

The Winter Festival in Jokkmokk

*A Development from Trading Place
to Sami Tourism Event*

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Sammanfattning

Bakgrund

Jokkmokks marknad grundades redan 1605 av den dåvarande kungen Karl IX. Marknaden var vid tillkomsten ett tillfälle för samer och andra att byta till sig mat och andra varor så man klarade sig resten av året. Dessutom syftade marknaden till upptagande av skatt och blev tidigt ett tillfälle för kyrkan att kristna samerna.

Trots vintermörker och kyla i en avlägsen del av landet har Jokkmokks vintermarknad inte bara överlevt utan successivt vuxit till ett mycket omtyckt turismevenemang, starkt förknippad med samisk kultur. Varje år lockas omkring 40 000 svenska och utländska besökare till marknaden för att under tre dagar i februari ta del av den samiska auran, exotismen och möjligheten till samvaro.

Syfte och metod

Denna rapport syftar till att analysera den process som har omvandlat Jokkmokks marknad från en handelsplats till den turismattraktion den är idag. Analysen bygger på studier av aktörerna bakom arrangemanget, samt det utbud och de aktiviteter som knallar och andra entreprenörer erbjuder under marknadsdagarna.

Rapporten fokuserar i huvudsak tiden efter 1955, dvs tiden efter det att marknaden verkligen började utvecklas turistiskt. Analysen baseras på intervjuer med flera lokala aktörer samt de ansökningshandlingar som varje år lämnas in av knallarna. Dessutom har programbladen från de senaste årtiondena studerats. Utvecklingen av Jokkmokks marknad har i rapporten kopplats till olika modeller för turismutveckling. Dessa modeller söker beskriva de cykler med vilka en attraktion som Jokkmokks marknad kan utvecklas. Många turismevenemang sägs följa en livscykel där introduktionen följs av en tillväxtperiod för att sedan stabilisera sig och så småningom börja avta.

Resultat och slutsatser

- På senare tid har antalet långväga besökare ökat, liksom antalet lokala aktörer som exempelvis det lokala museet (Åjtte), turistbyrå, hotellen och enskilda turismföretagare. Den enda aktör som har upphört med sitt engagemang i marknaden är den svenska staten.
- Ett av de viktigaste inslagen under marknaden är fortfarande marknadshandeln. Idag finns omkring 200 knallar fördelade över 1,5 kilometer marknadsstånd. Omkring två tredjedelar av knallarna kommer från norra Sverige och det är ett brett utbud av varor som erbjuds, där tendensen är att bruksföremål på senare tid fått ge vika för konstföremål.
- Vid sidan om marknadshandeln kännetecknas marknadsdagarna av ett växande antal kringaktiviteter. Under de senaste 40 åren, när den turistiska utvecklingen tagit fart, märks främst en ökning av turismaktiviteter, utställningar, visningar, föreläsningar och seminarier. Mellan en tredjedel och en fjärdedel av aktiviteterna har samisk karaktär.
- De nya attraktioner som införs under marknadsdagarna finns oftast i direkt anslutning till marknadsområdet, även om området har utvidgats de senaste åren. Även i fortsättningen kommer det dock att vara den samiska särprägel som gör marknaden unik.
- Trots besöksrestriktioner som läge och klimat har marknaden, tack vare kontinuerlig tillströmning av nya attraktioner, hela tiden lyckats behålla sin popularitet istället för att stagnera som många andra evenemang.

Nyckelord

Urbefolkningsturism, Kulturturism, Turismutveckling, Livscykel, Sápmi, Jokkmokk.

Introduction

The annual winter festival in Swedish Jokkmokk has been held for the last 400 years, and from the very beginning the festival has been strongly influenced by Sami culture. The festival started as a trade place but has during the last decades undergone a considerable tourism development. Every winter since the beginning of the 17th century the market days in the Sami centre *Jokkmokk*, in northern Sweden, have been a popular meeting opportunity. Situated quite north of the Arctic Circle (Figure 1), Jokkmokk offers the midwinter visitors rather harsh conditions with snow, cold weather and a short period of daylight. Despite these conditions Jokkmokk is “the place to be” during a few days in the beginning of February every winter. The number of inhabitants in the small town of Jokkmokk is about 3000, a number which is redoubled about ten times during the market days. Initially the marketplace was not meant to become a tourism attraction. However, the winter festival today attracts visitors over an ever increasing distance, attracted by trading as well as amusement, the opportunity to meet other people and the exotic aura that the Sami culture and a midwinter Jokkmokk can offer.

