment. (Sverloff 2003, 31.)

1955 "Skolt Sámi law" was the first Finnish law about only the Skolt Sámi people, and it enabled the Skolt Sámi to have housing and take wood from the land. Around 1968 the Skolt Sámi Siida councils were combined and their issues were taken care of by one person, which approved their living conditions in Finland. After 1969 a Sámi committee was named, and it also handles the Skolt Sámi issues. The arctic people's traditions, cultures and livelihoods need protection and respect. (Sverloff 2003, 136–144; Pennanen & Näkkäläjärvi 2000, 166.)

3.3 Traditions and Culture

Culture is knowledge that is used to explain and produce behavior and habits. This knowledge is learned from either parents or other members of the community, and it is usually common for all the members of the community. All buildings and tools are items produced by the culture. (Seurujärvi-Kari 2000, 264.) The Skolt Sámi have both tangible and intangible heritage, which both need protection. Intangible heritage cannot exist without cultural space or authentic Sámi presenting it (McKercher & Cros 2002, 83, 94–96).

The Skolt Sámi differ from the western Sámi with their language, religion, culture and traditions. Kildin and Akkala Sámi are the Sámi groups with the most similarities with the Skolt Sámi culture, having similarities in language,

clothing, customs and religion. Skolt Sámi language that is spoken today has changed and developed from what it used to be. Today there are estimated to be several hundreds of people who speak Skolt Sámi language as their mother tongue. (Linkola & Linkola 2000, 4; Pennanen & Näkkäläjärvi 2000, 160, 162.) Since some of the elements of Skolt Sámi culture are not available in English, their traditional names or the Finnish translations will be utilized.

3.3.1 Skolt Sámi Traits and Beliefs

Strong family relations are a big part of the Skolt Sámi culture, and it includes taking care of the elderly, widowed and orphans (Jefremoff 2005, 71). Communities value equality, and fishing and hunting were done jointly and shared equally among the people. People helped others and made sure no one was in disadvantage. Hospitality was an important trait, and if there were guests coming, the family would offer them any food they possibly had. The main livelihood from 17th to 19th century was fishing and hunting, and reindeer herding was largely adapted in the middle of 19th century. Therefore, the houses were often built close to lakes and other water ways. In addition to this, small animals were hunted for their fur to use as payment. The Skolt Sámi migration pattern followed the annual rhythm of the fish. (Linkola & Linkola 2000, 7; Seurujärvi-Kari 2000, 265; Sverloff 2003, 46, 145; Pennanen & Näkkäläjärvi 2000, 160, 163.)

The methods that the Skolt Sámi used for reindeer hearding are believed to be learned from the Komi. At first, they tamed deer to become reindeer, and the reindeer were given a name depending on their gender, age and personality. The wild reindeer were captured either by hand or with lasso, and there is a certain way to tame a reindeer for different uses. The year of reindeer is divided based on the seasons, and all these seasons have a different purpose in the life of the reindeer. (Sverloff 2003, 44, 53, 57–66, 69–73.) Reindeer has been used for food, transportation, material for clothes and tools (Seurujärvi-Kari 2000). Reindeer herding faces problems with forestry due to their winter pasturage being in danger. Reindeer husbandry relates to the health and age of the forests and transportation. Reindeer get killed by cars and trains every year,

and the herding area gets smaller because of expanding roads and number of carnivores feasting on the reindeer. (Meristo, Jarvinen, Kettunen & Nieminen 2004, 14–16.) Fishing in the Skolt Sámi traditions is performed in a sustainable way. The Skolt Sámi have been mindful for the sustainable way of living for a long time and would not fish where the fish are spawning for many years in a row. (Sverloff 2003, 44.) Nature is respected by the Skolt Sámi, and they live in harmony with it (Sverloff 2003, 32).

Traditional foods often include fish, reindeer and sheep. Bread was baked, especially rieska, which is a popular bread in the North. Other additional ingredients were berries, mushrooms and sap. For beverage, tea is traditionally Skolt Sámi's choice of drink, and every house used to have a samvar. (Paulaharju 2009, 116–124.)

A lot of Skolt Sámi festivals and beliefs have to do with their religion, but even so they still have their beliefs from their ancestors. The Skolt Sámi have stories of trolls, elves and witches, which are often based on fells and hills, based on believes that mocking these will result in misfortune. Creatures in the water would e.g. drown a swimmer that goes out after sunset or steal the fishing gear of fishers who are rude. Fairies that lived in the houses would make sure to punish any visitor that was doing something inappropriate. Also, natural phenomena and stars have their own gods and beliefs. The Skolt Sámi respect nature and animals and show that in the way they act or by spells and magic. The Skolt Sámi have a lot of stories, some interpreted from other cultures to their own but also their own stories, songs and poems. (Paulaharju 2009, 159–176, 219–220.)

The Skolt Sámi, unlike many other groups of people, only had three to five children, and having eight children was very rare. The newborn's head was shaped by pressing and molding the head and putting a hat on the baby. This is something that a lot of old cultures used to practice. The mother would carry the baby in kietkam even to fish or outside in cold winter days. The christening could wait: if the baby was born in summer, the family would wait until winter to name it together with other children born before winter. The baby would gain a

godmother and -father and be given a name based the calendar and whoever's name day it was. (Paulaharju 2009, 195–198).

The Skolt Sámi believe that they come from the forest, and their life ends in the forest. There are a lot of beliefs of how death is foreshadowed, and where the illnesses are caught or witched. In funerals, a shovel and an axe are thrown to the grave for the deceased as a weapon. On top of the grave was built a "cover" with a window, as an earthly house for the deceased to keep an eye on the world. At the end of the grave is added an Orthodox cross. Carvings and carved birds are often used on the grave and the cross. Also, a reindeer is named for the deceased, and taken care of until it grows old. (Paulaharju 2009, 205–215.)

