Tourism work among Sámi indigenous people
Exploring its prevalence and role in sparsely populated areas of Sweden

Traian C. Leu

Department of Geography and Economic History
Umeå 2018
“THE ENCOUNTER [cover photo]: Encounters between different peoples and cultures enrich us. We carry many prejudices towards that which seems foreign. Yet prejudices towards other peoples and cultures may be lessened through simply telling about the culture to which one belongs.”

(Marakatt-Labba, 2010, p.87)
Acknowledgements

Writing a doctoral thesis is not done in a vacuum. I owe a great deal of gratitude to many people who have helped me through this. The list of influential people is much more than what I can list here, many deserving names will be left out and I am sorry for that.

First off, I would like to start by thanking the two most influential people in the project, my supervisors. From the initial idea for the project, which was solely yours, until now, the final stretch, you two were excellent in providing me with indispensable advice and being great friends at the same time. Dieter Müller, my main supervisor, I want to thank you for the expert advice, you are a true scientist and I learned so much regarding the world of research, our place in it and how to best navigate it. You took a chance on me and you helped me get to where I never dared imagine I would get. It was very rewarding to work with you, thank you! Madeleine Eriksson, my second supervisor, your way of seeing things that are often overlooked by so many left an impression on me. The reader of the thesis might notice that I am using your work much less than one would guess given that you have written a lot on northern Sweden, while this is true I know that your work will have the most impact on me in the long run. Thank you! Your advice complemented Dieter’s quite well and I was lucky to have you both as supervisors.

I would also like to thank all my colleagues at the Department of Geography and Economic History. I could not have asked for better company and a more superior work environment. I had the opportunity to travel for an extended period as part of an internationalization program designed to get us to build networks and be part of other teams. I chose not to do that because of you. Why would I volunteer time away from you? Your smiles, conversations, the coffee, fikas and seminars together, all helped me through it. Kerstin Westin, our head of department, you showed that professors can be awesome. Thank you for being such a cool boss, you even took me moose hunting, that is pretty badass! My years as a PhD student ran smoothly with no unnecessary hold ups, for that I have to thank a few key people. Erik Bäckström thanks for helping me with the computer stuff. Alongside Erik, help with the register data was also kindly provided by Jenny Häggström. Thank you Lotta Brännlund for help with the administrative stuff and so much more small but vital parts of my time as a PhD student. Fredrik Gärling, thanks for all the help with the numerous questions or paperwork help I needed you for. Rikard Eriksson, doctoral studies director, I am grateful for all you have done for us PhD students; I always felt that I was in good competent hands. I would also like to thank Linda Lundmark, Ulf Wiberg and Seija Tuulentie for extremely helpful comments during my final seminal. I am similarly very grateful to Timothy Heleniak, Einar Holm and Aina Tollefsen for comments on my mid-term seminar. Einar and Aina thank you also for helpful comments on the green-light reading. For that matter, thank you Urban Lindgren, deputy head of department, for generally granting me the occasional request for stuff.

Olof Stjernström, Lars Larsson and Roger Marjavaara, you were influential during my master’s studies and turned out to be excellent work colleagues too, thank you so much for your friendship. To my fellow PhD students, past and present, I am not sure I could have done this without your friendship and support. I cherished our time together and will always think back with joy on the adventures we had. Being able to switch off from work and clear the mind is an important component of successful research. I want to thank all who have played beach volleyball with me, got together for Mario cart, board game night, and joined me for a drink or two after work. Emelie Hane-Weijman, thank you for being a close friend, you are a really fun
person to be around. Olof Olsson, you are an all-around humorous and happy guy and I think we never actually talked about work, I am very grateful for all the hanging out we did. Thank you Guilherme Chihaya Da Silva for your friendship at times and the thought-provoking philosophical discussions we had. Martin Hedlund, you were one of my first friends here in Sweden. I want to thank you for the nice times over a host of activities together over the years. Josef Lilljegren, I am very grateful for the friendship we developed. As men, we hit the gym together, as men, we walked by the river talking about emotions, thank you. To Rebecca Schmidt for the many hours of climbing together at the gym, thanks for belaying me safely. Did it ever cross your mind how much my life was in your hands? It did not cross mine, either! Kajsa Åberg you got my sense of humor and we sure had many laughs together. Thanks for being an awesome friend. Thank you Jasmine Zhang and Anton Tjust as well as your son for being excellent friends outside the work environment. Thanks Janina Priebe for some very pleasant moments over coffee and walks. Seems like we both managed to write a thesis in the end even though we often doubted it ourselves. For pleasant moments over coffee, thank you also Kristina Belancic and Andreas Dannelöv, I enjoyed your company very much!

A warm thank you, Heather Mackay for a very long and rewarding friendship. Totte Niittylä, thanks for the many talks on fishing, hunting and other meaningful things independent of my performance as a PhD student; I needed that. Thank you and Heather and the kids for letting me be part of the family. Thanks, Alexander Strandberg for your friendship over the years, I wish the geographical distance between us would not be so harsh on our friendship. As geographers we love distance and space. We talk how our understanding of things is affected by space. Yet I was quite bad at understanding just how much the last centimeters of travel can affect the information received. For realizing this, I have to thank Hannelene Schilar. Thank you Hanna for shining light on places I did not even know existed, let alone be able to tackle by myself. I am forever indebted to you! Thank you for being my friend.

The academic environment is often reliant on the exchange of information between researchers and across disciplines. I would like to thank the team at ARCUM, the Arctic Research Centre at Umeå University, especially Gabriella Nordin, for organizing some very inspiring and exciting seminars, which I attended as often as I could. I also want to thank the interviewees who took part in this study, I am grateful for your responses and I know that for you, talking about your hopes and fears for the future is anything but small talk.

Finally, I would like to thank those who are closest to me. Thanks mom, dad and brother for being there for me always, regardless. Well, this is awkward! I guess as family you already know.

Marta Bystrowska, we found each other during my time as a PhD student. You are by far my most precious ‘find’ during my doctorate studies. Thank you for being understanding, kind and nurturing. With you by my side, I feel I can conquer the world. Without you, I honestly do not know how I would have made it across the finish line. I feel like the luckiest man in the world!

Lastly, I would like to thank the Marianne and Marcus Wallenberg Foundation for funding this project. Without their support, none of this would have been possible and I am very grateful for this opportunity. Thank you!

I have learned so much during my time as a PhD student. I came to know a lot about Sámi people and Sámi culture. I came to know an amazing group of people with a rich history, an
exciting present and a bright tomorrow. My Sámi friends are 100% Swedish and 100% Sámi and that has thought me how identity is a moving target, continuously shifting, constantly evolving, and there is nothing wrong with that.

Thank you all who made this possible.
# Table of Contents

1 Introduction ....................................................................................................................... 1  
1.1 Aim .............................................................................................................................. 3  
1.2 Definitions and Concepts ............................................................................................. 3  
1.3 The structure of the thesis ............................................................................................ 5  

2 Setting the scene ................................................................................................................ 6  
2.1 Rural change in sparsely populated areas in Sweden .................................................. 6  
2.2 The Sámi .................................................................................................................... 10  
2.3 Reindeer herding as a livelihood ............................................................................... 10  
2.3.1 The significance of reindeer herding to Sámi identity ....................................... 10  
2.3.2 The reindeer herder ............................................................................................ 11  
2.3.3 The struggle to herd ............................................................................................ 12  
2.3.4 On who leaves herding, for how long and the importance of other sources of income ............................................................................................................................ 14  

3 Indigenous Tourism – a literature review .................................................................... 15  
3.1 Sámi Tourism ............................................................................................................ 21  

4 Theoretical approach ...................................................................................................... 24  
4.1 The Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Framework ........................................................ 25  
4.1.1 Context and Conditions ...................................................................................... 26  
4.1.2 Livelihood Resources ......................................................................................... 29  
4.1.3 Institutional Processes and Organizational Structures ....................................... 31  
4.1.4 Livelihood Strategies .......................................................................................... 32  
4.1.5 Livelihood Outcomes ......................................................................................... 34  
4.1.6 Limitations of the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Framework .......................... 36  
4.2 Issues of scale in rural livelihoods ............................................................................. 37  

5 Data and Methodology ................................................................................................... 38  
5.1 Ethical Considerations ............................................................................................... 38  
5.2 Methods ..................................................................................................................... 40  
5.3 Limitations ................................................................................................................. 43  

6 Overview of Articles (Empirical Evidence) ............................................................... 44  
6.1 Article I, Maintaining inherited occupations in changing times: the role of tourism among reindeer herders in northern Sweden ................................................................. 44  
6.2 Article II, Tourism as a livelihood diversification strategy among Sámi indigenous people in northern Sweden ........................................................................................................ 45
6.3 Article III, More than just a job: Exploring the meanings of tourism work among indigenous Sámi tourist entrepreneurs ................................................................. 47
7 Discussion and Conclusion ........................................................................................................ 48
8 Sammanfattning (Swedish summary) ........................................................................ 58
  8.1 Bakgrund ..................................................................................................................... 58
  8.2 Syfte och frågeställningar .......................................................................................... 58
  8.3 Material och metod ..................................................................................................... 59
  8.4 De tre artiklarna (empiriska materialet) .................................................................... 59
  8.5 Diskussion och Slutsatser .......................................................................................... 61
9 References ........................................................................................................................... 64

Papers


Paper II  Leu, T. C. (submitted) Tourism as a livelihood diversification strategy among Sámi indigenous people in northern Sweden

1 INTRODUCTION

Tourism is frequently promoted as a solution to fast changes in rural economies (George, Mair, & Reid, 2009). While change always characterized such economies, the developments have been more pronounced over the past century (Dicken, 2015). Not only are the changes experienced in rural areas unlike any in the past but the pace of change is often so rapid that people have a difficult time meeting the challenges that come (Garrod, Wornell, & Youell, 2006). Global restructuring processes of modernization in agriculture and beyond have placed increased emphasis on profitability and efficiency (Woods, 2011), this resulted in fewer individuals able to achieve the same productivity, culminating in large rates of urbanization and general improvements in the standard of living of those that migrated as well as those that remained. Nevertheless, for the fraction of people staying in rural areas, no longer needed in agriculture and other local industries and services, there are considerable implications to their overall livelihoods. In sparsely populated areas of northern Sweden, the employment capacity of staple industries declined in importance significantly starting with the onset of modernization around the middle of the 20th century (Bäcklund, 1988; Spjut, 2010). The social repercussions from such developments have been lessened by attributes of the welfare state where public safety nets ensure a certain level of quality of life (Lundholm & Malmberg, 2006; Wiberg, 1994). Nonetheless, regional policies aimed at encouraging economic activity in sparsely populated areas have been in place since the 1960s. During the 1960s, 70s and onwards, government schemes have encouraged companies to establish in such areas, developed research institutions in middle-sized towns, introduced transport subsidies, and provided loans to small farms, all to help economic development in the sparsely populated areas of Sweden (Öström, 1983). Generally, focus is maintained on preparing individuals, through education, training, etc., for a more knowledge intensive and service oriented labor market. This, together with increased competition between regions and places (Dicken, 2015), has resulted in fewer investments in rural areas and a concentration of investments to urban areas. Concepts such as Smart Specialization and Constructing Regional Advantage, where regions should seek to promote and specialize in knowledge and development trajectories that are unique, often prevail regional development politics (Boschma, 2014; Foray, David, & Hall, 2011). Matching global trends (Garrod, Wornell, & Youell, 2006; Hinch & Butler, 2007; Jenkins, Hall, & Troughton, 1998), decision makers in Sweden look to the development of a tourism industry as part of the pursuit for the regional advantage of sparsely populated areas (Hall, Müller, & Saarinen, 2009; Lundmark, 2006a; Müller & Ulrich, 2007). The tourism sector is considered to be a low skills industry and have low entry barriers, making it a suitable option in regions with few other alternatives. Indigenous groups converge often in such areas and tourism is being used as a development tool among rural indigenous peoples in many parts of the world (Butler & Hinch, 2007b; Zeppel, 2006). Even in the context of northern Sweden, which is the focus of this thesis, tourism has been identified as an important occupation for the indigenous Sámi population in the future (Samiskt informationscentrums, 2017). It is also being promoted among the people for whom the historical reliance on reindeer herding, an indigenous occupation in Sweden, for a livelihood is being challenged by calls for increased profitability and efficiency similar to farming, and other pressures such as from predators and other land-uses.

The promotion of tourism as the new sector able to take over from reindeer herding is being challenged in the indigenous context by the fact that reindeer herding in Sweden holds
important cultural meanings for the Sámi society in general (Nordin, 2007). Reindeer herding, unlike other rural activities, is an occupation reserved for people of Sámi descent and even among Sámi it is very difficult to enter unless one has been born into it, making the commitment to its involvement prioritized over other occupations (Beach, 2007). Thus, indigenous Sámi tourism and reindeer herding do not fit well into the traditional view of economic development where economic sectors are self-sufficient with clearly defined transition periods between the old and the new (Ellis, 1998). In actuality, change is more of a process, and different approaches are important in order to understand it. For example, approaches that consider the simultaneous functionality of the rural have been shown to be better placed at capturing current realities (Almstedt, Brouder, Karlsson, & Lundmark, 2014; Bjørkhaug & Richards, 2008; McCarthy, 2005).

Little is known about the role of indigenous tourism in present day Sápmi, the traditional Sámi homeland, which covers sparsely populated areas of northern Sweden, Norway, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia. So far, it has been shown that tourism in sparsely populated areas in Sweden in general has not been able to fully take over changing primary sector employment as expected (Lundmark, 2006a). This is potentially due to a mismatch of skills between the primary and service sectors, or due to the fact that tourism is a low pay industry and rarely year-round and long-term gainful work comparable to forestry or mining for example (Lundmark, 2006b; Müller, 2013). Yet among Sámi indigenous people in sparsely populated areas it has been suggested that tourism involvement is voluntarily chosen as an income diversification strategy with the aims of complementing income from reindeer herding (Müller & Huuva, 2009; R. Pettersson, 2004). It is also an in-situ solution to issues that are often solved through household migration to large urban areas. Like the strong attachment to land among indigenous peoples all over the world (Massey, 2005; United Nations, 2009), identity and place attachment are closely linked to Sápmi for many members of the Sámi community (Olofsson, 2004). The possibility of tourism work to take over likely differs between reindeer herding and other primary sectors. Research aiming at shedding light on the connection between herding and tourism is lacking but important. At the same time, that is just part of the story, herders or former herders’ involvement in tourism is only a small fraction of Sámi tourism in the sparsely populated areas of Sweden. Sámi culture in general is important for the representation of sparsely populated areas in a tourism context. Tourism experiences and products related to Sámi people and culture in general are growing in Sweden (Kramvig, 2017; Müller & Huuva, 2009) including the demand for such experiences (R. Pettersson & Viken, 2007; Zhang & Müller, 2018).

Currently some Sámi individuals do engage in tourism throughout the Swedish part of Sápmi. It was estimated that a little over 50 Sámi tourism entrepreneurs operated in these areas in 2012 (Müller & Hoppstadius, 2017), and the number of handicraft artists is likely higher. However, Sámi tourism is not always seen in a positive light. While Sámi have interacted with visitors for a long time through trade and selling traditional foods and handicrafts (Svensson & Viken, 2017), it is perceived as an unfamiliar livelihood watched with vigilance or indifference (Viken, 2006). Tourism altogether does not have the same historical continuity as reindeer herding or hunting and fishing. There are fears that tourism can lead to commodifying Sámi culture and reinforcing stereotypical views of the Sámi (R. Pettersson & Viken, 2007; Zhang & Müller, 2018). To properly assess tourism, all roles and functions of Sámi tourism must be understood by society.
In general, policies in Nordic countries still mostly operate with an assumption that economic growth should dominate development dialogue in sparsely populated areas (Linjakumpu & Wallenius-Korkalo, 2010). However, the tourism sector in sparsely populated areas could be part of agrarian change in ways not always recognized by mainstream economic thinking nor by the Sámi community in general. Studies from elsewhere have shown evidence that there are many benefits to involvement in tourism by indigenous peoples that go beyond financial incentives (Medina, 2003; Suntikul, 2007). In sparsely populated areas in Sweden, a few studies have already hinted that the benefits of tourism involvement extend past economic ones, and relate for example, to preserving cultural heritage, gaining control of indigenous content, and helping define identity (Palomino, 2012; Revelin, 2013; Tuulentie, 2006). This can have wide reaching implications to what tourism may mean for sparsely populated communities and regions, yet no research has set out to investigate in detail the different roles of Sámi tourism.

1.1 AIM

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the prevalence and role of tourism involvement among Sámi indigenous people in sparsely populated areas of northern Sweden. Three different objectives underlie the aim of this work. First, to see if involvement in tourism among Sámi indigenous people is common enough to have meaningful impacts on changes that bestow rural livelihoods in northern Sweden. By answering the research questions related to this first objective, this work hopes to extend the current understanding of tourism in northern Sweden and its effects on Sámi indigenous occupations in sparsely populated areas. Building on the first, the second objective is to investigate whether instead of replacing a struggling traditional occupation, tourism is part of a diversification strategy that allows for the continuation of reindeer herding. By investigating such development this work calls for more cross-sectoral approaches to studying rural tourism development in Sweden. The final objective is to investigate to what extent tourism benefits go beyond just economic ones and incorporate a variety of social and cultural meanings as well. This last aspect is expected to have ramifications within the Sámi community by showing whether or not tourism can embody values that are meaningful and relevant in present day Sámi society in ways previously attributed only to reindeer herding.

The specific research questions addressed in this thesis are as follows:

- How widespread are tourism occupations among reindeer herder families?
- What are some of the characteristics of those reindeer families engaged in them?
- Why do Sámi people get involved in tourism?
- To which extent is tourism part of a livelihood diversification strategy among Sámi living in northern Sweden?
- What meanings do Sámi tourist entrepreneurs assign to working in tourism?

By answering such questions this work aspires to tease out aspects of indigenous tourism work in sparsely populated areas that are currently overlooked in the literature.

1.2 DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS

Tourism here is investigated from the supply-side and is “the aggregate of all businesses that directly provide goods or services to facilitate business, pleasure, and leisure activities away from the home environment” (S.L. Smith, 1988, p. 183). Indigenous tourism, on the other hand,
“refers to tourism activities in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction” (Hinch & Butler, 2007, p. 5).

However, the term indigenous is one of the most difficult concepts to define. A starting point is the definition of indigenous peoples used commonly by the United Nations (UN), outlined first by a José R. Martínez Cobo UN study in 1986/87, it states:

“Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system” (United Nations, 2009, p. 4).

An individual belongs to these groups by way of self-identification to the group as well as the group recognizes and accepts the individual as part of it (United Nations, 2009).

Other synonyms for the term Indigenous are Aboriginals, First Nations, Amerindians, etc. usually one term is preferred over another according to specific geographical locations. Either way, each term is considered laden with meaning and inaccuracies in its own way (Lemelin & Blangy, 2009), in this thesis the word indigenous is used as it is found to be most practical and used in other literature on Sámi.

Regarding the identification of Sámi in Sweden, there are some common ways of identifying individuals as Sámi: population censuses, parish registers, membership in the voters’ directory for the Sámi parliament, and membership to a Reindeer Herder Cooperatives (RHC). While the census can only be used to identify people before 1945, because the Swedish census stopped recording ethnicity after that (Axelsson & Sköld, 2006), memberships in the voter’s directory for the parliament and the RHC remain to this day suitable ways to identify Sámi individuals. However, the membership criteria is not the same between the two organizations. While the Sámi parliament criteria refer to language and self-identification, the RHC ones refer to ancestral links to herding (Beach, 2007). As a result, the definition of who is Sámi in Sweden varies and can be contested and debated.

In this thesis, two different approaches are used to identify indigenous individuals. In the first paper, register data does not include any information on whether one is Sámi or not. Therefore, reindeer herders and owners are used as a proxy for identifying indigenous people. While not every reindeer owner in the dataset used is guaranteed to be Sámi, see Methods section below and paper one, by far the large majority are, making the comparison between farming and herding, a comparison between an indigenous occupation and a non-indigenous one. The qualitative part of this thesis, the second and third papers, identifies Sámi individuals mainly based on self-identification. The individuals interviewed were chosen with the help from Region Västerbotten, Umeå, a regional development organization, and the Swedish Sámi Association (SSR), Umeå. They were known by these organizations to be Sámi tourist entrepreneurs and did not necessarily belong to any kind of Sámi tourism organization or label; self-identification was the main way the respondents confirmed being Sámi.
This thesis looks into the role of tourism among indigenous people living in sparsely populated areas. Swedish Sápmi, together with the rest of Sápmi, is a unique rural area among Europe in that localities lie relatively far from each other, there are low population densities and great distances to major urban areas, frequently these areas are labelled sparsely populated areas (Lundmark, 2006a; Ö. Pettersson, 2002). The reindeer herding areas in the mountainous regions to the west are also called marginal and peripheral and are further characterized by remoteness and a weak and vulnerable economy with its reliance on the public sector (Wiberg, 1994). While the exact southern extent of sparsely populated areas and even peripheral mountain areas can be debated, such a discussion is beyond the point of this section. The data used in this thesis covers the three northernmost counties in Sweden; while it might not cover all of the sparsely populated areas it does cover almost all of the reindeer herding territory. These counties cover almost 50% of Sweden’s land area and hold about 6.5% of its population. At the same time, large differences in population density exist within this region as well (Keskitalo et al., 2013) and a general discourse of decline covering the entire region is also critiqued (D.B. Carson, Carson, Porter, Ahlin, & Sköld, 2016). The livelihoods approach used in this thesis refers to rural livelihoods in general; the term rural in this text is mostly used in combination with this approach; elsewhere relating to the data in this study the term sparsely populated areas is used, as that is the geographical focus of this study.

The term reindeer herder in this thesis is used to delimit any individual whose livelihood involves to some degree around reindeer. This broad use of the term means that any reindeer owner, used in the first paper, is also referred to as a reindeer herder even as they might not be official registered herders. While words exist to depict different aspects of the herding livelihood, for example, herding depicts the collective work out with the herd, husbandry depicts the individual work with single animals (Riseth, 2003); no such distinction is necessary for this analysis as the work aims to include all people with a connection to reindeer and the cultural implications that come with that.

Lastly, a clarification will be given relating to how this thesis defines indigenous entrepreneurs. The most fitting and inclusive definition comes from Hindle and Lansdowne (2002, p. 2), quoted by L.-P. Dana (2007, p. 4) in the introduction to the International Handbook of Research on Indigenous Entrepreneurship. It states:

“Indigenous entrepreneurship is the creation, management and development of new ventures by Indigenous people for the benefit of Indigenous people. The organizations thus created can pertain to either the private, public or non-profit sectors. The desired and achieved benefits of venturing can range from the narrow view of economic profit for a single individual to the broad view of multiple, social and economic advantages for entire communities”

Sámi tourist entrepreneurs provide the data for the third and fourth papers. This includes both those having a venture that offered guiding or nature-related tours and those having a venture where they sold their handicrafts. Handicrafts, alongside other cultural aspects, make up the main components of the indigenous tourism system (V.L. Smith, 1996).

