SÁMI RESEARCH IN TRANSITION

KNOWLEDGE, POLITICS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Edited by
Laura Junka-Aikio, Jukka Nyyssönen, and
Veli-Pekka Lehtola

ROUTLEDGE

Sámi Research in Transition

For several decades now, there have been calls to decolonize research on the Indigenous Sámi people, and to make it accountable to the Sámi society. While this has contributed to the rise of a vibrant Sámi research community in the Nordic countries, less attention has been paid to what extent, and how the "Sámi turn" in research has been implemented in practice. Written by prominent Nordic and Sámi scholars anchored in the Sámi research communities in Finland, Norway and Sweden, this volume explores not only the meanings and implications of this turn across disciplines, but also some of the challenges that efforts to create space for Sámi voices, knowledges and perspectives still meet today. The book provides a timely, interdisciplinary engagement with the central themes that have framed the development of Sámi research, and a critical appraisal of the impact that efforts to decolonize research in the Sámi context have had upon Nordic societies and state policies so far. *Sámi Research in Transition* is particularly valuable for scholars and students interested in Sámi history and society, Arctic and Circumpolar Indigenous studies and critical studies on the relationship between knowledge and social change.

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1 Sámi research in transition – an introduction

Laura Junka-Aikio, Jukka Nyyssönen, and Veli-Pekka Lehtola

If research, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith wrote in the 1999, is "one of the dirtiest words in Indigenous people's vocabularies" (1999, p. 1), it is also a word whose meanings and character Indigenous peoples have sought to challenge and change. Though the academia has had a fundamental role in the reproduction of patriarchal and colonial state power, over the past decades, Indigenous peoples in different parts of the world have engaged in consistent efforts to *Indigenize* the academia, and to make research accountable to their own needs, values and worldviews. The rise of the transnational discipline of Indigenous studies and Indigenous research methods and the growing recognition – also within the academic mainstream – of the need to decolonize research, are among the tangible results of this shift.

The Sámi, the Indigenous people in northern Europe, have engaged in sustained efforts to *Sámify* research and to create themselves a space within the academia, since the first half of the twentieth century. The need to gain greater influence over academic knowledge production and education was discussed within the Sámi society already in the 1920s, and provisions regarding Sámification of knowledge and why it was important were included in the final report of the first Pan-Sámi Conference held in Jokkmokk in 1953. By the 1970s, these ideas began to take concrete shape, most notably through the founding of the Sámi Instituhtta (The Nordic Sámi Institute) in 1973. The Institute was funded by the Nordic Council of Ministers but administered by a board with Sámi-elected majority and with the *Sámirađđi* (Saami Council) acting as its advisory board. The Sámi Instituhtta was the world's first research institution which operated primarily in a Sámi language and where a majority of the staff were Sámi, and also its physical location at the Sámi village of Guovdageaidnu was chosen to maximize its relevance to the Sámi people. The stated purpose of the institute was, through relevant research, to improve the cultural, social, judicial and economic conditions of the Sámi people in a Pan-Sámi context (Helander, 1986; Sámi Instituhtta, 2005).

Today, almost 50 years later, Sámi research has gained increasing foothold also within the Nordic mainstream universities and academic

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institutions, and efforts to Sámify research have had time to grow, mature and diversify. Meanwhile, also the dominant society's interest in Sámi identities, cultures and lands, and thus, in Sámi research, has grown. All this has affected the ways in which the Sámi are researched, the knowledge that is produced, and the ways the knowledge is (or is not) picked up and implemented, but to what extent and how? What have been the actual social and epistemological implications of the perceived shift from "Lappology" to "new" Sámi research? Inspired by these questions, the purpose of this book is to chart and analyze the historical trajectories, social contexts and meanings of this complex change. The book brings together original research by Nordic and Sámi scholars who explore how Sámification of research has been implemented across different disciplines, and whether and how such changes have affected the society and the polices of the Nordic states. In addition to mapping the many advances and developments, our overall aim is to examine the perceived "Sámi turn" in research critically, and to explore what are the issues and challenges that appear central for contemporary Sámi research. As many of the chapters included in the book demonstrate, decolonization is not a linear and irreversible process. As the society changes, also criticism needs to be renewed as new issues, problems and struggles come to a fore.

The Sámi, previously known as the Lapps by outsiders, are an Indigenous people whose traditional territory, *Sápmi*, stretches across northern Scandinavia and the Kola Peninsula. Later, the area was divided by four states – Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia – and today roughly half (40,000) of the Sámi live in Norway while about 20,000 are in Sweden, 10,000 in Finland and a few thousand in Russia. In addition to territorial dispersion, the Sámi are a culturally and linguistically diverse people. There are nine different Sámi languages that are still spoken (though a number of them are highly endangered). Historically, cultural diversity between Sámi groups has been grounded in land-based livelihoods such as fishing (coastal, river, lake), animal trapping, or sheep or reindeer herding, which have provided the material and spiritual basis of culture in environmentally different areas and regions. Today, however, less people practice traditional livelihoods, many do not speak any of the Sámi languages, and the number of Sámi living outside Sápmi continues to grow.

Despite the cultural and territorial dispersion, the Sámi ethnopolitical movement has been guided by the idea of Pan-Sámi peoplehood, and also Sámi scholars have tended to emphasize the Sámi society's transnational character. More recently, it has become perhaps more common to emphasize Sámi diversity as the starting point for critical inquiry, and to fix attention on the cultural specificity of different Sámi groups and minorities. While both approaches consciously avoid fragmenting the Sámi along the colonial system of nation-states, the latter also seeks to avoid overgeneralizing the "Sámi" concept.

And yet, although all the Sámi share an experience of colonial erasure, there are important differences in the ways in which colonial policies have been implemented in each country, for instance on the level of government and administration, legislation, taxation, land use, history and patterns of settlement, and educational policy. As a result of these state-specific differences, those struggles that appear central in one part of *Sápmi* might be less relevant elsewhere. In this book, such difference can be observed for instance in debates relating to Sámi identity and its legal definition. Whereas in Finland, a conflict over the legal Sámi definition and membership in the Sámi Parliament's electoral register has become a key issue in struggles over Sámi rights (See Chapters 4, 5, and 11 by Lehtola, Junka-Aikio and Länsman and Kortelainen), in Norway the management of Sámi identities has so far followed rather different political and discursive trajectories (Bjørklund, Chapter 2). Therefore, to understand Nordic and Russian colonialism and contemporary Sámi struggles, also the analytical framework of the state and especially comparative methods remain indispensable.

The international boundaries which divide *Sápmi* were drawn mostly over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, following growing state interest in the northern areas and their natural resources, and as a consequence of regional geopolitics and inter-state rivalry. The colonization of Sápmi was a gradual process which differs in many ways from the European settler colonial conquest of overseas lands which is known for concrete, physical elimination of the Native people. Indeed, there has been a strong tendency within the Nordic countries to deny the existence of their colonial past, especially since the framework of colonialism is easily seen to suggest a comparison with colonial atrocities and even genocides committed by other, "more violent" imperial powers, and due to the Nordic societies' strong self-image as the vanguards of human rights and democracy (Lehtola, 2015b, pp. 22–23).

Irrespective of how Nordic colonialism has proceeded, the overall results have been largely the same as in other (settler) colonial contexts. Across Sápmi, border demarcations, growing settler pressure on Sámi lands and culture, and expansion of state government, institutions, infrastructure and extractive industries resulted in dislocation and erasure of Sámi societies and livelihoods, as well as in assimilation – both forced and voluntary – to the majority culture and society. Countless studies have shown that in every Nordic country the economic utilization of northern resources proceeded hand in hand with the destruction and erasure of Sámi livelihoods and forms of land use, and that this overtaking was justified building on ideas of cultural and racial hierarchies and superiority (e.g. Naum & Nordin, 2013; Lehtola, 2015b).

However, each state has followed a slightly different pathway in their attempts to manage Sámi societies and identities. In Russia, the Soviet revolution was followed by a short period of top-down policies in support of ethnic minority empowerment, but under Stalin's purges, the small Sámi

intelligentsia was nearly swiped away. This was followed by forced relocations in centralized Soviet settlements and other policies which were driven by modernist ideologies, and which fundamentally undermined pre-existing forms of Sámi communal life in the North. In practice, Sámi displacement and the disintegration of traditional organization of Sámi life resulted in deep social crisis and rapid language loss (Allemann, 2020; Kotljarchuk, 2012). In Norway, strong commitment to Norwegianization, a conscious policy to assimilate the Sámi as part of the Norwegian society, dominated the state's Sámi policy up until the 1970s. The policy was implemented through both legislation and formal administrative policies, and it resulted in the colonization and erasure of Sámi life on many different levels, including language (the use of Sámi languages was strongly discouraged) and traditional livelihoods, which were discouraged through Norwegian economic policies and land use planning (Minde, 2003). In contrast, in Sweden, Sámi policy was founded on the idea that the Sámi should not change at all. As the famous saying goes, *Lapp skall vara lapp* – The Lapps need to remain Lapps. Although this policy could seem, at the first sight, less prone to the colonial erasure and assimilation of the Sámi people, in practice it, too, weakened Sámi societies by obstructing their ability to develop in their own terms and by promoting a very narrow conception of who the Sámi were. The Swedish policy built largely on the idea that only the reindeer herding Sámi could represent genuine or original Sámi culture, and to protect that culture, the (reindeer herding) Sámi would need to be secluded from the unfavorable effects of modernity and civilization. Through special educational programs designed to keep the Sámi in their place, the Swedish state imposed on the Sámi its own narrow and stereotyped ideas of Sáminess and what nomadic culture should be like, denying the Sámi right to determine these issues for themselves (Evjen, 1997; Lantto, 2005; Lundmark, 1998; Pusch, 2000).

In Finland, the state's attitude towards the "Sámi question" has followed yet another strategy. Instead of a strong drive to either consciously assimilate or separate the Sámi from the dominant society, its policies have been characterized by overall reluctance to recognize Sámi difference. It has been argued that instead of seeing the Sámi as a people of its own, the Finnish society has regarded the Sámi largely as "Sámi-speaking Finns", as their less developed symbolic little brothers. From this perspective, the Sámi do not need any special attention or rights, as those policies which benefit the Finns in Northern Finland will ultimately benefit also the Sámi. For instance, unlike in Norway, in Finland the use of Sámi languages has never been officially forbidden, and hence in principle, Sámi languages were not suppressed. In practice, however, the Finns dictated, in a colonial and fatherly manner, what was good for the Sámi. Despite many initiatives, the Finnish state did nothing to arrange teaching in the Sámi language, nor were the initiatives to secure the special rights of the Sámi put into effect (Nyyssönen, 2009, pp. 168–169; Lehtola, 2012, pp. 453–457). Accordingly, also Finland's (lack of) Sámi

policy, which was particularly passive until the 1970s, resulted in a spiral of assimilation and colonial erasure.

In sum, the concept of colonialism has no fixed meaning, nor can it function as a general explanation to all historical events and developments. As a discursive and analytical framework, it refers to histories and processes that have been global in reach, but which are always articulated locally and in historically specific contexts. In the case of the Nordic countries, the framework of colonialism draws attention to the patterns, mechanisms and discourses that have guided and defined the development of the asymmetric relations between the Sámi, the state and the dominant society. Although colonial practices and policies do not always involve purposefully negative intentions towards the Sámi, they are always based on ideologies and ways of thinking which value the dominant culture at the cost of the colonized one.

From Lappology to "new" Sámi research

During the active era of European colonization, detailed knowledge of non-European territories and peoples was needed to mobilize, execute and secure their conquest in practice. At the same time, scholarship across various colonial disciplines such as anthropology, ethnology and political science was responsible for numerous "othering" strategies, ranging from outright racist to reductionist, which served to naturalize and justify the exploitation and control of non-European peoples and their resources in the minds of the colonizers (Dale, 2009; Danielsson, 2009; Said, 1978).

The Nordic countries are no exception. In his contribution to this book, Ivar Bjørklund (Chapter 2) shows how, as Norway's interest in Sámi lands and resources increased, also the demand for experts in Sámi issues grew, leading to the establishment of various new research institutions, chairs and academic positions. Especially knowledge on Sámi livelihoods and ethnic, demographic and cultural circumstances was needed to bring the Sámi areas under state government, and to integrate northern livelihoods and natural resources within the Norwegian economy. At the same time, the research contributed to the construction of modern Nordic national identities. In the dominant academic discourse, the Sámi were imagined as backward peoples, and as remnants of history whose cultures and ways of life were soon to be wiped out by the overwhelming force of modernization. As such, they provided a perfect reverse mirror for Finns, Swedes and Norwegians alike, who, according to the same discourse, represented a much more advanced stage of civilization and, unlike the Sámi, would be able to become fully modern without losing their national qualities and character.

Research from this era, which lasted well into the latter half of the twentieth century, is commonly labeled as *Lappology*. In addition to the historical and ideological context, Lappology is defined in terms of researcher subjectivity: the research was conducted almost without

exception by non-Sámi scholars, and thus it reflected mainly the interests and sensibilities of the state and the dominant society, even if the motivations of individual researchers could vary considerably. Like orientalism (Said, 1978), Lappology was a complex field which employed various different political and social discourses, some of which were country-specific. Although colonial and social evolutionist worldviews dominated the research orientation, significant differences exist for instance in the level of aggressiveness, or in the ways in which the cultural differences between the Sámi and the dominant society were perceived and constructed. Overall, Lappology contributed to the idea that the Sámi were less capable than the Finns, Swedes or Norwegians to govern themselves, or to survive in the modern world (Lehtola, 2017; Nyyssönen, 2015; Nyyssönen & Lehtola, 2017). Such views promoted the Nordic states' colonial and paternalistic policies in the Sámi region.

The Second World War and its (unmistakably European) horrors exposed discourses of European civilization to new criticism, and the War was followed by the global rise of anticolonial liberation movements as well as by a forced but slow movement away from the colonial and evolutionist discourses that had dominated the public sphere. Likewise, the foundations of the Sámi ethnopolitical movement, which came to flourish by the 1970s, were built during the war and in the context of the postwar reconstruction which accelerated change in the Sámi society (Lehtola, 2020). Saara Alakorva (Chapter 13) points out how already in the 1950s the Sámi, acting in collaboration with Nordic non-Sámi supporters (many of whom were scholars), connected their struggles fluently with other anti-colonial and minority rights movements and transnational political discourses. Exchange between Sámi and other Indigenous peoples included for instance an overseas study trip by Sámi and non-Sámi activists to explore how Native affairs were organized in North America.

In addition to global events and developments, the Sámi ethnopolitical movement was fueled by Nordic educational policies. Despite the overwhelming, assimilative and distorting force of majority education (Rasmus, 2008), by the 1960s and 1970s the extension of national schooling systems and growing availability of higher education resulted in the emergence of a new generation of Sámi, who started to use their formal education to demand better collective rights and to build bridges between Sámi traditional knowledge and the new information systems of the modern age. In this context, Sámi access to the production of knowledge became one of the key pillars of the Sámi ethnopolitical project. If research, until then, had advanced the interests of the dominant society and excluded Sámi voices and perspectives, now time was ripe for the Sámi themselves to become researchers, and to do research which would emanate from the needs of the Sámi society, and build on Sámi experiences, epistemologies and worldviews.

This agenda crystalized in Sámi scholar Alf Isak Keskitalo's seminal speech at the Tromsø Museum in 1974. Speaking in the context of a

strengthening Sámi ethnopolitical movement, Keskitalo argued that a fundamental change in the asymmetric relationships between the Sámi and the dominant society was already on the way, and that in the new sociopolitical context, "new" Sámi research made by the Sámi and from a Sámi perspective would be in the interest of both the Sámi and the dominant society. In addition to the epistemological and ethical reasons, knowledge that would build on Sámi worldviews would be necessary to administer and execute the transition to a more just society (Keskitalo, 1974/1994).

Keskitalo also listed several measures that would need to be taken to promote the change. The first was to build research institutions that are based on Sámi values, needs, ideas and languages. Second, such institutions would have to be manned by researchers who are Sámi themselves. Third, in addition to institution-building, the state would have to support research initiated by the Sámi through conscious funding decisions and strategies, to correct the asymmetries that were reproduced on the level of competition for funding and economic resources. Fourth, procedures to ensure the practical application of Sámi expert knowledge, especially in matters with direct relevance to the Sámi themselves, were also needed, to make sure that Sámi perspective would have actual impact on state policy. And fifth, Keskitalo argued that the epistemological and cognitive basis of what is considered as "proper" expert and scientific knowledge would need to be rethought. As long as the Sámi would have to adapt knowledge of their own society and environment to the conventions of Western ethno-sciences, the majority would dominate. This last point relates to the argument that Indigenous studies (or Sámi studies) should be developed as an independent *discipline* which has methodological and epistemological commitments of its own (ibid).

The speech visited practically all the topics that in the coming years would become central in debates regarding what "Sámi research" is and should be about. Some issues have since then provoked substantial critical debate and diverging views. The controversial questions include for instance whether, and under what conditions, non-Sámi researchers can contribute to Sámi research, whether research which builds on western theories, concepts and world views can be considered as "Sámi" even if the research is done by Native Sámi researchers, and what *Sámification* of research might mean on a deeper, epistemological level. Having said that, the aspect of the argument that remains least contested up until today is that Sámi research should be accountable to the needs and perspectives of the Sámi society (Junka-Aikio, 2019).

When the Sámi Instituhtta was opened in Guovdageaidnu in 1973, its official mandate was, through research, to "strengthen and develop Sámi language, culture and social life" from a Pan-Sámi perspective (Sámi Instituhtta, 2005). At the time, the Institute's core activities were divided to three main sections: Education and Information, Language and Culture, and Livelihood, Environments and Rights (Helander, 1986). In 1989, a new

institution of Sámi higher education and research, Sámi Allaskuvla, was established in Guovdegeaidnu and in 2005, the Sámi Institute was moved formally under its umbrella. Currently, Sámi Allaskuvla is a University of Applied Sciences which focuses on higher education, as its aspirations to become a full-fledged research-oriented university have not yet been fulfilled. This notwithstanding, its role for Sámi research remains central. Chapter 8 by Markelin, Moring, Husband, Hætta, Päiviö and Somby offers an interesting window and an insiders' perspective to the challenges, aspirations and practical concerns that have guided Sámi Allaskuvla's recent efforts to build a new research field and a related master's program around "Sámi journalism from an Indigenous perspective". As the writers show, one particular challenge has been to find a balance between three different elements: the existing, mainstream research on media and journalism, transnational Indigenous studies, and local Sámi knowledge and needs. The second challenge is, how to combine these fields in ways that allow students who attend the degree – some of whom are Sámi, but not all – to benefit from the program professionally while also making a difference in terms of their service to the Sámi society. The writers show that pivotal to the program's success has been Sámi Allaskuvla's location at the heart of the Sámi society, as well as the creativity and expertise of the students, who bring in their own personal experiences and understandings of the Sámi community and its challenges and sensibilities. Likewise, Sigga-Marja Magga (Chapter 6), who explores how the rise of Native Sámi researchers has reshaped understandings of *duodji* (Sámi handicraft), highlights Sámi Allaskuvla's role as an institution that has promoted distinctively Sámi and community-based approaches to duodji research. So far, it is also the only institution in the world where duodji research can be studied as a subject of its own.

Over time and especially during the past two decades, a growing number of universities and research institutions across the Nordic countries have sought to contribute to, and capitalize on the development of Sámi research through the development of existing degrees and expertise or by establishing new study programs, research centers or academic positions devoted to Sámi languages, culture, history and society. The process cannot be equated with Sámification of research as such, as Sámi culture and society remain subjects that attract broad attention from variously positioned scholars and from a number of different perspectives, and Native Sámi scholars continue to be a minority in most institutions with expertise in Sámi research. Having said that, the parallel rise of critical approaches which emphasize the need to decolonize and democratize science, such as postcolonial, decolonial and Indigenous studies and participatory research methods is encouraging also mainstream academics and institutions to recognize, at least on the level of principle, the value of Sámi voices and perspectives in research. So far, Norway has led the pathway, most notably through an earmarked funding program (Norwegian Research Council/

SAMISK) which has allocated resources for Sámi research since 2001, guided by an approved Sámification strategy and a review panel which consists of several Sámi members. Similarly, as discussed by Lydia Heikkilä (Chapter 12), Norway has been perhaps the most receptive to Sámi efforts to create ethical guidelines for Sámi research, following similar developments in other Indigenous and settler contexts. In Finland and Sweden, the process has been less coordinated, relying mainly on the efforts of individual institutions and scholars.

Criticism and social change

The past 50 years have involved several turns in Sámi research and, along with the change, also the choice of disciplines, approaches and research topics that have been central has altered. Risking simplification, in the 1970 research in the Nordic universities focused still largely on linguistics, ethnology, theology and folklore – areas of research that had been central for Lappology. An exception was the University of Tromsø (UiT, 1972) which took on the responsibility of drawing forth knowledge that was to be relevant and, from the 1980s onwards, beneficial to the region's communities, including the Sámi. In this context, the UiT became a central location for a new wave of interdisciplinary studies on northern inter-ethnic relations which entailed also a turn towards Sámi studies (Ingilæ Landsem, 2017). As the Sámi assumed new roles as researchers and as institutional actors with power to redefine what kind of knowledge was needed and for what purpose, the focus changed towards legal, historical and social scientific approaches and to topics that were considered central from the perspective of collective identity building and Sámi rights and public policy. Research itself was openly politicized through discourses which emphasized Sámi collective unity, or focused on conflict with the dominant society (ibid). Indeed, Lehtola and Länsman (2012) argue that during the "radical" 1970s and 1980s, the different fields of Sámi social life, including Sámi arts, politics, media and research, were squeezed together as all took as their central task to contribute to, and reproduce the shared discourses of ethnopolitical and cultural revival.

In the mid-1990s, concrete steps to institutionalize Sámi self-government through legislative change and the establishment of the Sámi Parliaments resulted in a new socio-political situation in which these fields could begin to develop in different directions, seemingly "free" from politics which now, as a sphere of action, was delegated to formal and institutional arenas (ibid). In this context and following broader developments within the humanities and social sciences, cultural and multidisciplinary approaches have become growingly prominent, and earlier ethnopolitical discourses became problematized as themes such as Sámi identity, the epistemological and ethico-political basis of Sámi research, and the history and current conditions of Sámi minority groups came to fore. However, research in the 1990s

was still based on a rather strong juxtaposition between outsiders' and insiders' perspectives or between old (Lappologist) and new Sámi research, whereas in the 2000s the range of approaches and perspectives has considerably multiplied (Lukin, 2014). Moreover, especially in Finland and Sweden, public and institutional support for the Sámi research in the 1990s remained rather weak, as a result of which research on the Sámi society was scattered and reliant on the efforts of individual researchers, and hence invisible in the eyes of mainstream academics and institutions (Aikio & Aikio, 2008).

During the past decade, this has largely changed. Sámi rights and political status have not been advanced in the Nordic countries significantly since the 1990s (in fact, the opposite might be true: see Kuokkanen, 2020a, 2020b; Bjerkli & Selle, 2015; Mörkenstam, 2019), but institutional and state support for Sámi research has grown, as has general interest in Sámi identities, cultures, lands and livelihoods. The change has been backed by two main processes. On the one hand, Nordic national and foreign policies are currently reshaped by a cultural, political and economic *Arctification* as each state has begun to look increasingly at their Northernmost parts and at the Arctic region at large for economic and geopolitical development (Junka-Aikio, 2019, pp. 7–8). In practice, this means that the Nordic states are again in need of new, up-to-date knowledge of the northern areas and communities and especially the Sámi, as such knowledge is needed to administer the anticipated change and to address the region's future challenges. On the other hand, the transnational rise of Indigenous studies and the ongoing prominence of Indigenous political movements and cultural revitalization is promoting new interest in the Sámi within the Nordic societies and among scholars and academic institutions. As a result, the number of institutions and actors that are now actively involved in Sámi research has proliferated, often encouraged by a perception that expertise in Arctic Indigenous and Sámi research could be strategically advantageous (Ibid.).

These changes have contributed to a perception that Sámi research is gaining increasing visibility and institutional standing, and that it might have become easier than before to attract also independent research funding for projects which examine Sámi history, culture, society or politics. What is less clear, however, is to what extent and how the growth in the *volume* of Sámi research is strengthening Sámi voices, or supporting Sámification of knowledge production and dissemination in line with Sámi needs and worldviews.

Most chapters in the book address this dilemma either directly or indirectly. Sigrid Lien and Hilde Nielssen (Chapter 10) reflect on the ethical concerns that they as non-Sámi scholars have needed to face while working with a long-term project on Sámi photography in Norway. The authors highlight that as their own thinking has changed, so has the field of photography studies as unlike in the past, today Sámi-related research and particularly postcolonial and decolonial perspectives attract considerable

attention. Although the role of non-Sámi scholars for Sámi research should, according to the authors, remain a contested one, they hope that this general turn can encourage Nordic scholars to recognize their own colonial past and to examine Nordic and Sámi histories as distinct but interconnected.

One concrete outcome of the change is that today researchers – both Sámi and non-Sámi – are increasingly aware of Indigenous methodologies and research ethics which emphasize the need to "give back" and share the research results in an open and accessible manner with the communities involved. At the same time, academic institutions and research funders are also placing growing pressure on researchers to popularize and disseminate the research as widely as possible. While these demands at times coincide, and at other times contradict one another, Chapter 9 by Coppelie Cocq examines whether, to what extent and how the social media could function as a platform through which scholars could address and mediate them both.

Question as to what Sámification could and should mean and what it might imply in practice are no less relevant when the actors involved are Sámi. Writing as a Native Sámi scholar with years of experience as a museum curator, Áile Aikio (Chapter 7) explores Sámification or *Sámáidahttit* critically in the context of the Sámi museum. She argues that the fact that an institution is managed and run by a Sámi majority, or has as one of its main tasks to serve the Sámi society, does not guarantee Sámification on the level of epistemologies, values and worldviews. Without critical discussion on the nature of the institution's organizational structures, practices and objectives, also institutions that are formally Sámi can end up perpetuating, maintaining and disseminating structures and discourses which reproduce the values of the dominant society.

Although much has changed since the early 1970s when Keskitalo talked about the measures to turn the Sámi into subjects of research, many of the problems that he identified back then persist today, and also qualitatively new ones have emerged. Some of them are examined by Sámi scholar and political scientist Saara Alakorva, whose speech, originally presented at a research seminar at the University of Lapland in autumn 2020, is reproduced as such in Chapter 13. The speech, titled "Ten problems faced by a Sámi who studies her own community" elaborates on a range of issues and problems that continue to weaken the expertise and positioning of Native scholars, and undermine efforts to strengthen Sámi self-determination through research. Perhaps most thought provoking is the last observation, that despite the rhetoric of decolonization, it appears as if it might be today harder, not easier, for the academic mainstream to commit their support for Sámi self-determination.

Alakorva refers especially to Finland, where a conflict over legal Sámi definition has dominated public debate on Sámi rights since the time when the Sámi Parliament was established. The conflict emerged originally as a political backlash when local Finns, some of whom feared that the development of Sámi rights would infringe on their own rights, begun to look for

distant Sámi ancestry as proof of their own Sáminess in order to argue that they, too, should be granted an access to the Sámi Parliament's electoral register (Lehtola, 2015a; Pääkkönen, 2008). The process has been deeply entwined with the academia, which explains why a number of chapters in this volume explore different aspects of the conflict and how it has been constructed through research. Veli-Pekka Lehtola examines how the paradigm shift, and later on, the conflict over Sámi identity, has been articulated in the field of Northern history research. Whereas Sámi history research emerged to contest earlier understandings of history promoted by "Lappologists" and Finnish historians, later on history has become a central platform through which also Sámi histories have been contested by scholars and "hobby historians" seeking to advance their own identity projects and political agendas. Laura Junka-Aikio (Chapter 5) situates the new struggles over Sámi identity within the transnational framework of self-Indigenization, and explores the ways in which especially the more recent research which is associated with the "Forest Lapp" and "non-status Sámi" movements challenges not only Sámi identity and peoplehood, but also the field of Sámi research. In Chapter 11, Anni-Siiri Länsman and Terttu Kortelainen examine how the discourse of non-status Sámi has been disseminated in Finland through online environments and platforms. They show how, in a matter of just two years, the concept of non-status Sámi traveled from a single PhD thesis to legislative debates and governmental policy documents, eventually influencing Finland's policy towards the Sámi.

Länsman and Kortelainen's observation brings forth an important question, namely, whose voices and research is heard when knowledge is applied to practice? Has the perceived "Sámi turn" within the academia improved the Sámis' ability to positively influence actual state policy, and if so, how? This issue is addressed also by Jukka Nyyssönen, who examines how research-based knowledge on the Sámi has been taken up, and used, in the Finnish Government's Committee Reports, and whether and how "Sámification" of knowledge can be observed on this level of document drafting and policy making. The chapter suggests that Sámi influence on Finnish Committee Reports peaked in the committee report in 1973, at the heyday of Sámi ethnopolitical mobilization – and again in the early 1990s, shortly prior to the establishment of Sámi cultural autonomy. However, once the question of Sámi land rights was taken up in conjunction with the possible ratification of the ILO convention no. 169 during the latter part of the 1990s, knowledge produced by the Sámi or by people connected to the Sámi movement has been increasingly omitted and sidelined by the government, often because such knowledge is portrayed as "biased" and lacking objectivity.

Moreover, even if Indigenous research currently seems to enjoy growing top-down support, its positioning within universities remains fragile as when universities face pressure to cut expenses, Indigenous and minority research which are less entrenched in the system of established disciplines,

can be seen as a ready target (see Andersen, 2016). Indeed, there is a risk that along with the rising popularity of Indigenous themes and topics, the research is hijacked from the Native people, becoming again a field that is driven, administered and governed by the interests and institutions of the dominant society. Chances to strengthen Sámi voices a within the academia might seem better than ever before, but as general interest in Sámi research grows, new challenges come to a fore.

These critical notes notwithstanding, various contributions to this volume bring light to the many positive changes that have taken place, Especially the rise of Native Sámi scholars has been significant not only in terms of equality of access ("the Sámi have a right to be also knowledge producers"), but also in terms of the Sámification of research substance and epistemology. As Magga shows in Chapter 6, for instance in duodji research studies undertaken by Native Sámi scholars has opened up entirely new perspectives to what duodji is, why it is important, and how it can be studied.

The book originates in collaboration established through the work of an international research project *The Societal Dimensions of Sámi* Research (Sodi-Sámi, project number 270629) which was funded by the Norwegian Research Council's Sámisk II program and led by Jukka Nyyssönen. The project convened at the Tromsø Museum (The Arctic University Museum of Tromsø) between the years 2017–2021. Many authors were members of the research group, but we also invited contributions directly and issued an open Call for Chapters in order to broaden the book's thematic and geographical focus. These measures significantly enriched the scope and range of themes that are covered in this volume, but we are aware also of its absences. For instance, despite our persistent efforts to include contributions from Sweden and Russia, the volume's focus is on Norway and Finland. The imbalance might derive to some extent from the fact that one of us editors is a Sámi from Finland while two are Finns working in Norway. While cooperation between the Sámi research communities in Finland and Norway from our own perspective seems rather well established, the process of putting this book together has made us very aware of the importance of strengthening collaboration also with Sámi research communities in Sweden and Russia. Similarly, we wish we could have included in this book contributions which focus more clearly on Indigenous and Sámi epistemologies, or explore the development of Sámi research from a gender perspective. Eventually, building a volume which is balanced in all these respects was not possible within the framework of time and resources that were available. The pool of scholars that are interested in "research on Sámi research" is still rather limited, and even for those scholars who have the right kind of research expertise, finding time for a specific project such as this one can be challenging, unless one is already working on the topic.

All this considered, we are grateful for, and proud of the breadth and depth of contributions that are included, and would like to thank warmly

each author for their dedication and insight, as well as for their trust in this project. In addition, we want to thank the anonymous reviewers and the editors at Routledge, for their professionalism and support. Instead of presenting an authoritative account of the development of Sámi research as such, we hope that this volume will offer to the reader various windows to the perceived paradigm shift from "Lappology" to Sámi research, and what that shift has entailed in practice. Together, the chapters that are included explore how the Sámi turn has been articulated across different locations and disciplines, and whether and how efforts to reorganize academic research around Sámi interests and perspectives have actually challenged and changed existing power relations between the Sámi and the dominant society. Ultimately, our aim was to analyze the complex relationships between criticism, academia and social change, at a time when knowledge on the Sámi is again in growing demand, but for various and sometimes conflicting reasons.

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Part I

From Lappology to Sámi research

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2 Society, ethnicity and knowledge production – changing relations between Norwegians and Sámi

Ivar Bjørklund

Introduction

It is a known fact that societal conditions, structures of power and governance needs have shaped research regarding Indigenous peoples. However, one should also examine the ways research might have impacted governance and policy practices. A closer look on the interdependence between societal context and research regarding the Sámi in Norway will illustrate these observations.

The relations between the Norwegian society and Sámi population in the period 1850–1980 provide evidence of how research serves national priorities and common conventions. The middle of the nineteenth century marks the beginning of Norwegian nation building, after having separated from Denmark in 1814. The following 50 years contained different measures aimed at developing an autonomous nation with a common identity and common history. Building a nation on its own merits implied economic resources, adequate legislation, an administrative structure and a common endorsement from civil society. A rather fragile governmental structure slowly developed from the beginning of the nineteenth century, and a university in Christiania (1811), a War academy (1820) and a higher education for agriculture (1859) produced the civil servants needed for governance.

Primary education is considered central to any national enterprise, and the first teacher colleges were established around 1840. The school system was radically modernized through new laws in 1860 and 1889. Interestingly enough for our context, most of these efforts began in Finnmark. Due to its non-Norwegian majority at the time, the region was considered a challenge in terms of developing a national sense of belonging. Most importantly, the Sámi population was regarded as economically backward, thus lacking any impetus for modernization. The growing number of Qven immigrants was also considered a hindrance in terms of national consolidation, and later a potential security risk (Eriksen & Niemi, 1981). At the turn of the century, the first regional school director in Norway was appointed in Finnmark, with the explicit aim of assimilating the non-Norwegian population. As for

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economic development, the first Agricultural Society in Norway (Finnmark Landbruksselskap) was established in Finnmark in 1859, introducing modern technology and livestock. Altogether, this development represents a set of governmental efforts to govern and assimilate the Sámi and Qvens. Consequently, the administrative apparatus depended upon knowledge relevant for this purpose.

The quest for knowledge

As for our quest regarding scholarly research and the societal context, these measures can be divided into three parts. One has to do with the efforts to develop agriculture into a profitable industry in the north. This aim inevitably collided with the existence of Sámi pastoralism, an activity that continuously generated conflicts with the farmers along the coast. Furthermore, a *leitmotif* was the caretaking of Norwegian interests towards neighbouring countries, as quite a few of the Sámi reindeer herders were Swedish citizens. Thirdly, an overall driving force was the inevitable necessity to develop a civil administration in tandem with the expanding governmental needs. Our question is thus what kind of knowledge was considered necessary to obtain these goals in the north, and what consequences did this knowledge production have for the Sámi societies in question?

Regarding the first goal, agricultural development was prioritized through the establishment of a university of agriculture in 1859, educating agronomists whose task was to modernize farming all over the country. However, Norwegian farmers in the second half of the nineteenth century made a growing number of complaints regarding damage allegedly caused by Sámi reindeer herders. Core areas for these conflicts were the southern reindeer herding area around Røros and most of the Troms region where herders from Sweden had their summer pastures. Their activity was legitimized through a bilateral agreement from 1751 between Norway and Sweden (Lappecodicillen), which came under increased scrutiny towards the end of the nineteenth century. The crossing of national borders was by definition considered a matter of foreign politics, and thus the Swedish Sámi were defined both as a problem for the agricultural enterprise and for national security. To cope with the agricultural conflicts, a new law on reindeer herding had been put into practice in 1883 ("Fælleslappeloven") and a detailed scheme of surveillance concerning the reindeer herders in Troms was established. This implied the use of regional and local administrative positions like county and municipality, priests and police.