3.3.2 Skolt Sámi Handicrafts

The Skolt Sámi dress is called sää mpiiutâs, and it includes a dress called kå htt with a shirt on top called kuurta, headgear and a belt pe'sserpuägganj, which are eastern style. Women's hat would determine whether they are a maiden (pee'rvesk,), wife (šaamšik) or widow (poo'vdnek). These hats have different names and are presented in Figure 2. First one on the left in for wife, next to it a hat for maiden, and underneath a hat for widow. In winter the women have the winter hat, triivik. Young girls put on pee'rvesk, when they are somewhere between fourteen to seventeen. For men, nowadays only the shirt - määccak from the traditional costume is still worn, and it is Russian-styled. Bead work is used on the Skolt Sámi dress, instead of ribbons and clothes that other Sámi groups use. The Sámi dress is not a national costume, since national costumes in Finland are based on historical ways of dressing up in certain areas. It is not a folk costume either, because folk costume refers to dressing up based on one's rank, and it was controlled by laws. The Sámi dress is inherited from the family one is a part of, and a Sámi person has to wear their own family's dress. Therefore, the dress cannot be changed when moving, only when marrying to another family, and combining two different family dresses is not accepted. (Linkola & Linkola 2000, Paulaharju 2009, 136, 204; Aikio 2018; Sami duodji 2010a; Sami duodji 2010b; Moshnikoff 2017.)



Figure 2. Skolt Sámi headpieces in Kolttien perinnetalo (Korpimäki 2015)

Traditional Skolt Sámi leu´dd's are songs that are sung by Skolt Sámi, but the number of singers has decreased. (Linkola & Linkola 2000, 23.) Leu´dd differs from other Sámi singing by the language and the melody. They have usually a lot of improvised words that make up the epic story with two verses that are different lengths. Leu´dd's can have even over 100 verses. Itkut – cries – were also very popular among the Skolt Sámi. Singing these types of songs in unison is basically impossible due to improvisation. Katrilli is a way of dance that is done in a shape of a square. Its roots are in 18th century France, but it has developed into a unique Skolt Sámi dance style. (Seurujärvi-Kari 2000, 72, 78, 85–87, 102; Kolttasaamelaiset 2019b.)

Traditionally, the women were handcrafting, while the men did the wood work. Some of the most famous handicrafts are mittens with beautiful patterns, a thick blanket called raanu, a fur called peski and other outdoor clothes. Many items were made with the antlers of a reindeer, animals' veins and roots. The materials for handicrafts are gathered in different seasons and required in specific ways. Some of the famous Skolt Sámi objects are the shaman drum called kobda and kietkam, a sort of movable cradle, made by both parents. (Huhtala 2011; Paulaharju 2009, 127–149, 175, 196; Sverloff 2003, 54–55.)

3.4 Tourism in Finnish Lapland

Tourism is seen as an important income in the area despite its remote location and lack of services, which have been the main reason why Sevettijärvi is not the main destination for travelers. Tourists show interest in the traditional handicrafts of high quality, which are the bestselling products. (Linkola & Linkola 2000, 24–25.) There are quality marks for Sámi handicrafts, Sámi Duodji being the most popular. 'Sámi Duodji' is a word in Sámi language and refers to handicrafts such as clothes, tools, housewares, fishing products and jewelry. It does not include products that are only made as handicrafts, and that do not have a traditional usage. The mark shows that a product is authentic Sámi handicraft made by a Sámi person, and therefore protects and supports these traditions. A person who can apply and use this mark must either speak Sámi language as their mother tongue or have a parent or grandparent that speaks Sámi as their first language or have a parent that is considered a Sámi according to the rules mentioned before. (Sámi Duodji ry 2010b.) The Skolt Sámi have had their own quality mark before, named after the wife's headpiece, but the mark has not been in use anymore.

The focus on Sevettijärvi for this thesis was chosen since it is the main area where the Skolt Sámi are residing. Sevettijärvi is also home to the Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation and other Skolt Sámi related foundations and projects. Tourism in the area needs development on a lot of aspects. Regarding tourism as one of the biggest livelihoods of the area and listening to tourism enterprises is the first step towards development. Tourism does also bring issues to the area, e.g. bothering fishing traditions. (Jefremoff 2005, 47.) These are the reasons why the Skolt Sámi want to develop tourism in sustainable way and wish to be the ones in charge of the use of their culture.

Sevettijärvi invests in their reindeer husbandry and tourism. According to Jefremoff (2005, 21–23), Sevettijärvi is the only Skolt Sámi village that focuses on tourism, but the others are also starting to realize the demand for it. To ensure the survival of the Skolt Sámi way, developing tourism to be a bigger industry could assist, but the current means may not be the most helpful. For example, the tourism cottage villages are intervening the reindeer herders' areas. Locals have a hard time understanding the need for the continuous building of new accommodation, when even the current one's are already under-utilized. The best way to develop the city is to provide basic needs such as works and housing for the locals. (Huhtala 2011.)

4 RESEARCH METHOD

4.1 Thesis Process

This thesis process started in early 2018. After figuring out which type of topic to pursue, it was time to gather information and start building the theoretical back ground. Some possible commissioners were contacted, and the right one was found relatively fast. This commissioner shared my interests, and therefore the contract was signed. After deciding on the research method, a theme interview was planned and accepted by the supervisors.

Interview themes were planned in April and May of 2018, and the interviews were conducted the summer of 2018. The commissioner helped to find interviewees for the research, and six interviewees were chosen and contacted. Five out of six interviewees were able to attend the interviews, which is still a good number for this scale of a research. Finishing the interviews took about one month, due to summer vacations and interviewees' and commissioners tight schedules. Interviews were recorded. Recording is necessary to make sure nothing is left out or forgotten, and so that the atmosphere of the interview is not lost by relying only on notes.

Afterwards the interviews were transcribed. The transcribed text was then analyzed and the answers to the interview themes were singled out from the text. The research results were analyzed, turned into tables and written out during fall and winter 2018 and early 2019.

4.2 Qualitative Research

The use of Sámi culture in tourism has been a popular topic for years now, and therefore it needs research. Guidelines for sustainable tourism with the whole Sámi community were created by Grekelä & Nuuttinen (2017), so a more focused approach was needed. The research method chosen for this case is the qualitative research methodology. This research method consists of textual and/or visual materials, such as interviews, fieldnotes, videos, photographs and

internet sites that are used to record people's social actions and experiences (Saldana 2011, 4). These materials provide us a closer look to the Skolt Sámi opinions in tourism, their feelings and development suggestions.

