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Authenticity in Sámi tourism: a content analysis of tourism brochures

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Abstract

The study of tourism marketing communication is an important aspect that contributes to the understanding of how destinations and locals are portrayed. Through the so-called circle of representation, images can spread from tourism marketing to other media, such as tourism photography for example. This study has analysed 118 brochures from northern Sweden and compared the pictures and text contained in them to 8 previously conceptualised themes that were the result of a web marketing study. The focus is on the portrayal of the Sámi Indigenous population. The brochures have been analysed through a content analysis and the results show that there is correspondence between the brochures and other marketing material portraying Sámi culture, contributing to the study of tourism marketing communication, Sámi tourism and authenticity. The brochures are mostly in Swedish, but often English versions are also available. Sámi culture is portrayed in both pictures and text in about half of the brochures. The authors of these brochures were mostly companies, DMOs and other institutions. The results show that meaningful information is provided to the tourists: the modernity and fluidity of Sámi culture is also shown, circulating more multifaceted information and imagery than in more traditional marketing representations.

Keywords: authenticity, Saami, brochures, Indigenous, marketing

Introduction

Tourists have expectations when they visit a certain destination (e.g. Olsen, 2016; Rickly-Boyd, 2012) and tourism marketing does shape such expectations (e.g. Gunnarsdóttir, 2011; Hunter, 2008; Pettersson, 2006). As the digitalisation of marketing tools advances, tourists still rely on more traditional ways of gathering information, such as guidebooks and brochures (e.g. Andereck, 2005; Chang, Wang, & Lin, 2017; Ho et al., 2015; Zillinger, 2006). Especially in the case of Indigenous populations, brochures and guidebooks have been relevant in the study of representations of places and people (Condevaux, 2009; Müller & Pettersson, 2006; Olsen, 2006, 2008; Pashkevich, & Keskitalo, 2017).

In the specific case of the Indigenous population Sámi, the study of brochures has revealed different issues on how Sámi culture is presented (Müller & Pettersson, 2006; Niskala & Ridanpää, 2016; Olsen, 2006; Pettersson, 1999). In fact, it has been recently argued that Indigenous tourism marketing messages are not supporting big changes in the tourists' decision-making regarding the demand for Indigenous tourism (Holder & Ruhanen, 2019). Brochures can influence other marketing materials as well as tourist photography (Jenkins, 2003; Urry & Larsen, 2011). Images circulate from the dominant marketing channels to the tourists' own photographs. Tourists' expectations are also shaped by movies and advertising (Dilley, 1986). However, there are also studies showing a discrepancy between user-generated content and official marketing (Larsen, 2006; Paül i Agustí, 2018). Marketing information and Indigenous tourism are also related to the study of authenticity. In the case of the Sámi, authenticity has meant a representation of Sámi culture as frozen in time and exotic (Olsen, 2006) rather than evolving and dynamic (Olsen, 2016).

Considering this interconnection of marketing, authenticity and Indigenous tourism, the aim of this study is to analyse the presentation of the Sámi in brochures available across northern Sweden. A total of 118 brochures of different kinds were collected and analysed through a content analysis of themes that were previously identified in a study on Sámi marketing material from websites of Sámi tourism companies (de Bernardi, 2019b). The aim is to compare different kinds of marketing messages and to discuss which images and descriptions are presented to the tourists, contributing to the study of authenticity in tourism marketing.

The Sámi, Indigenous tourism, and authenticity

The Sámi

The Sámi are an Indigenous population residing in Europe, mostly in the Nordic countries, but also in Russia. They have traditionally resided in a transnational area called Sápmi (Samiskt informationscentrum, n.d.-a) and the population is estimated to be about 100 000 for the whole of Sápmi (Samiskt informationscentrum, n.d.-b). The Sámi are a very heterogenous group; there are different Sámi languages (Samiskt informationscentrum, n.d.-c), different occupations such as reindeer herding, fishing (Samiskt informationscentrum, n.d.-d) and tourism. Legislation is also different and there are dedicated Sámi institutions such as the Sámi Parliament (Samiskt informationscentrum, n.d.-e). In the Nordic countries, the Sámi are the only ones who are allowed to own large herds of reindeer in Norway and Sweden, but not in Finland (Müller & Viken, 2017; Pettersson, 2006).