1.3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS
This thesis consists of an introductory chapter and three individual papers. In the introductory chapter, the part presented next describes the background of the study area, the Sámi and
reindeer herding, as well as a literature review of indigenous tourism in general and Sámi tourism in particular.

Following that, a section addressing the theoretical approach is presented. This thesis is to be framed within a much wider discourse on rural decline in Sweden with a basic questioning of the assumptions that treat tourism development with the same analytical tools that have characterized rural studies in Sweden for decades, namely quantitative measurements on gainful employment and income. A useful lens for understanding the origin of the research questions and explanation for the results comes from the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Framework detailed by Scoones (1998), explained in detail in The Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Framework section. The framework is a livelihoods-based approach to regional development resting on the understanding that individuals and households rely on multiple, complex and constantly changing mix of opportunities and challenges for their livelihoods. The livelihoods approach is complimented with a discussion of scale and how debates on scale within human geography enrich the understanding of rural livelihoods in sparsely populated areas of Sweden.

The data and methodology are presented next where potential ethical considerations surrounding research related to indigenous peoples and issues are discussed. Following that, the methods are given as applied in this introductory chapter and each of the three articles. Possible limitations of the thesis make up the last part of the section.

An overview of the articles, which comprise the empirical evidence for the thesis, is presented briefly before the Discussion and Conclusion section examines the results in relation to the theoretical framework and background presented earlier. Finally, a Swedish summary is given before a list of all the references. The end of the thesis contains the three articles.

2 SETTING THE SCENE

2.1 RURAL CHANGE IN SPARSELY POPULATED AREAS IN SWEDEN

Significant developments in agriculture have been observed throughout the 20th century in Sweden. While rural areas have always featured transitions and advancements, the pace and depth of rural change during the last century differs considerably than previous centuries (Dicken, 2015). Even though the extent to which these changes differ is often being debated (Hedlund, 2017), there is little doubt that such changes can serve as starting points in analyzing the considerable adaptations that are required by individuals seeking viable livelihoods (Lundmark, 2006a; Ö. Pettersson, 2002).

Compared internationally, a unique characteristic of Sweden in general and its sparsely populated areas in particular is the prominence of the public sector. Even though the size of the public sector in Sweden has declined since the 1980s (Hedlund, 2017), around the turn of the century it was still important in comparison to other countries, especially in marginal areas (Wiberg, 1994). In the sparsely populated areas, in 2011, the public sector was around 55% of the total income, compared to 46% for the entire country (Keskitalo et al., 2013). Regarding other occupations, it has been said that rural areas of Sweden in general have experienced two periods of restructuring, the first one characterized by a transition from agriculture to manufacturing in the first half of the 20th century and the second one from manufacturing to services in the second half of the century (Hedlund & Lundholm, 2015). The authors’ analysis
concerns rural changes in all of Sweden; the implications of such macro changes include significant demographic transformations that affect different rural areas differently (Amcoff, 2006; Ö. Pettersson, 2002).

There is a large difference in demographic indicators within Sweden, mostly seen alongside a north-south axis. Unlike rural areas in the middle and southern part of Sweden, the sparsely populated areas of the north rely heavily on staple industries such as forestry (Lundmark, 2005a) or mining (Müller, 2013). While the economic importance of staple industries remains high (Keskitalo et al., 2013), employment potential has decreased significantly. For peripheral mountain municipalities, T. Lundgren (2005) shows that between 1985 and 2001 forestry employment declined by around 53%. In another study of selected municipalities in sparsely populated areas, Ö. Pettersson, Lindgren and Jansson (2002) have similarly shown a 59% decrease in forestry employment over a ten-year period starting in the mid-1980s. Employment in mining has also experienced drastic reductions but to a lesser extent than in forestry. In the interior parts of the two northernmost counties, employment in mining has decreased by around 25% from 1990 to 2003 (Müller, 2013).

Reindeer herding in Sweden has historically been, and still is an important industry for many Sámi living in northern Sweden. However, the employment potential of herding has also declined over the last few decades. Specifically since the 1960s, the number of people involved in reindeer herding has declined significantly (Johansson & N.-G. Lundgren, 1998). An important feature of reindeer herding in Sweden is its various levels of involvement. As discussed in more detail in the Reindeer herding as a livelihood section below, involvement can be said to lay alongside a continuum ranging from active to passive involvement (Nordin, 2007). As a result, income from reindeer herding is also hugely variable. This complicates the act of officially counting those that are involved in reindeer herding. One way to measure is to look at all who own reindeer. According to official figures from the Sami Parliament (2017), in 2016, there were 4,644 reindeer owners in Sweden, 85% of whom were in the northernmost county of Norrbotten, 7% in Västerbotten and around 8% in Jämtland. Sixty percent of the reindeer owners in 2016 were men (Sami Parliament, 2017). Development over time shows that the number of reindeer owners has remained somewhat stable over the past two decades, with a slight increase in owners in the last ten years (Sami Parliament, 2017), see figure 1 below.

A steady number of reindeer owners does not mean that there are no changes in employment within reindeer herding. The income generated from reindeer herding is related to the size of the herd and there were many more large reindeer herding enterprises, that is with more than 200 reinder, in 1979 than there were in 1998 for example (Statistics Sweden, 1999). The majority (79%) of reindeer owners in 2016 had a reindeer herd size of less than 50 animals (Sami Parliament, 2017); this typically is considered well below the threshold to generate enough profit for a successful livelihood (Johansson & N.-G. Lundgren, 1998). Maintaining ownership of some animals even if it is not profitable allows an individual to maintain a connection to reindeer herding for cultural reasons. The steady number of reindeer owners is therefore likely due to the cultural meanings associated with reindeer herding and the difficulty of reentering the occupation once all reindeer are sold, see Reindeer herding as a livelihood section below.
When looking beyond those individuals owning reindeer but at those individuals who successfully make a living from it, a different picture emerges. Official statistics from Statistics Sweden (1999) show, with the use of register data, that the number of individuals with their main income from reindeer herding has steadily decreased since the 1970s. While the statistics might not capture every single individual making a comfortable living off herding, it does give an indication of the general trend in employment within reindeer herding, including the much lower share of women in the group, see figure 2 below. Figures going back even further show that the decline in the reindeer herder population was already occurring at the beginning of the 20th century. For example, according to census numbers, in 1900 there were 1,074 reindeer herder professionals while in 1965 that number dropped to only 763 (Johansson & N.-G. Lundgren, 1998).

The changes that have been occurring in forestry, mining and reindeer herding have resulted in the search for opportunities in other sectors (Hedlund, Lundmark, & Stjernström, 2017). As
already mentioned, a relatively recent focus of rural development policies has been tourism (Almstedt, Lundmark, & Ö. Pettersson, 2016; Lundmark, 2006a). Starting around the 1990s, tourism has been acknowledged as a tool for development among deprived areas elsewhere in Europe, especially in regions suffering as the result of industrial decline and rural areas (Jenkins, Hall, & Troughton, 1998). In Sweden, politicians have considered tourism since the 1980s (Müller & Ulrich, 2007). Policy documents frequently treat tourism development in rural areas positively, seeing it as able to create economic growth (Almstedt, Lundmark, & Ö. Pettersson, 2016). At the same time, the transition between the primary sector and tourism is expected to take a long time because existing skills and routines are important factors in the pace of such change (Brouder & Eriksson, 2013). To date, tourism employment numbers are the primary parameters with which the analysis of tourism in sparsely populated areas is being done.

In the whole of Sweden, in 1960 93,300 people were employed in tourism related occupations, that number increased to 121,700 by 1999 (Müller & Ulrich, 2007). Müller and Ulrich (2007) reveal that by 1980 the tourism sector in Sweden employed more people than the combined total of agriculture, forestry and fishery. While these nation-wide numbers concern tourism development concentrated mostly in southern Sweden, starting with the 1980s there has also been a dispersal of tourism activities in the sparsely populated areas of the north as well (Müller & Ulrich, 2007). From 2008 to 2014, overnight stays have increased by between 5 to 15% in Jämtland and Västerbotten and by rates even higher in Norrbotten (L.S. Olsen & Heleniak, 2016). At the same time, tourism employment in sparsely populated areas does not appear to show significant increases in absolute numbers. For example, in 1985 there were a little over 5,000 individuals working in tourism in all mountain municipalities, that number increased by only about 100 individuals in 2001 (T. Lundgren, 2005). Nevertheless, there is evidence that tourism employment in those municipalities might have varied over that period. Lundmark (2005b) shows that in 1995 a peak was reached where a little over 6,600 people were employed in tourism, before declining again the following years. A study looking at tourism-induced employment alongside staple industries covering the same area shows that the fluctuations in tourism-induced employment closely mirror declines and increases in staple industries employment (Müller, 2013).

While employment importance measured in absolute numbers seems to have changed little in the last few decades, the relative share of tourism employment on the other hand shows a steady increase, mostly due to declines in employment numbers in the overall labor market. According to Lundmark (2005b), in 1985 the tourism sector employed 5.9% of the total workforce, that share of employment increased where by the end of the study period, 1999, it was 8.1%. These figures relate to all mountain municipalities, for some tourism-oriented localities the share of tourism employment is around 15% and locally, around ski resort centered places like Tärnaby/Hemavan it can be up to 30% (Müller & Ulrich, 2007). The success of the ski-oriented localities can be attested through the fact that they have a younger population than the surrounding regions and they also have experienced population growth by attracting permanent in-migrants (Hedlund, 2016; Lundmark, 2006a; Ö. Pettersson, 2001).

Müller (2013) provides further evidence for regional differences when changing the unit of analysis to smaller scales. According to the author, in 1995 employment in mining was overtaken by tourism when looking at all mountain municipalities together, yet in mining municipalities such as Gällivare and Kiruna, staple industry employment is routinely greater
than tourism. In Arjeplog, mine closures meant tourism employment became relatively more important than mining while in Sorsele, mine openings resulted in the reverse happening (Müller, 2013). While the author notes this is not necessarily a causal relationship, it might hint at a link between tourism induced employment and crises in staple industries. It also shows how the importance of particular industries changes not only over time but also across geographic scales. Overall, tourism induced growth, however localized, suggests its ability to sustain a viable livelihood in the sparsely populated areas, meanwhile evidence showing that tourism is not as substantial as longstanding staple industries runs the danger of suggesting tourism as inferior and trivial for sustaining a viable livelihood (Müller, 2013). As argued in this thesis, such a picture might be too simplistic, mostly through the fact that the entire debate only revolves around employment numbers.

2.2 THE SÁMI
The Sámi are an indigenous group of people living in the northern part of Europe. Sápmi, the Sámi homeland, covers a vast territory in four different countries: Northern Norway, Sweden and Finland as well as parts of the Kola Peninsula in Russia. In Sweden, ethnicity is not recorded in official government statistics and as a result, it is unclear how many Sámi live in the country today. The official estimate states that around 20,000 Sámi currently live in Sweden (Sámi Parliament, 2007), although by some other estimates more than 40,000 people might have Sámi backgrounds but are either unaware of it or choose to hide it (Hassler, Johansson, Sjölander, Grönberg, & Damber, 2005). The majority of Sámi in Sweden live in the large urban areas of the south (Pedersen & Nyseth, 2012; R. Pettersson & Viken, 2007; Solbakk, 2006). The focus of this thesis is on Sámi living in sparsely populated areas of northern Sweden, the total number of Sámi living in such areas is not known.

2.3 REINDEER HERDING AS A LIVELIHOOD

2.3.1 The significance of reindeer herding to Sámi identity
The Sámi are a non-visible minority. This means that typically it is not possible to distinguish a Sámi individual from a non-Sámi Swede by their physical appearances alone. This has implications on what being a Sámi means and in the way Sámi identity is maintained. Certain external signifiers become important for a Sámi individual to distinguish herself or himself from the population at large. Knowledge of a Sámi language for example can be a signifier of Sámi identity (Olofsson, 2004). There are several Sámi languages in use in Sweden. Unfortunately, only a minority of Sámi in Sweden today speak any Sámi language. The Sámi languages were suppressed under the majority Swedish language during colonization times (Axelsson & Sköld, 2006). Another Sámi identity signifier can be the wearing of traditional Sámi garments; best exemplified by the fact that it is frowned upon for a non-Sámi to wear traditional Sámi clothes (Olofsson, 2004). Traditional clothing however is not something typically worn by the majority of Sámi in their every day. A third signifier of Sámi identity, one more reputable than either language or clothing is a connection to reindeer herding. Reindeer herding cannot readily be compared to other occupations as it is an indigenous practice based on immemorial use (Löf, 2014). While the specific laws linking Sámi specifically to reindeer herding have been changed, reindeer herding continues to be closely associated with Sámi identity in general. This association is found among the Sámi themselves (Beach, 2007) and among non-Sámi Swedish population in general and beyond, including among tourists (Müller & R. Pettersson, 2001).
Current societal discourses that use reindeer herding language and imagery in close association to Sámi culture are also responsible for the reproduction of Sámi identity as related to herding. Similar phenomena have been documented for the region in general, where media representation of northern Sweden was largely based on reproducing generalizations and stereotypes of the region (Eriksson, 2008). As a result of all this, a threat to reindeer herding to some extent represents a threat to Sámi identity itself (Axelsson & Sköld, 2006) and present-day herding cannot be disassociated from its meanings to Sámi identity (Löf, 2014). A herder is a Sámi “par excellence” (Beach, 2007), and a higher degree of distinction is given to Sámi who have been brought up in families closely associated with reindeer herding versus one that has been raised in Stockholm for example (Olofsson, 2004). This is an unusual characteristic of a rural livelihood, which leads to questioning how modernization and similar labor market changes in reindeer herding affect the identity of individuals experiencing such changes.

2.3.2 The reindeer herder
Reindeer have been an intricate part of the people of northern Scandinavia since before the onset of agriculture (Ingold, 1988). Before the colonization of Swedish Sápmi by ethnic Swedes, Sámi livelihoods were based on different modes of subsistence, such as hunting, fishing and reindeer herding (Sami Parliament, 2007). However, for the past 400 years, reindeer herding gradually became the principal occupation that dominated the economy of the Swedish Sámi (Axelsson & Sköld, 2006). This was mainly due to the fact that the Swedish government actively promoted reindeer herding as the dominant Sámi activity, for example other land rights such as fishing and hunting were supplementary rights given only to herders (Beach, 2007; L.S. Olsen, 2016). Access to these resources was important to any individual living in northern Sweden as the remoteness of the area made such local resources essential for living there. Sámi with no right to herd did not have rights to these additional resources. They either followed the local Swedish population and became farmers or migrated south, either choice likely resulted in their assimilation in the Swedish population at large and their Sámi identity being repressed or forgotten.

Currently, as in the past, in Sweden the right to herd reindeer is reserved exclusively for the indigenous Sámi population. Additionally, membership to a Reindeer Herder Cooperative (RHC) (Sameby in Swedish) is required. Currently there are 51 RHCs in Sweden, which are distributed throughout the northern part of the country. Each RHC, sometimes referred to as a reindeer herder village, is not a village per se but instead a defined territory that covers extensive tracts of land and an administrative unit at the same time. The reindeer within each RHC are collectively managed by the cooperative (Müller & Huuva, 2009). According to Swedish law, the RHCs are not allowed to engage in other economic activities besides reindeer herding (SFS, 1971). The land tracts within an RHC are not exclusively owned by reindeer herders and are shared with any number of other uses. In Sweden, there are three different kinds of RHCs differing in reindeer migration patterns and location: mountain, forest and concession. 33 of the 51 cooperatives are mountain RHCs, which are characterized by their seasonal migrations. In summer, most reindeer migrate to the mountainous regions for grazing above the timberline while in the winter the animals migrate to the coastal areas towards the east to forage lichen found under the snow and hanging in the trees (Solbak, 2006). Ten RHCs are called forest RHCs where the herds are mostly stationary and remain in the forests year-round. The remaining eight RHCs are called concession RHCs and are located close to the Finnish border. Concession RHCs are a special category where non-Sámi local landowners may own a limited
number of reindeer, but each animal must have an official registered herder who must be of Sámi descent. RHC membership is typically inherited, the possibility also exists to marry into a reindeer herder family and become a member. However, in reality it is very difficult to become a member of a RHC unless one is born into it, even for those individuals that qualify for RHC membership it is difficult to actually build up a herd and become an actual herder. First off, owing to the fact that the total number of reindeer allowed within each RHC is limited and set by the respective county administrative board. Secondly, the carrying capacity is also limited on more local levels, which is mostly driven by ecological factors such as feeding grounds (Löf, 2014). The end result is that building up a herd is very difficult and takes time. Herders-to-be usually start having a few animals while they are children and built up the herd as they grow up. This often requires accommodating actions by other herders, such as retirement (Jacobsson, 2012). Knowledge and experience of reindeer herding is also learned from an early age as it is passed down generationally (Omma, Holmgren, & Jacobsson, 2011; Statistics Sweden, 1999).

To know exactly how many people engage in reindeer herding in Sweden is next to impossible. What is meant by a reindeer herder is not always a straightforward answer. Generally speaking, a reindeer herder is a person who lives off herding and works with the animals out in the field. Rather than the definition being of a binary nature it is more along a continuum, revolving around the time an individual spends working with the animals (Nordin, 2007). Who is and who is not a reindeer herder can at the same time be a subjective point and it often varies among individuals. According to research by Nordin (2007), for some, only individuals working with reindeer on a continual basis throughout the year are considered reindeer herders, for others owning a few animals and taking part of activities during the busy seasons is enough to warrant a label of reindeer herder. Income increases with size of herd, and a herd somewhere in between 200 and 400 animals is required to provide a herder with enough income for a steady livelihood as a herder (Johansson & N.-G. Lundgren, 1998). Given that most reindeer herders own fewer animals than that, discussed previously in the Rural change in sparsely populated areas in Sweden section, it can be concluded that most reindeer owners do not own enough reindeer to provide a steady income.

2.3.3 The struggle to herd
Reindeer herding is a complex activity with human as well as environmental factors playing into its success. Reindeer are migratory animals that require vast stretches of land with varying habitats. While variability in weather has always characterized the Arctic regions, people have learned to cope with that. By adjusting herd size according to local conditions and relying more on hunting or fishing as was necessary, Sámi reindeer herders endured over hundreds of years in Sápmi. However, that ability to cope is being challenged by the growing threats facing them (Löf, 2014).

Reindeer herders today face a variety of external pressures with far-reaching consequences. Some of the significant pressures are climate change (Eira et al., 2008), predators (Müller & R. Pettersson, 2001; Tyler et al., 2007) as well as loss of grazing opportunities (Müller & R. Pettersson, 2001) and loss of habitat to other land uses such as forestry, hydroelectric dams, mining and recreation (Axelsson & Sköld, 2006; Bäck, Hedblom, Josefsson, & Rydén, 1992; Statistics Sweden, 1999). Another significant stress factor for reindeer herding is declining profitability (Keskitalo, 2008). Income from herding is often inadequate; most reindeer herding enterprises have few reindeer in their possession, which means they are unable to provide fulltime employment even for one person (Johansson & N.-G. Lundgren, 1998). Various
components combine to erode the profitability margin of Sámi herders. To begin with, for Sámi herders most income comes from meat production (Reinert, 2006). Due to various external environmental and climatological factors, the production of reindeer meat is highly variable from year to year resulting in an uncertain annual cash income for the herders themselves (Tyler et al., 2007). In an economic system where the best form of capital is cash, the reindeer herders find themselves in a vulnerable position; new herding methods relying on technology such as snowmobiles, trucks, fuel and even helicopters have added substantial costs to reindeer herding operations (Sami Parliament, 2007). The increase use of pellet feed for reindeer during harsh winters has also increased the monetary cost of keeping a herd (Tyler et al., 2007) making it a last resort among herders (Löf, 2014). Loss of winter grazing grounds, mostly to small land owners (Borchert, 2001), means that the herders would have to rely more on winter feed to sustain a herd during winter. Taken together, all these factors mean that reindeer herding is unprofitable to all but a few herders. At the same time, as already discussed reindeer herding is both a profession (as it provides an income) and a lifestyle. It is, among the Sámi who perform it, not just work but provides meaning for the entire family’s lives (Åhrén, 2008).

As uncovered by Nordin (2007), economic benefits are not the factors driving Sámi, especially young Sámi, to engage in herding and neither are they factors that compel herders to remain in the business. To many, reindeer herding is a significant part of their lives and the majority of individuals find it difficult to imagine a life without reindeer. They will do everything possible to remain in the business, which often includes getting the majority of their income from other sources (Nordin, 2007). Supplementary activities to reindeer herding include hunting, fishing and handicrafts. However, it is estimated that 5-6% of a herder’s income at the most is obtained from such secondary occupations (Gustavsson, 1989). Other suitable employment by herders or other family members of a part-time or full-time nature is therefore a necessity. There are other jobs that do not involve working with the reindeer in the field but are still related to the industry, such as working at a slaughterhouse (Olofsson, 2004). Such jobs give the individual in question a higher prestige among the herding community than completely unrelated jobs, as it is related to reindeer and therefore still linked to Sámi culture. Additionally, they allow individuals to remain in the sparsely populated north and not have to move south in search for jobs. Many Sámi say they would prefer to have more job opportunities in their places of birth (Tuulentie, 2006). The pressures experienced by Sámi reindeer herders today must also be understood in terms of gender, as men and women have experienced differently the changes that have befallen reindeer herding. Women’s work in reindeer husbandry is likelier to go unappreciated and they are also less likely to be involved in decision making (Daerga, 2017). Additionally, reindeer herding is a physically demanding job to such an extent that it is considered one of the most dangerous occupations in Sweden (Hassler, 2005). For example, the increase use of motorized equipment such as snowmobiles, motorcycles and trucks has meant more physically demanding tasks while out with the herd, as a result women are more likely to be unable to cope with the new demands (R. Pettersson, 2004). Overall, this creates a scenario where an individual, of either sex, must deal with high expectations that come with reindeer herding and at the same time the harsh reality on the ground, which can lead to stress. Kaiser (2011) for example, shows that higher levels of anxiety and depression have been found among reindeer herders than the population at large. Other studies on young reindeer herders show increase rates of suicides, suicidal idealization and other mental health problems, especially among men (Ahlm, Hassler, Sjölander, & Eriksson, 2010; Stoor, Kaiser, Jacobsson, Renberg, & Silviken, 2015). Overall, the struggle to herd just described, means that reindeer herding is
being paradoxically referred to as both resilient, having survived over centuries, and as threatened, given the myriad pressures the herdsmen face (Löf, 2014).