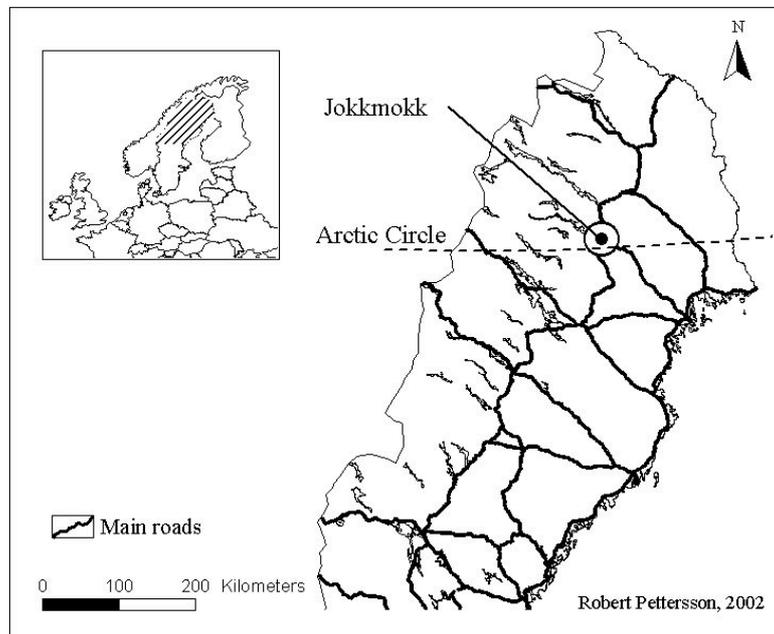


Figure 1. The location of Jokkmokk at the Arctic Circle in northern Sweden.

During the festival days, and during the rest of the year, it is however not only the festival that attracts tourists. The western parts of northern Sweden with mountains, ski resorts and national parks have been popular tourism destinations for the past century, attracting visitors all through the year (Heberlein et al. 2002). Today the number of winter visitors in Jokkmokk tends to increase, among other things thanks to the popular *Icehotel* in Jukkasjärvi (200 kilometres north of Jokkmokk) and increased snowmobile tourism. The Sami culture in itself has attracted, and still strongly attracts, visitors to the area (Nilsson 1999, Pettersson 2002). Some kilometres outside the town area the world heritage area *Laponia* is found. This area was selected by UNESCO in 1996 because of the uniqueness of nature as well as the Sami culture. The mentioned attractions including the world heritage, the Arctic Circle, the Sami culture and the winter festival all together have contributed to make Jokkmokk a well known tourism destination, although many of the potential visitors live far away. Thus, a visit implies a rather long travelling time and often a high travel cost.

Historically Sami in northern Scandinavia have been occupied with reindeer breeding. However, during the last decades there has been a decline in reindeer business activity, and the modern reindeer breeding is struggling to make both ends meet. Today the reindeer farming is carried out by helicopters, motorbikes, snowmobiles and trucks, aiming for large-scale food production (Lygnes & Viken 1998). The modern, heavy motorised, reindeer herding is much more physical why especially women and elderly are prevented from taking part in the work with the reindeers. Because of this situation many Sami start looking for new occupations, and tourism is often mentioned as an alternative. In the Swedish parts of Sápmi Sami tourism today are found among an increasing number of individual Sami tourism entrepreneurs, museums, cultural events, outdoor cultural sites and at the rather common places where Sami handicrafts are sold (Pettersson 2001).

Sami tourism is considered good because a business can start at short notice and in general no larger investments are required. In Sápmi, as in other rural areas, jobs and education preferably are to be found at other locations than the rural, indigenous, areas (Wanhill 2000). However, Sami tourism is an occupation alternative that offers the entrepreneurs an option to stay in a sparsely populated area like Sápmi. Sami tourism entails employment and larger incomes for the Sami community, and it is furthermore possible to adapt to different seasons and it is suited for a combination with reindeer breeding. One of the strengths with an indigenous event, like the one in Jokkmokk, is that it gives an opportunity to increase the visitors' knowledge, and consciousness of, Sami and Sami culture.

However, there are also risks in developing tourism connected to indigenous cultures (Butler & Hinch 1996, Price 1996 and Viken 1997). Because of an often large concentration in time and space indigenous culture as a part of an event, like the winter festival in Jokkmokk, implies particular risks (Bankston & Henry 2000, Crang 1996, Getz 1991, Hall 1992, Hinch & Delamere 1993). If a cultural tourism attraction is constantly extended by new, unrelated attractions, it could result in damage to the cultural base of the area. Many visitors during a limited time and in a limited area may not only damage the local culture. Tourism can also affect the local economy or environment in a negative direction. Developing tourism connected to Sami culture is thus an act of balance between opportunities and risks. Strive for sustainability, according Sami and local culture, environment and economy, is dependent on knowledge of the historical and potential development.

This article aims to analyse the development of the winter festival in Swedish Jokkmokk. It focuses on the agents and factors behind the progress that has changed the festival from a Sami trading place to a Sami tourism attraction, based on traditions and Sami culture. The main focus is on the development from the mid 1950s until today, i.e. the main period of tourism development. This study is based on literature studies and field trips. In addition, interviews have been conducted with the local tourism manager, hotel owners and other tourism entrepreneurs involved in the festival. The hawkers' application forms for every five years, from 1972 to 2002 have also been analysed. These application forms can describe the development of the hawkers' number, assortment, origin and so on. Furthermore, the official winter festival leaflets for every five years 1962 to 2002 have been studied. By studying the programme one of the festival days each year (Saturday), the activities offered besides the trade fair have been mapped. In conclusion, the number of visitors at the winter festival has been compared with the mean temperature for the last two decades. The studied periods are chosen due to available data since the start of the tourism development. In the study the festival's development is linked to tourism development theories as outlined by for instance Butler (1980), Baum (1998) and Getz (2000, 1991).