Tourism activities have been both positive and negative for the Sámi (Viken, 2006). On the one hand, it is a way to disseminate culture (Müller & Viken, 2017) and to convey information (Sametinget, 2010). On the other hand, some conflicts have emerged. For instance, over marketing practices (Müller & Kuoljok Huuva, 2009; Niskala & Ridanpää, 2016) and issues of representation (Keskitalo, 2017). Furthermore, tourists have been taking pictures of the Sámi during everyday activities, causing uneasiness (Pettersson & Viken, 2007). The biggest problems with tourism have been reported to be present in Finland (e.g. Müller & de Bernardi, 2020; Pettersson, 2006). Recently, the Finnish Sámi parliament, has published guidelines for the ethical treatment of Sámi culture in tourism (Heith, 2019; Sámediggi, n.d.).

Some members of the Sámi population participate in tourism as a source of income (Leu & Müller, 2016), lifestyle choice and activity diversification (Leu, 2019) as well as place attachment (Schilar & Keskitalo, 2018b). The interest of the tourists is usually on elements that distinguish the Sámi, such as the traditional Sámi tent, and costumes, among others (Viken & Müller, 2017). Tourism marketing tends to present people as stuck in the past (e.g. Niskala & Ridanpää, 2016) and primitive (e.g. Bruner, 2001; Niskala & Ridanpää, 2016). Tourists are also interested in the everyday life of the populations they visit (Olsen et al., 2019).

An important factor is to have control over tourism activities (Sametinget, 2010), but marketing communication is usually in the hands of DMOs (Destination Marketing Organizations) (Viken

de Bernardi: Authenticity as a compromise: a critical realist perspective on Sámi tourism labels

& Müller, 2017). Tourism is a way to challenge stereotypes (Leu & Müller, 2016), even though it may yield the opposite effect (Heldt Cassel, 2019). Indigenous cultures are often linked to the Arctic, creating a sense of authenticity (Saarinen & Varnajot, 2019). Sámi tourism research has focused on Sámi tourism and its roles and shortcomings, conflicts over development and representations (Hägglund, Schilar, & Keskitalo, 2019). The latter are the focus of this paper.

Authenticity

As previously mentioned, research on Indigenous populations such as the Sámi and authenticity intersect. For instance, the discussion over what should be authentic or not in the context of indigeneity (Keskitalo et al., 2019; Keskitalo & Schilar, 2016) and how storytelling is involved in authenticity (Schilar & Keskitalo, 2018b; Äikäs & Spangen, 2016). Authenticity is also seen as the result of a negotiation between Indigenous populations and tourists (Lane & Waitt, 2010) and is related to locality and souvenirs (Schilar & Keskitalo, 2018a). Indigenous populations portrayed in brochures can be seen as representing authenticity (Chang, Wall, & Tsai, 2005).

As shown by Wang's (1999) analysis, authenticity has developed in different directions in tourism research. Authenticity has been related to interactions (Knudsen & Waade, 2010) and the tourists' perceptions as well as experiences (Fu et al., 2018; Rickly-Boyd, 2012). Authenticity is also related to performance (Zhu, 2012), especially in guided tours (Overend, 2012; Williams, 2013). Existential authenticity is an approach connected to subjective experiences (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006; Wang, 1999), that has been connected to place (Rickly-Boyd, 2013), photography (Cederholm, 2004) and the locals' experiences (Hsu & Nilep, 2015). Authenticity can be a way to escape alienation (Knudsen, Rickly, & Vidon, 2016) and this is related to postmodern authenticity, which can support the tourists' experience of heritage sites (Yi et al., 2018).

Authenticity has also been conceptualised in terms of different dimensions, such as indexical, iconic and symbolic (Thomsen & Vester, 2016). Authentication implies an objective and a subjective aspect of authenticity (e.g. Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Cohen & Cohen, 2019). Lau (2010) outlines a realist approach to authenticity, based on ontological reality, as well as discourses and subjective interpretations. Chhabra (2008) argued for combining objective and existential authenticity, which is also the approach adopted here. Wilson (2014) postulated that authenticity is a compromise between some degree of historical accuracy as well as subjective

de Bernardi: Authenticity as a compromise: a critical realist perspective on Sámi tourism labels

interpretations. This perspective is based on critical realism (CR), which is a realist approach. This implies that there is one single reality, but the different views on it are very important (Danermark et al., 2002). Authenticity as a compromise in the case of Sámi culture is a then conceptualised as middle way between representing culture based on tradition and historical aspects, but to also incorporate subjective aspects to the marketing materials (de Bernardi, 2019a). Authenticity as a compromise can facilitate a reconciliation between being tourism entrepreneurs, reindeer herders and the different opinions on the Sámi participation in tourism (e.g. Leu & Müller, 2016; Pettersson & Viken, 2007).