The sensitivity of the topic was the main reason why the qualitative research method was chosen. The aim was to keep the approach personal and respectful. Having to meet and have a discussion with the indigenous people gives the research a sentimental touch, making it easy for the interviewee to open and share honest opinions. (Saldana 2011, 7–8.)

4.3 Theme Interview

A lot of traditions and history has been forgotten, since it is no longer necessarily passed on from generation to generation. Cherishing and restoring the culture is topical for its survival. To find out what has already been forgotten and discussing the importance of different traditions should be the first step. (Jefremoff 2005, 50–51.) The theme interview (Appendix 1) for this research were created based on opinions of the Skolt Sámi and discussions with Skolt Sámi Cultural Foundation, which is the commissioner of this thesis.

The research includes theme interviews with Skolt Sámi entrepreneurs in Sevettijärvi. Focus was on Skolt Sámi entrepreneurs in the Skolt Sámi area, especially in Finland. Opinions of other Skolt Sámi people in general would have been appreciated, but because of the limit of research, it was not possible. This research includes of five interviews, from which three were done over the phone and two were done personally in Sevettijärvi. The interviews were conducted in Finnish, and the results were then translated in English by me. The interviewees are referred to as Stakeholders 1-5, or S1-5. Aim was to have as many as possible face to face, but due to busy schedules and far distances, common time was hard to find. The aim of these interviews was to find out the community's opinion on what they want to share about the Skolt Sámi culture to the tourists and come up with a guideline for tourism entrepreneurs regarding this issue. Theme interviews were executed to find out the community's opinions and feelings towards these issues.

The theme interview included five themes: 'stakeholder's connection to Skolt Sámi and tourism', 'general state of Sámi tourism', 'status of tourism for the Skolt Sámi', 'sharing Skolt Sámi culture to tourists and outsiders' and 'commercialization of Skolt Sámi culture'. The first two themes give understanding of the background and the base of the situation in Skolt Sámi people's point of view. Knowing the status of Skolt Sámi tourism helps to understand the current situation and it gives and an idea on how it could be developed here forth. On the fourth theme, the interviewees gave their opinions on what parts to share of their culture, and on fifth theme we discussed how the culture should be then commercialized, and what things should be taken into consideration when marketing Skolt Sámi in tourism. Recent topics such as the discussion of the Skolt Sámi mitten were used as a part of the interview to awake discussion and opinions. This research gives a base on the guideline's tourism entrepreneurs should follow, if they want to provide Skolt Sámi products and services to their customers.

5 THE SKOLT SÁMI'S OPINIONS ON SHARING THEIR CULTURE

5.1 Stakeholder's Connection to Skolt Sámi and Tourism

The stakeholders all considered themselves as Skolt Sámi, despite inheriting the culture only from one parent. Stakeholder 2 says that Skolt Sámi culture has not been that visible in their life, but it has been something that they "grew up around" such as living by the changes of the seasons, living with nature and fishing.

Everyone had lived in Lapland, either in Sevettijärvi, Inari or Ivalo. All except Stakeholder 5 had been working in tourism, but Stakeholder 5 had a degree in tourism. Most of the interviewees made Skolt Sámi handicrafts either as a hobby or for livelihood (S1, S2, S4 & S5).

5.2 General State of Sámi Tourism

Well – if we think about Sevettijärvi's tourism for example – the importance of tourism is quite small. In Sevettijärvi it really is. It really brings livelihood to only few people, and I think that it is quite alright that we do not have much tourism here and we can be in peace. When considering Inari, there the tourism has become like a "holy cow". So, everything is done for tourism and people rely a lot on tourism, which I find alarming when thinking about how sustainable tourism is. Inari and local entrepreneurs are investing a lot in tourism, but therefore people in Inari do not have homes since everything is used for tourism. So, it has a lot of worrying aspects. (Stakeholder 4)

As the stakeholders had been living in Lapland and even had work or study experience of tourism, they were very aware of the situation of tourism around the area. Tourism brings jobs and money to the areas (S1, S2, S4 & S5), and see tourism as a growing market (S2, S3, S4 & S5). Since tourism is such a big and growing industry, it should be made possible for the locals to benefit from. For tourism to be successful, it needs to benefit the locals and bring up the

economy. Stakeholder 4 found it troubling how much some places invest in tourism, and how it has become a "holy cow" for cities such as Inari. Investing too much in just tourism can turn the situation around, where the local's needs do not get filled. However, tourism may not be a long-term trend, since air travel cannot have a long future unless it is made totally sustainable (S4). Air travel and sustainability are closely connected to mass tourism and tourism should remain as a small enterprise run business, and not turn into mass tourism (S2 & S4). If mass tourism was to reach these areas, the towns and the nature would change and be ruined to not be able to fit the needs of both locals and visitors anymore. Nevertheless, places such as Sevettijärvi do not have as many attractions as e.g. Rovaniemi, which is why the mass tourism may not arrive to the area (S3 & S4).

People should be capable of respecting it [the culture] and realizing it is actually part of people's lifestyle and it is other people's culture, and it is not just made up or – it cannot only be used to cash off people. (Stakeholder 2)

All stakeholders expressed their concern on how the Sámi culture is presented to outsiders. Sámi culture can be used in tourism, but the core question is: How? The information of the culture that is taught to the tourists should be accurate and correct, meaning fake costumes or exaggerations should not be allowed. Many of the services by the name of "Lappish ceremony" are disrespectful and inaccurate, and using fake Sámi costumes, acting as a shaman and staining face with coal were some of the aspects listed as things in tourism that are currently in use, and highly disrespectful. The shared parts of the culture should be rational and interesting. Santa Claus is the attraction in Rovaniemi, but the travelers that wish to go up north are more interested in the Sámi and the reindeer (S3). Stakeholder 1 and 4 brought up the problem that this thesis is trying to answer, which is figuring what parts of the heritage should be kept private and what is fine to be presented to the public. The Sámi wish to be able to choose this themselves.