What kind of scholarly research was activated from the governmental side to produce the information needed? State-initiated knowledge production regarding the Sámi was, at this point, a rather new discipline in Norway. It started in 1832 with Nils Vibe Stockfleth at the University of Christiania (Oslo), where he taught the Sámi language to students of

theology. Stockfleth is considered the first "lappologist", having studied the Sámi language and translated religious texts. After him in 1851 came Jens Andreas Friis who, as his predecessor, was also a clergyman. In 1866 the position was turned into a permanent chair, as the authorities thought it necessary to strengthen its governance capabilities in the Sámi areas. This was undoubtedly due to the Sámi riot in Guovdageaidnu in 1852 and the religious expansion of Leastadianism. The dramatic incidents in Guovdageaidnu, and also by the coast, had a shocking impression on the Norwegian public and governmental institutions (Zorgdrager, 1997). The final verdict of the Norwegian Supreme Court resulted in 33 sentences, five of which were death sentences.[1] The conclusion of the court was a clear warning: The convicts had by force tried to attack the existing order of Norwegian society and thus enforce a kind of equality that would destroy all civilization (Zorgdrager, 1997). It could therefore be argued that the revolt itself marked a shift in governance whereby the authorities now became aware of the need for more knowledge of these subjects in need governing.[2]

Friis became a well-known language expert, establishing the first Sámi sound orthography in Norway with important assistance from two of the convicts from the Kautokeino riot: Lars Jacobsen Hætta and Anders Pedersen Bær (Oskal et al., 2019). At the same time, he collected and published books on Sámi legends and folklore. He made several field trips to the northern area of Lapland, including the Kola peninsula, all paid by the department of the interior. Most interestingly, in 1861 and 1888, he published detailed maps of all settlements in Finnmark, Troms and Ofoten detailing the ethnicity, language and type of dwelling of every household. This quite laborious work is, of course, of great ethnographic interest today (Hansen, 1998). However, it was also of interest in terms of governance strategies at the time. When the Norwegian parliament decided in 1887 to finance a new edition, the argument in favor highlighted the importance of the maps "both in scientific and administrative terms".[3] As for the latter, the information would make it possible for the government to "submit the necessary measures regarding the problems generated by the collision between the different nationalities in Finnmark". Consequently, when the maps were printed, they were to be distributed among the civil officers of the region. Professor Ludvig Daa, a close friend and cousin of Friis, presented some of the arguments behind the map project in a meeting of The Norwegian Society of Science in 1886. The reasons presented were twofold: the information would enlighten the authorities regarding the "barbarian way of life" among the coastal Sámi and give impetus "to strengthen the Norwegian element in Finnmark".[4]

Furthermore, the growing number of complaints from Norwegian farmers living in Sámi pastoral areas led the government in 1889 to finance the historian Yngvar Nielsen to investigate Sámi settlements and history along the national border, from Namdalen to Femunden. Professor Nielsen

was a renowned public figure and in charge of the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo. He concluded that the Sámi presence south of Namdalen was a recent phenomenon, i.e. much later than the Norwegian settlements in the area (Nielsen, 1891). This report, based on a short field trip and Social Darwinist approach, had profound consequences for decades to come. It was selected that same year by a governmental commission on reindeer herding whose task was to organize pastoral activity in the very same area. His conclusion furthermore had severe legal and economic consequences for the Sámi, as it became a premise in many court cases between farmers and reindeer herders for the next hundred years (Strøm Bull, 2020).

The pastoral threat and the coming of academic disciplines

The dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian union in 1905 implied that Norway needed a foreign ministry and foreign policy of its own. The matter of "Swedish reindeer herding" in Norway immediately became one of the most pertinent issues and priority in terms of governance. The Norwegian concern affected Swedish national interests due to the immemorial usage of pastures by the Sámi reindeer herders, Swedish citizens as they were, within Norway. The two states established a common committee in 1907, which generated a detailed mapping of the pastoral activities on the Norwegian side of the borders, thus producing a considerable amount of information on pastoral matters (Qvigstad & Wiklund, 1909).

It was within this context that Kristian Nissen was appointed "Inspector of reindeer herding" in 1916. Negotiations were going on between the two countries regarding reindeer herding on both sides of the border, and this concluded with the "Convention on reindeer pastures" in 1919. Farming was a high priority, and pastoral activities were considered a problem from the Norwegian point of view.[5] Nissen also had a background in the clergy, and this was the very first administrative position of its kind. His task was to keep the government informed of matters regarding pastoral issues – knowledge that was being prioritized by the authorities.

Nissen had been a member of the aforementioned governmental commission on reindeer herding from 1909–1912,[6] and he also thoroughly mapped all pastoral households and their reindeer in the parish of Guovdageaidnu. He thus positioned himself as the public servant in charge of Sámi affairs in general. This culminated with his work to develop a new law on reindeer herding and facilitate a well-promoted national meeting of Sámi reindeer herders in Trondheim in 1917 (Jernsletten, 1991; Bjørklund, 2017). While Friis was an academic heavily influenced by Roussau and the romanticism of the time (e.g. his novel "Laila"), Nissen represented an upcoming breed of civil servants where knowledge was to be produced according to new governmental needs. This stance became obvious when many Sámi tried to politically organize themselves in the first decades of the twentieth century and argue against the school system and ongoing

assimilation policy. Nissen, together with the regional and national school authorities, rejected any kind of knowledge that challenged the prevailing policy (Jernsletten, 1991).

Another governmental effort that increased attention towards Sámi pastoral matters was the appointment in 1916 of Konrad Nielsen as professor of Finno-Ugric languages at the university in Kristiania. He was also a clergyman and became a very important governmental consultant in Sámi matters, especially when it came to reindeer herding. Besides being a member of the governmental commission on reindeer herding, he contributed to the scientific understanding of the Sámi language through his voluminous collections of Sámi words and orthography (Nielsen, 1932, 1938).

However, the most important contributor to the scholarly (and thus Norwegian) understanding of Sámi culture and way of life was the scholar Just Qvigstad. From the 1880s and until his death in 1957, he produced 112 publications of scholarly knowledge on Sámi language, folklore, place names and history. His scientific career progressed in tandem with different positions in the civil society and government, such as mayor of Tromsø, longtime headmaster at the teacher's college (Tromsø Lærerskole) and minister of church and school in the conservative government of 1910–12. His contributions were considered so important that in 1920 he was given a lifelong scholarship to continue his work (Hansen 1992). Together with the Swedish professor Wiklund, he was appointed a member of the Norwegian-Swedish "Reindeer pasture commission" which was to research the historic background and extent of Swedish Sámi pastoral activity in Norway (Qvigstad & Wiklund, 1909). Wiklund was the foremost academic expert on Sámi languages in Sweden, and one of those who gave birth to a Swedish political slogan of the time: "Lapps should remain Lapps" ("Lapp skal vara lapp"). Another contributor was Hjalmar Lundbom, the influential director of the Swedish mining company LKAB (Persson, 2013).

When summing up the research through the years from the 1850s up until the Second World War, there are some common traits to be found. The knowledge accumulated mainly centred on Sámi language and folklore. These research topics corresponded with the research that was *in vogue* in the other Nordic countries. However, most important from a governmental point of view was the documentation of the distribution of reindeer herders and their pasture areas. In Norway, primary occupations were important. In 1930, farming and fishing represented 41% of all livelihoods. The reindeer herding law of 1933 had as its explicit aim to ensure that pastoral activities did not interfere with agricultural interests (Berg, 1994).

The previously cited research topics were not specific to Norwegian or Swedish authorities. The scientists involved kept themselves informed of any relevant international research, and their research interests paralleled what was going on in other countries managing Indigenous peoples, e.g. Denmark and the Soviet Union.[7] In the years between the wars, the work done in Fenno-Scandia and other countries turned this research into

scientific disciplines in their own right. The university in Kristiania (Oslo) started to teach Sámi ethnography, ethnology, language, etc., based on the knowledge produced by the scholars here mentioned. An important university institution in this respect was the Museum of Ethnography and its professor Ole Solberg. He gave lessons in Sámi ethnography from 1913 and onwards. As for the language studies, most students were priests who were heading north. Other relevant disciplines became attractive for teachers and public servants.

Common to all disciplines of that time was their descriptive approach – the main efforts went into collecting and describing Sámi cultural traits. These were descriptions that went into books and museums and thus constituted the public perception of the Sámi "other". The underlying assumption among the scientists was the need to do this before it was "too late"; this was also an important argument used when research was to be financed (Hansen, 1992, pp. 62–64). The emerging image was one of a people bound to vanish in the wake of modernization and progress due to their racial characteristics and cultural inferiority (Kolsrud, 1955). Collecting folklore and material artifacts and documenting a vanishing language were thus of scientific importance. Such perceptions were the result of the general social evolutionary thinking of the time, a view enforced and theorized within by humanistic, legal and medical disciplines. Most important in a Norwegian context was the backdrop for the intensive assimilation policy enforced from the 1850s and onwards (Minde, 2003). To summarize, it is fair to say that most of the scholarly production of knowledge regarding Sámi matters was for a hundred years strongly influenced by the official need for effective governance and the promotion of a national Norwegian identity in the Sámi areas. This need was particularly related to pastoral activities and the herder´s management and whereabouts. This general demand manifested itself in clerical obligations, foreign politics, pastoral conflicts and, not to forget, the courtrooms.[8]

New paradigms and changing relations

The time after the Second World War represented a change both in national minority politics and scientific practices. The old idea of ethnic assimilation as a national strategy was no longer valid, and slowly the existing scientific paradigms came under scrutiny. The general context for these changes were the political legacy of the war generating international conventions on human rights and the rapid development of higher education. In Norway, some of these new thoughts were presented as early as 1959 by the Sámi teacher and spokesman Per Fokstad as a member of a governmental committee looking into Norwegian minority politics and the Sámi.[9] He argued for ethnic equality and suggested a Sámi scientific institution to take care of Sámi needs.

However, there was a continuation of the old governmental practice of favoring research with relevance for governance. The new political ideology

after the war, coined "the Welfare state", aimed at increased economic growth, health care and education through the implementation of modern technology and science. A new position of state consultant for reindeer herding was established in 1966, and money was granted for research. This was the starting point for a new period of knowledge production of a kind that the authorities thought to be of relevance for reindeer herding. This pastoral activity was looked upon as backwards and archaic and in dire need of modernization. The sciences in demand were to be found in the natural sciences, namely biology and economy. While the former civil servant in charge of reindeer herding a generation earlier had been a cleric by profession (Kr. Nissen), the new expert, Lloyd Villmo, was an agronomist.

From this point forward, research on Sámi matters was defined and exercised as a matter for the natural sciences. This reflected the administrative understanding that the most important Sámi group that remained after 100 years of assimilation were the reindeer herders, and minority politics consequently became a matter of agronomical politics run by the department of agriculture. The biologists were the coming experts, and together with agrarian economists they laid the foundation for a new law on reindeer herding (1978) and an economic agreement (1976) with the reindeer herders union. This arrangement reflected the ideal of the corporative state and fell in line with the economic arrangements made with fishermen and farmers. The herders were conceptualized as meat producers, and the aim was to make it a profitable industry (Bjørklund, 2004). Similar to the foregoing hundred years, the pastoral existence was still the reason for the research advertized by the government. Now the focus had ceased to be on the pastoralists themselves and their whereabouts. Being in legal control of the herding communities and their management by means of the new law, the authorities turned their interest to the reindeer itself. Pastures were studied by botanists, reindeer by biologists and the market by economists. In short, the very project was how to produce more meat out of fewer reindeer herded by fewer people.[10]

While undergoing this development, substantial societal changes took place from the 1960s onwards as new scientific paradigms and the general educational revolution swept through Western universities. These changes contributed to the opening of the University of Tromsø (1968), the Sámi museum in Karasjok (1972) and the Nordic Sámi Research Institute in Kautokeino (1973) – all justified partly by references to the "Sámi minority situation". The scientific paradigms in question were related to the introduction of social sciences. The very idea of analyzing social structures instead of documenting material inventory was a novel and paradigmatic turn after WW2. Based on the writings of Marx, Weber and Durkheim, it now became possible to understand power structures and ethnic relations. Sociology and social anthropology were the coming disciplines, with important spinoffs like ethnology, pedagogics and political science.

This wave of insight into social processes that took place from the 1960s presented alternative knowledge that could be used by groups in minority positions. In Norway, critical research was conducted on Sámi political history (Otnes, 1970) and the consequences of the Welfare state in relation to the Sámi people. Researchers like Aubert (1969) and Homme (1969) documented the actual lack of welfare in Sámi settlements. Eidheim (1971) analyzed how ethnic identity had become a social stigma due to the Norwegian idea of national and cultural equality. Hoëm (1976) provided evidence of how the school system systematically ignored Sámi culture and competence. Paine (1964) put the pastoral Sámi on the international anthropological map, analyzing their social organization and management practices. Thus, for the first time, it became possible to analyse the consequences of industrial impacts in Sámi reindeer herding areas (Bjørklund & Brantenberg, 1981).

As for the Sámi side of this knowledge production, some stepping stones are to be noted. With the exception of Fokstad, the philosopher Alf Isak Keskitalo (1976) is the first Sámi to problematize the ongoing research. In his article "Social research as an inter-ethnic relation" he scrutinizes the ongoing research activity and reflects about its asymmetric character. Symptomatic, his article was presented at an ethnographic conference at Tromsø Museum in 1973, the same year the Sámi institute was established.

It is probably no exaggeration to say that the sum of the research activity completed by these institutions from the 1970s and onwards had profound consequences for the development of Norwegian ethnopolitics, especially after the Alta-Guovdageaidnu conflict around 1980. Together with a growing Sámi political pressure, new insight into Sámi resource management, customary law and international human rights led to dramatic changes in Norwegian politics and law. In this way, the knowledge production that began in the 1970s can be said to have shaped the conditions for governance in Norway in accordance with the needs presented by Sámi institutions and organizations.[11]

Identity management and governance

The development of Norwegian administrative institutions from the 1850s and onwards is an informative story of how research served national interests and reflected the mainstream ideas of progress and civilization. Norwegian nation-building depended on knowledge that could be activated in governance terms. As already described, this period lasted until the 1960s when Sámi activists again began to criticize the national policy regarding the Sámi.[12] The first Nordic Sámi conference in 1953, which spoke on behalf of all Sámi in the Nordic countries, demanded that research on Sámi matters should be conducted by the Sámi themselves. These voices reflected new perspectives drawn from higher education and upcoming liberal ideas in general. These ideas were developed – among others – within the social

sciences, which were now introduced at universities all over Europe. Together with disciplines like history and law, a new understanding of ethnic minorities and human rights became part of a governmental knowledge base and influenced political decisions. It is therefore fair to state that this knowledge contributed to a new political context for Indigenous affairs and thus also shaped the conditions for governance regarding Sámi matters in Norway.

A closer look tells us how research, especially within law (Tønnesen, 1972) and social sciences (Eidheim, 1971), generated further academic work and ultimately through governmental committees gave essence to the new Sámi policy in Norway, which came into being from the 1980s. In particular, this research came out of the commitments embedded at the new University of Tromsø (1968), which defined "the Sámi minority situation" as an important academic research task (Bjørklund, 2018). This research echoed the political work done by Sámi organizations for years, namely claiming support and recognition of the Sámi language, culture and way of life.

The combination of Sámi political activism and new academic insight led to Sámi institution building. The establishment of The Sámi Parliament in 1989 was a manifestation of both legal and financial obligations by Norwegian authorities, following the political turmoil of the Alta-Guovdageaidnu case. From that point forward, a growing number of Sámi institutions came into being. These institutions represented new jobs locally and generated both cultural and economic activity.

Simultaneously, two other trends characterized the ethno-political scene and shaped the conditions for societal development. *Ethnic revitalization* was in some ways a direct consequence of academic work, unmasking the old Norwegian policy of assimilation and presenting a new political potential to Sámi activists. *Internationalization* was embedded in both Indigenous and academic networks. International legal conventions like the ILO 169 and SP 27 became part of the Norwegian legal framework, and Sámi politicians became strongly involved in Indigenous affairs worldwide (Minde, 2003). Summing up, beginning a new millennium, a new ethno-political context had been established both at a national and international level.

A striking feature in Norway regarding this new context is the administrative formalization of ethnicity through the establishment of a Sámi Parliament. Historic research had brought to light new knowledge regarding Sámi demography from the past. The establishment of the Sámi parliament necessitated the formation of an electoral roll, and consequently, Sámi identity became subject to bureaucratic definition, using lineages and self-identification as criteria. The political justification of such a parliament was based on the historic and legal knowledge presented by different governmental reports and references to international human rights.[13] In other words, this accumulated knowledge and the institutionalization it generated led to new ways of defining and managing a Sámi ethnic identity.

Recognizing such a new context, it is important to analyze what consequences these societal changes generated regarding identity management on a *local level,* in other words the ethnic relations between Sámi and Norwegians. Thus far we have discussed Sámi-Norwegian relations in terms of binary oppositions. The content and interface between two ethnic categories have not been put under scrutiny; as ethnic labels they have been taken for granted and frozen in time. However, today a Sámi (or a Norwegian) identity is often contested and met with scepticism and rejection when presented locally. This leads us to the issue of identity markers and management: how is ethnic identity presented and negotiated today?

What is the content that currently defines a Sámi identity? Is it a replica of how Sáminess has been understood through time on both sides of the ethnic border? If we look into historical material discussing Sámi ethnicity from the last couple of centuries, there seem to be some overarching traits that gave substance to a Sámi identity from both a Sámi and Norwegian point of view.[14] They all connect through kinship (*sohkagoddi*), which is associated with language (*eadnigiella*), locality (*siida, báiki*) and ethos (*vuoiŋŋat*). Such markers tell us that identity is a multifaceted concept formed through socialization and honed through interaction with other ethnic groups. In other words, ethnic identity is a relational concept dependent on acceptance from parties on either side of the ethnic border (Barth, 1969).

However, the societal context for identity management is quite different today. There are at least three major prerequisites that constitute a new situation regarding the presentation of a Sámi identity. The strong *assimilation process* has been going on for 150 years as the result of a deliberate Norwegian policy. Consequently, the socialization within many Sámi families changed when Norwegian language was introduced. The general acceptance of Sáminess as a social stigma led to the erosion of ethos (*vuoiŋŋat*) in terms of values, history and a sense of belonging. After a few generations, people would identify and present themselves with a Norwegian identity (Bjørklund, 1985). In this way, many Sámi settlements after the Second World War redefined their ethnic belonging and presentation. These processes are well documented research-wise and took place mainly along the north Norwegian coast (Eidheim, 1971; Hoëm, 1976; Bjørklund, 1985; Høgmo, 1986).

Furthermore, most Sámi areas are characterized by strong *demographic changes* in the last generation. A growing number of people is moving from the countryside into central locations, changing the settlement structure. In fact, the largest Sámi settlements in Norway today are in Oslo and Tromsø. Another important aspect regarding demography is the increasing intermarriage between Norwegian and Sámi persons. As with the urbanization process, this also has consequences for socialization within the family because Norwegian tends to be the preferred language.

A third important societal dimension today is the *ethno-political development.* Ethnic categorization is in the process of transition, from being

something that is defined at a local level in various ways to becoming a fixed national political definition. This development was fueled by the afore mentioned scientific knowledge put forward by law and the social sciences. A Sámi identity is becoming formalized due to the governmental acceptance of the Sámi as a people in their own right and consequently trying to act in tune with international human rights. Today, a Sámi parliament is in place to represent Sámi interests based on an electoral roll, which defines who has the right to vote. It is a growing trend these days that this roll is seen to define who can present oneself as a Sámi. In other words, ethnic identity is no longer supposed to be the subject of local level negotiations, but the result of a legal definition and a decision in the Sámi Parliament – a decision which cannot be overturned by the Norwegian Parliament due to international human rights obligations.[15] A closer look at the criteria for enrollment tells us about the new social conditions for Sámi identity management of today (Olsen, 2010).

The criteria state that every self-declared Sámi who either speaks Sámi at home, or has a parent, grandparent or great-grandparent who spoke Sámi at home, are eligible to vote. Because of the ethnic scenario and assimilation processes in Northern Norway over the last four generations, this definition clearly represents a potentially huge number of eligible voters. Given the strong ethnic revitalization process and legal and political acceptance of the Sámi Indigenous position in recent decades, a Sámi identity is no longer considered a stigma, but rather an asset in politics, the arts and economic enterprises. Nevertheless, while the number of people enrolled is growing, the number of actual voters is going down percentwise. This development probably indicates that being enrolled does not for many people first and foremost function as a democratic resource but as a form of ethnic confirmation (Selle et al., 2015).

In summary, there is now a new societal context for Sámi identity management in Norway in which the management of Sámi identities has been moved to the center of governmental needs and challenges. The input of social sciences and international law in the last generation has in governance terms contributed strongly to change the conditions for identity management and inter-ethnic relations. A Sámi identity is now formalized in administrative terms regarding the Sámi parliament and open to anyone who can fill the criteria in terms of kinship within four generations. In Finnmark, for instance, it has been estimated that three-fourths of the population qualifies according to this definition (Bjørklund, 2016), but according to the current debate at the local and regional level, this situation is strongly contested. Actors who present themselves as Sámi based on the legal definition, bear the risk of harsh denials from opponents – people who defy any idea of ethnic diversification constituted by law. The latter scenario points to the fact that many politicians within the Norwegian party system embrace a Sámi identity but argue at the same time that they do not qualify as "Indigenous". Their main message is a denial of the idea that Indigenous people should have

specific legal rights. The backdrop to this is the old Sámi claim of rights to "land and water" which today – in principle – has a legal backing in international law (ILO 169, SP 27).

Locally and regionally there seems to be growing resistance to the kind of identity management outlined here. For instance, an organization called Ethnic and Democratic Equality (*Etnisk og demokratisk likeverd*, EDL) has been established to protest against any Sámi rights whatsoever. On the one hand, these opponents refer to an alternative reading of historical research. They argue that "facts" regarding Sámi history have been misunderstood or falsified due to the researchers' ethnic or political bindings and as a means to establish Sámi rights.[16] They argue accordingly that any kind of ethnic rights on behalf of the Sámi are an obstruction of democracy. In reference to the enrollment criteria as an ethnic falsification and political strategy to expand support for the Sámi Parliament, they want the power and responsibility of the Sámi Parliament reduced. ("Why should one of your eight great-grandparents give you exclusive rights?"). On the other side, there are political and economic entrepreneurs who embrace a Sámi identity in order to influence both Norwegian and Sámi decision making and push forward mining and salmon farming projects, which the Sámi parliament is strongly against. Some even get elected to the Sámi parliament with the explicit aim of abolishing the institution itself. Such strategies are often locally met with disbelief and resistance among the Sámi, thus generating bitter conflicts and debates. One consequence of all these disputes is a growing scepticism on a national level regarding Sámi governance. For instance, the Norwegian parliament refused in 2017 to define the Sámi as Indigenous people in the Norwegian constitution.

Research-wise, this development has not been taken seriously in Norway, one exception being Olsen and his study from western parts of Finnmark (Olsen, 2010). Contested identities are becoming part of the public debate and might weaken Sámi political activity in general. Norwegian governance still depends on the Sámi Parliament as representative for Sámi affairs. Nevertheless, discussions and conflicts surrounding ethnic legitimacy might discredit the institution itself, and even more importantly, the Sámi legal rights agenda. Consequently, this scenery provides entirely new challenges of governance for both Sámi and Norwegian administrators and authorities.

Notes

1 Three of the death sentences were later changed to life imprisonment.
2 For instance, Eilert Sundt was financed by the Parliament from 1851 to 1869 to study the "common class" and is today considered to be the first sociologist in Norway.
3 St.Prp. (Governmental proposition to the Parliament) Nr. 49 (1887), p. 1.
4 Universitet i Oslo, Dokumentasjonsprosjektet (s.a.). Ludvig Daa: Om Friis' etnografiske kart, Foredrag i Det norske vitenskapsakademi, 15.11.1886. https://www.dokpro.uio.no/omfriis_daa.html.

5 This was the background for the law on reindeer herding, which came in 1933.
6 There had been numerous earlier commissions: in 1843, 1857 and 1866.
7 The University of Copenhagen established a chair in "Greenlandic language and Phonology" in 1920, and in 1924 The Committee for the North was established in the Soviet Union. Around 1930 many of the activities were made into scientific disciplines at the Institute for Northern People at Herzen University.
8 The most infamous case being the use of the historian Yngvar Nielsens theory of "advancing Sámi in Norwegian areas" from the 1890s, which turned the tables in favour of Norwegian farmers' legal claims for almost a hundred years (Strøm Bull, 2020).
9 St.meld. (Governmental report to the Parliament) nr.21 (1962–63)*: Om kulturelle og økonomiske tiltak av særlig interesse for den samisktalende befolkning*.
10 Hovedavtalen for reindriftsnæringen, St.prp. nr. 170 (1975–76).
11 See for instance Vik, Hanne Hagtvedt, Anne Julie Semb and Helge Pharo,"Muntlig historie intervju med Ole Henrik Magga 6 november 2013", Forum for Samtidshistories intervjuprosjekt, Department of archaeology, conservation and history, University of Oslo, March 2014, p. 28–29.
12 An earlier Sámi political opposition took place 1900–1920, but had no success (Otnes, 1970)
13 See for instance state reports NOU 1980:53, NOU 1984:18 and NOU 1985:14.
14 See for instance Anders Larsen (1950) and his references to a Sámi ethos.
15 Both SP 27 and ILO 127 state that Indigenous peoples have the right to define who they are in membership terms.
16 http://finnmarkforlag.no/teser.html

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3 Choices and omissions of knowledge and social impact in Finnish committee reports on Sámi policies

Jukka Nyyssönen

Introduction

In Finland, the involvement of scholars in politics has been particularly strong: scholars and professors have occupied positions in high politics, produced research that was meant as a direct comment on topical political debates, and been active in civil society (Häggman, 2012). In addition to advising high politics and acting in civil society, the Finnish committee institution, a third emerging venue for social engagement from the late nineteenth century onwards, has provided yet another potential channel for scholars to act as state experts (Karlsson, 2000), and to gain a voice in state politics. The committee institution has its origins in the need for scholarly, objective knowledge in the service of the development of society. The committee institution was established in Finland as part of a corporatist mode of governance, defined here as an institutionalized mode of co-operation and negotiation between the state and different interest organizations: a regulated mode of interest-group representation within the governmental system (Borg, 1990; Helander, 1984; Ulvevadet, 2015). One of the aims of corporatism is to provide, but not guarantee, a voice for interest organizations in state governance, and thereby maintain harmony and avoid conflict in society (Raitio, 2008; Ulvevadet 2015).

Committees are nominated by the government to produce an expert report and suggestions regarding policy in a chosen social matter. They have formed an integral part of the government of Finland, helping the governmental system to plan the future and develop different administrative branches, plan new social policy and new legislation, and offer external expert advice to the administrative system. Committees have been viewed as a means of providing a say for all political parties, numerous experts, all regions, language groups, age groups and different interest groups, as well as both gender groups (Numminen, 1999). Committees nominated to address the Sámi social condition directly, or which have dealt with Sámi issues in depth as part of some larger theme (seven in total, published between 1905 and 1990; the abbreviation "CR" – Committee Report – and a year of publication are used in main text citations) form the source material

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and topic of this article. One factor common to most of the committees studied here is that they have all addressed a "long-overdue" issues of the Sámi/Lapland: they reflect the marginality of the issue in general in Finnish administration.

The committee institution was intended to de-politicize difficult political issues (Karlsson, 2000). As Veli-Pekka Lehtola has criticized, experts producing knowledge, and the officials who make the decision either to omit or to implement that knowledge, are always situated, rather than impartial: they carry with them their own backgrounds and attitudes, they work under different external pressures (Lehtola, 2015) and they are affected by the dominant social and political discourses of their time, as well as by the political and administrative culture within which they operate (Nyyssönen, 2011). Lehtola has identified "key experts", mostly Finnish local officials, those who were the most involved in committee work, and has analysed their personal backgrounds and the viewpoints that guided their actions. According to Lehtola, the knowledge which these experts produced of Sámi issues in Finland was a complex conglomeration of facts, ideas, beliefs and attitudes fetched from a number of sources, which were always scientific but sometimes repeated old stereotypes of Sámi-ness, both positive and negative (Lehtola, 2012).

In this study, the committee reports are seen as a site of competing social agendas and as a site for different voices struggling to be heard; of lesser interest on this occasion is the other site of power, the implementation or the results of these authoritative utterances of knowledge. This is due to the nature of the Finnish committee history in Sámi issues, where aspects of non-implementation are in fact more tangible – an issue which will be touched upon briefly, later in this article. The main question is: what kind of functions and aims has the knowledge chosen for inclusion in the committee reports served at different times? The case used to illuminate these functions is the presentation of settlement history in the committee reports. Secondly, I have studied the choice of experts and scientific disciplines: these choices include mechanisms of omission and ways of framing the questions addressed in a way that conforms to state projects and/or state principles. Has the knowledge produced by the Sámi been heard? How has the state machinery dealt with the voices from Sámi civic and scholarly society?

The method followed charts how knowledge is transferred from one forum to another (research report – committee report – policy formation) by the use of metaphors. Metaphors (of the Sámi) play an important part in the formation of scientific theories, since metaphors carry cultural notions and perceptions as pre-conditioning, pre-defining and integrating linguistic images of the research object. The metaphors also reveal the societal meanings attached to the phenomenon and, for example, how the research object is situated in relation to the speaker and researcher (Väliverronen, 1996). At least four kinds of metaphors of the Sámi are detectable: as a

subject facing modernization, as a citizen with identical rights, as a citizen with insufficient rights and as a member of an indigenous minority lacking special/particular rights. How the production of these metaphors illustrates the larger paradigm change in the knowledge production, and in Finnish Sámi politics, is the central theme in this article.

The earliest committees – scientific knowledge in the service of nation-building

The first Finnish committee to deal with Sámi issues was nominated in 1905. The committee's task was to study economic conditions in Lapland. The committee used reports produced by local officials, police chiefs and relevant ministries as the first choice of source. The statistics, which were produced on the basis of reports and questionnaires, soon turned out to be insufficient, and as a result, the committee turned to local people for information and data. Sub-committees comprising committee members were formed and sent to do fieldwork and organize public hearings among the local population. The local officials used in the first round were of Finnish origin, while two Sámi officials were chosen because of their official standing, not because of their ethnicity. The aim of the committee was to examine how the traditional means of living prevalent in Lapland, reindeer herding and cattle raising, could be made more effective, and how to develop them. As such, these aims were rather modest, and as Veli-Pekka Lehtola has argued, the committee avoided aggressive modernization rhetoric towards the Sámi; new settlement was not advocated, for example, in order to tone down the conflicts between reindeer herding and other livelihoods (Lehtola, 2012).

The representation of the settlement history of Lapland echoed the general perception, cultivated in Lappological research, that the Sámi had been subjected to foreign rule from the days of the "Birkarlians" (a population with Crown-given taxation, and trading rights with the Sámi from the Middle Ages), and that as a result they had "fled" to the north. This narrative of Sámi history matched the dominant idea of the Sámi as "pure" Lapps, who were "humble" and prone to "escape in the face of the stronger"; it was a narrative that the settlement history and the current region they populated seemed, in a circulatory manner, to prove. In ethnic and cultural encounters between the Finns and the Sámi, it was the weaker one who was prone to assimilation. At the same time, the committee report did attribute to the Sámi some level of agency; by fleeing, they had preserved their traditional means of living and had begun to adjust their traditional means of living to the sedentary way of life. Generally, the relation between the settlers and the Sámi was described as one of a diffusion of agricultural forms, a process in which the Finns showed no indication of accommodating their lifestyle to the new surroundings. The committee report included a more substantial chapter on the judicio-cameralistic

history of Finnish and Sámi settlement, based on official sources, writings and notes by local Finnish officials, and the few statistics on the subject; this was supported by a discussion on conditions for agriculture, based on agricultural science (CR 1905). Otherwise, no references were made to scientific knowledge. Agricultural science was a favoured and rapidly-growing branch of science in a Finland that was still quite agricultural and striving for self-sufficiency in food production through its intensification. This branch was backed by a segment of state administration, generous state investment, numerous independent and state-financed research institutes and an organizational field covering most of the country (Tapio, 2000). The depiction of reindeer herding was neutral (with the exception of a short discussion on reindeer theft, and the disturbances caused by Norwegian and Swedish stocks before the border closures), focusing on the organization and utility of this subsistence. Nor is the matter-of-fact tone disrupted in the discussion of the damage caused by reindeer to forests and agriculture, and the conflicts between subsistence forms (CR 1905).

As for reindeer herding, the report's rhetoric remained mostly the same: the committee wished to protect and develop it. In the hearings that followed the first report, and the higher we go in the administrative hierarchies, the discourse on agricultural settlement became more dominant. Agriculture and raising cattle were promoted as the most reliable sources of subsistence in Lapland. The follow-up consultative committee recommended a full-scale modernization of agriculture in order to enable a more effective usage of economic possibilities and to integrate Lapland tightly, and on equal terms, with the national economy. The harvest of the forests was one of the attractions. In the follow-up report, a strict positivistic paradigm in gathering knowledge and knowledge production dominated the report. Local knowledge was approached in a more flexible manner and was ultimately overruled if required, or if it broke with more informed aims voiced by the officials. The general rationale behind the committees was to hinder pauperization and to keep the region economically viable. The most tangible result of the committee was the new road construction projects (CR 1905; Lehtola, 2012). The metaphor for the Sámi was that of a governed and definitely lower, humble subject on the way to becoming modern.

As the next committee (1938) was convening, the Educational Association of Lapland (Lapin Sivistysseura, est. 1932), a civil society organization, airing pro-Sámi views, suggested that the committee's main objective should be to secure and conserve the way of life of the Lapp population. However, the cultural protection of the Sámi was taken as just one amongst other questions within the larger task of producing a strategic plan and a programme for the new province of Lapland (est. 1938). The development of the economy of the region was a central task for the committee, as was the topical question of a protection plan for the Skolt Sámi. Members of the committee included Tuomo and L.I. Itkonen, both

well-known Finnish experts on Sámi culture and society, but whose voices were overwhelmed by that of MP Lauri Kaijalainen, a politician from Lapland. The experience from the fieldwork undertaken by the committee, which became a guiding principle for the advocated policy, was that the Sámi encountered did not appear "oppressed". Kaijalainen used the opportunity to deny such conceptions by referring to (favoured) voices in the field requesting teaching in the Finnish language. The policy endorsed by the committee was that the Sámi should not be differentiated from the rest of Lapland's population, for example by giving them special rights. Instead, they would need to be brought closer to the dominant society and the state, without which the population would suffer and remain as "sights for the tourists". Without integration, the Sámi would not be able to enjoy the fruits of Finnish modernity, but would instead adhere to the injurious old ways, of which the Skolt Sámi were perceived as an example. As a result of Kaijalainen's hard line, the committee did not advocate any special measures for traditional Sámi livelihoods. Instead, the committee emphasized language and teaching issues, and the role of traditional means of living – of which the "potato committee" favoured agriculture and forestry. Ideas regarding cultural protection were not advocated, in the end: the program of road building was the one most meticulously implemented, rather than, for example, those concerning education issues (CR 1938; Lehtola, 2012).

The sources of knowledge on which the committee's views were constructed were almost identical to those of the 1905 committee – official sources and local hearings. Natural sciences (geology, geography, research on peatlands, climatology, botany, demography, forestry science, even a short passage on epidemiology) had grown in importance and supported agricultural science, an important source of knowledge for the implementation of the committee's agricultural programme. A short passage on settlement history combined the ideas of withdrawing to the north and an ongoing assimilation into sedentary Finnish ways, justifying the committee's agricultural programme. The low effectiveness and low productivity of agriculture in the region, as well as the loose, non-sedentary workforce and organization of the work, were identified as the main problems within the region. As a solution, the committee recommended the sedentarization of the settlement and workforce, servicing effective and improved agriculture. Agriculture was represented as the region's main subsistence, and further research was suggested to support the expansion of agriculture. An emphasis on agricultural education and counselling shifted the rhetoric to being supportive of modernization, including a modernization of reindeer herding – in the committee's view, reindeer herding was significant in many ways: it needed to continue, but in a developed form, supported by experiments and research, and in ways that did not hamper the development of other, more advanced forms of subsistence and livelihood (CR 1938).

Scientific agricultural knowledge provided a way of framing the problems ravaging Lapland province, and the solution lay in the dominance of agriculture. This, the strongest tendency and discourse in reports pre-dating the Second World War, builds on a long thought tradition in Sámi policies dating from the eighteenth century onwards (Hiltunen, 2006). In Finland, during the pre-war era, the peasant ideal was the nation-bearing discourse and ideology, which would secure societal peace from internal and external threats, and serve as a morally upraising ideal. The other discourse that may be discerned was concerned with the pre-modern condition of the Province, its economy and the means of living practiced there. All this also influenced the report's conceptions of the Sámi, causing them to be considered mainly as objects of a state-administered modernization and Finnicization. One category of knowledge omitted was Lappological knowledge, in the sense that it played a very minor role in the reasoning of the committee (CR 1938). Antiquarian knowledge of the old Sámi traditions produced in the human sciences did not suit the forward-looking agendas of the committees.