The study of brochures

Brochures are a kind of promotional material, which can perpetuate discourse and power relations (Scarles, 2004). Brochures can influence the tourists' decision-making (Wicks & Schuett, 1991), especially early in the process (Dann, 2004), even though this is not always the case (Molina & Esteban, 2006). Perceived authenticity can be influenced by brochures, so education should be a focus of promotional strategies in aboriginal contexts (Chang, Wang, & Lin, 2017). Tourists may also be sceptical about the information conveyed by brochures (Rozier-Rich & Santos, 2011).

The study of brochures is often based on a division in certain categories mostly based on pictures (Hassan, 2014; Hunter, 2008; Nicoletta & Servidio, 2012; Pritchard & Morgan, 1995), but also language (Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen, 2016; Yan, 2019). Brochures have been found to present stereotypical images of women (Sirakaya & Sonmez, 2000; Sun, & Luo, 2016; Vanolo & Cattan, 2017) and of homosexuality (Coon, 2012). Brochures can be used as a legitimisation (Bratt, 2018) as well as unification tool (Prokkola, 2007). This kind of marketing material can also reinforce interpretations (Guedes & Jimenez, 2016), narratives (Avraham & Daugherty, 2012) and representations of places (Buzinde et al., 2010; Desmond, 2016; Gunnarsdóttir, 2011; Hoffman & Kearns, 2016; Hunter, 2010). Brochures can promote interest in the local community (Andereck, 2005) and include narratives corresponding to other marketing channels (Hunter, 2016).

As previously mentioned, brochures can perpetuate power relations and domination, and this is especially relevant in the context of Indigenous tourism (Burton & Klemm, 2011; Buzinde, Santos, & Smith, 2006; Tresidder, 2010). In the specific case of the Sámi, brochures are a way to maintain political discourses and media representations (Niskala & Ridanpää, 2016).

Brochures can also be a way in which Indigenous culture is adapted to western values (Buzinde, Choi, & Wang, 2012). The places where Indigenous peoples live can be described as remote (Hsu & Nilep, 2015), while integrating Indigenous views in brochures can enhance the experience of the visitors (Zeppel, & Muloin, 2008).

Materials and methods

This study is based on a content analysis of 118 brochures that were collected in May of 2019 in the Jokkmokk and Kiruna areas in northern Sweden. The brochures were gathered mainly from museums and tourist information offices, but also from other places. A few items are not 'brochures' in the strict sense of the term but are catalogues or magazines. To facilitate the terminology, all of the material will be defined as 'brochures' since this was the most prominent kind of material. Brochures can be available in several versions, but only the Swedish ones were analysed, and the presence of another language was recorded and checked to discuss if a brochure is meant for a wider public or only for the domestic visitors. Different versions of the same brochures were not analysed to avoid doubling the results. This does not mean the message will be identical, but the focus here is on manifest content (Shelley & Krippendorff, 2004) of both texts and pictures (Francesconi, 2011). In one case the brochure was only available in German, so the analysis has been completed by looking at the pictures and the keyword 'Sami'. This was the only case in which a brochure was only available in a language which the author only understands superficially.

The approach is a direct content analysis, which is guided by previous studies or research (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The analysis is based on two critical realist research approaches: abduction and retroduction (Danermark et al., 2002), which imply an open dialogue between theory and empirical data as well as using the results to appraise the theories that exist on a phenomenon. Coding was open but based on a coding matrix. The study of the brochures was based on 8 categories from previous study on Sámi tourism websites (de Bernardi, 2019a).

The categories are shown in Table 1:

Table 1 Categories used for coding adapted from de Bernardi (2019a)

Theme 1: Connection to nature/harmony with nature/peacefulness
Theme 2: Connection to reindeer
Theme 3: Connection to the past
Theme 4: The use of friendly language
Theme 5: 'Authenticity' as a noun or adjective
Theme 6: The Sámi costume; the Sámi hut; the yoik; *handicrafts*; *food*

| **Theme 7:** Joining the Sámi |
| **Theme 8:** Modernity and useful information for tourists |

The two categories listed in italics have been added from an interview study with tourism stakeholders that is forthcoming. The brochures have been categorised according to nine main characteristics which are detailed in Figure 1. Notes on other characteristics that were not present in the themes were also recorded.

