Ecocertifications and quality labels. 
For whom and why, in the case of Laponia.

by

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Ecocertifications and quality labels
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Abstract

There are a lot of ecocertifications in Sweden for a variety of different categories; for example the Swan, which is a label for both hotels and products; KRAV, a label for farms and what farms produce; Nature’s Best, a label for tourist adventures; the Sápmi Experience, a newly developed label for Sámi tourism, and The Green Key, a certification offered by Håll Sverige Rent for hostels, hotels, mountain cabins and camping grounds. Nature’s Best and the Green Key I have chosen as the focus for this paper, because they are the most relevant for my research. I will also give some attention to Sápmi Experience because it is an interesting development in indigenous tourism. In the World Heritage area of Laponia, where I conducted fieldwork, there are several actors that have interest in the ecotourism business. Some of the actors are Sámi, the indigenous people whose principal livelihood in Laponia is reindeer herding, and some are non-Sámi, like the Swedish Tourist Association (STF) or other small-scale businesses. Some of them have the Nature’s Best label on their adventures, some do not. I find the Sámi culture and way of life very interesting, and since they are a big part of the World Heritage area Laponia landscape and an indigenous people, it was natural for me include them in this thesis.

In this thesis I want to address the questions of for whom and why there are ecocertifications and quality markings. Are they for tourists, for traveling agencies, for people living in popular tourist areas, or perhaps for the environment?

Key words: Laponia, World Heritage, tourism, ecocertifications, quality markings, eco tourism
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During my fieldworks in 2008 and 2009 I stayed at Åsgård Hostel in Jokkmokk, and during the summer of 2009 I worked there. Karin Elg, who was manager at Åsgård, was always interesting to talk to, full of stories and we shared many laughs. I also conducted several semi-structured and structured interviews with her regarding the Green key certification and always got informative answers, which had great value to my thesis.

I have also received valuable information and help from Michael Teilus and Karin Kvarfort at Samebyarnas kansli, Eva Gunnars from the County Administrative Board in Norrbotten, Katrin Lanto at Sámi Duodji Sameslöjdsstiftelsen, Anders Forsberg at the Stone center, employees at the mountain stations of Saltoluokta and Ritsem, at the Green Key, at Nature’s Best and the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, to all I am very grateful too.

Last, but surely not least, my family, especially my mum, and my friends for support, help and encouragement.
Introduction and disposition

Most of us, I believe, enjoy going abroad on vacation. Whether it is to find a nice beach, to explore a foreign town, go hiking along a track somewhere or something else, it is enjoyable to go away for some time. Tourism is one of the world’s largest industries and traveling is increasing every year. Tourism companies exploit our desire to travel, with advertisements in different media to exotic places you just have to visit. Something most tourism companies do not display is how the environment is affected with all this traveling to far away places. I wonder if tourists are interested in, and think about, the environment when traveling? Or is the notion of getting away more important? Other interesting aspects are the possibility of using tourism for good causes, for example ecotourism as an empowerment for poor people, to save a species or a piece of nature, rich in ecological value. Ecotourism is used to save tigers in India and to save whales in New Zealand. The mountain gorillas in Rwanda are growing in numbers because of ecotourism for example, and perhaps ecotourism also can be used to create sustainable economy for people. Those are some of the interesting aspects of tourism, to me.

The area where I did my fieldwork is located in the North of Sweden. I spent most of my time in the town of Jokkmokk, visited the town of Gällivare and traveled around to the mountain stations Saltoluokta and Ritsem. I also took a short hike along the Padjelanta trail in the World Heritage area of Laponia and stayed in the Akka mountain cabins, near the mountain Áhkká. World Heritage areas are believed to attract extra interest from tourists, but in the paper about hiking tourism in Laponia it appears that tourists primarily come to hike and experience the wilderness and tranquility, not because it is a World Heritage area (Wall, 2004:18). As mentioned earlier, tourism is increas-

1 http://www.ekoturism.org/nyheter/detalj.asp?ID=214 (20160319)
2 http://www.ekoturism.org/nyheter/detalj.asp?ID=499 (20160319)
3 http://www.ekoturism.org/nyfiken/gorillor/index.asp (20160319)
ing every year and according to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) the number of tourists in the world will exceed 1.5 billion by the year 2020.\textsuperscript{4} Ecotourism is also increasing, in number of enterprises as well. There are a number of destinations and adventures that claim to be ecotourism and in fact are not. This I will discuss later in the chapter about ecotourism. I will also address some of the actors in my field, those who take tourists on adventures in Laponia, and those who are connected to tourism in other ways, but I will begin with the theories I have applied. Thereafter I will continue with a description of where I have done fieldwork and methods I have used, followed by a description of the field and the ethnographical background of the participants included. I will describe the tourism and some of the actors that operate in Laponia. Then I will describe the Green Key ecocertification and the quality labels Nature’s Best and Sápmi Experience. In conclusion, I hope to shed light on my question: Ecocertifications and quality labels, for whom and why? - as evident from my fieldwork perspective.

2.1 Theories

In this part I will make a short description of the anthropology of tourism with history and reflections from authors I find suitable in this subject, I will then continue with a discussion concerning authenticity from different viewpoints since authenticity is, in my point of view, necessary in the topics I have chosen for this thesis. I will then move on to the area where I did my field work and the methods I used to collect information for this thesis.

The anthropology of tourism

“Anthropologists and tourists seem to have a lot in common”, Amanda Stonza writes in her article concerning tourism research within anthropology (2001:261). This view is something she shares with for instance Robert E Wood who thinks that it might seem like tourism research is the same as having “… a vacation and getting paid for it” (1997:3). Furthermore, Malcolm Crick asks “…is there an even more basic emotional avoidance at work for anthropological researchers - namely, that tourists appear, in some respects, to be our own distant relatives (1989:311)? On the other hand, Nunez considers researching the interaction between tourists and indigenous peoples to be somewhat like being a roman rider “… with a foot on each horse” (1978:212). I must say I consider these words by Nunez to be a suitable description on any tourism research when it involves interactions between locals and tourists, because as an anthropologist that is the situation you are in most of the time. I also agree with Stronza in her explanation to her statement that anthropologists and tourists have mutual features. She clarifies that both researcher and tourist are investigating other cultural features and social rituals, and they are both strangers to the locals when they visit new places (Stronza, 2001:261). Stronza proposes that there are two kinds of literature dealing with the anthro-
pology of tourism; one is the study of the origin of tourism and the other examines the influence tourism has on local communities. She points out that the former seems to examine mostly the tourists whereas the latter concentrates on the locals. Moreover, she suggests that a new question is presented as the tourism industry turns to sustainability both in economy and environment, participation from locals and educating visitors regarding the environment (Stronza, 2001:262f). Tourism has not been as interesting to anthropologists as other fields and Jonathan Benthall writes that it is “…almost as if the prevalence of tourism were censored out of their ethnographies” (1988:20). One suggestion to why anthropologists do not think tourism is an interesting field is that tourist activities might be regarded as too trivial compared to other anthropological fields (Smekal, 2006:24). Smekal further notes that “[t]ourists, like other fellow-strangers, in a sense ‘contaminate’ the field, and anthropologists often simply pretend that they are not there” (2006:24). Tim Wallace writes: “Since we anthropologists are professionals by definition, and travelers are not, it was important to distinguish ourselves from mere tourists” (2005:5). He continues

Crick […] states that our colleagues are embarrassed to be associated with tourists, for whom tourism is all about a “ludic” state, as contrasted with anthropologists, who are “serious” researchers studying native perspective with cultural sensitivity, respect, and diligence. Anthropologists denied that there were tourists who might have as much or more knowledge of local cultures than did anthropologists. (Wallace, 2005:5f)

I sometimes get the sense, when I am writing about tourism, that there are more important subjects to concentrate on, but if poorly managed tourism can, in a worst-case scenario, lead to poverty for the locals (Smith 1978), commoditization of cultures (Greenwood 2012), a negative influence on small cultural groups as described in the movie Cannibal Tours (O’Rourke 1987), and locals being excluded from areas zealously conserved for ecotourism, available only to a privileged few (Wallace, 2005:15). Therefore, in my opinion, tourism research is important in that it can prevent some
of these problems by highlighting and discussing them. According to Benthall, “[an] anthropology of tourism has, however, been building up over the last ten years, its development cemented by conferences and publications” (1988:20). Since then tourism has become more popular as a subject and also more and more viewed as an important field, widely taught within anthropology studies in the US (Wallace 2005:6). Smekal also believes it inappropriate almost to equate tourism and rituals. He expresses that “…in certain respects…” there is resemblance between them, which he considers more suitable because this can give insight into the phenomenon (Smekal, 2006:26). For some hikers in Laponia, hiking might be a ‘ritual-like’ vacation, when they escape the ordinary life to experience the wilderness and silence every year. Sandra Wall has, in her working paper from 2004, made a survey about hiking tourism in Laponia. The most popular reasons for visiting Laponia were: the possibility to experience nature, to go hiking, to have peace and quiet, to experience the silence and to experience the wilderness (Wall, 2004:18).

Authenticity

”Tourism is about selling dreams” (Schouten, 2006: 191).

The urge for authenticity can be described as wanting what is real. Boyle writes ”People are simultaneously reacting against the artificial world they are forced to live in - much as they may enjoy some of it - and re-discovering the importance of authenticity” (Boyle, 2004: xviii). According to Boyle this is something that is found in many areas of life. What we eat, relationships with other people, institutions in society, sounds, smells and culture. He continues with describing a phenomenon John Naisbitt called high tech/high touch in 1982. It’s basically that the more high tech world we live in, the more we tend to want to spend time doing activities with people in, for example, book clubs, at museums, theaters and cinemas. And the more time we spend in front of comput-
ers, the more of our leisure time is spent with, for example, gardening, birdwatching and cooking (Boyle, 2004: 8). Perhaps this is also why authenticity is sought after in tourism. To experience 'real' nature and 'real' culture when the world is turning more and more virtual. Even if google maps 'street' view of the Great Barrier reef in Australia is fascinating and rather captivating a real experience of the reef is better. Or is it?

Boyle describes 10 elements within authenticity: ethical, natural, honest, simple, unspun, sustainable, beautiful, rooted, three-dimensional and human. "Ethical" is described as people wanting their choices not to affect people or the planet negatively. "Natural" as face to face human contact and processes in life such as non-modified food, pesticide-free farming, alternative medicine and so on. "Honest" as people losing tolerance with big and small lies made by politicians and companies. "Simple" as slow food, organic food and simplifying your life. "Unspun" as activities like reading, painting and poetry which are untouched by the mass of advertisers trying to lure people to buy whatever product is for sale. "Sustainable" as in sustainable buildings in earth quake areas, not built too fast or with inadequate materials. "Beautiful" as in the opposite of “…standardized concrete landscaping…” . "Rooted" as with knowledge about the tradition and origin of produced things, knowledge of from where and by whom something is made. "Three-dimensional" as in not superficial and flawless. "Human" as in the diversity in humanity, not mass production made in a factory, and this “…weaves its way through all the rest” (Boyle, 2004:16ff).

What about tourism and authenticity? Several of Boyle’s elements of authenticity can be applied to tourism, of course, but as Edelheim writes, the dilemma with the word is that it measures some kind of value (Edelheim, 2005:253). Richard Handler states that authenticity is a “…cultural construct of the modern Western world” (Handler, 1986:2). Even if it is a construction of the Western world, it can be important when it comes to ecotourism. There are many tourist agents who claim to offer ecotourism; in reality they offer only one or two of WWF’s ( World Wildlife Fund) demands for it. WWF’s 10 criteria or "commandments” (WWF och turismen 1995) for ecotourism will be descri-
bed later on. Jocelyn Linnekin considers that if the word “authenticity” is questioned it can be
misread by the public and become destructive for ethnic groups claiming special cultural features
(1991:446). On the other hand, Frans Schouten has raised the question whether authenticity for
handicraft and traditions is something that mostly concerns anthropologists and experts within
tourism (2006: 194). He also agrees with Handler that authenticity is something constructed by the
Western world. He writes that authenticity is something related to the impact of modernity.

Modernity is characterized by breaking away from tradition and the past into a realm
where innovation and personal creativeness are favored above walking the trodden
path. In modernity discontinuity is both he expectation and the norm and as such
has uprooted Western society. Westerners conceive their own cultural environment
as inauthentic and they increasingly look for it elsewhere. (Shouten, 2006: 192)

This is similar to what Boyle writes about people living in and reacting to an artificial world, but
instead of seeking authentic cultural experiences on vacation, people do non-artificial activities like
participating in sport activities, gardening and being creative with different kinds of handicraft.

Boyle is not the only one dividing authenticity into different areas. Nicola Macleod describes dif-
ferent theoretical perspectives of authenticity, two by Selwyn 1996 and three by both Wang 1999,
and Jamal and Hill, 2002. Selwyn is categorizing authenticity into 'cool’ and 'hot’. 'Cool’ is authen-
ticity that is genuine, real and 'hot’ is the fake kind, that is non the less enjoyable. These concepts
are from the consumers point of view. 'Cool’ would then be adventures with Sámi and 'hot’ a cul-
tural park or a staged performance. According to Wang, Jamal and Hill, authenticity has three dif-
ferent areas: ‘objective’, ‘constructive’ and ’existential’ (Macleod, 2006:181). ‘Objective’ is the
theoretical approach on tourism’s influence on authenticity were authentic handicraft and tourist
experiences can be verified by authority. Authority in the meaning of, for example, museums and
quality markings, where tourists get verifications about a real experience or craft. ”…[R]eal tourist
experiences exist if only we could track them down…” (Macleod, 2006:182ff) Macleod gives the
example of Delftware souvenirs, from a case study by Schouten. Delftware souvenirs are Dutch
blue hand-painted china with typical Dutch icon markers, like the windmill. The china comes not only with an authentication stamp in three parts, but it is also sold with a certificate as further authentication (Schouten, 2006: 197f). Another example of objective authenticity would be to see manufacturing of products, like at the Stone center in Jokkmokk where the door to the factory is opened when possible and visitors can watch the craftsmen work. The ’constructive’ approach means that since reality is something constructed in peoples’ minds and influenced by the society they live in with contemporary culture and politics, what is authentic changes over time. As an example of this, Macleod describes traditions that have been more or less constructed to suit tourism and have over time merged with the culture as an authentic tradition. Macleod calls it ”…creative cultural adaptations through tourism” (2006:184ff). The Pataxó indians living in South of Brazil have adopted creative ways of making and selling souvenirs to tourists. Grünwald writes that there are three different kinds of souvenirs: those which are clearly made by the Pataxó, traditional things used in daily life, as opposed to those based on Pataxó daily life, but more ornamented or differently shaped to suit the tourists. The last kind is ordinary tourist souvenirs that have nothing to do with the Pataxó life, such as ashtrays, caps and so on. The Pataxó also started to make souvenirs ordered by tourists, such as combs, hats, earrings and hair pins. Even though many souvenirs are not original indigenous handicraft, they are crafted by the Pataxo (Grünwald, 2006: 207f). ’Existential authenticity’ is connected to what Boyle describes as the reaction to an artificial world and Schouten’s explanation of modernity and the search for authenticity. Macleod writes that the demand of day-to-day life makes us lose contact with our playful and natural side, and ”[t]ourists involved in active participation rather than observation are more likely to experience a sense of existential authenticity” since tourism in general includes playfulness and a general sense of relaxation. In Balinese dancing performances, tourists are invited to dance, and this is, according to Macleod, an example of ’existential authenticity’ when tourists might see the dancing as more meaningful when they participate and not just observe (Macleod, 2006: 182ff). Other examples of this would be following
Lennart Pittja with his enterprise Pathfinder Lapland on one of his adventures with either reindeer herding or a hike through Sámi landscape, experiencing Sámi culture and landscape; and taking part in reindeer herding, instead of just observing Sámi culture at the Jokkmokk winter fair.

2.2 Area of fieldwork and methods

My field is the World Heritage area of Laponia, which I will describe later, I have conducted most of my fieldwork in Jokkmokk. I have also done minor fieldwork at the mountain stations of Saltoluokta and Ritsem, interviewing staff and tourists at both places. I have conducted an interview in Gällivare, a city not far from Jokkmokk. In this chapter I will give a short description of the places I have conducted my fieldwork and methods used.

Jokkmokk

Jokkmokk is a small town situated in the north of Sweden. The municipality of Jokkmokk is 17,735 square kilometers and has around 5,000 inhabitants. A large part of Laponia is situated in this municipality. Jokkmokk is famous for the winter fair, held the first weekend in February. In 2005 when the fair had it’s 400-year jubilee the number of visitors was close to 80,000. The fair was established in the beginning of the seventeenth century by the then present king, Karl IX. At that time, there were already well-established roads and market connections inland to Finland and Norway, according to archeological findings dated back to the Viking Age (Dimenäs et al., 1999:145).


Jokkmokk developed into a center for trading by lake Talvatis. The original gathering point, where the winter fair was first held became a meeting place for traders. The winter fair also became an important weekend for the church as it was then possible for the church to preach to the Swedish nomads, the Sámi. In the beginning the winter fair was a free market where everyone traded without special permits, but this changed in 1955. Then the municipality of Jokkmokk took charge of the fair and assigned traders a place. The fair was increased to 3 days so the municipality could create a certain atmosphere around the fair, to attract tourists (Dimenäs et al., 1999:146-152).

The municipality of Jokkmokk is also a center for Sámi culture, with the Sámi villages described later, Sámi schools and Sámi Handicraft Foundation (Blind et al., 1999:237), as well as the Swedish mountain and Sámi museum Äjtte.

During fieldwork in Jokkmokk, I stayed at the hostel Åsgård, where I also worked the summer of 2009. Later, Åsgård acquired The Green Key certification; the most conspicuous evidence of this is the selective waste collection and the use of energy saving light bulbs. If guests pay attention, they

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can also discover that during breakfast several products have either a KRAV label or are ecologically produced. The principles of selective waste collection seem to be unclear to guests, despite explicit information; sometimes there is a mix of everything in the collection container.