The institutional setting, choice of experts and politicians, as well as the general nationalist climate of the 1930s, did not support any other kinds of discourses. The metaphor relating to the Sámi might be a lower Sámi in transition towards the modern, and in need of elevation in the hierarchies. Such an elevation would better serve their condition and the interests of the nation. Another metaphor is of the Sámi enjoying sufficient rights through the inclusion afforded by Finnish citizenship. But what about after the war, as the political climate changed towards more "democratic" values and policies, and important changes were made in the recruitment and composition of the committees?

The Sámi join the committees

The "Committee on Sámi issues" (1952) was established after an unsuccessful effort to appoint a Sámi ombudsman in the state administration. Half of its members were Sámi, including reindeer herder Oula Aikio, tradesman J.E. Jomppanen and Antti Outakoski, who died during the work of the committee. The aim was formulated as follows: "To secure the future of the Lapps in the economic and educational field". The committee was ground-breaking, in the sense that it introduced the term Sámi to the state administration, produced an early language-based definition of the Sámi and proposed a separate Sámi area. The Sámi were to be given more say in reindeer-herding administration and a seat in the state administration. Exemption from military service, their own state bureau, Sámi municipal administration, their own Sámi fund, as well as a Sámi law, were among the demands made (CR 1952; Lehtola, 2012).

The sources of knowledge had not changed tremendously: experts and local people, field trips, statistics gathered from local sources, and local officials and reindeer herders. However, unlike before, this time Sámi

people, too, sent numerous letters to the committee and these were specially noted by the committee. Accordingly, the greatest difference between previous committees and the new one was the space and weight accorded to the Sámi, which actually lifted their voices up from the position of those governed, or from state-articulated citizenship. Another change concerned representations of traditional Sámi subsistence and cultural forms: the lower socio-economic position was re-coded from signs of lower racial rank and primitiveness to a foundation for a developing culture. The problem occupying the researchers and anthropologists at the time – socio-economic development and its relation to Sámi societies – was discussed from a pragmatic and cultural point of view: if the "backward" people were denied this, the denial would expose them to exploitation, and a loss of culture and human dignity (CR 1952). In this line of reasoning, the committee came close to a metaphor of the Sámi being in need of special rights, but also cultural protection.

In this report, settlement history, written by geodesist, committee member and leading advocate of the Sámi in Finland, Karl Nickul, begins with a documentation of the Sámi presence in Finland proper and in the historical sources dating from the sixteenth century onwards. The Sámi had been pushed away and withdrawn in the face of the settlement, which was to be restricted or stopped. The basic phases of the "classical" settlement history are not substituted, but they are coded differently to those of previous reports. A narrative of oppression is constructed by the representation of an insufficient protection of law, as well as the increasing conflict over resources and areas as hostile expansion. Taxation and other influences appear morally and economically negative to the Sámi, who, peaceful people that they are, withdraw from a wish to avoid conflict with the settlers and continue their subsistence based on hunting, thus sustaining their dignity. Sámi rationality is elevated to the centre, while the settlers are blamed for not understanding its subtleties. Sámi complaints to the Crown about encroachments on "their lands" are reported, and the way in which the siidas could grant settlers access to their territory. Agriculture is represented as an unwise, unsustainable subsistence form in Lapland. This turn in the construction of the settlement history was based on an unspecified study by T.I. Itkonen, meaning that natural sciences had given way to human sciences. The Sámi were to be prioritized in the usage of the natural resources, but the majority population should not be allowed to expand their living space. The implementation of the Finnish land use and settlement legislation was to be stopped immediately (CR 1952; Lehtola, 2012). Balancing between agency and victimhood, the dominant take on the report stresses the lack of rights and cultural safety for the Sámi.

Results consisted of minor openings in the school sector, but the report was otherwise "forgotten". Lehtola claims, relying on Nickul, that the committee was a means of the state administration getting rid of the Sámi question and the suggested concrete measures without actually doing

anything: Nickul lobbied the state administration, and forced himself close to them, so he might have known this, but the demands and programmes were definitely radical for their time – according to historian Samuli Aikio, the government ignored the report deliberately, due to the impossibility of its success (Aikio cited in Lehtola, 2012, pp. 430–439).

Due to the inactivity of the state in Sámi policies in Finland, the next Sámi committee, which published its report in 1973, had to take up the same issues as the 1952 committee. This committee was chaired by the departmental head of the Ministry of labour, Asko Oinas, but there were numerous Sámi members in the group: herder Oula Aikio, teacher Reidar Suomenrinne, chief shop steward Matti Sverloff, teacher Nils Aslak Valkeapää, herder Uula A. Länsman, herder Aslak Magga and teacher Iisko Sara. Besides Sara, Valkeapää and secretary Pekka Aikio, all the Sámi members and many of the experts belonged to the first activist generation, not to the emerging new generation of young Sámi activists. The Sámi majority among the members reflects a new phase in the Sámi movement, and their access to the committee was an exceptional moment of progressive sentiment in the state administration.

The committee emphasized its own knowledge production, which had grown in scale and methodological sophistication. The committee made a research political statement, criticizing the way in which existing academic research had concentrated on "theoretical" issues, of interest only within its own sphere, and neglecting the concrete needs of the Sámi communities. The more democratic research published in the report was used to show how modernization lagged behind in the Sámi domicile, as did the increase in income among the Sámi, by comparison with the majority population in the Sámi domicile, and especially with that of the industrialized south (CR 1973a, pp. 1, 40, 57–58). This report embodies the metaphor of the Sámi lacking rights to the fullest extent.

A major part of the research was undertaken by a Sámi research project on behalf of the North Ostrobothnian Student Organization at the University of Helsinki, and a study on taxation conducted by the Department of Geography at the University of Oulu. Studies were often preliminary, based on their own research or intensive interviews. Studies and short reports on the socio-economic situation of the Sámi were inspired by social sciences, where settlement was only one of the factors covered (by Eino Siuruainen). Other reports included a study of the linguistic situation among the Sámi, and access to services, housing, wealth, etc. The experts heard by the committee were mostly Finnish, but among them were some Sámi herders or experts on fishing. The tone of writing in the research appendix was typical of the time, in its search for defects in the socio-economic situation from the Sámi point of view, which was the most important transformation in the committee reports so far. The perception of the Sámi had shifted from a pre-modern, withdrawn folk to citizens with similar rights, who eagerly demanded that these rights be fulfilled: in the

actual report, a victim narrative is constructed through the increasing industrial-technological and cultural-linguistic intrusion into the domicile of the Sámi, an "original population of our land" and a minority engaged in inter-Nordic cooperation with other Sámi groups; the narrative is interrupted by recognizing the recent progress of the committees working on the education language issue.

Another slight tension is detectable in the claims of improving the infrastructure and social services, relying on the source of the industrial push threatening the Sámi. The aim of the report was the general improvement of Sámi economic and social conditions. The over-arching representative strategy is one of diminishing space for traditional means of living and troubled Sámi subsistence. References were made to the protection of the minorities by the UN and UNESCO, as well as to an emerging environmental crisis in the form of the limits of natural resources, and to the way in which future Sámi means of living were reliant on those resources (CR 1973a; CR 1973b).

The settlement history, which merged with judicial history in the committee report, concentrated on the long pre-historical presence of the Sámi, and on Crown-acknowledged rights to the lands, as well as the Crown's administrative intrusion into these lands. The narrative is one of Crown-protected usufructuary rights and taxation, which the Sámi had interpreted as full ownership of the land, being integrated into the emerging new property rights and land taxation system. The Sámi, however, lacked the status of an indigenous population, and the special protection of law, such as in Sweden after the taxed mountain case (ongoing court case at the time), where the exclusive usage right of lands above the cultivation border was granted to the Sámi. One of the scholars who was challenged was legal scholar Kyösti Haataja; according to him, certain Sámi rights would have been annulled in the Decree of 1683 on forests. The committee was of the opinion that the decree did not apply to mountainous and unpopulated areas in Lapland: no rights of the Sámi were annulled, and they were further protected and acknowledged in eighteenth-century legislation, in the Statutes of the Lapp Bailiff (Lapinvoudin ohjesääntö) of 1760. The establishment of state ownership of the land not only clarified the land ownership between state and private owners: it encroached on "Sámi rights", which went unrecognized, and did not result in Sámi land ownership, due to the Finnish conception of land use forms equipping one for ownership. One writer (most likely Nils Aslak Valkeapää) managed to include two mentions of the fundamental error in thinking with regard to land: the resulting Sámi forms of landownership were foreign to the Sámi, who were only interested in utilizing land products, not the land itself, the ownership of which was incomprehensible to them. The chapter as a whole was written by a lawyer, or someone with an interest in law: an educated guess would be Heikki Hyvärinen, who was one of the committee's permanent

experts. Professor of Law Veikko O. Hyvönen is referred to in connection with the issue of "unclarified" rights (CR 1973a).

These totally new ways of framing Sámi issues were already evident in 1952, but it was in 1973 that they were fully set to use. The settlement history's potential for claiming and disputing land rights was articulated. This shift in research interest is an indication of a larger paradigmatic shift in knowledge production, from Lappological studies to Sámi studies, in the service of Sámi interests; another aspect of the paradigmatic shift, that of the Sámi taking an active part in the research themselves, remained unfinished: the knowledge producers engaged in the work were still predominantly Finnish. This might reflect the issue taken up by the committee, as well: the uneven distribution of the fruits of modernization, and the lower educational level and lower number of Sámi scholars.

The committee leaned towards global discourses and resources, the UN and UNESCO, environmental concerns and the general "progressive" sentiments of the era. This was partially successful. In addition to improvements in higher and vocational education, as well as in the Sámi media, the most tangible result was the establishment of the first self-governing organ of the Sámi in the Nordic countries, the Sámi Delegation (1973), to fulfil the Sámi's need to govern their own issues in the name of democracy (CR 1985; Lehtola, 2005). This may be taken as an indication of working in earnest to improve the situation of weaker, powerless elements of society. In the slightly longer run, other issues, which changed the way of thinking about politics, began to dominate in Finnish society: the national thinking on politics was imbued with global environmental issues.

The era, and the Sámi, are ecologized

As early as the 1970s, but especially in the 1980s, Finnish state discourses became "thoroughly" ecologized. The global discourse on ecological threats became a truly powerful discourse, affecting everyday lives at grass roots level and, as a result, administrative structures (Kahelin, 1991, p. 252). This breakthrough did not overthrow the imperatives of national security (regulating the threat from the Soviet Union) or the national economy (and the connected economic growth at every level of society), but it did have consequences in the thinking on the Sámi. This also became evident in the committee reports produced from the 1980s onwards.

The "Committee on Sámi Culture" (1985) had the broad task of developing and supporting (no longer protecting) Sámi cultures (no longer in the singular). The committee was led by curator Martti Linkola from The Finnish Heritage Agency (Museovirasto), and had renowned scholars as experts, rather than as members. M.Sc. (Social Sciences) Ulla Aikio-Puoskari acted as (informal) secretary for the committee. The committee benefited from the multi-volume study "Lappi" (1983–1985), edited by Linkola, to which many committee experts contributed (CR 1985; Lehtola,

personal communication). A new knowledge category was introduced: newly emerging environmental research on the intensification of the use of the natural resources of Lapland highlighted the siida as an example of the last surviving ancient ecological form of adaptation. This survival was represented as proof of the environmentally sound subsistence form of the hunting-gathering society, and of later Sámi subsistence forms as well. The dependence on and adaptation to the environment, the emphasis on the land/environment in the siida-people/siida-land scheme on behalf of the Skolt Sámi, as well as Sámi wisdom in the use of natural resources, were all fetched from professor of geography and expert on the Skolt Sámi Väinö Tanner (and Karl Nickul). In this report, in an emerging scholarly discourse that stressed environmental issues, the Sámi relationship with and dependence on nature were coded as positive (CR 1985; Massa, 1983). This turn reflected a broader change within Sámi studies, especially in the environmental sciences in Finland, which were growing to be less state-oriented and more Sámi-friendly: during this era, the "greening" of parts of Finnish scholarly discourses cleared space to represent Sámi ecological knowledge positively and as a knowledge category in its own right. One reason for this was the coming of age of scholars growing up during the 1960s and 1970s in radicalizing, post-Marxist contexts and obtaining scholarly positions in the 1980s (Nyyssönen, 2019). In the report and in 1980s environmental research in general, however, the knowledge of Sámi adaptation forms was mostly sourced from the old Lappological studies, while local forms of knowledge were not yet utilized in extenso.

The narrative produced of the settlement history is one of Crown/State expansion, which is explained in a circulatory manner by the innate logic and strength of the same. Lappmarks were annexed to the estate system proper, due to power political struggles and the need for an internal consolidation of the Crown/State. No direct references are produced in the passage dealing with this issue, but the Finnish historian Pentti Virrankoski, an authority on the history of Lapland, is one of the scholars mentioned elsewhere in the report. The narrative is Crown/State-centered and omits the Sámi from the political constellation. The Sámi are mentioned as those who assimilate in the southern Lappmarks, and who integrate within the system by establishing estates in the northernmost siidas. The closing of the state borders resulted in "smashing" the traditional areal system, due to "unnatural" border demarcations. The resulting chaos in the Norwegian pastures is represented as a major disturbance, which the dynamic and adaptable subsistence form managed to resolve in the end. As such, the knowledge is up to date and quite sober in specifying both the limits and the potential of Sámi historical agency between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries, a period of tightening Crown control over the Lappmarks. The narrative stresses the "crumbling", i.e. the loss of Sámi rights to the Lappmarks, since the legal foundation for the establishment of state lands is deemed to have been nonexistent, which exposed the lands to industrial

usage. Only settlers and those Sámi who had adapted to the agrarian, Finnish way of life received any confirmation of their land rights in the "great partition" (isojako) of the 1920s, a project separating the privately owned lands and the residual Crown/state lands, labelled in the report as an act of state-led colonialism (CR 1985, pp. 25–60).

Concerning cultural history, the approach was still top-down, concerned with majority cultural influences taken up and modified by the Sámi (not the other way around). This was most likely input from a more senior, post-Lappologist Linkola (Lehtola, personal communication). Material for the report was compiled from various sources, directly from organizations and official sources, as well as from numerous scholars, both older Lappologists and younger-generation researchers. Linguists Nils Jernsletten and Pekka Sammallahti, as well as H. Laitinen, an expert on the Sámi yoik, and Heikki J. Hyvärinen are referred to, and Sámi historians Samuli Aikio and Veli-Pekka Lehtola appear as authorities concerning issues of Sámi culture and literature. A group of researchers with Sámi origins, or close connections to the Sámi movement and organizations, was beginning to emerge – they were used and referred to more extensively than before in the reports. The 1973 report is used as a source for factual, statistical knowledge and for the definition of the Sámi (CR 1985).

In the report drafting a language law, the tendency to recruit Sámi scholars continued: among the academic members and experts, some of them students at that time, were Pekka Aikio, Helvi Nuorgam-Poutasuo, Irja Seurujärvi-Kari, Esko Aikio, Ulla Aikio-Puoskari and Anni-Siiri Länsman. The factor that had disintegrated, dispersed and made Sámi culture and languages vulnerable was the industrial intrusion into the Sámi domicile – an effort to use the ecological discourses of the 1980s is evident, resulting in an effort to consolidate a new ethnically and ecologically progressive interpretation of settlement history. The discourse on the Sámi language was alarmist: one of the threatened languages, a people under threat of assimilation and in need of stern protection, a way of talking that had become typical in the 1970s on this topical issue. This notion was based on studies in linguistics and a study undertaken by the Sámi Delegation on the usage of official services in Utsjoki. The committee referred to "research on" and "studies on" land rights, which would have proved the old land-ownership rights for the Sámi (CR 1987, pp. 29–30). This was to become routine in the statements and reports made by the Sámi. The metaphor was still, as with the Cultural committee, one of the Sámi lacking rights.

The wilderness committee (1988) stands out in many ways as a disruption to the narrative of increasing Sámi participation in knowledge production: a significant majority of the committee members and experts were non-Sámi, and there was only one Sámi among the authors of the studies cited in the report (Pekka Aikio, also a member of the committee, who lodged a dissenting statement in the report). The report is notorious for excluding Sámi ecological and judicial knowledge completely. The committee attracted considerable

visibility, not because of the Sámi issues, but because of the then topical forestry dispute, where ecological questions dominated the debate. The Sámi wished to raise issues of reindeer herding and legal problems, articulated as in whose lands the loggings were going to take place. Both issues were neglected: in the spirit of consensus, the committee decided not to include the question of landownership in its agenda at all. Elsewhere, during the dispute, the Sámi used research on pasture ecology, which was most favourable to reindeer herding, but which was a new and debated sub-branch of forestry science, one of the key sciences behind the prosperity of Finland, and one producing dominant truths of the "wisdom" behind the forestry practices of Finland (Leikola, 2000; Rytteri, 2005). The new "radical" branch of forestry research, which seriously questioned the aforementioned truths, was not taken into account by the committee, trying to find a balance between conservation and the (clearly favoured) use of the wilderness forests. Forestry was to be sustainable, in the sense that the aim was to log the largest sustainable amount of timber from the forests, including those in the far north (CR 1988).

The committee report to which the highest expectations were attached by the Sámi political elite was the 1990 report drafting a Sámi law and "returning" the land rights to the Sámi within a re-established Lapp village system. In the introduction the committee was already stressing the co-administrative form of the system, and how the Finns living in the region would keep their right to a means of living intact, revealing the need to act cautiously in the matter, which was beginning to be debated at that time. The knowledge used was judicial history and numerous branches of the law, while the most extensive platform was given to a newly-published doctoral thesis by Kaisa Korpijaakko, and to the ILO Convention 169, the latter used only sparingly, not to its full capacity. The historical reasoning on the property rights possessed by the Sámi was based on studies by Korpijaakko and Heikki J. Hyvärinen. According to them, the property rights were fully comparable to those of the peasants proper, south of the Lapp border. The land had been owned by the individual Lapp as taxed estate, as hereditary lands, not as Crown estates (CR 1990).

The report may be viewed as an effort to formalize the metaphor of the Sámi lacking rights as Indigenous People(s). These expectations were not fulfilled, however, and the negative reception of proposals made in the committee report resulted in a turning-point in the way that governmental officials related to the Sámi question. State officials began now to repeat that the principle of equal treatment for all the folk groups up in the north restricted the realization of particularistic Sámi rights; this was especially the case concerning land rights. The challenge of international judicial tools, and the need to change domestic legislation to match the standard of international conventions, was earlier referred as an aim, but began increasingly to be articulated as a hindrance to the realization of Sámi rights (Nyyssönen, 2018). This "hindrance" was expressed in a series of studies and reports on land rights published over the following decades, a process which there is no room to explore further here.

Conclusions

The committee drafting the Sámi Law in 1990 noted how the earlier committees working on the land ownership issue in the Lappmarks had treated the Sámi rights to land and water as ceased rights, unclarified rights (which did not hinder taking different actions with regard to the land), or just took a legalistic view of the existing property rights of the state as their starting-point (CR 1990, 29–33). This is illustrative of the position of the committee institution and the existing knowledge of the old Sámi rights in Finland in the twentieth century: the committee institution echoed the judicial practices and discourses of the state, which constituted a strong systemic barrier to the realization of Sámi rights (Meehan et al., 2018).

A committee institution is not a single interface, but a process by which knowledge is negotiated through complex procedures and chosen for implementation, or omitted (Bergholm, 2009; Meehan et al., 2018). Linking research with policy is neither linear nor singular: a plurality of science–policy interfaces are produced by local social orders and global hegemonic ideas and practices, which expose the real-life constraints of decision-makers, consisting of competing priorities, institutional capacity, socioeconomic differences and power asymmetries on multiple scales. In the state machinery, knowledge may not fit organizational priorities or political imperatives (Meehan et al., 2018). The state actors had to deal with Sámi voices becoming more demanding and coherent, while the global impulses, (agricultural) modernization, the movement for the rights of the Indigenous peoples and the environmental movement supported the local voices only partially. The parameters of state-articulated citizenship have so far prevailed in the negotiations within this governmental branch.

The internal setup of the committees added to this complexity. The role of the secretaries (Nickul in 1952, Pekka Aikio in 1973 and Aikio-Puoskari in 1985) requires further research, since their impact has been hidden, but was potentially significant in the actual, physical writing of the report. In 1952, the voice of Nickul was loud in the report, but the control of the texts may have become more stringent, the closer we come to the present time. The texts were discussed by the committee members, who were responsible for the committee recommendations, but who were also involved in other engagements – the "Lappi" edition, for example – and the secretarial load might therefore exceed their mandate, for very mundane reasons (Lehtola, personal communication).

At the level of the metaphors used, a progression of the Sámi entering into full citizenship, and beyond, is discernible. But as early as the late 1980s, the boundaries of the political system were encountered in Sámi ethnopolitics. In addition, transformations in the knowledge policy interfaces had served the cause of the Sámi only occasionally to this date. The

most significant exception was the establishment of the Sámi Delegation in 1973, in part as a result of the committee working on Sámi matters, which guided Sámi ethnopolitics long into the 1990s (for more detail, see Lehtola, 2005). In general, though, the frames of the state guided the implementation of knowledge: in the pre-war era, by framing Sámi issues as issues relating to Finnish state-building and modernization and, the closer we get to the present time, by using procedural means to question particuralist claims, inspired by international sources of law. The choice of certain preferred disciplines has had the same effect, willingly or unwillingly. The choice of dynamic agricultural studies over humanistic studies of the old, dubious ways of a folk up north was meant to bring about a change in these ways. The choice of environmental and forestry studies (1988) over studies of Sámi Law demonstrates a preference concerning the risks and issues to be handled: interpretations of legal history produced by researchers favouring the Sámi did not have the desired effect, but were later questioned, due to their alleged bias (see the article by Lehtola in this edition).

It is very seldom that the research done by researchers of Sámi origin would have been implemented, aside from the work of linguists. The performative aspect of knowledge produced within the institution has been weak (Gustafsson & Lidskog, 2018), partly due to a choice of disciplines with weak epistemic power and usage value: human sciences, for example, have a poor capacity for implementation (Thomas, 1994), and the Lappologists had at worst voiced similar ideas of the Sámi being in need of development to those of earlier reports. Epistemic power defines how social, environmental, cultural and other problems are understood, and how we act upon them. Performative knowledge both represents and constitutes the (legal) problem at one and the same time, and successfully reifies historical abstract phenomena into the common language of everyday political structures. In the case of the committees studied here, policy relevance was not attained, since knowledge produced by and under the guidance of the Sámi organs did not align with the dominant problem-framings, and the doubt in the matter resonated with general sentiments in the key ministries (Turnhout et al., 2016; Tuulentie, 2001). Thus, the studies on law and forestry were omitted.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the epistemology of the state has long built on an expectancy of, and acted upon, a dominant regime of evidence of *objective knowledge*. This form of knowledge assumes a nonpolitical science–policy interface (Meehan et al., 2018). As already pointed out by Lehtola, this has, unsurprisingly, turned out to be impossible, since the institutional setting is embedded in the political system and omissions of knowledge have had political consequences. In the final analysis, it is the Sámi disappointment with and critique of the non-implementation which has turned this "nonpolitical" venue into a field of social voices demanding political potency, with matching rights.

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4 Contested Sámi histories in Finland

Veli-Pekka Lehtola

Introduction

In Indigenous studies, the notion of *contested histories* generally describes how Indigenous peoples' own, originally oral, histories emerge to challenge conceptions produced by the majority society. Maori researcher Linda Tuhiwai-Smith has emphasized how Western historiography rationalizes the colonial seizure of indigenous peoples' lands by writing history that is appropriate for the purpose. Articulating Indigenous peoples' own histories is therefore as important a form of resistance as political activism or re-assessment of education, because it, too, brings forth parallel knowledges which are vital to alternative forms of action (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012, pp. 33–35).

New historiographies which were based on Sámi experiences and perspectives, and which developed intensively along with the Sámi movement in the 1970s and 1980, sought to rectify Western historiography's dominant conception of the Sámi as passive victims of the past. This effort gained momentum when Sámi research achieved a stronger position within the Sámi society, which was going through a period of institutionalization. At the time, Sámi researchers may even have felt that since, in the world of research, new and more contemporary interpretations of history tend to displace old ones, also the Sámi's understandings of their own history would over time become prevalent (Keskitalo, 1976; Lehtola, 2005a).

This was not the case. Instead, the notion of "contested histories" has received entirely new meanings especially in the 2000s, as different Sámi and Finnish groups have emerged to challenge the established views of the Sámi themselves. This process has taken place both in the domain of research, and more popular interpretations of history. Finnish political historian Jorma Kalela speaks about small groups' own histories, which can be completely at odds with the predominant views. Such histories always have their own rationale, which is grounded on such groups' social background and agenda. He also distinguishes three levels of interpretation of history: in addition to academic history-writing, small groups' histories include public presentations of history and popular, or folk history. Academic

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historiography forms just one part of the historical awareness of specific communities (Kalela, 2012, pp. 67–74).

This is an important observation in the context of histories which relate to the Sámi. Although such histories do, of course, include plenty of references to the work of professional historians, conceptions and interpretations of the Sámi past also tend to be firmly rooted in popular history understanding and public representations, which are reflected in official discourses on Sámi history, for instance. Sometimes, perspectives on history that are advanced on these levels can be opposite to the views of professional historians.

In this chapter, I analyze a continuum of interpretations on Lapland and Sámi history, which has been built by many different traditions which have instilled their own flavour on how Sámi histories have been viewed in different times and contexts. In addition to the Lappologist, "Northern Finnish" and Sámi conceptions of history, also histories generated by Lapland's Finns have had a significant role in this development. The same goes for oral tradition, Sámi political reality, Indigenous peoples' movements and developments within the discipline of history, each of which has influenced history-writing on Lapland.

Contesting history, part I: sharpening image of Lapland's history

Sámi history has been researched extensively, since there is an abundance of sources and other historical material. In earlier times, however, the research often arrived to its conclusions in terms developed outside the discipline of history, such as linguistic and ethnological methods. Lappology – research on the Sámi conducted by outsiders – was usually entangled with the development of "national sciences" in the Nordic countries. Through their attempt to consolidate a Nordic national identity, these sciences constructed the Sámi as an antithesis of Nordic agriculture (On Lappology, see e.g. Hansen, 1992; Karlsson, 1995; Nyyssönen & Lehtola, 2017).

For Lappologists, traditional Sámi societies represented a remnant of an early Finnic society, whose characteristics could therefore be clarified through research on the Sámi. Lappologists saw the Sámi of the past as "wandering" fishers and hunters and as nomads, who were incapable of defending themselves against stronger peoples (e.g. Rosberg, 1911). By emphasizing the degenerated and passive nature of the Sámi, research on Sámi history in a way justified the expansion of Nordic majority populations to the north. It was argued that since a people which occupied a lower cultural level presumably could not understand land ownership, it was the duty of "more developed" peoples to bring an organized form of society to them. According to Lappologists, the Sámi had no history of their own: for Hegelians (which in Finland were represented by the philosopher and statesman J.V. Snellman), only peoples that had ascended to the level of state formation, could possess history.

In other words, on one hand ethnologists studied a static and historyless Sámi culture, and on the other hand, they traced the influences and changes that"stronger" neighbouring peoples had left on the Sámi people. From the perspective of Lappologist linguists and ethnographers, any changes or modernization of the Sámi society resulted in the decay of"traditional" Lapp culture. According to this interpretation, the settlement of Lapland and the actions of states destroyed genuine Sámi culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Isaksson 2001, pp. 180–206; Lehtola, 2018). So, the Lappologist history-writing, which often preceeded the ethnological or linguistic discussion, was mostly dealing with the relation of the Sámi to their neighboring cultures (see e.g. Tanner, 1929).

This disposition was still clearly visible in the 1950s in Finnish ethnologist Helmer Tegengren's work *En utdöd lappkultur i Kemi Lappmark* ("the Extinct Lapp culture in Kemi Lapland") (1952), which can be considered as a cross between ethnology and historical research. Historian from the University of Oulu, Matti Enbuske has described the image of the Sámi society conveyed by Tegengren as "a static world of an ancient people", which was destroyed by the modern settler culture. According to Enbuske, Tegengren specifically highlighted the decisive role of external factors in bringing down the Sámi, and did not see other possible causes behind their "extinction" in the southern Kemi Lapland (Enbuske, 2006, pp. 15–16). On the other hand, Tegengren also emphasized the conservative nature of the hunter-fishers, who, by restricting themselves to one livelihood, exposed their stagnated culture for assimilation by agriculture (Tegengren 1952).

The Sámi became included within the realm of "proper "historical research in the postwar era, and by the 1960s, the Sámi were highlighted as a special issue for the discipline. In the past, the perspective and horizon of Finnish historical inquiry had been dominated by the country's southern parts. Now new perspectives examining history from the Northern Finnish angle, usually from the Oulu and later Rovaniemi, begun to emerge. *Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Lapin historia I-V* – a series of books on the history of Northern Ostrobothnia and Lapland, published between the years 1954–1984 – is a case in point (Halila, 1954, p. 5).

Concerning the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, Armas Luukko described the Great Power period of Swedish empire from the Ostrobothnian point of view, but the perspective did not extend to Lapland or Kemi lappmark. Pentti Virrankoski's later investigation on the seventeenth century (1973) went a bit further to tell also about Lapland's history. However, due to a lack of existing research, knowledge conveyed by Virrankoski was still rather scant. Historian Matti Enbuske has regarded especially Luukko's work as largely outdated. However, he detects in Virrankoski's position an emerging aspiration to highlight Sámi subjectivity and agency, although the main emphasis of his research was still on describing the triumph of Finnish settlement at the cost of the Sámi people (Enbuske, 2008, pp. 28, 49).

The establishment of the Lapland province in 1938, and the region's rapid development especially in the 1960s and 1970s, also brought new research attention to Lapland, but the focus of the new research was on natural sciences, such as research on natural resources, biology and ecology, as well as economic conditions. Neither the establishment of natural scientific research stations, for instance in Kevo in Utsjoki in 1956, or the founding of the University of Oulu in 1958, had much impact on Sámi research at the beginning.

In 1959, the Research Society of Lapland was established to form an organ for the cooperation of researchers and regional research institutes, beginning to look also into Sámi-related research. The research field received most of its funding from elsewhere, however (Aho, 1984). The Academy of Finland, for example, funded a Sámi folklore research project in Talvadas in 1967–1970 executed by the university of Turku (Honko, 1971). Research projects on human adaptation among the Skolt Sámi 1966–1969, and on Sámi health in 1968–1969, received international funding (Ingold, 1976). Sámi research scattered in different universities in Finland focused on anthropology, linguistics or Sámi ethnicity, but there was less interest in socio-economic, political or historical issues (Koiso-Kanttila, 1968).

Research on Sámi history received even less interest. In 1962, the Sámi Council initiated a new demographic research on the Sámi. In addition to seeking to clarify ethnic relations, the aim was to create an overview of the development of the Sámi society during the twentieth century. This involved Erkki Nickul's Master's thesis on the Sámi population (1968) and Erkki Asp's study (1965) on the adaptation or "Finnicization" of the Sámi to the Finnish society. The project of the Sámi council was based on a Lapp family register which was compiled by Aslak Outakoski, a Sámi working in the regional archive of Oulu, already in 1945. It tracked the roots of existing Sámi families as far back in the past as possible (Lehtola, 2015a, pp. 62–64). In southern Lapland, archaeological research intensified in the 1960s due to various hydropower construction projects. In the Sámi area, old deer trapping pits were studied in Inari by amateur archaeologists Karl Nickul and Oula Näkkäläjärvi, together with the Swedish Ernst Manker (Lehtola, 2005b).

The establishment of an academic chair of general history at the University of Oulu in 1966 signalled a new phase in the research on northern history. The person appointed for the position was Kyösti Julku, who began to develop research on the history of Northern Finland purposefully within this framework. This research, which was done in collaboration with Swedish historians, focused mainly on the early phases of the Torne Valley. Julku's vision resulted in significant discoveries particularly within the field of archaeology. Soon, archaeology was awarded with its own academic chair (Julku, 1994; Salo and Lackman, 1998).

In addition to the history of the Torne Valley, Julku's own research focused especially on the history of Northern state borders. He also

recognized the importance of Sámi past, which he described – in accordance with the spirit of the time – as a history of "genocide" (Julku, 1968). What is revealing, however, is that the perspective adopted by Julku in his later book on the history of Northern Finland (*Faravidin maa. Pohjois-Suomen historia* or "Land of Faravid. History of Northern Finland" in English) (1985) actually resembled the works of Luukko and Virrankoski. Also Julku looked at Northern Finland from a perspective centred in Oulu. Especially his descriptions of nineteenth and twentieth century dedicated very little attention to Lapland, and even less to the Sámi. In addition to a geographic bias, this reflected general lack of knowledge on the history of the Sámi especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Contesting history, part II: Sámi historical awareness

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Finland's national school system supported the growing esteem of literary or written history culture, and this change left an imprint also on the way in which the Sámi thought about history. Instead of building understandings of the past based on local and traditional knowledges which derived from, and followed, the annual cycle of life, now the past had to be imagined as a progressive timeline which proceeds through year numbers and on a general level and in which the local and particular experiences of the Sámi had little value. However, at schools, Sámi history was not taught at all – and neither was the past of other local people, or of Lapland province in general (Magga-Miettunen, 2002).

Since the 1960s, the construction of new Sámi ethnic identities together with the formation of the ethnopolitical movement impacted upon the emergence of a new kind of Sámi historical awareness. The new generation of educated young Sámi began to build bridges between old, traditional forms of knowledge and modern systems of knowledge. Characteristically, this work took place on several levels. Instead of academic arenas, growing historical awareness among the Sámi developed first in the areas of political, pedagogical and artistic action and activism (Lehtola, 2004).

It is no coincidence, that Sámi peoples' growing interest in their own history took place at the same time as the emergence of the Sámi ethnopolitical movement. National introspection is a general aspect of ethnopolitical movements, and although issues related to politics, education and representation were prioritized at the beginning, historical awareness was part to them all. Concern over the fate of one's own cultural heritage is central for ethnopolitics.

The significance of museums for the ethnopolitical movement was emphasized early on, and the establishment of the Sámi museum in Inari can be seen as one tangible consequence of the "first awakening" of the Sámi in Finland. Its founding father was Johan Nuorgam, the executive manager of the *Samii Litto* association, who was concerned about the destruction of Sámi artefacts under the intensive postwar reconstruction era. Consequently,

Samii Litto engaged in a major project to protect Sámi cultural heritage, resulting in the opening of the Sámi museum to the public in 1963. In Nuorgam's vision, also the organization of the museum space had to correspond with the culture that was being displayed. Therefore, Sámi artefacts were not to be placed in museum display cases: instead, the display was organized outdoors, in the natural environment and along a track which formed the shape of a suohpan (a Sámi word for lasso, which is used for reindeer). Pointedly, the display area itself was located in direct vicinity of an old dwelling from the stone age (Lehtola, 2019, pp. 88–89).

Also within the discipline of history, the development of Sámi people's own perspectives was strongly influenced by the Sámi political environment of the 1970s. When analyzing the narratives of the Sámi in relation to the state, Jukka Nyyssönen has discerned a generational gap. The older generation fostered a "progressive narrative" concerning a potential success story of modernization also among the Sámi, while the younger, postwar generation gradually changed into a "regressive narrative" in the radical Sámi movement in 1970s and 1980s. The "regressive narrative" represented the Sámi as an oppressed people whose tools for success were stripped from them by the state (Nyyssönen, 2007). This narrative had to, of course, be historically argued, too. It could be done ironically, as in Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's texts, aggressively as for example by the author Kirsti Paltto, or more neutrally, as exemplified by the writings of Samuli Aikio (Nyyssönen, 2013; Lehtola, 2015b).

As soon as the Sámi Institute, the first Nordic research institution administrated by the Sámi themselves, was established in Guovdageaidnu, Norway, in the early 1970s, it embarked on a comprehensive project in legal history, whose aim was to constitute, building on methods derived from the discipline of history, a comprehensive picture of Sámi rights to the lands and waters of their own territories (Sámi instituhtta, 1979; Sara, 1985; Kalstad, 2005).

Accordingly, research in legal history became a central discipline for Sámi studies. Although the research itself was still conducted mainly by members of the dominant society, now their point of departure was in the needs of the Sámi society. The most remarkable outcome of the Sámi Institute's legal history project was the legal scholar Kaisa Korpijaakko's (1989) dissertation about the Sámi rights for land and water in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which clearly demonstrated that Sámi land ownership practices corresponded to the Nordic property law.