Type of brochure	Presence of Sámi culture	Provenance	Language	Main attraction advertised	Issuing actor	Number of pages	Picture	Authenticity discourse coding	
Leaflet	Yes, text	Padjelanta	English and Swedish versions	The trail of Padjelanta	Several institutional actors	6	None	theme 3 (text); theme (text); theme 8 (text);	very good info on respecting the Sámi
Map	Yes, text	Muttus	Swedish and English	Many different activities in the whole region	Several institutional actors	2	None	theme 8 (text)	very good info on respecting the Sámi

Figure 1 Example of coding process

The number of pages was relevant related to how many themes can be identified in one single brochure. There was no annotation if the producer would be Sámi or not since in some cases this cannot be determined. The presence of pictures is annotated and other information that may be relevant.

Results

The analysed brochures contain between 1 and 190 pages. As shown in Table 2, the brochures that contained both English and Swedish were 13, the ones with two different versions for each language were 23. Some of the brochures were in one language, but a second version may have existed but not available during data collection. There were 15 brochures that were only in English, 42 were only in Swedish. A Sámi language was present in 4 brochures, but one was just a summary. Other languages used are German and Finnish. In order to summarise the available languages, each of the language combinations were first counted separately in order to make sure that each brochure had been included. Once this phase was completed, the three languages that were recorded the least (Sámi, German and Finnish) were summarised and therefore sometimes overlap.

Table 2 The summary of the languages

Swedish	42	35.5%

English and Swedish versions available	23	19.5%
English	13	11%
Both English and Swedish	13	11%
Swedish (probably English version available)	9	7.5%
English (probably Swedish version available)	6	5%
Containing German	5 (overlap)	4%
Containing Sámi	4 (overlap)	3%
Containing Finnish	3 (overlap)	2.5%
Swedish, partly in English	1	0.8%

The presence of Sámi culture is summarised in Table 3. The references to Sámi culture were assessed based on the themes presented in Table 1, with an open coding. The clear mention of 'Sámi' in text was also a guiding indication. This characteristic has been recorded depending on its presence, its absence and if present, if it is in text or picture. All of the brochures were analysed and the ones in which Sámi culture was not present are 64. The ones in which Sámi culture was recorded are divided according to how Sámi culture was included: with both picture and text (39 brochures), only in text (12 brochures) or only in picture (3 brochures). In one case Sámi culture was shown as a drawing (Table 3).

Table 3 Summary of the presence of Sámi culture

No Sámi culture	64	54%
Sámi text and picture	39	33%
Sámi culture in text	12	10%
Sámi culture in picture	3	2.5%
In text and a drawing	1	0.8%

As shown in Table 4, the most prominent actors which produce brochures are companies, institutions managing parks and other places as well as DMOs and tourist offices. Sámi culture is present in about 32% of company brochures, 53% of managing institutions brochures and 71% of DMO brochures. A few brochures are produced by partnerships of different institutions such as museums together with DMOs and then there were also brochures produced by a mix of private and public actors, municipalities, one magazine and the advertising for a film.

Camping and tourism associations are less common. In three cases it was not possible to ascertain which actor was producing the brochures.

Table 4 Issuing actors and presence of Sámi culture

Issuing actor	Total	Presence of Sámi culture
Company	37	12
Managing institution	30	16
DMO	14	10
Tourist office	15	5
Several institutional actors	8	5
Association	5	2
Unclear	3	1
Many different actors	2	2
Municipality	2	1
Magazine	1	0
Production company	1	1

The themes presented in Table 1 are presented in Table 5 as applied to the study of brochures. Theme 4 has been excluded since it implied a more detailed analysis of language, as in a discourse analysis. The focus in this context is on manifest language references explicitly mentioning Sámi culture, as well as pictures with the same purpose.