Tourism events

The terms *festival* and *event* have been used in different ways in research and marketing during the last decades. According to Getz (1991) a *festival* is a public, themed celebration, and an *event* has a fixed, usually short duration, is public and subject to media coverage. These two terms can in other words be used more or less synonymously. The festival in Jokkmokk is an example of an indigenous culture event, i.e. an event where an indigenous culture gives the event its character. A *trade fair* is designed to bring manufacturers in contact with potential consumers. The term fair is thus not a synonym to festival but the trade fair in Jokkmokk is an important part of the winter festival. The annual, three days long, winter festival in Jokkmokk is today consequently an indigenous culture event, including for instance culture performances, exhibitions, seminars and a large trade fair.

Starting from the assumption that a tourism destination is a social construction researchers have stated that the identity and the specific nature of a destination changes over time (Saarinen 2001). This can be explained by for instance the process of globalisation and the development of a consuming culture (Aronsson & Wahlström 1999). Last decades more and more people have got the opportunity to travel over increasing distances. Also events, that often are important parts of a tourism destination, undergo changes. When studying events and their changes over time it is important to reflect upon how development is measured. A common method is to talk about events from an economic point of view, and usually attendance is taken as the best measure of demand (Getz 2000). It is often rather easy to measure the number of visitors, overnight stays or tickets sold. It is thus a much harder task to measure impacts on for instance emotions, excitement, identity, friendship, knowledge or inspiration (Andersson 1999). At an indigenous event there are many non-profit interests, like for example the possibility of spreading information about the indigenous culture. The chance to exhibit an indigenous culture is important to the creation of a positive self-identification in the local community (De Bres & Davis 2001).

No matter which parameters are used to measure the development of an event, they can say something about the past, and the development in progress. Historic analyses are also used when trying to predict future development. An often used model is the one of the product life cycle. The product life cycle was first made popular by Levitt (1965), and has ever since been applied to e.g. product brands, tourist destinations (starting from Butler 1980) and events (e.g. Getz 1997, Getz 2000). The cycle consists of different phases or levels; *introduction*, *growth*, *maturity* and *decline*. The challenge for the producer is to prevent decline, and at best to bring about rejuvenation and continued growth.

During the level of *introduction* there are many forces that contribute to growth and diversity for an event. Rossman (1994) argues that increased cultural diversity is a major force, which leads to growth in ethnic events, while Getz (2000) mentions growth in population, disposable income, mobility and increased leisure and travel as common forces. Connected to the level of introduction Hall (1992) highlights a product oriented strategic organisation, with new products developed and tested. At this level the event has no permanent staff, a low budget and a high volunteer participation. Furthermore, Mayfield and Crompton (1995) state that newer events seem to feel a greater need to be marketed while older events are more in need of identifying their target group.

After a while the introduction turns into *growth*, which is characterised as the phase where practicable knowledge increases. Hall (1992) emphasises an event that still is product oriented, but with an emerging production orientation. According to Hall this is when incremental annual planning, budgeting and promoting are to be seen, but still without a long-term strategy. Then

an event may reach *maturity*, a level where less planning is needed. The event now focuses production, research and marketing. Many organisers are involved and obvious commercialisation is seen. This is the first time when a long-term strategy is to be found. Here are specific marketing functions, functional differentiation and full-time professional staff (Hall 1992).

In the deterministic life cycle theory the level of maturity changes to a phase of *decline*. There are a lot of theories why events fail. Getz (2002) states that factors like a lack of planning, inability to check tourist volume or impact, or changing preferences may result in a decline of the events' quality and popularity. As events grow they can lose their community identity, which explains why they continuously must be updated. Hall (1992) states that if events are badly managed they can generate big financial losses, with sometimes irreparable political, social or environmental losses. In the decline phase a long-term strategy is oriented towards production, and the organisation is characterised by a decrease in staff in combination with a tight budget control. Some state that events can be rejuvenated when they show signs of decline. Changes must thus not be done unless the event can be improved, and research must precede any change (Getz 1997).

The product life cycle can also be used to describe indigenous culture events. Table 1 shows the first three levels of the life cycle model, i.e. the levels that the winter festival in Jokkmokk has gone through. During the levels of the tourism life cycle the *event extension* increases. Over time events also attract *visitors* over increasing distances although they have shown to have particular appeal to local people (Light 1996). Aldskogius (1993) states that a smaller place, with many of the communities inhabitants participate in producing an event, tends to have a larger proportion of the inhabitants that also attend the event. Local inhabitants do in the Jokkmokk case stretch to include inhabitants in the surrounding towns, at distances up to 200 kilometres. A way to strengthen the attractiveness of an event is to promote a number of events clustered together in space, and hopefully also in time (Getz 1991). A supplement to other events could be tourism attractions clustered together with an event. This spatial strategy can be compared with the discussions of *vacationscapes* (Gunn 1997). Gunn points out that a set of tourist attractions clustered together result in a stronger tourism destination.