However, significant aspects of the effort to re-interpret Sámi history took place outside the academia. The struggle against the damming of the Alta river in Norwegian Sápmi at the turn of the 1980s prompted the Sámi to search for reference points in their own history widely and consciously. In this context, for instance the privileges which had been verified for the Sámi through the ratification of the Strömstad border treaty in 1751, received renewed constant attention (Pedersen, 2016). Similarly, the Koutokeino "uprising" in 1852, which has been considered as the only rebellion in Sámi

history, became seen as an allegory of the Alta struggle, although many Sámi rejected the use of violence associated with the rebellion. The area that had traditionally belonged to the Sámi, and which was now divided by state borders and scattered across four countries, began to be consistently called *Sápmi*, Sámiland. The year 1917, in which Sámi representatives across the different countries held their first joint meeting in Trondheim, was approved as the national day of the Sámi, and the significance of joint Nordic Sámi conferences as indication of Sámi activity became emphasized (See Lehtola. 2002, p. 64).

The new historical awareness created a need for new perspectives. Sámi interpretations of history in the 1970s and 1980s were typically published as pamphlets, handouts or textbooks. For instance Samuli Aikio published, in 1980, a handout *Sámiid historja* (History of the Sámi), which brought together written accounts of Sámi history, and reinterpreted them from the perspective of the Sámi in the light of new historical knowledge. The Sámi were now seen as socially visible and highly active individuals and groups, who consciously took care of, and developed their society at the interstices of many different cultures (Aikio, 1980). Later on, Aikio edited the handout into a general overview *Olbmot ovdal min* (1992), which was published as a nearly ceremonious hardcover edition. Characteristically, the development of Sámi historical awareness in the 1980s was so intensive, that the new interpretations of history appeared partly outdated already a decade later.

Aikio's work exemplified a wider trend in which oral knowledges were reshaped to meet the needs and tools of the new society. Oral tradition was turned into memoirs and literary recollections, as well as textbooks. As other indigenous peoples, in addition to non-fiction, also the Sámi re-interpreted their history through the arts which modified Sámi cultural heritage into new interpretations. For instance, Sámi poetry of the 1970s was highly explicit about the majority society's misinterpretations of Sámi history. Sámi novels from the 1980s onwards began to systematically examine" social change in the Sámi areas from wartime to the 1970s and 1980s (Lehtola, 2004, pp. 63–70). *Beaivváš Sámi Teáhter*, which was established in the whirl of the Alta Conflict in 1981, has examined both painful and cheerful historical turns in Sámi history in many of its plays. The well-known Sámi film *Ofelaš* (Pathfinder, 1987) describes medieval Sámi and the threat they faced from looting by the Chudes.[1] The film director Nils Gaup's starting point was an old Sámi tale, which symbolically reflects the eternal conflicts between "us" and "them" (Lehtola, 2000, pp. 244–252).

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's poetry created a distinctive Sámi historical mythography. His poetry collection *Ruoktu váimmus* (1988, Trekways of the Wind), explored recent Sámi history, such as dormitory schools and the experience of "a man of nature" when placed in the "world of papers". The grand epic *Beaivi, áhcážán* (1992, The sun, my father), on the other hand, sought to discern the history of the Sámi people as a whole from mythological, historical and individual angles (Valkeapää, 1988).

The development in Finland was quite similar to other Nordic countries, such as Norway (see Minde, 1992). The Sámi also adopted from other indigenous peoples a strong conviction that reassessing historical interpretations was part of the struggle for their right to define themselves. The "right for your own past" was an important demand concerning the power relations towards the majority (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012). The new indigenous and Sámi interpretations of history did not develop in a vacuum: they were affected also by significant changes within the discipline of history. The tradition of historical research which focused on national grand-narratives made way to histories of the ordinary people. The perspective of leaders and rulers was replaced by the perspective of citizens, minority groups, clans and families and new topics of research, such as alternative political movements, local histories, mentalities and history of everyday life emerged (Green, 2008; Kalela, 2012: Korhonen, 2001; Peltonen, 1992).

What these new approaches shared was their tendency to direct attention on the history of "small units", often building on inadequate or otherwise problematic source materials. Capturing the voice and motives of the Sámi through historical sources was challenging, however, because the sources had mainly been produced by others than the Sámi themselves. In the 1970s, historians began to openly acknowledge that interpretations of even the same sources could vary a lot depending on the point of view (Suvanto, 1989; see also Koskinen, 2015).

Expanded conception of possible sources improved historians' capability to capture the strategies of the "silent ones". Now the list of acceptable materials was broadened to cover quite varied text types, which were read in various different ways (Korhonen, 2001, pp. 11–25; Kylli, 2012). New methods, such as microhistory or "everyday research", were readily applicable also to research on the Sámi. Due to the limited nature of source materials, small, even seemingly insignificant details could reveal profound phenomena, which in turn could help understand even wider historical frameworks (Immonen, 2001; Elomaa, 2001, p. 71).

All research on Lapland's past was still not only research on the Sámi. At the University of Oulu in 1988, Jouko Vahtola was appointed the professor of Finnish and Scandinavian history. He broadened the field of Finnish history studies distinctly towards Lapland and the Sámi. When introducing the vast field of his discipline in 1992, he did not spesify the Sámi, but consistently referred to the history of Lapland and Northern Finland, emphasizing the importance of it for the knowledge of "our Northern history and culture" (Vahtola, 1992). In his practical work, however, he developed branches of history research in which the Sámi were at the center, such as population history and histories of Sámi representations in travel literature.

During recent decades, also local Finnish people have demonstrated remarkable interest in their past, producing a great number of publications on the local and regional history of Northern Finland (Satokangas, 2010; Lapin kylähistoriaa, 2017). Most of these publications, which include

scientific histories of towns and municipalities as well as unofficial village books and collections of local histories, have been dealing with Finnish inhabitants in central and southern Lapland. They have usually been collected without special interest in the Sámi or Lapps, except for the nearly obligatory excerpt of ancient Lapps as the original, but somewhat primitive inhabitants of each region, a strange people of its own race (Lehtola, 2008). The Sámi area has only been a subject of some official histories (Inari – Aanaar, 2003; Kehusmaa – Onnela, 1995; Onnela, 1995; Turjanmeren maa, 1999), more in some other local publications (e.g. Jefremoff, 2001; Hirvonen, 2006; Rasmussen, 2008).

On the level of academic research from the 1990s onwards, a programme on northern cultural history at the University of Lapland began to examine and bring forth the diverse cultural history of Lapland, both Finnish and Sámi that had been forgotten in national historiography. One example of such topics was the war and postwar reconstruction time, whose impact on the self-esteem and collective mind of Lapland's whole population has by now been extensively studied (Tuominen, 2010, pp. 309–337).

In Finland, research on Sámi history has generally been dominated by the traditions of population and settlement history, as well as by religious history and legal history. Apart from the general development of populations and settlement, there has been plenty of discussion over interpretations related to land use and land rights. The temporal focus of the discussion has been on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Aikio, 1991; Julku, 1995). In comparison, the living memory of contemporary Sámi goes back four or five generations from the present and covers especially the events of the twentieth century. This temporal gap could be one reason why ordinary Sámi tend to feel that historical research is a distant thing. The rise of Sámi political history, which has taken place largely as a result of growing interest in Sámi agency in history, is an exception (Lehtola, 2005a; Nyyssönen, 2007). Along with this turn, also the events of the twentieth century have come more into view. The lack of interest for Sámi history research in Finland, however, is reflected in the fact that there are no full-time Sámi historians.

This imbalance between historical research and Sámi everyday understanding of the past is why historical interpretations by the Sámi themselves have mostly been made on other arenas that in research. The importance of biographies, works of popular history and textbooks should not be underestimated (e.g. Mattus, 1996; Jefremoff, 2001; Magga-Miettunen, 2002; Hirvonen, 2006; Morottaja, 2020). Exhibitions in Sámi museums have also transformed historical awareness. In addition, studies on genealogy (Akujärvi, 1996; Kaukovalta, 2018) and toponymy (Mattus, 1996; Rautio-Helander, 2008; Valtonen, 2014) have had great importance, because they have examined "our" everyday recollections.

Contesting history, part III: the Lapps opposing the Sámi

As is evident, by the beginning of the 1990s, many changes in the society were re-shaping perceptions of Sámi history. One aspect of the change was the gradual institutionalization of the Sámi society, which built on the pioneering work of the Sámi movement. Institutions of Sámi self-government, such as the Sámi Parliaments, emerged in each Nordic country. The Sámi also had a significant role in the international Indigenous rights movement (Länsman & Lehtola, 2015).

Yet, as the prestige of the Sámi institutions grew, also Sámi perspectives that the ethnopolitical movement had raised became challenged and contested in many ways. Within the Sámi society, the revitalization and revival of Sámi minority languages and cultures encountered representations, which were largely based on North Sámi culture. As with the Sea Sámi or South Sámi in Norway and Sweden, Inari Sámi and Skolt Sámi in Finland felt that their experiences were not sufficiently included. The main arena for these struggles, however, was the realm of Sámi languages, and not so much Sámi history (as an exception in Skolt Sámi histories, see Semenoja, 1991).

Outside the Sámi society, conflicts with other local communities increased or, at least, became more visible. In Finland, the Sámi were recognized as an indigenous people for the first time in national legislation in the 1995 Sámi Parliament act and the concurrent civil rights reform. These developments were followed by proposals to ratify the ILO 169 Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention. which, it was believed, would also pave way for the recognition of Sámi land rights. Dispute over the ratification subsequently became one of the most heated topics discussed. Norway had ratified it already in 1990, while Finland had not, despite the national and international criticism (Lehtola, 2005a).

The struggle over land rights in Sámi areas pushed local Finns to challenge Sámi interpretations on Lapland's history, too. The earlier interest in local histories among Lapland's Finnish population got more political tones due to the importance of Sámi self-government, which was seen increasingly as a power holder and guardian of expected benefits brought by the imagined indigenous rights. Now, many local Finns stared to consider the earlier inhabitants or the Lapps definitely as "*their* forefathers", arguing that *they themselves* were the original or indigenous people of the region instead of contemporary Sámi with their "noisy" and "aggressive" politics (see e.g. Hirvasrumpu 2013).

From their perspective, the expectation of the possible ratification of the ILO convention raised pressure to validate their own specific past and connection to the land through historical presentations. Because the history of the Sámi seemed to pass for a "proof" of old land and water rights, that history became a subject of struggle. The right of the Sámi to represent their past was questioned, and contested interpretations of local histories were constructed to parallel, or even to supersede the established Sámi

historiography (Ivalojoen, Kyrön, Peltojärven ja Suonttavaaran lapinkylät; Sarivaara, 2012; see also Länsman and Kortelainen in this volume).

Hence, fear of the proposed ILO convention resulted in the production of new historical interpretations, as the local population began to rewrite the "true history" of Lapland. At the core of this new history were the Lapps of the historical sources, not as ancestors of the modern Sámi but as the forefathers of a new "us", the cultivators of the Lapp's "true heritage" or the "original inhabitants" of Lapland whom "*the elite Sámi*" did not accept as members of the Sámi Parliament. These alternative interpetations then became the basis for the political movement of "neo-Lapps", which rose up to contest the Sámi representative body, the Sámi Parliament (Lehtola, 2015a).

One aspect of the new "neo-Lapp" historiography has been to label the Reindeer Sámi, who had settled to the current Finnish territory after the border closings between Finland and Norway in 1852, as both illegitimate and sole representatives of the Sámi Parliament. Branding them as "immigrants" from Norway or as "late-incomers" has been an essential part of the opposition to the Sámi Parliament. Also new and even fictitious interpretations of history were often directed against the Sámi specificity. According to the proponents of the neo-Lapp movement, modern Sámi were not the true heirs of Lapp culture – "we are" (e.g. Kitti, 2012).

The neo-Lapps regarded the word *Sámi* as a recent term which was invented for political purposes, and they adopted the name *Lapp* for themselves. Researcher Maritta Stoor, coming from western Lapland herself, has used the notion of "concept takeover" to describe the way the opposition took possession of the word Lapp and denied the Sámi right to it. In this process, the meaning and scope of an established concept was first blurred, and then filled with new semantic content (Stoor, 1999, 75). Soon, also the term *indigenous people* was given a new content which did not exist in legislation. Now it referred to the clan or family that arguably had been the first to settle to a place, and it had nothing to do with the rights of the modern Sámi (Pääkkönen, 2008, 216).

This essential contradiction was based on the fact that there has been a Finnish-speaking population living in Lapland for centuries, and their paths cross with the Sámi at many places. Consequently, they may have blood ties with the Sámi, and Sámi families may have become Finnish through generations (Lehtola, 2003). Sámi understanding of community membership, however, followed the idea that ethnicity is deeply relational – a cultural and societal result, which is based on the close relationship with living Sámi culture and society. Thus, from the perspective of the Sámi Parliament only a recent commitment to the Sámi society during recent three or four generations, including certain basic characteristics, is considered to be a genuine condition for Sámi ethnicity and indigeneity (Lehtola, 2015a).

Behind the conceptual blurring was an attempt to put across an idea that there had always been two historical groups in Lapland, Lapps and Sámi, and that Lapps were the older community – as the claim of the newness of

the Sámi concept indicated for the neo-Lapps. In other words, it was argued that the Lapps were even more indigenous to the region than the "late-coming" Sámi. Similarly, neo-Lapps appropriated the former societal model of the Sámi "Lapp village" or *Siida* system by establishing political associations which carried the names of old "Lapp villages", as if they were the historical successors of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Lapp villages or *siidas* (Pääkkönen, 2008, pp. 216–220). At the same time, they started to emphasise their significance as the voice of the local population towards the Finnish government with the expressed goal to replace the existing Sámi represented by the Sámi Parliament (Pääkkönen, 2008).

Later in the 2000s, members of the neo-Lapp movement have started to call themselves with a new name, *Forest Sámi*, following a definition that researchers conventionally have used for Sámi groups who live in the forest zone (e.g. Nickul, 1968). Although no historical group had ever called themselves Forest Lapps or Forest Sámi, now this concept was also taken over and put into new uses. As part of a very conscious political strategy, the neo-Lapp movement has also sought to include some existing, formally recognized Sámi minority groups, the Inari Sámi and Skolt Sámi, in their neo-group, while the larger North Sámi population has been purposefully excluded as *an elite*, which *rules in the Sámi Parliament* in order to silence and exclude *the forgotten group* of the "Forest Sámi" people. This kind of rhetoric and argumentation has given many an impression of there being a "real" Sámi group that is excluded from the Sámi Parliament (Hirvasrumpu, 2013).

Contested interpretations on institutional level

The main point of conflict concerning the ratification of the ILO convention was land rights. The Sámi Parliament regarded them as an essential condition for the activities of traditional land use and a precondition for all cultural activities. The Finnish Ministry of the Interior considered the state as a legal owner of the lands in the Sámi territory. Both parties started their own research projects of historical studies to solve the question from their point of view.

At the beginning, it was agreed that the Sámi Parliament would make a land rights report under legal scholar Kaisa Korpijaakko's supervision and funded by the Ministry of the Interior. The financial support granted to the Sámi Parliament's research plans was minimal, however. Instead, the Finnish Ministry of the Interior started to appoint its investigators of its own without consulting the Sámi Parliament, which the Ministry considered to be partial in regard to questions of land ownership in Northern Finland. Consequently, the Ministry's reports were rejected by the Sámi Parliament, because the views of the Sámi had not been heard (Lehtola, 2015a).

The Sámi Parliament carried on with its own research and published a report which stated that the lands in the Sámi territory "had been transferred from their earlier owners to the formal ownership of the state

without expressed justification and without constitutional contribution". (Maanomistustyöryhmän selvitys, 2002, pp. 3–5). At the same time, in 2002, the Ministry of Justice decided to commission a new study with a remarkable sum of money. A group of history and law scholars from the universities of Lapland and Oulu, led by history professor Jouko Vahtola, were hired to clarify "the settlement and demographic history, land use and land ownership conditions in former Kemi and Tornio Laplands".

Again, the Sámi Parliament criticized the lack of consultation and the fact that the viewpoints of the indigenous Sámi had been ignored when framing the research questions and tendering the research. Now, the research frame did not even mention that the state would have to prove its ownership "on Sámi lands"; the burden of proof was entirely on the Sámi. Erkki Pääkkönen (2008, pp. 105–106) has drawn attention to the peculiar premises in the Ministry's research project. According to the Ministry, researchers commissioned for the task should not have "any connections to interest groups determined by the research subject". In practice, the Sámi were excluded from the report and thus defined to be too partial in a dispute between the Sámi and Finns. Conversely, as pointed out by Pääkkönen, "questions of partiality weren't problematized in any way in the case of the researchers, who were North-Finnish and represented the majority population".

Consequently, the work was given to three Finnish population historians (Matti Enbuske, Mauno Hiltunen and Tarja Nahkiaisoja) and one Finnish legal scholar (Juha Joona) who had no specialization in legal history. The group also lacked expertise in social studies or cultural history, which would have been important for understanding ethnic relations in Lapland. A Sámi historian, Aslak Aikio, would have been as commendable as the other three scholars, all doctoral students, but he was not included in the research group, thus losing his possibilities for funding for many years (Pääkkönen, 2008).

The Ministry of Justice report was published in 2006. According to the leader, Professor Jouko Vahtola, research did not support the view that the Sámi had owned their lands. "It cannot be proved that Lapp villages had collective right to the lands of the villages in Kemi and Tornio Laplands", it stated. "The Lapland tax of Mountain, Fisherman and Forest Lapps entered in the land register in the nineteenth century was not – in any part based on and proof of land and land ownership, as has been claimed" (Vahtola, Enbuske, Hiltunen, Nahkiaisoja & Joona, 2006, p. 10).

Mauno Hiltunen (2012, pp. 292–293), one of the project researchers, later said that results from the investigation were keenly awaited by the "Lapps" (i.e. representatives of the neo-Lapp movement), like decisions from the highest court in complicated cases. In his view, historical research "cannot however function as a court of law or truth commission, because historical knowledge cannot be used either for the present or against it". In a land rights seminar arranged by the Sámi Parliament in Inari in 2008,

administrative director Olli Muttilainen (2008) from the Ministry of Justice said that he had heard expressions of disappointment in public about the fact that the research did not solve the land ownership issue. "The assignment wasn't based on that assumption anyway". He admitted that the Sámi Parliament could have been consulted better during the process.

It was obvious, however, that there were now officially two contesting histories about the historical ownership of Sámi territories. The Sámi Parliament stated that the rights of the original Lapp villages as a basis of early Sámi society and land use had not been revoked by legislation, but merely in the course of a gradually evolved practice. (See Korpijaakko, 2007.) The opinion of the ministry was that state ownership was undisputed: Lapp villages had had usufructuary rights to their lands, not property rights (Muttilainen, 2008). The researchers from both parties debated the issue heatedly in public (e.g. https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-8363713).

The situation seemed to signify a deadlock in land rights investigations, as studies in history did not prove solutions to a political debate on Sámi land rights. Neither party accepted each other's interpretations of history, but instead stuck firmly to their own standpoints, considering the other party's research results as false. The new chairman of the Sámi Parliament in 2008, Klemetti Näkkäläjärvi, stated that the issue of Sámi land rights and ownership could not be solved through further study. He argued that "we no longer need investigations, we need political will" (Lehtola, 2015a, p. 98). Also the Ministry of Justice became reluctant to continue its studies. Since no political will to resolve the issue was found either, the question over land ownership of the historical Sámi territory drifted into an unresolved stalemate.

Every researcher who contributed to the Ministry of Justice's research project later published their doctoral theses that were prepared as contributions to the Ministry report. Before that, they found themselves in the middle of the political struggle concerning Lapland's history and issues of land ownership. They reacted to this position each in their own way. Already at the beginning of the Ministry's research project, Juha Joona was a known spokesman of the "neo-Lapp movement", and his later dissertation became a constantly cited source for the neo-Lapps. Tarja Nahkiaisoja, on the other hand, was strongly stressed about her work being "misused" by the neo-Lapps, and she strictly wanted to dissociate herself from the "Lapp claims" (Nahkiaisoja, 2016).

Matti Enbuske in turn emphasized that he was an "objective researcher", who would keep out of the current debates. However, while his expertise on archival studies and historical methods was indisputable, his statements concerning the contemporary issues were quite far from impartial. As a population historian, he took a strong stance against the ratification of the ILO Convention in his dissertation as well as in public. Instead, he declared that all the old families of Lapland were entitled to have the same legal rights, because even the Finnish families carried some Sámi blood in their veins as a result of "mutual" assimilation (Enbuske 2012).

For his part, Mauno Hiltunen encouraged Finland to ratify the ILO Convention as soon as possible. He also made a study on the ideological content of the neo-Lapp movement's historical claims. According to him, the neo-Lapp search for their roots resulted in "a historico-politically oriented, downright mythological" interpretation of history, the results of which he calls *northern neo-myths*. Hiltunen noted that when identifying themselves as a group of their own and requiring their own history, neo-Lapps produced a cultural narrative made up of genealogy studies, very extensive source material collected among themselves and "selective use of existing research". To the neo-Lapps, history became "a sort of a court of law where the articles related to the interpretation of the ILO convention must be applied as if they were a binding law for interpretations of the past. It has led to falsifications of history and to myths, because proving that the Sámi are incomers and characterizing your own ancestors an indigenous people have become the burden of proof" (Hiltunen, 2012, pp. 292–293).

The heated discussion on land rights in Lapland in the 2000s and 2010s affected also Finnish politicians. Political mobilization and argumentation by the neo-Lapp movement ultimately led to a process where the ratification of the ILO Convention was postponed – or rejected, as many Sámi claimed – by the Finnish parliament in 2015. In this context, historical interpretations were no longer central. Instead, the decision was made based on the alleged vagueness of the Sámi definition, as well as on the assurance that special rights of one group, the Sámi, would harm the rights of another group, the Finns (Tervaniemi, 2019).

Conclusions

The image of the history of Lapland and the Sámi has gradually sharpened over the 20th century. Sámi history was a secondary issue in the ethnologically oriented research of Lappologists, for whom the Sámi represented a stagnated culture; for them, the only historical changes were caused by majority influences. As research done by scholars from northern Finland increased, also the discipline's interested began to turn towards Lapland. From the end of the 1960s onwards, the department of history at the University of Oulu became the center of historical research concerning the history of Lapland and the Sámi.

As long as Sámi history was all about the affairs of a small and powerless minority, it had only limited appeal to other people in the region. Indigenous ethnopolitical mobilization and land use controversies, however, created a situation where local history started to arouse great passion and from the 1990s on, the discussion turned into a disruptive conflict on both local and national levels. The rise of international indigenous legislation and the ILO Convention no. 169, together with the Sámi concern for their immemorial rights for the land and water in their territory, resulted in new fear among Lapland's Finns that they might lose their own benefits.

Subsequently, the question of the history of Lapland became politicized. The Sámi were challenged through questions about whose forefathers the historical Lapps eventually were, and who are the original or indigenous people of the region. This resulted in a struggle over Lapland's history, which even reached the level of administrative institutions in the 2000s, when the Ministry of Justice and the Sámi Parliament generated competing historical reports and investigations of their own.

These discussions and outright disputes have validated Jorma Kalela's idea that academic research contributes only one part to the formation of historical awareness. Research has been taken up and utilized willingly by those parties, whose intentions and goals they are suitable for. Moreover, the local people, both the Sámi and Finns, are producing their own interpretations of history, which can differ greatly from those of academic historians. Researchers have thus been caught in a tempest: Their studies have been used or misused as evidences of "historical truth" for many different purposes, some of which do not necessarily correspond with their own intentions or ideals for "objective" research.

Thus, changes in how history is conceived take place against the background of social change and development. Ultimately, the issue at stake is, whose voice is it that is heard, or advanced. Over the past decades, the history-writing concerning the Sámi and Lapland has been dominated by a particularly strong dispute over who has owned the lands and waters of the Sámi territory and more extensively of Lapland in the past. Instead of reaching a shared understanding of the region's history, different parties to the debate have built their own "truths", which conflict with each other and to which they stick firmly. In addition to individual researchers, also institutions have been caught in the contest.

Note

1 Foreign marauders in the Sámi and Finnish folklore, possibly referring to ancient Fenno-Ugrian tribes of the east, probably a common noun to wartime bandits in general.

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5 Self-Indigenization, Sámi research and the political contexts of knowledge production

Laura Junka-Aikio

In Finland, various self-identified "Sámi" groups or organizations, which claim that the legal definition of a Sámi person is too narrow and that more people should be included in the Sámi Parliament's electoral register, have thoroughly reshaped public debate on Sámi politics and rights. Such groups and organizations tend to build on the discourses and rhetoric of Indigenous revitalization and recovery, but at the same time they also attack the very legitimacy of the Sámi Parliament and Sámi political representation, and construct an antagonism between "elite Sámi" and "marginalized" or "forgotten" Sámi groups which they themselves claim to represent (Junka-Aikio, 2022). Over time, this rhetoric has fundamentally affected the ways in which the Sámi people, Sáminess and Sámi rights are discussed in Finland, and these movements have also had a significant role at slowing down the political and legal process to develop Sámi rights and self-determination (Pääkkönen, 2008; Lehtola, 2015; Junka-Aikio, 2016; Sara, 2019).

This chapter examines Finland's self-identified "Sámi" movements from the perspective of the broader, transnational framework of self-Indigenization, and discusses their relationship to contemporary Sámi research.[1] In so doing, it expands on Veli-Pekka Lehtola's and Anni-Siiri Länsman and Terttu Kortelainen's contributions to this book, both of which examine the intersections between these movements and academic knowledge production. My main argument is that especially the more recent research associated with the "Forest Sámi" and "non-status Sámi" movements challenges the established ways in which the field of Sámi research has come to be defined and understood in the post-Lappologist era. To account for the challenge, more attention needs to be paid to the sociopolitical context in which research which "self-identifies" as Sámi research is produced and disseminated.

In compliance with research transparency, I emphasize that my own interest in, and knowledge of the topic stems from my positioning at the fringes of the Sámi society. I am a Finn, yet part of a Sámi family whose members have been affiliated with the Sámi Parliament and its Election Committee. If this means that I have been particularly exposed to the political problematic of self-Iindigenization, it also has offered me an opportunity to access Sámi knowledge and perspectives on the ways in which the

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problematic is articulated and experienced in practice, in the specific context in Finland. In addition to consdering the phenomenon of self-Indigenization highly interesting research-wise, I feel that as a result of this positoning, I actually do have a responsibility to use the knowledge and share the insights I have gained. Whereas, I do not wish to participate in a debate over what Sáminess is or should be about. Instead, I hope to critically explore some of the discourses that currently dominate the debate, and to contribute to a public sphere in which the Sámi would have more space to discuss the issue in their own terms or to focus on entirely other issues, should they find them more urgent and relevant.

Political Self-Indigenization

Today, it is increasingly popular in settler colonial societies to actively search for traces of distant Indigenous ancestry, for instance through DNA tests or genealogical research, and even to claim a new "Indigenous" identity building on such discovery. In some locations the turn has been coupled by the establishment of organizations which promote such self-identified "Indigenous" identities on a collective level, and advocate for their formal recognition by the state and other relevant institutions. When the individual search for Indigeneity is coupled by such public demands, I use the term *political self-indigenization* to emphasize the explicitly political aspects of the phenomenon.

The settler desire to "become Indigenous" that the recent turn to Indigeneity manifests is not new as such. As Philip Deloria (1998) has argued in the context of American settler colonialism, colonial conquest and the destruction of Indigenous societies has always been coupled by settler attraction to Indigeneity, and by a desire to "play Indian", for instance by wearing the Native dress and by appropriating and imitating aspects of Indigenous culture. According to Deloria, the desire was originally grounded in the setters' wish to detach from the European mother country and to become rooted in the new territory. At the same time, it also has channeled an autocritique of the modern western society by placing the Native man and society as alternatives to the alienating, atomizing and restless qualities of euro-modernity.

Self-Indigenization in the twenty-first century falls in line with this history, but what is qualitatively new today is the socio-political context of Indigenous rights and cultural revitalization. Although Indigenous peoples continue to face concrete forms of colonial conquest and erasure, a considerable shift in their legal and political standing has taken place transnationally over the past decades. Owing to effective Indigenous political mobilization, Indigenous Peoples' rights are increasingly recognized, not only in international law, but also on the level of national legislations and in the form of various affirmative and anti-discrimination policies, which seek to support Indigenous self-determination and cultural revitalization locally.

Accordingly, today Indigenous peoples are viewed also as rights holders, and instead of a social stigma, Indigeneity itself has come to be considered by many as a "status" which is worth pursuing, not only due to its perceived aura of authenticity, but also to access possible rights and benefits. This new socio-political context is reshaping the range of motivations and reasons why white people might look for a new identity as "Indigenous", as well as the ways in which the claims are made, and the platforms that are addressed.

The more recent turn to Indigeneity, and especially the rise of the self-identified "Indigenous" organizations which advocate the turn on a collective level, is intelligible only against this background. Instead of simply exploring the cultural or spiritual aspects of Indigeneity, such organizations extend the desire for Indigeneity to a public, collective demand to access theformal systems of political representation and rights *as Indigenous*. Given their explicit political agenda, such organizations have become a growing concern among those Indigenous Peoples whom they claim to represent. Consequently, the phenomenon is receiving increasing critical attention within Indigenous studies and other relevant disciplines, which discuss self-Indigenization using various overlapping terms, such as racial or race shifting, settler nativism, indigenous identity appropriation, "box-ticking" or ethnic fraud (e.g. Pewewardy, 2004; Sturm, 2010; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Pearson, 2013; TallBear, 2013; Gaudry & Andersen, 2016; Gaudry & Leroux, 2017; Leroux, 2019a; see also Valkonen et al., 2018). In these literatures, concerns abound especially over how, instead of a companionship with living Indigenous communities, political self-Indigenization and the organizations which promote it fix attention on the past and on the recovery of long lost ancestry which is then used, together with the discourses of individual self-identification, to ground a contemporay "Indigenous" identity. Such understandings of Indigeneity tend to undermine Indigenous People's own conceptions of Indigenous identity and Peoplehood, and therefore, the demand for political and legal recognition can appear as an outright challenge to their right to collective self-determination.

So far, the research has focused largely on North America and especially Canada, where struggles and conflicts relating to self-Indigenization have become highly prominent. A recent book by the Canadian sociologist Darryl Leroux, *Distorted Descent: White claims to Indigenous identity* (2019a), is particularly comprehensive as well as thought-provoking. The book examines the genealogical and narrative practices that "otherwise white, French descendant settlers in Canada" employ to shift to "self-identified "Indigenous" identities", and explores the socio-political rationale behind the phenomenon and the organizations which promote it. The study brings to attention the extent to which self-Indigenization undermines Indigenous peoples' own understandings of Indigeneity, as in the practices examined by Leroux, Indigeneity is conceived overwhelmingly as a matter of self-identification and as a racial category which can be "read from the

genes", no matter how distant. For instance, in the Canadian online genealogical discussion forums that Leroux analyses, it is most common to use an Indigenous ancestor who lived in the seventeenth century as the sole basis for the move from settler to an "Indigenous" identity. Moreover, Leroux shows that often such ancestry claims also do not stand closer examination, as the purported Indigenous root ancestor might turn out to have been white, or the claimed lineage to the root ancestor is a broken one. Hence, he divides the different "practices of descent" employed by self-Indigenizers in Canada in three main categories: *lineal* (an Indigenous ancestor is found, even if highly distant), *lateral* (the ancestor one claims as one's own is Indigenous, but there is no direct lineage between the ancestor and the person who claims him/her) and *aspirational* (the "Indigenous" ancestor on which one's identity claims are based was actually white, yet falsely portrayed as Indigenous).

The highly stretched historical time frame and eagerness to claim Indigenous lineage even when the evidence is not there, differentiate self-Indigenization from the grounded, individual or collective efforts to reconnect with Indigenous kin and culture after being severed by colonial and assimilative polices, such as adoption or residential schools (Leroux, 2019a, pp. 1–2; see also Pierce, 2017). By building a contemporary identity relying on long-gone ancestors and genetic and archival "evidence", self-Indigenizers also bypass contemporary, existing Indigenous peoples and communities, whose conceptions of peoplehood and belonging tend to be founded on flexible kinship relations and shared history and which, besides self-identification, emphasize the importance of group acceptance (e.g. Andersen, 2014; Adese et al., 2017; Gaudry, 2018). Hence, Leroux argues that as much as the phenomenon he studies might appear to be about Indigeneity, it can actually tell much more about the "shifting politics of whiteness" and white privilege (Leroux, 2019a, p. 4). Even though self-Indigenization is often promoted through the discourses of revitalization, decolonization and recovery, a closer look at these practices sets the phenomenon in line with the settler desire to "play Indian", and the political problematic of cultural or identity appropriation.

This takes us to the origins and political rationale of the self-identified "Indigenous" organizations which actively promote self-Indigenization and lobby for the formal recognition of their members' Indigenous or Aboriginal identity and rights. Leroux's research focuses on two of the most prominent in Canada, namely the *Communauté métisse du Domaine-du-Roy et de la Seigneurie de Mingan* (CMDRSM) and the *Métis Nation of the Rising Sun* (MNRS), both of which were established around the mid-2000s (2005 and 2006) and which claim to represent the Métis people. Building on diverse materials produced mainly by the organizations themselves, Leroux shows that both organizations actually originated in local French-Canadian *opposition* to Indigenous or Aboriginal rights. The CMDRSM was preceded by a white rights movement, which came together in the early 2000s to disrupt ongoing land claim negotiations between federal and

provincial governments and the Quebec region's Innu communities (Leroux, 2019a, pp. 135–176). In 2003, however, the results of another court case – the so-called *Powley decision* in which the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in favor of Métis fishing and hunting rights – opened an avenue for a new strategy. The court case clarified the Métis' legal standing as a distinct people entitled to Aboriginal rights, and established formal criteria for who can legally qualify as Métis and as subject for those rights. Although the court ruling empowered the Métis as an Aboriginal People, it also created a new incentive for white Canadians to claim a "Metis" identity so as to also benefit from those rights. Since then, the number of French Canadians embracing a self-identified "Metis" identity based on the discovery of an Indigenous ancestor has sharply grown. Whereas in the two Canadian censuses prior to the 2003, the number of individuals self-identifying as Métis remained more or less the same, after Powley, between 2001 and 2006, the number almost doubled (Leroux, 2019a, p. 140).[2]

According to Leroux, the CMDRSM was founded in this context and building on the social contacts and networks that its founding members had established through political mobilization against Innu land negotiations. Now the same actors who had opposed Indigenous rights in the Quebec area begun to demand Indigenous hunting and fishing rights as "Métis", despite the fact that no efforts to work on behalf of a distinct Métis people had existed in the region hitherto (ibid., p. 141). Likewise, also the other "Métis" organization studied by Leroux, the *Métis Nation of the Rising Sun* (MNRS), originated in anti-Indigenous activism. While the MNRS is today the largest self-identified "Métis" organization in Quebec, Leroux shows how its roots can be traced back to a local hunting association which in the early 2000s opposed the Mi´kmaw territorial agreement to safeguard its members' unobstructed access to the territory and its resources (ibid., pp. 177–213). Today, both CMDRSM and MNRS actively encourage Canadians to look for "proof" of Indigenous ancestry through genealogical research and commercial DNA tests, so as to join them, and both have filed a number of active court cases to demand that their members' Aboriginal rights be recognized by the government.

The examples from Canada suggest that especially when promoted by popular organizations and joined by demands for formal recognition, self-Indigenization emerges as a political strategy against Indigenous rights – unless those rights are extended to all. This does not mean that all persons who self-Indigenize, whether privately or as part of an organized group, would do so merely in pursuit of tangible rights, or that the phenomenon could be discussed solely in terms of a political strategy. Indeed, on an individual level, many who self-Indigenize and join such organizations might be genuinely attracted to what Indigeneity is thought to represent, for instance aesthetically, spiritually, in relationship to the land and the natural environment, or in terms of a sense of community and belonging. This side of the phenomenon has been explored in more detail by the anthropologist

Circe Sturm, whose research on the self-identified "Cherokee" movements in the USA focuses especially on the personal motivations behind self Indigenization (Sturm, 2011). Like the new "Métis" in Canada, the people Sturm studied had identified themselves as white before they built a new Indigenous identity based on the discovery of a distant Indigenous ancestor, often encouraged by other like-minded self-identified "Cherokees" with whom they formed a group.