During my stay at Åsgård hostel I often engaged in unstructured interviews with other guests. Most of the time these took place in the kitchen while we were preparing food, but sometimes in the room I shared with others. When I worked at the hostel, in the summer of 2009, I also handed out questionnaires to the guests. Since I only got 15 questionnaires back, I cannot make any conclusions on the answers, just use them as a base for discussions. I also made a number of semistructured and unstructured interviews with Karin Elg, the manager at Åsgård hostel and sent out a questionnaire to several tourist agents in Laponia.

Gällivare

As mentioned before, I did an interview in Gällivare, a small city not far from Jokkmokk. It is somewhat smaller than Jokkmokk in area with approximately 16,000 square kilometers\(^8\), but with over 18,100 inhabitants\(^9\) it is more populous. There are four Sámi villages in the municipality; three of them have herding rights in Laponia. The fourth one, Unna Tjerusj, have grazing areas across the Norwegian border, as have most Sámi villages in Sweden, with reindeer sometimes wandering all the way to the fjord area.\(^{10}\)

The interview I did took place at a local café, Vetehatten, and I had prepared questions for a structured interview. This was my first interview and of course the small recorder I had with me would not work. Fortunately I brought pen and paper with me, just in case. The interview started out as a

\(^8\) [http://www.gellivare.se/sv/Kommun/Om-kommunen/](http://www.gellivare.se/sv/Kommun/Om-kommunen/) (20160520)


\(^{10}\) [http://www.gellivare.se/sv/Kommun/Kultur/Gransleden/Rennaringen/](http://www.gellivare.se/sv/Kommun/Kultur/Gransleden/Rennaringen/) (20160520)
structured one but soon became semi structured and my informant and I talked about a lot of interesting obstacles within Sámi tourism, some of it will be described later.

The mountain station at Ritsem

This STF mountain station is situated by the lake Akkajaure with a view over the Áhkká mountain.¹¹ Hikers start, stop or pass by there for further hiking in or out of Laponia. It is easy to access the Padjelanta trail leading through the National Park Padjelanta by taking the boat M/S Stor Lule to the other side of Akkajaure.

The mountain station has some selective waste disposal, but not enough to be able to fulfill the application for The Green Key. They do have energy-saving showers also. The manager at the mountain station told me, during a semi structured interview, that there is a problem with the waste disposal because of the station’s location, almost at the end of the road, and the expenses became too great. The guests I spoke with thought it was strange that paper and metal were thrown in the same container; they wanted to do more sorting, because they were in the mountains. Because many of them had been hiking for many days, they were used to collecting their waste. On my second visit (090820), I saw that the mountain station also had a special container for metal, but I did not get the opportunity to ask the manager about this new container or future plans because of my late arrival and early departure with boat across the lake to follow the Padjelanta trail.

On my first visit I had planned to make a short hike on the Padjelanta trail, but since I managed to injure my ankle rather badly two weeks before my field work and was walking with a crutch, I made the decision to stay at the mountain station for a week instead. I spent my time conducting

¹¹ http://www.svenskaturistforeningen.se/sv/upptack/Omraden/Lappland/Fjallstugor/STF-Fjallstuga-ritsem/?intro=false (20160520)
several unstructured interviews with other hikers, writing, taking small walks around the mountain station and just enjoying the wonderful nature and scenery.

The mountain station at Saltoluokta

When the motor boats were operating, on lake Langas, taking tourist in to the Stora Sjöfallet national park in 1914, a cabin with sixteen beds was built at Saltoluokta. In 1918 the new main building was finished. Many years later, in 1983-1984, the mountain station was rebuilt (Sehlin, 1991:60f) and today it is a popular place for different sorts of tourists. The hikers on the Kings trail or hiking in Sarek have the opportunity to start at Saltoluokta. Saltoluokta has a gourmet restaurant, with local specialties like reindeer meat or elk and there are also different activities, both special weeks and daily tours or trips in the landscape surrounding Saltoluokta. During my visit at Saltoluokta in 2008, I spoke with the staff about The Green Key certification and learned that they have not had the time to work with the certification, so much had been left undone. That seems to have changed now, because The Green Key symbol is visible at the information about Saltoloukta at the Swedish Tourist Associations’ homepage. But, what they had when I was there was an impressive extensive waste disposal system to sort waste into different containers. I was told by the staff that apart from the compost, which is put in wholes dug in the ground, all waste is transported by boat to Kebnats and then trucked to the central waste collection center. I did semistructured and unstructured interviews during my stay at Saltoluokta, both with other guests and staff, and I also participated on a guided trip to Stora Sjöfallet national park, to look at what is left of the waterfalls. I did not reach the waterfall, due to a large gap in the path, but the other guests showed me photos. Stora Sjöfallet is a part of the World Heriatge area Laponia and will be described later on.

http://www.svenskaturistforeningen.se/sv/upptack/Omraden/Lapland/Fjallstationer/STF-Saltoluokta-Fjallstation/Se-Gora/ (20160520)
The Akka mountain cabins

I did a short hike along the Padjelanta trail at the end of summer in 2009, staying in one of the cabins at the mountain station Akka.\textsuperscript{13} These cabins, connected to The Swedish Tourist Association (STF) described further on, are situated along the Padjelanta trail just outside the Padjelanta National Park. To get there one either follow the trail from Kvikkjokk or, as I did, travel by boat from Ritsem harbor to Änonjálmme and take the short hike on the Padjelanta trail. In the cabin I stayed in, is a sign describing the history from 1925 when the first cabin was built. Because of the exploitation of the waterfall in Stora Sjöfallet and the building of the Sourva dam the newer cabins were moved when the water rose in 1968. Subsequent cabins were moved in 1981 to were they are now situated. The cabins have waste collection with an informative sign in English and Swedish, describing what waste is sorted and how the waste is handled afterwards. The sorted waste is stored in an area at the mountain cabins, then is transported from the cabins during winter with snow mobile. Combustible materials are burned and STF has an arrangement with a company to recycle metal and returnable cans so these are compressed at the mountain cabin. The waste is transported to Ritsem mountain station where sorted waste is taken to the recycling plant in Jokkmokk and the unsorted is transported to the thermal power station in Kiruna, done by the municipality of Gällivare. The cabins have small solar panels to supply an emergency phone and a radio with electricity. Food is prepared on a liquid-gas stove and there is running water from a creek. I spoke with the cabin manager, Björn, who recognized me from Åsgård, the hostel I worked at. He had met a lot of exciting people during his years as a cabin host and was full of stories. I had some contributions too, and we had a great time during my short stay.

\textsuperscript{13} https://www.svenskaturistforeningen.se/anlaggningar/stf-akka-fjallstuga/ (20160520)
The boat trip back to Ritsem’s harbor started in calm water, but by the time we reached Vaisalouktta to pick up other hikers, the waves grew larger and the strong wind almost tipped the boat. “Small lakes can be blown to such violence that boats sink, nets rip, and fishermen drown” a description well suitable for that trip (Beach, 2001:1). The crossing was very rough and all of us were really pleased when we had dry land under our feet again.

3 Context of study

In this chapter, I will describe the history of Laponia, from the first created national park, through the process of becoming a World Heritage area and the final process of making a management plan. I will begin with an overview of the Sámi culture and history, the indigenous people, who are connected to Laponia through more than daily life. Further on in the thesis, I will compare Sámi tourist entrepreneurs with the quality label Nature’s Best, with Sámi tourist entrepreneurs without. I will also address a Sámi tourist quality label, but first parts of the Sámi culture and history I find important for this thesis, to show the connection the Sámi have to the nature surrounding them.

3.1 Sámi culture and history

The Sámi fulfill the definition from ILO (International Labour Organization) on indigenous peoples. The definition is that their forefathers have lived in an area that was conquered, immigrated or in other ways taken control over, by foreigners; that they are of another ethnic group and have a culture which differs from the dominant ethnic group of the country. The last factor is that the ethnic groups perceive themselves as indigenous (Mulk, 2000:11).

In Laponia, there are traces of human activity dating back more than 7000 years (Mulk, 2000:13). Smaller groups of hunter - gatherers living in northern Scandinavia, relocating when fish or game declined. The oldest settlement is confirmed to be as old as 7800 AD (www.samer.se/1115). The first written evidence of people in the North was told by Tacitus in 98 AD. He wrote of a people he called the *fenni* and describe them as dressed in hides, men and women hunting together, not having weapons and sleeping on the ground (Beach, 1994:155). Next written evidence is by Prokopius, a Byzantine history writer, in 555 AD. He describes *skridfinnerna* as Tacitus did the *fenni*, hunters
that dress themselves in hides (www.samer.se Timeline). It is considered that the Sámi culture emerged around year 0 from a mixture of people in the Arctic with reindeer handling as their common denominator. Archeological findings in the southern parts of Dalarna, parts of Värmland, Jämtland and Ångermanland have shown marriages between Sámi hunting and fishing culture and Nordic farming culture. These findings show that the relationship between the cultures were closer than previously thought. In the Southern Sámi area there was also a more close connection between the two cultures (Lundmark, 2008: 18f). According to the pre-christian Sámi, everything in nature had a soul. These souls should be respected and treated with care. Every part of nature belonged to a caretaker spirit, watching over an area or a special species of animal. If humans broke the rules, the caretaker spirit could withhold prey during hunts, but if the humans respected and took care of the area, or animal, the spirits shared their riches with the Sámi (www.samer.se/1140). The bear was considered to be the holiest of animals and having special powers. It could stand on its back legs, like a human, and possessed the power to sleep through most of the wintertime. This was considered to be magical (Mebius, 2003:96). The bear hunt was dangerous and the preparations before and after was very thorough. Before the hunt started, the noajdde and his drum could help decide if the time for hunting was right and which hunter would kill the bear (www.samer.se/2267). The Sámi noajdde, or shaman, used his drum to contact the spirit world. The drum was made of wood and reindeer hide, decorated with pictures from the world and cosmos in were the Sami lived and believed in. This differed from area to area. In the South, for example, the sun was painted in the middle, as it was considered to be the highest of the Gods. Around it other Gods, helpers and animals important in life where shown (www.samer.se/1139).

(A drum from Ájtte museum in Jokkmokk. Private photo)
The noajdde beat the drum which made a pointer of brass or reindeer antler move around on the decorated drum skin. In this way the noajdde saw signs he could interpret in order to see, for example, if it was a favorable time for hunting (www.samer.se/1209). The noajdde had spritis to guide him and when he was learning to be a noajdde his spirits taught him a song which he could call his spirits with (Mebius, 2003:170f). There are records of female noajdde also and females had an important role during the trance. They sang so the noajdde would live and not be caught in the land of the dead (Mebius, 2003:129f). If the bear hunt was successful there was a big feast afterwards.

Many rituals were performed during this feast. For example, when the bear is brought home the women are yoiking (Mebius, 2003:99). The yoik, "[t]o describe it as a song is to indicate its outer mode of expression only. It is vocal, melodic and rhythmic…” (Beach, 1994:65) My personal opinion is that it is beautiful and powerful, and it can take the listener far away in a different way than an ordinary song can.

The bear is skinned in a special hut and all of its bones are treated with care. During this the men are yoiking. Then a place for burial is prepared, a grave as long as the bear, covered with birch twigs and all the bones are placed in order as if the bear was still alive, and then buried. In this way the bear was honored (Mebius, 2003:99). The bear might have been considered to be a caretaker spirit itself (Mebius, 2003:101f). The noajdde could also heal the sick and travel to places far away in his trance, to tell stories of events when he came back (Beach, 1994:37) Mebius writes that in comparison with the thorough documented details in sources about rituals in Sami pre-christian religion, documentation about cosmos and the world creation are limited (2003:64). There are differences in the descriptions, depending on what area the description comes from, but the most common one is that there were three levels. Upper, middle and underground, where humans lived in the middle (www.samer.se/1798). The highest god lived among the stars, but his name varies in different sources (Mebius, 2003:64). Some of the gods lived close to humans and their daily life (www.samer.se/1798). The sun was also considered to be a god, living under the stars and not
among the higher gods. The sun was the mother of all living animals, according to some sources, and the queen of heaven according to other (Mebius, 2003:75ff). Mebius thinks the later is connected to Christianity and the mother of Mary, St Anna, but only the emotional experience. The sun goddess is given white female reindeer as sacrifice and the symbol for her on the noaiddi drum is a circle or a diamond shape (Mebius, 2003:76f). The moon is also considered to be a deity, but not as a God or a Goddess, and was worshipped for good weather and a clear night air. The November moon is appeased with sacrifice of a reindeer calf and the moon shines its light through a brass ring in the tent smoke hole. The Christmas moon is a demonic moon who has to be pleased with silence and the light of the new moon is again shining through a ring (Mebius, 2003:79f).

The Sámi also believed that caretaker spirits lived by distinguishing formations in the landscape. It could be a formation of stone, cliffs or a mountain. When Sámi passed by, what is called a sieidi, they would leave an offering of some sort. It could be a coin or some other valuable object offered in the beginning of hunting and fishing season (www.samer.se/1211). It is suggested that some Sámi were baptized already during the 14th century and that Christian symbols having been found at special places for sacrifices from the Middle Ages and forward, suggests a Christian influence. At first, the Swedish church turned a blind eye to the Sámi first attending service at the market place and then returning home to their old gods, but this changed during the 17th and 18th century (Lundmark, 1998:51f). Lundmark writes that punishment in form of fines and flogging was the states’ way of handling the worship of other gods (1998:53). The missionary got started when Sámi who finished their study for priesthood returned home to hold sermons and spread the Christian faith in the Sámi languages. Christianity was the dominant religion among Sámi from 1770 and onwards (Lundmark, 1998:58).

In the beginning of the 14th century the Swedish crown allowed birkarlar to do business with the Sámi. The crown needed a middle hand to acquire contact with the Sámi and get valuable skins to Stockholm (Lundmark, 1998:18f). Birkarlar were wealthy farmers living along the Baltic sea. They
divided the Sámi land between them and had the right to obtain tax from the Sámi which they demanded in skin and reindeer products (www.samer.se/1228). They met at market places were the Sámi could both sell and buy goods (Lundmark, 1998:19). The colonization of the Northern parts of Sweden began in 1327 but was not successful until 18th century when the interest of creating farmland in the North increased, due to a growing population. There were a number of conflicts between Sámi and settlers. Most of them the Sámi won, at least when it came to the right of fishing and hunting, but when the settlers learnt to refer to farming enhancement and problems, the Sámi lost. (Lundmark, 1998:20,61ff). Even Sámi became settlers and built houses on their skatteland. Many forest Sámi did so to protect their area from intrusion from others. They also had cattle and farmed the land, which were the regulations for becoming a settler. Not seldom did the Sámi pay tax for both the skatteland as well as for the settlement (Lundmark, 2008:68). In Aktse, for instance, there have been Sámi settlers since the beginning of the eighteenth century (Ryd, 1999:130). The Aktse homestead was founded by Petter Amundson Läntha and was in his family’s possession until 1945 when the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC) bought half of it from the family. In 1995 a part of the homestead owned by SSNC was sold to the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency. This included land between the Sarek National Park and Sito river, and the Rapa valley delta.15

During the middle of 1700, the Norwegian/Swedish border was adjusted and a codicil, Lappkodicillen, written to establish the Sámi right for movement and trade across the border. It also said that the Sámi owned their, what was called skatteland/skattefjäll or lappskatteland. This was the piece of land a Sámi family owned, where they fished, hunted and kept their reindeer herd. Skatteland was approved by the state, written in register for taxation and treated as property (Lundmark, 1998:59ff). The codicil has been rewritten during several negotiations since it was first drawn up, and the migration across the border is no longer as free as it was in the beginning, but the codicil is

still in use (Beach, 2001:91). The colonization continued and the Sámi were pushed back more and more. They lost woodlands when the state distributed it to the settlers in the beginning of 18th century. The Sámi got a number of *skattefjäll* by the state and after many years of debating, the reindeer could do the winter grazing in the areas they had, by immemorial right, done before (Lundmark, 1998:74f). In the Herding Act of 1886, the Sámi lost their *skattefjäll* and were divided into so called *Lappbyar*. The villages contained a number of Sámi families, were every family tended to their own reindeer herd but on state land. Because the reindeer herding was no longer taxed as an economic asset, Sámi lost their voting rights in state and municipality, since only those who payed tax had the right to vote. This system remained until the Reindeer Act of 1971 (Lundmark, 1998:94f). In the Reindeer Act of 1928, the state decided who was Sámi and not. If you had not been herding for two generations, you were not considered to be Sámi and legally stripped of your Sámi identity (Lundmark, 1998:113). The Reindeer Act of 1971 determines who is allowed to be a reindeer herder. If a person had a parent or a grandparent of Sámi ancestry and that relative were a reindeer herder with herding as their main income, then the criteria for reindeer herding was fulfilled (Beach, 2007:8). In 1961 *Lappbyn* became a legalized person and the Sámi could go to court if there were intrusions in their livelihoods. In 1971 *Lappbyn* change name to *Sameby* and the Sámi got increased economical freedom (Lundmark, 1998:126). The Reindeer Act of 1971 also determined voting power for a reindeer herder in the sameby. This was decided upon how large of herd the herdiers owned, "… herdiers get one vote for each newly stared hundred head of deer" (Beach, 1997:130). There are 51 Samebys in Sweden, in 6 counties (from Dalarna to Lappland), and approximately 250 000 reindeer (www.samer.se/1220). A sameby is not an ordinary village, it is "…the territorial and social units recognized and confirmed in legislation for the reindeer herding Sámi; Sameby borders specify where these particular herdiers can heard their reindeer" (Beach, 2007:24). During the 16th century the Sámi were divided in villages with large land areas connected to every village where the Sámi fished and hunted. Lundmark does not believe the Sámi had large herds of reindeer then, because of
the abundance of fish and game to live of (1998:4f). Even if the Sámi knew how to tame reindeer there was no reason to keep larger herds, because there was no need for a lot of reindeer meat. Lundmark suggests that a Sámi family had 10-12 tame reindeer when they moved around within the Sámi village borders for fishing and hunting. When the state increased their tax pressure on the Sámi from the beginning of 17th century, due to a costly war, the herding changed with larger herds and an intensive herding practice where the Sámi families followed the herd. The new tax included more reindeer and more fish than before. When the reindeer herding had changed to more of meat production, there was no going back (Lundmark, 1998:35ff). During the 20th century reindeer herding is more and more focused on meat production with large herds and an extensive herding (www.samer.se/5157). With intensive herding, the herd is watched all the time and kept together. Milking reindeer for cheese making left the calves with less milk than they preferable needed to stay strong and healthy. Keeping the herd closely together could lead to diseases spreading (Lundmark, 1998:116). In her book With the Lapps in the High Mountains : A Woman among the Sami, 1907-1908 Emelie Demant Hatt describes intensive herding, with a nomadic lifestyle, as a season-bound movement over long distances to look for new pastures between the forest and mountain area (2013:ff). The domesticated reindeer were carrying all the family needed, from the tent structure to the smallest household equipment and hunting gear. During the seasons without snow, reindeer carried the equipment on their back, and during the snowy seasons they hauled sledges (Demant Hatt, 2013:ff). The nomadic Sámi made most of their domestic appliances from trees nearby, trees with leaves were preferred, and from reindeer. Clothes, shoes, mats and some knife sheaths were made from reindeer hide. Vessels of different kinds were made of birch wood, roots, bark and burls. The coffee cup or drinking vessel was made of a growth on the tree, a burl. Cups were personal and beautiful made with round shapes and often with a decorated inlay of reindeer antler. Other vessels were for example: a large container of unique form for milking made from a large burl, the travel chest made with thin bent birch wood, cheese forms made from woven birch roots or the travel
chest and other containers of different shapes and sizes made with roots in the same way for food storage (Sunna, 2006:5ff). "All the wooden objects are painstakingly crafted and tastefully decorated with carvings and engraved patterns" (Demant Hatt, 2013: 7). The extensive herding is focused on meat production and the reindeer run freely within a larger area. This meant less diseases and because the deer were not milked, the calves grew strong and healthy. During late autumn and early winter, the reindeer are moved into areas for slaughter and then towards the winter grazing area (Lundmark, 1998:116). "...the seasonal cycle of herding work today is still regulated by the reindeer’s natural rhythm and by the availability of grazing” (Beach, 1994:153).