The *indigenous dimensions* at a culture event vary due to the different life cycle levels. The general tendency is that the focus is shifted from utility towards business, economy and commercialisation. According to trade fairs the goods for sale change from indigenous to culture, and during the later levels of development a broader base of indigenous products, activities and attractions is offered. With a large number of visitors the event is a good opportunity to spread information about the indigenous culture. The number of visitors, activities and attractions offered increases together with a growing *organisation*. During the later levels a large number of organisers are involved and more and more non-local organisers are entering the arena to provide products and facilities (Cooper 1997, Mato 1998, Waterman 1998). If the non-local organisers also are non-indigenous they may harm the cultural base of the indigenous event.

A greater organisation, a larger event area, more visitors and a larger supply of activities and attractions lead to high pressure on the local society, with its nature and people. According to Buhalis (2000) the *tourism impacts* at a tourism event differ due to the different life cycle levels. The impacts on nature and people have in Table 1 been listed from economic, social and environmental points of view.

Many researchers have criticised the life cycle. For instance Haywood (1986) raises critique due to the fact that it is unproved whether a decline is inevitable or not. The history has shown that destinations or events are not determined to follow the life cycle and decline. Sometimes

rejuvenation and continued growth are seen instead, and sometimes more than one level are concurrent (Saarinen 2001). A number of critics postulate the possibility of alternative and additional levels after a stagnation or decline.

Table 1. The tourism life cycle and indigenous culture events.

Butler's (1980) tourism life cycle model, and with broken lines Handy's Sigmoid curves (Baum 1998)			
<i>Level</i>	Introduction	Growth	Maturity
<i>Characteristic</i>	Involvement/exploration	Development	Consolidation
<i>Event extension</i>	Limited event area.	Extended event area.	Activities also in the surroundings.
<i>Visitors</i>	Visitors mainly from adjacent areas.	More visitors, larger share stays overnight.	Visitors from all over the world.
<i>Indigenous dimensions</i>	More utility than pleasure. Indigenous products like hides and skins are important at a trade fair.	Indigenous peoples start becoming tourist attractions. Cultural goods, like handicraft, are more important.	The event is a platform for indigenous culture, selling of performances and transfer of knowledge. Culture is more important than goods.
<i>Organisation</i>	A small number of agents offering rather few activities.	Increasing number of event backers and organisers. Increased commercialisation.	A broad base of event supplies, offered by a large number of agents.
<i>Tourism impacts</i> (Buhalis 2000)	Balanced economic structure. Good relationships between hosts and guests. Negligible environmental impacts.	Tourism oriented structure. Improved social and environmental impacts (e.g. drunkenness, traffic and littering).	Tourism dominated economic structure. Large social impacts, sometimes irritation. High or very high environmental impacts.

Baum (1998) has suggested that a tourism destination can abandon its traditional tourism product in favour of an entirely fresh product, connected to tourism or something else. By linking this to Handy's (1994) Sigmoid curves, from the marketing area, Baum shows that a steady development, without long decline periods, can be raised by continuously introducing new products at the right moment (illustrated by the broken lines in Table 1).

Some researchers (e.g. Lambkin & Day 1989) suggest that a population ecology model might be more useful than the life cycle concept. They state that a decline can be explained by the fact that the carrying capacity is reached. However, it is a risk in applying an organic analogy to social organisations; people invest in society and depend on growth for continuity. The development of a destination or an event can be affected very much by its backers (Getz 2000). The impacts mentioned above are all seen more or less from a long-term perspective. There are also some short-term variables, differing from year to year, that influence the number of visitors to an attraction. These are for example weather, temperature and the occurrence of other attractions.

From trading place to Sami winter festival

Historical development

According to Table 1 the winter festival in Jokkmokk can be said to be in the third of the life cycle phases. The first two phases, introduction and growth, do in the Jokkmokk case stretch from 1605 to the 1990-ies, where the growth phase really started with the tourism development in the mid fifties. Only during the last decade the level of maturity has been entered. During the first phase the trading was central. The trading place was important to the Swedish State as well as to the Sami and others taking part in the trading. It was the Swedish King of that time that in 1605 established the marketplace at Lake Talvatis in the heart of what was called the “nomadic Laplander's territory”, or *Sápmi* as the Sami call their homeland in the very north of Scandinavia. It was established because the Swedish State wanted to increase the control over the trade between Sami, tradesmen and people passing by. This was also an opportunity for the Swedish State to collect taxes and purchase hides and skins.