2.3.4 On who leaves herding, for how long and the importance of other sources of income

People leaving herding may do so for different reasons and for varying periods of time. An individual might leave the occupation permanently or only temporarily, they might leave when young or when old, they might feel forced to do it due to injury or similar reasons, and they might leave willingly as the advantages of herding no longer surpass the disadvantages. Whichever of the above category a person falls under, his or her relation with reindeer herding in the future has a lot to do with reindeer earmarks.

Reindeer are identified by their owners through different earmarks. Each season, calves are marked according to the marks of their mother and each reindeer owner has his or her own distinct earmark (Gustavsson, 1989). Given current legislation that bases reindeer herding on inheritance, earmarks are fundamental in order to own reindeer. A child being born to a family with herding rights gets his or her own earmark. Often starting with one animal received as a gift at a very young age the child starts to increase the size of its herd with time, later on the child can itself decide whether to become an active herder or have a more passive role in the herding activity or abandon the occupation completely (Nordin, 2007). Without maintaining the personal earmark, by selling his or her animals, a person simultaneously makes the decision to abandon herding more or less permanently. That decision has further implications in that it also means that the next generation of that individual has also lost the right to herd (Nordin, 2007). Therefore, there is significant pressure on an individual not to abandon herding even in the face of increased hardship.

If an individual does not intend to abandon herding completely then he or she must keep some reindeer and therefore the earmark. That person might choose to entrust his or her reindeer in the care of another person, usually a close relative (Nordin, 2007). The individual is involved in another livelihood and he or she might choose to get involved in the herding activity only during busy times such as calf marking and slaughter separation. This part-time herder while dependent on another full-time herder (Daerga, 2017), is thereby be able to maintain a reindeer herding identity while being employed in non-related fields. Such occurrences appear to be more accepted for women than for men, where men might be forced to sell off the herd instead (Åhrén, 2008).

Age is another factor potentially influencing degree of involvement in herding. While the most numerous cohort owning reindeer is the 50 to 60 year olds, all age groups, from the very young to the very old, own reindeer (Swedish Board of Agriculture, 2003). In herding, hard work and experience matter, therefore an inexperienced young herder might have to rely on additional help including financial support from other jobs while accumulating the necessary human capital (i.e. credentials and skills). In such instances, owning a few reindeer can be combined with other sources of income before the herd and expertise increase (Beach, 2007). Under such conditions, it is the younger generation that might rely more on other employment; that reliance would be expected to decline as age, and therefore experience, increases. At the same time, the physical demands due to the widespread use of motorized equipment suggests the older cohorts might be less able to cope and therefore more likely to quit herding (Jacobsson, 2012).

Diversifying the income portfolio can also be done at the household level. Currently, as in the past, the reindeer herding economy is organized around the entire household. Three generations,
from the very young to the old are all involved in the activity (Beach, 2001). With the decreasing profitability experienced in herding, two sources of income, one from herding and one from elsewhere can be a common household strategy. According to Nordin (2007), the herder has to finely balance three strategies: to keep herd size at maximum level possible, reduce costs, and provide additional sources of income. Given the year-round demands of a herder, full-time jobs are often not an option to the professional herder, instead it is the spouse of a professional herder that will often work elsewhere (Åhrén, 2008; Forbes et al., 2006). Usually it is the male member of the household that maintains the main responsibilities for the herd, while the female is the one who holds other jobs for sustained periods (Nordin, 2007). In instances where the male member of the family might be involved in other work, including tourism, the job is more likely to be of a temporary nature (Jacobsson, 2012). At the same time, the full extent to which this is happening is not known. No research has yet looked into the pervasiveness of income diversification among reindeer herders in a quantitative matter that includes large numbers of reindeer herders.

3 Indigenous Tourism – A Literature Review

From the discussion above it becomes clear that other occupations are decisive in order for Sámi living in sparsely populated areas to achieve successful livelihoods. Tourism has the potential of playing an important role in the occupations portfolio that comprise Sámi livelihoods. There are certain characteristics of indigenous tourism that differentiate it from other occupations, not least is the cultural element inherent in indigenous tourism. The cultural element, alongside other characteristics and issues on indigenous tourism globally and among the Sámi are explored in more detail in this section.

There are an estimated 370 million indigenous people worldwide, around 5% of the global population; yet they comprise about 15% of the world’s poor (United Nations, 2009). At the same time indigenous peoples comprise a large part of the world’s cultural diversity including languages and customs. Interest in learning about indigenous culture can date back hundreds of years (Lemelin & Blangy, 2009), first by the elite but later by the population at large. Indigenous people were involved in tourism to varying degrees since the 17th century (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016). Culture is a resource that is arguably never-ending in supply (Robinson & M. Smith, 2006). Today, indigenous culture has become a potent attraction worldwide. The interest in all things indigenous by the non-indigenous is growing, partly to a western held belief in the indigenous being more authentic and closer to the natural environment and partly as a result of the endless search for new destinations in general (Hinch & Butler, 1996, 2007). Media images of the exotic during the 1960s and later documentaries on tribal peoples have fueled the interest in indigenous tourism. This was greatly accelerated by the extensive availability of automobiles and planes (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016). Technology, specifically telecommunications and the internet have also contributed greatly to the proliferation of indigenous tourism. The internet has become a new medium where indigenous entrepreneurs can communicate information of their culture and their products to potential tourists (Butler & Hinch, 2007a; Mkono, 2016). To many tourists, indigenous culture and experiences are only one component of a holiday and not necessarily the main one (Butler & Hinch, 2007a). As a result, indigenous tourism is best seen as lying along a continuum, ranging from a specialist tourist specifically seeking the indigenous product to a more general tourist where the indigenous product is only a small part of the entire
trip experience (R. Pettersson, 2004). However, as Butler and Hinch (2007) point out the existence of the latter category should not diminish the importance of indigenous tourism.

Some of the earliest attempts at creating the necessary analytical tools to assess indigenous tourism were provided by V.L. Smith. According to V.L. Smith (1996), a key component of indigenous tourism is the presence of culture and it involves four interrelated elements: habitat, heritage, history and handicrafts; what the author calls the four Hs. Habitat refers to the natural assets that an indigenous community might possess which make it a potent tourist attraction, as well as issues of accessibility and proximity to the tourist market. Heritage refers to the cultural knowledge and skills that indigenous peoples possess to ensure their survival and place in the community. History alludes to the relations between indigenous and non-indigenous groups over time. Issues of power imbalances and marginalization due to colonial processes are delicate yet important elements in the indigenous tourism framework (V.L. Smith, 1996). The last element is handicrafts. Handicrafts often make up an important source of income among indigenous groups. At the same time, it is also where issues of authenticity, copyrights and mass production are most likely to emerge. As emphasized by V.L. Smith, each of these four elements combine to make each indigenous tourism site unique. Analyzing each element would allow communities to understand and build upon their resources in ways that would make indigenous tourism development most beneficial to them (V.L. Smith, 1996).

Further analytical tools for understanding indigenous tourism is provided by Butler and Hinch. In their introduction of the 2007 edition of their edited book *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples*, the authors provide a conceptual model of the indigenous tourism system with all its major components (Butler & Hinch, 2007b, p. 7). The main component of the system is the visitor – host flows that is comprised of the most obvious component: people, but also of the flow of information and resources (i.e. spending). Similar to V.L. Smith (1996), a key ingredient in the system, which distinguishes it from the tourism system in general, is the presence of culture. This does not only include indigenous culture as the attraction but also the cultural values present which influence behavior. These cultural values, the authors explain, can be found at many scales. They include the culture of indigenous communities in general, the mainstream national culture in which the community exists, the global tourism culture of the tourism industry as well as other indigenous cultures elsewhere which make up the global indigenous tourism system. Other major players in the indigenous tourism system are intermediaries such as travel agencies, transportation companies, the media and governments, all operating at various scales. Additionally, indigenous tourism is not a closed system but is described as taking place within four major environments: economic, physical, social and political.

The most recognizable feature of indigenous tourism, and therefore its competitive advantage, lies in the cultural uniqueness of the hosts (Butler & Hinch, 2007b; Müller & Viken, 2017a; V.L. Smith, 1996). This has not gone unnoticed by tourism destinations in general, where to counter the homogenizing effects of globalization there has been an increased tendency to invigorate local culture in order to facilitate tourism growth (Dredge & Jenkins, 2003). This growing demand for indigenous cultural experiences coincides with a necessity of indigenous peoples worldwide to find new economic opportunities (Zeppel, 1998). Traditional occupations are experiencing declines in their potential to provide a sustainable livelihood and as a result, indigenous tourism is promoted as an alternative, in some cases also able to aid the transition to a cash economy (Zeppel, 2007).
The development of indigenous tourism throughout the world has taken, or is expected to take, similar trajectories. Weaver (2010) provides a description of different stages of development based on observations from developed nations with large indigenous populations in North America and Australasia. The first stage, which has long since passed, refers to pre-colonial times and certain events, such as powwows or potlatches, which attracted visitors from nearby places. Stage two, consists of early explorers and anthropologists venturing into distant and exotic territories. This is a stage where information about indigenous peoples and territories was available for the first time to the people of the imparting nations. The third stage, Weaver explains, is of an ex situ nature where due to the interest aroused during stage two, various exhibitions and similar displays of indigenous peoples took place in the settlements of the dominant societies, this includes the use of postcards depicting stereotypical indigenous images. Stage four, developed as the result of the arrival of mass transportation networks where travel to peripheral areas was made possible for the majority of the affluent society. This is characterized best as a tourism stage closely matching non-indigenous in its basic characteristics. This stage is marked by staged experiences and non-indigenous control of the tourism industry (Weaver, 2010). The penultimate stage, stage five is identified by an attempt to remedy the lack of indigenous control of the previous stage. The reclaiming control characterizing stage five is not only about reuniting the indigenous product with its authentic source but also about indigenous involvement in non-indigenous tourism products. Finally, according to Weaver (2010), stage six is also ex situ in nature and involves reclaiming the spatial influence previously lost during the colonization period. This last stage goes beyond just tourism involvement and represents actions by indigenous peoples that match those of the dominant society symbolizing little or no differences in the possibilities and opportunities of indigenous groups and others. The stages loosely describe devolutions and evolutions of indigenous control in tourism development. As control is central in deriving benefits from indigenous tourism (Butler & Hinch, 2007b), the evaluation of an indigenous community within these developmental stages becomes a useful way of analyzing its progress.

Most of the academic literature on indigenous tourism has come into existence since the 1990s (Pereiro, 2016; Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016), before that, tourism as a viable economic sector was simply not considered with high regard (S.L. Smith, 1988). The popularity of indigenous tourism research ensured that the phenomenon was studied from numerous different angles. The results of many of these studies on indigenous tourism show that many communities share similar aims and challenges. Given the situation of indigenous peoples globally, marginalized and with fewer opportunities than the majority population (United Nations, 2009), tourism development is associated with many positive benefits able to improve that situation. As expected, a main reason for indigenous people to get involved in tourism relates to financial benefits (Hinch & Butler, 2009). This way, indigenous tourism development is not seen as something imposed on from the outside but coming from within a community as a means to survive (R. Pettersson & Viken, 2007). Declining fish stocks around Greenland, a phenomenon rooted in factors of a global scale, has led indigenous peoples to look at tourism as an alternative (Smed, 2017). Unsustainable hunts for Caribou and hardships experienced in trapping has resulted in indigenous peoples in Canada to turn to tourism (Colton, 2005). As the author explains, the high costs associated with modern trapping are offset by income from a tourism product that is based on the cultural experience of trapping. By developing tourism products that are culturally relevant, indigenous people in northern Canada are able to limit their reliance on activities such as forestry, and oil and gas (Colton, 2005). While these initiatives are driven
from within the indigenous communities for financial benefits, in some places the benefits can also be gender empowering. Small tourism enterprises, in many countries, are generally more likely to be run by women than men (Getz & Carlsen, 2005; Ioannides & Petersen, 2003); this is true even in family run businesses (Gladstone & Morris, 1999; Zapalska, Dabb, & Perry, 2003). The financial independence that comes from tourism involvement can therefore benefit women (Briedenhann & Ramchander, 2006), which can decrease their reliance on men for financial support (Gentry, 2007). This is especially true in agricultural societies where women seldom are the receivers of income from animal husbandry and crops (Knight & Cottrell, 2016).

There are limitations however if the benefits of indigenous tourism are discussed solely in economic terms (White, 1993). Tourism evaluation initiatives rarely include intangible outcomes (Lemelin, Koster, & Youroukos, 2015). In a review of tourism policies worldwide, Liu and Liu (2009) show that much more attention is given to ‘pragmatic’ economic approaches than to intangible effects related to identity and community well-being. Although, the authors state, in developing countries there is an increased emphasis on environmental and social aspects as well (Liu & Liu, 2009). A focus on such aspects is slow to develop in academia as well, even as the field of indigenous tourism is maturing. This is best illustrated in the following passage by Whitford and Ruhanen (2016):

“the analysis of Indigenous tourism literature from 2010 onwards in particular indicates that the Indigenous tourism research trajectory might be somewhat jaded as a significant proportion of research themes are simply replicating those of the twentieth century with, perhaps, only a slightly more overt focus on sustainability in the twenty-first century. To avoid Indigenous tourism research inertia then, perhaps, we should heed the advice of an academic respondent who claimed that academics should turn their attention to focusing on ‘what constitutes a sustainable approach in an Indigenous tourism context.’” (p. 1089).

A sustainable approach must inevitably take into account all aspects of tourism, including social, cultural and economic (Tao & Wall, 2009b). There is plenty of evidence globally to show that tourism can achieve all of that. Reclaiming Mayan identity, for example, has been shown to be facilitated through tourism; where before little interest was been shown in their own indigenous identity, Mayan indigenous people became more passionate in their indigenous identity, traditions and culture after observing increased interests by outsiders (Medina, 2003). In Laos, indigenous communities found visitors and their interests in indigenous culture added to excitement and considered life boring without the tourists (Suntikul, 2007). Similar studies, not all specifically dealing with indigenous peoples, are found pointing at: renewal of arts and crafts (Briedenhann & Ramchander, 2006), reduced outmigration (Chan, Iankova, Zhang, McDonald, & Qi, 2016), environmental and nature renovation and conservation (Park, Nunkoo, & Yoon, 2015; Wilson & Tisdell, 2001), agents for the plight of indigenous communities (making the indigenous visible) (Grünewald, 2002; Palomino, 2012), or educators on life in sparsely populated areas in general (Brandth & Haugen, 2011).

The benefits to tourism involvement clearly go well beyond just economic ones; therefore, definitions of development should inevitably consider different vantage points and frames of reference when weighing in on the impacts of tourism (Müller & Brouder, 2014). At the same time, the goals and outcomes of indigenous tourism do not come unchallenged. The growth of
evidence for the benefits of indigenous tourism has been matched by an equal proliferation of a debate surrounding those benefits (Hinch & Butler, 2009).

Not all impacts of tourism are positive. As mentioned above, a defining characteristic of indigenous tourism is the aspect of culture as an important part of the attraction. This often creates a dilemma, where the traditional collides with the modern with serious consequences to the identity of individuals and communities. Among young Nenets reindeer herders in Russia, Pashkevich (2017) has shown how they were torn between their modern lifestyle and the need to appear like ‘real’ traditional reindeer herders wearing traditional clothes for tourists. This reaches almost comical levels in a study from Brazil where individuals started using Indian names instead of their real Christian Portuguese names in response to visitors’ positive reactions towards Indian names (Grünewald, 2006). The author also showed the use of fake native words and dances invented for the same reason. The pull towards tourism as alleviating poverty is a powerful force, one that can even influence politicians to reject the right to modernity of indigenous peoples in the name of touristic development, as this example from Tiwanaku, a pre-Incan archeological site in western Bolivia shows:

“the parliamentarian told them, in no uncertain terms, that their town was not authentic enough. According to this official, Tiwanakeños needed to get rid of their metal roofs and use thatch. The streets of the town should be renamed, eliminating the names of patriotic Bolivian national heroes and replacing them with the names of pre-Columbian kings (even though the Inca were also conquerors in the Aymara-controlled region of Tiwanaku). But at the same time, local cooks should learn to cook French fries and hamburgers for tourists” (Sammells, 2014, p. 129).

The last sentence illustrates how authenticity is ultimately staged, fundamentally still created for the touristic gaze. There would be a danger where the more authentic an experience the worse it can be considered by the tourists, other examples of this would be bad roads or lack of basic sanitary conditions (Schouten, 2006).

Changing the strongly held preconceptions of visitors on indigenous peoples takes time and requires a lot of effort from all involved (Salazar, 2014). Undoubtedly, indigenous communities themselves are not homogenous in their customs, traditions and their connections to the past (L.S. Olsen, 2016). Therefore, even where versions of the past are indeed accepted and used positively in tourism products, which specific version of the past can still be contested and disagreed with within the indigenous community (del Mármol, 2014).

Another negative aspect of indigenous tourism refers to disturbances in everyday life due to increased tourist numbers. Increased tourist numbers can threaten the limited resources available to indigenous peoples. For example, in northern Canada, more tourists meant an increased pressure on wild berries on which indigenous peoples relied on (Notzke, 1999). Increased pressures can also come about new restrictions imposed by officials responding to tourism demand, for example restrictions on natural resources that come from the establishment of new natural areas (del Mármol, 2014). Increases in tourist numbers can also mean an increase in tourist entrepreneurs from the outside region with little links to the area and culture (Palomino, 2012). The successful development of tourism by indigenous peoples can also lead to an overreliance on it, where individuals become too economically dependent on that one sector (Su, Wall, & Xu, 2016). In such cases, strategies of livelihood diversifications would prevent the full dependence on any one sector.
The compromise between the positives and negatives of indigenous tourism development, the maximizing of benefits, is strongly linked to control (Hinch & Butler, 2009). Maximizing the benefits of indigenous tourism can be done if control of its development is in the hands of the indigenous community (Pereiro, 2016). However, for decades as indigenous tourism grew, indigenous peoples themselves derived few of the benefits (Hinch & Butler, 2009). As already mentioned, the early forms of indigenous tourism consisted mostly of voyeurism where indigenous people themselves had little control over the use of their own culture on display (Weaver, 2010). More recently, the publication of numerous studies have shown that indigenous tourism, with culture as its competitive advantage, can have many benefits if the indigenous community itself is in control of the accuracy and appropriateness of the cultural content on display (Butler & Hinch, 2007b; de Lima & King, 2018; M. Smith & Robinson, 2006). Respect towards the content, both by the tourism industry and tourists, makes the acceptance of tourism development by indigenous groups more likely (R. Pettersson & Viken, 2007). Non-indigenous tourism stakeholder collaboration with indigenous people in tourism development would also ensure the inclusion of indigenous values and perspectives (Carr, Ruhanen, & Whitford, 2016). Generally, these issues of indigenous control in tourism strongly relate to accuracy of content and indigenous peoples themselves deriving the benefits.

Tourism and the (re)construction of identity

Over the past decades there has been a resurgence in pride and interest by indigenous peoples in their own indigenous identity (United Nations, 2009; Viken, 2006), especially observed among young people (Olofsson, 2004). Therefore, it can be expected that the link between tourism and identity has been expanding in recent times, to which the exact implications are still unknown. Given the relative recent arrival of indigenous tourism under indigenous control, most evidence on identity and tourism comes from other fields. Among farmers in Norway, Brandth and Haugen (2011) have shown that diversification into tourism did not lessen farmer identity but actually contributed to its reinforcement. The farmer identity, the authors note, can continue, due to what they call ‘lingering identity’, even after farming activities cease to exist completely and the farm is used exclusively for tourism (Brandth & Haugen, 2011). Similar findings have also been observed among farm tourism in Sweden (Gössling & Mattsson, 2002). Transformation from traditional occupations into tourism does have some identity implications related to gender. Forestry is an occupation traditionally associated with masculinity and independent frontier life. As forest owners in Norway got involved in tourism due to the difficulty of making a living in forestry, Brandth and Haugen (2005) have shown, their former identity had to be renegotiated as tourism brought feminine aspects of care and the well-groomed.

Another identity aspect, one that overlaps frequently with indigenous territories, relates to the identity of a place. Peripheral and northern locations are often perceived as untouched, masculine, self-sufficient and nostalgically attractive with livelihoods closely tuned to nature and unspoiled by modern chaotic life (de la Barre, 2013; Blomgren & Sørensen, 1998; Notzke, 1999). A peripheral identity of a place is seen as giving authenticity to tourism products offered there (Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen, 2014). Tourist brochures for northern Norway for example, frequently show the area as Europe’s ‘last wilderness’ (Pedersen & Viken, 1996). The remoteness of a location can make it feel more exclusive where not everyone is able to get to (R. Pettersson, 2004). While the remote destination relies on such perceptions, at the same time it must show to the potential visitors that it is easily accessible (de la Barre, 2013). Whether by
reinforcing perceptions in peoples’ minds or informing them of the convenience of getting there, these spaces are being homogenized through tourism. Not all remote areas are wild, not all peripheral areas are self-sufficient and not all northern areas are untouched by modernity. These destinations are socially constructed, and have to be understood as changing and not frozen in time (Keskitalo, 2017; Keskitalo & Schilar, 2017).

Indigenous entrepreneurship

Another characteristic of indigenous peoples that is found to often differ from the non-indigenous population relates to entrepreneurship behavior; see the Definitions and Concepts section above for a definition of indigenous entrepreneurs as used in this thesis. The main reason for the difference lies in the fact that for indigenous peoples, community and culture might outweigh individualistic aims (Lindsay, 2005), making common theories on entrepreneurship ill fitted to explain indigenous entrepreneurship behavior (L.-P. Dana, 2015). For example, the benefits of entrepreneurship must serve the whole community or even the entire indigenous group (L.-P. Dana & Riseth, 2011; Palomino, 2012). The inclination towards communal consensus for new and unfamiliar ventures is rooted in the collective disposition that is inscribed in indigenous communities (Rønning, 2007). In such instances, the survival of the firm itself is not prioritized over the benefits to the community (Hindle & Lansdowne, 2002). Such communal consensus, explains Rønning (2007) can have a ‘moderating effect’ on innovation and change which will as a result, come in more incremental steps. Taken together, the analysis of indigenous entrepreneurship should focus on the community’s wants and expectations with social prosperity considered above the financial successes or failures of the business (Warnholtz & Barkin, 2018).