Everyman's rights are in a sense a cherished matter and it is very good in that sense. And on the other hand, everyman's rights are – not necessarily in Finland but here in Samiland – a bit troubling, because Sámi people think it is important that families have their own territories in nature. Then if something like tourism starts to take over these traditional areas, because these traditions are not understood in tourism. (Stakeholder 4)

All participants agreed that the use of everyman's rights in tourism is acceptable with some restrictions. Since in Sámi culture some areas of the land have been used by a certain family or group of people the tourists or tourism enterprises should not come over and take these lands in their use (S2, S3, S4 & S5). Even though Stakeholder 1 did not mention it specifically, they also showed concern for big groups "going through the forest and clearing them off all the cloudberries." Since use of these areas by certain people is part of their culture, this practice should be respected. Mass tourism can harm special the nature, especially natural products that take longer to reproduce (S5). Concerns towards the use of everyman's rights link closely to mass tourism, that is feared to reach these areas.

Figure 3. shows the stakeholders opinions regarding the status of tourism for the Sámi. Since majority of the interviewees recognized tourism as a growing industry, it is important that the community also recognized the importance that tourism has to the economy. Tourism is growing and expanding, which brings a lot of tourism related jobs for the communities. As these areas start to attract more people, more services will be needed, and the locals will also benefit from that.



Figure 3. Stakeholders opinion on general state of Sámi tourism (N=5)

5.3 Status of Tourism for Skolt Sámi

The Sámi are, however, a one united group that has similar problems, like if you think about the use of the Sámi dress in tourism for example. The Skolt Sámi dress is not used misused as much since it may not be as desirable, but if it was misused then similarly the Skolt Sámi would be hurt and would think what could be done to prevent it from happening. So, I think that for this reason the Skolt Sámi and other Sámi – the Sámi as a whole – are in the same situation. (Stakeholder 1)

Considering the difference between the situation of tourism for the Skolt Sámi and other Sámi, Stakeholders 2, 4 and 5 thought the situation differs for Skolt Sámi when Stakeholders 1 and 3 thought that the situation is the same for all Sámi. Stakeholder 2, 4 and 5 all justified their opinion by referring to the Skolt Sámi being situated on a small area. It is easier to "use" the other Sámi cultures since they can be found on a bigger area (S2), and tourism has not reached Skolt Sámi area massively yet (S4). Since the Skolt Sámi came to these areas as evacuees, some tourists that go there are expecting that the Skolt Sámi as an exotic and magical group of people that are always in their Skolt Sámi dresses, giving tourists a false image of the people and what to expect when traveling there. Well, tourists are continuously looking for something new and exotic, since a big proportion of people have already seen "everything" – they have visited some summer destinations in the south and mid-European cities and so on. So, I think that people are looking for like peace, silence and those kinds of experiences that other destinations do not necessarily have. And the kind of experiences that they can share on Facebook for example, since all their friends and family have not tried similar activities. (Stakeholder 1)

All interviewees agreed that there is a demand for Skolt Sámi culture in tourism. The demand might be due to Skolt Sámi being less known, compared to other Sámi groups (S1, S3, S4 & S5). Skolt Sámi is divergent from other Sámi groups, making it interesting for both domestic and international travelers. New trends are taking over tourism, and people are looking for something different (S1 & S4). Since these cities that Skolt Sámi are focused in are so small, Stakeholder 1 thinks that the cities need tourism for livelihood. However, Stakeholder 4 highly disagreed, and thought that tourism does not employ a lot of the locals, and tourism as an industry will fall and must be reconsidered in years to come. The stakeholder justifies this due to tourism not being sustainable, and therefore will have to develop or die down.

The pretending and using fake costumes are more unacceptable. I think that it is ok for example to use Skolt Sámi stories in maybe Lapland themed restaurant, so why not build stories about Skolt Sámi traditions around meals. Or Lapland themed hotel where in décor authentic handicrafts and dresses are used instead of having fake objects on display. And of course, in program services the use of storification is ok even if the teller is not Skolt Sámi. It is even desirable. (Stakeholder 5)

Using Skolt Sámi culture in tourism was seen similarly as using Sámi culture in general. Skolt Sámi culture should be presented by a Skolt Sámi person and from the Skolt Sámi perspective (S3). However, a non-Skolt Sámi person can

share for example stories from Skolt Sámi culture, but using fake costumes and pretending is what makes it disrespectful (S5). Stakeholder 2 highlights how all Sámi should be considered as a whole, just with different backgrounds and cultures, but with same rights to their own cultures and the right to defend them. By focusing on them as a whole could benefit a bigger group. Stakeholder 1 thought however that not all the Sámi groups get along well, and the Skolt Sámi are sometimes not thought as highly of. If this is true, a wide focus could be harmful for the relationship between different groups.

If we look at the tourism marketing and such in Finland in general, it is always the North Sámi culture that is visible, very rarely the Skolt Sámi or Inari Sámi. And if it [Skolt Sámi] is shown in some picture, there is no explanation. They are always speaking about the Sámi in general. (Stakeholder 3)

A common thought was that Skolt Sámi is not very visible in tourism, or the participant was not sure how well it is seen. The way that the culture is seen is mostly by the souvenirs but living Skolt Sámi and their traditions are not shown much even by the Skolt Sámi entrepreneurs themselves. Since the Sámi people are often considered to be one big group and not recognizing the communities that are part of it, i.e. the Skolt Sámi, knowledge of the Skolt Sámi is quite small. This is due to lack of information and education about the different Sámi groups.