Already before the Swedish King established the marketplace Sami had met at Lake Talvatis during winter (Vedin 1999). Talvatis (*Dålvvadis*) is Sami language and could be translated to “the place to stay during winter”. Moreover, this period, the late medieval period of Sweden, was the time when Christianity was spread in northern Scandinavia. The market days early became an occasion when the Church could meet the Sami parish that usually was spread over large areas in the reindeer pasture. When people came together during the market days there was also a visiting judge that pronounced verdicts in cases that had occurred during the year.

A major alteration in the history of the festival occurred half a century ago. This was when the arrangement was transferred to be carried on under local government auspices, and the tourism era really started. At the 350-year jubilee in 1955 the number of market days was extended from two to three days, and the number of market stalls was increased from 20 to 150 stalls. From this year there was a major concentration on new activities, often based on Sami culture and Sami traditions (Gustafsson 1999). These activities together with the growing trade fair contributed to an increasing number of tourists visiting the festival. Furthermore, since the fifties an increased car ownership has made it easier for many people to make a visit.

Organisation

Since the establishment organisers with partly different interests have come and gone. During the last decades the numbers of organisers have increased. The main agents influencing the festival are listed in Figure 2. The different agents are due to their involvement over time divided in three sub groups; those involved only initially, continuously and only presently. In the figure there is also a notation that shows the agents' main spheres of interest (cultural, economic, political and social). As shown in the figure there are an increasing number of agents with economic interests involved today, which corresponds to Table 1.

The *Swedish State*, that established the trading place in Jokkmokk, is the only agent that is no longer involved, since the collecting of taxes and predicting of verdicts by visiting judges ended. As mentioned before the *Church* has also, almost from the very beginning, been an important agent at the winter festival. The festival has been interesting for the Church because it has been, and still is, an opportunity to meet people. Today the Church in Jokkmokk has its own programme during the festival, with worship services and concerts. There is moreover a Free Church in Jokkmokk that arranges activities including for instance a cafeteria. The winter festival has always been, and still is, a popular occasion for Sami christening and Sami

weddings. During the period of tourism growth these Sami affairs have become popular attractions among visitors.

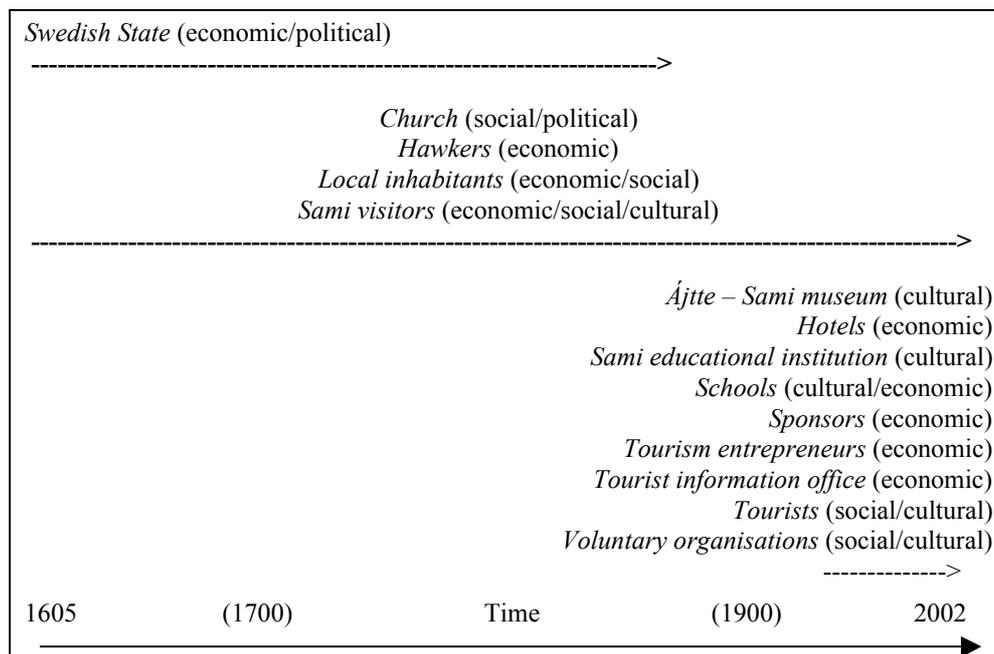


Figure 2. The main agents influencing the development of the winter festival in Jokkmokk. The agents are listed due to their extension of involvement (and main spheres of interest).

The *Sami* and the Sami culture have always been important parts of the market days through the handicraft sale, Sami music and of course the Sami visiting the festival, some wearing the richly coloured Sami dress. The different Sami characteristics are also seen in the marketing promoting the festival. In leaflets and advertisements traditional Sami attributes as the Sami dress, the reindeer and the Sami tent are often seen. Sami visitors and Sami hawkers are present during the market days and they are paid great attention from other visitors and media. Furthermore, Sami culture is found among the festival's outdoor activities, of which some are arranged by Sami tourism entrepreneurs.