According to Sturm, who introduces the term "racial shifting" to describe the phenomenon in the Cherokee context, many racial shifters talked about their "Cherokeeness" as a matter of choice, which followed from their strong inner feeling that they actually were "Indian" by heart (ibid., pp. 51–55). Often they also connected their desire to be Indigenous with an equally strong desire to dissociate from "whiteness", which for them had come to symbolize excessive individualism, rootlessness and other ills of the contemporary society (pp. 56–58). While this might suggest that self-Indigenization could be interpreted also as an aspect of a political critique *against* white racial supremacy, or in terms of Indigenous decolonization, Sturm cautions against too simple interpretations. Firstly, she argues that by framing racial identification as a matter of choice and free will, racial shifters inadvertently signal "white skin privilege" and reassert their positioning on top of the racial hierarchy, as subjects who are entitled to *choose* to become Indian without ever necessarily leaving behind the privileges which constitute their original whiteness (pp. 51–55). Secondly, Sturm notes that the Cherokee racial shifters tended to position themselves in antagonistic terms towards the actual, existing Cherokee communities or "Citizen Cherokees", who are described in largely negative terms, for instance as corrupt and power-hungry. While this stems in part from the racial shifters' experience of exclusion, given that the "Citizen Cherokees" have not been eager to accept their identity claims, they also employed various other forms of strategic inversion through which they sought to "claim the mantle of authentic Indianness" for themselves. As Sturm puts it, "not only are they [the race shifters] *real* Cherokees, but also they are *better* Cherokees than anyone else" (p. 136). These strategies convey a need not just to *appreciate*, but to actually *appropriate* Indigeneity, and to unilaterally replace Indigenous peoples' own understandings of peoplehood with ones that can better serve the racial shifters' own need to shift from a white to an Indigenous "status" or identity.

Self Indigenization in Finland

In Sápmi, political self-Indigenization has become a prominent issue mainly in Finland, where a number of interlinked self-identified "Sámi" movements have emerged to demand inclusion in the Sámi Parliament's electoral register. Given the extent to which their genealogies and narrative strategies resemble the self-identified "Indigenous" movements in North America, a

comparative look at their differences and similarities appears highly relevant and fruitful.

The origins of Finland's self-identified "Sámi" movements can be traced back to the early 1990s, when Finland was taking the first steps to recognize the Sámi as an Indigenous People on the level of the constitution, and to develop Sámi cultural autonomy represented by the Sámi Parliament of Finland. The Act on the Sámi Parliament was passed in 1995, and according to the new law, the Sámi Parliament's official purpose was "to look after the Sámi language and culture", "to take care of matters relating to their status as an indigenous people" and "to represent the Sámi in national and international connections".[3] Although its mandate and powers were fairly limited, the event represented a notable improvement in the political, legal and symbolic standing of the Sámi people who in Finland constitute a tiny minority (in a state of 5.5 million Finns, only about 10,000 are Sámi). Moreover, in the mid-1990s it was widely believed that Finland would soon take further steps to expand Sámi autonomy, specifically by ratifying the International Labor Organization's (ILO) Convention no. 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, which includes provisions on Indigenous land and water rights.

As in Canada, in Finland the formal process was met by opposition from other local people who were concerned that the institutionalization of Sámi cultural autonomy and especially the possible recognition of Sámi land rights would obstruct their own rights and access to the land and natural resources. Early opposition was particularly active in the Enontekiö (*Eanodat*) area, where many locals came together to collectively oppose the legislative changes. That the opposition first emerged in Enontekiö might have to do with the fact that besides having a particularly violent (in the Finnish scale) history of settlement, in Enontekiö many Finns have also taken up reindeer herding, which traditionally has been a Sámi livelihood.[4] As a result, the region's Sámi and Finnish/settler communities have been locked in a conflict over the reindeer pasture lands which contains also racial undertones, and which continues today (Magga, 2018).

As it became clear that the legislation on Sámi cultural autonomy would pass through, a strategy comparable to that of the CMDRSM and MNSR in Canada emerged. Now the same groups which previously had opposed the new legislation, reorganized themselves as "Lapps" (Lappalaiset) and a new association called *Lappalaiskulttuuri- ja perinneyhdistys* ("The Lapp culture and heritage association") was established. In so doing, the movement took over the old term "Lapp" which in the past has had two meanings, and gave it a third, new one. On the one hand, "Lapp" is the term that outsiders used for the Sámi before it was displaced by the word "Sámi" that the Sámi people use for themselves. On the other hand, it was used as a juridical-administrative term to register certain livelihoods and forms of land use for the purposes of taxation. In this context, however, the term did not refer primarily to ethnicity, but rather, to nature-based livelihoods that

were categorized as "Lapp" (Sammallahti, 2013). This notwithstanding, the new association represented "Lapps" rather than the Sámi as the region's true Indigenous people who had existed in the area for times immemorial, and who therefore were actually more qualified than the Sámi to become the subjects of indigenous rights. The Sámi, in turn, were portrayed as a fake people that was invented for the purpose of claiming Indigenous rights, as power-hungry political opportunists, or even as immigrants who came to Lapland from Norway and thus had no claim to the land (see Junka-Aikio, 2022).

The complex conceptual and narrative strategies employed by the "Lapp" movement as well as the political contexts of their emergence, have been analyzed in great detail by the sociologist Erkki Pääkkönen (2008) and Sámi cultural historian Veli-Pekka Lehtola (2015). At first, the "Lapp" strategy was advanced side by side with direct opposition to Sámi cultural autonomy. However, once the act on the Sámi Parliament was passed in 1995 and the Sámi Parliament was established, the strategy was reshaped as the focus shifted to efforts to gain access in the Sámi Parliament's electoral register. Now the electoral register came to be seen as a ticket to the rights that the Sámi were thought to receive, as well as an opportunity to influence future legal and political processes from within the Sámi Parliament.

As with the *Powley* decision in Canada, in Finland the new strategy was encouraged by a legal document, in this case the Act on the Sámi Parliament, which included criteria for defining a Sámi person. According to the Section 3 of the definition: "For the purpose of this Act, a Sámi means a person who considers himself a Sámi, provided:

1. That he himself or at least one of his parents or grandparents has learnt Sámi as his first language;
2. That he is a descendent of a person who has been entered in a land, taxation or population register as a mountain, forest or fishing Lapp; or
3. That at least one of his parents has or could have been registered as an elector for an election to the Sámi Delegation or the Sámi Parliament."

Out of these criteria, the second, also called as the "Lapp criteria", has been subject to most controversy. When it was proposed by the Sámi negotiators, it was supposed to come with a year limit of 1875. Until then, the way the Lapp term was used by administrators could not be regarded as a reliable indicator of ethnicity, owing to the double use of the term that I have explained above. By the end of the Seventeeth Century, however, the situation changed and practically all persons who were entered in the registers as "Lapps" were actually Sámi (Sammallahti, 2013; pp. 28–29). Moreover, there was a need to limit the applicability of the "Lapp criteria" because expanding it much further to history than the other two criteria which limit the Sámi definition three generations back, would not have been in line with the overall meaning and purpose of the law. However, when the Act on the

Sámi Parliament was passed, the year limit in the "Lapp criteria" was dropped off by the Finnish legislators. Now, in theory, anyone who could trace an ancestor - no matter how distant - that had been marked as "Lapp" in ab old land, taxation or population register, could use the ancestor apply for the electoral register (Pääkkönen, 2008, p. 94). This opened a window of opportunity for new claims to Indigeneity, which the "Lapp" movement sought to take adantage of. The Sámi Parliament has, however, rejected applications which rely on the "Lapp" criteria using documentation that goes much beyond the year 1875 (see also Lehtola in this volume) and until the year 2011, also Finland's Supreme Administrative Court, which in Finland has the final word on decisions relating to the electoral register, followed this interpretation of the law.

In the 2000s, political self-Indigenization has grown significantly in Finland and now claims to self-identfied Indigenous identities are advanced also under various other ethnonyms such as "Forest Sámi", "Forest Lapp", "non-status Sámi", and "Forest, Fishing and Mountain Sámi". In addition, self-Indigenization takes place increasingly in the name of the "Inari Sámi", which is an existing Sámi minority group, but which has been particularly ready target for appropriation and contestation by self-Indigenization. Along with the change, also the motivations behind self-Indigenization have clearly multiplied. What all of the interlinked groups and actors still share, however, is the argument that they have been unduly left out of the Sámi Parliament's electoral roll, because the Sámi Parliament's understanding of Sáminess is too narrow and exclusive; and that the policy needs to be amended so that they, too, could be included.

Meanwhile, in the eyes of the majority society – and to some extent also the Sámi themselves – the various debates and discourses that have accompanied this conflict have fundamentally blurred and problematized previous understandings of what Sáminess is, and who the Sámi are. This has contributed to a discursive environment in which the Sámi Parliament is portrayed as an *oppressor* governed by "elite Sámi" who refuse to recognize Sámi minority groups or accept people with "mixed blood". From this perspective, instead of being an institution which exists in order to take care of (collective) matters relating to the Sámi's status as an Indigenous People, the Sámi Parliament appears primarily as an "identity-office" which has a duty to affirm a formal Sámi "status" to those who apply for it. When the applications to its electoral register are refused, the refusal is framed as a human right violation against those individuals and groups whose "right" to be recognized as Sámi has not been fulfilled (for an example of such rhetoric, see Kärnä, 2015). Over time, such narratives have contributed to highly negative conceptions and even hate speech against the Sámi in general, and the Sámi Parliament, in particular. (Junka-Aikio, 2022)

Self-Indigenization and Sámi Research

In Canada, academic knowledge production is one of the primary arenas through which the new claims to "Métis" identity are advanced, legitimated and contested (Leroux, 2019b). The same can be said in Finland, where especially the more recent rise of the "Forest Sámi" and "non-status Sámi" movements has been thoroughly entwined with the academia (Junka-Aikio, 2016). Since the academization of the debate has taken place especially through the discourses and institutions which pertain to Indigenous, post-colonial or Sámi research, self-Indigenization now appears to challenge not only the established conceptions of Sámi identity and peoplehood, but also the meanings and character of Sámi research itself.

In the present, Sámi research is defined most commonly not in terms of the object of research (i.e. Sámi culture and society) but in terms of its socio-political disposition - as research which is accountable, above all, to Sámi interests, perspectives or world views. This definition is grounded in the history of the Sámi ethnopolitical movement and as such it can be considred thoroughly "post-Lappologist": it's aim is to explicitly promote decolonization and Sámification of research relating to the Sámi. In line with the more general critique of colonial relations of power and knowledge, during the latter part of the twentieth century the Sámi ethnopolitical movement begun to draw growing attention on the academia's role in the construction and reproduction of colonial relations between the Sámi and the majority society. In this context, creating space for Sámi voices and perspectives within the academia and promoting Sámi access to research became considered as one central aspect of the Sámi self-determination. For instance, Sámi scholar Vigdis Strordahl has described Sami research as a "perspective that chooses to look at the relationship between the Sámi and Norwegian societies from the minority position" (Stordahl, 2008, p. 262). Lehtola et al. define Sámi research as "research, which springs up from the needs of the Sámi society" (Lehtola et al., 2012, p. 8) and Irja Seurujärvi-Kari describes it as "research, which takes the Sámi perspective into account" (Seurujärvi-Kari, 2012, p. 60). Such definitions do not imply that the questions such as, what *are* the needs of the Sámi society, or what *is* a "Sámi perspective" should not be open for debate. What they do imply, however, is that ideally, Sámi research can provide a balanced intellectual and institutional space in which such questions can be critically engaged, discussed and debated, with the Sámi leading the discussion and setting the agenda for the debate.

Until recently, such definitions might have served relatively well Sámi efforts to decolonize research and the academia. By defining Sámi research in terms of its ethical and political commitments and aspirations, scholars haven't just described research that exists, but performatively called such research into being. But what about in the context of self-Indigenization? Defining a field of research in terms of the "Sáminess" of perspective is relatively unproblematic only so long as critical discussion about what

Sáminess, Sámi perspective or the needs of the Sámi society might mean in practice belongs mainly to the Sámi themselves, being of little intrinsic value to the majority society. When, however, the majority society develops a vested interest in Sáminess, and when struggles over the ownership of a "Sámi" voice and perspective become central for political conflicts involving not only the Sámi, but also the state and the majority society, then describing the field performatively in these terms can become part of the problem, insofar as any research which makes an uncontested claim to represent "Sámi research" implicitly enters the debate as "Sámi" and/or in the interest of the Sámi society. Instead of drawing attention to colonial or asymmetric relations of power and knowledge, defining the research field or a discipline ethico-politically, *a priori*, can end up concealing the range of power relations and subject positions that compete for space and visibility within contemporary Sámi research.

The recent research which is associated with the "non-status Sámi" and "Forest Sámi" movements in Finland highlights the problem. In his contribution to this book, Veli-Pekka Lehtola shows how, in the 2000s, the conflict over Sámi cultural autonomy and rights in Northern Finland involved especially history research, as history in general and legal history in particular became central arenas in which the issue of Sámi land rights and the question of who are the subjects to those rights were contested and fought over. However, in the 2010s, a new line of research which focuses on "Sámi identity rights" rather than on land rights has emerged. Unlike the previous legal history research which built largely on the rhetoric of archival evidence and research objectivity, this more recent body of research builds on the discourses which privilege private and subjective experience, and use affective narrative styles to advance the argument that the legal Sámi definition in Finland needs to be expanded.

In this regard, the most influential text has been Erika Sarivaara's book *Statuksettomat saamelaiset: paikantumisia saamelaisuuden rajoilla* ("The non-status Sámi: locations at the boundaries of Sáminess"), which was published in 2012, originally as a PhD thesis from the University of Lapland. The study was based primarily on an affective, autoethnographic description of the author's own personal journey to discovering and developing a Sámi identity, as well as on themed interviews with ten persons who had learned Sámi language at an adult age and had a Sámi ancestor, but were not members of the Sámi Parliament's electoral register. The book's main argument was that the legal definition of a Sámi person in Finland should be made more inclusive, so that more people could have their Sámi identity formally acknowledged. According to the author, this could support Sámi cultural and linguistic revitalization because inclusion in the electoral register could further strengthen such persons' commitment to the Sámi society.

The thesis also introduced a new concept of "non-status Sámi", to describe such people, suggesting that the act of naming was important in

order to make the group visible and to ensure that more people could in future identify as Sámi (Sarivaara, 2012, p. 22). A "non-status Sámi" was defined along two criteria: Firstly, one has to "descent from a Sámi family" (ibid., p. 23). However, there is no specification as to what this might mean in practice or how such descent can be verified, nor is there a limit to how far back in history claims to Sámi lineage could be retrieved. In another part of the thesis, the author describes "knowledge of Sámi descent" simply in terms of family lore, as "knowledge of family origins that has been transferred across generations" or as "awareness of one's Sámi roots" which has been pieced together from "bits of information" and from "the attitudes of the surrounding family and community" (ibid., pp. 138, 143, 146–147). The second criteria for a "non-status Sámi" is simply that one is not a member of the Sámi Parliament's electoral register (ibid., p. 23).

The research reproduces many arguments that have been central to Finland's self-identified Indigenous movements in the late 1990s and 2000s, but now these claims are justified in reference to the ideas of Sámi cultural and language revitalization, and building partly on interviews with people who clearly hold a genuine interest in Sámi culture, insofar as they actually have learned the Sámi language at an adult age. The pathway which the author builds from the first argument (the need to expand the electoral register) to the second (the importance of linguistic revitalization) is highly stretched, however, and overall, the study lacks critical discussion of the fundamental meaning and purpose of Indigenous revitalization and self-determination. For instance, the suggestion that an individual effort to learn an Indigenous language should rely on, or lead to inclusion in that Indigenous People's formal system of self-determination seems problematic and even appropriative. For should it not be possible and reasonably rewarding to engage in a mutually enriching relationship with an Indigenous community, and to contribute to the revitalization of its language, also without claiming a stake in that community's political system? Indeed, the fact that all the ten individuals whom Sarivaara interviewed for the book had learned the language irrespective of the fact that they were not members of the electoral register, attests to this point. Moreover, since six of them had never even tried to apply for the Sámi Parliament's electoral register, they clearly did not consider the issue highly important, nor did their commitment to language revitalization depend on it.

This notwithstanding, the book constructed a new set of arguments that support self-Indigenization and that can appear highly appealing in the contemporary society which places particular value on individual self-realization and identity rights. On the one hand, the book argued that the Sámi Parliament was violating against the identity rights of those people who were not accepted in the electoral register, and who therefore could not feel "fully Sámi". On the other hand, it suggested that the Sámi Parliament's refusal to recognize the "non-status Sámi" was harmful not only for those left behind, but also for the Sámi society at large, as by

excluding groups of people who self-identify as Sámi, the Sámi Parliament was neglecting people who otherwise could have a positive contribution to Sámi linguistic and cultural revitalization. Moreover, following the publication of the book, the author founded a new organization, *Vuovde-Guolásteaddji ja Duottár Sámit* (VGDS) or "Forest, Fisher and Mountain Sámi", whose stated purpose was to represent the "non-status Sámi" and to advance their rights.[5] During the first years, the organization was highly active at mobilizing support on a local and national level, and it also forged extensive political networks, especially in the Finnish Centre Party, which is one of Finland's largest parties and which traditionally has had particularly strong support among Lapland's Finnish population and within the region's municipal politics.

Meanwhile, there has been a profusion of other interlinked texts and literatures which also build on the discourses of cultural revitalization and individual or Sámi identity rights to argue that the Sámi Parliament's electoral register should be expanded. These other texts range from books and articles written by amateur cultural historians to PhD theses and academic journal articles, and often professional and non-professional studies are compiled together and published in the same volume. Usually, they claim to bring to light and recover Sámi identities and communities which for long time have been "hidden" due to the state's assimilative policies and/or "marginalized" by the "Sámi elites" or "dominant Sámi groups" which refuse to recognize them as fellow Sámi. In so doing, they employ a narrative strategy that is very similar to the one employed by the self-identified "Cherokee" and "Métis" groups whose proponents also frequently explain that the reason they are "coming out" as Indigenous only now is because they have had to hide their "true" Indigenous identity for years for the fear of discrimination (Sturm, 2011, pp. 44–46).

One interesting example of an amateur text of this kind is the book *Kemin-Lappi elää! Alkuperäiskansa keminlappalaiset: yksi Suomen neljästä saamelaisryhmästä* ("Kemi-Lapland Lives! The Indigenous people Kemi-Lapps: One of the four Sámi Groups in Finland") which was published in 2016 as an author's edition and edited by Eeva-Liisa Maijala, then still a Lappish MP for the Centre Party. According to Maijala, the book's explicit objective was to ensure "that the Sámi/Lapps of the Kemi Lapp area are recognized broadly as one of Finland's four Sámi peoples/tribes/cultures". She emphasizes that the work was carried out "in the spirit of peace and collaboration", "to help discover the diversity of Sámi/Lapp culture as a shared richness", and "to strive to accept one another" because "[w]e cannot afford to lose any Sámi/Lapp person who feels and identifies as belonging to a people". Further, she explains that she began to work on the book after her own application to the Sámi Parliament's electoral register was rejected. "They claim that we [the Kemi-Lapps] do not exist and that our culture has been invented. But my people is alive – and we shall raise up our flag!" (Maijala, 2016, pp. 5–7).

Although Maijala uses the word Lapp (or alternatively, the expression "Sámi/Lapp") to describe her group, now the "Lapp people" is constructed as one of the four Sámi groups in Finland, three of which – the North Sámi, the Skolt Sámi and the Inari Sámi – are represented by the Sámi Parliament while the fourth, "her own", has been left out. She explains that unlike the other Sámi groups, "the Kemi-Lapps just didn't possess the means in the 1970s and 1980s to bring up their own cause" (p. 5). Subsequently, the book brings together different pieces of textual and visual materials, private testimonies and other documents, in order to prove that an independent Sámi Kemi-Lapp culture and people, which has been silenced and forced into hiding, is alive and well. As with Sarivaara and the VGDS, following the publication of the book also Maijala established an association to promote the rights and culture of "her people". The association, called "Metsälappalaispäivät" (Forest Lapp Days) has been active since 2017. One of its main activities is to organize a yearly two-day fair or pageant which seeks to "nurture and develop Forest Lapp culture" and to "bring together knowledge about Forest Lapp history and present" by staging talks and expert presentations and by showcasing "Forest Sámi" artefacts, costumes and other products.[6]

Also Tanja Joona's research which links the legal Sámi definition with the ILO Convention no. 169, and Juha Joona's studies on Sámi land rights and legal history, are central for political self-Indigenization in Finland. Both scholars argue that more people than those currently included in the Sámi Parliament's electoral register should be considered as subjects of Indigenous rights and conventions. This body of research employs a style of writing that aspires to appear neutral and objective in relation to what they consider as the "highly politicized" issue of Sámi land rights, and in this sense the research differs significantly from the affective and self-consciously political texts by Sarivaara and Maijala. Having said that, in practice the work of both scholars has been coupled by active engagement in the activities of the self-Identified Sámi organizations, for instance serving as experts, seminar speakers and contributors to joint publications. Such publications include, for instance, the book *Kuka on saamelainen ja mitä on saamelaisuus? Saamelaisuuden juurilla* (*Who is Sámi and What is Sáminess: at the Roots of Sáminess*) (Sarivaara, Määttä & Uusiautti eds., 2013) which builds on the papers presented at a seminar organized by the VGDS in 2012, and *Lapin Taivaan Alla* (*Under Lapland's Sky*), a book edited by Janne Kaisanlahti on the basis of presentations held at the first "Forest Lapp Days" organized by Maijala's organization in 2017.

Along with the academization of the debate and especially since the transition from Sámi land rights and legal history to approaches which emphasize discourses of Sámi cultural revitalization and identity rights, Finland's self-identified "Lapp" and "Sámi" movements have become increasingly influential. Unlike in North America and Canada where the Indigenous right to self-determination might be more consolidated, in

Finland they have been able to exercise significant leverage state policy. For instance, Veli-Pekka Lehtola (2015, p. 15) writes that while the thoughts and myths disseminated by the "Lapp" movement seemed for a long time too comical to be considered seriously and engaged, by 2015 the same arguments – this time laced with academic concepts and talk about "Forest Sámi" and "non-status Sámi" people – were circulated densely within the Finnish Parliament, and used to vote down two proposals which were of high importance for the Sámi. The first was the proposal to ratify the ILO Convention no. 169, and the second related to the proposal to revise the Act on the Sámi Parliament, in the context of which also the problematic "Lapp criteria" which in practice has fueled the conflict, could have been corrected. Likewise, Anni-Siiri Länsman and Terttu Kortelainen (Chapter 11 in this volume) show how remarkably fast the concept of non-status Sámi, which was originally launched in June 2012, was operationalized and disseminated as a political term. In a matter of merely two years, the concept traveled from a PhD thesis to legislative documents and to political debates within the Finnish Parliament, becoming an important tool for reframing the discussion on Sámi rights in ways that have been highly aversive to the development of those rights.

Also the Sámi Parliament's electoral register has been affected. In 2015, the Supreme Administrative Court, which has no Sámi members but which in Finland holds the final word on who is to be defined legally as "Sámi", ruled that 93 new persons whose applications the Sámi Parliament had earlier rejected would be included in the electoral register. According to the Sámi Parliament and its Election Committee, these-persons' applications had been rejected because they did not meet any of the criteria set in the legal Sámi definition. The Supreme Administrative Court, however, took a more permissive stance: In addition to approving applications which relied on a single "Lapp" (i.e. possibly Sámi) ancestor going back to the early eighteenth century, it also decided for the first time to take into "overall consideration" a range of subjective, narrative testimonies through which the applicants sought to prove to the Court that they self-identify as Sámi, and live in accordance with Sámi culture and "life style" (Labba, 2018; Tervaniemi, 2019).

Although the legal definition does not recognize this kind of criteria, inclusion of such testimonies had been encouraged by the VGDS which, on its website, provided information on how to file a complaint to the Supreme Administrative Court, and what kind of issues one should emphasize in order to have one's application approved by the Court.[7] Following, the Sámi filed two complaints over the SAC rulings to the United Nations' Committee for Human Rights, which in its statement in February 2019 confirmed that the Finnish Court'ss decisions had been arbitrary, and that the Supreme Administrative Court had actually "infringed on the capacity of the Sámi people, through its Parliament, to exercise a key dimension of Sámi self-determination in determining who is a Sámi". The Committee

also demanded that the state of Finland take immediate action to remedy the violation of Sámi rights, and to ensure that new violations would not take place in future.[8]

Sámi research and the political contexts of knowledge production

In this chapter I have argued that Finland's self-identified "Sámi" and "Lapp" movements promote self-Indigenization which as a term refers to the growing tendency among people who previously have identified as white to develop a new, "Indigenous" identity, for instance based on a highly distant (possibly) Indigenous ancestor or family lore. While the ways in which self-Indigenization challenges Indigenous peoples' own established conceptions of identity and collective self-determination is already subject to considerable debate internationally, less thought has been paid to the ways in which the construction of new claims over Indigenous – in this case Sámi – identity, and especially their insertion into the academic field, is challenging and reshaping also the political terrain of Indigenous or Sámi research. Importantly, the texts and literatures associated with Finland's self-identified "Sámi" movements do not only examine Sámi identity and politics: they actually make a claim to represent Sámi voices and perspectives and hence, "Sámi research". Insofar as Sámi research is defined as "research which proceeds from a Sámi perspective", then the ability to claim the discourses and institutions which represent Sámi research becomes an important aspect of, and even resource for, self-Indigenization, not only because they can provide the means to disseminate knowledge, but because they offer a way to legitimate the position from which one speaks as "Sámi".

These concerns seem particualry relevant in the context of research which has emerged in Finland in the 2010s As an example, Maijala's semi-academic book claims to bring out voices from within a "forgotten" Sámi community, and the book *Who is Sámi and what is Sáminess* is promoted as "representative of Sámi research in Lapland". Sarivaara's book, in turn, is fluent in concepts and approaches that are relevant for Indigenous and postcolonial studies, and it was published as part of the *Dieđut* book series at the Norway-based Sámi Allaskuvla, which within the institutional map of Sámi reserach tends to be considered as the most advanced example of a genuinely Sámi academic institution. The Sámi Allaskuvla's controversial role at legitimating self-Indigenization in Finland was further highlighted when the board of the Israel Ruong foundation, which is based at the Sámi Allaskuvla, decided to nominate Sarivaara for the biennial Israel Ruong prize which is destined for promising *Native Sámi* reserchers, based on the achievements of her academic work on the "non-status Sámi".

In the Finnish side of Sápmi, where the broader political context of the author's arguments and engagement was better known, the nomination

raised oppositon and protests. Five major Sámi organizations in Finland issued a collective statement against the nomination, pointing out that Sarivaara was not Sámi, and therefore could not be nominated for a prize that was reserved for a Sámi person. Soon, also the Sámi Council, the president of the Sámi Parliament in Finland and a number of key Sámi scholars at th Sámi Allaskuvla issued similar statements.[9] Eventually, the prize was handed over to Sarivaara, but with a significant delay and amidst controversy which saw much of the faculty at the Sámi Allaskuvla boycott the actual award festivities.[10]

There is no doubt that the chain of events that resulted in the Israel Ruong debacle scarred all the actors that weere involved – the scholar, whose research and claims regarding Sámi identity became subject to critical debate also outside Finland; the Sámi in Finland who felt betrayed by an institution of higher education that was originally founded to protect their interests as Sámi; and the Sámi Allaskuvla, which became deeply divided over the issue. Most of all, however, it brought attention to a shortfall of communication between Sámi (research) communities in the different sides of the Finnish-Norwegian border, to the difficulty of pan-Sámi understanding when the local political context which prevails in different parts of Sápmi can differ considerably, and to the Norwegian counterparts' fundamental lack of attention to the problematic of political self-Indigenizationin Finland.

All of this does not suggest that the boundaries between the Sámi and majority societies would be so clear that they could not be contested, or that it would be wrong to raise critical questions about the meanings of Sáminess, even within academic research. However, it is clear that on a profound level, such discussion has to be led by the Sámi themselves. Further, as argued by Saara Alakorva in Chapter 13, for an Indigenous community – including its academics – to be able to engage in an open discussion over issues that are difficult for the community itself, there is a need to create spaces which from the community's perspective are both safe and constructive. Sámi research and institutions which are dedicated to it can ideally contribute to the creation of such spaces. Meanwhile, as a field of research or a discipline, Sámi resarch, like other disciplines, will be open for various actors who engage different topics from a range of perspectives. To take care that the research and discussions are not entirely taken over by interests, agendas and discourses that are defined outside the Sámi society, more attention needs to be paid to the various socio-political contexts in which research which "self-Identifies" as Sámi research is produced and disseminated.

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Notes

1 The chapter is partly based on an article "Institutionalization, neo-politicization and the politics of defining Sámi research" that has been published previously in the journal *Acta Borealia* (2019, 36(11), 1–22).
2 Moreover, as Chris Andersen has argued, the leap from a settler to Métis identity might have been encouraged by the common perception that the Métis would be primarily a racialized, "hybrid" category consisting of people of "mixed" origin, rather than a self-standing Indigenous people which has its own political history and culture (Andersen, 16).
3 974/1995 Laki saamelaiskäräjistä (The Act on the Sámi Parliament). https://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/kaannokset/1995/en19950974_20031026.pdf
4 Unlike in Norway and Sweden where reindeer herding right has been restricted to the Sámi people, in Finland no such restrictions have been in place.
5 http://vgdsamit.blogspot.com
6 https://www.metsalappalaiset.net
7 "Valitusohjeet korkeimpaan hallinto-oikeuteen (KHO)". 21.8.2015. http://vgdsamit.blogspot.com/2015/08/valitusohjeet-korkeimpaan-hallinto.html
8 CCPR/C/124/D/2668/2015. https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CCPR/Shared%20Documents/FIN/CCPR_C_124_D_2668_2015_28169_E.pdf
9 Yle Sápmi 13.5.2013 "Suoma Sámesearvvit vuostalastet Ruong-balkkasupmi geigema Sarivaarai" https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/sapmi/suoma_samesearvvit_vuostalastet_ruongbbalkkasumi_geigema_sarivaarai/6638150 (in Northern Sami); https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/sapmi/saamelaisjarjestot_vastustavat_sarivaaran_palkitsemista/6638420 (in Finnish).
10 Yle Sápmi 6.11.2013. "Saamelaisen korkeakoulun kärkitutkijat eivät hyväksy Israel Ruong - menettelyä" https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/sapmi/saamelaisen_korkeakoulun_karkitutkijat_eivat_hyvaksy_israel_ruong_-menettelya/6919256

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6 From research on Sámi handicraft to *duodji* research[1]

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Introduction

Duodji,[1] or Sámi handicraft, is one of the most visible and important manifestations of Sámi reality. It exists at the heart of Sáminess, and over time, duodji has become charged with various meanings pertaining to Sámi worldviews, history, politics, social relations and economy. In addition, duodji embodies knowledges and skills related to the northern climate, natural conditions, plants and animals. Nevertheless, research on duodji from a Sámi perspective remains scarce, especially when compared with such fields as Sámi land rights, traditional livelihoods and identity politics. Similarly, duodji research has been largely absent from in-depth analyses of Sámi history and society.

There are many reasons for that. One is the general lack of appreciation of handicraft. Duodji is closely associated with crafts, both as a practice and as a concept in research. Historically, both have suffered from scholars' and the artworld elites' ambivalent attitudes towards crafting and its meanings within everyday life. Throughout the Nordic countries, handicrafts were previously regarded as the simple artifacts of poor people, devoid of any useful or interesting content relevant for research. Handicraft was not thought to have intellectual or conceptual potential comparable to the fine arts, although, in its simplicity, it could be seen as an enchanting source of inspiration for artists (Anttila, 2009; Grini, 2016; Niedderer & Townsend, 2014).

Moreover, up until the recent decades, duodji has been studied almost exclusively by researchers who are not Sámi, and hence the points of departure and main outcomes of research have not always matched with the knowledge and understanding of duodji held by the Sámi themselves, nor carried any particular meanings for the Sámi (Guttorm, 2017; Kuokkanen, 2017). Despite this, such research has been highly influential, and it contributed broadly to a general perception that duodji was a form of handicraft that could not be developed, and that any changes would harm its "authenticity".

Sámi ethnopolitical mobilization and growing demands to bring Sámi perspectives to research have, however, contributed to the rise of duodji

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research made by scholars who are Sámi. In this chapter, I examine the transition by exploring what are the different point of departure and commitments that have framed research on duodji at different times, and how the arrival of Sámi scholars has affected this field of study. Using various doctoral and master's theses and academic articles as my primary sources, I examine what are the academic or social discourses in which duodji research has participated over time, and how research has influenced duodji's position within the Sámi society. The aim is to explore how research on duodji has been *Sámified*, and what it has meant in practice. By *Sámificatio*n, I refer here to the multifaceted, academic production of new interpretations of duodji's history, meanings, symbolism and practices which correspond with Sámi people's own conceptions of the world and society (Guttorm, 2014b; Harlin et al., 2020).

The study is divided into three themes: the legacy of ethnography and Nordic nation-building projects, the relationship between duodji and art, and descriptions of identity politics and everyday life. These themes are considered in a loose chronological order. Loose, because the different periods, themes, perspectives and shifts within duodji studies have not followed one another in a neat linear manner, but rather as parallel, simultaneous and mutually intersecting processes (see Kraatari, 2013). Instead of a linear development, Sámification of duodji research has occurred in cycles that coincide and overlap with similar processes in other fields of research on the Sámi. The title of this chapter, "From research on Sámi handicraft to *duodji* research", thus describes a complex process, whereby research gradually begins to shed light on the traditional Sámi knowledge associated with duodji, and to reassess critically previous research and perspectives that have contributed to the erosion of duodji's social, cultural and economic status within the Sámi society.

The legacy of previous ethnographic research

Duodji is a North Sámi word for handmade and practical everyday items of the Sámi, such as clothing, tools, dishes and transport equipment. Sámi traditional livelihoods and the surrounding natural environment have guided its choice of materials, and the ways in which the objects have been crafted and used. Those *duojárs*, or duodji makers, who prepare items from materials collected directly from nature develop a very special relationship to the natural environment. It takes perseverance to acquire a sense of the nature's own rhythm that is needed to gather the materials at the right time and to craft them successfully, and often such skills are part of the traditional knowledge learned at home. Today, duodji is understood as a Sámi social institution which is constantly evolving in terms of its designs, uses and meanings. Through the beliefs, norms and rules that are associated with duodji, the Sámi regulate its crafting processes and uses, and control various time and place-based customs and practices, human interactions

and ethical and moral issues which relate to conceptions of good life (Guttorm, 2015; Harlin, 2019; Magga, 2018).

Duodji used to attract the interest of a broad range of European travel writers and scholars who, since the seventeenth century, wrote colorful descriptions of the people of the North, gathering their artifacts and creating collections of various kinds in museums around the world. The earliest projects to collect Sámi artefacts often fulfilled geopolitical purposes, reflecting Sweden's and Denmark-Norway's desire to strengthen their grip on their northern border zones. The Sámi and their artifacts were displayed in European capitals as Arctic oddities, in a way that is similar to how England and France demonstrated their own colonial victories, for example by collecting and displaying North American Native peoples and their property (Nordin & Ojala, 2018). In addition to forming the basis for Sámi collections that would later be stored in museums, the items collected in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contributed to the perspective from which non-Sámi researchers would define and interpreted duodji for the next two centuries (Ibid. 61).

From the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, ethnographic research was dominated by a social Darwinist ideology that categorized cultural groups in terms of their presumed level of development. Cultures were thought to have clear-cut boundaries and, in the spirit of positivism, material artifacts were interpreted as direct manifestations of a people's cultural features. Sámi and other Indigenous cultures were imagined as stagnant and vanishing, and therefore many scholars embarked in intense efforts to collect duodji items. The scholars then used those items to assess the developmental level of Sámi culture based on the frequency of cultural loans that were manifested in the collected artifacts. The more external influences could be identified, the more inauthentic or weak Sámi culture was considered to be (Harlin & Lehtola, 2019; Nordin & Ojala, 2018).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, several experts in Sámi culture wrote about the history, use and terminology of duodji. Among them was the Finnish ethnologist Tuomo. I. Itkonen (1891–1968), whose book *Suomen lappalaiset vuoteen 1945 I–II* (*The Lapps in Finland up to 1945 I–II*), introduced extensively the lives and customs of the Inari and Skolt Sámi living in Eastern Lapland in Finland, and reviewed their duodji, examining its vocabulary, crafting methods and patterns. Like his contemporaries, Itkonen held a dichotomous attitude towards the Sámi: he was extremely interested in their lives and languages, but saw them as a vanishing people whose cultural characteristics – meaning, their artifacts – needed to be collected and preserved quickly. He classified the everyday activities and material culture of the Sámi into various categories with scientific precision. This contributed to an impression that in the world of the Sámi, time had stopped and that Sámi habits and customs were nothing but a series of detached and schematic everyday actions (Harlin & Lehtola, 2019; Magga, 2018).