Like I said, it [knowledge of Skolt Sámi culture] is quite low. Indeed, this summer quite many while visiting Koltta perinnetalo has told that they saw "Kaisa's Enchanted Forest" and that way found out about the Skolt Sámi. But usually the knowledge is low, and people know something about the Sámi as a whole, but only a few know that in Finland we have also Skolt Sámi, Inari's Sámi and North Sámi people. But the reason for that is that when you look at school history books for example, they teach more about America's independence than our own Sámi people. (Stakeholder 3) It was agreed by all the stakeholders that Skolt Sámi is not that well known of by outsiders. There are two extremes: the tourists either knows nothing about the Skolt Sámi or knows a lot and is usually there for culture tourism (S1 & S4). If a person is interested in something, they will educate themselves, and recently knowledge of Skolt Sámi seems to be growing compared to earlier years. The problem is that even Finns do not know about their own indigenous population. Stakeholder 3 pointed out that the fact that Finland has indigenous heritage is only remembered when it is something to be proud of, and then soon forgotten again.

Sámi culture and history are not taught well enough in schools, compared to other parts of history. Projects such as the "kulttuurillisesti vastuullinen saamelaismatkailu" by the Sámi Parliament of Finland and having Sámi people go teach about the Sámi culture around Finnish schools are ways to fix this problem. These projects work towards educating people on the Sámi. Preferably, the educator should be a Sámi person, and part of the group of Sámi that they are teaching about (S1 & S4). The area around the Skolt Sámi Perinnetalo is good for education, but often times people learn better when meeting a real member of the community (S1). The education for tourists should happen in an entertaining way. The education should be part of their travelling, and a lot of people may not be interested to be listening to lectures while on vacation. (S2 &S4) There is a need for tourism entrepreneurs and the Sámi people to cooperate, to avoid a lot of the problems that Sámi and tourism are facing, which are often caused due to ignorance (S5).

Figure 4. is a summary of the stakeholders opinions on the status of tourism specifically for the Skolt Sámi. The view of the situation for the Skolt Sámi differed slightly from the opinion regarding all the Sámi. The participants thought that visibility and knowledge of the Skolt Sámi is lacking, and this might be the reason there is a demand for the Skolt Sámi in tourism.

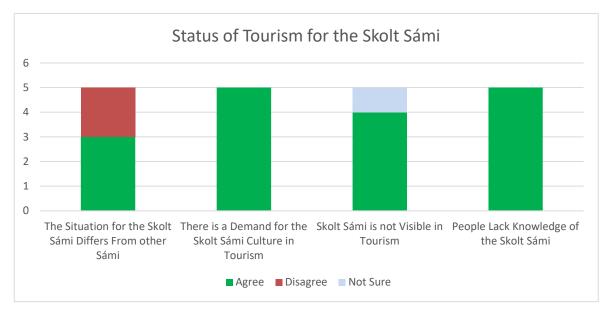


Figure 4. Stakeholder opinion on status of tourism for the Skolt Sámi (N=5)

5.4 Sharing Skolt Sámi Tourism to Tourists

The Skolt Sámi probably need some type of speaking sessions about this matter. But this matter is not – there are bigger matters that need to be discussed, like Arctic Ocean's railway or some similar "real problems" so to speak, which require actions. So, who is the right organization to arrange discussion about this mitten-pattern-topic? And it is connected to tourism because Skolt Sámi mittens have been sold in Sevettijärvi – and that is quite alright. And basically, anyone can search internet for a picture of Skolt Sámi mittens for example, and knit one based on the picture – if the picture is big enough. (Stakeholder 1)

Stakeholder 1 brought up the fact that the Sámi are facing bigger issues, and unfortunately discussion about the use of their culture might have to wait. The culture should not be taken advantage of (S1, S2, S3, S4 & S5). For example, if someone sells Skolt Sámi products, the money should go for the Skolt Sámi people or the culture. Stakeholders 1, 3 and 4 mentioned laws and rights, and that since the Skolt Sámi handicrafts are traditional, they cannot be protected by e.g. copyrights. Technically they should be owned by the people of that culture, but currently there is no legal way to protect them. Not allowing anyone else to

have or make them does not benefit anyone, and therefore there should be a clear distinction for a real Skolt Sámi handicraft, e.g. with a quality mark.

5.4.1 Shareable Aspects

Sámi people have had a hard time for decades, which is why even the Sámi people do not necessarily understand or know what some cultural aspects mean. These kinds of things can be very attractive, exotic and interesting for tourists, but they may not be meant for other people to know about. (Stakeholder 4)

In the beginning of this theme a discussion about the Skolt Sámi mitten issue was discussed. The common opinion was that non-Skolt Sámi can make Skolt Sámi handicrafts, but not sell them (S1, S2 & S5). However, only Skolt Sámi can teach and educate on these handicrafts, since they are so much more than just items (S4). One of the recommendations was to have a big discussion about this matter, to have a common understanding how the majority of Skolt Sámi wants to operate. Topics for this discussion would be: how to handle a situation where the culture is taken advantage of? How to identify these situations? Who has the right to make Skolt Sámi handicrafts? Who has the right to sell them? To be able to handle these situations, a collective opinion of the Skolt Sámi should be found and followed.

The participants had a lot of ideas on how to share Skolt Sámi culture to the tourists. Whatever is taught, should be concrete information and facts, and nothing made up (S1). Skolt Sámi handicrafts are something that could be sold or taught to the customers (S1, S2, S3 & S5). These handicrafts should be traditional for the culture, for example mittens, reindeer products and bead work, instead of being invented just for the consumer and having no real meaning. Or instead of selling handicrafts with family patterns, there could be e.g. a common mitten pattern chosen that would be allowed to be sold, since some patterns are designated to certain groups of people (S1).

The supply and demand do not always meet, and it requires planning. Letting the tourists make the products themselves was one of the recommended (S1, S2, S4 & S5). Hotels, restaurants and other businesses that have a Lapland theme should use authentic Sámi products, and therefore invest on the Sámi entrepreneurs and on the other hand sharing the culture and knowledge to customers (S5).

Another suggestion had to do with the Skolt Sámi dress. The dress is interesting and intriguing because it is so much different from the other Sámi dresses (S1 & S4). There has been a trend to wear Finnish traditional dresses more nowadays, and stakeholder 1 told that people like to show their own dresses and see others. The Skolt Sámi dresses would fit just fine with this trend and this could benefit with sharing information too.