Indigenous populations are often connected to the reindeer, to nature, to the past and to tangible and intangible aspects of heritage, as presented in other studies on, for instance, brochures (Niskala & Ridanpää, 2016; Olsen, 2006), but also in other contexts (Hägglund, Schilar, & Keskitalo, 2019; Saarinen, 1999). The presence of these themes in the analysed brochures is as follows (Table 5):

Table 5 The different themes and their presence in the brochures

Theme	Brochures
Theme 1: Connection to nature/harmony with nature/peacefulness • Connection to untouched nature	*11 times* 8 text 3 picture
Theme 2: Connection to reindeer	*50 times*

	28 text 1 drawing 21 picture
Theme 3: Connection to the past	*27 times* 23 text 4 picture
Theme 5: 'Authenticity' as a noun or adjective	*5 times* 4 text 1 picture

Theme 6:
  • The Sámi costume
  • Sámi huts or tents
  • Traditional singing connected to indigenous populations or the traditional Sámi *yoik* chant
  • Handicrafts
	40 times
	21 picture
	19 text

Theme 7: Joining the Sámi	*4 times* 4 text
Theme 8: Modernity and useful information for tourists	*28 times* 14 picture 14 text

As shown in Table 5, the theme that is the most prevalent is the connection to the reindeer followed by the connection to different cultural artefacts and then by modernity and useful information and by the connection to the past. Each of the themes were counted only one per brochure so if a theme was present several times was noted in the space for extra information, but it was not counted several times for the same brochure.

There is a connection to the reindeer almost equally in the text as in pictures. The same can be argued about the connection to tangible and intangible elements of Sámi culture. The connection to modernity and useful information is present in the same amount in text and picture while the past is more prevalent in written form rather than in pictures. Authenticity is often not spelled out. In regard to this aspect, Gilmore and Pine (2007, p. 133) argue that most of the time companies do not declare to be authentic. It is something that is shown instead. Authenticity can instead be found in a picture's caption, which was common in the analysed brochures. There are a few references to a possibility to join the Sámi in everyday activities, while the connection to nature is only mentioned in 12 brochures and mostly in text rather than in pictures.

Discussion

The data collected in this study shows how Sámi culture is presented in brochures produced in northern Sweden. The majority of the brochures does not contain Sámi culture, but the numbers are almost half and half (Table 3). Considering that Sámi companies in Sweden were estimated to be about 100 in total in 2010 (Sametinget, 2010) and in 2012 the combination of the northern regions of Sweden would account for about 2000 tourism companies (Sjöberg & Arvidsson, 2012), almost half of the brochures is a high number.

The majority of the brochures are produced by companies, institutions and DMOs (Table 4). In previous studies it has been shown that brochures can be produced by Indigenous tour operators as in the case of the Maori (Olsen, 2008), by the state (Sirakaya & Sonmez, 2000), tourism boards (Tresidder, 2010) and travel agencies (Echtner & Prasad, 2003). Most of the pictures displaying Sámi culture can be found in the brochures produced by DMOs, which have been considered to be holding power over how destinations are represented (Keskitalo & Schilar, 2016) and which control tourism development in the areas where the Sámi operate (Viken & Müller, 2017). When it comes to managing institutions, there are power structures, such as in the situation with the World Heritage natural area Laponia. The Sámi were reprimanded for using mobile phones in the area as this does not fit with an exotic image (Green, 2009). When it comes to companies, the high number of brochures in which Sámi culture is presented can also be affected by the presence of a high number of brochures produced by Sámi companies in the area in which the brochures were collected. The majority of the brochures are in Swedish, which implies that most of the material that is produced is for the domestic market, which is also the biggest in Sweden, but not the biggest in the northern areas (Tillväxtverket, 2018). This can be problematic in terms of conveying information properly.

Theme 1, the connection to nature, is common in this study as it was in the study on Sámi tourism websites (de Bernardi, 2019a). Landscape elements have been shown to be very common as an attractive element in brochures (Brito & Pratas, 2015). One explanation could be that nature is part of the outdoor recreation philosophy from the Nordic countries and the fact that there is the right of public access to nature (Gelter, 2000; Kaltenborn, Haaland, & Sandell, 2001). On the other hand, it can be argued that nature is not an uncommon theme in the analysed brochures, but it is not often associated to aspects of Sámi culture. Connecting Indigenous populations with nature bears the risk to associate them to wilderness and especially

the element of the 'untouched' (Heldt Cassel, 2019; Keskitalo et al., 2019; Pashkevich & Keskitalo, 2017). Since Sámi culture is domestic, it has not been that attractive to the Swedish market, even though interest has been growing (Müller & Kuoljok Huuva, 2009) and the foreign market in the northern regions has been prominent and growing (Tillväxtverket, 2018). The connection to the reindeer is a very common theme both in written and pictorial form and can also be often found in Sámi marketing (de Bernardi, 2019a; Vladimirova, 2011). However, not all of the Sámi are reindeer herders (Leu & Müller, 2016). The reindeer was also prominent in an earlier study on brochures from the same areas as well as other themes identified in this research (Pettersson, 1999) and is an important part of the image of the northern areas (Müller & Pettersson, 2001).