This perception of a lack of temporality in Sámi culture was created through the narrative style of ethnographic present, which was common for folkloristics and anthropology up until the 1970s (Hylland Eriksen, 2000). Its purpose was to describe cultures exactly the way they were manifested at the moment of research, ignoring the trajectories of development through which cultural customs and activities had evolved. Indeed, the Sámi items and crafting methods that had been passed down largely unchanged from generation to generation could seem to scholars and to the general public as stagnant, mechanical reproductions. Subtle changes, which for the Sámi were a constant feature of duodji due to its socially interactive character, remained invisible for them.

Duodji also played a role in Nordic nation-building projects which legitimized ideologies of the nation-state through various social and policy measures from the late nineteenth century up until the mid-twentieth century. The nationalist ideologies were disseminated not only with the support of imperialist knowledges produced through the sciences, but also through grassroot civic activities, of which Nordic handicraft or cottage industry associations are a good example (Kraatari, 2013; Liikanen, 1995; Nyyssönen & Lehtola, 2017). The Swedish *hemslöjd*, the Norwegian *husflid* and the Finnish *kotiteollisuus* were key movements which advocated national unity in the early twentieth century with a view to promoting national traditional handicrafts and small-scale home manufacturing, and to increasing the diligence of poor people. These movements worked together with other organizations that promoted agriculture, and often their aim was to support the countryside's women, in particular. In Finland, the cottage industry movement (*kotiteollisuus*) was an important actor in the postwar efforts to alleviate the shortage of materials and to secure extra income for crafters (Fossbakk, 1984; Hansson, 2019; Kraatari, 2013).

However, in Sweden and Norway, cottage industry movements were instrumental in consolidating the nation-state's grip over the northern Sámi territories. One of their primary objectives was to support the ability of the northern population, which consisted mostly of peasants and other farm holders, to settle down in the North. This was regarded as one way to even out the economic disparity, or even class distinction, between them and the Sámi. Particularly in the northern Norwegian territory of Finnmark, it was initially difficult for the Norwegian settlers to make ends meet, partly because of the high cost of supplies and materials. The Sámi, by contrast, were self-sufficient in both handicraft materials and other supplies and equipment, which often enabled them to sell handicrafts to the settlers. This was absurd from the perspective of the Norwegian cottage industry movement (Hyltén-Cavallius, 2014; Fossbakk, 1984).

Initially, the Nordic cottage industry movement's attitudes towards duodji remained rather sour, in tune with each country's general Sámi policies. There exists almost no research on the ways in which the Finnish *kotiteollisuus* related to the Sámi and duodji, but it is known that the

*hemslöjd*movement in Sweden and the *husflid* movement in Norway excluded the Sámi from their activities. Duodji was regarded as primitive, and therefore not in line with the popular handicraft styles of these countries. In addition, it was believed that duodji would not bring any economic benefits to anyone, except for the Sámi (Fossbakk, 1984; Guttorm, 2010; Hansson, 2019).

By the 1950s, these movements' attitudes towards duodji began to change. The first Nordic duodji exhibition they organized was held in 1950 in Norway's Lillehammer, with exhibitors comprising Sámi from Finland, Sweden and Norway. Today, the exhibition is considered as an important milestone in the shift towards more positive conceptions of duodji (Fossbakk, 1984; Guttorm, 2010; Hansson, 2019). The change was driven, in part, by the realization that duodji could constitute an important economic and social resource in the northern areas. The Sea Sámi of the Norwegian coast and the reindeer-herding Sámi who settled on the shores of the fjords in summertime had always actively exchanged goods with European merchants. Furs, wool and leather clothing and other artifacts produced by the Sámi were sought-after, valuable articles of barter. In the 1950s, growing tourism resulted in the rise of an entirely new industry, the sale of souvenirs. The souvenirs were sold both through the cottage industry associations, and more independently on the roadsides by the reindeer-herding Sámi themselves (Guttorm, 2010; Pennanen, 2016; Tornensis, 2019).

The Lillehammer duodji exhibition also marked a starting point for Sámi people's own Nordic collaboration around duodji, driven by the downside of duodji's growing economic significance. Soon after the Sámi began selling their crafts as souvenirs, poorly made, cheap and unsightly duodji copies appeared on the market. Just as the national associations that promoted cottage industry monitored the authenticity and traditions of their handicraft, the Sámi began mounting a defence against gimcrackery. As with national handicrafts, the Sámi also wanted to establish criteria through which the authenticity of duodji could be controlled (Guttorm, 2010; Magga, 2012).

In the 1960s, established research on Sámi handicrafts began to give way to new approaches, as a broader shift within the humanities and social sciences swept through the academia. Instead of searching for pure and authentic cultures, researchers became increasingly interested in notions of cultural change (Harlin & Lehtola, 2019; Hylland Eriksen, 2000; Linkola, 1970). This coincided with Sámi ethnopolitical mobilization and growing demands to establish research institutions which would conduct research in Sámi languages and based on Sámi needs and values, and integrate Sámi cultural know-how as an aspect of academic research (Junka-Aikio, 2019).

Ethnological studies on duodji that were conducted from the 1960s to 1980s (Hvarfner, 1967; Jannok Porsbo, 1988; Linkola, 1985; Rinno, 1987; Svensson, 1985, etc.) focused mainly on ongoing changes in duodji. This

was hardly surprising, since society and the Sámi society in particular was changing rapidly at the time. On the one hand, the period was characterized by Sámi cultural revitalization and enthusiasm, in part driven by the Nordic welfare society which offered its citizens an opportunity for education, health care and economic prosperity. On the other hand, the traditional kin-centered way of life based on reindeer herding, fishing and knowledge of the natural environment broke down, and many young people caught up in the throes of structural change moved to cities and abroad (Aikio-Puoskari, 2010; Lehtola, 2002).

In the early 1970s, Finnish ethnologist Soile Rinno described the changes that occurred in Western Enontekiös's Sámi clothing and the ways in which it was used, with particular reference to the appearance, hemline and materials of the attire. She noted that the duodji skills of Sámi girls were deteriorating, and that according to the local Sámi, the school years spent in the dormitory were to blame (Rinno, 1987). Rinno was moving with the time, as in the turn of the 1960s and 1970s, duodji became part of Sámi ethnopolitics precisely because duodji skills were rapidly vanishing. Since Sámi school children would stay for weeks or even months in the dormitories, they could no longer participate in daily chores at home, and eventually became estranged from making, wearing and using duodji. In addition, there was little room for traditional duodji in a modernized world anyway. The Sámi were building centrally heated homes, and as snowmobiles became the general means of transport used in reindeer-herding, traditional winter clothing made of reindeer fur was no longer needed. New materials, such as plastic, replaced the materials used in traditional artifacts, and there was no longer any need to craft utensils from reindeer horn and wood. By the 1980s, traditional duodji was no longer commonly mastered by the Sámi (Lehtola, 2002; Magga, 2004; Somby, 2003).

Research which examines duodji from outside the Sámi community is still being pursued (e.g. Scheffy, 2004; Henyei Neto, 2019). Such research is usually conducted in English and mostly for foreign universities, and the researchers seldom have significant knowledge of Sámi culture, Sámi languages or other Nordic languages prior to the research. Methodologically, many rely on participatory observation, seeking to attain an understanding of the meanings associated with duodji either through direct participation in the act of crafting, or by observing the lives of the Sámi. Yet, this method can turn out problematic, especially if the researcher does not share a language with the people among whom he/she collects the research material. In this case there is a risk that, relying on their own experiences, researchers end up overinterpreting or making tangential generalizations about the customs, beliefs and norms associated with duodji.

One can find troublesome examples of the adverse impact that such research has had on duodji in the past. For instance, according to Dunfjeld (2006) and Kuoljok (2020), in the early 1900s, South Sámi Andreas Wilk's project to revitalize tin thread embroidery aroused great enthusiasm among

individuals who at the time were responsible for managing Sámi issues. Using the Sámi collection of a local museum, bailiff (*Lappfogde*) Erik Bergström and his working group of Swedes and Norwegians created a guide book to South Sámi ornamentation in 1920, which displayed different ornamental patterns. The book, which sought to promote the revitalization of South Sámi ornamentation, became popular in various duodji courses in Sweden and Norway (Dunfjeld, 2006; Kuoljok, 2020).

However, as argued by Sunna Kuoljok (2020, p. 20), Bergström's working group selected rather arbitrarily and without further knowledge the patterns which it considered "most probably" to be of Sámi origin from the province of Västerbotten. For instance, the group included in the book mainly the special diagonal and geometric patterns, while omitting completely ornaments which depicted plants and animals. Given its broad popularity, the handbook ended up consolidating as common knowledge the idea that South Sámi ornamentation uses no plant and animal figures. Even today, it is often thought that such patterns are only part of Sámi ornamentation used in the northern territories. In addition, Maja Dunfjeld (2006) notes that over decades, the popularity of the book resulted in a situation in which local ornamentation and decoration traditions belonging to the South Sámi communities became pan-Sámi knowledge, which, in turn, undermined the symbolic force of South Sámi ornamentation.

Rauna Kuokkanen uses the concept of *epistemic ignorance* to refer to the ways in which academic theories and research practices marginalize and exclude Indigenous peoples' perspectives and knowledges at both institutional and individual levels (Kuokkanen, 2017, p. 317). In the context of duodji and duodji research, such epistemic ignorance can be discerned for instance when researchers fail to examine critically their own conclusions regarding the changing meanings of duodji, or when individuals who do not belong to Sámi families, practice duodji as a hobby, or even turn it into professional occupation. As more people without Sámi kin engage in duodji, the ability of the Sámi to control their own tradition is weakened – just as occurred with the book on Southern Sámi ornamentation.

The encounter between duodji and art

Native Sámi scholars did not emerge in duodji research to a notable extent before the year 2001, when two Norwegian Sámi duojárs, Maja Dunfjeld (2001, 2006) and Gunvor Guttorm (2001) completed their doctoral theses in the field of art history at the University of Tromsø. Their work was a continuation to decades of Sámi political mobilization and social development that had begun in the 1970s, and through which Sámi arts, *dáidda*, emerged and became consolidated within Sámi cultural field. *Sámi dáiddačehppiid searvi* (Sámi Artists Union), the first Nordic association of Sámi artists with formal training, was founded in 1979 in Northern Finland. In addition to making Sámi fine arts better known, its aim was to

create space for Sámi arts, free from the imaginaries of ethnicity, or even of traditional duodji. Duodji's position as a special aspect of Sámi culture and society had been built already in the 1950s. The Sámi artists' association hoped to do the same for the fine arts (Dunfjeld, 2006; Grini, 2016; Guttorm, 2001).

For a long time, the relationship between duodji and fine arts remained tense. Artists sought distance from the prevailing idea produced by established ethnographic research, according to which Sámi art was based on ancient, pre-Christian shamanistic imageries such as drum figures or *sieidi* (totem stones). Instead of being viewed in light of modernity, Sámi art was automatically regarded as ethnic art, despite the fact that young Sámi artists had received training in Western fine art institutions. Although many of the artists were also *duojárs,* the objective was to keep the arts and traditional duodji separate from one another (Guttorm, 2001).

On the other hand, there were tensions deriving from a clash between different systems of knowledge and institutional control pertaining to duodji and fine arts. The knowledge embodied by duodji was based on old Sámi ways of using natural materials, and of applying them in everyday life through crafting. In addition, certain criteria to discern high quality duodji artifacts had been defined already at the end of the 1940s, for the purpose of duodji exhibitions and contests. The criteria, as well as the exhibitions and competitions, were all part of institutional ways to administer and control Sámi traditional knowledge (Guttorm, 2010; Magga, 2012).

The young Sámi art institution, however, based its activities and ways of thinking on Western ideas of the autonomy of art. In this view, art had no purpose beyond itself, and thus Sámi art would have to be freed from the shackles of the past and from compulsory references to the Sámi "tradition". In a changing world, art would have a capacity to contribute in novel ways to the spiritual and immaterial lives of the Sámi, and represent them in new, symbolic ways. The aim of the newly founded Sámi artists union was to emphasize symbolic knowledge in fine arts (Grini, 2016; Guttorm, 2010; Horsberg Hansen, 2010).

Several different duodji and art institutions were founded in the Nordic countries in the following decades. As appreciation and respect for Sámi arts consolidated, also tensions between duodji and fine arts began to fade. Indeed, a central rationale behind the doctoral theses by Dunfjeld and Guttorm was to deconstruct the tension between the two – a task for which the postcolonial research paradigm provided new tools. In large part, the perceived conflict between duodji and art could be traced back to the ways in which ethnographies from the nineteenth century had categorized ethnic and primitive art. This was manifest also in Sámi artists' frustration over the fact that their art never really seemed to satisfy the standards of established modern art (Dunfjeld, 2006).

Gunvor Guttorm (2001) examined how both art history and ethnography have tended to classify Indigenous peoples' handicrafts along the

categories of ethnic, primitive and folk art. This affected the ways in which duodji was seen by the society at large, resulting in its belittlement and exclusion. (ibid., 22–44). *Duojárs* had their own understandings of the nature of traditional duodji, and of the ways in which their own sense of individuality fit in with the collective view (ibid., 148–157).

Later, Guttorm has focused on whether and how duodji could be understood as a distinctively Sámi form of artistic expression, without being subsumed to the fine arts as such (2004). Her research has also been guided by the need to create new concepts for the purposes of duodji research and higher education,[2] and by a desire to explore how notions of tradition, change and permanence in duodji could be analyzed from Sámi perspectives and premises (2014a; 2015; 2017). Guttorm has introduced concepts *árbediehtu* ("traditional knowledge"), *máhttit* ("to have a skill") and *diehtit* ("to know") to examine the problematics of change and permanence in duodji tradition. These North Sámi concepts convey the multifaceted nature of Sámi knowledge, such as the fact that one may know (*diehtit*) a great deal about duodji, even if one doesn't possess the crafting skills (*máhttit*) (2019).

Dunfjeld (2001; 2006) studied South Sámi ornamentation, *tjaalehtimmie* in Southern Sámi, bringing together semiotics and traditional knowledge linked to South Sámi worldviews and social relations. This opened up an entirely new approach to the study of duodji: the world of the Sámi, which builds on very different assumptions and categorizations than what ethnographers and art historians had, up until then, relied upon. Dunfjeld's research focused on the world beyond the decorative ornaments, and combined her own experiences and the knowledge, which her own community held over decoration customs.

Dunfjeld initiated a novel way of defining duodji. During the active ethnopolitical era, the combination of practicality and skillful decoration in Sámi items was seen as a proof of Sámi innovativeness. For example, holes bored into the horn sheath of a knife fulfilled a practical purpose, ventilating the sheath in addition to serving as aesthetic details. Dunfjeld, however, introduced to the discourse duodji's immaterial and invisible side: its spirituality, which had been lost from sight largely for reasons related to Christianity. The connection with nature and its spirits through duodji had not been a topic on which people would speak aloud.

Contemporary duodji scholars have seized the opportunity to conceptualize the spiritual aspect of duodji, focusing especially at the interstices of research and art. Maarit Magga (2015) has explored the ways in which narratives and stories which relate to particular families add substance to the duodji process. The most interesting aspect of Magga's study is the research method and material, which makes use not only of her own experiences and of the family's own stories of their lands and places, but also of her dreams. According to Magga, these sources of knowledge can

provide information and experiences that are just as relevant for research as observations that are made in the empirical world (Ibid., 8–9).

Archaeologist Eeva-Kristiina Harlin and Sámi artist Outi Pieski (2020) have collaborated to produce new research knowledge on the affective aspects duodji, building on Pieski's artistic work and collective workshops. Harlin and Pieski studied the *ládjogahpir*, a particular type of Sámi women's headdress (known as a "horn hat" in English) which had been unused, exploring the possible reasons for its disappearance and the prospects for reviving its use. They examined all of the horn hats kept in different European museums, and subsequently invited a group of Sámi women to craft a *ládjogahpir* headgear of their own.

Both Harlin and Pieski's work on the *ládjogahpir,* and Magga's research on duodji and family stories, combine archival research with analyses of affects and discussions that were evoked through art projects and workshops. The memories and knowledge associated with old duodji were developed through unique social and artistic encounters in which duodji's norms, beliefs and histories formed an invisible resource that had not been available to non-Sámi researchers. Though expressing this invisible, even forgotten world was originally the mission of Sámi artists, now both art and duodji, and collaborations between artists and academics, have introduced a spiritual dimension to duodji. In this respect, duodji and art have finally found one another.

Duodji research as a reflection of identity politics and Sámi everyday life

By the early 2000s, Sámi people's own political institutions and systems of identification as Sámi or Indigenous began to attract more critical attention within Sámi research (Junka-Aikio, 2019; Nyyssönen & Lehtola, 2017). Sámi demands for self-government and for title to land and water led to various political conflicts between the Sámi and the dominant society. In addition, attention turned to persisting ethnopolitical representations of Sáminess that were launched in the 1970s and which, as argued by Valkonen, had become established ethnopolitical practices (Valkonen, 2009). The dominant narrative which emphasized Sámi people's cultural unity was reflected also on the level of institutional practices, for instance in discourses of duodji cultural heritage prevalent in Sámi politics and upheld by the institutions that promote duodji. Discourses which emphasize duodji's natural and traditional character constitute an aspect of strategic essentialism, with the aim of protecting duodji against increasing cultural and economic exploitation.

Especially research on different aspects of Sámi identity negotiations held an interest in duodji, partly due to the promise of new perspectives that duodji could offer. However, also discursive struggles (Valkonen, 2009), which come to fore when the apparent Sámi homogeneity is examined from

the perspective of the individual, played a role. The *Sámi Duodji* trademark is a case in point, as its guidelines define a rather strict criteria for good duodji. Initial plans for the Sámi Duodji trademark were made as early as the 1940s in Sweden and the 1950s in Finland, but it took until 1982 to introduce it in all three Nordic countries and in Russia. The purpose of the trademark was to protect traditional duodji against commercial misuse, and even today, it seeks to assure the buyer that the product is an authentic item of traditional duodji. The trademark is owned by the Sámi Council, with certain local duodji associations granting craft makers a permission to use the trademark (Magga, 2010; Nuorgam, 2017).

It has been argued that the trademark reinforces the stereotypes and generalizations associated with Sáminess precisely because of its strict criteria, since the criteria fails to accommodate the ways in which duodji evolves over time (Lincoln, 2001). The discrepancy between the stereotypes and Sámi realities is seen as a rather complex field of identity negotiations which often takes place in commercial contexts, in situations where the duojárs meet their customers. For the customer, the Sámi Duodji trademark serves as a guarantee of the craftermaker's "authenticity", and thus of the authenticity of the duodji item itself. A conflict occurs, for example, if craft makers are unwilling to use the trademark and their credibility as Sámi duojárs must be demonstrated in some other way. A duojár can challenge the narrative of collectivity promoted by the trademark by telling a different narrative, for instance by establishing a trademark of his/her own (Dlaske, 2014; Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2011; Schilar & Keskitalo, 2018, etc.).

Representations of Sáminess, the authenticity of duodji, and title of its heritage, can also be challenged though the arts. Swedish visual artist Lena Vipola's performance, created in the year 2013, must be one of the best-known examples. The performance presented duodji-like handicrafts that Vipola had crafted – perhaps intentionally? – in a poor manner, together with fake replicas of the Sámi Duodji trademark. Her aim was to criticize the notion of Sáminess that the trademark sought to categorize, and to question why it was not possible for everyone to make duodji, and to use the Sámi Duodji trademark. Vipola's artistic performance received an indignant response among the Sámi, and she was seen to infringe upon Sámi intellectual property rights and trademark protection (Bydler, 2017; Hyltén-Cavallius, 2014).

Also relations of power and resistance that are internal to the Sámi society have received scholarly attention. Duodji is part of the complex social interactions through which the community defines normative behaviour, such as how the Sámi should behave according to gender, or marital status. As I have argued elsewhere, social control practiced through duodji can be seen, in part, as an old Sámi custom. For instance, the community's older women may manifest their expertise in *gákti*, the traditional Sámi clothing, and thus, their social status, merely by casting "certain kinds of glances" at the other *duojárs* (Magga, 2014, pp. 27–29). A gaze can also be productive

of a sense of collective belonging, as the Finnish Sámi cultural anthropologist Seija Risten Somby (2011) has shown. She has examined questions of Sáminess and adolescence in the context of the Sámi confirmation ritual, where a particularly flashy gákti has become a dominant symbol. According to Somby, the habit of dressing up in a uniform and fancy dress creates a feeling of togetherness among the youth, while also exposing them to the gaze of their community. The sumptuous gákti protects the vulnerable identity of a young person in front of the eyes of the other church attendees who, despite the uniform, normative dress code, are able to recognize the individuals and the families they belong to from the subtle details of the clothing (Somby, 2011).

As the existence of the Sámi Duodji trademark demonstrates, the relationship between duodji and its commercialization has been a difficult question for a long time. On the one hand, duodji and Sámi culture in general have historically been lucrative resources for tourism and the souvenir industry, given their exotic undertones (Nuorgam, 2009; 2017). This has resulted in commercial exploitation and a distorted image of the Sámi that has affected the dominant society's attitudes. The stereotypical views of the primitive nature of Sámi culture, and of Sáminess merely as an aspect of the dominant society's own culture, still persist today (Kramvig & Flemmen, 2016; Mattanen, 2017).

The Sámi insisted early on that any large-scale sale of duodji items should rest in Sámi people's own hands. Commercialization has also had social importance. For example, Reetta Tornensis (2019) has analyzed Sámi self-reliant, independent sale of duodji in the northwestern reaches of Finland from the 1950s to the 1980s. The period coincides with the gradual end of traditional Sámi nomadic reindeer herding, as a result of which families would no longer migrate with their herds between the summer and winter pastures. Women and children increasingly stayed at home when men went to attend the herd. Women began to craft handmade souvenirs and sell them on the roadside, and consequently, these new products acquired economic significance. The sale of souvenirs knit the family together, as children also participated in the crafting of small products. During the summer months, even lifelong friendships were formed between the Sámi and tourists.

The practice of selling souvenirs on the roadsides did not last very long, but today duodji is increasingly within the reach of a broader public as the volume of duodji shops and online sales has grown. Duodji entrepreneurs' commercial activity is usually grounded on traditional duodji, which is used for branding, building the narrative behind the company and its products (Magga, 2016). Companies succeed, if they can link their operations to culturally topical and meaningful trends and ideologies. Thus, their brands actually shed light on various phenomena, such as other cultures' impact and influence on duodji – an aspect that previous research used to consider a sign of weakness in Sámi culture. In contrast, today such influences are

seen as a proof of the culture's dynamic and diverse character (Magga, 2016). In addition, when narrating the duojár's own family history, duodji brand building can be at the same time informative for the buyers and empowering for the Sámi duojárs (Laiti, 2019; Spik Skum, 2015). Brand research has also exposed culture's sore points: sometimes brand narratives move away from sight those types of duodji skills that the Sámi no longer master. For example, building an interesting narrative around industrially manufactured products may indirectly convey the idea that handmade artifacts are vanishing, and being replaced by industrially manufactured items (Magga, 2016).

Thus, the knowledge of duodji that is relevant for the Sámi is created within the communities, and through Sámi kinship relations and family customs. Studies of the Sámi scarf (Andersen Guvsám, 2019), of gákti's hem decorations (Eriksen, 2015), of the footwear made from reindeer leg fur (Gaup, 2015) and of the traditional clothing philosophy (Guttorm, 2002) highlight duodji practices on a local level. Also duodji's conceptions of beauty have received attention for instance, Sara Inga Utsi Bongo (2019) has explored why certain types of reindeer fur boots are considered particularly beautiful in the Kautokeino region. According to her, a distinct conception of beauty may derive from such sources as the colouring of the reindeer fur, which the *duojár* first perceives, and then moves onto the textile. In a way, the members of the Sámi community are committed and tied to the elements of their environment, which they examine also from a visual point of view.

Swedish anthropologist Anna Gustafsson (2015; 2019) has studied how making the *gákti* contributes to the well-being of Sámi women in Norway. While the crafting of traditional clothing seems a lonely task, the work also assumes communal character, for instance by the time the dresses are worn and used. The research suggests that describing and highlighting Sámi everyday life enhances the appreciation of Sámi women's work, and strengthens their cultural identity. Gradually, duodji research has sharpened the image of the history of colonization in Sápmi. Laila Susanna Kuhmunen (2019) has examined the festering history of the Sámi groups in her home region, using duodji as the starting point. At the beginning of the twentieth century Sámi in northern Sweden were forcibly resettled from their home regions further to the south, to Jokkmokk and areas inhabited by the Lule Sámi. Besides human distress, the resettlement resulted in bitterness and disagreement over lost pastures between the North Sámi and the Lule Sámi. Kuhmunen described this history through her own duodji.

Conclusions

Duodji has been the object of research for over two centuries, but it has never basked in the center of Sámi or Indigenous research. Yet, duodji research has been closely linked to topical academic and social trends.

Scholars who have studied duodji understood early on that duodji's position within the Sámi community is highly special. Research on duodji has developed in three cycles, which are linked to old ethnography, art and identity politics. Duodji was initially studied by non-Sámi scholars, whose interests and perspectives were grounded in prevailing, colonial views of the Sámi. Duodji appeared as a resource which could serve as an evidence of the Sámi people's degenerated character. At the same time, this view on duodji underpinned the Nordic states' geopolitical and nationalistic goals. Along with the rise of Sámi ethnopolitics and later on, of Indigenous research, efforts to deconstruct these images, and to bring duodji back to its Sámi context, have come to fore.

Studies of duodji have brought to Sámi research interesting, new perspectives from which to analyze different forms of power and resistance, on both institutional and individual levels. Institutional measures that were designed to strengthen and reinforce duodji, such as the Sámi Duodji trademark, have also given rise to individual interpretations over duodji's meanings. These interpretations have fuelled new identity projects and political agendas, and as such they offer interesting topics for further research. In addition, duodji researchers' personal engagement with the arts has contributed new substance to duodji research, especially in terms of duodji's spiritual aspects. Visual art has had an important role as a platform or a "lightning rod" for ethnopolitical tensions and identity negotiations that are articulated through duodji.

The capacity to open-mindedly bring together and combine Western scientific theories, discourses and paradigms with Sámi epistemologies has been of primary importance for the development of duodji research, and to make it available for the mainstream academic community. This has enhanced its general appreciation, and highlighted the importance of duodji for Sámi research. On the other hand, the rise of Native Sámi researchers has highlighted the importance of Sámi epistemologies and concepts. Researchers who live in close contact with contemporary Sámi culture, for instance through reindeer herding, have shifted the focus on Sámi everyday experiences, and used them to re-interpret duodji's meanings. This is important also for duodji itself, as the knowledge embodied in duodji lies in its terminology, materials and crafting practices. The roots of those values and norms that contemporary Sámi society considers as important can be found in duodji. That knowledge has to be searched and studied by the Sámi themselves, for only then will it serve the Sámi society more broadly. Such research needs to be locally and empirically grounded, in order to avoid generalizations and stereotypes that are similar to those which have been harmful to duodji and to the Sámi in the past. What is important is the scholars' ability to understand the meanings that duodji has for the Sámi, and their willingness to see duodji as an aspect of the broader historical, social, practical and spiritual life of the Sámi.

Notes

1 This article employs the term *duodji*, as used in my North Sámi Native language. There are equivalent terms in all Sámi languages.
2 Sámi University College in Kautokeino, Norway has been running a master's degree program in duodji research since 2012. Other Nordic and European universities conduct research on duodji as an aspect of established disciplines such as cultural anthropology, social sciences, arts and Sámi culture.

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Part II

Negotiating the Sámi turn

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7 Sámification and Sámi museums

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Introduction

The values, structures and practices which have underpinned the museum institution build largely on the same colonial mindset which grounds anthropology, archaeology and museology (Cury, 2020). During the past decades, Indigenous Peoples have actively called for the decolonization of research and knowledge production. Simultaneously, the role of museums in producing and distributing knowledge has been emphasized, and there have been calls for the decolonization of museums and their practices.

Consequently, the museum institution and individual museums have begun to change the ways they operate, and to take the worldviews, needs and values of Indigenous Peoples better into consideration. Collaboration with Indigenous Peoples and community hearings have become established aspects of museum practice, which guide how the collections are taken care of, and how museum exhibitions are planned and implemented. Today, such practices may even be seen as a prerequisite for ethically sustainable museum work (Cury, 2020; Lonetree, 2012).

The change may be interpreted as an acknowledgment of Indigenous Peoples' right to self-determination and to control and manage their own cultural heritage. On the one hand, the paradigm change has to do with the rise of postmodernism, which has extended human rights and equal treatment of human beings to minorities. However, in the context of Indigenous Peoples, the most significant role is played by the international Indigenous movement, which has challenged the museum's right to collect and present Indigenous cultural heritage, in particular ancestral remains and furthermore the authority of museums as holders of Indigenous Peoples' cultural heritage. The changes that have taken place in, and have been required of, museums, are part of Indigenous Peoples' struggle for their right to self-determination (Erikson, 2002; Lonetree, 2012).

At the same time as collaboration between museums and Indigenous communities has increased, Indigenous Peoples have also founded their own museums. The Indigenous museums constitute a place for presenting and preserving cultural heritage for the Indigenous communities

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themselves, but also for communicating information to audiences outside the community (Simpson, 1996; Erikson, 2002; Cooper & Sandoval, 2006; Lonetree, 2012; Onciul, 2014). Such museums position Indigenous Peoples' cultural heritage – and, by extension, their history, present and futures – as part of Indigenous Peoples' self-governance (Lonetree, 2012). These museums change the ways of representing Indigenous Peoples and their cultural heritage in the context of a museum, but further still, they transform the entire idea of the purpose of museums, giving rise to questions such as to whom the museum is accountable for its decisions; for whom the museum and the cultural heritage of Indigenous Peoples administered by it exist, and whose needs should be prioritized by the museum (Cooper & Sandoval, 2006).

As the Sámi cultural movement gained momentum, the Sámi, too, became interested in their history and national self-reflection, which was characterized by concern over the fate of their own cultural heritage. As part of the process, the Sámi organization *Samii Litto* (the Sámi Union) founded Inari Sámi Museum in Finland in 1959. While the founding of the Sámi museum was a response to the destruction of Sámi cultural heritage in the Lapland War and in the frenzy of the reconstruction period, it also represented the first concrete results of Sámi political activity in Finland (Lehtola, 2004). The museum was opened to the public in 1963, and it was not until the 1970s that the next Sámi museums were founded in Norway and later on, in Sweden.

The Sámi movement saw the Sámi museums as key actors in the development of Sámi self-government. One indication of this is the museum committee (Rantala, 2004), which was established at the Sámi Conference in Inari in 1976.[1] Its task was to monitor the situation of the existing Sámi museums, to outline their future and to create a foundation for cross-border collaboration in Sámi museum work. The Sámi were aware of the fact that museums are not neutral or apolitical but, rather, significant societal actors and thus, having control over museums – and through them, the Sámi cultural heritage – was desired as an aspect of Sámi self-governance.[2]

The aim of this chapter is to examine Sámification of the museum institution in the context of the Sámi Museum Siida, formerly called the Inari Sámi Museum.[3] The focus is on the actions taken by the Sámi in order to *sámify* their own museum, i.e. to make it better reflect the needs of the Sámi and to support the Sámi self-government regarding both the museum's objectives and operational practices. My point of departure is the proposal for a definition of a Sámi museum and for the development of Sámi museums put forward by the Sámi Council's Museum Committee, and the annual reports of the Sámi Museum from the period between 1986 and 2018. As with all associations and organizations in Finland, the Sámi Museum Siida and its background organizations are required to produce an annual report in order to report its activities to its funders, the principal one of which is the Ministry of Education and Culture.[4] In addition to reporting

on operations and finances, the annual reports are historical documents which provide information on the museum, its practices and what, at different periods, has been considered as the focal phenomena of its activities. Of particular interest for the purpose of this study is the introductory chapter, which lists the museum's main activities and the most significant achievements as well as the main goals for the next few years. My aim is to analyze these reports critically, with the objective of grasping the image of Sáminess and the Sámi Museum that they convey, and in order to explore the relationship between the operations, decisions and practices of the Sámi museum, and the objectives defined by the Museum Committee set by the Sámi Council. In addition, I analyze the Sámi Museum's relationship to Sámi indigeneity and to the concept of *Indigenous People,* and how the role of the Sámi as museum visitors and as a target group of the Sámi Museum is reflected in the annual reports.

Before embarking on the study, I would like to situate myself as a researcher. I am Sámi, my native language is Northern Sámi, and I have a long experience of working as a curator at the Sámi Museum Siida from 2005 to 2019. As a curator, I have participated in the drafting of the Sámi Museum's annual reports and, thus, contributed to the production of the materials analyzed in the present study. As a Sámi museum expert, I am interested in the relationship between the Sámi and the museum institution as well as Sámi museology – the particularly Sámi ways of operating in a museum context. In addition to providing me with an opportunity to examine the museum from the perspective of Sámification, this study also allows me to reflect on my own practice and decisions in museum work.

I should also highlight that throughout its history, the Sámi Museum has been owned and governed by the Sámi. Since 1986, the Sámi Museum and its collections have been under the ownership of the Sámi Museum Foundation, where the chairperson and the majority of the members of the board must be Sámi-born citizens of Finland. Prior to the foundation, the Sámi organization *Samii Litto* (the Sámi Union) acted as the museum's background organization. In addition, both of the museum's directors have been Sámi. By exploring Sámification of the Sámi Museum, I do not imply that the Sámi Museum or its background organizations would be non-Sámi or that they would not promote Sámi self-governance or represent Sámi perspectives. However, from the perspective of decolonization and indigenous self-determination, Sámification of the museum does not refer only to the preservation, examination and presentation of cultural heritage in museums that are governed by the Sámi. In addition, it has to do with developing such practices and governance models for museum work that promote the opportunities and rights of the Sámi to develop, maintain and safeguard their culture and cultural heritage and pass it on to future generations. Sámification of the museum means developing Sámi-based museum work and adopting Sámi thinking as the starting point of preservation, examination and presentation of cultural heritage.

Sámification and the Sámi museums

The Inari Sámi Museum is one of the first institution which fulfils the definition and criteria of a Sámi museum coined by the Sámi Council's Museum Committee in 1983 (Rantala, 2004). According to the Committee's proposal, the majority of the members of the museum's governing body must be Sámi persons or organizations, the museum's professional and administrative management must consist of Sámi persons, the main theme of the museum must be the Sámi culture and the museum must be located in *Sápmi*. In addition, a Sámi museum would have to "promote a policy that respects the traditions of the Sámi culture and views them from a Sámi perspective". Sámi museums were also expected to show their adherence to these conditions by expressly stating them in their rules, since "as long as these conditions are not expressly stated in the rules of the museums, and thus, their fulfilment depends on coincidence or private individuals' interpretations, such museums must be excluded from the definition of a Sámi museum". According to the proposal, Sámi museums that fulfilled these conditions were in Norway: the *Sámiid Vuorka-Dávvirat* museum in Karasjok, the *Samien Sijte* in Snåsa and the Sámi Museum Siida in Inari. In addition, five private collections or homestead museums in Sweden were mentioned, but none could be considered as a Sámi museum in the sense that is meant in the definition.[5]

The Museum Committee's proposal focused largely on museum administration and structure. For that part, it resembled Cooper and Sandoval's definition, commissioned by the Smithsonian Institution and the National Museum of the American Indian, which defines Indigenous museums as "museums that retain Native authority through direct tribal ownership or majority presence, or that are located on tribally controlled lands, or that have a Native director or board members" (Cooper & Sandoval, 2006, p. 8). Both definitions emphasize the administrative position – *who* governs the museum and the cultural heritage in its collections. However, this alone do not yet mean that a museum's operations, values or practices would be Indigenous-based. Also the question of whose world views, values or perspectives lay the foundation for work done in museums is central.