In 1913 the state decided that children of nomadic Sámi should go to school, the so called nomadic schools. They were not allowed to go to the normal school because the state thought reindeer herding Sámi children should get education that did not remove them from their nomadic herding lifestyle. 1916 it was decided that the children would live in tree constructions similar to the tent, or kåta, the nomadic Sámi lived in. These tree kåta were poorly built and cold, draughty and many of the children got sick. The Sámi protested several times, and at a large meeting in Arvidsjaur in 1937 they demonstrated that tuberculosis was spreading among the Sámi and several children had died. Dysentery was also spreading amongst the children. Doctors began to confirm what was happening and the vicar in Arjeplog, who were appointed as inspector for nomadic schools joined the Sámi and spoke to the government. The minister of education, Arthur Engberg, took impression by the arguments and in 1939 the government funded 400 000 SEK for new permanent schools. More money were invested for the same cause during the coming years and from 1944 and onwards the Sámi schools improved more and more when the former reindeer herder and nomadic teacher Israel Ruong became inspector for nomadic schools (Lundmark, 1998:99ff).

The Swedish Sámi Parliament was established 1993 and is a governmental organisation as well as an elected body, were the political representatives are chosen by votes. To be permitted to vote for the Swedish Sámi Parliament you are required to fulfill the criteria of considering yourself as Sámi.
and speaking Sámi at home, or having parents or grandparents that spoke Sámi at home, or having a parent with the right to vote. This is also the definition of who, by law (Sametingslagen 1992:1433), is Sámi. This means that the language is the identity mark of who is Sámi or not, not just the reindeer herding Sámi, as the Swedish state decided before (www.samer.se/1147). The Sámi language belongs to the Finno-Ugric language group, as do also for examples Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian. Finnish and Sámi developed in different directions approximately 1000 BC. Proto-Sámi was probably the same for all Sámi at that time, but when the Sámi began to wander along different river valleys and lake areas, the language shattered and changed. Southern Sámi is believed to have a different story where Sámi from the North wandered south and mixed with Sámi coming from the South, thus creating a new branch. There are three main categories of Sámi: Eastern Sámi, spoken on the Kola peninsula in Russia, Central Sámi, spoken in Finnland, Sweden and Norway, and Southern Sámi, spoken in Norway and Sweden. There are nine dialects divided between the main categories. In Sweden Northern Sámi, Lule Sámi, Pite Sámi, Ume Sámi and Southern Sámi are spoken (www.samer.se/1186). When Sámi from Kautokeino and Karesouando were forced to leave, in the beginning of 20th century, and move their families and reindeer herds due to closed borders, lack of winter grazing areas and politics (Lundmark, 2008:201ff) the dialect areas changed and Northern Sámi is spoken in Lule Sámi and Southern Sámi areas (www.samer.se/1186).

As mentioned before, the migrating Sámi made their tools, clothes and utensils mostly from nature and the reindeer. Duodji, Sámi handicraft has a strong symbolic value for Sámi culture and the word Duodji is Northern Sámi and is a description of the creative process handicraft is made with. Duodji is also, for some, a livelihood (www.samer.se/1122). Examples on other livelihoods are fishing and hunting, as main livelihood or as a compliment, or just as food supplement to herding (www.samer.se/1005;/1144;/1214). To be a reindeer herder you have to be a Sámi and you have to be a member of a Sameby. The Sameby members chooses who will be a member or not (Lundmark, 2008:224f). The right to hunt and fish has been included in reindeer herding rights, and thus only
for *Sameby* members (Beach, 2001:92), which has generated in protests from non-herding Sámi connected to a *Sameby* since generations (Lundmark, 2008:225). The *Samebys* can only have a specific number of reindeer within their territory, this to avoid overgrazing (Beach, 1994:178) and all members in a *Sameby* must be active herders, otherwise the membership in the Sameby is lost for the non-active herder (Beach, 1994:192). There was an investigation from the state in 2001 that proposed that *Samebys* would be open to those who have heritage to the *Sameby* would be able to become members with limited influence and that the *Samebys* would be able to practice other livelihoods than herding (Lundmark, 2008:225). Tourism is another Sámi livelihood ([www.samer.se/1215](http://www.samer.se/1215)) and I will describe some of the Sámi tourism in Laponia further on.

3.2 Laponia, World Heritage area

(Map Andersson et al., 2005)
Laponia was listed as a World Heritage area in 1996 for its cultural and natural value. There are many World Heritage Sites, recognized for either their cultural or natural values, but only 23 other World Heritages Areas are listed for both their cultural and natural values in combination; of the 23 only four have cultural significance for indigenous people, and Laponia is one of the four (Lindström Battle, 2001:6). The process for listing a heritage site begins at United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the World Heritage Convention, which determine if cultural and natural places will be listed (whc.unesco.org/en/convention/). The Swedish government first applied for the natural reserve Sjaunja (Mulk, 2000:9), but was turned down because the area was too small, UNESCO deemed that an application be made for a larger area of the cultural value to the Sámi was interesting. The national parks of Padjelanta, Stora Sjöfallet, Sarek and Muddus were included, as well as the nature reserves Stubbá and Sjaunja (Mulk, 2000:9).

Sulidälbmá [Sulitelma], Tjuoldavuobme [Tjuolta valley] and Ráhpaäno suorgudahka [Rapa delta] are also a part of Laponia, but do not belong to any of the nature reserves or national parks. Sulidälbmá is an area crossing the Swedish and Norweigan border. Laponia is 9400 square kilometers (Lundberg, 1999:25) with topography differing in parks and reserves.

Padjelanta (map from www.sverigesnation-parker.se) is characterized by large lakes, mountain planes, high density of flora, and gently rounded mountains. The larger part of

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16 http://laponia.nu/varldsarvet/deltan-glacierer-och-gammelskog/
Padjelanta is situated above the birch wood timberline, but around the large lakes grow birch wood
and other broad-leaf trees (Nilsson, 1999:31). The Sámi name Badjelánnda mean ”the land above”
and the Sámi villages Sirkas, Jåhkågaska tjiellde and Tuorpon have grazing areas for their reindeer
in the park. Badjelánnda is 1984 square kilometer and there are two hiking tracks leading through
the park, one between Kvikkjokk and Änonjalme and the other between Staloluokta and to the
Swedish part of the Sulitelma area.17

Sarek (map from www.laponi-
a.nu) has great mountains and
steep lush valleys. The moun-
tains cover an area of 20 square
miles and has six mountain
peaks over 2000 meters. With
96 glaciers, wild rushing rivers,
steep valleys, a delta and
mountain rivers it is a spectacu-
lar landscape (Nilsson, 1999:
35). In 1961 negotiations between the State Water Board and a committee, with the purpose of pro-
tecting rivers and waters from water power damming, resulted in ”Peace in Sarek” (Beach,
1981:253). The negotiators were bartering about not damming less profitable projects in Padjelanta
but sacrificing lake Sitasjaure and all waters down stream (Andersson, 2005:59).

This area [Padjelanta and Sarek] was spared largely due to the ”Peace in Sarek” and,
more than any other area in Sweden, exploitation this zone would make a farce of the
Swedish National Park system and the National Environment Protection Board.
(Beach, 1981: 257)

17 http://laponia.nu/varldsarvet/nationalparker-och-naturreservat/badjelannda/
Sarek is not adapted for tourism and is without mountain cabins and hiking trails, although reindeer and hikers have made tracks in the landscape. As the map shows, there is one marked trail in the south part of the park, the Kings trail. Sámi villages who have reindeer grazing in Sarek are Tuorpon, Jåhkågaska tjiellde and Sirges.\(^{18}\)

Muddus has a large forest and marsh landscape with lakes and a ravine at the source of the Muddus river (Nilsson, 1999:41). The Sámi name for the park is Muttos and this name might come from the Sámi word mutták which mean 'suitable' or 'precisely enough'. Muttos has precisely enough for a good life and traces in the landscape from fire pits and pits for hunting shows that "many have walked in this area before us".\(^{19}\) The Whooper swan is characteristic for Muddus and the park has a protected area for all of the breeding birds which migrate to the park, with no access during early spring until the end of July (Nilsson, 1999:42). As seen on the map, there are several hiking and walking paths through the south parts of the park. Several cabins are open through the year, as skiing is popular in the park, rest areas with toilettes and fire pits, and camping grounds are also available in the park.\(^{20}\) Muddus is 500 square kilometers and the Sámi villages Sirges, Unna tjerusj and Gällivare forest Sámi village have grazing reindeer in the park.\(^{21}\)

\(^{18}\) http://laponia.nu/varldsarvet/nationalparker-och-naturreservat/sarek/ (20170320)

\(^{19}\) http://laponia.nu/varldsarvet/nationalparker-och-naturreservat/muttos/ (20170320)

\(^{20}\) http://laponia.nu/upplev/leder/muttosbalges/ (20170320)

\(^{21}\) http://laponia.nu/varldsarvet/nationalparker-och-naturreservat/muttos/ (20170320)
The fourth of the national parks, Stora Sjöfallet, is the park that has been exploited. A dam and a power station have destroyed two waterfalls; previously with ten and forty meters height of fall. The smaller of the waterfalls is long gone, buried beneath the large Sourva dam, and the larger waterfall has practically disappeared. A population of European elks lives in the park (Nilsson, 1999:39). Stora Sjöfallet was officially opened in 1909 as a national park, with the waterfalls in focus and then it was stated that the park would be preserved “for all eternity”. This was not the case, since the waterfall area was removed as part of the park to build the Sourva damm (Andersson, 2005:54). The highest point in Stour Muorkke, as it is called in Sámi, is one of Áhkhás’ peaks with 2015 meter above sea level. Áhkká has 13 peaks and 10 glaciers and is a massif of great beauty. Sam villages with grazing reindeer in Stour Mourkke are Sirges and Unna tjerusj.²²

Sjaunja, or Sjávnnjá in Sámi, is a 3000 square kilometer large nature reserve. The Kings trail crosses the reserve, but otherwise there are no marked trails for tourists (Andersson, 2005:85). With high mountains in the West and large wetlands in the East, Sjávnnjá has a variety in its landscape. Birds thrive on the wetlands, and there are elk, otter, lynx, bear, wolverine and reindeer in this large nature reserve. Baste čérru and Unna tjerusj move their reindeer herds through the reserve.²³

²² http://laponia.nu/varldsarvet/nationalparker-och-naturreservat/stuor-muorkke/ (20170320)

²³ http://laponia.nu/varldsarvet/nationalparker-och-naturreservat/sjavnja/ (20170320)
Stubbá has wetlands, mountains, virgin forest, pine wood and on the mountain slopes forest of fir and birches grows. Unna tjerusj has reindeer grazing in the nature reserve.  

The delta in the Rapa valley, Rahpavuobme in Sámi, is surrounded by steep mountains and situated right outside Sarek. The river Rápaädno runs through Sarek and transports silt from glaciers around Sarek to lake Lájtávrre. Rapa valley has a rich birdlife because of the wetlands in the delta and moose graze on the meadows along the river. The valley of Tjuolta has old fir and pine forest where wolverine, bear and elk thrive. Hill sides in the valley are covered in birch wood forest. And finally, there is the Sulitelma area, or Sulidälbmá in Sámi, with its two large glaciers where one of them is 100 square kilometers and the landscape is influenced by the glaciers’ movements. Sulitelma also has high alpine mountains, meadows rich in flora and birdlife. One of the glacier Sállajiegŋa is cut in half, with one part in Sweden and the other in Norway. The map show Sulitelma on the other side of the border, in Norway.  

However, the history of Laponia began in Stockholm in 1946 during a large debate “Our last great wilderness” when the author Sten Selander suggested a grand plan to create a “wilderness reserve” of such a great scale that it would be the only area of that size in this part of the world. This original idea was implemented, with only a few changes 50 years later (Kihlberg, 1997:14). Previously, in 1909, the national parks Sarek and Stora Sjöfallet were established. Moreover, Muddus had been established in 1941, a couple of years before Selanders grand plan. Last of the four national parks was Padjelanta, in 1962 (Mulk, 2000:10).

24 http://laponia.nu/varldsarvet/nationalparker-och-naturreservat/stubba/ (20170320)
25 http://laponia.nu/varldsarvet/deltan-glacierer-och-gammelskog/ (20170320)
26 https://www.ut.no/omrade/4.1280/ (20170320)
With World Heritage designation, the protection from exploitation of forest and water power in Laponia is strengthened. A prohibition regarding scooter traffic protects flora and reduces disturbance of migrating and grazing reindeer (Lundberg, 1999:25) because of the agreement the Swedish state made when signing the convention to protect Laponia for future generations (Mulk, 2000:9). There were other apprehensions, though, and the Sámi were concerned of the quantity of tourists that would probably be visiting the area as it became a World Heritage (Lundberg, 1999:25). World Heritage areas does attract tourism (Tourtellot, 2010:13; Green, 2009:102; Beach, 2001:96).

Francesco Bandarin (Director, UNESCO, World Heritage Centre) writes ”It is an inevitable destiny: the very reasons why a property is chosen for inscription on the World Heritage List are also the reasons why millions of tourists flock to those sites year after year” (Bandarin, 2002:3) and Jacqueline Aloisi de Larderel agrees ”Protected areas, particularly World Heritage sites, are some of tourism’s main attractions, and are subject to growing visitation” (2003:4). Furthermore, there was the fear that the decision making from a central place would exclude the Sámi (Lundberg, 1999:25). When the author Tor Lundberg wrote this, the new planning and negotiation concerning the management of Laponia had not yet began. The natural parks and nature reserves already have a management plan, but when Laponia was appointed World Heritage area a new, more suitable, management plan needed to be written (Green, 2009:101). The work began the same year as the appointment, but broke down when local and regional partners had difficulties to agree (www.laponia.nu; Green, 2009:101). The seven Sámi villages had a vision of managing Laponia with emphasis on the Sámi culture and to protect reindeer herding in the area, while the other actors wanted to make smaller changes in the already existing management plans (Green, 2009:101). All actors involved, the seven Sámi villages, the municipality of Gällivare and Jokkmok and the County Administration of Norrbotten, wrote their own management plans. Almost all work were on hold until 2005 when it was resumed again and the actors agreed on several important questions.

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27 http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/ (20170423)
those questions were that the Sámi representation would be in majority in the Laponia management.28

There are seven Sámi villages (Luokta-Mavas, Tuorpon, Jåhkågasska tjiellde, Sirges, Unna Cearus, Báste Cearru and Gällivare forest Sámi village29) which are part of Laponia, all have reindeer grazing and migrating in the area. There are two more Sámi villages (Sierri and Udtjá) that have special rights in Laponia. Those special rights are for example driving for scooters and landing permits for helicopters during reindeer herding activities (Mijá ednam, 2000:17). Representatives from all the Sámi villages involved have written the Mijá ednam.30 During 2005 the work with a joint management plan began and a new Laponia delegation was formed. The delegation consists of members from the Sámi villages, the two communities Jokkmokk and Gällivare, the county governor, one representative from the county administrative board, and one from the National Environmental Protection agency. Work teams were formed with responsibilities for different areas, such as infrastructure, information and the information center Naturrum (Green 2009:208; www.laponia.nu). In 2011 the decision was made to give authorization to the management organisation Laponiatjuottjudus, as the delegation was renamed, and in 2012 county government in Norrbotten made a formal decision that Laponiatjuottjudus become the legal

28 http://laponia.nu/om-oss/laponiaprocessen/ (20170320)


30 http://laponia.nu/om-oss/laponiaprocessen (20170320)
manager of Laponia. Laponia is managed with Sámi traditional knowledge, Árbbediehto, and the rich cultural heritage from earlier generations which are made visible to spread knowledge about them to visitors.