Indigenous tourism across the globe

While indigenous groups are found in around 90 different countries across the globe (United Nations, 2009), studies on indigenous tourism are highly concentrated on just a few countries, namely Australia, the USA, Canada, New Zealand and China and Taiwan (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016). Many differences are acknowledged to exist in indigenous tourism between developing and developed countries (Liu & Liu, 2009; Zeppel, 1998). Much less acknowledgement is given to potential differences in indigenous tourism within developed nations. For example, differences between indigenous peoples that exist due to different wide-scale economic philosophies such as between neo-liberal economies of North America and welfare-oriented states of northern Europe are rarely discussed in indigenous tourism literature. Indigenous people in Nordic countries for example rarely correspond to models presented in the indigenous literature in general (Viken & Müller, 2017a). An important distinction between the Sámi and indigenous peoples in North America is that institutions in place for indigenous development in northern Europe are the same as those in place for the majority population (Viken & Müller, 2017b). Therefore, the heterogeneity of indigenous peoples within developed nations, especially across different national economic and market philosophies, should be recognized more often in the scientific literature.

3.1 SÁMI TOURISM

For centuries, outsiders such as traders, explorers and missionaries have passed through Sápmi resulting in significant trading between the Sámi and the outsiders. Seeing visitors as customers was the prelude to tourism development in contemporary times (Pedersen & Viken, 1996).
Tourism in its more traditional sense has been part of Sápmi since the 1800s, when visitors would visit Sámi camps to buy traditional food and handicrafts (Svensson & Viken, 2017); this was almost exclusively as a complementary activity to reindeer herding (Viken, 2006). More recently, involvement in tourism by Sámi individuals took the form of deliberate entrepreneurship. Much of the existing literature on the topic points to the decline in reindeer herding profits (Müller & Huuva, 2009; R. Pettersson, 2002, 2004) as well as increased tourism demand for indigenous products (R. Pettersson & Viken, 2007; Zhang & Müller, 2018) as to why Sámi might get involved in tourism ventures. Additionally, certain aspects of tourism means it can be combined with reindeer herding advantageously (Müller & R. Pettersson, 2001). For example, Sámi tourism products in Sweden, and sparsely populated areas in general, are closely related to reindeer and reindeer herding culture (Müller & R. Pettersson, 2001). This is true when it comes to tourism promotion (Fonneland, 2017; K. Olsen, 2006) and when it relates to what visitors themselves are looking for (L.S. Olsen, 2016). This is illustrated by the fact that most of the indigenous tourist entrepreneurs in sparsely populated areas have a connection to the Reindeer Herder Cooperatives (RHCs) (Müller & Hoppstadius, 2017).

Sámi tourism development is not at the same level between all countries where it occurs. In the Kola Peninsula in Russia, for example, there were almost no Sámi involved in tourism at the turn of the century (Lyngnes & Viken, 1998, quoted in R. Pettersson, 2004). Whereas in Finland it is most developed out of the four countries in Sápmi (R. Pettersson & Viken, 2007). In Finland, it is also where Sámi culture is most commodified and frequently under the control of non-Sámi individuals (Saarinen, 2001). Indigenous tourism in Sweden and Norway lies somewhere in between. It is generally considered in the early stages of development with more growth in scale and importance expected, clams first made more than two decades ago (Bäck, Hedblom, Josefsson, & Rydén, 1992) and repeated more recently (Kramvig, 2017; Müller & Huuva, 2009; R. Pettersson & Viken, 2007). According to Müller and Viken (2017b), the lack of necessary attention given to tourism development in the Scandinavian countries is partly due to a lack of systematic funding. In Sweden for example, currently there is no large Sámi Destination Marketing Organization (DMO), and previous efforts have been sidelined (Müller & Viken, 2017a). As a result, around the turn of the century there were an estimated 40 Sámi tourism entrepreneurs in Sweden (Müller & R. Pettersson, 2001; R. Pettersson, 2002), with current estimates revolving around 50 (Müller & Hoppstadius, 2017). Most of the Sámi tourism ventures that exist today are considered small, family-owned or self-employed firms (Müller & Hoppstadius, 2017; Palomino, 2012; R. Pettersson & Viken, 2007). The size of indigenous ventures do not differ considerably from non-indigenous ones where, with the exception of some ski facilities, most are considered micro-firms (Byström & Müller, 2014). Consequently, most Sámi tourist entrepreneurs do not engage in considerable marketing activities and rely mostly on word of mouth information (Müller & R. Pettersson, 2001), a potential problem in a tourism sector that is particularly dependent on the international market (Abascal, Fluker, & Jiang, 2016; Butler & Hinch, 2007a; Lundmark & Müller, 2010). In a more recent study, Sámi tourist entrepreneurs have indicated that lack of marketing knowledge was indeed an obstacle to growth (Müller & Hoppstadius, 2017).

It remains unclear why Sámi tourism development has progressed so slowly, it has been proposed that tourism is perceived as too modern and therefore an inferior occupation in relation to traditional reindeer herding (Müller & Huuva, 2009; Zhang & Müller, 2018) or simply due to the indifference with which Sámi tourism is seen (Viken, 2006). At the same time, it could be due to the peripherality of the sparsely populated areas under analysis; people in peripheral
areas tend to have a more conservative view towards occupational changes (Kelly & Ilbery, 1995). Things are changing however, tourism is starting to have a more prominent role in community planning (Brouder, 2012), and there has been an increased interest in indigenous tourism by young Sámi (R. Pettersson, 2004). This is potentially related to a general revival in Sámi culture (K. Olsen, 2006) since tourism can be a medium for playing out identity and potentially construct it (Pereiro, 2016; Tuuletie, 2006; Zhang & Müller, 2018). Tourism is also a medium for constructing the image of the hometown (Keskitalo & Schilar, 2017), as well as the medium for passing on information about Sámi culture, history and struggles to a wide audience (Palomino, 2012; R. Pettersson, 2004; Tuuletie, 2006). The recognition of such possibilities for Sámi culture can be observed by the fact that the Sámi Parliament in Sweden, on many occasions has identified tourism as a new Sámi industry with cultural significance (Müller & R. Pettersson, 2006; Sámediggi, 2017a). Nonetheless, such recognitions are still lacking in the wider discourse on tourism’s role in regional development.

The negative aspects of indigenous tourism development in sparsely populated areas are not well understood either. Compared to indigenous tourism elsewhere, there is little or no negative influence on cultural identity recognized in the literature so far in Sweden (Müller & Hoppstadius, 2017). Although issues related to objectification and commodification of culture do exist among the Sámi in northern Europe in general. For example, frustrations regarding people feeling like they are part of a museum, only for photographic purposes, are present in many localities in Sápmi (Kramvig, 2017; Tuuletie, 2006). Sámi culture in Finland is frequently considered being commodified where Sámi dolls and costumes are being sold to tourists throughout the country (Niskala & Ridanpää, 2016). The Sámi have been used in misleading ways in tourism development, sometimes non-Sámi impersonated Sámi by imitating stereotypes, dress and behavior (Saarinen, 1999). Traditional Sámi costumes are often used as an identifier of Sáминess and their use by non-Sámi is generally not accepted (Kramvig, 2017; Olofsson, 2004). At the same time the traditional dress is not something worn on a daily basis by the majority Sámi. Individuals working in tourism in northern Norway discussed being expected to wear traditional Sámi costumes despite those not being their everyday, ordinary wear (Viken, 2006). This is confirmed by visitors themselves where they lamented the use of modern technology by the Sámi and wished for more ‘traditional’ aspects of the Sámi (Wall-Reinius, 2012). Stereotypical images of Sámi are pervasive and frequently found in tourist brochures also (Niskala & Ridanpää, 2016).

A few examples also indicate some negative aspects of tourism development through disturbance to the culturally important reindeer herding, mostly referring to hikers and snowmobile traffic disrupting the feeding patterns and rest times of the animals out in the field (L.S. Olsen, 2016; Palomino, 2012; R. Pettersson, 2004). Fortunately, that can be alleviated by having Sámi individuals with a connection to reindeer herding become involved in such tourism ventures and who are able to steer tourists away. R. Pettersson (2004) has shown that individuals have gotten involved in tourism for the precise reason to lead visitors away from sensitive herding areas.

Just like for indigenous tourism elsewhere, Sámi tourism in northern Europe is also shown to incorporate both negative and positive aspects. According to Schmallegger, Harwood, Cerveny, and Müller (2011), supporters of tourism development routinely overemphasize the economic contribution of tourism. At the same time, opponents to tourism development routinely underline tourism’s role in commodifying culture (Johnston, 2006) and lack of economic
contribution to the overall economy (T. Lundgren, 2005). The debate, and evidence for each scenario, will inevitably grow, unfortunately, to date, analysis is mainly focused on employment numbers with an underlining understanding of tourism as a traditional sector gradually taking over as other sectors decline. A host of other questions can be asked of the tourism sector that will shed more light on the complex topic of indigenous livelihoods in the face of change in sparsely populated areas. For example, questions related to how tourism fits into a livelihood strategy of income diversification where people do not look to change careers but to survive the stresses and shocks of their existing, traditional livelihoods. It is not known how common such a strategy is. Perhaps questions also need to be asked which relate to the social parameters of new sectors. Among indigenous peoples especially, occupations can also hold certain cultural values. The extent to which tourism holds such socio-cultural meanings is not adequately understood in Sweden. From an academic and political point of view, such new questions can lead to a better understanding of the phenomenon. Without a clear understanding of what tourism development means for those involved in it and for the local community, and without an adequate set of tools to make sense of the situation, it will become increasingly difficult for decision makers to deal with the challenges facing them (Garrod, Wornell, & Youell, 2006).

What analytical tools best allow the investigation of such questions is also up for discussion, clearly, existing approaches revolve around employment numbers and restructuring and are not adequate given that so many questions remain unanswered. New theoretical approaches might be better suited.

4 THEORETICAL APPROACH

The literature review above makes clear that indigenous tourism is embedded in a complex situation, where supplementary incomes are needed and culture, given its main component of the tourism system, convolutes the nature of tourism work. There are many possible approaches when it comes to conceptualizing indigenous tourism (Lemelin, Koster, & Youroukos, 2015); at the same time there is a need for approaches that acknowledge indigenous tourism stakeholders and their interests (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016). Approaching tourism within the bigger picture of rural change with a focus on employment leaves many questions unanswered as discussed above. Approaching tourism within a bigger picture of livelihood strategies on the other hand might shed light on a host of habitually neglected roles and meanings of tourism in Sweden.

Numerous researchers have applied livelihood approaches in tourism development studies focusing on specific components of the framework. For example, Liu, Cheng and Cheung (2017) show how formal and informal institutions play an important role in rural tourism development. The importance of historical context and existing knowledge in determining who is able to successfully transition into tourism and who is not, is shown by Cavlek, Ladkin and Willis (2017). Bennett, Lemelin, Koster, and Budke (2012) acknowledge the value of capitals within a livelihoods approach and tourism development. Tourism as a livelihood diversification strategy is the focal point for Lee (2008). Targeting the outcomes of tourism as a livelihood strategy is done by Su, Wall and Xu (2016); while Wu and Pearce (2014) look into the role that the livelihoods approach has on the aspirations of tourism hosts. The livelihood approach within indigenous tourism is detailed in a doctoral thesis by Tao (2006) and further applied in published articles by Tao and Wall (2009a, 2009b). With the exception of Bennett, Lemelin, Koster, and Budke (2012) and Cavlek, Ladkin and Willis (2017), the majority of these works
present data from Asia. This could be due to the fact the approach was developed by an institute and scholars focusing on development studies whose work might easily be overlooked by researchers within Europe and North America. The framework however, is an approach for rural development in general (Scoones, 2009). At the same time, rural development studies in western nations are approached through many aspects that are part of a livelihoods approach, such as strategies of diversification (sometimes called pluriactivity), by many researchers only they are not explicitly incorporated within such an approach (cf. Benjamin, 1994; Brandth & Haugen, 2011; Eikeland, 1999; Ellis, 1998; Kinsella, Wilson, de Jong, & Renting, 2000). This is a shortcoming in that even though tourism is recognized through a multi-sectoral approach, potential social and cultural benefits to tourism are largely left out. While the population under investigation is Sámi indigenous people living in sparsely populated areas, this is not to imply that livelihood strategies affect only indigenous people, livelihood strategies are of course available and affect the entire population in the region be it indigenous or not.

4.1 THE SUSTAINABLE RURAL LIVELIHOODS FRAMEWORK

The Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Framework as outlined by Scoones (1998) will be elaborated in detail in this section with tourism introduced as a livelihood strategy. The approach was developed by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), an institution based in the UK focusing on development research globally (IDS, 2017). While developed almost two decades ago the framework continues to be used in many rural development studies (Scoones, 2009). The sustainable livelihoods (SL) approach recognizes the complexity and constant transformation of rural livelihoods. Some of its main characteristics, see figure 3, include the linking of certain inputs such as capitals and assets with outputs such as livelihood strategies with the aim to achieve specific outcomes (Scoones, 2009). The reasons why this approach was chosen over others in this thesis are as follows: first, the framework is a capitals based approach with a focus on the capabilities of individuals instead of their needs (Bennett, Lemelin, Koster, & Budke, 2012; Scoones, 2009). Second, it also presents a more holistic approach to rural development by encouraging multi-sectoral analysis of rural livelihoods through its acknowledgement of diversification as a common strategy. Third, the outcomes not only draw attention to components long favored for rural livelihoods, such as poverty and employment, but also to broad indicators of well-being (Scoones, 2009). Lastly, it is an approach that can be applied at different scales, including region, community, household and individual (Scoones, 1998). This section continues with a description of each component of the framework as laid out by Scoones (1998) with modifications of how it applies to an indigenous Swedish context and the welfare state. Then it moves on to the geographical concept of scale and its relation to the research topic. Below, is the definition of sustainable livelihoods, developed by Scoones (1998) from an earlier IDS report by Chambers and Conway (1992):

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base” (p.5).
4.1.1 **Context and Conditions**

Tourism is a complex phenomenon taking place within, and influenced by, the wider social, physical, cultural and economic world (Hinch & Butler, 2007; Warnholtz & Barkin, 2018). Ignoring the historical and current conditions can prevent the successful development of an indigenous tourism sector (Nordbø, 2018). The setting the scene section above offered a more detailed description of the context of rural change in sparsely populated areas, the Sámi in Sweden, and reindeer herding. The section here offers a few additional points from which the SL approach can depart.

**History**

General processes of rural change have been usually the same for Sámi and non-Sámi alike (Svensson & Viken, 2017) and it is equally improbable to find differences in material standards between the indigenous and non-indigenous population (Axelsson & Sköld, 2006). However, as already mentioned historical processes have made reindeer herding much more closely associated with Sámi identity than any other occupation, giving history much weight in present day analyses on Sámi involved in reindeer herding. Strong state intervention in reindeer herding where reindeer herders and non-reindeer herders had different rights to natural resources also implied a split within the Sámi community. This in itself has also created an internal struggle.

**Geography**

In many parts of the world, indigenous tourism development is heavily influenced by accessibility, for example roads or proximity to cities (Notzke, 1999). Compared to indigenous territories in other parts of the world, northern Sweden has relatively adequate infrastructure including paved roads, public transportation and airports (Fredman, Emmelin, Heberlein, & Vuorio, 2001; Müller & R. Pettersson, 2001). Most settlements are within a 100 km range of
The adequacy of infrastructure in the Swedish periphery is acknowledged by Sámi tourist entrepreneurs themselves (Müller & Hoppstadius, 2017) as well as by tourists (Fredman & Heberlein, 2005). The importance of suitable infrastructure is shown through the fact that the success of tourism destinations in the Swedish sparsely populated areas is more closely linked to infrastructure, such as proximity to airports, than to protected natural areas (Lundmark & Stjernström, 2009). At the same time, the tourism industry is unlikely to be able to develop the necessary infrastructure by itself. Industries based on natural resource extraction, such as mining, forestry or oil and gas, have in the past enabled the necessary infrastructure development that was later used by the tourism industry (Büscher & Davidov, 2016; Müller & Viken, 2017a).

Demography

The three northernmost counties in Sweden, Jämtland, Västerbotten and Norrbotten, make up close to 50% of the total land area of the country, yet only about 6.5% (650,000) of Sweden’s population lives there (Statistics Sweden, 2017a). The area is characterized by population decline and an aging population which have negative socioeconomic consequences (Statistics Sweden, 2017b). Population density is lowest in the Swedish mountain regions where only about two percent of the population lives (T. Lundgren, 2005). The primary reasons for such demographic changes are the declines in agriculture, manufacturing and staple industries, explained in the Rural change in sparsely populated areas in Sweden section above. Although pursuing a higher education is also a significant contributing factor for outmigration among young adults (Lundholm, 2007).

Politics

As Hall (2007) pointed out, tourism does not exist in a political vacuum even if it is mostly associated with fun and recreation. Politically prompted changes to travel deregulations and increased free movement over political boundaries has greatly influenced indigenous tourism especially in peripheral areas (Butler & Hinch, 2007a). Governmental agricultural policies can have significant impacts on those living off land-based occupations (Lee, 2008). In Sweden for example, after the country joined the European Union in 1995, new policies resulted in difficulties in agriculture in the years that followed (Djurfeldt & Gooch, 2002), at the same time this represented significant increases in economic resources available for regional development (Ö. Pettersson, 2002). Tourism became increasingly targeted through structural development funds as a development tool all over Europe (del Mármol, 2014), including Sweden where the push can be seen in strategies by the Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Development (Eimermann, 2016). Most of the public spending on rural tourism in Sweden occurs as part of rural development programs (Almstedt, Lundmark, & Ö. Pettersson, 2016). The dependence of tourism on public sector involvement is also recognized in the development and maintenance of infrastructure (Müller & Viken, 2017a).

Tourism development can also be influenced by internal political structures. In the case of indigenous tourism there can be two important levels of governance, an internally driven one from within the indigenous community in addition to the dominant non-indigenous political structure (Hinch & Butler, 2007). In Sweden, the Sámi Parliament, while not a political entity functioning alongside the Swedish Parliament with equal rights and responsibilities, is a state agency with publicly elected Parliament members whose aims are acting on behalf of Sámi culture and heritage (Sámediggi, 2017b). The internal indigenous political structure that the
parliament represents does endorse Sámi tourism as part of the modern Sámi livelihoods (Sámediggi, 2017a) and therefore it holds the power to influence its acceptance among the Sámi community.

Labor market

The changes in the labor market have already been described in the Rural change in sparsely populated areas in Sweden section above. However, some characteristics of tourism businesses and their potential role in the labor market are important discussion points that can be addressed here. The tourism sector generally grows by way of small businesses (Brouder & Eriksson, 2013; Szivas & Riley, 1999), which is not to be taken necessarily as a lack of their success as it might be a lifestyle choice (Getz & Carlsen, 2005; Müller & Brouder, 2014). During times of transition, entrepreneurship has been shown to be important (Morrison, 2000) and small businesses by themselves can still have significant impacts on employment (Fuller, Caldicott, Cairncross, & Wilde, 2007). For example, in northern Sweden, stability in tourism employment was shown to be a result of the continuous addition and establishment of new businesses (Brouder & Eriksson, 2013). Starting tourism ventures is being perceived more positively today than it was in the past (Müller & Brouder, 2014). This is observed among the Sámi population as well (R. Pettersson, 2004) even as there is little or no previous tourism entrepreneurship traditions within the Sámi community (Müller & R. Pettersson, 2001).

Climate

The climate found in sparsely populated regions of northern Sweden that is most relevant for tourism revolves around wilderness and remoteness; see the natural capital section below. During the summer season, midnight sun, and during the winter season, snow and darkness (e.g. the Ice Hotel in Kiruna and northern lights in general) also make up important climate related components of tourism in the sparsely populated areas under investigation (Heberlein, Fredman, & Vuorio, 2002; Karlsdottir, L.S. Olsen, Harbo, Jungsberg, & Rasmussen, 2017; Viken & Müller, 2006.

Climate change is an ever-salient topic of great importance globally but even more topical in the Arctic. Opportunities and threats posed by climate change at northern latitudes are being evaluated constantly by scientists from many parts of the world and disciplines. While the details of the effects of climate change in northern Sweden are beyond the scope of this section, some impacts are critical. Recent climatic changes have had and will continue to have some significant impacts on reindeer herding. It is expected that in the coming decades some of the areas experiencing most significant warming are reindeer herding pastures (Eira et al., 2008). An early Spring and thin snow cover during winter can help the reindeer find natural forage easier (Turunen, Rasmus, & Bavay, 2016). For the most part however, long-term changes in the northern climate have negative effects on reindeer herders. Warm winters mean more frozen pasturelands where reindeer cannot feed by themselves and are reliant of expensive supplementary feeding (Furberg, Evengård, & Nilsson, 2011). During most times of the year, disperse lichen sites due to climactic factors can lead to the dispersal of the herd making it difficult to gather them during slaughter times (Turunen, Rasmus, & Bavay, 2016). At the same time, climate change effects on reindeer herding are dwarfed by other non-climatic pressures (Tyler et al., 2007), see the Reindeer herding as a livelihood section above.
Regarding climate change and tourism, there is evidence that there will be a reduction in the number of overall snow days. This will affect ski resorts unless they diversify into alternative tourism experiences that are less reliant on snow cover (Moen & Fredman, 2007). The negative perception on climate change among tourist entrepreneurs is not the same throughout the Swedish north, with those nearest coastal areas, i.e. those already experiencing significant changes in snowfall, being most alarmed (Brouder & Lundmark, 2011).

4.1.2 Livelihood Resources

According to Scoones (1998), access to, and control over, livelihood resources is vital in the ability of individuals to pursue different livelihood strategies. Such resources, the author refers to as capitals and can be of both concrete and conceptual nature. Their identification, availability and negotiation amongst each other can assist in empirical investigations of livelihood strategies.

Human and cultural capital

Human capital such as knowledge, credentials and skills can be important for tourism as a livelihood strategy in several ways. Knowledge of English for example is important in the transition into tourism especially where international visitors are dominant (Cavlek, Ladkin, & Willis, 2017). When it comes to indigenous people, traditional ecological knowledge complements the contemporary knowledge already available (Hinch & Butler, 2009). For example, indigenous individuals’ detailed knowledge and expertise of the surrounding landscape makes highly qualified nature guides (Butler & Menzies, 2007). Knowing where to find game for hunting, best hiking paths and general knowledge of the local flora and fauna were some of the assets considered important among Sámi tourist entrepreneurs in Sweden as well (Palomino, 2012). Not only does the general background knowledge that comes with traditional occupations give certain people a competitive edge but it also adds legitimacy to the tourism product potentially making it more authentic (Brandth & Haugen, 2011). Most often however, for indigenous peoples it is the unique culture that becomes the most valuable asset in becoming tourist entrepreneurs (Hinch & Butler, 2009; King & de Lima, 2018). Sámi culture is an exclusive resource and access to indigenous heritage and symbols can become influential for Sámi tourist entrepreneurs (Rønning, 2007; Viken & Müller, 2006).