Indeed, Sámification – in the Northern Sámi language *sámáidahttit* – means making or changing something so as to render it more Sámi and to align it with the Sámi perspective. While Sámification is linked to decolonization, it bears even stronger ties with indigenization – making something better aligned with indigenous perspectives. Decolonization critically examines the legacy of colonialism and its structures and influence on Sámi society by looking at the present and into the past with the objective of *deconstructing* existing colonial structures and practices. Sámification, for its part, is rather future-oriented in that it seeks to *reconstruct* new Sámi structures, practices and operations models to replace the colonial structures. At best, it may be understood as an ongoing process during which

efforts are made to develop something to better meet the needs of the Sámi at a particular time and place. Thus, Sámification can include learning the Sámi language and culture at the individual level, but also re-remembering (*muitát*) or relearning (*ođđasitoahppat*) as a community, returning to Sáminess, or introducing Sámi ways and practices to new contexts, as well as creating entirely new Sámi ways of acting in the world.

Sámification is also essentially linked with Sámi self-determination. Self-determination refers to the right of a people to determine their own status, and collective self-government is an organized way of exercising the right to self-determination. The Finnish Constitution recognizes the Sámi as an Indigenous People with a right to self-determination,[6] and according to Guttorm, Sámi museums have their own role in the implementation of this right: "Through the museums, the Sámi can record their cultural heritage in their own right and define and present their culture and their past from their own perspective. The museums, for their part, support and promote the actual realization of Indigenous People's equality" (Guttorm, 2018, p. 384).[7]

Compared to the discussion on Sámification regarding science and research, Sámification of the museum institution or museum work has been scarcely discussed so far. In practice, the Sámi Council Museum Committee's proposal from 1983 is the only concrete document in which a Sámi museum is defined and operations of a Sámi museum are envisioned. After the proposal, there has been no wider common Sámi discussion on Sámification of the museum, on the definition of a Sámi museum, or regarding who should be the primary target audience of the services of Sámi museums. Overall, the museum committee's proposal is also poorly known at least in Finland. For example, during my career in the Sámi museum, I cannot recall any reference to the proposal, let alone an occasion of its actual application to the definition of a Sámi museum or its operations or objectives.

Regardless of the vision of cross-border cooperation in Sámi museum work presented by the museum committee, the development of Sámi museums in the Nordic countries has not been unified. In Norway, small-scale local Sámi museums have been founded instead of the central museums proposed by the Museum Committee, and these have been consolidated to form six museum siidas (*museasiida*). The museum siidas operate under the Sámi Parliament (*Sámediggi*), which is also responsible for their funding, and thus they can be viewed as more closely tied to the Sámi self-government. The higher number of Sámi museums in Norway may be partly explained by the country's larger Sámi population, but it may also be influenced by the idea – prevalent in Norway – that the Sámi culture and its governance should be heterogenized, i.e. that the diversity of various Sámi groups should be acknowledged and supported. The different Sámi groups are considered to have the right to manage and govern their own cultural heritage and history through their own museums instead of having the management and governance centralized in one Sámi museum (Mathisen, 2011). In contrast, in Finland and Sweden, operations of the Sámi museums

are centralized in a single museum and the majority of their funding comes from the state. They are, thus, more strongly determined by the dynamics of the mainstream society, which, in turn, may constitute a hindrance to their efforts towards Sámification.

The Inari Sámi Museum

The Inari Sámi Museum was founded by the *Sámii Litto* in 1959 and opened to the public in 1963. In its early days, the museum operated as an open-air museum: old buildings were brought to the museum site and objects and dress ensembles were on exhibit in their interior spaces. In addition, reconstructions of Sámi buildings and the trapping methods used were presented alongside a pathway, which was shaped like the *suohpan, a* Sámi-type lasso used for working with reindeer. The Inari Sámi Museum collected, preserved and presented the material cultural heritage of the Sámi and provided the Sámi with the possibility to control the narrative of the Sámi presented to the visitors to the museum. In addition, the museum offered summer jobs for local young people and the opportunity for the Sámi to benefit from the growing tourism (Lehtola, 2012). The Sámi Museum soon became a significant regional travel destination with up to 30,000 visitors annually.

In the 1980s, the Museum was uncoupled from its background organization and in 1986, The Sámi Museum Foundation was founded for the purpose of supporting and promoting the national culture of the Sámi through maintaining and steering the Sámi museum and its operations.[8] The Foundation started to make plans for a new museum building in co-operation with Metsähallitus, a state-owned forestry enterprise which manages the forest property of Finland. In 1998, the new shared main building 'Siida' was opened to the public, and the Sámi Museum was granted a formal status of a national specialized museum with a primary responsibility for preserving and presenting the Sámi culture in Finland.[9] The status was a sign of recognition within the Finnish museum world, and meant a ten percent increase in the state subsidies to the Sámi museum. In 2017, the National Museum of Finland and the Sámi Museum signed a letter of intent regarding the repatriation of the Collection of Sámi objects to the Sámi people, and in the following year decisions on extension of the Siida building including new collection facilities were made to enable the repatriation. After the repatriation, the Sámi Museum will possess Finland's oldest and the most significant collection of Sámi objects and its position in managing Sámi cultural heritage will be further strengthened.

It is noteworthy that up until the 1980, the Inari Sámi Museum operated entirely on ticket revenue. Possibilities and resources for developing the museum's operations or hiring new employees were, thus, dependent on the annual – and unstable – flow of visitors, which prevented the museum from committing to long-term work. Later, after regular public funding had been

secured – first, in the form of discretionary grants and later in the form of funding of museums approved for state subsidies – the Sámi Museum had access to new resources for recruiting museum professionals on a permanent basis in the area of collection and exhibition work. At the same time, the museum's work moved towards more structured planning. After all, the museum's status as a museum approved for state subsidies required commitment to the quality requirements of the Finnish system e.g. educational requirements for the personnel, where formal education in the museum field in Finland carried more weight than familiarity with the Sámi culture and traditions.

Although educating museum professionals according to the principles of Western museology may contribute to the effectiveness of museum work, at the same time, it may override Indigenous Peoples' own ways of managing cultural heritage and even undermine work on the preservation of cultural heritage of Indigenous Peoples. Practices and ways of conducting museum work and managing cultural heritage that are brought from outside of a culture may lead to a situation in which a museum remains alien to the community it is supposed to represent – an institution that seems to exist for someone else (Kreps, 2003). Through professionals who have received formal museum education in Finland, the Sámi museum and the work conducted within it moved to the domain of Finnish museum work. At the same time, the Sámi museum committed to the practices of Finnish museum work, which also was a prerequisite for receiving funding and status as a specialized museum in Finland. On the one hand, an established position in the Finnish museum field provided the Sámi Museum with a possibility to introduce and present Sámi-based museum thought in the Finnish museum field, but on the other hand, it may have slowed down the development of Sámi museum work – which is based on Sámi thinking, traditions and practices regarding care of objects – or even forestalled it through denial.

The Sámi and the Sámi Museum in the annual reports

Since the 1986, the Sámi Museum has prepared an annual report for its funders. The first annual reports were rather brief, and included only basic information on the museum's opening hours and employees and descriptions of maintenance and renovation work. In the early twenty-first century, the annual reports expanded in length, and begun to present the museum's activities in much greater detail. One reason for this is that the museum's status had changed and the funds at its disposal increased, which in itself required more detailed reporting particularly targeted to the funders. On the other hand, the change that is visible in the annual reports is also indicative of the expansion of what has become referred to as *audit culture* to museums. The audit culture is essentially linked to neoliberalist development, which has brought the requirement for institutions to report on their finances with ever-greater accuracy and their performance is increasingly

monitored using various key figures and factors (Shore & Wright, 2015). With the detailed annual reports that meet the requirements of the audit culture, the Sámi Museum communicates about its own credibility and suitability to act as a museum with regional responsibility.

According to my study, the annual reports of the Sámi Museum use four different expressions to describe the Sámi, the most common one of which is *the Sámi culture*: "Recording involves both tangible and intangible Sámi culture" (Annual report, 2000, p. 7). In addition, *Sáminess* is referred to in a more abstract sense: "The Sámi Museum will be addressed when seeking answers to multidisciplinary questions concerning Sáminess" (Annual report, 2009, p. 13). Instead, the word *Sámi* – referring to the Sámi as individuals or as a people – was used less frequently, and only in the context of descriptions of collections or changing exhibitions. In the Collections section of the annual reports from 1998 to 2000, the origin of the collections is described as follows: "The objects [in these collections] originate mainly from the Sámi of Inari, Utsjoki and Enontekiö, but the collections also include some objects from the Sámi of Sodankylä" (Annual report, 1998, p. 3; 1999, p. 5; 2000, p. 7). The sentence has been omitted from the annual report of 2001, but a mention of "all Sámi groups of Finland: the Fell Sámi, the Inari Sámi, and the Skolt Sámi" being represented in the collections continues to be featured in the annual reports of 2001 to 2002 (Annual report, 2001, p. 5; 2002, p. 6). In the annual reports from later years, the Sámi are no longer mentioned in connection to the collections. In addition to the descriptions of the collections, the word *the Sámi* occurs only in the descriptions of some changing exhibitions, for example "– – a photography exhibition on the sacred places and landscapes of the Sámi" (Annual report, 2005, p. 6).

In the early twenty-first century, the adjective *Sámi* in the sense of something belonging to the Sámi culture emerges alongside the expression *Sámi culture*: "The exhibition 'Kentänpäässä ('By the Forest') for children is a journey to the Sámi children's culture and the Northern nature" (Annual report, 2017, p. 10). In the annual reports, the expressions *Sáminess*, *the Sámi culture* and the adjective *Sámi* seem to be used in an interchangeable manner, sometimes as synonyms, without significant differences in meaning or emphasis.

Regardless of their date of publication, the annual reports describe Sáminess through its division into the traditional Sámi culture and contemporary Sáminess: "the starting point for the products may be either in the traditional Sámi culture or in the phenomena of contemporary Sámi society" (Annual report, 2010, p. 22). The relationship between the two is represented by highlighting their strong difference: "the artists were selected to talk about the common denominator of Sámi art: the issue of trauma born in the contradiction between the background of the Sámi and new influences, the contrast between tradition and the present –" (Annual report, 1998, p. 7). In the light of the descriptions, contemporary Sáminess

continues to embody distinctive characteristics associated with the Sámi that set the Sámi apart from the mainstream culture and constitute an object of particular interest of the Sámi Museum to be recorded and documented. "The Sámi culture continues to bear certain distinctive characteristics, although the way of life and livelihoods have converged with those of the majority population" (Annual report, 1998, p. 3). The separation of the traditional Sámi culture and contemporary Sáminess is highlighted by the idea that the former is not considered compatible with contemporary society: "In connection with the *Ijahis Idja* festival, the Sámi Museum organized a music seminar during which [the participants] reflected on the status of traditional music in the modern world" (Annual report, 2009, p. 14). The traditional Sámi culture comes across as unchangeable and change would mean loss of the distinctive characteristics of Sáminess. Change is mentioned only once as a characteristic of the Sámi culture: "The Sámi community of Finland is alive and changing. These days, many Sámi individuals live outside the Sámi homeland area" (Annual report, 2011, p. 12). Here, too, change is rather associated with its capacity to create contemporary Sáminess than considered as part of Sáminess as such.

The division into traditional and contemporary Sámi culture is emphasized by the absence of Sámi prehistory and Sámi archaeology. Instead of these, the archaeology and prehistory of the North or the current Sápmi area are referred to: "Siida hosted, in cooperation with Metsähallitus, an open public presentation on the archaeological land inventory carried out in Sámi area during the summer of 2010" (Annual report, 2010, p. 19). Archaeological descriptions form a new cultural layer in the annual reports, which, temporally speaking, precede the traditional Sámi culture but, apart from their occurrence in the same area, are otherwise not linked to Sáminess. The absence of prehistory emphasizes the unchangeability of the Sámi culture and makes it appear as a temporally delineated phenomenon. The non-Sámi prehistory precedes the traditional Sámi culture which is being transformed into contemporary Sáminess. Instead of viewing the Sámi and their culture as a continuum that is undergoing constant change, contemporary Sáminess is severed from the larger context and represented as a separate entity that has developed through change. This links the descriptions of the Sámi presented in the annual reports with the colonial descriptions of Indigenous People, which tend to emphasize the unchangeable nature of indigenous cultures and their inability to develop or adapt, and which envision the inevitable destruction of Indigenous cultures through modernization (Lonetree, 2012).

Also in the Sámi Museum's first permanent exhibition (1998-2021) was built in cooperation with the Northern Lapland Nature Centre and presented in Siida, Sámi culture is divided into traditional and contemporary Sáminess. In the exhibition, elements of nature accompanied with descriptions of the traditional Sámi culture surround the cultural exhibition

presented in the middle of the exhibition space. The modern Sámi culture is represented as a separate entity in the middle of the exhibition space "because its relationship to nature is more distant than that of the traditional culture" (Annual report, 1998, p. 6). In the exhibition, the traditional Sámi culture is represented as permanent and unchanging and juxtaposed with the modern, political Sámi culture that gains its impetus from change, which has led to a regeneration of Sámi ethnicity. The annual reports do not include descriptions of Sáminess from the period preceding the opening of the permanent exhibition and, after that, Sáminess is largely described through descriptions of the permanent exhibition and other exhibitions. We may, thus, state that the dual character of the Sámi culture that is evident in the permanent exhibition is reflected in the content of subsequent annual reports of the Sámi Museum. Because exhibitions are among the core activities of museums, it seems natural for the Sámi Museum to describe Sáminess in the annual reports through the exhibitions. However, in the case of the Sámi Museum, it is worth noting that the way of representing Sáminess as seen in the permanent exhibition exerts a major influence on the descriptions of Sáminess in the annual reports compared to the minor influence of e.g. changing exhibitions or events.

Sámi indigeneity

In addition to the descriptions of Sáminess, I examined the ways in which Sámi indigeneity is visible in the annual reports, i.e. how and in what contexts is the expression *Indigenous People* used or the Sámi referred to as an Indigenous People. The Indigenous status of the Sámi is laid down in the constitution of Finland in 1995. However, the idea of the Sámi as an Indigenous People gained foothold much earlier in Finland: already back in the 1960s and 1970s, the Sámi were equated with the peoples that are today known as Indigenous Peoples. Around the same time, understanding of the Sámi as an Indigenous People broadened through use of the Sámi languages in the public sphere, e.g. through Sámi-language radio broadcasts (Reiniharju, 2015). The participation of the Sámi in the International Indigenous Peoples' Movement from the 1970s on strengthened the Sámi sense of togetherness with other colonized peoples and helped the Sámi to build a new kind of political indigenous identity characterized by a relationship to land and a nature relationship – which were different from those of the mainstream population – and as such, were of particular significance (Nykänen, 2017; Valkonen, 2009).

Because the idea of the Sámi as an Indigenous People had been established in Finland already by the early 1980s, I assumed that indigeneity would emerge strongly also in the annual reports of Sámi Museum. However, this was not the case. The first mention of Indigenous People is found in the annual report from 1998, in the *Skábmagovat – Kaamoksen kuvia* film festival's[10] description (Annual report, 1998, p. 12). Also after this, the concept occurs mostly in the context of events. For example, the

Millennium celebration organized in 1999 is described in the annual report as follows: "In Inari – at the centre of the Sámi area in Finland– the new millennium was welcomed by joining in the global drumming of the Indigenous Peoples of the world" (Annual report, 1999, p. 9). The word *Indigenous People* is used to refer to the Sámi only once in 2008 in the description of the permanent exhibition in Siida: "The permanent exhibitions of Siida depict the history and way of life of the Sámi Indigenous People and the annual cycle of northern nature". However, this description of a permanent exhibition is one of a kind: in later annual reports, the description has been modified and the word Indigenous People has been omitted. Instead of using it to refer to the Sámi, the word Indigenous People is sometimes used when referring to other peoples: "The collection includes objects of the Kola Sámi and northern Indigenous Peoples – –" (Annual report, 2015, p. 4).

The expression *Indigenous museum* occurs in the annual reports for the first time in 2016 in the context of the description of the joint research project of the Sámi Museum and the University of Lapland entitled *Culturally and Socially Sustainable Museum*[11]: "The objective of the research project is to create operational models for a culturally and socially sustainable indigenous museum" (Annual report, 2016, p. 15). The Sámi museum is defined as an Indigenous museum only in the Vision of the Sámi Museum presented in the annual report in 2018[12]: "– – vision is to be a strong Indigenous museum which forms the centre of the common Nordic and international network of museums and adopts a role as a unifier and mediator of information" (Annual report, 2018, p. 1).

Reference to *Indigenous People* in the annual reports of the Sámi Museum differs from that of the website of Siida, where the Sámi Museum defines itself through its membership of "the world's Indigenous People's museum network" and describe the Sámi as "the northernmost Indigenous People of Europe and the only Indigenous People of the Nordic countries".[13] The decision of the Sámi Museum not to define the Sámi as an Indigenous People in its annual reports also differs from the practices of other Sámi organizations. For example, in the annual report of the Sámi Parliament, the status of the Sámi as an Indigenous People is emphasized: "The task of the Sámi Parliament is to look after the Sámi language and culture, as well as to take care of matters relating to their status as an Indigenous People" (The Annual Report of the Sámi Parliament from 2005, p. 3).

The difference raises the question regarding whether the decision not to refer to the Sámi as an Indigenous People has been expressly made and what constituted grounds for the decision. An annual report as a text type is different from a website, which may partly explain the Sámi Museum's decision to use the expression Indigenous People on their website – in relation to the museum's marketing efforts – but not in its annual reports which represent an instance of more official language use. The concept Indigenous People may have been viewed as overly political for the

language of annual reports, and the decision to omit it may have contributed to creation of an image of the Sámi Museum as a neutral actor to be presented to the funders. It may be the case that the idea of the Sámi as an Indigenous People and the Sámi Museum as an Indigenous museum has not been compatible with the Sámi Museum's aspirations towards equality with other museums in Finland. Thus, in creating the annual reports, it has been decided to refer to the Indigenousness of the Sámi just enough to demonstrate the distinctive quality of the Sámi Museum while not overemphasizing it in order not to raise questions among funders or other museum actors about the museum's quality or its suitability to the Finnish museum system.

The invisible Sámi customers of the Sámi Museum

One of the objectives of Sámification is to create institutions that primarily respond to the needs of the Sámi. The museum committee's proposal, too, envisions the Sámi museums as particularly targeted at Sámi audiences and, given the fact that the Sámi receive little formal education regarding their own cultural history, the objective of the museums should be to compensate for this and thus strengthen the identity and sense of community of the Sámi.[14] From the perspective, I focused on the role that the annual reports assigned to the Sámi as a target audience of the museum's operations and services. In addition, I examined the ways in which the Sámi Museum documents its Sámi customers and takes them into consideration.

Overall, the Sámi Museum rarely mentions the Sámi as its customers or as the target group of its services, or does it indirectly. For example, services are targeted at Sámi-speaking visitors or offered in the Sámi language(s). Visitor statistics and changes in the customer profile form a significant part of the annual reports, which seems natural, because after all, ticket revenue is a significant source of income for any museum, and reaching customers is the purpose of all activities targeted at audiences. In the annual reports, the visitors to the Sámi Museum are divided into three main groups: paid admissions (Finland), paid admissions (international) and free visits. In addition, from 1998 on, the museum visitors have been categorized by country (the country of residence at the moment of visiting the museum). This categorization is, however, problematic from the perspective of the Sámi: in categorization by country, they remain invisible because they are entered into the system as Finns, Norwegians, Swedes or Russians according to their country of residence. The Sámi are an invisible group also as customers of the Sámi Museum's other services. For example, the Sámi were absent from the museum's list of visitors to the collections: "In 2017, the collections of the Sámi Museum were presented to more than a hundred visitors, among them artisans, students, researchers, museum professionals, photographers, and experts working in the building extension project" (Annual Report, 2017, p. 6). It is difficult to believe that there were no Sámi

visitors, but the museum has not considered it necessary, or possible, to collect information on the visits of the Sámi to the collections.

According to the annual reports, the Sámi Museum does not produce or target services or content particularly at Sámi customers, and serving Sámi customers or meeting their needs is not expressly mentioned among the purposes or future objectives of the museum. For example, the website providing information on the Inari Sámi people is "targeted at students of the Sámi culture, visitors to the museum, those seeking information on minority cultures, and anyone interested in or looking for information on the subject. The new website is a useful source of information for school classes where the language of instruction is Inari Sámi, and for Inari Sámi language adult education" (Annual Report, 2006, p. 11). The Inari Sámi themselves, or the Sámi in general, are not mentioned as a target group. Moreover, in the context of the exhibition on the Skolt Sámi entitled *Sää´mjie´llem,* it is not mentioned that the exhibition could be a valuable opportunity for the Skolt Sámi to connect to their heritage or history.

Further, in the light of the sections of the annual reports that deal with marketing, the Sámi – again – remain an invisible customer group. The reports indicate that the Sámi Museum does not engage in targeted marketing efforts to reach Sámi audiences or produce marketing materials in the Sámi language(s). The Sámi Museum does not advertise in Sámi-language newspapers or other publications, but advertising focuses on Finnish-language newspapers and other publications and it is particularly targeted to non-Sámi audiences: "As has been the case in previous years, the advertisements of Siida were published both in local newspapers and publications (*Saariseläin Sanomat* [Saariselkä News]; *Inarilainen* [Ivalo-based local newspaper], *Saariselkä Nyt!* [Saariselkä-based local newspaper] and in national newspapers (*Eläkkeensaaja* [member newspaper of the Central Association of Finnish Pensioners]; *Kulttuurihaitari* [specialized magazine on culture and cultural events]; *Luonto-lehti* [Nature of Finland – nature magazine]; *Matkailulehti* [specialized magazine on travel in Finland], *Museo-lehti* [specialized magazine of the Finnish Museums Association])" (Annual Report, 2017, p. 20).

Even at the local-level, the marketing efforts of the Sámi Museum are targeted at travel resorts: "The most important local target for marketing is the Saariselkä ski resort area" (Annual Report, 1999, p. 12) and later marketing was "– – increasingly targeted to cover the entire Lapland" (Annual Report, 2016, p. 17). The absence of Sámi-language marketing may be due to the fact that the Sámi Museum believes that it will reach the Sámi without marketing or, because the Sámi are a small group of visitors, they are not considered significant regarding ticket revenue. The Sámi Museum's marketing efforts to the Sámi or produced in the Sámi language (s) may also be small-scale, for example individual event advertisements published in local newspapers that have not been mentioned separately in the annual reports. In any case, the decision not to include Sámi-language

marketing in the annual reports renders it invisible and implies that it has not been considered as a necessary element to include in the annual report or, by extension, in the broader narrative of the Sámi Museum as embodied by the annual reports.

Concluding remarks

It has been argued that when building Sámi self-government, the structures of governance were built according to Western models instead of corresponding with the practices and needs of the Sámi society. For example, the Sámi Parliament institutions replicate the Nordic models of government instead of seeking entirely novel – and particularly Sámi – solutions to the question of self-government (Jull, 1995; Kuokkanen, 2007). Similarly, the management of the Sámi cultural heritage, of which the Sámi museums are an integral part, has been built primarily to correspond with the national models instead of engaging in the cross-border system of Sámi museums developed under the common Nordic Sámi Council. In Finland, the Sámi Museum has focused efforts on integration into the Finnish museum system and has sought authority to manage and govern Sámi cultural heritage in national level. The Sámi Museum's aspirations towards equality with other museums in Finland and its strong commitment to the Finnish museum field may be interpreted as part of the same Sámi political framework in which the structures of the mainstream society have been accepted and internalized with the hope of being granted an opportunity to bring Sámi views and concerns into decision making. The Sámi museum has been pursuing Sámi self-governance in the field of cultural heritage by using the existing Finnish structures to promote Sámi interests. The Sámi Museum's aspiration towards becoming one of the museums of the Finnish system provided it and Sámi museum work new opportunities, a new kind of stability and a regular source of funding in the form of state subsidies.

On the basis of the descriptions of the Sámi in the annual reports, the Sámi Museum is primarily interested in the Sámi culture and mentions of the Sámi as a people occur only rarely or as an attribute of a particular phenomenon described. Further still, the analysis of the annual reports shows that the Sámi are not represented as a target group of the services or marketing efforts of the Sámi Museum. In the annual reports, the Sámi are not represented as actors, or even as targets of actions taken by the Sámi Museum, but rather, as producers of the object of interest of the Sámi museum – the Sámi culture.

Through the history of the Sámi Museum, the clear majority of the visitors have been non-locals and international customers and it is also at these groups that the marketing efforts are targeted. It seems likely that, given its status as a locally well-known museum, the Sámi Museum does not have to target marketing efforts at the Sámi or non-Sámi locals. Marketing targeted at the Sámi may also consist of small-scale efforts, e.g.

individual event advertisements which, given their relatively minor significance, may be omitted from the marketing section of the annual report.

However, in a Sámi Museum, the Sámi cannot be a group comparable to the non-Sámi visitors to the museum. Serving the Sámi constitutes the ground of its existence, and thus, Sámi customers and their needs should be taken into consideration throughout the museum's operations. Because the Sámi Museum is not collecting statistics of its Sámi visitors, it is not able to monitor changes in the number of Sámi visitors or assess how well the museum's services and marketing reach the Sámi audiences. Monitoring the number of Sámi visitors would require changes in the current system and objectives of collection of customer data for statistical purposes or development of additional monitoring methods. By monitoring its Sámi visitors, the Sámi Museum could collect information on the museum services used by the Sámi, and how well the Sámi Museum reaches the Sámi as a target group, i.e. what needs of the Sámi the Sámi Museum is able to respond to. The Sámi Museum could use this information as a reasonable basis for obtaining additional resources or for the purpose of strengthening its position in governing the Sámi cultural heritage.

In this study, I addressed the Sámi Museum and its annual reports from the perspective of Sámification and analyzed the relationship between the representations of the Sámi – as they appear in the annual reports – and *Indigenousness* and *the Sámi as a nation* with the right to self-determination. During my research on the Sámi Museum and its annual reports, and the representations of the Sámi embodied by them, I have been faced also with the task of reflecting on my own role as an employee of the Sámi Museum – someone who partakes in maintaining the museum's practices. In my work as a curator of the Sámi Museum, my approach has been informed by a desire to Sámify the museum. In my personal capacity, I have been striving to develop museum work based on Sámi thinking, the Sámi language(s) and the Sámi values. In this effort, I was not alone, and these themes were often a topic of discussion among colleagues. The whole community at the museum – consisting of both Sámi and non-Sámi – shared a commitment to serve the Sámi and the Sámi society. Admittedly, what serving the Sámi society would mean was often quite vague, as the subject was not discussed at the organizational level and reflection on the role and significance of the Sámi Museum was sporadic. Neither does this commitment become visible in the annual reports. Even in the parts written by myself, the Sámi remain equally invisible, both as customers and as actors, conforming to the general style of the annual reports. In addition, and again echoing the general style, my way of describing the Sámi culture is equally divided into the traditional and the modern Sámi culture. In my view, the above is indicative of the fact that established practices easily override the views of an individual employee. One employee's decision to adopt Sámi thinking as the starting point informing his or her work is not sufficient to promote Sámification across an organization or its practices. My experience of the invisibility of an individual employee's efforts towards

Sámification show how strongly the museum and the representations of the Sámi it produces and promotes, as well as the research informing them, influence even Sámi people's understanding of themselves, their society, their past, present and future. It would be interesting to examine how common it is in Sámi organizations, and in the activities of the Sámi individuals acting within them, to resort to dominant discourses in situations in which the actors themselves actively seek to deviate from it or change it.

In her research on Sámification of schools, Asta Balto states that an individual Sámi employee's contribution is not sufficient to Sámify an institution, but it would require the entire organization's commitment to the Sámification process. With regard to Sámification, the management of the institution has the key role, because employees are unable to change practices and the structures maintaining them (Balto, 2008, pp. 9–10). The Sámi museums are part of the larger museum institution and, through it, inevitably linked to the Western world view and thinking, the dominant discourses, a particular understanding of the nature of knowledge and knowledge production. Through their practices, the Sámi museums, too, perpetuate, maintain and communicate information on the Sámi that has been produced from the perspective of the mainstream society. Thus, the museum engages in the politics of knowledge production, and it should participate in the discussion and work towards change called for in decolonization discourses. Sámification requires reflection on organizational values and objectives, but also dialogue on the particular objectives of Sámification in each situation and organization. In case of a museum, Sámification of the existing structures, practices and values requires willingness of the museum director and the museum's background organizations to initiate the Sámification process and to allocate sufficient resources to enable its implementation.[15]

Notes

1 The Sámi Council is the umbrella organization focusing on cross-border collaboration between its Sámi member organizations, which promotes and safeguards the interests of the Sámi. Since 1953, the Sámi Council has organized the Sámi Conference, which is the highest decision-making body of the Sámi Council.
2 A proposal made by the Museum Committee of the Nordic Sámi Council to the Nordic Sámi Council in March 1983.
3 The Sámi Museum was founded under the name of The Inari Sámi Museum (Anára sámemusea/Inarin saamelaismuseo) and its name was changed to Sámi Museum Siida (Sámi Musea Siida/Saamelaismuseo Siida) after the construction of the museum's new main building 'Siida' was completed. In the annual reports, the names the Sámi Museum, the Sámi Museum Siida, and The Inari Sámi Museum are used interchangeably until 2012, after which only the first two names are used. In this text, I refer to the museum institution that constitutes the object of my study as 'The Sámi Museum'. When referring to Sámi museums in general, the word 'museum' is not capitalized.
4 Laki opetus- ja kulttuuritoimen rahoituksesta (Act on the Financing of

Education and Culture) 29.12.2009/1705, 58§ Tietojen toimittaminen ja tarkastus. (Delivery and verification of information).

5 A proposal made by the Museum Committee of the Nordic Sámi Council to the Nordic Sámi Council in March 1983, 3–4.

6 In practice, the Sámi Parliament of Finland only implements cultural self-government, i.e. it has the right to decide on certain matters regarding language and culture, which does not mean full self-government. On the actual realization of Sámi self-government and self-determination, see e.g. Kuokkanen 2019 and Guttorm 2018.

7 Guttorm 2018, 384.

8 https://siida.fi/en/the-sami-museum/.

9 In the Finnish museum system, specialized museums are museums focusing on a particular phenomenon or object type. Specialized museums are, by their nature, often located between art museums, cultural historical museums and science museums or slightly outside of this domain.

10 Indigenous Peoples' film festival "Skábmagovat" has been organized in Inari since 1999. The festival is organized as a joint effort of the Friends of Sámi Art Association, the Sámi Museum, the Northern Lapland Nature Centre Siida, and the Sámi Cultural Centre Sajos.

11 "Culturally and Socially Sustainable Museum. Indigenous Peoples' Representations and the Sámi Culture in the Sámi Museum Siida" was a joint project between the University of Lapland and the Sámi Museum, running from 2016 to 2018 and funded by the Academy of Finland. I worked in the project as a junior researcher.

12 As part of development of its activities, the Sámi Museum produced, during the period from 2016 to 2017, Mission and Vision Documents. The vision of a company or an organization refers to the target state that it wants to reach in the future. The mission answers the questions why the company exists and what it wants to achieve through its operations.

13 https://siida.fi/en/the-sami-museum/; https://siida.fi/en/visitors/groups/.

14 A proposal made by the Museum Committee of the Nordic Sámi Council to the Nordic Sámi Council in March 1983, 5, 8.

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8 Indigenous Journalism in Academia – Sámi Journalism Education Breaks New Ground

Lia Markelin, Tom Moring, Charles Husband, Nils Johan Heatta, Nils Johan Päiviö, and Liv Inger Somby

Introduction

This chapter is based on an analytic assessment of the rationale and process that led to the establishment of an international Master's education in Sámi Journalism with an Indigenous Perspective in 2014 at the *Sámi Allaskuvla*/ Sámi University of Applied Sciences[1] in Guovdageaidnu, Norway. This endeavour started from an international call for strengthening media education and media related research that has been an area of sustained development since the 1990s. The Sámi Allaskuvla had already started to provide education in journalism in the year 2000, with a vision to develop a full academic programme in journalism. The need, internationally, for investments in education and research at the highest level was clearly formulated in an international conference for Indigenous journalists held in Alta in 2007. The conference also explicitly urged the Sámi Allaskvula to take a leading role in lifting the academic level of *álgoálbmot journalistihkka*, Indigenous journalism. Consequently, the Sámi Allaskuvla in close cooperation with the Sámi broadcasters in Norway, Sweden and Finland, and with support from the World Indigenous Television Broadcasters' Network (WITBN), began the process of building up the ethical and pedagogical base for a new international Master's Programme, with an explicit ambition to raise the academic status and research-based competence of Indigenous journalism.

This is, of course, not the first time Indigenous media and journalism have been the subject of academic interest. Since the 1990s, an increasing amount of literature has been published on Indigenous media (e.g. Alia, 1999; Cottle, 2000: Hartley & McKee, 2000; Hokowithu & Devadas, 2013; Husband, 1994; Keith, 1995; Meadows, 1995; Molnar & Meadows, 2001; Rave, 2018; Smith, 2016; Wilson & Stewart, 2008); including Sámi media (e.g. Blindh, 1994; Ijäs, 2011; Lehtola, 1997; Markelin, 2003; Markelin & Husband, 2013; Sara, 2007; Ní Bhroin, 2014; Pietikäinen, 2008; Skogerbø, 2000, 2001; Solbakk, 1997; Varsi, 1983). However, research on Indigenous *journalism* per se is still sparse, and the existing literature available in English is mainly focused on the southern hemisphere. There is some research on journalism

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education and Indigenous journalism; on the whole (see, e.g. Hanusch, 2013a, 2013b; Hokowithu, 2013; Meadows, 2005; Skogerbø et al., 2019; Stewart et al., 2010; Waller, 2010). The background of the Master's Programme at the Sámi Allaskuvla, as well as the work towards an understanding of what Indigenous journalism is or could be, must therefore be seen in this light.

The chapter will proceed in three sections. First, the status of Indigenous journalism in relation to journalism in general is discussed. The second section describes the process of developing the Master's Programme in Sámi Journalism with an Indigenous Perspective. Finally, we discuss the academic outcomes of the programme. The chapter ends with a critical appraisal of the success and failure experienced by those who were involved in the work, and some recommendations for furthering research and fostering the academic status of Indigenous journalism studies in academia.

Journalism in an Indigenous context – a critical appraisal

> Occasionally, I get phone calls from journalists from London or New York or other places, who are on their way to the Sámi area looking for contacts: *"I am visiting you next month and I need names, contacts, addresses and phone numbers. I am making news/reportage, so I need to get in touch with the local people. I also need good pictures from the Tundra, so could you find a reindeer herder who will take me up to the mountains? Thank you for your kindness, and by the way are you also a translator? We can of course pay some money, but not much!"* I have been disappointed, upset and irritated, when I have seen some of the published stories. (Liv Inger Somby, personal reflection)

This is the reflection of Liv Inger Somby, a Sámi journalist with decades of experience. Somby was one of the forces behind the establishment of the Master's Programme in Sámi Journalism with an Indigenous Perspective, and a student of the first cohort. She continues:

> As an example, a Danish TV documentary about Sámi youth depicted our young men, our young reindeer herders, as failures in our society, while the young women were presented as the winners and leading stars because they were educated and had jobs. This TV crew did not have enough time to do proper research. They did not ask help from our experts in Sámi academia to share important information about our society, about our livelihoods or about the challenges of living in the Arctic. For this non-indigenous journalist TV crew one answer: "*we are living at home with our parents",* was enough to categorize the young men as losers. They never realised that these people are nomads: they are living up in the mountains or by the coast and they have several cabins or small houses. It is common among us that many generations are sharing houses or living together. However, the 'living at home with

> the parents' was enough to tell an untrue story for their audience. (Liv Inger Somby, personal reflection)

With this example, we can raise the question of how journalists, coming from the outside of an Indigenous society, are covering Indigenous topics and whether they are able to report in a way that rings true to the Indigenous peoples concerned. A multitude of studies have shown the often problematic representations of Indigenous peoples in and by non-indigenous media (e.g. Jennings, 1993; Browne, 1996; Hartley & McKee, 2000; Skogerbø, 2000; Molnar & Meadows, 2001; Browne, 2005; Alia, 2009; Dreher et. al., 2016; Lopes, 2016; Leukumaavaara, 2017; Vilpponen, 2019). However, the problem lies also in how the Indigenous community portrays itself in the media. Representations and judgements of news values, and representations of norms and values by Indigenous journalists are often influenced by professional norms that have been established in exactly the same institutions that have promoted colonial or biased portrayals of indigenous peoples. Recent research has shown the potential of and need for an "indigenous voice" in the media (Eira, 2018; Paltto, 2017; Skogerbø et al., 2019), and also challenged elements of accustoming Indigenous journalists to institutional constraints and majority media cultures (Pietikäinen, 2003, 2008; Porsanger 2017).