The hiking trails do not lead near the delicate reindeer grazing areas, so hikers do not disturb the reindeer. This was not always the case though, according to a story told by Apmut Ivar Kuoljok. He describes an encounter with tourists that occurred many years ago when he and other reindeer herders were moving reindeers from the summer grazing areas to the autumn grazing areas:

We were taking the reindeer across Guhkesväkkjåhkå and had passed Bierikjávrre during the night in cloudy weather but when we were herding the reindeer down to the jokk the sun was shining through the clouds. It became warmer and the reindeer did not want to go down in the valley. Since the herd was gathered we made the decision to try and get them to cross the jokk and gain one day. After many hours of work we finally got the reindeer to move towards the jokk. When the first reindeer reached the water we saw to our horror a lot of tourists running towards the water with their cameras to get good pictures of the reindeer swimming across the water. The herd was frightened and turned back. Protests and cursing were heard from the reindeer herders. We called out to my brother Petter Erik, who was closest to the jokk, to run down to the gushing tourists and tell them to get away from there as fast as possible. (Kuoljok, 2007:98f, my translation)
In this chapter I will begin with a short description of the history of tourism, then I will move on with a description of ecotourism, as well as discussion concerning how environmentally friendly ecotourism really is and a short introduction to ecocertification and quality labels, before describing those I have chosen for this thesis. I will then describe the history of tourism in Laponia and address both Sámi and non-Sámi tourism in the area, including one of the larger agents in Laponia, the Swedish Tourist Association (STF) which has been involved in tourism since late 1800 in the area that is now Laponia.

4.1 Short history

The definitions of tourism are: activities travelers do when they travel to and live at a place other than the usual environment, and for less than a year. The purpose of the trip should be business or leisure (Edin et al., 2008:12, 33). This basic concept and definitions contribute to a mutual language for agents involved in tourism and travel, national and international (www.tillvaxtverket.se). “A trend of this expanding demand for tourism is for tourists to go further and further afield from where they live” (Holden, 2008:xviii). According to Holden, written records show that the Romans traveled away from Rome during the hot summers to live at “…seaside or mountain villas…” (2008:11). There were different resorts for different kinds of people, for example, the intellectual traveled to Naples, while the high fashion crowd went to Cumae, and the ordinary “down-market” tourist went to the spa and seaside town Baiae. Furthermore, Holden writes that during the Middle Ages, tourism and travel declined and the historical records were limited. Then, during the

33https://tillvaxtverket.se/download/18.a48a52e155169e594d38dd/1465393421794/Info_0639_webb.pdf
seventeenth century’s first period, something called “The Grand Tour” became popular among young wealthy men, to finish their education abroad. The Grand Tour “…undertaken by the wealthy in society for culture, education, health and pleasure, is one of the most celebrated episodes in the history of tourism”. In the eighteenth century tourists traveled to cities like Paris, Nice and Venice to enjoy the social and cultural life there. These became part of The Grand Tour which earlier had included health trips to destinations at the French Riviera as well (Holden, 2008:11ff). Health tourism developed during the eighteenth century in towns like Bath in England and Vichy in France which became popular spa towns. It was also during the eighteenth century that the “wildscape” developed, a romantic and spiritual way of looking at nature which turned mountain areas into popular tourist destinations (Holden, 2008:11ff). “During the Industrial Revolution” Holden wrote that “work and leisure became highly differentiated…”. Time was made for vacation and time off from work. Tourism and time off work developed further, and paid vacation time became common in industrialized countries. In France, for example, 17 days of paid vacation became mandatory in 1936. Technological development allowed tourists to travel further away from home (Holden, 2008:15). Moreover, tourists frequently demand new and exciting adventures to exotic destinations, to experience new cultures and environments. This has led to more interest in indigenous peoples and their cultures; due to increased technology, not many places in the world are too inaccessible to tourism (Holden, 2008:23).

According to The Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth, the agency responsible for tourism statistics, the export value of tourism was 106,5 billion SEK and the total turnover has increased during 2012 to 275,5 billion SEK. The contribution to the Swedish GNP is larger then that of forestry, agriculture and fishing together34, in 2014 tourism was 2,8 % of Swedens GNP.35 According to a prediction from the UNWTO, World Tourism Organization, “…international arrivals

34 http://publikationer.tillvaxtverket.se/ProductView.aspx?ID=1902 (20160520)
35 http://publikationer.tillvaxtverket.se/ProductView.aspx?ID=2034&downloaded=1 (20160520)
are expected to surpass 1.4 billion people” in 2020 and 1.8 in 2030. With increasing tourism and travels, follows rising CO₂ emissions. Simmons and Becken writes that “…far greater attention needs to be paid to the invisible effects…”, especially emissions for ecotourism since ecotourism often involve long-distance travel by air (2004:15). In the article Assessing tourism’s global environmental impact 1900-2050, the authors Stefan Gassing and Paul Peeters conclude that much more research would be needed to improve the results they presented, but in 2012 the emissions of CO₂ was 1119 Mt and these emissions would rise to 2957 Mt in 2050. In 2012 aviation was 40% of the total emissions, automobility (busses, cars) 32%, accommodations 21%, activities 4% and other transports, such as for example cruise ships, 3%. These numbers were calculated using minimum and maximum use of energy per trip and tourist, to produce a number of an average amount of energy use (Gössling and Peeters, 2015:639ff). According to the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency the emissions of greenhouse gases from airplanes are calculated on the amount of fuel used for national flights, and the amount of fuel refueled for international flights. This is reported yearly to UN and EU.

4.2 What is Ecotourism?

The definition of ecotourism is “…responsible travel to natural areas, which conserves the environment and improves the welfare of local people…” (Honey et al., 2002:1). But there are other tourism definitions that could be mistaken for environmental friendly tourism. Honey describes “nature tourism” and “adventure tourism” as “…frequently, but erroneously, considered the same as ecotourism, is defined as travel to unspoiled places to experience and enjoy nature” (2002:1). Ad-

http://www.naturvardsverket.se/Sa-mar-miljon/Klimat-och-luft/Klimat/Tre-satt-att-berakna-klimatpaverkan-de-utslapp/Flygets-klimatpaverkan/ (20170415)
venture tourism is further described as “…nature tourism with a kick – with a degree of risk taking and physical endurance” (Honey et al., 2002:1). Those two tourism categories differ from ecotourism in that ecotourism concentrates on assuring a positive tourist impact on the host landscape and community not on what tourists are looking for, such as unspoiled nature, fantastic beaches or on risky adventures. Honey continues “Rather, ecotourism is a philosophy, a set of principles and practices that, if properly understood and implemented, will transform the way we travel” (2002:1).

The Swedish Ecotourism Society was founded 1996\(^{38}\) and the organization is working towards environmentally friendly tourism, sustainability within ecotourism especially in sparsely populated areas and actively connecting tourism with environmental and cultural protection.\(^{39}\) The purpose of the organization is to direct nature tourism and culture travel towards ecotourism and for defining what ecotourism is, the organization uses the 10 commandment that defines it according to WWF.\(^{40}\)

The World Wildlife Fund for Nature was founded in 1961 by sir Julian Huxley, Victor Stolan, Max Nicholson and sir Peter Scott. They were all worried about how the industrialized world affected nature and wildlife. They wanted to create an international organization that could raze money to protect nature. Together with a group of scientists and people from the advertising business and PR world they had their head quarter in Switzerland.\(^{41}\) WWF is independent, international, non-governmental and has projects in over 100 countries. In 1971 Stiftelsen Världsnaturfonden WWF was founded to contribute to the international work, grant means for Swedish research and education as well as national environmental care. Today the Swedish WWF has three divisions: Ecological footprints, land environment and water environment.\(^{42}\) Amongst the 10 commandments are to work for

\(^{38}\) http://www.ekoturism.org/ekoturismforeningen/dettavill/hurBildades.asp (20160521)

\(^{39}\) http://www.ekoturism.org/ekoturismforeningen/dettavill/vadGor.asp (20160521)

\(^{40}\) http://www.ekoturism.org/dokument.asp?ID=15100 (20160521)

\(^{41}\) http://www.wwf.se/om-wwf/historik/1122850-ww-fs-historia (20140108)

\(^{42}\) http://www.wwf.se/om-wwf/om-wwf/1122807-om-wwf (20140108)
social and ecological sustainability, to have staff responsible for continuing environmental work, to choose environmentally adjusted accommodations, to work for sustainable local economy and to educate guests so they do not buy product made of endangered species (WWF och turismen 1995).

The definition of ecotourism is careful, small scaled, and environmentally protected tourism, beneficial for the local. The organization wants to act as a clearing house for agents involved in environment protection and tourism. The Swedish Ecotourism Society is also one of the agencies behind the quality label Nature’s Best, which I will describe further on.

Ecotourism in Sweden is increasing rapidly, because tourists want a travel experience which is also careful of the environment and culture. This tourism is mostly small-scale and contributes to both environmental protection and sustainable development. Ecocertifications and quality labeling are needed to meet international goals concerning long-term sustainable development; the goal is to label and certify more companies (Edin et al., 2008:30). Laurie Kroshus Medina writes that ecotourism is generally acknowledged as beneficial for the host communities and that “…local communities are most likely to protect or maintain a resource base in a form that is suitable for tourism if they stand to benefit from it” (2005:283). Critics question the point of ecofriendly designation for remote areas accessible only by plane or which demand considerable recourses for supply and waste removal. Some writers wonder about

…an ecofriendly Costa Rican hotel, that could be removed to leave no trace of itself in the surrounding rainforest, if the international tourists visiting it have all come on ten-hour journeys by ozone-depleting, carbon dioxide-producing jet aircraft. (Russel&Wallace, 2004:2)

They also point out that this hotel is importing products as part of a chain of hotels around the world. Perhaps recycling waste so as not to spoil the environment in the host country is only a small part of claiming ecotourism status. They conclude that ecotourism is “[o]ften used as a gimmicky

43 http://www.ekoturism.org/dokument.asp?ID=15100 (20160521)
marketing tool, it hides irresponsible, unethical and unsustainable practices” (Russel&Wallace 2004:2). With ecocertifications and quality labeling, can some of this be avoided?

Ecocertifications and quality labeling, an introduction.

There are a variety of ecocertifications and quality labels in Sweden and in the world, with 40 different just in Europe according to Etour (the European Tourism Research institute). To expect customer interested in ecotourism, or other areas for eco-products, to be able to find an overview amongst the eco-labels and ecocertifications (Font, 2001; Haaland et al., 2010). In food stores, for example, we come across different quality labels, and some of those are:

MSC: A label for sustainable fishing, with the goal of protecting fish and other sea life from overfishing.⁴⁴

KRAV: A Swedish label for sustainable ecologically produced products. It is a label not only for good environment, there are also demands for good animal care, good health care and social responsibility for workers.⁴⁶

Fairtrade: An international label for products, for example, coffee, tea, fruit, cacao, chocolate and other candy, sugar, ice-cream, honey and roses. The label

⁴⁴ www.msc.org (20160520)
⁴⁵ Photo from a msc labeled package of frozen codfish.
⁴⁶ www.krav.se (20160520)
⁴⁷ Photo from a package of bananas
contribute to better economical conditions for farmers and employees with minimum prices and higher wages combined with trade agreements.\(^{48}\)

Rainforest Alliance is a label for chocolate, coffee, tea, juice and also forest produced products like paper and tissues.\(^{50}\) Farms producing products according to the criteria set by Rainforest Alliance get permission to use the label. Rainforest Alliance also has a label for sustainable tourism.\(^{51}\)

Nordic Ecolabelling, the Swan, mostly known for products like medical equipment, paper, toys, food, products for car, boat, building materials and much more \(^{53}\) but also as a certification for hotels, restaurants and other services.\(^{54}\)

To acquire the label companies have to, as with other labels, follow a list of criteria from a "lifecycle perspective - from source to waste".\(^{56}\)

There are ISO 14000, ISO 14001 certifications for companies that wish to work for a sustainable work environment, and reduce waste and recourse use.\(^{57}\) The Blue Flag is an international quality

\(^{48}\) http://fairtrade.se/om-fairtrade/vad-ar-fairtrade/ (20160520)

\(^{49}\) Photo from a package of bananas.

\(^{50}\) http://www.rainforest-alliance.org/sv/shopthefrog?country=111 (20160520)

\(^{51}\) http://www.rainforest-alliance.org/sv/about/marks (20160520)

\(^{52}\) Photo from a package of tea.

\(^{53}\) http://www.svanen.se/Hitta-produkter/Produktsok/ (20160520)

\(^{54}\) http://www.svanen.se/Hitta-produkter/Produktsok/ (20160520)

\(^{55}\) Photo from a cleaning product

\(^{56}\) http://www.svanen.se/en/Criteria/Nordic-Ecolabel-criteria/ (20160520)

\(^{57}\) http://www.sis.se/tema/ISO14001/Fragor-och-svar-om-ISO-14001/
label for harbors and beaches. The EU Ecolabel for products and services. TourQuality, for tourist agents. For those interested in reading more about different labels, this website http://www.ecolabelindex.com/ecolabels/ list labels from all over the world.

In some literature the word “label” is used; I have used this word as well as the term “ecolabel”.

“Ecolabels in tourism and other sectors act as incentives to encourage businesses to achieve significant improvements in their environmental performance” (Aloisi de Larderel, 2001:xv), as an explanation as to why there are ecolabels and certifications. Furthermore, labels and certifications are effective only if credible to the public. This, Aloisi de Larderel writes, can be done only if there are reliable criteria, and if monitoring of the criteria is reliable, transparent and open for the public. She also lists these key factors for label and certification credibility:

- All stakeholders participate in development;
- Criteria are based on sustainable development, including environmental protection and social factors, and takes into account best available technology;
- Criteria provide businesses with a significant but achievable challenge that leads to real and continuous performance improvements;
- Technical support is available to businesses that wish to implement the criteria;
- Information about the actual performance of participating enterprises is publicly reported;
- They are supervised by independent, not-for-profit organizations.

She continues by raising the question concerning the number of labels and certifications and “… how to set clear standards for the design and implementation…” and also how to make sure that the use is suitable as an implement for functioning standards (Aloisi de Larderel, 2001:xvff).

“Green sells”, observes Font, and questions techniques to confirm and assure authenticity of the growing number of green marketing declarations (2001:1). He writes:
The development of ecolabels in the tourism industry responds to the need to regulate the green message by identifying those tourism organizations that actively promote tourism that does not damage the environment. (Font 2001:3)

He states that ecolabeling can promote sustainable ecotourism, even though there are some exceptions. With the exceptions, he means products that claiming to be ecotourism, but do not have a certification which confuse the consumers and “…limit the validity of ecolabeling programmes”. He also states that it is unethical to promote the company as “green”, while the label focuses on only one aspect, such as printing brochures on environmental friendly paper, because it misleads tourists (Font, 2001:14f).

According to Ralf Buckley there must be an organization behind the ecolabel, without which the label becomes just a marketing trick. “Like any form of quality label, an ecolabel must have defined and transparent criteria for use, and effective means to prevent abuse…” (2001:19). According to Buckley, there are two different types of environmental labels. One is for tourist destinations and the other is a performance label for tourist providers. He mentions Blue Flag, an international quality label mentioned before, as an example of a destination quality label; the other type is NEAP (The Australian National Ecotourism Accreditation Program) ecotourism certification. NEAP is an eco-certification for facilities, tours and adventures. He also points out that “…there is apparently no systematic difference in environmental performance between tourist products which do have ecolabels and those which do not”. He continues that it appears that several tourist agents do not see a specific advantage with the label (Buckley, 2001:19-23). “The purpose of the ecolabeling and/or certification schemes in tourism is to highlight the best practices for products and services” (Diamants & Westlake, 2001:27).
Ecocertification - the Green Key

Green Key is a part of the international umbrella organisation The Foundation for Environmental Education (FEE) with one organisation per country representing FEE on national level. In Sweden, the Green Key label is represented by Håll Sverige Rent. Håll Sverige Rent (HSR) is a non-profit organisation founded by Swedish Environmental Protection Agency and Returpack (a privately own recycling company) in 1983 with the vision of a Sweden free of trash. In Sweden there are a total of 107 Green Key sites. As of January 1’the 2016, the Green Key certification is now handled by Green Key Sweden.

The Green Key is an ecocertification for hotels, hostels, camping grounds and other tourist facilities like restaurants and attractions. It is an international ecocertification label founded in Denmark in 1994 and currently exists in 50 countries. The Green Key certification is based on two categories of criteria: imperative criteria, which have to be implemented in every tourist facility with the Green Key certification and ”guideline”, criteria part of a point system. Every year, except for the first year, guideline criteria have to be matched in the point system. Second year, 5%, third year 10%, forth year 15%, fifth to ninth year 20% and tenth year and onward 50%. Which criteria are guideline criteria is listed in the criteria document. The documents are revised every three to five years, and next times revision is June 2016. The criteria are divided into different areas: environmental management, personnel participation, guest information, water, laundry and cleaning, waste, energy, pro-

http://www.green-key.org (20160105)

http://www.hsr.se/det-har-gor-vi/land/green-key-miljomarkt-logi-och-konferens (20160105)

http://www.pantamera.nu/om-oss/returpack-in-english/ (20160105)

http://www.green-key.org/menu/awarded-sites/sweden (20160105)

http://www.hsr.se/det-har-gor-vi/land/green-key-miljomarkt-logi-och-konferens (20160105)

http://www.greenkey.global/criteria/ (20160105)
visions, indoor climate, surrounding parks, outdoor activities and administration. Below are examples of key criteria for hostels and hotels\textsuperscript{64} in each area and some examples of them in practice.

**Environmental management**

**Imperative:**

- designation of person responsible for environmental issues
- policy describing the ambition and purpose of the environmental work
- action plan for environmental work and goals and continuous work for improvement

**Staff participation**

**Imperative:**

- all employees are aware of the environmental agreement
- re-use of towels and sheets is known and accepted by staff
- mandatory web based staff training concerning The Green Key.