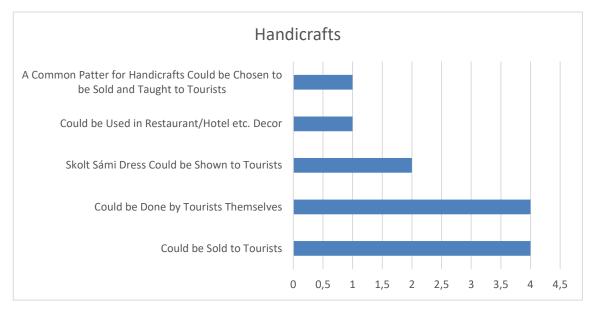


Figure 5. Ways to share Skolt Sámi handicrafts in tourism (N=5)

Cultural, historical and community traits were mentioned by stakeholder 2, 4 and 5. One way to use and bring these up in tourism could be storification. Shareable Skolt Sámi traits are e.g. community-based living, playfulness and cooperation. Teaching the tourists games that are played by the Skolt Sámi is fun for all ages, and it is a great way to get to know the culture. (S4) Even though it is important to share the happy parts, Skolt Sámi also has a darker history, and many people do not know about it. It is important to also share the cruel history that this community has. (S1) This type of tourism is known as dark tourism. There are a lot of different travelers and different types of tourism and acknowledging that is important.

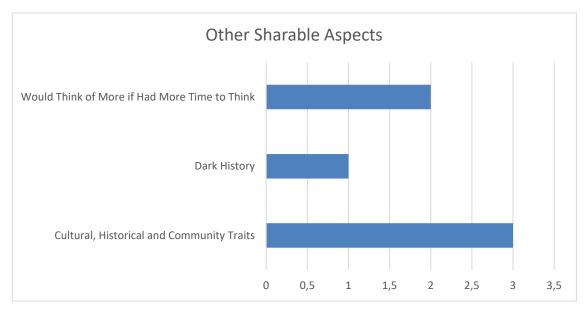


Figure 6. Other sharable aspects (N=5)

There seems to be a higher demand for those [handicrafts] than there is supply, but then we are faced with the problem that – root works have had a high demand, but then sometimes when they have been on sale they do not go for sale because the tourists think that they are too expensive. So, they should be the authentic Skolt Sámi handicrafts, but with the 'made in china' price. (Stakeholder 3)

It does not always have to be "the best arctic char river", instead for the tourist the experience of being in the nature and enjoying it can be more meaningful (S4). This way tourism enterprises do not have to e.g. take over the area's that are already used by a certain group of people, and instead create an experience around the act of fishing and what comes with it.

5.4.2 Private Aspects

Not all the secrets need to be revealed. Of course, you can educate people if they are interested, but it does not have to be some kind of common knowledge. (Stakeholder 2)

Stakeholder 4 would like to keep a lot of the culture private, when stakeholders 2 and 5 think that the deepest information should not be shared, and not everything needs to be revealed. Only stakeholder 3 does not think that there are many parts in their culture that cannot be shared to others. The stakeholder justifies their opinion by pointing out that sharing the culture has been happening ever since the first travelers found Lapland and someone sold or gave them the first pair of mittens. Not all the secrets should be revealed, but then again if someone is eager to know, why not provide the information?



Figure 7. Stakeholders opinion on sharing Skolt Sámi culture in tourism (N=5)

For parts of the culture that should be kept private the stakeholders had a lot of suggestions and said they would probably have more if they thought about it longer. One of these was the Skolt Sámi dress. Stakeholder 4 says it should only be wore by Skolt Sámi, while stakeholder 2 puts the emphasis on the traditions of how to wear the dress and how it has been kept a secret for ages. On the note for traditions, they were mentioned by stakeholders 1 and 2.

Keeping personalized patterns private is important for the individuality, since a lot of the times the patterns in the dress, mittens, pearls and so on, tells a lot about the person that is wearing them.

Rituals and beliefs are something that should not be referred to in tourism. The Skolt Sámi do not wish to seem magical and mythical, and they do not want their beliefs to be mocked. (S1 & S4) Leudds were also mentioned because a lot of leudds are very private and personal, and that is why they should not be used in tourism (S5). Like mentioned before, Skolt Sámi have certain areas where certain families and people have used for fishing, berry picking and other activities, and according to stakeholder 3, the Skolt Sámi wish to keep these areas as secret to prevent people from misusing them. Some Skolt Sámi families have presented worry about doing maps of the areas, in case their secret fishing or berry picking areas would become common knowledge, which is why the information should remain private.

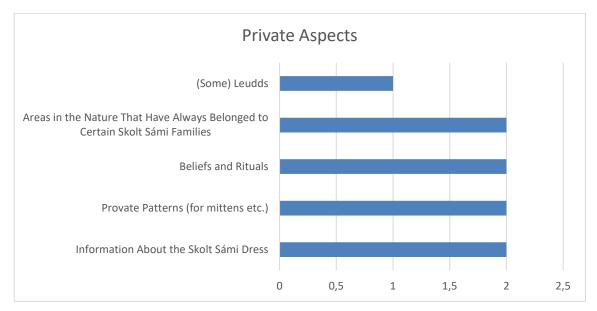


Figure 8. Private aspects of Skolt Sámi culture (N=5)

5.5 Commercialization of Skolt Sámi Culture

I think it is a good thing. I think Sami duodji should market their brand more too, since it [the mark] is a guarantee that the object is made by Sámi and it is not fake, which is why I think it is necessary – I think it is the wife's hat sign a few decades ago, and it could be taken back in use. It can be known by some, and there is therefore no need for a new sign. (Stakeholder 5)

All of the participants agreed that having a quality mark is a good idea. Sami duodji was mentioned by stakeholders 1, 3, 4 and 5, while stakeholder 2 also agreed on a mark on a general level, not naming any specific ones. The problem with Sami duodji was the rules for who is justified to use the mark (S3 & S5). Stakeholder 3 explains, that in Sevettijärvi it is acceptable for significant other of a Skolt Sámi person can sell Skolt Sámi handicrafts, even if they are non-Skolt Sámi. Unfortunately, they are not legitimate for the Sami duodji mark for their handicrafts. There is a need for Sami duodji to improve and renew the brand to be more suitable for the Sámi handicraftsmen (S4).