Many of the activities related to Sami culture are found at exhibitions, seminars and films. One rather new and important organiser in this field is the Sami museum *Ájtte*, which was established in 1989 and is the main Sami museum in Sweden. The museum, situated in connection to the festival area, is a considerable force during the festival. This is emphasised by the fact that the museum has about 10,000 visitors only during the annual festival days in February. At the museum Sami exhibitions and a Sami library are found. During the festival the museum also offers special seminars based on Sami themes. At *Ájtte* a new large auditorium facilitate further activities.

During the festival days the temperature can reach -30° C, which increases the demand for indoor activities. This indoor space can be found at the local *hotels* which do not only offer accommodation during the festival. They also arrange dinners, dances and concerts for the guests staying at the hotels and other visitors. The about 150 hotel beds, that the two hotels in Jokkmokk offer each festival, are early fully booked. Accommodation and food are also offered at the two local schools, of which one also arrange a (non-Sami) handicraft exhibition.

An important part of the festival supply is the Sami handicraft. A problem in Sápmi is that non-Sami handicraft competes with, and is sold as, genuine Sami products. A way to control the

selling of Sami handicraft has been to introduce a proof of authenticity (*Sami Duodji*). Starting some decades ago and every year during the festival Sami artisans have original Sami handicraft exhibitions and sale at the *Sami educational institution*. The institution, where these activities are held, has a very high attendance rate every festival. Approximately one third of the total number of visitors at the winter festival comes to the Sami educational institution, attracted by genuine Sami handicrafts, a Sami fashion show and a cafeteria.

The festival management is today administrated by the local government through the *Jokkmokk tourist information office*. They coordinate the organisation, distribute the market stalls and market the festival. The marketing is thus rather rare, in fact, the lack of beds for tourists and the limited transport system, have led to a situation where it is hard to accommodate further visitors. The advertising is foremost done in the local newspapers with the intention to attract one-day visitors that don't need any accommodation. The information office also coordinates private accommodation and produces the official festival leaflet. Inside the tourist information office visitors each year can buy the official festival postcard with a special stamp, only available at the tourist information office during the festival. This is a way to maintain the exclusiveness of the festival.

Besides the activities carried out by the mentioned agents there are activities such as slide shows, smaller seminars and exhibitions offered by minor *voluntary organisations*. Sami organisations, the parish hall, the cinema and many of the shops have special activities and special service hours during the festival. The large local engagement can also be seen by the fact that the pupils get holiday during the festival's weekdays. It is very much the local inhabitants that make the festival, and *sponsors* are rather rare. One contributor of today is however the European Union that, over the last years, has supported the arrangement of a reindeer festival at Lake Talvatis. Beside these contributions the local government every year supports the winter festival.

Trade

Beside the Sami culture the winter festival in Jokkmokk gets most of its characteristics from the *hawkers* in the market stalls. Nowadays the market stalls are between 450 and 500 (Table 2).

Table 2. Market trade and hawkers every five years, 1972 to 2002. The hyphen (-) means that no information is available. *Northern Sweden* is the northern quarter of Sweden (areas with a postal code > 90,000).

	1972	1977	1982	1987	1992	1997	2002
<i>Number of hawkers in total</i>	96	153	225	217	207	221	189
<i>of which are from northern Sweden</i>	63%	60%	64%	62%	63%	64%	65%
<i>Number of foreign hawkers</i>	1	0	0	2	2	1	7
<i>Number of market stalls in total</i>	181	286	428	445	462	497	490
<i>Stall/hawker</i>	1,9	1,9	1,9	2,1	2,2	2,2	2,6
<i>stall/hawker from northern Sweden</i>	1,3	1,4	1,7	1,8	1,9	2,0	2,4
<i>Sami-related assortment for sale</i>	-	-	-	11%	17%	20%	17%
<i>Art-related assortment for sale</i>	-	-	-	14%	13%	7%	17%
<i>Number of refused applications</i>	-	-	-	82	164	90	32
<i>of which are from northern Sweden</i>	-	-	-	51%	30%	50%	47%

Source: The hawkers' application forms for each year.

The 1.5 kilometres of stalls, placed in the centre of Jokkmokk, are hired and shared between about 200 hawkers. There are both Sami and non-Sami hawkers, which influences the offers for

sale. Here everything from Sami handicraft, hides and skins, to warm clothes, toys and sweets are possible to buy. A large part of the hawkers comes from the northern parts of Sweden and these hawkers rent a smaller stall area although the tendency is that the numbers of stalls per hawker tend to increase.

From 1987 and onwards also the refused applications have been saved, and they can be used as a measure of the festival's popularity. Even though all market stalls are rented today, there is a tendency that the number of refused applications is decreasing, because of decreasing interest or because the hawkers have learnt that it is hard to get a market stall if you haven't had one during earlier years. The festival organisers give priority to i) earlier attendance ii) suitable assortment and iii) origin (local or Sami).