**Guideline:**


**Guest information**

**Imperative:**

- A visible diploma and symbol showing that the facility has the Green Key certification.
- information and guidance from staff for the guests on how best to participate in saving energy.
- information signs for the guests on how to save energy.

\textsuperscript{64} [http://www.greenkey.global/criteria/](http://www.greenkey.global/criteria/) (20160105)
Guideline:

- questionnaire to the guests on their opinion about what has been done at the facility regarding environmental work.65

In Saint-Petersburg, Russia, the Cronwell Inn Streymyannaya Hotel has produced a booklet named "Read me - Save the Planet", placed in every room at the hotel, for the guest to read and learn about eco-education, waste and water, among other things.66

In Brussels, the Aloft Brussels Schuman Hotel rewards guests in the 'Make a Green Choice’ program with vouchers each night guests decline housekeeping service. Energy consumption has been significantly reduced when over 30% of the guests use the program.67

Water

Imperative:

- Measuring and registering the total amount of water that has been used once a month

- using water-saving showers and taps

- displaying instructions on how to use the dishwasher in an energy saving way

Guideline:

- displaying information about what not to flush down the toilets

__________________________

65 http://www.greenkey.global/criteria/ (20160105)


flush toilettes with rainwater.⁶⁸

Park Inn by Radisson Vilnius Hotel invested in new water softening equipment and as result less cleaning products are needed and water quality was improved.⁶⁹

**Washing and cleaning**

**Imperative:**

- Information to guests that sheets and towels will only be changed if requested.
- not using chlorine and similar disinfection agents unless necessary.

**Guideline:**

- using fiber cloth for cleaning, to save water and use of chemicals.

**Waste**

**Imperative:**

- Waste separation not to exceed the capacity of the municipality garbage collectors
- instructions concerning waste management for staff
- ensure waste is transported to the nearest recycling station
- avoid disposables

**Guideline:**

- Waste separation available in each guest room.

⁶⁸ [http://www.greenkey.global/criteria/](http://www.greenkey.global/criteria/) (20160105)

- only environmentally friendly packaging for shampoo, soap, butter et cetera should be used.

- garbage bins available both in- and outdoors.\(^70\)

Instead of throwing away still usable pillows and blankets, the Hotel Kämp in Helsinki donated them to the Finish Red Cross.\(^71\)

**Energy**

*Imperative:*

- Register and document the use of energy monthly

- 50% of light-bulbs replaced with low-energy light-bulbs

- insulated windows in heated rooms.

- a system for saving water and energy

*Guideline:*

- use of environmental energy sources such as solar cells and bio fuel

- installing automatic systems turning the lights of when guests leave their rooms

- automatically switch offs for air-condition when windows are opened

  motion censors for outdoor lighting.\(^72\)

The Toledo Amman Hotel in Amman, Jordan, has changed wall colours to white, and furnitures and drapes to lighter colours in order to reflect light better. Room lights and guest bathroom lights are changed to LED, motion sensors were installed in hallways and window panels were changed for

\(^70\) [http://www.greenkey.global/criteria/](http://www.greenkey.global/criteria/) (20160105)


\(^72\) [http://www.greenkey.global/criteria/](http://www.greenkey.global/criteria/) (20160105)
better climate control to reduce energy consumption. The hotel also changed bath tubs to shower stalls and installed water saving toilets with double switch. As a result of these changes the energy bill was reduced.\textsuperscript{73}

**Food and beverage**

**Imperative:**

- Register food products purchased locally or ecologically produced
- the number of locally produced and eco-labeled products must increasing yearly. If this is proven a difficulty, exceptions can be made.

**Guideline:**

- Tap water is used in conference rooms, where tap water have sufficient quality.\textsuperscript{74}

In the courtyard of Sheraton Hotel Stockholm, the hotel kitchen has its own ecological garden with different herbs and berries. This is not only appreciated by the guests, it also reduces transports to the hotel.\textsuperscript{75}

The Westin Paris - Vendôme hotel is one example of hotels with beehives on the roof. The honeybees gather nectar at the Tuileries Gardens and produce 20 kilo of honey each year.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{73} http://www.green-key.org/service-menu/news/toledo-amman-hotel-jordan--innovation-by-renovation (20160105)

\textsuperscript{74} http://www.greenkey.global/criteria/ (20160105)

\textsuperscript{75} http://www.greenkey.global/stories-news-1/2015/9/21/sheraton-stockholm-hotel-sourcing-sustainable-food (20160105)

\textsuperscript{76} http://www.green-key.org/service-menu/news/the-westin-paris-vendme-saves-bees (20160105)
In Vienna, Le Méridien Hotel mainly purchase locally produced food and drinks, to reduce environmental impact. The chef de cuisine says that even if the cost of locally produced food are somewhat higher, the taste, flavors and quality is much better.77

**Parks and parking areas**

**Imperative:**

- No chemicals and biocides used more then once a year
- watering before sunrise and after sundown.
- new lawn mowers to use environmentally friendly fuel or be hand driven.

**Guideline:**

- Collect rainwater for watering gardens
- compost branches and other greens

**Administration**

**Imperative:**

- Staff areas to meet the same criteria as guest rooms.
- use of environmentally friendly paper and stationary material with eco-label

**Guideline:**

- Consumer goods to have environmental certification
- use of less paper in conference rooms are encouraged.78


78 [http://www.greenkey.global/criteria/](http://www.greenkey.global/criteria/) (20160105)
The guide for the list of criteria states that environmental management is about organizing the environmental work of the business to lessen energy use. The entire staff should participate in the environmental work. The guide also list several products not to be used in cleaning, ”The Blacklist” and what products to choose.\textsuperscript{79}

Criteria for the different categories do not differ much for hotels and hostels, small accommodations and campsites, but for the category ’attractions’ there are mandatory and optional criteria instead of imperative and guideline.\textsuperscript{80}

Quality label - Nature’s Best

Nature’s Best is an international quality label for ecotourism in the Northern hemisphere\textsuperscript{81}. The Swedish Ecotourism organization is one of the founders. Their purpose is to improve the quality and quantity of Swedish ecotourism, to establish a well recognized label that stands for ethical values and high quality. Through the label, the tourist agent will get an effective marketing tool and the means to improve further the company and its products. It also makes it easier for tourists to find through the Nature’s Best website. Tourists will associate the tourist agent with a high quality product. To apply for the label, the tourist agents buy a package that enables them to begin with the application and list up to 5 products or tours. The fee also covers the examination of the application, which can lead to an inspection of the applicant.

To obtain the label the tourist agent has to fulfill all the base criteria, and at least 25 percent of the bonus criteria. The tourist agent must also obtain references that will verify that the regulations, both national and local, are adhered to by the tourist agent. The criteria include a process of im-

\textsuperscript{79} washing-up detergents and other washing liquids used adapted to the hardness of the water.

\textsuperscript{80} http://static1.squarespace.com/static/55371f97e4b0fcec8c1ee4e69/t/560266cbe4b02ead4fl69be8/1442997963855/Green+Key+attractions+criteria+2010-2016.pdf (20160105)

\textsuperscript{81} http://www.ekoturism.org/naturensbasta/index.asp (20160105)
provement and was to be revised in 2010\textsuperscript{82}. Since there hasn’t been a revision I contacted Nature’s Best for further information. I was told the criteria from before 2010 still apply, that prioritizing has been made because of economical reasons. The priorities of recruiting new applicants and selecting destinations and quality of adventures have been made, rather than revising the old criteria, since the criteria were functioning very well. Nature’s Best has six main principles\textsuperscript{83} and examples of criteria for them are:

1. Respect limitations of the destination to create the least amount of wear for both culture and nature. An ecotourism goal is to sustain instead of destroy. This demands a good knowledge by local guides to support the ecological and cultural capacity of each area.
   - Base criteria include: the tourist agent must know the location well, especially natural and cultural values. Group size is determined by sensitivity of the destination’s natural surrounding, safety for participants and assurance of adventure quality. The adventure/activity is based on sustainable development and an ethically accepted use of the resources. Reindeer herding must not be disturbed, especially during sensitive periods.
   - Bonus criteria include: company employee to attend education in ecotourism subject, one day a year.

2. Promote the local economy. Every adventure should contribute to the local economy with boarding, local guides, product and services from the local neighborhood.
   - Base criteria: The tourist agent should be involved in some kind of local development, such as education, accepting local trainees and be involved in mountain rescue. Local food and

\textsuperscript{82} http://ekoturism.perlin.nu/illustrationer/fil_20051017153331.pdf (20160105)

\textsuperscript{83} http://www.ekoturism.org/naturensbasta/presentation/grundprinciper.asp (20160105)
services are as much as possible bought locally and an estimated percentage will be indicated. Participants should be encouraged to buy local products, and how this is done should be indicated.

- Bonus criteria: 50 percent, or more, of the cost for personnel should come from local staff or local subcontractors.

3. The tourist organizer strive to make the whole tourist adventure environmentally friendly, and minimize the stress on the environment.

- Basic criteria: that the tourist agent have an environmental plan that describes the environmental work of the company and the environmental plan should be available for interested participants. There should be routines for recycling and garbage must be delivered to a recycling facility when it is possible. The tourist agent should strive for environment friendly accommodation for the participants during the adventure and accommodations that are regularly used should preferably be in possession of an environment label. The tourist agent should strive to use locally produced groceries and/or certified ecological groceries such as KRAV.

- Bonus criteria: that the facilities of the tourist agents’ have been certified with The Swan/ The Green Key or other suitable environmental certification for accommodation. The tourist agent uses locally produced renewable sources of energy and the electricity used is labeled with Bra Miljöval.
4. The tourist organizer should actively contribute to protection of nature and culture.

   - Base criteria: To give support to some kind of environment or cultural protection or projects, preferably in the local area and state which they are.

   - Bonus criteria: to offer advertising at the tourist agent’s webpage, in brochures or other marketing, for an environment protection organization. To contribute with information concerning threats within the area of destination, to give information supportive of the environment protection opinion

5. Approved organizers are good hosts and guides with experience.

   - Base criteria for the fifth principle include: That the guides have good knowledge about the environmental and cultural values at the destination. The adventure includes instructions of some sort, either there is written information, introduction course about the adventure or a personal guide participating on the adventure. The guests should be informed about the destination and codes of conduct, for people and environment. The guide in charge should have relevant training and have good knowledge about the destination.

   - Bonus criteria: that there always will be a tour guide with great knowledge with the participants, the number of participants should not be more than fifteen per tour guide to ensure the quality of the participants’ adventure.


   - Base criteria for the sixth principle includes: The tourist agent should have at least two years professional experience from nature adventure tourism. The tourist agent should possess an insurance number for liability insurance with a reputable insurance company.
To further reach out to potential travelers, Nature’s Best have a club for travelers. It is a free club that anyone can register at to get information in form of a news letter four times a year about arrangements, adventures and other news concerning the label. There also are lotteries, special offers and tips for travels. One of the reasons for the club is to reduce the distance between companies with the label and potential guests. 84

Quality Label - Sápmi Experience

"Quality, sustainability, security and trustworthiness…” are guiding principles for Sápmi Experiences, the quality label for Sámi tourism. VisitSápmi is the tourist organisation handling the applications and was founded by The National Union of the Swedish Sámi People (SSR) in 2010. The VisitSápmi project ended in 2013 but VisitSápmi restarted in 2015 as an organisation with ownership of both trademarks, VisitSápmi and Sápmi Experience. Sápmi Experience is only available for Sámi companies with Sámi management and Sámi teams. Companies which acquire the label have extensive knowledge of Sápmi landscape and can convey Sámi ways of life and values. It also ensures that the integrity of Sámi culture is respected and the culture not objectified and counteract it being used as a touristic commodity. The label certifies that adventures offered are authentic Sámi experiences and the hosts are Sámi with close cultural and social ties in the Sámi community. Companies that acquire the label aim for social, cultural, economic and ecologic sustainability as well as constructively working for non- Sámi companies, authorities and organizations that respect Sámi culture and values.

Sápmi Experience can be acquired for all Sámi tourism, though tourism products that are all inclusive with living arrangements, transfers, activities and food are encouraged. This is because a package not only makes it easier for visitors, it also generates more income for local communities than

84 http://www.naturensbasta.se/nyhetsbrev/index.asp (20160421)
when tourists travel on their own accord. Other types of businesses could be Sámi produced products and merchandise. It hinders development to state specifically what businesses can or cannot acquire the label. Applicants are meticulously examined. With rules and the spirit of the label a decision is made if applicants should or should not acquire the label.

Sápmi Experience has, like other certifications, criteria which have to be met. These criteria are divided into three categories. Ethical, Service and Sustainability.

The ethical criteria are:

1. Respect for indigenous people, Sámi.
2. Respect for reindeer herding and other Sámi livelihoods.
3. Close ties to the local area.

Ethical criteria concern ethically good relations with Sámi villages, reindeer herding, other Sámi livelihoods and Sámi culture. Companies have knowledge about culture, nature, lifestyle and the ability to share this information with tourists. Stories told should be as firmly established historically as possible. Within the ethical criteria is also responsibility for local development and to promote local business.

Service criteria:

4. Knowledge and conduct towards others.
5. Credible marketing with professionalism and ethical enterprise.

Service criteria show how companies should work with tourism in a professional way as a host, in knowledge and ability to share information with tourists. Tourist guides have relevant education and knowledge to provide tourists with relevant information during the adventure. The company applying must also have at least two years experience in Sámi tourism. Within service criteria is also
marketing, handling security questions and accidents. Risk analyses are made for every adventure, routines for bad weather, accidents and such. Personell have education in first-aid and other life-saving education. Good communication devices are available during the adventures.

Criteria for environment and sustainability:


8. Environmental plan.

9. Quality of tourist experience.

10. Ethically credible

Environmental work is within the sustainability criteria, and there is a model for those criteria to create an administrative plan for both tourism business and environmental work. Analyses have been made for how the environment and Sámi villages are affected by tourism. An environment policy has been developed that is based on SSR’s environment program, ”Eallinbiras” (https://www.sametinget.se/eallinbiras).

In the application for Sápmi Experience are more details about what is included in the different criteria. For example, a tourism company should have codes of behavior both for guests and the company itself. Since tourist groups could journey into reindeer areas, guest should know how to behave with respect to the reindeer and the reindeer herders. One obligation for being approved for the label is that someone from the company applying has participated in the educational course. The purpose of this course is to learn about Sápmi Experiences’ criteria, what advantages the label can generate and how the application is done.

Background to these criteria is the Sámi culture, and SSR’s environment program ”Eallinbiras”. Culture, nature and environment are all integrated, and all questions are, from a Sámi perspective, connected to the environment. The goal is a living Sámi lifestyle and culture in Sápmi with nature
capable of sustaining itself. Sámi culture has another view on nature than that of Western cultures. Nature is a living entity and to destroy it, is to harm the culture itself.

4.3 Tourism in Laponia

Twenty percent of the Norrbotten county area is National Park and nature reserve; ninety five percent of the National Park area in Sweden is located in the county (Edin et al., 2008:9). Moreover, forty six percent of the tourism is leisure tourism, 21 % national business travels and 32% are international tourists and travelers. In the report concerning nature and culture tourism in the county of Norrbotten the Ecotourism organization in Sweden wants to develop all tourism to be environmentally friendly. Most of the participating tourism organizers are of the opinion ecotourism does not adversely affect or exploit the local culture and natural environment because of its still relatively small scale. They also think that tourism will increase in the future (Edin et al., 2008:12ff).

The County Administration Board in Norrbotten, along with administration boards in other counties, has the assignment to produce a plan to develop nature and cultural tourism in the area (Edin et al., 2008:9).

The Swedish Tourist Association (STF)

STF was founded in late 1800, and in 1888 the first mountain cabin was finished in Varvek near the Norweigan border, thanks to the secretary at STF, Svenonius. The following year another cabin was built by the Tarra river, followed in another two years by Pärte the cabin north of Kvikkjokk (Berg, 1999:47). In 1860, mountain tourism had established a center in Kvikkjokk. Tourists were an exclusive group with plenty of money and time to spend (Berg, 1999:46). In 1896, the STF was begin-
ning their venture in tourism in what is now Stora Sjöfallet. They also built footbridges from Gällivare to the river Stor Lule. In 1893 the Sitojaure cabin was built so tourists could travel from Gällivare to Jokkmokk, passing Harsprång, Stora Sjöfallet and Kvikkjokk on the way, without having to camp outside. (Berg, 1999:48). There were boats to Sitojaure and Laitaure, and in 1889 boats were added at Anajaure and Pakkoselet. In 1904-1905 the Stora Sjöfallet trail was improved. When STF started motorboat traffic along the Lule river after the Stora Sjöfallet became a National Park in 1909, the newly formed Swedish Society for Nature Conservation protested that it was against the rules for national parks. The agency was concerned that Stora Sjöfallet could become the same kind of commercial tourist center as Abisko. By 1914 motorboats were in use all the way up to the waterfall. In 1924 the tourist station in Kvikkjokk was built and until 1958, when the road was constructed, tourists came by boat. The Padjelanta trail between Kvikkjokk and Akka was constructed after the war and in 1947 tourist cots were built at Staloluokta, Virihaure, Vaisaloukta, Vastenjaure and Kutjaure. In Ritsem tents were provided when the tourist facility in Sourva burned down in 1951. After WW2 there were many people wanting to travel. Increasing numbers of travelers who had extended vacation time came to the mountains, because unpaid cabin fees STF gave tourists options to either pay a membership fee or buy a card to stay at the cabins. In the 1950’s the mountain tourism became a tourist category and the term hiking tourism came into use. In 1959 the number of tourists staying at Saltoluokta grew until 1963. In 1962 Padjelanta became a national park at the initiative of Sten Selander who in 1946 suggested the creation of a “wilderness park”. From 1961 to 1967 several cabins were built in Padjelanta by STF and by the National Environmental Protection Agency, including Kisuris and Staloluokta. In 1963 the STF began having hosts at their mountain cabins. In 1977 the National Environmental Protection agency and the county administration board took over the responsibility for the trails in the mountain area (Berg, 1999:49ff).
Today there are over 300 hostels, mountain stations and cabins from north to south in Sweden, twelve of them in Laponia. There are also different activities like family week, handicraft weekend, courses in skiing and more.