Brochures also provide meaningful information to the tourists about the modern life of the Sámi and about reindeer herding (Theme 8 in Table 5). Many of the brochures indicate that precautions should be taken in order to not disturb the reindeer and reindeer herding. The longer brochures produced by one of the DMOs provide much information about the Sámi, which can educate the visitors such as information about different certification schemes, Sámi language and about respecting the reindeer. Sámi languages can be a way to enhance the sense of an authentic experience of Sámi culture (Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen, 2014).

The brochures also contain a series of interviews with Sámi designers, as well as the Sámi are presented wearing modern clothing and designs as well as traditional clothing. Indigenous approaches have been highlighted as important for sustainable development in tourism (Holmes et al., 2016). Theme 6 includes representations of tangible and intangible manifestations of Sámi culture, which are very common. Indigenous populations in traditional costumes are often depicted in tourism brochures (Hassan, 2014; Jenkins, 2003), which is also what happens in the case of the Sámi (Niskala & Ridanpää, 2016). This is considered a way to keep Indigenous populations stuck in the past (Condevaux, 2009; Koot, 2016), even though it is an important cultural element so this is also a potential reason for why it is shown in the brochures. The presentation of the modern Sámi designers and the interviews of the Sámi entrepreneurs provide information that will inform the tourists about contemporary Sámi culture. This also connects to Theme 3, which mostly in the texts link the Sámi to a traditional past. It can also be positive for the tourists' experiences (Zeppel, & Muloin, 2008). This is a characterisation that is often used in the context of Sámi tourism (de Bernardi, 2019a; Keskitalo et al., 2019) and other Indigenous tourism activities (Condevaux, 2009; Olsen, 2008). The word authenticity or

synonyms (Theme 5) was not mentioned in many of the brochures, it was more common in websites (de Bernardi, 2019a). As previously mentioned, not writing the term openly does not mean that authenticity is not something that the actors aspire to (Gilmore & Pine, 2007, p. 133).

Conclusions

This analysis of brochures available in northern Sweden shows some differences as well as commonalities with previously examined marketing of Sámi tourism (de Bernardi, 2019a). Recent studies about Sámi culture connected to the representation of places have described this kind of promotional information, connected to authenticity, as potentially ambiguous and potentially supporting dominant discourses of colonialism and stereotypes (Heldt Cassel, 2019). In this study, this kind of marketing is instead seen as a challenge of dominant discourses. A previous study on tourism web marketing produced by Sámi tourism entrepreneurs showed that the Sámi were using certain elements that are common in the tourism marketing discourse (de Bernardi, 2019a). Nevertheless, several elements of modernity were meant to show to potential visitors that Sámi culture is contemporary, fluid and constantly evolving (de Bernardi, 2019a).

The analysed brochures include information on important elements of Sámi culture in the tourism context, such as contemporary Sámi culture and fashion, while also highlighting important traditional activities that are still carried out and important nowadays. This exemplifies authenticity as a compromise, which is a balance between elements that are seen as important, or even constitutive, to Sámi culture as well as different subjective interpretations (de Bernardi, 2019b). Sámi entrepreneurs and artists were involved in the brochures through interviews, stories and recommendations. As previously mentioned, images and representations can circulate to from marketing and through tourist photography in the so-called circle of representation (Jenkins, 2003). If this information spreads, the potential is to change the expectations of the tourists as well as positively benefit their experience (Chang, Wang, & Lin, 2017; Chhabra, 2008). This also implies an effort to expand language availability based on the local markets. The brochures still show a prominent connection to the reindeer and to the past, but Sámi participation and multifaceted information could gradually change the tourists' expectations. For instance, it has been argued that the tourists look for difference when travelling to see Indigenous cultures (Müller & Viken, 2017), but their interest is shifting to interest in everyday lives (Olsen et al., 2019), which is a positive change.

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