Due to the incomplete application forms and a large share of missing values the information about the hawkers' assortment is reliable from 1982 and onwards. The assortment can be divided into three groups, due to how large part of the total assortment it constitutes (Table 3). The largest share, varying between 8 and 18% since 1982 is the four groups of assortment classified as *clothes* (also shoes and bags), *food*, *skins* (also furs, leather and horn) and *handicraft of wood and metal*. The second group, varying between 6 and 11 percent consists of *handicraft of textiles*, *Sami handicraft* and *others*. The third and last group, varying between 0 and 7% consists of the rest of the assortment, e.g. *confectionery* and *household utensils*.

Table 3. The hawkers' assortment for sale every five years, 1982 to 2002. The order of precedence is based on the shares in year 2002. The broken lines indicate three different groups.

	1982	1987	1992	1997	2002
Total number of hawkers (100%)	225	217	207	221	189
Clothes, shoes, bags	12%	13%	12%	13%	18%
Food e.g. sausages, bread	9%	13%	17%	16%	14%
Skins, furs, leather, horn	11%	9%	8%	11%	13%
Handicraft of wood and metal	15%	14%	11%	9%	11%
Sami handicraft	5%	7%	11%	8%	7%
Handicraft of textile, carpets	8%	8%	6%	9%	7%
Others	7%	7%	6%	6%	6%
Confectionery	7%	4%	6%	5%	6%
Household utensils	3%	5%	3%	3%	3%
Fishing, hunting	0%	2%	4%	3%	3%
Jewellery, watches	3%	3%	3%	5%	3%
Pottery, china, glasswork	3%	4%	3%	3%	2%
Toys	1%	1%	2%	3%	2%
Music, e.g. tapes, CD:s	1%	2%	1%	2%	2%
Motor, e.g. cars, snowmobiles	4%	3%	1%	1%	2%
Missing value / unknown	12%	5%	5%	2%	1%

Source: The hawkers' application forms for each year.

As mentioned above Sami handicrafts can also be found at the Sami educational institution where today about 20 Sami are selling their handicraft, which according to the statistics for 2002 would be approximately 10% of the total assortment. By the move of the main Sami handicraft sale from the trade fair to the Sami educational institution the Sami handicraft supply has been concentrated at the same time as it has been moved from the central parts of the festival area. On the other hand the festival's centre of gravity may have been moved away from

the trade fair towards the institution and the museum. The Sami educational institution is located next to the influential Sami museum Ájtte.

Activities

There are many other activities, besides the trade fair, that makes the winter festival in Jokkmokk. A study of the official leaflets tells what has been offered each year. Table 4 shows that the general tendency is that the number of activities during the festival (Saturday's programme) increases from 1962 and ahead. If the activities offered would have been collected also from Thursday and Friday the increase would have been even more obvious. Some of the activities show a continuous increase. The largest increase is found in the group *exhibitions/shows*. The two groups of *outdoor activities* and *seminars/speeches* also show a distinct increase during the last decades (outdoor activities for every ten years are more thoroughly described in Table 5).

Table 4. All activities offered during Saturday every five years, 1962 to 2002 (*outdoor activities* are exemplified in Table 5).

Activity	1962	1967	1972	1977	1982	1987	1992	1997	2002	Total
<i>Activities for children</i>			1					2	2	5
<i>Outdoor activities</i>	1	1	5	4	3	3	1	8	11	37
<i>Exhibitions, shows</i>	1	3	4	5	9	9	11	11	17	70
<i>Seminars, speeches</i>				1	4	3	3	5	9	25
<i>Films, slide shows</i>			2	2	2	1	6	3	3	19
<i>Worship services, church</i>	2	2	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	18
<i>Food services, cafeterias</i>	1		1	3	5	5	12	3	1	31
<i>Dances</i>	1	4	4	3	3	4	3	3	5	30
<i>Music, concerts</i>	1	2	3	6	4	8	6	6	5	41
<i>Other</i>		3	2	3	3	1	3	3	3	21
Sum	7	15	25	30	36	36	46	45	57	297
<i>Of which are Sami related</i>	2	6	7	7	10	8	8	17	18	83

Source: Saturday's programme in the official winter festival leaflets for each year.

The only group that tends to decrease is the group *food services/cafeterias*. The most invariable level of activities is to be found in the two groups *worship services/church* and *dances*. It could be assumed that these two groups of activities have reached their maximum level due to the shortage of suitable indoor spaces. Although the numbers of involved agents have increased (Figure 2) the number of Sami related activities are constant between one third and one fifth of the total supply of activities (Sami related activities means that the Sami culture is visible in the activity). The Sami related activities are foremost found among the three groups of *outdoor activities*, *seminars/speeches* and *music/concerts*.

The number of outdoor activities tends to increase and many of them are today arranged by tourism entrepreneurs (Table 5). Many of the activities have a connection to Sami culture in one way or another, and could for instance involve the reindeer or other Sami attributes. Some of the outdoor activities such as the reindeer taxi and reindeer drive take place within the trade area. Other activities, like for instance dog sledge tours and moose safaris, take place in the immediate vicinity of the trade area, or just outside Jokkmokk.

Table 5. Saturday outdoor activities offered every ten year, 1962 to 2002. Sami related activities are coloured light grey.