Jokkmokkguiderna

Matti Holmgren founded the company, Jokkmokkguiderna, in 1993. He and his partner Stina have several adventures for tourists with sledge dogs, safari and canoe trips. The company works on a small scale, taking tourists on “…adventures in close contact with nature…” They both have courses at NOLS Wilderness Medicine Institute. The interview revealed that the company is certified by Nature’s Best and are looking into other labels too, preferably something with responsible travel. The company applied for the label because they wanted to be leaders in ecotourism development.

The application process was time consuming. “Development leads to progress”, he wrote. Matti reports that the company is constantly evolving in different areas and they are now working with local questions and development in their destinations. Tourists are interested in having information concerning Nature’s Best and this will be taken advantage of more in the future. My last question was what kind of tourists join them on their adventures and what kind of reactions they get from tourists. They have small groups and the adventures are ranging from extreme expeditions to shorter family trips. They exclusively turn towards people who want to experience Lapland and those who have a natural attraction toward the north or toward adventures and ecotourism. The reactions they get from tourists concerning the adventures are exclusively positive.

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85 https://www.svenskaturistforeningen.se/om-stf/
86 https://www.svenskaturistforeningen.se/bo/upptack-laponia/
87 https://www.svenskaturistforeningen.se/bo/upptack-laponia/
88 http://www.jokkmokkguiderna.com/o (20160520)
4.4 To certify or not to certify

Because green sells, misuse of the terminology is not uncommon. Black and Crabtree state that “…there are no restrictions that govern the use of the term” (2007:16). This leads to not only misrepresentation but abuse of the eco term. Black and Crabtree continues:

A certification can guide tourists on what is considered to be real ecotourism and not something that appears green. One example of this is using the reuse of towels at hotels as an evidence of being environmentally friendly and green, rather reduces laundry bill instead. (Black and Crabtree, 2007:16)

What can a certification and a label do? They can show tourists that the companies which have a label or certification is an environmentally friendly destination/facility. That the company is energy conscious using local products, saving energy, and by using produce grown and produced in a eco friendly way. Xavier Font states that “[t]he increasing number of green marketing claims in tourism has raised many eyebrows, and one basic question: are there any methods to ensure the validity of such claim” (2001:1)? Font points out that if the green claims are not controlled, tourist operators that are serious about attempting to decrease the environmental impact are put at a disadvantage. According to Font, Sweden is one of the “…countries with tougher environmental legislation and effective methods to implement it” (2001:3). Buckley find that it appears not to be any regular difference in a product from a tourism company without an ecolabel, than from a company with a label. He continues “It seems that many tourism operators see ecolabels as marketing schemes from which they would gain no particular advantage” (Buckley, 2001:23). According to information from Nature’s Best, tourist operators with approved adventures have the right to use the label in their marketing, using a web link to the operators’ own home page on the home page of Nature’s Best. This leads to more visibility for tourists searching for eco-adventures. If needed, there is help from Nature’s Best to describe the adventure on their homepage, as well as English translation.
The label also offer various marketing efforts. Of course there are costs for having the label. An application fee and annual fee varies depending on the operator’s income. Because the label is for a particular adventure, the tourist operator can apply for several adventures. Hostels, hotels and camping grounds that have The Green Key ecocertification get their name on the home page for the organization that handles the certification. Hostels connected to the Swedish Touring Agency (STF) also have the Green Key logo at the information page about the hostel at the home page of STF and in the brochure. On the home page of the STF it is easy to search for information about which hostels have The Green Key ecocertification on the hostel’s information page, there is The Green Key symbol beneath an information text “We care about the environment”. One can also search for hostels that have Nature’s Best label on activities, as well as other labels beneath the same information text. The fee for The Green key certification depends on the type of facility. The fee for hotels depends on the number of rooms, and for camping grounds the fee is adjusted based on if it is open all year or just half a year. Before, the fee was reduced if a hostel or mountain station is connected to the STF and I was informed by the Green Key that a new agreement is being discussed with STF concerning this. My contact at the Green Key could not go into details about this new agreement, since it was not fully negotiated yet.

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89 [http://www.ekoturism.org/illustrationer/fil_20051017152646.pdf](http://www.ekoturism.org/illustrationer/fil_20051017152646.pdf) (20160520)

90 [http://www.greenkey.se/anleggningar/](http://www.greenkey.se/anleggningar/) (20160520)


92 [https://www.svenskaturistforeningen.se/anleggningar/stf-saltoluokta-fallstation/](https://www.svenskaturistforeningen.se/anleggningar/stf-saltoluokta-fallstation/) (20160520)

93 [https://www.svenskaturistforeningen.se/bo/ekoturism-miljo/](https://www.svenskaturistforeningen.se/bo/ekoturism-miljo/) (20160520)

94 [http://www.greenkey.se/ansok/](http://www.greenkey.se/ansok/) (20160520)
Pathfinder Lapland – a Sámi tourist company

Founder and owner Lennart Pittja, started the company in 1995 he estimates that he has had around 10 000 visitors since he began, the majority being non-Swedish.

Pittja was part of a group that gave suggestions regarding the creation Nature’s Best. In my interview with Lennart Pittja I learnt that he did not have difficulties when applied for Nature’s Best since he had environmentally friendly tourism in mind when he started his company in 1995. He also told me about some of the difficulties with managing a small eco tourist company. Sometimes local food producers does not have stores approved by Nature’s Best and then he has to shop less local. He wants to get Swedish tourists to get interested in his adventures. They often go on vacations out of the country. He thought that the debate about climate change might change how tourists think. Most of his guests are from other countries and are interested in learning about Sámi culture. Lennart is one of the persons involved in Visit Sápmi, mentioned earlier, and has no excursions at the moment with Pathfinder Lapland. He is also working with the Swedish Lapland Visitors Board as an adviser, because of his extensive knowledge in Sámi tourism, and with the quality label Nature’s Best.

95 http://www.ekoturism.org/illustrationer/fil_20040426171931.pdf (20160519)
96 http://www.pathfinderlapland.se/paket.htm (20160518)
The Laponia Sami Safaris has nature based activities, such as fishing and hiking. Since the two Sámi brothers managing the company are reindeer herders, tourists have the option to participate in daily herding life and get close to Sámi culture and the Laponia nature (Bergström, 2008:21).

Laponia Sami Safaris does not have an ecotourism certification or quality label, but they are certified Laponian guides. Nikka Suorra told me that the Swedish Ecotourism Association has been in contact with them regarding a Nature’s Best marking although Suorra and his brother are not interested in the mark. This is because they are members of a Sámi village and tourists consider this more valuable. Because they don’t have Nature’s Best they have their own guiding principles. They do not exploit the Sámi village and give back income from the tourist business. They use local products, local help from the Sámi village and from other Sámi entrepreneurs. As Pathfinder Lapland, no traces are left in nature and the Suorra brothers try their best to give tourists a great adventure. For them the guide certification did not have any significance although all knowledge is of value. They are applying for qualification as mountain guides, something that the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency may form as a standard qualification. This to ensure safety for the tourists, according to the Product safety Act, which apply for all products and services offered by companies to customers.\(^98\) The Swedish Consumer Agency estimates that for safety reasons the tourist guide need an education corresponding the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency norm for mountain guide education.\(^99\) Nikka told me that tourists do not usually ask about certifications and that tourists interest in Sámi culture has no limits. A tourist mentioned that the Nature’s Best label seemed insignificant since the Suorra brothers are Sámi and reindeer herders. That is one of the reasons why Laponia Sami Safaris has not applied for Nature’s Best. Suorra reflected that they

\(^{98}\) [Link](http://www.konsumentverket.se/for-foretag/produktsakerhet/produktsakerhetslagen/)

\(^{99}\) [Link](http://www.konsumentverket.se/for-foretag/regler-per-omradebransch/resor-och-turism/fjall--och-vinterturism/)
advertise their adventures as authentic and the Nature’s best label could be contra productive. He also stated that he thinks the label useful for the tourism industry, but he thought the process to apply cost more than they would gain.

Most tourist attending their adventures have an interest for nature and culture. In Europe and USA there isa considerable interest for Sámi culture and Northern Scandinavian nature. Laponia Sami Safaris also assist with different projects for professionals, those projects include movies, television show and articles for newspapers (Bergström, 2008:21).

Sámi Duodji – Sámi handicraft

Sámi Duodji is an authentication label, created in 1996, for Sámi handicraft in Sweden, Norway, Finland and Russia. Its purpose is to authenticate Sámi handicraft and protect Sámi handicraft from copying. Contribute to raise the quality on Sámi handicraft and to show that Sámi handicraft is a living tradition. With Duodji The Sámi Handicraft Foundation intends handicraft made by Sámi. By that they mean the handicraft that originates from Sámi traditions, Sámi conceptualization, Sámi patterns and colors (Sameslöjdsstiftelsen, 2006:5). Katrin, who works at Sámi Duodji in Jokkmokk, told me that it is difficult to get to plagiarisms. The craftsmen get the label not the handicraft. The criteria states that the handicraft should be handmade utility goods made according to old traditions in materials like skin, antlers and wood. The label is intended for clothing, tools, household- and catch utensils and jewelry. Souvenirs can thus not get the Duodji label. Applicants have to be Sámi and have experience and training in the Sámi handicraft, according to the Duodji regulations. As Sámi, you have to either have relatives in the first or second generation that have Lappish as their first language or the applicant have Lappish as his or hers first language. You can also apply for the marking if you consider yourself Sámi, according to Sámi Duodji regulation number two. Katrin

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100 (interview with Katrin 20080826 at Sámi Duodji in Jokkmokk)
told me that there are between ten to fifteen applicants per year who send in their handicraft to the Sámi Handicraft Foundation be evaluated. The board at the Sámi Handicraft Foundation is the final authority on whether the artist is granted the label. The artist get a series in numerical order so misusing can be prevented. All artists are registered at the Sámi Council and this is updated yearly.

The Stone Center

The Stone Center is located by Lake Talvatis, in Jokkmokk, and has products made of, or in a combination with, stone. The stones are mostly from the area, but they also have created a necklace called "the Swedish link". In the shop broschyr it is described as "A string of pears of Swedish bedrock from north to south" and it is made by provincial stones from every part of Sweden. I saw it when I visited the shop in 2008 and it was truly beautiful. The shop sells product from 5 SEK and upward, because they feel that everyone should be able to afford something from the shop, even children. In the shop there is also an extensive mineral exhibition. During an unstructured interview with Anders Forsberg, one of the owners, told me that during the winter market, the Stone Center receives orders that keep them busy a long time. When I asked him about a quality or authentication label, he told me that they open the door to show the factory, to authenticate their handicrafts. He wants costumers to know that the products they buy are made in his factory behind the shop, not overseas somewhere.

They are environmentally conscious when they work with stones and create their products. When they collect stones for their products they do not want to leave any traces behind them, preferably it should not even be noticed that they have been there. No chemicals are used in the production and


102 Interview in Jokkmokk at the Stone Center (080421)
the stones, while being processed, are cooled with water.\textsuperscript{103} Is this a better way of showing authenticity than a label? This will be discussed further on.

5 Discussion

In this chapter I will do my best to connect fieldwork, materials and theories to get closer to the answers I seek. The chapters that follow will be some what connected and I will the end this thesis with a conclusion where I will, to the best of my abilities, answer the question ‘ecocertifications and quality labels, for whom and why?’.

**Sámi tourism; authenticity, alienation and other dangers**

Earlier I wrote about my interview with Lennart Pittja, the owner of Pathfinder Lapland, and that I learned he did not have difficulties applying for Nature’s Best designation, because he already met many of the criteria. Pittja also told me that to develop sustainable Sámi tourism would need working together with Sámi villages to develop adventures with reindeer for the tourists. He does not think tourism diminishes Sámi culture, rather it strengthens it, and more adventures with reindeer would be a way to maintain the value of the herd. He mentioned that techniques for herding have improved, with environmentally friendlier snowmobiles as an example.

In the thesis *Sami Tourism in Northern Sweden – Supply, Demand and Interaction*, the author Robert Pettersson writes that there is “…a large demand from tourists for Sámi tourism” (2004:25). He thinks that because of the decline in reindeer herding, there is a reason for the Sámi to get into the tourism industry. Based on my interview with Pittja, I wonder if this is a good reason and if many entrepreneurs can survive on the number of tourists coming to experience Sámi culture in La-

\textsuperscript{103} \url{http://www.nsd.se/nyheter/hobbyn-blev-eget-foretag-3616294.aspx} (20160519)
pland. Would the number of tourists be enough for many Sámi tourist companies to make a living of, that is my question. Pettersson also questions if Sámi tourism harms the culture, because of the “… arranged or staged…” (2004:26) attractions and adventures for tourists. Again I return to my interview with Pittja, who does not think that the Sámi culture is being harmed by tourism. The “arranged and staged” aspect Pettersson mentions might be seen to occur already when tourists visit a Sámi village, to observe daily work with their reindeer. Yet, is it not an inevitable fact that should one visit a village to watch daily work it necessarily sets a stage of some kind? It is always easier to do your daily work unwatched, but when you get spectators you might not perform in the same way as you normally do; you may show the visitors more details of the work you do. If tourists ask to be shown, let’s say how to make coffee cheese, then the process of making the cheese from milk, cream and rennet, is shown slowly and meticulously. When shown for people who don’t know what ‘coffee cheese’ is, or that it can be put in the coffee as a dessert, it might not be prepared as it is done without spectators. Without spectators the result is more important, and the cheese is made without thinking of how, as it has always been made, rather than thinking thoroughly of the process of making. If this is done for one, two or ten tourists, it not at risk of being staged, but if there are hundred or more tourists it can obviously run the risk of becoming staged and arranged in keeping with the economic importance it comes to have as a tourist attraction. The scale of visitors has importance, and hence the positive or negative aspects of it, including its impact on “authenticity”, must be relational to its overall context. Currently the Sámi ecotourism I found was small-scale tourism and seemingly not harmful, but it needs to be monitored.

Pettersson shows ‘alienation’ as a possible negative impact for indigenous tourism (2004:22). Pettersson does not explain what he mean about ‘alienation’ but I believe it is in the meaning of ‘cultural estrangement’ (Xue et al. 2014:189; Seeman 1959:788). There are several theories about alienation (see Xue et al 2014, Seeman 1959, Rickly-Boyd 2013, Jaeggi 2014), but for space reasons I

104 http://cafegasskas.se/samisk-dessert/
will just develop the one I find suitable for this thesis. Xue et al. describes what they call "conceptual lenses" for alienation, and one of the lenses are "existentialism" which is interpreted as "[a]lienation refers to the relations that one has with oneself, others and the world when the opinions of others are prioritized over oneself" (2014:188). Furthermore, Clapp describes situations of alienations in the city of New York, where New York is such a large city that many people are "…strangers, and literally alien to one another…", he continues "…environments overwhelmingly with people of whom they have no biographical knowledge; people whom they scarcely and incompletely identify by the clothing they wear…" (2005:4). I see Petterssons point in this definition of 'alienation’ because people tend to feel more like strangers to people with different clothing, culture and lifestyle than themselves. The Sámi have colorful traditional clothes, they have cultural traditions differing from tourists coming to visit them, but there are also positive connections and recognitions with tourists getting to know the Sámi. In my experience there are often many contact points between different cultures. We are not as unlike each other that we might think. The process of making 'coffee cheese’ might be similar in making Swedish cheese cake, not to be confused with American cheese cake, especially the one made in northern Sweden, for example in Hälsingland. This is just one example, I am sure there are many more. Pettersson also writes "..tourism development should be limited to a level that allows effective local control, which implies small growth and small-scale development” (2004:22), in the subject of indigenous tourism. Again, I see his point, but I think this decision must be left to the Sámi (in this case) about how they want their tourism business to grow, develop and be monitored. Such matters are not for anyone else to decide.

Ecotourism and World Heritage area

The scale of visitors also has importance when it comes to ecotourism and the environment. According to the definition of ecotourism, it should be small scaled "…to minimize impact…” (Honey, 2008:29) on environment and culture. In the Galápagos, described as the”Garden of
Eden” (Honey, 2008:123) it became evident how important scale is. In 1959, 97% of the area became a national park. Resident islanders were restricted to the remaining 3%. In 1979 Galápagos was appointed a World Heritage area, the first on the World Heritage list, and in 2001 the area was extended to include also the marine reserve surrounding the 19 islands of Galápagos, an area of 53,200 square miles. In 1998 a Special Law was developed to promote responsible tourism, control population growth, forbid commercial fishing within the marine reserve, and control growth in settlements. 2007 the World Heritage Committee decided to place Galápagos on the World Heritage Danger list because of growing threats from tourism, invasive species and immigration (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1; Honey, 2008; Wolford et al., 2013) This list

...is designed to inform the international community of conditions which threaten the very characteristics for which a property was inscribed on the World Heritage List, and to encourage corrective action”. (http://whc.unesco.org/en/158/)

On the danger list are, for example, Palmyra in Syria and the Bamiyan site in Afghanistan The amount of tourists visiting Galápagos ”had grown from 41.000 in 1990 to 145.000 in 2006” and negative effects had been noticed (Honey, 2008:124). World Heritage areas and sites can be removed from the endangered list when the values of the areas or sites are restored. In the Galápagos case, a lot of conservation work was done, with scientists from all over the world joining together to work out plans for Galápagos to be removed from the Danger list (Wolford et al., 2013:97). This joint effort resulted in Galápagos being removed from the list in 2010.