Social capital

Social capital (e.g. networks and connections) influences indigenous entrepreneurship in many parts of the world, and the success of networking is considered essential for the success of the tourism venture (Foley, 2008). All human capital discussed above needs social capital for the long-term usefulness of assets. Human capital is useless if, for example, family social capital, i.e. passing down knowledge from one generation to the next is not there. (Coleman, 1988). Given the relatively new involvement of indigenous peoples in tourism, there is little or no intergenerational knowledge transfer for potential tourist entrepreneurs. Foley (2008) discusses the lack of role models among Australian aboriginal entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurs felt stranded in an activity that was not prevalent in their indigenous community and had to look to non-indigenous entrepreneurs for guidance (Foley, 2008).

Cooperation between indigenous as well as non-indigenous actors is widely favored by Sámi tourist entrepreneurs in Sweden (Müller & Huuva, 2009). The specific products offered by individual entrepreneurs can be complemented by each other’s services to ensure greatest
variety in experiences; visitors rarely seek only one experience (Palomino, 2012). The lack of overlap in touristic products and therefore lack of competition between businesses is likely the result of the relative small number of Sámi tourist entrepreneurs in northern Sweden (Müller & Hoppstadius, 2017) combined with the geographical extent of Sápmi. Unfortunately, knowledge dissemination and the spread of innovation between firms is highly dependent on geographical proximity (Weidenfeld, Williams, & Butler, 2010). Many Sámi tourist entrepreneurs regret the fact that there is no large Destination Marketing Organization (DMO) that could spur tourism development and create more formal networks (Müller & Brouder, 2014). There is also dissatisfaction regarding the sporadic acceptance of tourism from within the Sámi community (Müller & Hoppstadius, 2017). Collaboration with and support from the Reindeer Herder Cooperatives (RHCs) is also considered lacking yet essential to tourists entrepreneurs (Müller & Hoppstadius, 2017; Palomino, 2012).

Economic capital

Access to economic capital, in the form of cash, credit or savings is essential for the pursuit of any livelihood strategy (Scoones, 1998). The majority of economic capital comes from access to and involvement in the economy. The economy of the north has customarily been based on natural resource extraction, the public sector and traditional economies such as reindeer herding, hunting and fishing (Müller & Viken, 2017a). All of these livelihood sources are available to Sámi individuals as much as non-Sámi. As a result, the Sámi living in the Swedish north can be said to have access to the same economic capital as their non-indigenous counterparts, including the same entrepreneurship opportunities (Axelsson & Sköld, 2006; Müller & Viken, 2017b).

Natural capital

Rural livelihoods everywhere are reliant on their natural resource base (Scoones, 1998) and the potential of regions and communities to be involved in tourism is highly dependent on available natural capital (Margaryan & Fredman, 2017). Northern Sweden is endowed with relevant natural capital related to wilderness and nature. Nature is the most important element in tourism in northern Sweden (Müller & R. Pettersson, 2001), both in terms of tourism supply (Lundmark & Müller, 2010) and demand (Revelin, 2013; Wall-Reinius, 2012). The distribution of nature-based tourism however is not evenly dispersed. Natural amenities appear to be most important in the northern-most regions (Margaryan & Fredman, 2017). National parks, while showing positive effects for indigenous participation in other parts of the world (Tao & Wall, 2009b), appear to have a lesser effect on employment and economic development in general (Byström & Müller, 2014; Lundmark, Fredman, & Sandell, 2010), although the studies showing that are mostly quantitative in nature focusing on economic indicators only.

Concepts such as remote and peripheral, although socially constructed, also play a part in tourism development and its connection to natural capital. Remote and peripheral areas can lack proper access to services and therefore are constructed as unfavorable and disadvantaged areas. At the same time, they can also be seen as unspoiled and exotic to intrepid travelers. In Norway for example, rural tourism ventures are relying on an imaginary of exotic Norway for success (Brandth & Haugen, 2005). According to Hinch and Butler (2007), because of historical events that resulted in indigenous peoples worldwide being pushed or coerced into remote territories, then considered of little or no value, indigenous peoples today are likely to inhabit areas seen as peripheral and therefore valuable as tourism destinations. Sámi tourist entrepreneurs also
deem the remote location of Sápmi as positive to their business (Müller & Hoppstadius, 2017). By exploiting the demand for the exotic, tourism ventures in peripheral locations are able to compensate for the travel costs that are inherent in such locations (Blomgren & Sørensen, 1998).

While this is likely not a comprehensive list of the available capitals that influence indigenous tourism development in Sápmi, identifying some of the most prevalent livelihood resources is considered an important process in the analysis of sustainable livelihoods (Scoones, 1998).

4.1.3 Institutional Processes and Organizational Structures

Access to livelihood resources however, is not enough to guarantee a sustainable livelihood, barriers and opportunities in the form of institutions and organizations can still affect the successful implementation of capitals (Scoones, 1998).

Institutions

As Scoones (1998) stresses, institutions, both informal and formal, are ever-present and “contestations, negotiations and trade-offs are evident at every turn” (p. 12). The cultural component of indigenous tourism means that in addition to the tourism actors already present, there are influential cultural actors with which development must be negotiated (Richards, 2010). Indigenous tourism development can be further hampered by the lack of comprehensive tourism planning (Lemelin, Johnston, Dawson, Steward, & Mattina, 2012), as well as a lack of necessary indigenous institutions to assist with regulations and operating procedures (Butler & Hinch, 2007a), or by problems with securing funding (Brouder, 2012). While in some parts of the world, governmental agencies became important in facilitating entrepreneurship development (Butler & Hinch, 2007a), in Swedish Sápmi comprehensive municipal support and local leadership is longed for (Brouder, 2012; Müller & Brouder, 2014). Outside of tourism development, the success of individual RHCs is also greatly influenced by formal institutions, such as provincial governments (Löf, 2014). Since tourism entrepreneurship among herder Sámi is potentially influenced by success in herding, see livelihood diversification below, institutional processed affecting reindeer herding can also have indirect implications for tourism development.

The lack of formal institutions in indigenous tourism development can be complemented by the greater importance of informal institutions (L.-P. Dana, 2015). For example by financial contributions from family members for start-ups (Zapalska, Dabb, & Perry, 2003) or kinships relations providing the property for setting up a booth (Liu, Cheng, & Cheung, 2017). Such institutions are usually quite old and at the same time not always in harmony with modern institutions (Löf, 2014). For instance, the focus on profit as a measure of success by modern institutions versus more communal and egalitarian benefits informally sanctioned by the indigenous community, discussed in more detail under indigenous entrepreneurship in the Indigenous Tourism section.

Organizations

Tourism organizations can be important in attracting visitors, as shown in the case of rural tourism in general (Gladstone & Morris, 1999; Gössling & Mattsson, 2002). Non-indigenous tourism organizations, which have a longer history in tourism development, have also been influential in attracting tourists to indigenous ventures (Butler & Hinch, 2007a). In Sweden there have been efforts to establish indigenous Destination Marketing Organizations (DMOs),
such as VisitSápmi by the Swedish Sámi Association (SSR), but have not survived in the long run (Müller & Hoppstadius, 2017; Müller & Viken, 2017b). The lack of larger organizations with a stronger influence to steer tourism development in a positive direction has been agonized over by many small local tourist entrepreneurs in Sápmi (Brouder, 2012). For Sámi handicraft production in Sweden, there exists a relatively successful authenticity label called Sámi Duodji. While the label is designed to ensure authentic and traditional use of patterns and materials, it has been termed as only an entryway into the craft for those wishing to venture away by way of innovative modern patterns or designs (de Bernardi, Kugapi, & Lüthje, 2018). Besides these attempts, indigenous tourism development in Sweden does not currently differ from the non-indigenous counterparts in terms of the organizational structures already in place to assist its expansion.

4.1.4 Livelihood Strategies
Livelihood diversification

As traditional rural livelihoods such as farming or reindeer herding struggle to remain the sole livelihood for many individuals, strategies of livelihood diversification become important (Scoones, 1998). A definition of livelihood diversification as used in this thesis is provided by Ellis (1998): “livelihood diversification is defined as the process by which rural families construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in their struggle for survival and in order to improve their standards of living” (p.4).

The main rationale behind a strategy of livelihood diversification is financial reasons, i.e. income diversification (Hearn, McNamara, & Gunter, 1996; Kelly & Ilbery, 1995), sometimes referred to as pluriactivity (Blad, 2014). Income diversification allows farmers to remain on the farm while supplementing their farming income from other sources. The implications of this are not just economical in nature but also social and cultural (Blad, 2014). The deliberate pursuit of diversification strategies for both short-term and long-term solutions suggests the general success of the strategy (Ellis, 1998). Its adoption is common in many developed countries (Benjamin, 1994; Brandth & Haugen, 2011; Kinsella, Wilson, de Jong, & Renting, 2000), including Sweden where more than 50% of farmers diversify their livelihoods by off-farm work (Blad, 2014). The importance of the strategy is most visible among small farms (Blad, 2014) and in peripheral locations (Eikeland, 1999). Diversification strategies were particularly prevalent among women farmers in Sweden (Andersson & Lidestav, 2014). Among Sámi reindeer herder households, women are also more likely than men to be engaged in other non-herding jobs (Åhrén, 2008; Müller & R. Pettersson, 2001).

Tourism can be part of such a livelihood diversification strategy and is well documented among indigenous peoples. For example, tourism development has for a long time, been helping diversify the economy of indigenous peoples in Siberia (Pashkevich, 2017). In rural China, it has been shown to be complementary to rice agriculture (Graburn, 2015). In some cases, involvement in tourism has been shown to help indigenous groups transition into a cash economy (Zeppel, 2006); for others, tourism involvement allows the continuation of traditional occupations by providing necessary additional income (Tao & Wall, 2009b). Maintaining the links to traditional occupations can have significant socio-cultural impacts, at the same time, so can maintaining the links to traditional lands. Diversification strategies allow indigenous peoples to avoid having a household migrate to urban areas in search of better livelihoods by
favoring in-situ solutions. This means that tourism might not be full time yet still serve many important functions in the livelihood portfolio.

Tourism does not have to be the only other available occupation for diversifying rural livelihoods; it can be one of many options for achieving sustainable livelihoods through diversification (Carr, Ruhanen, & Whitford, 2016). It has been shown that indigenous peoples often engage in a variety of activities besides tourism (Tao & Wall, 2009b). Activities related to natural resource extraction are also regularly available in peripheral areas, however, they are frequently in conflict with the indigenous communities due to for example land use competition (Müller & Hoppstadius, 2017; Revelin, 2013).

Reindeer herding has always been done side by side with a variety of other livelihoods such as hunting and fishing (Sami Parliament, 2007). Yet they do not provide the cash income required to deal with the operating costs that have increased significantly in herding. Before mechanized transport a family could live from the income generated by 100 reindeer, after however, a herd that size can barely provide enough income to buy a snowmobile (Pedersen & Viken, 1996). Equipment such as snowmobiles and ATVs and fuel for the equipment make up the largest costs incurred by the herders themselves (Johansson & N.-G. Lundgren, 1998). Fluctuations in meat prices and general increases in operating costs have placed Sámi reindeer herders in particular need of cash income (L.-P. Dana & Riseth, 2011; Keskitalo, 2008). Increased involvement by Sámi in tourism for example has been linked to decreases in incomes in herding (R. Pettersson, 2004). This is not to say that individuals can engage in both with no time constraints, as difficulties in managing time between herding and tourism have been observed (Müller & Huuva, 2009), but are not well understood. Tourism as a livelihood diversification strategy among Sámi herders has to date been mentioned by numerous studies (Müller & Huuva, 2009; Palomino, 2012; R. Pettersson, 2004; Revelin, 2013; Turunen, Rasmus, & Bavay, 2016). However, with the exception of one, Palomino (2012), none of these studies targets the topic of livelihood diversification as a main aim; most in fact only give it a passing mention with little empirical evidence at all.

Reindeer herding intensification

As discussed in more detail in the Setting the scene section, modernization within reindeer herding has created a need for the intensification of production to make reindeer herding profitable (Nordin, 2007; Pedersen & Viken, 1996). The total number of reindeer that each RHC can have is determined by the county government and is related to the carrying capacity of the land, which means that increasing herd size is very difficult (Jacobsson, 2012). Enlargement of the herd is simply not a realistic option currently among reindeer herders.

Migration to the south or coastal areas

Migration is the third primary strategy outlined in the SL approach. Given the difficulties of intensification in reindeer herding, migration is a possibility which, given recent trends of depopulation in the Swedish north (Statistics Sweden, 2017b), is obviously being taken by many households. For many Sámi however, living in Sápmi, the traditional homeland, is very important and therefore migration is not considered a sustainable livelihood strategy (Olofsson, 2004; Tuulentie, 2006). At the same time, temporary migration by certain individuals of the household in order to secure an income, is not a permanent household strategy and can instead be considered a household’s diversification strategy.
4.1.5 Livelihood Outcomes
The implementation of particular strategies produces a variety of possible outcomes. The list that follows has been adapted from the livelihood outcomes as laid out by Scoones (1998) with some changes for its applicability in an indigenous Sámi context. The list of outcomes is not necessarily exclusive and not all of these outcomes have been validated empirically.

Financial independence
The most obvious motivation for adopting certain livelihood strategies relate to financial independence. The economic environments of many rural areas, as discussed above, are often characterized by struggles with income inadequacy and variability. Income from agriculture can vary within the year as well as from year to year due to factors that are beyond the control of individuals (Ellis, 1998). The financial vulnerability that comes from this is frequently countered with a strategy of income diversification.

Maintain a high standard of living
Poverty reduction is listed among the livelihood outcomes discussed by Scoones (1998). Tourism development has been recognized as tool for poverty alleviation by the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (Warnholtz & Barkin, 2018). In developing countries tourism can bring in higher wages than agriculture (Szivas & Riley, 1999), it can often provide income for necessities such as food (Knight & Cottrell, 2016). In a Swedish Sámi context, the concept of poverty reduction is best interpreted as maintaining a good and secure standard of living. Since the indigenous population in Sweden differs little from the majority population as already discussed, the strategies adopted by Sámi living in rural areas relate most to struggling to preserve a livelihood that is secure and meaningful. Tourism development is also linked to the maintenance of vital local services such as grocery stores and restaurants, which would otherwise have to shut down in sparsely populated areas (Brouder, 2012; Tuulentie, 2006).

Continue herding
Given that reindeer herding among Sámi indigenous people in northern Europe holds significant cultural meanings, it is not surprising that Sámi herders undertake livelihood strategies that improve their financial situation and at the same time allow for their continuation in herding. As detailed in the Setting the scene section, only a small portion of Sámi reindeer herders in Sweden are involved in herding full-time, many others are only passive herders where they only get involved with the herd a few times during the year (Nordin, 2007). In such cases, reindeer herding remains culturally important while other strategies take over in financial importance (Müller & Huuva, 2009).

Remain in Sápmi
Among the benefits of diversification lies the possibility of rural households to remain in the countryside (Kinsella, Wilson, de Jong, & Renting, 2000). In order to continue living in ancestral homelands, in-situ solutions of entrepreneurship have been mentioned to be present among indigenous peoples in many places (Bratek, Devlin, & Simmonds, 2007; L.P. Dana & Dana, 2007), including Sweden (Schilar & Keskitalo, 2017). The focus on entrepreneurship is frequently a result of the limited job opportunities in sparsely populated areas, which would otherwise be solved through migration to urban areas (Tuulentie, 2006).
Preserve natural resource base

The dependence on the harvest of natural resources has long characterized rural areas, and even more so peripheral areas (Bratek, Devlin, & Simmons, 2007; D.B. Carson, Carson, Nordin, & Sköld, 2016; Müller, 2013). The responsible use of such resources in the short run can better ensure long-term human welfare (Garrod, Wornell, & Youell, 2006). Tourism is understood as an environmentally responsible sector mostly because of the non-depleting use of the available natural resources (Bratek, Devlin, & Simmons, 2007). Due to the logical connection between a pristine environment and attractiveness of a place, rural tourism in general and nature-based tourism in particular, is expected to safeguard the sustainable use of natural and cultural resources (Garrod, Wornell, & Youell, 2006; Twining-Ward, 1999). While the extent to which this claim is true is being debated (Büscher & Davidov, 2016), there is evidence showing indigenous tourism promoting conservation in protected areas (Bratek, Devlin, & Simmons, 2007), control over traditional resources (Colton, 2005), and a more benign use of land in general (Kramvig, 2017). In Sweden, indigenous tourism is also seen as environmentally friendly alternative (Zhang & Müller, 2018), especially when considered as an alternative to extraction industries (Revelin, 2013).

So far, a variety of financial, cultural and environmental outcomes have been described as livelihood outcomes. Yet, tourism has been portrayed as more than an industry but also as a ‘social force’ (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). “Self-esteem, security, happiness, stress, vulnerability, power, exclusion” are some of the social components within the sustainable rural livelihoods outcomes (Scoones, 1998, p. 6). The remaining list of livelihood outcomes brings attention to these social dimensions of tourism as a livelihood strategy.

Enhance resilience and reduce vulnerability

According to Scoones’s (1998) definition of sustainable livelihoods, in order for a livelihood to be sustainable it must endure the difficulties and disturbances that frequently characterize rural livelihoods. Tourism as a livelihood diversification strategy, as detailed above can counteract the vulnerability of farmers due to market fluctuations (Gössling & Mattsson, 2002; Kinsella, Wilson, de Jong, & Renting, 2000). By using income from other sources, rural families can cover the living expenses in times when the traditional occupation cannot, enabling them to ride out difficult periods without having to resort to other solutions such as abandonment of the traditional occupation and migration.

Reduce stress and improve well-being

Whether for indigenous peoples or rural communities in general, there is much evidence worldwide for tourism as a potent force in improving general well-being of those involved in it. The benefits can be on a small scale, such as for example increased physical activity among locals as a result of walking trails build for touristic purposes (Colton & Harris, 2007). Benefits that are more social can come from increased social contacts by meeting new people (Gladstone & Morris, 1999; Gössling & Mattsson, 2002). On a larger scale, tourism can aid the preservation of indigenous culture through its presentation to tourists (Kramvig, 2017; Tuulentie, 2006). It can also foster pride in cultural identity (Colton & Harris, 2007; R. Pettersson & Viken, 2007), which leads to feelings of empowerment, especially among women (Knight & Cottrell, 2016). Tourism is the stage where people can show their work, and see its value to others (Brouder, 2012). Given that many indigenous groups live in marginalized rural areas, tourism
development is also able to bring many aspects of modernity, such as the building of bridges, roads and other infrastructure (Graburn, 2015). Tourism involvement, mostly through entrepreneurship, can also increase autonomy in the form of self-employed individuals having control over their own use of time and decision-making (Brandth & Haugen, 2011).

Advance recognition

Most of the outcomes presented in the SL framework assume the individual as the primary beneficiary, that must not necessarily always be the case as communities can also reap the benefits of tourism. Indigenous peoples worldwide struggle for recognition and equal rights within an environment still characterized by colonialism, discrimination and unfair power structures. Change inevitably must come from many directions. Tourism has also shown a fair deal of competence in advancing the recognition of indigenous people worldwide. Through their interaction with tourists, hosts become ambassadors showing lesser-known aspects of their culture and community. Tourism as a political tool can be achieved when culture, which is reinforced through touristic performances, becomes used to gain political rights (Kramvig, 2017). Indigenous festivals in Russia for example, through their ability to draw an international audience, are able to bring awareness on deficient indigenous rights and potentially amass pressure on authorities for change (Vladimirova, 2017). Tourism planning can also become the platform on which a dialogue between indigenous peoples and officials can take place (Brouder, 2012). It is a step towards bottom-up development where the dialogue can lead to increased local autonomy and a decrease in the power of the central state (Colton, 2005; Kneafsey, 2000).

4.1.6 Limitations of the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Framework

Since the introduction of the sustainable rural livelihoods framework by Scoones in 1998 and other, similar livelihoods perspectives before that (cf. Chambers & Conway, 1992), the approach has not been used as much as expected by the original author (Scoones, 2009). In a review of the livelihoods perspectives and the impact they had on rural development, Scoones (2009) discusses some shortcomings of the SL approach that have been voiced over the years. For example, the approach puts much emphasis on the local yet largely ignores macro-scale events in markets, environment or politics (Bennett, Lemelin, Koster, & Budke, 2012). The inseparability of local changes to global processes are theorized extensively in human geography (Massey, 2005). While these factors are included in the category of context and conditions they can be so profound as to override any assets and capitals which are potentially given equal if not more emphasis in the approach (Scoones, 2009).

At the same time, the approach does not allow enough attention to governance issues. Power and politics play important roles in rural futures, yet as Scoones (2009) points out, most practitioners of the approach, consultants, researchers, NGOs, have not reached out with their efforts to administration, management and governance bodies. This means that ultimately rural problems are still addressed using single sector approaches, are not being context driven, nor inter-disciplinary (Scoones, 2009).

This thesis responds to such criticism by addressing both macro-scale issues of globalization and varying power dynamics and marginalization, through the use of scalar approaches debated within human geography. The results are therefore discussed by employing the SL approach found in development studies as well as issues of scale found in geography.
4.2 Issues of Scale in Rural Livelihoods

Scalar thinking rests on the recognition that socioeconomic practices take place at different scalar extents. It is an important dimension when examining environmental and social change and should not be ignored (Jonas, 2006). Besides resources, material or otherwise, identities and social movements are organized at particular scales (Jonas, 2006; Paasi, 2003). Scale is a lens that enable us to see and investigate these processes.

The geographical area where reindeer herding takes place covers a large part of Sweden’s total land area, yet reindeer herding as an industry makes up a very small part of Sweden’s economy. As a result, income from herding is not significant at a national level yet can be significant at the local level (Keskitalo, Horstkotte, Kivinen, Forbes, & Käyhkö, 2016), or symbolically significant among a whole group of people (Nordin, 2007). At the same time, Keskitalo, Horstkotte, Kivinen, Forbes, and Käyhkö (2016) point out, while the income can be significant locally, the reindeer herding industry relies on a market that extends nationally and even internationally. Therefore, not only does an analysis on reindeer herding income makes us realize that it is dependent on markets located at various geographical scales, a typical globalization discourse, but the degree of the benefit of this income is also contingent on geographic scale.