1962	1982	2002
Lasso competition	Helicopter flying	Dog sledge tour (2 entrepreneurs)
	Outdoor theatre	Helicopter flying
1972	Study visit to power station	Moose safari (2 entrepreneurs)
Lasso competition		Outdoor flora exhibition
Reindeer drive	1992	Reindeer drive
Reindeer taxi	Reindeer drive	Reindeer race (Lake Talvatis)
Show by parachutists		Reindeer taxi
Ski race		Snow mobile safari
		Sami tourism, e.g. reindeer drive

Source: Saturday's programme in the official winter festival leaflets for each year.

As mentioned above the activities listed in Table 4 and 5 are solely from the Saturday programme for each year. In addition, there are activities offered during Thursday and Friday, but many of the activities are the same all three days. One recurrent activity is the Sami reindeer drive with reindeer and sledge. This activity symbolises the traditional way to travel to the market days. The years when the reindeer drive seems to be lacking (see Table 5), it is because it has been available during Friday instead. Nowadays the reindeer drive is offered all three market days, and it is an appreciated element especially among tourists and photographers.

Conclusions

The winter festival in Jokkmokk shows a positive development and has maintained a high level of attendance and popularity over a long time. According to Butler's life cycle model the festival will sooner or later risk entering a declining phase. Today, a decreasing number of market stall applications indicate decline and decreased popularity. There are thus other activities that contribute to a maintained positive development, or at least a mature steady level. Linking this to Baum's curves it is possible to say that the different curves correspond to new attractions. When one attraction starts to decline the next attraction is already strong and contributes to a maintained popularity.

The new attractions are often carried out by Sami organisers or based on Sami culture. Thus, it is most likely that the Sami share of the attractions will remain at a high level, and consequently the festival will maintain the Sami image. The Sami culture is, and will remain, the main base of the festival. However, it is risky to renew this resource over and over again, why continuous evaluations are important.

Besides the continuous introductions of new products and attractions there are other explanations to the positive development and the maintained popularity. For instance, Getz (2000, p 179) writes that: *"The less an event is tied to purely commercial success factors, specifically profit, the less likely it is to succumb to competition or old age"*. Although many of the Jokkmokk festival organisers have economic interests there are still a large amount of more or less idealistic organisers. These agents, primarily not striving to attain profit, contribute to the explanation of why the winter festival in Jokkmokk has survived.

The different phases of the life cycle have been applied on for instance products, destinations and events. However, the model has hardly ever been used on a phenomenon with such a long history as the winter festival in Jokkmokk. When using the model for an indigenous culture event, like the festival in Jokkmokk that never before has been mapped, some new conditions

are present. The development according to the life cycle has shown to be dependent on its organisational characteristics (Hall 1992), i.e. the event backers are very important, and a too large number of agents may harm the development. In the case of the winter festival in Jokkmokk there are only a limited number of Sami in Sweden in general, and particularly in Jokkmokk, that have access to the organisation of the festival. Consequently, the agents that can exert an influence on the festival's development are limited, and it is easier to maintain well-planned Sami culture attractions.

The power of the festival is very obvious in the centre of Jokkmokk, but the festival also influences the adjacent towns. However, this spread can mainly be connected to accommodation and to certain extents also to transports. The "place to be" with activities and Sami aura, is still very much the town of Jokkmokk. The activities offered are thus not collected only to the market place and along the market stalls. At close distance is also the church, the Sami museum Ájtte, the Sami educational institution and the activities on Lake Talvatis. Some of the activities, like the safaris, stretch out in the nearby nature.

With the annual duration of three days the festival is compressed not only in space but also in time. The festival and the activities connected to it constitute a kind of vacationscape described by Gunn (1997). Compressed in space and time the different activities contribute to a strong attraction. Like other Sami tourism attractions in northern Sweden the festival in Jokkmokk is geographically rather isolated (Müller & Pettersson 2001). The geographical isolation is also mirrored in operational isolation. There is a great potential in coordinating the activities during the festival with tourism activities in the neighbourhood, arranged in connection to the three festival days. Coordination of resources in space and time can play a direct role in the strategic development of rural events (Higham & Ritchie 2001), and in a broader regional context.

Many tourists in a limited area may cause erosion, noise and littering (Buhalis 2000, Hall & Lew 1998, Hall & Page 1999, Price 1996). In the long run these factors may cause a decline in the life cycle. Because the festival mostly takes place in the town of Jokkmokk the erosion on the environment is limited, despite a large number of visitors. Noise and littering are thus problems, but only during a limited time every year. The intense exposure of the Sami culture may be a larger problem. An exposure and a tourism commercialisation of the Sami culture may jeopardise the traditional Sami culture. Sami participation in planning and accomplishment is necessary to avoid over-commercialisation.

In the case of the winter festival in Jokkmokk all agents involved have got a local anchoring. About half of the present agents have furthermore got a Sami connection. Even though the trade fair, that has made the festival may loose in attractiveness, the Sami agents and Sami visitors speak in favour of a continued popular festival, with Sami character.

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