The area is important for many reasons, the abundance of wildlife, both on land and in the ocean, and it was inscribed as a World Heritage for being ”magnificent and unique” (Wolford et al., 2013:91). It was discovered by the public when Charles Darwin published his book On the Origin

105 http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/23 (20170505)
106 http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/208 (20170505)
108 http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1 (20170505)
of Species by Means of Natural Selection in 1859 after his visit to the islands in 1835. Since then, people have been coming there for different reasons. Scientist, tourists, businessmen and commercial fishing industry, to mention some (Honey, 2008:123). Even though tourism has brought funding for conservation as well as economy for the islands, residents and small-scale tourist operators, it has taken its toll on the World Heritage area. Honey writes about trail erosion, loss of vegetation and some animals that have changed their behavior, seen by scientists and park officials (Honey, 2008:144). Even though scientists, park officials and ecotour guides work together to work out the park’s carrying capacity in tourism, since the number of tourists are growing, it is difficult to have an effective system of monitoring (Honey, 2008:155f). Carrying capacity is used to describe impact and amount: ”Carrying capacity can be said to be the maximum number of people that can use a destination without an unacceptable change taking place” (Pettersson, 2004: 21). Popular areas of the park are often overcrowded, and sometimes cruise ships are allowed to let too many tourists off the ship (Honey, 2008:155f). Honey also writes that ”[t]he archipelago’s land and sea parks are now divided into zones” (Honey, 2008:156). The question is if that is enough. However, on the other hand, how does one balance between economy for locals and conservation, and sustainability of the environment at such a popular tourist destination? Galápagos is ”…often cited as the place where ecotourism originated” writes Honey (2008:121) and there are lessons to be learned from the development of ecotourism there for other World Heritage areas, such as Laponia. There is no such pressure on Laponia, yet, with smale-scaled ecotourism like Lennart Pittja, the Suorra brothers or Jokkmokkguiderna which operate with the intent not to harm the environment. On Lennart Pittas’ website it is written “We walk in my forefathers’ footprints, without leaving traces behind us”.

109 http://www.pathfinderlapland.se/packages.htm (20080920)
Staged, arranged and authenticity

Pettersson also mentions that museums are staged and arranged to suite the visitors (Pettersson, 2004:26). But, as Bella Dicks writes in her book, Culture on display, it is also an opportunity for those whose culture is on display (2004:13). Traditions, crafts or language, that are on their way to disappear can be given continuity by teaching visitors about it. Dicks describes two such places: one is in Hawaii, the Polynesian Culture Center, where rope making is taught, the other one is near Cardiff in Wales at the Museum of Welsh Life were the Welsh language is taught to interested visitors (Dicks, 2004: 13). She goes on to point out that the agenda of the visitor and the visited can fit together, by visitors being curious and wanting to learn, and by the visited wanting to educate people about their culture (Dicks, 2004:13). At the Swedish Sámi and Mountain museum, Àjtte, the exhibitions are arranged to suit the visitors in the way that it is interesting to watch and learn. “Staged and arranged” can, in this way be positive, because visitors get to learn much about Sámi culture and way of life. “Museums allow us to walk through culture, even touch it” (Dicks, 2004:21). The tourists I spoke with during my fieldwork in Jokkmokk were all very pleased with the museum. For example, one young woman from South Africa thought the exhibition really interesting but a bit overwhelming. One man said that he enjoyed the exhibitions, especially stations where voices from different Sámi tell stories. Two Dutch women I spoke with, also enjoyed the museum, although they would have wanted to know more about the people behind the voices heard in Sámi. When you are able to see, hear and even touch objects in a museum, a three-dimensional experience, it becomes what Dicks describes as ”[T]he phenomenon of living history display…” (2004:21). Àjtte also has a shop, both at the museum and online. Dicks also writes that “…tourists today are seeking ’live’ culture, in the form of people and their ’colorful customs’”. “Culture has thus become central to tourism, just as tourism has to culture” when tourist buy souvenirs and take photos from the trip and the culture they have visited (Dicks, 2004:44). A big event in Jokkmokk is the annual winter fair, described earlier, with its thousands of visitors, as many as 80 000 one year. In the daily program
for 2016, there were a lot of opportunities to experience Sámi culture, feed reindeer, visit a káta, listen to stories about Sámi life, taste Sámi food, learn how to yoik, make Sámi handicraft and more.\textsuperscript{110} Lennart Pittja told me that tourism allows the Sámi culture to reach more people, and old traditions are being used once again. These are also things that Pettersson describes as positive examples of tourism for indigenous culture. He writes “…there are several studies that show that tourism enhances cultural preservation” (2007:180). But there is also a problem with authenticity in both tourist adventures and Sámi handicraft. One of the criteria for Nature’s Best is quality, in both the adventure and the guides. Do these criteria also assure authentic culture experiences? Local guides are preferred, because of their knowledge, and a local Sámi guide that informs tourists about the culture and cultural landscape they are seeing is, in my opinion, proof of authenticity. Pettersson writes: ”Many producers, and consumers, strive to create authentic experiences, where the visitors can find genuine products, but it is often hard to provide a genuine supply when the surrounding community changes over time” (Pettersson, 2004:25). Is a culture not authentic if the community changes over time? Is it only the static cultures that are authentic? Then there are not any authentic cultures left in the world at all, because cultures change naturally through contact with other cultures, new equipment, technology and globalization. When tourists follow Pittja at Pathfinder Lapland on his adventures, they not only get to see spectacular nature, they are also given the opportunity to listen to stories about Sámi life in the past and present. Dicks points out that ”Authenticity is not an objective quality but a subjective judgement, always open to contestation and dissent through conflicting interests” (Dicks, 2004:58). If I consider the Pathfinder experience according to the four different perceptions of authenticity discussed by Dicks, I can just answer my opinion on two of them: the visitors’ and the anthropologists’. Dicks describe the visitors’ reception as ”…does the spectacle concord with the images in my head?” and the anthropologists’ with ”…does it succeed in communicating the cultural meaning of its original social context?” (Dicks, 2004:58). I would not

\textsuperscript{110} \url{http://www.jokkmokksmarknad.se/besokare/program/} (20160420)
call the Pathfinder tour a “spectacle” but, yes, I think to some extent it did concord with the images I have in my head, when looking at the photos from trips at the Pathfinder website\(^{111}\) and reading what the tourists thought\(^{112}\). And I would say yes to my anthropological view too, from a certain point of view, since I have not had the opportunity to follow Lennart on his tours, but knowing him and his dedication for spreading knowledge about the Sámi culture and landscape I could not think it would not. The trips are intended for tourists and might be ”staged” in that way, and it is ”arranged” because of security and to give the tourists an adventure and meet their expectations. But, however, in my view, this kind of ”staged and arranged” is done with Sámi perspectives and not to ”stage and arrange” the culture so it fits the tourists perceptions of Sámi culture, there lies the difference. The remaining perception discussed by Dicks, is the planner and promoter of the tourist event ”…does it meet with the community’s approval?” (2004:58). According to a survey made by SSR (Svenska Samebyarnas Riksförbund) the Sámi villages are not opposed tourism, but it is difficult since reindeer herding is time-consuming and there are a lack of enthusiast willing to start tourism business.\(^{113}\) According to that survey, the answer to Dicks question is yes, it does meet with the community’s approval. Lennart told me, during my first intervju with him, that sustainable Sámi tourism would be working together with the Sámi village members to develop tourism in the Sámi village, and to increase the value of the reindeer by making it part of the tourist product. In an interview with Turistdelegation in 2004, he said that the process to establish the concept to the Sámi village to have tourist follow on a reindeer herding, to arrange this to suite the tourists without diminishing the Sámi culture or what the tourist came to experience, and to get contacts in the tourism industry, took some time (Gärtner Ask, 2004:20). Of course, a reindeer herding in the company of tourists can never be as it is without tourists, but as authentic as it can be without endangering tou-

\(^{111}\) [http://www.pathfinderlapland.se/gallery.asp](http://www.pathfinderlapland.se/gallery.asp)

\(^{112}\) [http://www.pathfinderlapland.se/references.htm](http://www.pathfinderlapland.se/references.htm)

\(^{113}\) [http://www.sapmi.se/1b.pdf](http://www.sapmi.se/1b.pdf)
rists, guides or reindeer. And, for the tourists I can imagine that authenticity is not really on their mind in company with reindeer and their Sámi guides.

Authenticity in ecotourism is difficult for those tourists interested to know about and travel with the ecotourism, since there are an abundance of labels and also, as mentioned before, green-washing or ecotourism light. Honey et al. writes "Certification, in turn, is an important tool for setting standards that can help protect and promote real ecotourism" (2002:6). But, it is also important with a credible organisation standing behind, or supporting, the certification. For example, the Swedish Ecotourism Society and VisitSweden, an organisation promoting trips to Sweden, are behind Nature’s Best\(^{114}\) and behind Sápmi Experience are SSR\(^{115}\). Another important issue is reaching the public. Companies with Nature’s Best and the Green Key can be found at the website of STF, and if the tourists search for Visit Sápmi, they will find companies with the Sápmi Experience certification.

Of the tourists that answered my questionnaire, only four out of fifteen had heard about Nature’s Best before. One woman from Uppsala answered that she had heard people talk about it, a man from Nyköping has seen the label on a facility he visited and a woman from Stockholm had seen tourist agents that have that label although she does not travel with these kinds of pre-arranged activities. All but one of the respondents thought a label for ecotourism as good. The answers I got, about why a label for ecotourism is something good, were that environmental awareness has increased, tourists expect ecoadjustments and the freedom of choice when traveling. Other respondents thought a label would help keep the environment clean, redirect resources gained by tourism and ensure that the environment is "damaged as little as possible". One woman from Switzerland wrote "I think it’s very important to look after the environment, also on holidays, not just at home", and one woman from Gotland thought "If you are interested in the environment, environmental consciousness is often a result of that interest".


\(^{115}\) [https://www.visitsapmi.org/s-pmi-experience.html](https://www.visitsapmi.org/s-pmi-experience.html)
As mentioned before, critics against ecotourism, ask what the point is when tourists travel a long way in a less ecofriendly way to the adventure or accommodation that is ecocertified or has a quality label. Nature’s Best is working to adjust the environmental impact of the whole arrangement with the criterion that the tourist agent should encourage the participating tourists to travel with the bus, train or airplane that has environmentally friendly fuel. In World Wildlife Fund’s (WWF) Ten Commandments about ecotourism, number two states that the goal is everything within the organization should be environmentally friendly and travels should be made by bus or train. Nature’s Best has taken this a step further by encouraging tourists on the way to their destination to choose a friendlier way of traveling. The question is if this encouragement makes any difference or if stronger enforcements are needed for people to make the environmentally friendlier choice to travel. I believe that ecocertified companies needs to take one more step than to just encourage people to travel to the destination more environmentally friendly. Perhaps giving tourists different options to travel to destinations, included in the price, by different means of transport, could be a possible solution. According to ”Hållbart flyg” (http://www.hallbartflyg.se/flyget-och-miljon/) progress is made in the development of airplane technology, material, fuel and engine, to produce airplanes with less emissions than today. The goal is to reduce environmental and climate effect in four different areas: technical, efficiency in and before flight, infrastructure at airports and funding for development and research. Honey writes that even though traveling by airplane is a large contributor to the greenhouse gases and there are discussions about ”…long-haul ecotourism…” costing too much for the environment (Honey, 2008:43). She continues ”…given that ecotourism is an increasingly important development tool for poor countries and communities as well as for biodiversity conservation” this needs to be adressed on many different levels (Honey, 2008:43). Hållbart flyg informs about changes in different areas, and another can be ecocertified travel companies giving their guests options on how to travel more ecofriendly.
Are tourists really taking the environmental choice to their destinations? But, perhaps it is as one of the respondents to my questionnaire answers, that if you are interested in the environment you are also aware about the environment. Perhaps tourists choosing a Nature’s Best, or another label, arrangement are environmentally aware and welcome the information and/or options about environmentally friendlier ways to travel to their destination.

The Swedish Ecotourism Association wants ecotourism to increase and become a larger part of Swedish tourism and to adjust all Swedish tourism towards environmental protection. The organization wants to achieve this with Nature’s Best. Nikka Suorra and his brother Patrik at Laponia Sami Safaris did not have any interest in acquiring the quality label when they answered my questions. According to Nikka their work already is consistent with the demands for ecotourism. They have their own guiding principles, and they do not think Nature’s Best would create more income. The ”mundane certification processes cost more than they give” Nikka told me, but he also said that he knew that the very talented Lennart Pittja had acquired the label, since they belong to the same Sámi village, and he respects Nature’s Best. He also thought it important for the tourism industry that there be such a label, but for them, customers interested in culture and nature thought the brothers being Sámi gave more value than a label. That is one reason for not acquiring the label, he told me, because he felt it could be counter – productive, for guests do not perceive them as authentic as they do without it. Authenticity in their products, and in them as Sámi, is what the brother use when marketing themselves. It is very interesting that Nikka thinks the label might make customers find the brothers less authentic than with the label. He told me that they, by choice have decide against other certifications and/or diplomas than the Laponia Guide certificate. According to Eva Gunnare, who worked at the Laponia secretariat at Jokkmokk and Gällivare municipality, the Laponia Guide certificate aimed to give tourism entrepreneurs education that would guarantee a knowledgeable and sustainable way to run their business. It would also be easier to apply for permits at the county

116 http://www.ekoturism.org/ekoturismforeningen/dettavill/index.asp (20160420)
administration board. The education contained parts Nikka was interested in and even though he thinks all knowledge is useful, the certificate never had any real meaning. He said if you need to show off certifications and labels, maybe there is not much to deliver. Laponia Sami Safaris mostly have companies as customers now, that the brothers help with projects and assignments, but when they had more tourists as guests they were people with a high interest in culture and nature. When guests asked about the Suorra brothers connection to the Sámi and were told that the brothers are reindeer herders the interest from the guests were sparked, and many questions were asked. Nikka found that a bit odd, sometimes, and I can understand him in a way. He and his brother became the visited and not just the guides. For the guests, they got that multi-dimensional experience, with not only walking in nature, but seeing and hearing about it from experienced Sámi guides. On the other hand he told me that he enjoyed very much talking to people interested in culture and nature.

In Buckleys’ opinion, the Suorra brothers are not alone in this way of thinking about labels and certifications: “It seems that many tour operators see eco-labels as marketing schemes from which they would gain no particular advantages” (Buckley, 2001:23). But, according to Lennart Pittja at Pathfinder Lapland, he has gained contacts with other entrepreneurs and with key personnel within Swedish ecotourism. “Ecotourism remains an exclusive form of tourism” according to Sharpley (2001:54), because it is more expensive, and destinations often are exotic environments in distant areas. This might also be one reason why many companies call themselves ecotourism agents when they do not have a quality label or follow the guidelines from the ecotourism organization, just one or two environmental choices. Adventures with Pathfinder Lapland are more expensive than ordinary vacations, and tourists travel through an exotic environment, but tourists who choose this or other quality labeled agents know that they get what they pay for. “The purpose of the ecolabeling and/or certification schemes in tourism is to highlight the best practice for products and services” according to Diamantis and Westlake (2001:27) and for the purpose of guiding tourists that are genuinely interested in traveling environmentally friendly.
Sámi Duodji and quality labels for handicraft

Pettersson discusses Sámi handicraft as part of Sámi tourism, and that this is easily available for tourists (2004:26). The authentication label for Sámi handicraft, Sámi Duodji, provides proof that handicraft you buy is made by a Sámi; using traditional methods and materials whose accepted mastery of traditions also allows for creativity within bounds of continuity. The quality varies, though, as an informant told me. When he applied for the label, the Duodji board already knew of his work and he did not have to send in the required samples. He told me he had been creating Duodji for 2-3 years before his application. He applied because of the information of authentication gives buyers. A problem he has seen with the label is that not all craftsmen have the same overall quality in their work. He thinks the controls on craftsmen should be more thorough, so quality is more even.

In the Sámi Duodji shop in Jokkmokk lot of handicraft was on display when I was there. For example: items crafted from wood with decorations made from reindeer antler, tinwork on skin products, artwork made of wood and reindeer antler and also lots of items made of non-traditional materials like plastic. At an exhibition in Uplands museum, Uppsala, quality of the handicraft presented by three Duodji craftsmen was very high. My informant told me he had seen knives almost not holding together. This kind of Duodji is sold outside Sapmi where handicraft is less known and is considered exotic for just being made by a Sámi. He thinks the variable quality of craft dilutes the label, and so he does not like that the poorly made Duodji is comparable with his own work. Is the Duodji label a label only for those who follow criteria or does it also stand for quality in Sámi handicraft? Does it not lose the gain that it should have for Sámi craftsmen when the quality varies? I got my answers when speaking to another Duodji craftswoman. She told me there is demand on the market for both expensive and cheaper handicraft. As a result, handicraft that costs less the craftsman has spent less time working with and is perhaps plainer and less ornamented than a more costly handicraft are. I also learnt she chose to have the Duodji label for some but not all of her handicraft. She
concluded that it is not the label that becomes diluted should her Sámi handicraft without the Duodji label become lesser in quality. What becomes affected is the name of the craftsman, since the Duodji label is not linked to the lesser quality handicraft.