In the same area where reindeer herding takes place there are other land uses that also make use of extensive tracts of land, such as forestry, mining and tourism. The stakeholders involved in each are found and operate at different geographical scales. For example, forestry is an operation that does not require the physical presence of any stakeholders except during for example harvest times, which are sometimes decades apart; this means forest owners, while some might be locals, many could be living anywhere in the country. Therefore, forestry stakeholders may be non-local while the decisions they make are local (Keskitalo, Horstkotte, Kivinen, Forbes, & Käyhkö, 2016; Nordlund & Westin, 2011). As a result, decision-making processes between different land uses are taking place between stakeholders who operate at different geographical scales and subsequently define the problem differently. This scale dependent definition of the problem creates, according to Keskitalo, Horstkotte, Kivinen, Forbes, and Käyhkö (2016), a functional mismatch. The authors show how this mismatch affects the economy as well as the governance of reindeer herding in Fennoscandia. In decision-making processes between different stakeholders, such as reindeer herding and forestry, it is usually higher level goals that dominate (Keskitalo, 2008).

Even in decision-making processes within reindeer herding, there are many actors operating at different administrative levels, national, regional and local (Keskitalo, Horstkotte, Kivinen, Forbes, & Käyhkö, 2016; Turi, 2016). A local level administrative unit is the Reindeer Herder Cooperative (RHC); the total number of reindeer for each RHC is established by the provincial governments and they are confined within set territorial boundaries. Then there is the national government which among other things is responsible for subsidies including compensation rates for the nuclear fallout following the Chernobyl disaster, which still continues into the present (SVT, 2016), and reimbursements regarding losses to predators and traffic accidents (Johansson & N.-G. Lundgren, 1998). These decision-making processes do not have to be only formal in nature. More informal than the RHC is the Siida, which reflects family ties and where the herd size can be more varying and in tune with local conditions (Keskitalo, Horstkotte, Kivinen, Forbes, & Käyhkö, 2016).
Drivers that influence decision making in tourism are found at different geographical scales as well. For example, Sámi tourism is identified by the Sámi parliament as a Sámi livelihood; this represents a positive relationship between Sámi people and Sámi tourism on a national scale. Yet tourism can be in conflict with other land uses and it has been shown that it can be in direct conflict with reindeer herding in specific localities (Bäck, Hedblom, Josefsson, & Rydén, 1992), making it a negative relationship at a lower scale. Inversely, the relationship between the two might seem negative at a higher scale but at the individual or household level reindeer herders may be employed in tourism, suggesting a positive relationship exists at that scale (Keskitalo, Horstkotte, Kivinen, Forbes, & Käyhkö, 2016). Many individuals can see tourism as a positive endeavor and therefore it becomes a pull factor drawing individuals towards the occupation. In such cases, voluntary decisions under an individual’s control lead to a positive relationship to the tourism sector at the household level. The acceptance and attitude towards Sámi tourism is therefore highly contingent on scalar factors.

Similarly, the economic impacts of tourism are also conditional on geographic scale. Tourism in Sweden is a substantial industry, for example in 2013 it accounted for about 2.5% of the nation’s GDP, yet tourism is not evenly distributed within the country as most of the overnight stays occur in large metropolitan areas (Müller & Ulrich, 2007; L.S. Olsen & Heleniak, 2016). While at the national scale tourism in the north is of much smaller importance, it can be important locally. For example, it has already been shown that in some tourism-oriented localities, tourism makes up to 30% of the local labor market (Müller & Ulrich, 2007); this makes it a significant sector at that scale. Planning and decision making in tourism are also influenced at different scales. For example, in cases where an area earns a protected designation, decision-making power shifts from local authorities to central ones (Lundmark & Stjernström, 2009).

The findings presented in this thesis are discussed conscious of the scalar processes mentioned above, as such, it is hoped that important new insights are added to the understanding of rural livelihoods in sparsely populated areas.

5 DATA AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS
Sámi related academic research has increased in volume over the past few decades in Sweden (Drugge, 2016), yet currently there are no nation-wide ethical guidelines for research on indigenous peoples in Sweden (Drugge, 2016; Löf, 2014). While this is seen as a shortcoming and a continuation of colonial structures characterizing indigenous/non-indigenous relations (Lawrence & Raitio, 2016), according to Jacobsson (2016), the implementation of special research guidelines for Sámi research would raise several potential issues. The first one relates to who is considered Sámi and who is not; the definition is debated among Sámi individuals themselves as well as among legal approaches such as defining who can be a member of the Sámi Parliament and of the RHCs as stated in the Reindeer Herding Acts (Beach, 2007). The organization that best represents the Sámi in Sweden is also potentially debated, for example between the Swedish Sámi Association (SSR) or the Sámi Parliament (Jacobsson, 2016). Lastly, the introduction of a new research ethics committee can lead to increased costs and extended review process, attributes which already plague the existing ethical review process.
These reasons by themselves do not justify not having indigenous ethical guidelines, many countries that do have such guidelines in place probably had to overcome similar challenges. One important question that remains refers perhaps to why a particular group needs to be under the protection of separate ethics guidelines. Jacobsson (2016) offers an answer: “knowledge developed by research is also an instrument of power. Power can be abused and there are numerous examples of research that has been abusive as regards methods, not least in the interpretation of results.” (p. 47). Indigenous peoples worldwide, as well as the Sámi in Sweden, do have a history of unjust and discriminatory research practices (Drugge, 2016). In Sweden, during the early part of the 20th century unethical research aimed at showing lesser mental capacities among the Sámi taints the relationship between the Sámi and the research community to this day. At the same time, that unlikely is the sole reason for such attitudes towards the research community. While the Sámi are not considered more vulnerable demographically and epidemiologically, they remain vulnerable in terms of traditional economy, political self-determination and persistent stereotypical discourses (Axelsson & Sköld, 2006; Müller & Viken, 2017b). Such factors point at continued power imbalances between the Sámi as a group and the majority population. The research community in general recognizes this, where discussions on ethics are being appropriated in Sámi related research proposals for example, even without specific indigenous ethical guidelines requiring them (Drugge, 2016).

This thesis consists of two separate data sources, register data for the first paper and interview data for paper II and III. Access to the register data available at the Umeå SIMSAM (Swedish Initiative for Research on Microdata in the Social and Medical Sciences) laboratory, Umeå University, was obtained through approval by a steering group which ensures strict ethical codes, confidentiality and security (Lindgren, Nilsson, de Luna, & Ivarsson, 2016; Umeå SIMSAM Lab, 2017). No identifiable attributes are used in any of the analysis and only aggregated data are presented in the paper. For the interview data, an application for ethical vetting was submitted and approved by the Regional Ethical Review Board at Umeå University. All participants are over the age of 18, and signed consent forms were obtained from each of the participants. The participants were also informed verbally and in writing of the aims of the study and that their participation in this study is strictly voluntary and they have the right to change their minds at any point during and after the interview process. All responses are kept confidential and no identifying characteristics are given within the analysis of the results. Some respondents wished to have a chance to review the transcript notes from the interview to check for any potential errors and some wished to see a finalized version of the article. This was thoroughly done as requested by the respondents. Additional occasions, such as giving a public talk of the results during the annual Sámi week commemoration and during a Sámi research day workshop organized by the Centre for Sámi Research at Umeå University, were also ways of ensuring the results of the research end up with the people researched upon.

A minor point can also be made regarding the background of the researcher conducting the interviews. The author of this work, who is also the person who conducted the interviews, is non-Sámi and non-Swedish. The implications of this, if any, for the interviewee/interviewer relationship is difficult to assess. There have been calls for research concerning Sámi people to be done in conjunction with a Sámi researcher to ensure participation, increase reflexivity and avoid negative associations of the dominant society with the researchers (Drugge, 2016; Lawrence & Raitio, 2016; Müller & Huuva, 2009). At the same time, a foreigner status can convey an outsider perspective, one based on a neutral understanding not influenced by
historical processes. This can be especially true in a small community such as the Sámi in northern Sweden and the potential spread of sensitive information (Jacobsson, 2016).

5.2 METHODS
This section provides information on the methods used in this thesis and the three papers, see individual papers for more detailed descriptions of the respective methods. This work uses multiple methods to answer the research questions set forth. The first part uses quantitative data to answer how widespread tourism occupations are among reindeer herders. Here register data are used to identify and observe occupational habits of reindeer herders and owners and their families for a period of 50 years, from 1960 to 2010. The analysis was also done for individuals working in agriculture during the same period in order to provide a comparison to another primary sector industry. The register data used for this part are compiled by Statistics Sweden, and contain detailed individual level data on the entire Swedish population. Most developed nations use some kind of Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) system to code occupations according to objectives (S.L. Smith, 1988). The data presented in this section are available at the Umeå SIMSAM (Swedish Initiative for Research on Microdata in the Social and Medical Sciences) laboratory, Umeå University. This longitudinal database is a combination of both population register data and census data. The child of every reindeer herder, reindeer owner and farmer identified as such in the 1960 census formed the dataset used in the analysis. The analysis is restricted to the children of those living in the three northernmost counties of Sweden: Norrbotten, Västerbotten and Jämtland. Tourism occupations were identified through the identification of certain SIC codes (Müller & Brouder, 2014), see table 1 below. Since register data detailed enough to pick out tourism jobs was only available since 1985, all analysis on tourism involvement inevitably starts from that period.

While this thesis looks at Sámi people in general and not just reindeer herders, the entire quantitative analysis part had to be done only with reindeer herders as ethnicity is not recorded in official government registers. Therefore, reindeer herders and owners are used as a proxy for indigenous people, by law in Sweden only people of Sámi descent are allowed to officially herd reindeer (SFS, 1971). It cannot be guaranteed that all reindeer owners are of Sámi descent, due to concession areas close to the Finnish border where non-Sámi local landowners can have a limited number of reindeer (Beach, 2007). Nor can it be said who in the database is Sámi due to the fact that Sámi identity is also based on self-identity (Viken & Müller, 2006). Nonetheless, reindeer herding is considered an indigenous occupation and the methods used for the quantitative analysis are the best way of approaching the topic of occupations among indigenous peoples in register data in Sweden. Additionally, this first part of the thesis is also the one that looks at tourism workers in general and not just tourist entrepreneurs. The main topic under study is indigenous tourism, as part of it are both tourism workers and those running their own companies.

The second part of this multiple methods research deals exclusively with tourist entrepreneurs. To investigate cultural aspects of entrepreneurship qualitative methods are considered essential (Rønning, 2007). A total of 13 semi-structured interviews were performed with Sámi tourist entrepreneurs. This is estimated to be roughly one third of Sámi tourist entrepreneurs in northern Sweden (cf. Müller & Hoppstadius, 2017). The interviews were done during the Fall months of October and November 2016 in the three northern-most counties of Sweden. Two respondents were from Jämtland, four from Västerbotten and seven from Norrbotten. Four
respondents were women while nine were men. The youngest respondent was 41 years old while the oldest was 73, making the average age of all respondents around 53 years. Three interviews were conducted in English and ten in Swedish. The language of choice was left to the interviewees themselves and some probably choose to speak English most likely with the researcher’s convenience in mind and being fluent in English themselves. All responses are kept confidential and no identifying characteristics, including identifying geographic details, are being given in the text. Each interview was recorded and analyzed using thematic content analysis, where focus on what was said was kept rather than on the exact language used. Certain themes emerged and while there were differences in the responses, focus can be kept on specific reoccurring themes (Sandberg, 2011).

Table 1. Tourism SIC codes, 1992 and 2002 standards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIC code 1992</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>SIC code 2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52485</td>
<td>Retail sale of sports and leisure goods</td>
<td>52485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55111</td>
<td>Hotels with restaurants, except conference centers</td>
<td>55101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55112</td>
<td>Conference centers, with lodging</td>
<td>55102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55120</td>
<td>Hotels and motels without restaurant</td>
<td>55103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55210</td>
<td>Youth hostels, etc.</td>
<td>55210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55220</td>
<td>Camping sites, etc., including caravan sites</td>
<td>55220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55230</td>
<td>Other short-stay lodging facilities</td>
<td>55230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55300</td>
<td>Restaurants</td>
<td>55300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55400</td>
<td>Bars</td>
<td>55400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55521</td>
<td>Catering for the transport sector</td>
<td>55521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61200</td>
<td>Inland water transport</td>
<td>61200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62100</td>
<td>Scheduled air transport</td>
<td>62100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62200</td>
<td>Non-scheduled air transport</td>
<td>62200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63301</td>
<td>Activities of tour operators</td>
<td>63301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63302</td>
<td>Activities of travel agencies</td>
<td>63302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63303</td>
<td>Tourist assistance</td>
<td>63303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92320</td>
<td>Operation of arts facilities</td>
<td>92320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92330</td>
<td>Fair and amusement park activities</td>
<td>92330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92340</td>
<td>Other entertainment activities</td>
<td>92340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92520</td>
<td>Museum activities and preservation of historical sites and buildings</td>
<td>92520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92530</td>
<td>Botanical and zoological gardens and nature reserve activities</td>
<td>92530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92611</td>
<td>Operation of ski facilities</td>
<td>92611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92612</td>
<td>Operation of golf courses</td>
<td>92612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92729</td>
<td>Various other recreational activities</td>
<td>92729</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interviewee recruitment stopped when no new themes emerged and a point of saturation was reached. The term saturation is frequently used without proper discussion of its meaning (Caelli, Ray, & Mill, 2003). According to Bowen (2008), “[d]ata saturation entails bringing new participants continually into the study until the data set is complete, as indicated by data replication or redundancy” (p. 140). Evidence for saturation is obtained when additional data yield no new concepts and themes (Baxter & Eyles, 1997; Bowen, 2008). What follows is an attempt to show how the theme regarding tourism as a channel to inform non-Sámi about Sámi
issues (addressed in paper III) was building up with each consecutive interview. Each quote is taken from a particular respondent in the order at which respondents were interviewed, this is presented mainly to illustrate how the theme emerged from the beginning and was reified by almost every subsequent interviewee.

R1-“We are presenting the Sami culture, the heritage”
R2-“I have a chance to talk with Swedes and foreigners about the Sami people”
R3-“[disseminating] information is very important”
R4-“educate people as they go north”
R5-“strengthen Sámi knowledge to tourists”
R6-“[tourism] is a way to express ourselves [Sámi]”
R7-“[the local community] were happy to have in the tourism industry someone (a Sámi) who knows about Sámi culture”
R8-“it is great for tourists that come, they learn about their life conditions, nature up here”
R9-“[tourism presents] the possibilities to inform tourists who come from other countries about Sámi, herding, the situation that they find themselves in today”
R10-“[tourism is] a very good ambassador for our people and for our culture”
R12-“that which is good [about tourism] is that we show our ways”
R13-“it's a channel where you can inform”.

Each respondent took more time to discuss what they meant and little variations between interviewees of course existed, however they are all classified into the same theme of cultural ambassadors presented in the third paper. Not all themes show such ubiquitous evidence among most respondents, the table below is aimed at showing the frequency of most major themes presented in papers two and three.

The theme related to tourism as being a versatile job not following the 9 to 5 schedule is the last theme to emerge in the interviews, it first came up with the tenth respondent and was mentioned by two individuals in total. While it is possible that another interview would have yielded yet a new theme, a decision has to be made eventually regarding the belief that no new themes would emerge. That decision was made after the thirteenth interview, a sample considered adequate enough to uncover the most salient themes given a study population which is fairly homogenous with common experiences and perceptions (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). The total number of interviewees should also be considered in terms of the geographical extent of the study area and the realistic possibility of a researcher traveling and performing face-to-face interviews with people spread over a very large area within a reasonable amount of time. In regards to the time allocated for the interview by the respondents, it was considered a precious commodity as for many it coincided with busy periods with reindeer as well as the vital moose-hunting season. In fact, many other individuals contacted to take part of this study declined citing lack of time, even for a 30-minute interview, which was the typical duration of the interviews, although some took twice that time (one hour or more). Out of those who were interviewed, they frequently mentioned time being a precious commodity to them given the different occupations they were involved in (see paper II) each with its own busy periods.

The table below also identifies which of the respondents were women (distinguished by a star); this is done to give an indication of how gender plays into the themes. However, caution is advised in quantifying the gender component to the emerging themes given the low number of participants.
Table 2. Major themes and their appearance in each interview (respondents identified with a star are women).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>R1*</th>
<th>R2</th>
<th>R3*</th>
<th>R4*</th>
<th>R5</th>
<th>R6*</th>
<th>R7</th>
<th>R8</th>
<th>R9</th>
<th>R10</th>
<th>R11</th>
<th>R12</th>
<th>R13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Why start? Paper II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passion</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job versatility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategic</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livelihood diversification. Paper II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income diversification</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assigned meanings. Paper III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism another form of herding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Ambassadors</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-expression/ Keeping traditions alive</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reaction by the community. Paper III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cautious/skeptical</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive change over time</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3 LIMITATIONS
This thesis deals with the role of tourism involvement among Sámi indigenous people in sparsely populated areas of Sweden. It does not look into tourism involvement among Sámi living outside the three northernmost counties of Sweden where the majority of Sámi live. The first paper, which looks at hundreds of individuals, deals only with reindeer herders or those with immediate access to herding through their parents, any Sámi who does not have such connection to reindeer herding is excluded from the analysis due to limits on ethnic background information in the register data. As a result, the findings are limited to tourism involvement among individuals with a connection to herding and should not be extrapolated to the Sámi population in general. Papers two and three deal with interview data from thirteen Sámi tourist entrepreneurs, while this constitutes a large share of Sámi tourist entrepreneurs in sparsely populated areas, the findings are not meant to be representative of all Sámi working as
entrepreneurs nor those working in tourism in general. Additionally, the responses do not depict any opinions or motives of those Sámi who are not involved in tourism at all. The Sámi community is of course heterogeneous with experiences, goals, ambitions and opinions that differ across scale, from group to group as well as from individual to individual. The results presented here are those of 13 Sámi tourist entrepreneurs, the aim is not to project their experiences and opinions to the reindeer herder community in general nor to Sámi people overall. The main aim of the results is to attempt to show the motivations and meanings assigned to tourism by some of those who are directly involved in it. Anyone looking to know how common the themes uncovered in this thesis are among a wider population must look for future studies on the topic before extrapolating the findings presented here.

Additional consideration should be given to the fact that the study pertains only to Sweden. While there are sparsely populated areas in Norway, Finland and the Russian Kola peninsula where Sámi are involved in tourism in a similar fashion, many differences exist between the countries, making the findings presented here not necessarily valid there. For example, in Norway, reindeer herding takes place on a larger scale and is more prominent in sparsely populated areas than in Sweden (Keskitalo, 2008). The political climate in Norway is such that large herd owners are favored over small ones through state subsidies, making individuals with large enough herds to sustain themselves without the need for other activities more numerous (Ulvevadet, 2004). In Finland, non-Sámi can also herd reindeer making the activity and its potential as a tourist asset not only an indigenous resource (Keskitalo, 2008). In Russia, the political system is completely different where reindeer management is more like Soviet style state farms and is generally not comparable to the Nordic countries (Konstantinov, 2000).

6 OVERVIEW OF ARTICLES (EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE)

6.1 ARTICLE I, MAINTAINING INHERITED OCCUPATIONS IN CHANGING TIMES: THE ROLE OF TOURISM AMONG REINDEER HERDERS IN NORTHERN SWEDEN

This first paper investigates the prevalence of tourism jobs within the predominantly indigenous occupation of reindeer herding in the three northernmost counties of Sweden: Jämtland, Västerbotten and Norrbotten. Since no data on ethnicity is recorded in official statistics in Sweden, this paper looks at individuals with a connection to reindeer herding as a proxy for indigeneity. A connection to reindeer herding is made through identifying individuals who had at least one parent as either a registered reindeer herder or owned reindeer, as identified in the 1960 Swedish census. In addition to looking at the prevalence of tourism occupations, the paper also investigates the inheritance aspect of herding by using register data to show important ramifications of reindeer herding to Sámi culture. Occupational inheritance is common among land-based occupations, in large part due to the human capital gained during childhood and adolescent years (Elder & King, 1996; Laband & Lentz, 1983). Among reindeer herders in Sweden, besides the human capital gained in early years, the occupation’s close association to Sámi indigenous culture likely increases the inheritance potential (Beach, 2007; Nordin, 2007). This has implications not only for choosing the occupation in adulthood but also for leaving it when faced with low profits and other difficulties. Most of the existing literature on reindeer herding considers a reduction or abandonment of the occupation as undesirable and a result of
negative pressures. However, as the theoretical framework of the article shows, there are also pull factors that lead individuals to voluntarily draw away from herding due to events under their control. Tourism has grown in importance for indigenous Arctic communities providing significant economic development in the face of struggling traditional economies (Snyder, 2007). The same trend is experienced in Sweden where tourism is being promoted as a tool for regional development on a national scale as well as by indigenous organizations (Lundmark, 2006a; Müller & R. Pettersson, 2006). However, the actual prevalence of tourism jobs among Sámi living in the Swedish north has not been investigated and little is known about Sámi involvement in tourism compared to other groups living in the same area.

The findings related to the inheritance factor in herding show that 39% of the sample of 1520 individuals followed in the footsteps of at least one of their parent and became herders themselves, i.e. had their main source of income from reindeer herding at least once during the analysis. The corresponding proportion of geographically matched farmers was only 5.11%. The results also show a stronger inheritance factor among men than women confirming results showing the prevalence of men in reindeer herding. In the county of Norrbotten lived most (66%) of those involved in reindeer herding, with a little over 15% living in each of the remaining two counties. Occupational inheritance was also analyzed in terms of degree of parental involvement in herding, and it was shown that the older the child at time of parental involvement the greater the share of those themselves getting involved. Lastly, parental income from herding also showed little or no difference in the share of children following in their parents’ footprints. Illustrating that factors other than income success affect the decision to get involved in reindeer herding.

Regarding involvement in tourism among the entire sample, 11.1% of those coming from herder families and 4.6% of those coming from farmer families were involved in tourism at least once during the study period (1985-2010). Out of those children that did become herders and farmers themselves, 26.6% of herders and 4.2% of farmers also got involved in tourism at least once during the study period. This illustrates for the first time on such a large scale that tourism might be used as a livelihood diversification strategy among reindeer herders in Sweden. The final analysis in the paper looks in more detail into the type of tourism jobs individuals are involved in. Providing accommodation, working in bars and restaurants, and involvement in attractions such as museums and nature reserves make up the three largest categories for both the herder and farmer groups.