A specific mark for the Skolt Sámi was also mentioned (S1, S3, S4 & S5). One of these marks is called säämsjit, the wife's hat, and the stakeholders wish for it to come back in use. The mark has been in use before, and therefore it could be familiar for some already, which is why there is no need to design a new mark. (S3, S4 & S5) A recommendation for a new mark also came up. This mark would show that the handicraft is made by a Sámi person, but it is not traditional but rather has the artists own twist to it. (S1 & S5)

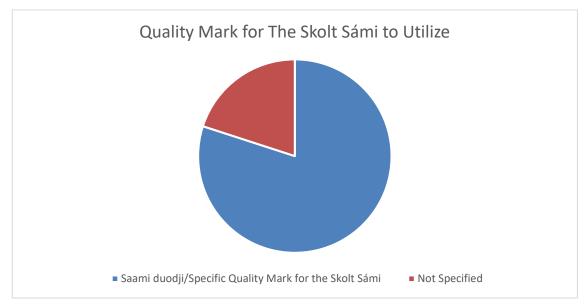


Figure 9. Quality mark for the Skolt Sámi to utilize (N=5)

The marketing should be redone. It should be more about the present-day life in Nellim, Sevettijärvi and Keväjärvi and so on. The marketing should work so that the image does not remain primitive, because some tourists think the situation is still like in Petsamo and Suonikylä before the wars. The fake dresses and costumes are a whole another topic, because the Sámi symbols have been used in souvenirs and program services. I think many of these services under the name "Lappish ceremony" where they dress up as a shaman and have coal on their face, are offensive towards the Sámi. The customers should not be disappointed because of marketing making it seem Skolt Sámi do not have cars or snowmobiles and they do not wear Skolt Sámi dresses daily. The image should not be romanticized. (Stakeholder 5)

When marketing anything today, social media is the most useful tool (S1 & S3). Also, stakeholders 1 and 2 highlighted the importance of people being the ones that provide the information about the travel destination. People love to post about their travels on the internet, and in reverse they love to read about other experiences. This should be utilized in attracting more people to get interested in the Skolt Sámi too.

Other marketing methods were also mentioned. A quality mark is a good marketing item as itself. It tells the customer where the product is from and what does it represent (S1). Also, flyers and other tangible information providing papers are a traditional way of marketing e.g. in museums and hotels (S3). "Kulttuurillisesti vastuullinen saamelaismatkailu" project is a great information provider, especially for tourism enterprises (S4). Stakeholder 1 suggests it being village meeting's responsibility to monitor tourism regarding Skolt Sámi and providing information to the tourists.

Stakeholder 5 mentions assumptions that tourists have of the Skolt Sámi, which are e.g. expecting them to live in reservation, being primitive and traditionally using huskies, which are all false assumptions. The most important thing in marketing is to keep it authentic and real, to prevent misunderstandings and disappointments. The tourism sector and the Sámi people should be in the same page of what is ethical Sámi tourism, and then be able to plan all these things according to it.

Since Table 1. shows that the Skolt Sámi are concerned over how their culture is presented in tourism, it is important to hear their opinions on how they wish it to be presented. This table can work as a tool to understand the community's ideas on the matter and therefore start planning and developing a new way of showing their culture in tourism.

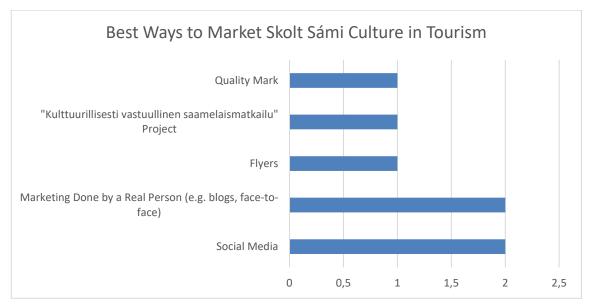


Figure 10. Best ways to market Skolt Sámi culture in tourism (N=5)

6 CONCLUSION

As the interviewees were from such similar backgrounds relatable to the topic, the results are quite reliable. The interviewees saw the use of Sámi culture in tourism as a positive matter, but the way it is currently handled was concerning. Seeing how many inaccurate or fake services the interviewees listed is very saddening. False presentation of the culture is harmful both to the community and the customers. It results in trust issues towards the tourism industry, which therefore results in reluctance to work in the field. For customers it causes disappointment when the reality does not match what was promised.

The status of tourism for the Skolt Sámi and the Sámi in general was considered to be different. This was due to the Skolt Sámi residing in a smaller area than the other Sámi groups, which could be why these other groups are more widely used in tourism marketing and services. All the interviewees agreed that there is a demand for Skolt Sámi culture in tourism, and that they are not visible in tourism yet, due to people lacking information on them. Since the Skolt Sámi are residing in such small areas, they are visible mostly in these areas and tourism has not fully reached these places, resulting in the lack of knowledge. Since tourism is growing so much, a lot of travelers are very experienced. Therefore, a lot of tourists are looking for new experiences, something that is not that popularly explored. Since even Finns are very unfamiliar with their own indigenous groups, the Skolt Sámi attract new markets to the area.

Understanding the current situation helps to plan for the future developments. The interviewees gave many suggestions ranging from traditions to personal traits of the community. Handicrafts were mentioned the most due to one of the themes of this theme interview including a current issue considering traditional handicrafts, and since all the interviewees had connection to making them. As for private aspects of the culture, one of the interviewees mentioned that there is not much to keep private in the culture, but still managed to list some. This could suggest that if given more time, the participants would be able to give more suggestions than this research provides.

This thesis was able to wake discussion on these issues and gain a basic understanding of what parts of their culture the Skolt Sámi want to share in tourism. This was the goal of this thesis, and it was met. This research had to be conducted with interviews rather than survey, which is why a broader opinion could not be found. Further information on especially the Skolt Sámi can be gained from this thesis, which contributes to educating people.