In the small survey I did amongst guests at Åsgårdss hostel, one of the questions was if it is good to have a label for Sámi handicraft. One respondent wrote "So you uphold the original" to this question and made the reflection that Sámi handicraft contains so much history. History adds "soul" and she is interested in the story behind the handicraft. Another respondent had almost the same answer to that question. Her answer was that in general she likes to know much about the handicraft she buys, "Origin, authenticity, quality". My next question was about the Stone center and if showing customers how handicraft is made is a good way to prove authenticity, since the Stone center does not have a quality label. Her answer to this was that it is more of a guarantee if it is possible to watch when craftsmen work then a label sticker. She also made the reflection that it gives items a soul and greater value to her if she knows who has made it, how it is made and the work behind it. Another respondent thought the Sámi Duodji label important for ethical reasons and yet another respondent wrote, "If you buy handicraft you want it to have a soul, to have the feeling behind it". She thought that otherwise you might as well buy something mass-produced. Her thought was also that it must give the sense of authenticity to watch craftsmen work, as at the Stone center. Another female wrote that it is always interesting to see craftsmen work. She wants to know what she is buying. One female thought it interesting to see how the product was made, because she wanted real handicraft when she bought it, not 'made in China'. Schouten writes that the 'dream catcher' is one of the most popular souvenirs in the world. It can be found everywhere. It is based on a Native American tribe design, and Schouten’s thoughts about its unexplained popularity is: "…they have become the very icons of the 'otherness' of a visited place”, and he continues, "It is interesting in this respect that the 'otherness' is emphasized with objects that are iconic for a feeling, not for the place itself” (Schouten, 2006: 192). When I bought my dream catcher, still hanging over my bed, all
those years ago in Old Town Stockholm, I thought only about the feeling of ‘otherness’ and mys-
tery. Schouten also writes, ”There may be a valid question here whether the concern for the authen-
ticity of local crafts and traditions is predominantly felt among anthropologists and tourist
experts” (Schouten, 2006: 194). I believe he has a point, but, I also find, after answers I got in my
small questionnaire at Åsgård, that some tourists have a genuine interest for the authentic. They
might not place as much pressure on the word ’authentic’ as ”anthropologists and tourists
experts” (Schouten, 2006: 194) and might not reflect over this as much, but I think there is a gen-
une interest for authentic handicraft.

Green Key label

Another kind of ecolabel is the certifications for hostels, mountain cabins and other tourist accom-
modation. As mentioned before, I chose the Green Key certification as my focus.

When I visited Åsgård hostel in Jokkmokk during my first fieldwork, in 2008, Karin Elg, who was
manager then, told me she had applied for the Green Key certification. During an unstructured in-
terview we spoke about criteria for provisions. She questioned KRAV, because “ecological” prod-
ucts can be produced in another country, transported to Sweden by airplane, and still have the label.
She thought locally produced foods, even non-ecological products, were more appropriate for the
hostel. I later had the opportunity to question a KRAV representative about this. I was told that
KRAV products produced in another country even when transported by airplane can still be more
environmentally friendly than locally produced foods. At KRAV they do lifecycle analysis,117 a
method to estimate a products’ impact on the environment from start of production to finished
product, packaging, transport and disposal,118 were results show that transport is not the largest im-

117 https://kundo.se/org/krav/d/hur-staller-sig-krav-till-transport-av-produkter-t/ (20170508)
pact on the environment, artificial manure is. This is the reason why produce with the KRAV label can be more environmentally friendly than locally produced food. When I came back to Åsgård in the summer of 2009 to work there, I learnt that Karin had acquired the Green Key certification. She told me she had asked a question concerning the criteria for surrounding parks. One of the mandatory criteria is ‘watering before sunrise and after sunset’, and since Jokkmokk has midnight sun during one and a half months in the summer, she wondered how she could follow this criterion. The person she talked to at Håll Sverige Rent, which was responsible for the certification at that time, did not appreciate or understand her point. Fortunately she got the certification anyway. During a semi-structured interview with Karin I asked her if there were any of the mandatory time criteria she found difficult to accomplish. She answered that there were not many time-related things that were difficult, because most of these criteria are, according to her, natural things people do. There was a difficulty, however, with criteria concerning food. She would have liked to have several options of ecological and KRAV products, but there is a problem with product variety up in the North. She also pointed out that some criteria seemed overly rigorous, for example the mandatory criteria about changing to energy saving windows and appliances. Those are difficult for her to achieve, because Jokkmokk municipality owns the facilities. When she discussed this with Håll Sverige Rent, she was told it was not a problem. The only thing she had to do was write down that whenever windows and appliances are replaced she will try to influence the municipality to change to energy saving products. She applied for The Green Key because they had already accomplished criteria such as selective waste collection, low energy light bulbs and registering consumption of water and electricity use. This certification brings with it additional promotion at booth The Green Key and STF websites. Another argument she had for her application was that the environmental policy at STF includes continuing work with sustainability within the social, economic and envi-

119 https://kundo.se/org/krav/d/har-krav-regler-for-transporter/ (20170508)
ronmental areas for hostels, mountain stations and mountain cabins within STF franchise. I also wondered what her environmental plan looked like. She answered me that she wanted to try to arrange a compost, but that this far north it is difficult to succeed because of the long and cold winter. Her plan included controlling insulation in all windows in the facilities, as well.

Guests who answered "yes" on my question if they had heard of The Green Key before, had learned about it out of own interest, stayed at hostels and mountain stations having the certification, through their work, or from information connected to the train Inlandsbanan. The larger part of respondents to my questionnaire thought selective waste collection at hostels, mountain stations and mountain cabins was no different from what they did at home. The rest of the respondents thought it good for the environment. Only one respondent answered "no" to the question if selective waste collection at hostels, mountain stations and mountain cabins made a difference. Unfortunately he did not specify why. Another male thought it made only a small difference, as was the case in his home country.

Most respondents would not change their travel plans for a certified living accommodation. For some, price mattered, for some, location was more important, and one woman answered that she planned her trip a long time ahead. Why she would not choose to stay at ecocertified facilities she did not explain.

Font and Mihalic state that:

…research shows that tourists select a hotel not primarily for its internal environment management practices but for the environmental quality of destination as a whole. Tourists are therefore more likely to make holiday choices on the basis of, say, environmental quality of beaches, national parks, and rural landscapes, than on the basis of energy or water savings at a hotel. (Font and Mihalic, 2002:212)

But some of the guests actually answered that they might change their travel plan because of accommodation certification. One woman answered that if two facilities were closely situated to her

120 https://www.svenskaturistforeningen.se/hallbarhetslofte/ (20170508)
chosen location, she would choose the one that had a certification. Another woman who also an-
swered “yes”, wrote that, when she is not staying in her tent, she chooses ecocertified accommoda-
tions. Another answer I received was also a “yes”, if the information was easy to discover. One man
answered that he thought this would be something that will become more important in the future,
that people will think more about the choices they make.
Respondents that visited mountain cabins in Laponia thought selective waste collection appropriate.
Most of them answered that it was not difficult at all for guests to use. One woman from Gotland
wrote she had not visited any of the cabins, but she could not understand why it would be difficult.
She also added the comment that it would be stranger if it were not selective waste collection in
hostels and most mountain stations. Of course she was already a convert to the ecomanagement
cause, and when camping, carried all of her waste with her back home. She was also of the opinion
that criteria could be stricter for partners to the establishment having the Green Key label. Envi-
ronment engagement through the chain of distributors, whether it is material or produce distributers.
At Åsgård the manager had to transport what was sorted to a recycling center and then a company
specialized in selective waste collection transported the waste from Jokkmokk to Älvsbyn. I learned
from three hikers staying at Åsgård that in Norway you have to carry everything you bring with
you, and leave nothing behind. The hikers thought that would be appropriate for Lapona also, but
reflected on that people are comfortable and might not carry their waste. That is why selective
waste collection in mountain cabins is good. They were also surprised about what hikers brought
with them. Sometimes wine and whiskey bottles are carried a long way. The hikers told me that
when they throw away their waste at cabins they often look, just for fun, what other guests have
thrown away, especially in containers for colored and non-colored glass.
Since 2013 Åsgård hostel no longer has The Green Key certification. The hostel has changed owner
and she does not at this stage want to apply for the certification again. The hostel does still have
some of the environmentally friendly changes made, with the waste collection, low energy light
bulbs and use of ecological and locally produced products in the small kitchen for meals served at the hostel.

One of the chapters in this thesis pondered the dilemma: “To certify or not to certify”. There I brought up advantages: help to promote tourist operators, a link to the operators’ website, and help with other things like translations and information for tourists about trips and excursions. This costs money, of course, a yearly fee and a fee for the application. A tourist operator who already has an environmental profile and good connections in the business might consider the Nature’s Best label as unnecessary. On the other hand, Nature’s Best and The Green Key challenge tourist operators and hostels, or other accommodations, to get more environmentally friendly with a plan to keep improving. Yet, when owners of a tourist company are used to living in nature and caring for the environment, this agency plan for change might not be necessary. Matti Holmgren, at Jokkmokkguider- na, has a valid point when he responds that one of their reasons to obtain Nature’s Best label was that he wants to be in lead of development. On the other hand labels in the eyes of the tourist can sometimes be ‘just a sticker’ and find it more valuable walking with a Sámi guide, like the Suorra brothers who grew up in the nature they show tourists and know inside and out.

6 Conclusion

"It is not that easy being green” says Kermit the Frog. Patricia Townsend use this quote to describe the situation for an environmental anthropologist, in her book Environmental Anthropology. From Pigs to Policies (Townsend, 2009:88) I find these words by Kermit the Frog to be a good description for anyone trying to be as environmental friendly as possible, even as a private person. Therefore, guidelines for ecotourism by WWF (World Wildlife Fund), criteria from certification labels and quality labels are a good way for those companies that want to start a more environmental friendly business. I believe that it is more difficult for a company to be ecofriendly without them, if
it is not something the management knows a lot about from the beginning. It can be a support in the process to have criteria to follow. And with an acquired label and certification guests/tourists knows that it is legit and authentic ecotourism. In ecotourism travels and accommodation I think the word authentic is important, because ecotourism is big business and, as described in the chapter about ecotourism, companies are selling themselves as green, when only a few of the criteria for ecotourism is met. But, do you need a quality label for tourist adventures to show that your company is legit as an ecotourism business? It helps the tourists find you, of course, but my thoughts on this is no, you do not. If you can show guests/tourists that you are environmentally aware about how tourism affects nature, like the Suorra brothers and Lennart Pittja - even if the later does have Nature’s Best, that the guidelines from WWF is met and you can communicate this in a clear way, then no. As described earlier, pre-Christain Sámi had a strong connection, both spiritually and as way of life, to nature and animals surrounding them. Many Sámi still have a strong connection through many parts of their culture and livelihood. That connection is also seen and perhaps expected by non-Sámi. Could this perception from others be a disadvantage regarding ecocertifications? As Sámi, should the environmental eco thinking be in your blood because it is such a big part of the Sámi culture and therefore ecocertifications, or labels of any kind, is not necessary? Might it even be considered as something ”staged”, from the outside, that questions the authentic connection to nature? According to Nils Hallberg, an environmental lawyer at the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, a mountain guide education can soon be considered as a standard in the business. He says: ”The Swedish Consumer Agency could forbid the company continuing deliver services that does not live up to the security demands that the mountain guide norm gives knowledge to handle” (my translation). The mountain guide education gives you a diploma, a label of kind. Tourists seeking the authentic Sámi guide with the expectation that Sámi guides do not need mountain guide education because of their connection to nature through their culture, those who thinks labels are just ’a sticker’ could not mind or be disappointed with ’a sticker’ that provides extra secu-
curity for tourists in the Swedish mountain area. And it would be a 'middle road' for Sámi guides to
tell tourists that this is a standard for the tourists own security reasons, even though the guide him-
or herself really did not need it because of prior knowledge. For tourists wanting to get ecotourism
in both accommodations and adventures it is, of course, very helpful with ecocertifications and
quality labels. Especially since the certification and labels are advertising about the companies on
their web site. On the other hand, there are a lot of both certifications and quality labels, and what to
choose? Considering we do have a lot of quality labels and certification around us in daily life, if
you want to 'go green' or be more environmentally friendly, those can help. If you want to protect
fish in the sea from overfishing, then there is the MSC marking, described earlier. KRAV and Fair-
trade for improved environment both for workers and products, if you want to make a difference
there. The Swedish Tourist Association is working towards a sustainable tourism and at their web
site their guests have the possibility to search for a specific label/certification depending on what
they want to do. A quality label on Sámi handicraft adds value to the handicraft for those who seek
authenticity and is a guarantee for tourists that seek the genuine. But, are Sámi craftsmen and
women who choose not to have the label less authentic in their craftsmanship? Or the Stone center,
who showed authenticity in an open factory door? Many of those who answered my little question-
aire thought this an excellent way of showing the way of the process from stone (in this case) to
finished product. Authenticity in culture, from my point of view, is about perceptions. What is au-
thentic for one person might not be as authentic to another. And foremost, it adds or takes away val-
ue. Authenticity for ecotourism, that is, companies in tourism claiming to be an ecotourist company
or have ecotourist adventures, is in my opinion, important. It is important for companies struggling
to make a difference in ecotourism, not having extensive knowledge in how to make it so and for
tourists wanting to travel in an as ecofriendly way as possibly.

As discussed before, certifications and labels needs to have a strong organization connected to it, to
make it credible. One could argue that a World Heritage area is a certification for cultural and nat-
ural value, with UNESCO as the appointing organization. An appointment for a World Heritage area comes with obligations of conservation and protection, and at least one of the ten criteria has to be met. But, as discussed before, scale is of much importance because of the cultural and/or natural value of these World Heritage. What if there was to be a more controlled number of tourists that could visit the Galápagos islands? A World Heritage should be preserved for future generations and as discussed earlier, Galápagos has troubles both on land and in the ocean, and with fauna and flora. Is there a way for sustainable economy for the locals at the same time save what is "magnificent and unique" with Galápagos? I hope so. Laponia is not in the danger of being in the same situation as Galápagos, I believe. Much has happened since Galápagos became the first World Heritage, much has developed in ecotourism and with research within different fields of ecotourism I believe this development will continue.
7 Bibliography


Hi! My name is Anna, and I work in the reception from time to time during the summer. I’m studying to become an anthropologist and am currently writing on my master paper on ecocertifications and quality labeling in tourism. To get a broader perspective, I wish to hear the views of the tourists about this and am therefore wondering if You have the time to answer a few questions (please see below). It is an anonymous questionnaire, but there are some facts I need about you for my statistics. You could skip over any questions You do not wish to answer, or circle the alternative “no opinion”.

First a short description of what these questions are about.

The ecocertification I’ve chosen to focus on is the Green Key (Gröna Nyckeln), which is a certification for hotels, hostels, camping grounds and mountain cabins. To qualify for the Green Key, the hostel needs to take several energy saving steps, like sorting the garbage (like we do at Åsgård), using energy saving showers and toilets, and switching to low energy light bulbs.

Nature’s Best (Naturens Bästa) is a quality label for nature tourist agents, and behind the label are the Swedish Eco tourist association together with the Swedish Travel- and Tourism council and the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation. The tourist agent can get the label for the whole company or separate adventures. The criteria for Nature’s Best are, amongst other things that the organizer should offer trips in the nature, and these trips should be considerate to and suited for the environment, as should the company itself.

Questionnaire

About You

Age :____________________

Sex (Please circle the correct alternative)

Woman           Man

Where do You live? ________________________________________________

The Green Key
1. Have You heard about this ecocertification before? (please circle the correct alternative)
   YES                              NO

2. If, YES, in what way have you heard about this? Out of own interest, information like advertising, places You have stayed at have had it, or something similar?

__________________________________________________________

Please continue on next page…

3. What are Your thoughts about sorting the garbage at hostels and mountain cabins? (Please highlight the alternative that is most suitable, or write some thoughts of Your own)

   Good for nature and environment

   I am already sorting garbage at home, so it makes no difference

   I feel more ecological minded when sorting the garbage, so I will continue with it at home.

   Tiresome and complicated

   Something else: ______________________________________________________________

4. Have You visited any of the mountain cabins in Laponia?        YES              NO

5. If, YES, do You think it is good that there is garbage sorting in the mountain cabins, or is it complicated for the guests?

6. Would You change Your mountain or vacation plans in any way depending on there being ecocertification or not? ____________________________________________

7. Do You find the criteria for co certification to strict or to loose? ______________________

   No opinion

     Nature’s Best

8. Have You heard about Nature’s Best before?      YES                 NO

9. If, YES, how did You hear about it?

   I have participated in a Natures Best labeled trip
I have thought about participating in a Nature’s Best labeled trip

I have seen the label when booking another trip

Other:_____________________________________________________________________

10. Is ecotourism labeling a good thing, do You think?  YES   NO   No opinion

Please continue on next page…

If, YES, why? _______________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

If, NO, why? _______________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

As a compliment to certification and quality label, I also have an interest in knowing what You think of a labeling like Sámi Duodji, the authentication label for Sámi handicraft.

11. Have You heard about Sámi Duodji before?  YES   NO

12. Is it good to have a labeling for Sámi handicraft?  YES   NO

If, YES, why? _______________________________________________________________

If, NO, why not? _____________________________________________________________

The Stone center in Jokkmokk does not have an authentication label. Instead, they show their customers how the handicraft is made and the customers can watch while the craftsmen are working.

13. Is this a good way of showing authentication?  YES   NO

If, YES, why? _______________________________________________________________

If, NO, why not? _____________________________________________________________

14. Are You interested in knowing if the handicraft really is what it is claims to be?

YES   NO

If, YES, why? _______________________________________________________________

If, NO, why not? _____________________________________________________________
Thank You for Your assistance!

Please leave the questionnaire, either in the mailbox together with Your key when checking out, or in the reception.

Appendix 2

These questions were sent out by email to several tourist agents who have tourist adventures in Laponia.

1. Har ert företag någon kvalitetsmärkning eller certifiering?
   I så fall, vilken alternativt vilka?

2. Om inte, har ni planerat att ansöka till något?

3. Är märkningen alternativt certifieringen för hela företaget eller för vissa upplevelser?

4. Varför valde ni att kvalitetsmärka/certifiera företaget/upplevelser?

5. Vilken/vilka kriterier var svåra st för att anpassa sig till och vilken eller vilka var mer självklara?

6. Stötte ni på några svårigheter i processen för märkningen/certifieringen?

7. Vad tycker ni är positivt respektive negativt med märkningen/certifieringen?

8. Hur går ni vidare?

9. Känner turisterna till märkningen/certifieringen, eller är det något ni informerar om?

10.Märker ni av intresse från turisterna om märkningen/certifieringen?
   Har de frågor eller är de ointresserade?