6.2 Article II, Tourism as a Livelihood Diversification Strategy among Sámi Indigenous People in Northern Sweden

This paper builds on the first by delving into the motivations behind tourism involvement. While in the first paper tourism jobs were shown to be common among reindeer herders, the exact details regarding the motivations behind tourism involvement and the role tourism serves for their livelihoods remained unexplored. Through interview data with Sámi tourist entrepreneurs, the topic was investigated in more detail in this paper. The starting point for the article was the lack of existing studies that look beyond single sector approaches when investigating the structural changes in the primary sector occurring in the sparsely populated areas of Sweden. Existing studies have shown that tourism employment is of significant
importance in sparsely populated areas (Lundmark, 2006a; Müller & Ulrich, 2007). Yet a focus is maintained on fulltime employment and tourism’s ability to take over from fast changing primary sectors. In such cases, either through the fact that the tourism sector likely does not require the same workforce as mining or forestry, or through the fact that tourism jobs are often seasonal and low paid, it is unable to provide the same employment benefits as the primary sectors (Lundmark, 2006b; Müller, 2013). The end result questions the tourism sector’s importance for regional development in sparsely populated areas. Such analyses focus on full-time gainful employment where a new sector better suited to the current labor market replaces another outdated one. While the majority of the referenced literature does not specifically address regional development only among indigenous people, the issues highlighted apply to Sámi people as much as to non-Sámi living in those sparsely populated areas.

This article moves away from such a typical rural restructuring discourse and uses a livelihood approach to investigate the motivations behind tourism involvement and to what extent tourism is part of a livelihood diversification strategy among indigenous people. The sustainable rural livelihoods (SL) framework, as detailed by Scoones (1998), is used in the paper to draw attention to multi-sectoral strategies, namely a strategy of diversification, to achieve successful livelihoods. Additionally, the SL approach draws attention to existing forms of capitals and assets that influence the motivations and possibilities to pursue tourism as a livelihood strategy, leading to a closer examination of such capitals in the findings.

The findings show that there are many motivations behind tourism involvement among the Sámi entrepreneurs interviewed. As highlighted in the SL framework, existing forms of capital, such as those linked to indigeneity and nature, are influential in the decision to become tourist entrepreneurs. Motivations related to job versatility and the joy of working with people were also uncovered and demonstrate how tourism is chosen over other potentially higher paying jobs, not because of its higher salary or full-time employment, but on the contrary, because of the freedom and social rewards it provides. Strategic involvement in tourism mostly due to observed demand also featured often among the respondents as motivations behind becoming tourist entrepreneurs.

Involvement in tourism as a strategy of livelihood diversification was confirmed in the findings. Nine of the 13 respondents stated that income from tourism was used to support reindeer herding. Livelihood diversification for some, included more than tourism and herding, seven of the respondents had three different occupations during the course of the year. Working in the mining sector was problematic for some respondents given the numerous land-use conflicts that exist between mining and reindeer herding in Sweden (Revelin, 2013). Tourism as a livelihood strategy also presented dilemmas in terms of balancing the time between reindeer herding and the tourism venture. As discussed in the first article, a reduction in involvement in reindeer herding can be a voluntary decision based on pull factors from other areas. The respondents in this article confirmed such phenomena by discussing how as the tourism venture developed, conflicts in time management between that and herding arose and for some, with careful consideration, a decision was made to reduce involvement in herding. Such findings show that the association of reindeer herding to Sámi identity is strong but does not necessarily mean that other occupations are always subservient to herding.
6.3 ARTICLE III, MORE THAN JUST A JOB: EXPLORING THE MEANINGS OF TOURISM WORK AMONG INDIGENOUS SÁMI TOURIST ENTREPRENEURS

The third paper in this thesis uses the same interview data as the second paper but focuses on the outcomes of tourism as a livelihood strategy. As pointed out in the second paper the outcomes of tourism development in sparsely populated areas of Sweden has previously been shown mostly in terms of full-time employment (Lundmark, 2006a; Müller, 2013). When it comes to indigenous tourism development, positive outcomes are strongly linked to indigenous control (Butler & Hinch, 2007b). However, indigenous control in itself should not automatically imply positive outcomes. The sustainable rural livelihoods (SL) framework discussed in the second paper, is also used in this paper as a lens to guide the aims and analysis of the results. According to the SL approach, for a livelihood to be sustainable and successful it must incorporate not only economic outcomes related to income but should also include socio-cultural ones as well (Scoones, 1998). Among some of the outcomes present in the SL approach are financial independence, preserving the natural resource base, enhancing resilience, improving well-being and advancing recognition. While outcomes related to financial independence dominate existing research in sparsely populated areas in Sweden, much less attention has been given to the other attributes emphasized in the SL framework.

This paper aimed to fill such gaps by analyzing in more detail the meanings given to tourism work by Sámi tourist entrepreneurs. Just like the second paper, it uses data from 13 Sámi tourist entrepreneurs in the three northernmost counties of Sweden. The findings presented in the paper show a variety of previously unrecognized or empirically supported meanings given to tourism work. For some respondents whose tourism venture utilized live reindeer, for example reindeer tours or petting, the business was not considered a separate venture but simply another form of modern reindeer herding. An innovative way that allowed the respondents to maintain the link to the culturally significant occupation and herd in a more sustainable fashion, by using live animals versus sending them to the slaughterhouse. While this finding was only present among some of the respondents with reindeer as their touristic products, a much more ubiquitous theme presented by the majority of the respondents relates to tourism ambassadorship. Educating tourists about Sámi people and current Sámi issues was an important aspect of the respondents work as tourist entrepreneurs. This relates not only to entrepreneurs hosting visitors through accommodation and tours but also to handicraft manufacturers through their interaction with tourists, including exhibitions of their work in other cities or countries. The Swedish Sámi population, similarly to indigenous groups worldwide, is understood through simplistic stereotypical images, tourism became a platform where modernity and accurate information were being disseminated. This included showing that a Sámi lives just like a typical Swede, in modern dwellings with modern lifestyles. It also included passing down factual information regarding the current struggles in reindeer herding. By showing such struggles, the respondents hoped to gather more support for the plight of reindeer herders in Sweden, using tourism as a political tool. Among respondents in the southern part of the study area, such meanings of cultural ambassadors also included eliminating persistent beliefs that Sámi reindeer herders live only in the northernmost parts of the Swedish mountain ranges. Other socio-cultural meanings attributed to tourism work relate to the opportunity for individuals to express themselves through their work, especially for artists involved in handicraft production as well as to the
opportunity to keep traditions alive. Through handicraft manufacturing, traditional patterns and motifs are collected, preserved and replicated ensuring their survival for future generations.

These outcomes of tourism work have strong socio-cultural meanings for the respondents and even to the community in general. Research approaching regional development in sparsely populated areas must use approaches that acknowledge this component or risk providing a very biased picture. As explained in the second paper, for many of the respondents tourism was only one occupation alongside herding or another, as a result the income potential of the occupation when compared to any full-time occupation, is easily critiqued. However, the socio-cultural meanings described in the third paper are present and important whether tourism work is full-time or part-time. By downplaying the importance of tourism work due to its income potential also means minimizing meanings which are clearly important to a culture and a group of people.

The livelihoods approach used in this paper also brings attention to the importance of formal and informal institutions in the pursuit of successful livelihoods (Scoones, 1998). Informal institutions play particularly important roles among indigenous entrepreneurs (L.-P. Dana, 2015). This paper sought to shed light on the importance of institutions for the outcomes of tourism as a livelihood strategy. The respondents mentioned no serious problems with the local community or other organizations. At the same time, the local community and family members of the respondents did react with skepticism towards the endeavor. The respondents considered it a struggle to set up their tourism business mostly because they had to prove to the community themselves that the new business venture was an appropriate and justifiable attempt to achieve something. As explained by some respondents, decisions in the Sámi community are frequently made at the communal level and their decision to get involved in tourism was mostly done at the individual level. Currently little is known on how informal institutions and the local community influences the decision to get involved in tourism. By showing that tourism entrepreneurship by Sámi individuals can lead to improved knowledge on the Sámi and make Sámi people more visible, this paper can lead to an acceptance of tourism involvement within the Sámi community as well, possibly reducing such informal institutional barriers that exist today.

7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The general aim of this thesis was to investigate the role of tourism among Sámi indigenous people of Northern Sweden. A starting point refers to the fact that tourism is used as a tool for development in peripheral areas showing declines in long-standing primary sectors, yet the debate seems to be stuck in a circular direction going back and forth between the successes and failures of tourism employment. This is likely the result that what is considered a desired livelihood in Sweden is linked to gainful employment in a lifelong career. There is enough substantial evidence that hints at a more complex picture for Sámi indigenous people. This goes beyond approaching the problem from a lifestyle entrepreneur perspective, where motives for involvement in tourism are linked to lifestyle choices, especially migration to a desired location (D.A. Carson, Carson, & Eimermann, 2017; Eimermann, 2015). It involves acknowledging the role of culture and identity in both, the reasons to pursue a particular livelihood and the capacity to do so; with consequences to tourism as a single-sector solution to the periphery as well as to persistent dichotomous attitude towards economic growth or nothing.
The first paper in this thesis investigated how common tourism jobs were among reindeer herder families and looked specifically at the complexities between reindeer herding and Sámi culture. The results showed reindeer herding is an occupation with a significant inheritance factor. The paper also compared occupational inheritance in relation to parental income level and found no noticeable difference in rates of occupational inheritance. This illustrates that income is not a primary reason for getting involved in reindeer herding. Since the analysis compares the findings with geographically matched farmers, the results support that the inheritance factor is due to the strong associations of herding with indigenous culture and identity and not just the usual high inheritance rates found in land-based occupations in general (Laband & Lentz, 1983). Since the significant cultural meanings of reindeer herding are well documented in Sweden (Åhrén, 2008; Beach, 2007; Nordin, 2007; Olofsson, 2004), these results mostly confirm the reliability of the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes used in identifying those involved in reindeer herding. The results also show that inheriting the occupation of the herder parent(s) is highly gendered and age dependent. Previous studies have shown that modernization practices have made herding more physically demanding and this had particular impact on women’s involvement in it (Jacobsson, 2012). There is also strong evidence suggesting that human capital in the form of work experience, skills and knowledge, gained during the early years of childhood are important among successful herders, making those with most childhood exposure to herding the most favorably placed to become successful herders (Omma, Holmgren, & Jacobsson, 2011; Statistics Sweden, 1999). This study shows that men and those with most childhood exposure to herding, i.e. most involvement in herding by their parents at specific ages, are most likely to become involved in herding themselves, although the causal relationship between work conditions and human capital cannot be drawn from the data.

The analysis also showed that the majority of those involved in reindeer herding were from the northernmost county of Norrbotten. While this confirms other studies stating that Norrbotten has the most reindeer herding enterprises (Gustavsson, 1989) as well as reindeer owners in general (Sami Parliament, 2017), the actual methodology used in the paper identifies involvement in herding according to primary income for a particular year (see Methods section above or Paper I). As a result, this paper shows that the majority, almost 66%, of individuals who not only owned reindeer but also got their main income from reindeer, lived in Norrbotten. This issue is not discussed in the paper itself, but since Norrbotten has the smallest ratio of reindeer per person compared to Västerbotten and Jämtland (Swedish Board of Agriculture, 2003) one would expect that fewer herders in Norrbotten would have herding as their main livelihood but the results show that this is not the case. In other words, Norrbotten has the most reindeer owners (Sami Parliament, 2017), but also the most individuals whose main livelihood is herding even though the county average is 31 reindeer per owner (Swedish Board of Agriculture, 2003).

In response to the first aim question, paper I findings indicate that tourism occupations were more common among those with reindeer herder background than among those with farmer background. The predominance of tourism involvement was observed not just among those with a herder background but those that actually got involved in herding, which is the first indication on a larger scale that tourism might be an income diversification strategy among reindeer herders in Sweden (cf. Scoones 1998). While the historical reliance on diverse livelihoods among herders is well documented in terms of hunting, fishing and even handicrafts (Sami Parliament, 2007), the pervasiveness of tourism income for those engaged in herding has
only been hinted on or shown to be the case through a limited number of interviews (Müller & Huuva, 2009; Palomino, 2012; R. Pettersson, 2004; Revelin, 2013; Turunen, Rasmus, & Bavay, 2016). Additionally, since links to indigeneity and reindeer herding have been shown to place Sámi individuals living in the north in an advantageous position for tourism development (Müller & R. Pettersson, 2001; K. Olsen, 2003; R. Pettersson & Viken, 2007), the results are the first of their kind to show involvement in tourism by indigenous peoples to be more common than by another group, in this case geographically matched farmers.

Regarding some of the characteristics of those involved in tourism, paper I confirms previous studies linking tourism to a particular gender, its dominance in specific regions, and potentially substantiating the links between existing natural capital and tourism involvement. The share of women involved in tourism jobs from 1985 to 2010 was more than double that of men. Müller and R. Pettersson (2001) suggest that women’s predominance in tourism might be explained by the physical demands of herding, which have been shown to affect women more (Jacobsson, 2012). At the same time, the nature of tourism work is such that certain aspects of care and service are traditionally perceived as feminine traits and therefore performed by women (Brandth & Haugen, 2005). This also exemplifies how even though at the household scale reindeer herding might remain an important occupation, for a particular individual, in this case the spouse, other occupations become important. On the other hand, small-scale tourism entrepreneurship creates the possibility of undoing gendered routines, mostly by creating the necessity of both members of the household to put in equal effort to get by (Brandth & Haugen, 2010).

The results also show that individuals living in the county of Jämtland had the largest share working in tourism. The ski-oriented municipality of Åre is likely a large component of this share. Tourism municipalities in the Swedish mountain regions, such as Åre, have been shown to have enough tourism induced growth to successfully turn the negative cycle of outmigration and decreasing services (Lundmark, 2006a; Ö. Pettersson, 2001). In such localities, tourism is likely less a diversification strategy and more the single dominant activity. Lastly, when analyzing which type of tourism jobs individuals are engaged in, the results of the paper show working in attractions was common, although not as common as accommodation, among both those with a herder and farmer background. The discussion in the paper mostly addresses the little observed differences between the farmer and herder group concluding that there appears to be no inherent inclination among reindeer herders for nature-based attractions. While this is a valid point, the results also show that the natural capital available in the region does contribute to a large part of the tourism prospects of northern Sweden. Access to natural capital is one of the four resources highlighted in the livelihoods approach (Scoones, 1998). Previously, it has been shown that natural capital is important for tourism development in northern Sweden (Margaryan & Fredman, 2017; Müller & R. Pettersson, 2001), although employment in and around national parks is not significant (Byström & Müller, 2014; Lundmark, Fredman, & Sandell, 2010), this thesis shows that it is one of the largest categories of the overall tourism sector in the north. Besides nature-based tourism, the attraction category includes museums as well. This is also an important finding as culture is considered a valuable asset in tourism (Diekmann & M. Smith, 2015; Hinch & Butler, 2009; M. Smith & Robinson, 2006) as well as within the livelihoods approach (Tao, 2006). While the second and third papers of this thesis investigate this as an asset for tourism entrepreneurship, in the first paper it also demonstrates cultural capital is an important component for employment in tourism in general.
The first paper provided evidence towards the prevalence of tourism jobs among reindeer herders and some characteristics of those engaged in tourism. While not looking at all Sámi individuals living and working in tourism in northern Sweden, but only those engaged in reindeer herding, it set the groundwork for more detailed investigations into the motives behind work in tourism among Sámi. In regards to the qualitative data of this thesis, the results indicate that Sámi tourist entrepreneurs got involved in tourism for both financial and other more intangible reasons.

Surviving the shocks and stresses that can characterize rural livelihoods is expected to lead individuals or households to invest in a diversification strategy (Scoones, 1998). All tourist entrepreneurs interviewed in the second paper, which had presently or in the past, a connection to reindeer herding (nine out of the 13), said that income from tourism was used to support reindeer herding at certain times. In line with the literature showing financial struggles among reindeer herders (Johansson & N.-G. Lundgren, 1998; Keskitalo, 2008), the respondents mentioned decades of hardships which compelled them to look for other financial solutions. As explained by some respondents, the income from reindeer herding would come once or twice per year and those relying on it had to make the income last throughout the year, additionally herding income itself is highly variable from year to year (Tyler et al., 2007), something characteristic of agriculture in general (Ellis, 1998). Fluctuations in meat prices (Keskitalo, 2008), inadequate number of animals available for slaughter (Nordin, 2007), and increased operating costs (Sami Parliament, 2007) all can make the need for stable cash income from non-herding sources a necessity. Tourism provided a certain predictability to income that individuals could rely on more fully. Respondents expressed satisfaction when their tourism venture was fully booked well in advance of the tourist season, as this made them able to count on the stable income expected to come in. The diversification strategy that is part of the livelihoods approach is also substantiated by the presence of more than two occupations among some respondents. Seven of the respondents in paper II, stated that they had a third job in addition to reindeer herding and tourism. In general, both tourism and herding can be highly seasonal occupations, at least among small ventures (Ioannides & Petersen, 2003; Nordin, 2007); this potentially increases the need for additional sources of income and affords the time needed for such involvement. While multi-functionality is discussed in rural contexts in many countries (Blad, 2014; Lee, 2008), in the welfare Swedish state multiple part-time jobs are rarely seen as an indication of an integrated livelihood.

This is not to say that a diverse livelihood portfolio does not present problems in terms of balancing time between occupations. The second paper included concerns by the respondents towards the reduced involvement in reindeer herding as their tourism venture developed over time. Careful considerations were given as to which direction to develop their tourism business. With more successful growth in the tourism business, many respondents voluntarily reduced their involvement in reindeer herding. For many however, a link to herding was kept, mostly through ownership of some animals but not necessarily year-round engagement in the herding process. For those whose tourism product was closely connected to reindeer, such as animal petting, reindeer tours or selling reindeer products in the form of meat and antlers, maintaining the connection is important by way of keeping contact to the tourism resource (Müller & Huuva, 2009). At the same time, even if the tourism product does not directly necessitate access to reindeer, maintaining a connection to reindeer herding is done for cultural reasons (Nordin, 2007). While degree of involvement in herding has been shown to vary greatly among
individual herders before (Nordin, 2007), the discourse mostly focused on reasons related to hardships within herding, and much less on a deliberate choice towards another occupation.

According to Scoones (1998) such a strategy of diversification, can temporarily cover for the hardships experienced, or for some, it can also be a permanent solution to a successful rural livelihood. The results show that for many of the respondents the start of their tourism venture was uncertain in terms of its duration, they were unsure if this is something they would be able to do or enjoy doing. With time, the venture developed into something more permanent. This illustrates that tourism as a livelihood diversification strategy is not established sudden, as soon as individuals consider it an option, but instead it goes through a pilot phase during which the benefits and potentials of tourism are carefully weighed. An individual trying out if there is demand for their handicrafts or another taking a few people out on nature tours unsure of community reaction, is at an important phase in the potential transition to a new labor market. However, during this period of evaluation people are somewhat unseen, undetected in the labor market because no enterprise has been officially registered. This has potential implications for policy makers in that it is not known how many individuals decided not to pursue this strategy nor the reasons behind their decision.

Diversification strategies by means other than tourism entrepreneurship might therefore be less complicated and require less effort. For example, straightforward employment into another industry can be undertaken with less time commitment or other logistical issues. So why is tourism a livelihood strategy at all? Macro changes that are beyond the control of individuals have resulted in limited labor market opportunities in the north. Sparsely populated areas of Sweden were hardest hit in terms of the structural changes that have characterized the primary sectors in the country (Ö. Pettersson, 2002); as already explained, the employment potential of traditional staple industries has declined significantly over the last half a century. Respondents mentioned that there are few options available to them. If there are options available to them, they are complicated by unequal power dynamics. Many reindeer herders, and to some extent the Sámi community in general, feel disenfranchised by the forestry and mining industries, mostly over land-use issues. In the majority of cases many Sámi feel their voices were not given enough weight, if they were listened at all, in the dialogues resulting from land disputes. Therefore, feelings of animosity cloud the relationship among many Sámi and these industries. As a result, working in these industries is considered by many as working for the enemy (Revelin, 2013). Findings from this study confirm such moral dilemmas where individuals chose to work in tourism not because there were few options but because there were few acceptable options. This demonstrates that unaddressed issues of power imbalance can make well-meant attempts at economic renewal not reach their full potential.

Besides limited options, individuals turn to tourism as a livelihood strategy due to other macro scale events such as global increases in standards of living and therefore increases in the leisure class. An increasing affluent society globally, means that more and more people are engaging in international leisure activities. The respondents mentioned seeing increasing number of tourists visiting the area, seeing outsiders moving in the region and setting up successful tourism ventures, and seeing growing demand for nature and indigenous experiences. The local changes experienced by the respondents are confirmed by other studies showing tourism increasing in the Swedish north (Müller & Ulrich, 2007; L.S. Olsen & Heleniak, 2016) as well as a growing demand for indigenous experiences in particular (Zhang & Müller, 2018).
The experienced growth in tourism in Sápmi is not seen without its problems. Findings from paper II show that respondents are worried about mass tourism and their limited ability to steer its development if it develops too fast. Northern Sweden holds only a small share of Sweden’s tourism industry (Müller & Ulrich, 2007), yet it is expected to grow (Samiskt informationscentrums, 2017). The respondents clarified their wish for this to happen slowly. Under fast growth, the non-locals will quickly outnumber the locals and they assert that the localities in which they live would lose their essence. Similar findings were found by Palomino (2012), where among Sámi living around the Laponia World Heritage Area there were fears regarding the area rapidly developing into a mass tourism destination. This ultimately links to wider issues of power and control, where tourism becomes another livelihood option to which the Sámi have little or no control over. In the case of mass tourism, according to the respondents in the second paper, the potential loss of control is feared for the local community in general and not just for the Sámi, in contrast to conflicts with mining and forestry which are more centered on the lack of indigenous power to influence decisions (Axelsson & Sköld, 2006; Revelin, 2013). The worries attributed to the future development of tourism was also seen in the results from the third paper; there, respondents discussed the reaction of the community around their involvement in tourism. In many cases, the local community was cautious and skeptical about the respondents’ tourism ventures. One explanation relates to the imagined novelty of tourism among some Sámi (Viken, 2006), even though it dates back centuries (Svensson & Viken, 2017; Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016). Another explanation can relate to the communal nature of decisions within the Sámi community (L.-P. Dana & Riseth, 2011; Rønning, 2007). The tempering effects of community on decision-making means that problems and their solutions are assessed at different scales. For example, the issues that come with herding as the sole livelihood are most felt within individual households yet a livelihood strategy aimed at mitigating that is in reality evaluated and felt by the entire community. Respondents themselves, in their interviews, deliberated over the fact that any resistance encountered from other community members was illogical in that they all needed to look at other livelihood strategies.

The issue of time is briefly taken up in the second paper where the growth of the tourism venture is discussed in terms of new time constrains for those who are also involved in reindeer herding. At the same time, many respondents discussed the different busy periods of their tourism ventures mostly in light of being complementary to the busy periods in herding, or even other occupations. In this regard, the tourism venture had an annual rhythm different from herding and therefore it was a suited alternative over other full-time employment, such as mining for example, where there were no idle periods allowing them time with the herds. In such instances, even a highly-paid job would not be pursued due to its full-time, year-round commitments which are not compatible with herding. Calf marking during summer months was particularly mentioned as an important period that needed their presence. It was during that time that they could not be involved in other occupations. Artists engaged in handicraft production were particularly versatile in that their products could be made during idle times of the year even as they had a business that operated and sold items year-round.