Due to the limitations of this research, there is a need for further research to gain a collective opinion of the Skolt Sámi community. Focus on Skolt Sámi does narrow the results, but this research provides a base for further research and implementing knowledge gained from this to other indigenous groups. Apart from a broader research on the topic of this thesis, a lot of new topics also came to mind. After figuring out which parts of the culture to share, naturally the next step is to figure out how to sell the products and services. Concern towards this was voiced numeral times during this research, which shows its importance. Due to a current scandal regarding the Skolt Sámi mittens, discussion about how to identify a situation where a culture is taken advantage of, and how to handle these problems, was very topical. It is important to figure out who can sell and make these products and services, who is justified to teach how to make these products to customers as well as how they should be sold and educate the sellers on the culture.

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Appendix 1.	Theme Interview Template in Finnish
Appendix 2.	Theme Interview Template in English

Appendix 1. Theme Interview Template in Finnish

Olen matkailualan opiskelija Lapin ammattikorkeakoulusta ja teen opinnäytetyötä liittyen kolttasaamelaisten kulttuuriin ja sen jakamiseen matkailussa. Kyseessä on teemahaastattelu, joka kestää arviolta noin 30minuuttia. Haastattelu pidetään nimettömänä, ja haastattelu äänitetään myöhemmän arvioinnin vuoksi. Haastattelun tuloksia käytetään matkailun kehittämiseen.

Taustatietoja haastateltavasta ja haastateltavan yhteys kolttasaamelaisuuteen ja matkailuun

- 1. Mistä olet kotoisin?
- 2. Mikä on yhteytesi kolttasaamelaisuuteen?
- 3. Työskenteletkö matkailualalla?

Yleinen matkailun tilanne Saamenmaalla

- 4. Kuinka tietoinen olet matkailusta Saamenmaalla?
- 5. Mikä on matkailun asema Saamenmaalla?
- 6. Mikä on sinun mielipiteesi Saamelaiskulttuurin käytöstä matkailussa?
- 7. Mitä positiivisia puolia näet Saamelaiskulttuurin käytöstä matkailussa?
- 8. Koetko että Saamelaiskulttuurin käytöstä matkailussa voisi ilmetä haasteita?
- 9. Jos kyllä, oletko kokenut tällaisia haasteita tai kuullut tällaisista haasteista? Millaisia ne ovat olleet?
- 10. Mikä on mielipiteesi jokamiehenoikeuksien käytöstä matkailussa? Mitä positiivista/negatiivista sen käytössä on?

Matkailun tilanne kolttasaamelaisten kannalta

- 11. Eroaako kolttasaamelaisten matkailutilanne muista saamelaisista? Jos, niin miten?
- 12. Kuinka suuri kysyntä matkailulla on kolttasaamelaiselle kulttuurille? Miten olet sen huomannut?
- 13. Mitä mieltä olet kolttasaamelaisen kulttuurin käytöstä matkailussa?
- 14. Kuinka kolttasaame näkyy matkailussa tällä hetkellä?
- 15. Kuinka laaja tietämys matkailijoilla on mielestäsi kolttasaamelaisista?
- 16. Kuinka tärkeää mielestänne olisi opettaa
 - matkailijoille kolttasaamelaisista? Miten tämä opetus voisi tapahtua?

Kolttakulttuurin jakaminen matkailijoille/ulkopuolisille

- 17. Viime aikoina on ollut keskustelua kolttasaamelaisista käsitöistä, erityisesti lapasista, ja niiden valmistamisesta ei-saamelaisen toimesta. Mikä on mielipiteesi tähän aiheeseen liittyen?
- 18. Mitä puolia kolttakulttuurista voisi jakaa matkailijoille?
- 19. Haluaisitko pitää joitain puolia Kolttakulttuurista yksityisenä? Mitä?

Kolttakulttuurin kaupallistaminen

- 20. Oletko kuulleet Ruotsissa kehitetystä QualityMark:ista
 - (laatumerkintä)? Mikä on mielipiteesi siitä?
- 21. Miten kolttakulttuuria tulisi jakaa matkailijoille?
- 22. Minkälaisia sääntöjä tai ohjeita siihen voisi liittyä?

Appendix 2. Theme Interview TemplateF in English

I am a student of international Degree Programme in Tourism at Lapland University of Applied Sciences, and I am making a thesis about Skolt Sámi culture and its use in tourism. This is a theme interview that takes approximately 30minutes. The interview is completely anonymous, and interviews are recorded to be further analyzed later. The results will be used in tourism development.

Stakeholder's connection to Skolt Sámi and tourism

- 1. Where are you from?
- 2. What is your connection to Skolt Sámi?
- 3. Have you worked in tourism?

General state of Sámi tourism

- 4. How aware are you of the status of tourism in the Sámi area?
- 5. What is the status of tourism in the Sámi area?
- 6. What is your opinion on using Sámi culture in tourism?
- 7. What positive sides do you see in using Sámi culture in tourism?
- 8. Do you see any challenges in using Sámi culture in tourism?
- 9. If yes, what kind of challenges have you experienced or heard of?

Status of tourism for the Skolt Sami

- 10. Does the status of tourism differ from the Skolt Sámi perspective? If yes, how?
- 11. How big is the demand for Skolt Sámi culture in tourism? How have you noticed the demand?
- 12. What is your opinion in using the Skolt Sámi culture in tourism?
- 13. How is the Skolt Sámi visible in tourism currently?
- 14. How much do the tourists know about the Skolt Sámi?
- 15. How important do you think it is to teach tourists about the Skolt Sámi? How could this education happen?

Sharing Skolt Sámi culture to tourists and outsiders

- 16. What is your opinion on the Skolt Sámi mitten conversation that has been going around recently?
- 17. What parts of the Skolt Sámi culture could be shared to tourists?
- 18. What parts of the Skolt Sámi culture should be kept private?
- 19. What is your opinion in using everyman's rights in tourism? What negative/positive aspects do you see in using it?

Commercialization of Skolt Sámi culture

- 20. Do you see the need for a mark for authentic Sámi products?
- 21. How should Skolt Sámi culture he commercialized to tourists?
- 22. What kind of rules or directives should be in place when commercializing Skolt Sámi culture?