The livelihoods approach emphasizes how assets linked to reindeer herding place some Sámi individuals in advantageous positions to become tourist entrepreneurs. Such assets can also prove advantageous in other ways. For example, results from paper II show that disturbances to reindeer herding by tourists is considered among one of the potential problems of tourism development in Sápmi. Encroachments during periods considered sensitive for reindeer, such
as when giving birth or marking calf ears, are particularly problematic. At the same time, respondents clarified that if the tourist entrepreneurs responsible for taking out tourists are aware of such potential problems and take precautionary measures to prevent it, i.e. have the required knowledge and connections to reindeer herding, then the negative impacts of tourism can be significantly reduced. R. Pettersson (2004) has shown that some Sámi chose to become tourist entrepreneurs with the intention of steering away visitors from sensitive herding areas. The findings of the second paper show the strong wish to maintain a good rapport between the culturally important reindeer herding and tourism. International evidence shows places that can create a positive collaboration between tourism and culture are the ones that become most successful (Richards, 2010).

The SL approach emphasizes that within the successful implementation of different livelihood strategies there should be a variety of outcomes that have significant socio-cultural meanings (Scoones, 1998). The approach aims for, among other things, some reflections on environmental outcomes as part of livelihood strategies. The third paper in this thesis is aimed at investigating the different meanings that are assigned to working in tourism by some individuals involved in it. Among some of the respondents whose tourism product included the use of reindeer, their involvement with tourists was not seen as getting involved in a new occupation but rather as it was a continuation of reindeer herding. In such instances, more than one respondent said that this is a new and innovative way of practicing reindeer herding. It was not considered too different than selling the animals to the slaughterhouse; only in this case, the animal was sold to tourists instead. Similarly, in another study, herders selling meat, in the form of prepared meals, directly to tourists can add value to the reindeer in ways not achieved by selling to the slaughterhouse (Ween & Riseth, 2017). In the current study, it was also mentioned that tourism was an even more sustainable use of the resource given that the animal is not killed and is being sold repeatedly. Aspects of blurring the boundary between occupations have been observed among farming households where involvement in tourism was seen as a continuation of active farm work (Brandth & Haugen, 2011). Within reindeer herding however, besides implications on preserving the natural resource base, this aspect gives tourism similar cultural significance as normally reserved only to herding, it therefore has the potential to gain support from within the Sámi community where, as already mentioned, some caution to indigenous tourism initiatives is observed (Viken, 2006; Zhang & Müller, 2018).

The connections between a rural occupation and the wider world rarely go beyond the usual trade of selling and buying the product. It is similar with reindeer herding where the general population’s connection to reindeer herding is likely confined to buying the animal products or encountering the herd and herders if living alongside them. Through tourism however, the interaction between host and guest is a much more detailed phenomena (Urry & Larsen, 2011), a product is presented by the host and experienced by the visitor. In the case of indigenous tourism, that product is frequently culture. An opportunity is presented where, through the interaction that tourism facilitates, knowledge about indigenous culture can be disseminated to a wider audience. Findings in the third paper show that respondents are aware of this potential and have expressed that educating visitors of Sámi culture and Sámi issues was an important part of their involvement in tourism. On an international scale, the Sámi living in northern Europe are frequently understood under stereotypical images typical of the indigenous as non-modern, backward and different (Niskala & Ridanpää, 2016). On a national scale, a similar discourse is present for northern Sweden where modernity is played down and stereotypical images of traditional Sámi are reproduced (Eriksson, 2010). Tourism became the medium
through which respondents were able to break down such stereotypes. Factual information regarding their modern lifestyles, as well as regarding the plight of reindeer herders was considered some of the most important information passed on, information which respondents mentioned the visitors were often not aware of. Tuulentie (2006) showed that Sámi tourist entrepreneurs find existing visitor knowledge of the Sámi lacking but individuals are willing to learn about it. Results from paper III show that this applies to both international and domestic tourists. As the respondents claimed, Swedes from the south were also equally ignorant about Sámi people and Sámi culture. In addition to misinformation in general about the Sámi and reindeer herders in the north, there were expressed frustrations by respondents in Jämtland, the southernmost county of the study area, that visitors were not at all aware that Sápmi extends that far south. Many visitors assumed that if one is to experience a Sámi product or reindeer, one must travel to the mountain regions of Norrbotten. This exemplifies how even though maps of Sápmi show that it covers over one third of Sweden, small-scale associations with the high mountain regions are still persistent in the imagination of most people. There are increased calls for acknowledging the heterogeneity within reindeer herding areas, not least between mountain and forest RHCs, which differ a lot in terms of reindeer management and geographical extent (Marklund, 2015). The findings from paper III show that, in line with the SL approach used in other countries (Pereiro, 2016; Tao, 2006), advancing recognition is an outcome of tourism as a livelihood strategy among Sámi as well. However, while the outcomes presented in the SL framework focus mostly on the individual, the findings here show how tourism can benefit a community and not just individuals.

The struggle between groups like the powerful and the subaltern, is taking place at different scales with the powerful being at higher scales and the subalterns at lower scales (MacKinnon, 2010). Uncovered in the findings of the third paper are issues of scale bending (N. Smith, 2004); which, according to N. Smith, is when actors operate at different scales, usually higher, in order to better their socio-economic conditions. For example, bending scale occurs when certain actors that operate at specific scales, mayors running a city, a CEO running a company exert power at higher scales, the mayor giving speeches at the United Nations or the CEO getting involved in foreign politics. As part of the cultural ambassadorship component discussed above, the respondents were conveying not just information about Sámi culture and herding but the struggles that they face. Many Sámi living in Sápmi feel local and national politicians are not hearing their voices over important issues of land-use conflicts for example. By having their voices heard by a national and international audience through the host – visitor interaction as well as by going on exhibitions and giving talks outside of Sápmi, tourist entrepreneurs are essentially reaching actors operating at much larger scales. Tourism becomes a political tool able to ‘jump’ and ‘bend’ (N. Smith, 1996, 2004) scales in ways not achieved by community activism at the local level.

Culture is an important component in indigenous tourism and through tourism cultural heritage can be promoted and enhanced (Richards, 2010). The findings show how certain traditions were being kept alive by the tourist entrepreneurs. This relates to traditional design patterns as well as certain customs around herding that would otherwise have died out. These contributions to Sámi cultural heritage resulted in a sense of pride and happiness among those respondents, aspects of well-being that are assumed unlikely to be met by other livelihood strategies outside reindeer herding. Such concepts also establish the nature of tourism work as emotional work. Those working in tourism are marked by the characteristics of their work, more so than other occupations (Veijola, 2010a). Tourism work becomes a lifestyle (Guerrier & Adib, 2003) and
it becomes hard to draw a line between life and work (Veijola, 2010b). In examples provided by the respondents, there is a choice to act and feel a certain way about their tourism work that makes it hard to distinguish it from life outside work where the struggles for tradition and recognition can be the same.

The implications of the non-financial benefits of tourism as a livelihood strategy have the potential to permeate within Sámi society as well. The prestige that is often given only to long-standing occupations such as reindeer herding, or to a similar extent to handicrafts, can be extended into other more modern endeavors if they are seen as culturally beneficent. As a result, tourism can gain more support from within the Sámi community. Without the active support of the local community, it is difficult for any development strategy to succeed in the long-run (Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004). Formal and informal institutions are instrumental in rural livelihoods (Scoones, 1998); informal institutions are especially influential among indigenous people (L.-P. Dana, 2015). The caution and skepticism observed by the community around some of the respondents as well as the respondents effort to maintain a good rapport with the community shows just how important informal institutions can be in achieving sustainable livelihoods. While the herding community approval was not formally needed, by demonstrating that no disturbances to the animals were occurring and entrepreneurs hold tourists to strict rules, harmony was maintained between the tourist entrepreneurs and the community to which they belonged. While in some cases this could be seen as keeping a good relationship to the main touristic asset, the reindeer (Müller & Huuva, 2009), it is also seen as navigating through the assemblage of informal institutions.

Tourism in Sápmi is expected to grow and will have a central place in the future development of the region. The lens with which to best understand tourism development is easily debatable. There are calls for a focus on finding the strengths of regions through research and empirical evidence (Lundström & Mäenpää, 2017) and as such promote agendas under concepts of smart specialization (Foray, David, & Hall, 2011). This is frequently promoted by EU agendas looking at regional development (Rusu, 2013). Results from this study show that at the household scale, individuals make choices that are different. Survival strategies of income diversification are inconsistent with narrow specialization strategies. Individuals get their income from many sources and each source is important to them even when it does not seem that way at a regional scale or through single sector analyses. Elsewhere in regards to tourism development, there have been calls for governments to adopt more holistic approaches, such as the SL approach, in order to create policies that widen the choices available to rural people (Lee, 2008). The concept of livelihoods is considered superior to development in that it is easier to define, observe and discuss (Tao & Wall, 2009b). Tourism development in sparsely populated areas is of such nature that when observed at the household level its contribution is diverse and is not only contained in the financial realm but into the social and cultural ones. This shows that scalar extents are an important dimension when examining tourism development and should not be ignored. With such understandings, the tourism sector should no longer be analyzed in light of whether it is able to take over fast changing primary sectors. What constitutes gainful employment should be more than the ability of a sector to provide full-time employment for as many people as possible. A Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) approach shows that successful livelihoods are complex; the limited options that often characterize sparsely populated areas make single-sector approaches inadequate for the reality on the ground.
The Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Framework can serve as a checklist on the multiple factors that connect together to constrain or allow the pursuit of successful livelihoods (Scoones, 1998), but also show how different components outweigh others (Scoones, 2009). For example, how issues of power and politics at different scales can influence the efficacy of particular assets and capitals (Scoones, 2009). Policies that eliminate constraints to diversification strategies can also have a direct and immediate effect on livelihood pursuits (Ellis, 1998). In order for this to happen, diversification strategies must be seen in a more positive light; this includes seeing tourism not necessarily as a long-term solution but potentially along a continuum where its importance shifts over time in correspondence with other livelihoods (Tao & Wall, 2009b).

The SL approach, as assessed by Bennett, Lemelin, Koster and Budke (2012), acknowledges the complexity of relations within the parts of the framework and allows for qualitative discussions on the topic as part of the employed methodology. Additionally, the authors state that by recognizing the different capacities of communities, through assessing their assets and capitals, the approach recognizes that achieving sustainable livelihoods varies within different communities, each requiring separate inquiries (Bennett, Lemelin, Koster, & Budke, 2012). The SL approach is used in this thesis to look at Sámi indigenous people and explicit links are made only to indigenous livelihoods. This is due to the specific aims of the study and is not meant to imply that for the rest of the population in sparsely populated areas livelihood strategies do not apply, they do and are, of course, equally important.

Overall, the findings in this thesis show that there are a lot of overlooked roles of tourism work among Sámi indigenous people in northern Sweden, including how tourism can benefit a community and not just individuals. At the same time, the findings presented here are only a step in fully understanding tourism and regional development in sparsely populated areas. Many questions remain unanswered. For example, while findings from the first paper shows that there is a gendered component to tourism work there is no investigation into the decision process of working in tourism, such as how or why a particular member of the household ended up working in tourism. Nor for that matter is there any investigation into the process of choosing tourism over other available occupations. Additionally, the SL approach is mostly concerned with the situation in the present; the long-term prospect of rural livelihoods is substantially impacted by major shifts in rural society. Envisaged future scenarios in rural society must also be addressed in any assessment of rural livelihoods (Scoones, 2009). Furthermore, while this study has shown meanings given to tourism work among individuals spread across the entire Swedish Sápmi, the methods employed in papers II and III does not really permit quantifying the results to a wider population. Future studies should attempt to answer such questions in order to fully understand indigenous tourism development in Sweden.
8 SAMMANFATTNING (SWEDISH SUMMARY)

8.1 BAGGRUND
Turism åberopas ofta som en lösning på snabba ekonomiska förändringar på landsbygden. Globala omstruktureringprocesser inom jordbruket och andra sektorer kräver större lönsamhet och effektivitet, vilket resulterar i att färre framgångsrika kan leva på dessa yrken. I glesbygdsområdena i norra Sverige minskade sysselsättningskapaciteten hos stapelindustrin betydligt, från början av moderniseringen i mitten av 20-talet. Som en del i en global trend, ser beslutsfattare i Sverige utvecklingen av en turistindustri som en del i att utveckla glesbygdsområden. Då turismsektorn ofta anses ha låga inträdesströkar kan turism utgöra ett lämpligt alternativ i regioner med begränsade möjligheter. Detta gäller även för ursprungsbefolkning i glesboslade områden. Även i norra Sverige, som är platsen i fokus för denna avhandling, så har turism identifierats som en viktig sysselsättning för befolkningen i framtiden. Turism anses också kunna bidra med försörjning bland personer som historiskt försörjt sig på renskötsel; en traditionell sysselsättning bland Sveriges ursprungsbefolkning, men som nu utmanas av krav på ökad effektivitet och vinst, på liknande sätt som jordbruket. Främjandet av turismen, som en ny sektor som kan ta över efter renskötseln, utmanas i det samiska sammanhanget av att renskötsel i Sverige har viktiga historiska och kulturella betydelse för samer i allmänhet och att många därför vill behålla kopplingen till renskötseln. Relationen mellan samiska turism och renskötseln passar inte in i en traditionell syn på ekonomisk utveckling där ekonomiska sektorer är enhetliga med tydligt definierade övergångsperioder mellan det gamla och det nya.


8.2 SYFTE OCH FRÅGESTÄLLNINGAR
Syftet med denna avhandling är att undersöka hur utbrett turismyrket är bland samer, samt att undersöka turismens roll bland samer i glesbefolkade områden i norra Sverige. Tre olika delsyften ligger till grund för detta arbete. Först undersöks huruvida turismarbete bland samer är vanligt nog för att bidra till meningsfulla effekter på landsbygdens försörjning i norra Sverige. För det andra undersöks turismarbete som en del av en diversifieringsstrategi som möjliggör fortsatt renskötsel. Det sista delsyftet är att undersöka i vilken utsträckning arbetet inom turism motiveras av andra faktorer än endast ekonomiska, såsom sociala och ekonomiska.

De specifika forskningsfrågor som behandlas i denna avhandling är följande:

- Hur utbrett är turismyrket bland renskötarfamiljer?
- Vad är vanliga egenskaper bland de renskötarfamiljerna som är involverade i turism?
- Varför blir vissa samer involverade i turistindustrin?
8.3 Material och metod

Den andra delen fokuserar på kvalitativ metod och handlar uteslutande om turistentrepreneur. Sammanlagt 13 halvstrukturerade intervjuer genomfördes med samiska turistentrepreneur. Intervjuerna gjordes under hösten, i oktober och november 2016, i Sveriges tre nordligaste län. Två respondenter var från Jämtland, fyra från Västerbotten och sju från Norrbotten. Alla respondenter är anonyma och inga identifierande egenskaper, såsom möjliga identifierande geografiska detaljer avslöjas i texten.

8.4 De tre artiklarna (Empiriska materialet)

Resultaten visar att det var mer sannolikt bland individer i renskötarfamiljer, än bland jordbrukarfamiljer att följa minst en förälder i fotspåren och bli renskötere själva. Resultaten visar också en starkare arvsfaktor bland män än kvinnor. ungefär 66% av de som är involverade i renskötsel bor i Norrbottens län, drygt 15% är bosatta i vart och ett av de två andra länen. Föräldrarnas inkomster från renskötsel visade också liten eller ingen skillnad till varför andelen barn följer i sina föräldrar fotspår. Detta illustrera att andra faktorer än inkomst påverkar
beslutet att engagera sig i renkötsel. När det gäller involverandet i turistindustrin så har 26,6% av renköttare och 4,2% av jordbrukarna arbetat med turism vid minst ett tillfälle under den studerade 50-årsperioden. Detta visar för första gången med en så omfattande analys att turism kan användas som en inkomstdiversifieringsstrategi bland renköttare i Sverige. Att arbeta i hotellbranschen, i barer och restauranger, och att arbeta med olika turistattraktioner såsom museum och naturreservat, är de vanligaste turismarbetena både bland renkötar- och jordbruksfamiljer.

Artikel II (Tourism as a Livelihood Diversification Strategy among Sámi Indigenous People in Northern Sweden) fokuserar på samiska turismentrepreneurers motivationer att engagera sig i turism. Utgångspunkten är att det saknas studier som ser utöver enskilda sektorer vid studier av de förändringar som skett i den primära sektorn, och dess konsekvenser i glesbefolkade områden i Sverige. Tidigare studier har främst fokuserat på heltidsanställningar och turismens förmåga att ta över från primäringen. Denna artikel rör sig bort från en sådan typisk rural omstruktureringsdiskurs och använder istället en 'livelihoods approach' (SL) för att undersöka motivationen bakom individers val att arbeta inom turism och i vilken utsträckning turism är del i en inkomstdiversifieringsstrategi bland samer.

Studiens resultat visar att det finns många anledningar och motiv till varför de intervjuade samiska entreprenörerna väljer att arbeta med turism. En anledning är de intervjuades sociala och kulturella kapital som är kopplat till ursprungsfolk och natur. Andra anledningar är relaterade till turismarbetets mångsidighet och den glädje som respondenterna upplever i mötet med människor. Detta kan vara argument till varför de väljer turism framför andra potentiellt högre betalande jobb; inte på grund av högre lön eller heltidsanställning, utan på grund av den frihet och de sociala fördelar som arbetet ger. Betydelsen av turismen som en strategi för inkomstdiversifiering bekräftades också av att nio av de 13 respondenterna uppgav att inkomster från turism användes för att stödja renkötseln. Men inkomstdiversifiering innebär för många av respondenterna mer än sysselsättning inom turism och renkötsel, sju av de svarande hade tre olika yrken under året.

Artikel III (More than just a Job: Exploring the Meanings of Tourism Work among Indigenous Sámi Tourist Entrepreneurs) bygger på samma intervjudata som Artikel II men fokuserar på konsekvenserna av turism som en försörjningsstrategi. Enligt SL (Sustainable livelihood approach); för att en försörjningsstrategi ska vara hållbar och framgångsrik krävs det inte bara innehålla ekonomiska utfall relaterade till inkomst men också sociokulturella aspekter. Resultat relaterade till ekonomiska faktorer dominerar den befintlig forskning om glesbefolkade områden i Sverige, mycket mindre uppmärksamhet har ägnats åt övriga aspekterna av försörjning som framhålls i SL.

Resultaten som presenteras i artikeln visar på en rad tidigare okända betydelser och värden som turism kan inbegripa. Till exempel, för några av respondenterna, vars turistföretag involverar turistaktiviteter levande renar, betraktades turistverksamheten inte som en verksamhet separat från renkötseln, utan som en modern form av renkötsel. Ett mer återkommande tema som återfanns bland majoriteten av respondenterna avser turismambassadörskap. Att utbilda turister om det samiska och om aktuella samiska frågor var en viktig aspekt av respondenternas arbete som turistföretagare. Detta innebar att en visa att samer lever precis som vanliga svenskar, i moderna bostäder med en modern livsstil. Samt att upplysa om dagens utmaningar gällande renkötsel. Andra sociokulturella betydelser och värden som tillskrivs turismsarbete avser
möjligheten för enskilda att uttrycka sig genom sitt arbete, särskilt för konstnärer som är involverade i hantverksproduktion, samt möjligheten att hålla traditioner vid liv. Många respondenter kämpade med att visa för andra samer i lokalsamhället att deras verksamhet var ett lämpligt och motiverat försök att skapa en meningsfull försörjning.

8.5 DISKUSSION OCH SLUTSATSER


Att överleva förändringar och påfrestningar som kan karakterisera försörjning på landsbygden förväntas leda individer eller hushåll att investera i en diversifieringsstrategi. Alla turistentreprenörer intervjuade i det artikel två, som för närvarande eller tidigare arbetade med renskötsel (nio av de 13), sade att inkomst från turismen användes för att stödja renskötseln under vissa perioder. I linje med den litteratur som visar på ekonomiska problem bland rensköttare, nämnde respondenterna decennier av stora svårigheter som tvingat dem att leta efter andra finansiella lösningar. Med fluktuationer i köttpriser, det ibland otillräckliga antalet slakt djur och ökade driftskostnader är en stabil sidoinkomst en nödvändighet. Turism gav en viss inkomsttrygghet som respondenterna kunde förlita sig på mer.

Det här betyder inte att en mångsidig inkomstportfölj inte skapar problem när det gäller att balansera tiden mellan yrken. Den andra artikeln innehöll oro från respondenterna angående det minskade engagemanget i renskötsel som blev konsekvensen av att deras turistföretag växte och utvecklades. När turistföretagen blev framgångsrika minskade många respondenters frivilligt sitt engagemang i renskötsel. Medan tidigare studier visar att graden av engagemang i renskötsel varierar mycket mellan enskilda rensköttare, finns en diskurs som främst pekar på att
få renägare skulle lämna renskötseln frivilligt och än mindre på grund av ett val av ett annat yrke, vilket framgår av denna studie. Makroförändringar som är bortom individens kontroll har resulterat i begränsade arbetsmarknadsmöjligheter i norr. Respondenterna nämnde att det finns få alternativ tillgängliga för dem. Om det finns alternativ som är tillgängliga för dem komplicerar de av ojämna maktrationer. Många renskötare, och i viss utsträckning det samiska samhället i stort, känner sig hjälplösa vad gäller markanvändningsfrågor i relation till skogs- och gruvindustrin. I de flesta fall kände många samer att deras röster inte gavs tillräcklig betydelse, om de alls lyssnades till, i de dialoger som rör markdispyter. Som ett resultat av detta anser man att arbeta i dessa branscher är att arbeta för fienden. Resultat från denna studie bekräftar sådana moraliska dilemma där individer valde att arbeta i turism, inte för att det inte fanns några andra alternativ, utan för att det fanns några acceptabla alternativ.


9 REFERENCES


In each sentence, we have replaced placeholders with appropriate names and titles. Here is the formatted text:


Snyder, J. M. (2007). The economic role of Arctic tourism. In J. Snyder, & B. Stonehouse (Eds.), *Prospects for polar tourism* (pp. 102-122). Oxon: CABI.


Vladimirova, V. (2017). Sport and folklore festivals of the North as sites of indigenous cultural revitalization in Russia. In A. Viken, & D. K. Müller (Eds.), Tourism and indigeneity in the Arctic (pp. 182-204). Bristol: Channel View Publications.