Academia is not an innocent agent in this regard. It has been one of the established routines of universities to seek to colonize new areas of knowledge and their application in society. Hence, just as historically training in such prestigious professions as law and medicine was wrested from on-the-job and in-house professional training; so too journalism has more belatedly found itself incorporated into the regime of professional training that is provided by university-based courses of education and training. This has the nature of a symbiotic relationship: since just as universities need to defend their claim to be the repository of arcane, but socially relevant, specialist knowledge; so too journalism has its legitimacy enhanced by being embraced by the institutional power of university-backed professional credentials. As journalism emerged as a recognized profession, one of its mechanisms for seeking to attenuate the impact of state regulation has been the development of codes of practice by national bodies representing the journalistic profession (Husband & Alam, 2002). This acknowledgment of their social responsibility, and potential power, was itself constitutive of the enhancement of journalism's sense of its distinctive identity and its professional status. In this historical context, we could argue that journalism education exists within university education because it has become generally regarded as being too important to be left to the partisan interests and dubious self-awareness of journalists themselves.

Universities themselves have been actively engaged in the production of knowledge that has revealed something of the underlying processes that shape the political and cultural power of the media in general, and the news media in particular. It is the nature of this knowledge base, in its widest

sense, that must be ontologically and epistemologically opened up for critical reflection, to offer students of journalism the necessary tools to challenge inherently oppressive professional practices.

In the context of the planning of a programme particularly aimed at the challenges of Indigenous journalism, the acceptance of this pedagogic task carried particular risks and responsibilities. Specifically in the context of Indigenous societies we have an extensive body of literature which has robustly criticized academic knowledge production as being systematically permeated by Western, colonial, ideology and interests (Connell, 2007; Smith, 2012; Kovach, 2009; Chilisa, 2012). As Smith (2012, p. 75) has noted: "*There is a very real ambivalence in indigenous communities toward the role of Western education and those who have been educated in universities*". This is a concrete dilemma that presents a most crucial challenge when designing a research oriented, yet professionally relevant programme in this particular context.

There is also a body of academic work that has concerned itself with the more micro-analyses of news stories and to show, for instance, how their inherent bias is constructed. This has also been studied in the context of the media representation of ethnic minorities and Indigenous peoples (e.g. Dominick & Greenberg, 1969; Hartmann & Husband, 1974; Ferguson, 1998; Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Downing & Husband, 2005). The other side of the same coin has been a certain mistrust within mainstream journalism of people reporting on their own communities – an issue curiously raised in the cases of minority but never majority representatives. As Liv Inger Somby notes:

> As a Sámi journalist, I am used to hearing this: "*how can we trust you, because you are an insider?*" This is the way I am questioned by non-Indigenous editors and journalists, because they do not believe that I can tell the news or the story from the "right" perspective, the objective and true news. Still I experience that there are doubts about my background, knowledge, and integrity. They are so used to assuming that their perspective, their outsider point of view, will be the best way to tell the stories. They are asking me to tell stories from the Norwegian perspective or use the Norwegian eyes. Distinguished CBC journalist Duncan McCue reminds us that it is important to avoid the 4Ds, like drumming, dancing, drunk or dead: the media must give the Indigenous people the voice and knowledge. He asks the journalists to find the rich resources of stories, including positive humorous stories, and to not victimize them, as in the stereotypes we find in the mainstream press. The former director of the Norwegian NRK Sápmi, Nils Johan Heatta, calls this the tendency to generalise and stigmatise the Sámi people as a collective group, not paying attention to the fact that there are individual actions. According to Heatta and former chief executive of Maori Television, Jim Mather, it is important that Native or

> Indigenous journalists are teaching the mainstream press how to cover Indigenous areas. Maori-TV in Aotearoa is now offering this kind of a course for the mainstream press. (Liv Inger Somby, personal reflection)

These considerations, derived from a cumulative critique of non-Indigenous media, and from the emergent domain of Indigenous media practice, carry significant resonance with the challenges that are inherent in our efforts to develop Indigenous journalism studies underpinned by scholarly reflection and research. How can academia, or a Master's Programme in Indigenous Journalism, provide knowledge to different news rooms, be it in *Sápmi* or Aotearoa New Zealand?

As noted by Liv Inger Somby:

> The need for operational guidelines can be very problematic for the mainstream press. Before my formal academic training, I was not good enough to ask questions about the *purpose* of their reportage, neither was I good enough to ask questions about who is *owning* the stories. I was not clear enough about how the Indigenous people themselves are able to *check if they have understood or misunderstood* each other during the interviews. It is not enough to know how to ask the questions and then try to find someone who is able to answer these questions. Indigenous Journalism must also teach about what are the responsibilities when we are reporting from Indigenous Societies. The main question is this; do we understand the societies that we are covering? (Liv Inger Somby, personal reflection)

The tension inherent in the simultaneous rehearsal of 'professional skills' whilst maintaining a reflexive indigenous perspective was the crucible in which learning took place. This juxta-positioning was present also in the different personal biographies and expertise possessed by colleagues who formed the teaching cohort for this course, ranging from non-Indigenous to Indigenous academics and professionals, and from seasoned journalists to internationally renowned lawyers on Indigenous rights.

There remains a very specific challenge in claiming to offer an education in "Indigenous Journalism", or journalism from an Indigenous perspective. This challenge relates to the critiques of Western knowledge and to an assumption that there exists an ontological and epistemological difference between Indigenous and non-Indigenous contributors to the programme, whether staff or students. However, Indigenous peoples and communities too are divided along gender, age, class, geography and language, and in addition, there are divisions along traditional affiliations such as clan, tribe, iwi, or type of livelihood, which in Sápmi would entail for instance reindeer-herders. All these divisions prevent any easy conception of what an Indigenous person is; and consequently, problematize the idea of "Indigenous" journalism.

Examples of internal tensions in Sápmi make very concrete and explicit just how salient and challenging is this reality (e.g. Markelin, 2017; Steinfjell, 2019). Located in the Sámi Allaskuvla, which as the most prominent Sámi institution in higher education has its own foundational burden of expectations and aspirations, it was inevitable that the past and current circumstances of the Sámi should be explicitly privileged within our curriculum. Like colonization, decolonization too is in every instance tied to a particular place and reflects the historically specific relation of the colonized and the coloniser (Gildea, 2019). Hence this programme, located in Sápmi, offered the students an immediacy in finding the relevance of the issues being debated.

The extensive growth of literature on the 'Indigenous research perspective' or Indigenous methodologies (e.g. Smith, 1999, 2012; Kovach, 2009; Chilisa, 2012) over the last two decades has provided a potent framework for those who would carry out research on or in Indigenous societies, and we asserted that it had equal importance and potential for those who would be journalists. At the same time, a good understanding of existing standards of mainstream journalism and social science theories and methods would be required, in order to meet professional and academic discourses on an equal footing.

Accordingly, we argue that being a self-aware and politically engaged Sámi is not a sufficient qualification for being a Sámi journalist: nor is being an experienced and competent professional journalist a sufficient basis for claiming to report adequately on Sámi and Indigenous affairs. The challenge that we offer to our students is to merge their journalistic competences with a reflexive Indigenous perspective - something that ultimately may cause them to feel uncomfortable with aspects of both mainstream *and* Indigenous journalism, and some Indigenous individuals and communities. Hanusch (2013a), in his attempt to provide an ideal type modelling of the characteristics of Indigenous journalism, cites as one of its defining features that it must speak truth to power. This is consistent with the decolonizing agenda of Indigenous methodology; and with the doxa of universal human rights that frame so much of its assumptive framework. However, in the context of Indigenous journalism, this raises the question of the internal fragmentation of Indigenous identities, and of whose truth is being privileged. Who has the right to speak, for whom? (cf. Steinfjell, 2019). Apart from the more fundamental question of 'can the subaltern speak' (Spivak, 1988), and the potential hegemonic constraints of the discursive repertoire employed by the *professional* journalist, there is the reality that such journalism may violate the normative power regimes of specific Indigenous communities (see the case of Māori TV, Smith, 2018).

Journalists operate within a specific regime of economic and managerial constraints. Husband (2005) has indicated how all journalists negotiate their own ethnic identity, and its contingent political affiliations, within a specific *community of practice*. Researchers such as Matsaganis and Katz

(2013) have extended this perspective, showing how problematic and varied the relationship between minority media and mainstream media and institutions can be. Additionally, Evans has pointed to the differing strategic decisions that Indigenous journalists make within this professional and socio-political context:

> *media organizations support or resist hegemonic pressures differentially; some work 'within the system' to further worthwhile aims, while others struggle against hegemonic coercion in an effort to expose that coercion and foster alternative power structures. Any models relating to the role of media in hegemony must reflect the heterogeneous stances and discursive relationships adopted by and among various media organizations.* (Evans, 2002)

In the context of Sámi content in public service media, this tension is visible for instance in the use of Indigenous languages: to what degree should public service media cater to the part of the Indigenous communities that have lost their Indigenous languages by producing contents *on* the community in the majority language? And to what degree should services be offered in the Indigenous minority languages still spoken, in order to strengthen the presence of the languages within the community? (Moring, 2017.) Given the intersectionality that may frame individual subjective understandings of their Indigenous identity, and given the variability of editorial perspectives that may be adopted on articulating and representing an Indigenous perspective by specific news desks, it is apparent that a programme such as ours must reject any easy acceptance of essentialist understandings of what it is to be an Indigenous journalist. Rather, we see it as our task to equip students—and potential future researchers—with an understanding of the constraints under which they will operate, confidence in their journalistic and academic skills, and provide them with an environment in which they can explore *their* understanding of how they resolve the challenge of fusing an Indigenous commitment with a professional journalistic ethic.

Consequently, we have not reached – or even aimed at reaching – a comprehensive conclusion regarding a definition of Indigenous journalism. Rather, keeping in mind the general traits that seem to unite Indigenous media as mapped by Hanusch (2013a), we could summarize, based on what we have learned so far, that Indigenous journalism includes:

- Respect for interviewees and local cultures
- Respect for the past and continuing consequences of the colonial experience
- Acknowledgement of the value of local Indigenous knowledge and values

- A sincere effort towards reciprocity in the relationship between the journalist and their subject(s)
- An internally informed view on the society covered, rather than an external gaze focusing on the exotic or extraordinary
- A respect for the Indigenous Community's right of self-definition and self-determination.

We recognize that efforts to arrive at any deeper understanding of Indigenous perspectives on media and journalism must develop as a process, and can thus only be taught and analysed through an immediate involvement with the people(s) and communit(y/ies) concerned.

The process of establishing the programme

Initially starting as a teacher's college, the Sámi Allaskuvla opened up the possibility for journalism training in 1992 through a co-operation with Bodø College (later part of Nord University). One of the driving forces was Magne Ove Varsi, a Sámi journalist who, during his studies in 1983 wrote a seminal paper on Sámi freedom of expression and of the press as 'under the Norwegian boot'. As part of his argument for a stronger Sámi public sphere, he underlined the importance of a journalist education in Sámi language and from a Sámi perspective (Varsi, 1983). Nine years later he ran the first trial project whereby journalist students were offered one year of Sámi studies in Guovdageaidnu before transferring to Bodø College for two years of journalism training. The idea was to train Sámi journalists in Sámi language and culture as well as the journalistic trade. While the first year in Guovdageaidnu was popular, few students opted to continue to Bodø. In 2000, a new project was therefore launched, this time with a full three-year journalist training programme at the Sámi Allaskuvla

In 2004, the Sámi Allaskuvla decided to create a two-year Candidate studies programme in journalism, followed by an optional third year for a full Bachelor's exam. Lead by Torkel Rasmussen, the new studies increasingly focused on the Sámi and Indigenous perspective, which was something the students had specifically called for (Rasmussen, 2017).

Magne Ove Varsi was also one of the first who from a Sámi context voiced the need for higher education in Indigenous journalism. In 2000, at the "UN Workshop on Indigenous media: promoting the rights and cultures of Indigenous peoples through the media" in New York, Varsi proposed the establishment of a *Master's Degree Programme in Indigenous Journalism*. The workshop supported the idea, and a co-operation project between a number of universities as well as international organizations was discussed. The idea was later picked up at the international conference on Indigenous journalism, "Same Voice but Different" in Alta, Norway in 2007. Here the need for investments in education and research at the highest level was clearly formulated, and the conference – at the initiative of the *Sámi*

Journalisttaid Searvi (Sámi Journalist Association) – explicitly urged the University to take a leading role in lifting the academic level of *álgoálbmot journalistihkka*, Indigenous journalism.

Two years earlier, the Sámi Allaskuvla had appointed Helsinki University professor of journalism Tom Moring as Professor II. His vision was to develop journalism and media studies from an Indigenous perspective as an academic field. The aim must be to ensure the availability of Sámi and other Indigenous peoples as professors, teachers, researchers and leaders within media and journalism. Simultaneously, the Sámi Allaskuvla developed plans for strengthening its academic profile through several other new Master's programmes. Thus, the initiative of an international programme in Indigenous journalism was well received.

The reasoning behind making the programme international in nature was four-fold. First of all, as mentioned above, the need for higher education in journalism from an Indigenous perspective was global. There was, to our knowledge, no university in the world at the time offering international studies in Indigenous journalism at a higher level. Secondly, the size of the potential pool of Master's students in Sápmi is such, that realistically it could be difficult to create a full Master's programme with only Sámi students. Thirdly, the Sámi Allaskuvla was aiming for an increasingly international profile. It has always had a pan-Arctic profile, and introducing English as a language of instruction would open for a worldwide recruitment and strengthen the impact on Indigenous issues internationally. And fourthly, and fundamentally, an international student cohort would ensure a creative engagement with the critical diversity within Indigenous and other communities world wide and facilitate reflexive comparative analysis.

While the programme proposal was under consideration at different levels within the Sámi Allaskuvla, under the tutelage of Rector Steinar Pedersen (and later Jelena Porsanger) and Dean Nils Johan Päiviö, cooperation with the Sámi media and other bodies was sought. Already in 2008, the initial idea had been discussed with and endorsed by the newly created World Indigenous Television Broadcasters Network (WITBN). The development of this network in 2008 thus offered a most timely context for an international education programme in Indigenous journalism. The international approach of the new Master's programme in journalism with an Indigenous perspective at the Sámi Allaskuvla did thus not occur in a vacuum. The vision was always for the programme to serve the Nordic and global development of the Indigenous media themselves. Cooperation within and between the Indigenous media is in turn key to the development of the field of international journalism. Sámi radio broadcasters in the different countries comprising Sápmi have cooperated on media content since the middle of the 1960s. This has contributed to a greater understanding of the diversity that exists within and between the Sámi communities and stronger cohesion among the Sámi people. In 2001, the common Nordic TV news *Ođđasat* were established. This daily common Sámi

broadcast in Norway, Sweden and Finland was a milestone for Sámi co-operation and Sámi media cooperation in particular.

The planning of the programme was further grounded in the Sámi media environment. In 2009 a first hearing regarding an international Master's Programme and the need for higher education within the Sámi media was held with representatives of the Sámi media. As a follow-up, a survey was conducted amongst Sámi media staff and leadership regarding the needs for, and interest in, further education and research. The results were discussed with the heads of the main Sámi media in Norway, Sweden and Finland in early 2013. It was clear that the lack of appropriately educated Sámi journalists was a continuous challenge, and that further education was needed.

In 2011, the Sámi Allaskuvla lodged an official application with the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT) to apply for an international Master's programme in Indigenous journalism. In an accompanying letter to the application, the rationale of the programme was expressed as follows:

> *Recognizing the unique competences of Indigenous journalists, and the particular challenges that they may face, this programme will provide an international forum for the sharing of professional development, and the cumulative consolidation of a distinctive pedagogy and professional identity that will enable Indigenous journalists to fully participate in advancing the cause of Indigenous peoples.* (Sámi University College, 2011)

The pedagogic rationale of the programme was to create an environment where the relational nature of indigeneity constituted the red line that runs throughout the courses. This is foundational in the literature on Indigenous research methodologies, and a vital aspect of the continuous dialogue between journalism as a *profession* and the *field of research* on the one hand, and Indigenous identity, as a *self-definition* on the other. Of necessity it obligates the staff and students to accept that *the personal is political* and that they cannot be permitted to travel through this course with their personal identity and biography being 'off-limits'.

Simultaneously, a programme such as this requires some specific skillsets not taught by general journalism programmes. As an example, reporting on Indigenous issues is difficult without an at least rudimentary knowledge of the international legal system governing Indigenous rights. According to Sámi lawyer John B. Henriksen, who is an expert on Human Rights and Indigenous Rights, there is a huge need to educate journalists about Indigenous Rights and Human Rights.

> *We do not see much about Indigenous Rights in the media nor about Human Rights; and there is a huge disinformation about the ILO*

> *convention and United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Does mainstream press have a role to promote human rights, including indigenous rights? Does indigenous media have a role to play in promoting IP rights?*
>
> (Henriksen, lecture 09.03.2015, Sámi allaskuvla)

According to John B. Henriksen, in the face of the ignorance and lack of awareness of journalists the media, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, must implement this kind of knowledge within newsrooms. As noted by Liv Inger Somby:

> The loss of land rights and in many countries the lack of access to justice are not covered as expected by the Indigenous Peoples themselves. The role of understanding Indigenous Rights and Human Rights, and to understand the contrasts of media ethics, is giving our students the possibility to start asking questions and writing reflection notes about Indigenous Rights. (Liv Inger Somby, personal reflection)

As indicated, the Programme offers not only a course on the Theoretical & Methodological basis for journalism research with a strong emphasis on Indigenous methodologies (e.g. Chilisa, 2012; Kovach, 2009; Smith, 2012), but also a specific course exploring Ethics, Law & Professional Identity from an Indigenous point of view. This includes looking at the international legal framework for Indigenous rights, ethics and identity as problematized from both a personal and societal perspective. These courses are both taught during the first year, together with an Advanced Course for Indigenous Journalism and an introductory course exploring What is Indigenous Journalism? (see also Rasmussen, 2017). In addition, students are offered an optional course on Indigenous Societies and Structures, a course that can be exchanged e.g. for language or another course related to the programme. Students themselves form an integral part of the pedagogy, as they are asked to use their own biography and professional background as a tool for exploring the issues in class. Plenty of social gatherings, and out-of-campus visits where possible, have become an integral part of the programme. The second year of study is devoted to the Master's Thesis, which can constitute either 30 or 60 ECTS, where the shorter version is based on a piece of journalistic work complemented with a written analysis. As the class includes students from outside of Sápmi and Europe, a lot of time and effort needs to be devoted to making international students feel at home, and making sure that they are coping both physically and psychologically with the northern location of Guovdageaidnu as well as the dark and cold weather during the winter months. This has proved to be a task not to be taken lightly.

Underlining the international and Indigenous spirit of the programme, the original application was for a "Master's Programme in Indigenous

Journalism". However, the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT) found that the particular remit of the University to serve the needs of the Sámi communities had not been sufficiently addressed by the application. As NOKUT required, the name was amended to "Master's Programme in Sámi Journalism with an Indigenous Perspective", thus also better reflecting the nature of our approach to indigeneity in the context of various journalisms. However, alongside Sámi and Nordic experts, many of the internationally renowned names within Indigenous methodologies and Indigenous journalism participated in the programme, either in person or through lectures via Skype. This ensured not only an international approach to the teaching, but provided a quality of input that can be internationally recognized.

The challenges and possibilities of international cooperation

The international development in cooperation between Indigenous media provided a timely context for the development of a Master's programme in Indigenous journalism with an international profile. While working out the news profile of the joint Nordic Sámi newscast *Ođđasat*, introduced in 2001, it was decided that apart from Sámi content, news pieces from other Indigenous areas in the world were to be included. A development of Indigenous cooperation between newsrooms was seen as a way to strengthen Indigenous identities, cultures, languages and societies. Indigenous media in different parts of the world felt they could play a crucial role in this process. As a part of this process, the development of an internationally oriented higher education in and on Indigenous journalism was positively received.

A starting point was an approval by WINHEC, the World Indigenous Higher Education Consortium, which the project gained in 2010. Another corner stone in the development was the connections between the practical and the scientific parts of the programme sought at a conference organized in cooperation with WITBN in 2012. At this conference, we had the opportunity to interview journalists and Editors-in-Chief of 12 Indigenous television outlets operating in different parts of the world. This allowed for comparative analysis, thus dramatically improving our understanding of the various conditions and subsequent solutions of journalists working in this field (Markelin & Husband, 2013; Markelin, 2017).

The development of international cooperation also goes with a warning. In many contexts—including the Indigenous – media have developed in accordance with traditional media patterns and one-way distribution. This is now history. At the same time, one might recognize a certain stagnation in the media cooperation between Indigenous peoples. For global—and for that matter, also Nordic—cooperation to succeed, it is important to understand that all participating in the process should gain from it. It is important to recognize that cooperation requires humility and the willingness

to understand each other's viewpoints. Something that in itself requires a strong willingness to seek consensus and compromise, rather than acting alone or presenting ready-made decisions. Turning this challenge into a resource required the Master's programme to maintain an open atmosphere that allowed for, sometimes protracted discussions.

In order to benchmark with international scientific standards, connections were also established with universities in Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia, Finland, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, UK and USA. We engaged professors who had expertise in the particular fields covered in the Master's theses, including on-the-spot visits of professors to seminars at the Sámi Allaskuvla, arranged in cooperation with the University of Helsinki. As is custom in Norway, all Master's Theses were examined by one external examiner who had not been the supervisor of the thesis, in addition to the internal examiner. In most cases the external examiner was a reputed academic from outside of Norway (e.g. Aotearoa New Zealand, UK, USA and Sweden).

A critical appraisal

In terms of completion rate, the programme has so far been successful: of the first cohort, all students who attended the programme received their Master's degrees within half a year of the conclusion of the programme. Of cohort two, seven out of eight have passed so far. Amongst the themes raised in the students' research projects were issues of Indigenous ways of expression, self-representation as well as representations by 'others', media use, media systems, communication, visual journalism and issues of non-Indigenous working on Indigenous stories, including gate-keeping practices that hide threats to Indigenous peoples' traditional lands. Students, through their work, participate in developing Indigenous journalism and increase participation of Indigenous voices in the public sphere. Students have repeatedly been asked to talk about their work to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences. Due to a limited amount of existing research on Sámi media and Sámi journalism, works related specifically to the Sámi sphere have been in high demand. Unique insights from the students' theses have been offered through documenting the voices of elderly Sámi women and the power of their storytelling (Somby, 2016), or the marginalized South Sámi public sphere (Steinfjell, 2019). The role of Indigenous storytelling and its relation to joiking has been explored (Utsi, 2019). Simultaneously, on the other hand, light has been shone on the non-Indigenous sphere and its treatment of Indigenous voices. For example, the role of the media in sustaining hate speech against the Sámi (Eira, 2018), exacerbating conflict in Mato Grosso de Sul (Lopes, 2016), or providing a one-sided picture of the issue of predators while silencing the reindeer herders (Paltto, 2017) adds to the important body of research on representation. The exploration of the role of the non-Indigenous journalist interacting with Indigenous

interviewees (Leukumaavaara, 2017; Vilpponen, 2019) could potentially bring about change in how journalists in mainstream media prepare for stories in Indigenous areas.

Most significantly, the programme provided a space and an opportunity for students to reflect upon their own identity and profession, and open their eyes to new ways of looking at the world and the profession of journalism. Students and professors have together been challenged to reflect on the ontological nature of being, and consequent epistemological choices. As noted by some of the students during a feedback session, the programme raised questions about how you approach the world: "You start questioning things you have always taken for granted". The international dimension strengthened this experience, as 'the world came into the classroom', as one student put it. "Even though you go to a very little place, a small Sámi village, a whole world opens up".

Students have since gone on to a variety of roles, such as leadership, lectureship, journalism and photography journalism. So far, two students are pursuing doctoral research.

Naturally, there have been a number of challenges in creating and running such a programme. One is the location coupled with the number of potential students realistically available. This has been visible particularly in the efforts to offer a Doctoral education in journalism based at the Sámi Allaskuvla, in cooperation with a degree-awarding university. Another challenge relates to the recruitment of international students. Norway is an expensive country to live in, even without tuition fees, and students must show sufficient liquidity to receive a study permit. After the quota stipend for international students was abolished in 2016, it has become increasingly difficult to enrol applicants from Africa, Asia and South America in particular.

The interest in the programme is, however, vast. The number of applicants each year has been about 50. We are also very aware that many of our colleagues and potential students around the world would wish for a net-based education, where one and a half or two years in Guovdageaidnu would not be a requirement. However, the rationale of the original programme was to build on the expertise and identity of the students themselves. Conducting long-distance education creates a different dynamic and requires a different set of tools. However, as the Covid -19 pandemic has taught us, sometimes distance learning is the only available option. It might therefore be a parallell option for the future.

Conclusions

The Sámi Allaskuvla, in close cooperation with the Sámi and Indigenous broadcasters and academic partners globally, has proven to be able to raise Indigenous journalism and journalism studies to an internationally recognized level. This is evidenced by the academic success of the two first cohorts of its recently established Master's Programme that has attracted

students worldwide; students who have achieved excellent results when assessed internationally by scholars with expertise in Indigenous research. The main challenge—and contribution—to an Indigenous Academy has, however, been to successfully build an ethical and pedagogical base for Indigenous journalism as an academic and professional field. The explicit ambition of this effort was to raise the academic status and research-based competence of Indigenous journalism with a distinct Indigenous ethos. Its success was—and is—dependent on a process where practitioners in the field, an international academic community, and an academic institution join forces, while allowing the personal transition to develop in the journalistic practices and critical analytical reflection of the students who participate in the programme. The students and teachers experienced the programme simultaneously developing journalism practice and lifting the academic level of Indigenous reflexion. Thus, conceptual tools, as described in more detail above, were found to be valuable in grounding Indigenous journalism practice on a more theoretical level. The years that have passed since the preparations began, and the first students started, have already produced substantial results: research, scholarly publication, and sophistication of journalism practice with the particular competence to lift Indigenous perspectives to the fore.

It is evident that the success of this effort has been and still is fully dependent on a seamless connection to the Indigenous communities and to other strands of Indigenous research. This embeddedness in community and self-reflexion also allows the programme to contribute in a way that can benefit both the Indigenous communities and the academic community of Indigenous research. Only in recognizing its roots in Indigenous culture and patterns of resistance, can Indigenous journalism develop as an original, distinctive and common ground for scientific study and theory formation.

An important backbone to the development of the programme was an already operative Bachelor's programme that had previously been developed at the Sámi Allaskuvla. This provided an essential base for the successful development of a more theoretical approach to the field. First and foremost, there were interested students who had passed a first level of education in Indigenous journalism and were ready practitioners in the field. Also, the networks that had previously been established with academic institutions and Indigenous media, and through them, with a broader global network of Indigenous broadcasters and journalists, proved to be essential.

There remains a significant lack of knowledge about Indigenous Peoples and many Indigenous journalists themselves have not received training in Indigenous issues and rights. Journalists covering Indigenous affairs need to have knowledge in specific areas of international law, a subject not generally covered in journalistic training.

A central aim of this Master's Programme is to educate both Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists to become better in covering Indigenous news

and stories; and to provide a critical Indigenous perspective on the majority society. Indigenous voices are often under-represented, invisible, silenced and ignored in mainstream news. This programme has demonstrated the power of bringing together students committed to developing an Indigenous perspective within journalistic practice. It has been a challenging, and on occasion stressful, experience for staff and students: but a profoundly enriching one. Our pedagogy starts from an acceptance that the personal is political, and that reciprocally the political is personal. Accepting an Indigenous research perspective and a decolonizing agenda as being at the core of developing a meaningful Indigenous journalistic competence is necessarily challenging both at a professional and personal level. It is the intellectual and moral exercise in shared reflexivity that transforms the relevance of 'textbook knowledge' into viable creative professional competence. Institutions seeking to develop an education such as this should look carefully beyond the usual costing of course delivery, and ensure that they have the resources and commitment to fully support the course and the students in pursuing the high expectations, and demands, of this endeavour.

We have every reason to be deeply grateful for the commitment and desire of the students who have nurtured the development and demonstrable value of this creative process.

Note

1 Previously called the Sámi University College in English.

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9 "We haven't come so far yet": digital media, Sámi research and dissemination practices

Coppélie Cocq

Introduction

The ubiquity of digital media in everyday life, which may be observed throughout society, can also be witnessed in various academic contexts: the possibilities of sharing, interacting and engaging through social media are being embraced by academia to an increasing extent. Online presence has become a frequent demand in a research context and researchers are, for instance, encouraged by employers and funding agencies to disseminate their research findings and knowledge through different media channels, social media accounts and so forth. Social media use in research not only creates more possibilities for reaching out: it also places expectations on academics for a higher degree of visibility and insight into the research process (Duffy, 2000; Fitzgerald & Radmanesh, 2015).

The "translation of research to practice" (Lord et al., 2019, p. 5) through the use of social media is topical in many domains, but it may be particularly salient in the context of Sámi and Indigenous research. From the perspective of Indigenous methodologies, making research more visible and accessible is motivated by the importance of sharing knowledge, increasing community participation in the research process and legitimizing research (cf. Chilisa, 2012; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Transparency and accessibility in this context are not only, or even primarily, concerned with the open access of publications. The importance of being public has to do with transparency throughout the research process, to facilitate an open dialogue and ensure the accuracy and (ethical) validity of the research being conducted. Although a sense of responsibility for sharing research findings and making research understandable to a broader audience is familiar to many researchers in various disciplines, it acquires an extra dimension in Indigenous and Sámi research, similar to other areas of minority research—best illustrated by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, who says "[s]haring is a responsibility of research" (2008, p. 161), wherein the degree of public visibility about the community and participants should preferably be decided by the community and participants themselves. Denzin et al. (2008, p. 2) underscore, for instance, the fact that "[Indigenous persons], not

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Western scholars, should have first access to research findings and control over the distribution of knowledge". One common practice is to share interview transcripts and article drafts with the participants prior to taking any further steps towards publishing and disseminating the results – as a way of ensuring, among other things, that no sensitive or inaccurate information will be disclosed. Making research public in the sense of providing insights into the research and the research process is, however, a core principle in line with, and in relation to, such concepts as reciprocity and responsibility. From this perspective, this article addresses the question of whether digital media can support Indigenous methodologies, and if so how? What are the implications of this media landscape and modes of communication for Sámi research, and for sharing research and knowledge?

Background

The broad and interdisciplinary area of Sámi research as we know it today builds on the rise of the Sámi movement, the first foundations of Sámi institutions (Keskitalo, 1974; Müller-Wille, 1977), and Indigenous and academic work that has questioned and redefined the position of researchers and power relations. Indigenous movements have strongly contributed to shaping Sámi research in the Nordic countries through institution building (Junka-Aikio, 2019; Korhonen, 2008; Lehtola, 2017).

The development of Indigenous research at an international level (Chilisa, 2012; Kovach, 2009; Louis, 2007; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012) has strongly influenced how research describes, includes, and establishes a dialogue with Indigenous communities. Consequently, Sámi research, in line with Indigenous studies, aims increasingly to challenge existing views of knowledge, and to question the distinction between academic knowledge and traditional knowledge, and it argues for a high degree of participation and community groundedness (Kuokkanen, 2000, 2008; Porsanger, 2004; Sehlin MacNeil, 2014). Projects promoting the development of research ethics in collaboration with Sámi groups and individuals are currently taking place in Norway (see e.g. Kvernmo et al., 2018), Sweden (Svenska Samernas Riksförbund, 2019, Samediggi[1]) and Finland.[2] Debates on ethics, relationships and the ownership of data, as well as the importance of recognizing the role of community members in research projects, were all topics of discussion and attention in Sápmi, even before influences from Australia, New Zealand and Canada reached the the Nordic regions. The international development of Indigenous research has, however, accelerated a change in Sámi research towards an increased level of awareness about the specificities of research with Indigenous (here: Sámi) communities and the demand to decolonize research.

In the same way that we can see how the academic landscape and our everyday lives are saturated by social media, I observe how a strong discourse about decolonizing methodologies permeates, and is discussed and

debated in, contemporary Sámi research – a point of focus that comes across frequently in discussions I have had in academic contexts in Norway, Sweden and Finland, and I believe it is crucial to ask how these issues affect our research.

Digital media and research

In this context, the increased use of digital media in society in general, and in academic contexts in particular, may facilitate communication, visibility and transparency, and thus digital media has been a source of hope and raised expectations with respect to such research. This is especially true in the Nordic countries, which have rather well-developed Internet infrastructures and a relatively high degree of digital literacy.

Academic and professional platforms, such as ResearchGate, Academia.edu and LinkedIn, add to the range of possibilities for applying social media communication in a research context. They indicate the prospects for, and anticipations of, an increased visibility through a digital presence of this kind, built on the assumption that a web presence is something to strive for, even a necessity. While the specific aforementioned platforms mainly apply to researchers, academics and other persons interested in research, they may be quite distant from the communities involved in such Indigenous research. Social media services shared by a broader audience (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube) may therefore be a more efficient way of communicating and sharing knowledge with non-academic communities.

Previous research on social media and research clearly indicates a tension between the potential and hopes that surround the application of new technologies, and the difficulty in assessing their success and efficiency. Social media's potential for challenging dominant discourses, for organizing actions, for resistance and for creating support among Indigenous groups has been highlighted in previous research (Carlson & Frazer, 2015; Petray, 2011; McMillan et al., 2013). According to Cawcutt et al. (2019, p. 849), in a research context "social media can be used strategically to increase the dissemination of research articles and collect solution-focused feedback". Discussing the advantages of the internet, Duffy (2000, p. 350) observes how "[i]t is this speed and flexibility of information exchange that represents probably the single most important benefit of the Internet". The downside of online exposure and social media as a place for hate speech and racism is another topic of focus in research about Indigenous (digital) media (Carlson et al., 2017; Matamoros-Fernández, 2017).

The current media landscape, and how this is embraced by academia, may echo well with the ideals of transparency and increased engagement with Indigenous methodologies. However, it is still unclear exactly how social media can support these methodologies. The way in which knowledge and expertise are perceived has changed, partly due to social and participatory

media, which offer new opportunities to speak out and to reach out (Cocq, 2017a, 2017b; Fuchs, 2010; Jenkins, 2006; Lovink, 2005).

This chapter asks how the changes we have witnessed in the media landscape impact the field of Sámi research, more particularly by exploring how individual researchers negotiate the broad expectations and changes in their own work. To that purpose, I conducted interviews with three scholars and followed the web presence of their projects. The scholars and their research are all part of larger projects financed by national or European funding agencies. They are active in different fields (archeology, health and forest resource management) in Norway, Sweden and Finland.[3]

The interrelations and possible tensions between communicating Sámi research and social media use in academia have not been investigated so far – an oversight that this chapter addresses. It also brings to the forefront the potential and the limits of a careful and motivated communication strategy when working with local communities in the Nordic countries.

Data and methods

The data consists of interviews conducted in 2018–2019. The interviews, six in total, were conducted twice with three scholars at different points in their projects, with a focus on the intentions, strategies and experiences of the research process. Additional data, social media data relating to projects led by the interviewed scholars, consists of posts and updates on the projects' accounts (primarily Facebook and Twitter). Other forms of digital communication, such as webpages, are also included since they relate to social media use.

The first interview conducted with each of the participants was semi-structured and focused on the reflections of the scholars in relation to their current project and previous projects. The second interview was structured and based on points of tension brought up in the first interviews, as well as questions regarding the use of social media and digital communication. Follow-up questions were also asked in relation to updates on the development of the projects.

The interviews[4] were conducted in such a way that, as their peer, I encouraged the researchers to reflect on the research context. With a Ph.D. in Sámi studies and a disciplinary background in ethnology and folklore, I have conducted and been involved in various research projects with Sámi communities for two decades. My experiences and conversations (both more and less informal) with colleagues from various environments within and related to Sámi studies is one of the motivations for this study: the principle of transparency and the requirements for an increased visibility in research are two examples of changes I have witnessed and, together with colleagues, experienced. The efforts, expectations and conditions for conducting research that is acceptable, valid and relevant have varied and developed, and I find it important to reflect on what is going on and, not least, in which direction the field is developing from the perspective of established researchers.

Selected projects

The first project (2018–2022), funded by a major research agency, studies the relationship between humans and animals, and involves an interdisciplinary group. The project leader reported in the interview that she had a limited experience of working closely with local communities and with qualitative methods, such as interviews and observations. However, her knowledge of local circumstances, her awareness of the cultural specificity of the groups with which the project was concerned (reindeer herders, amongst others) and her contacts with colleagues and other members of the project led her to a careful choice of appropriate modes of collaboration.

This research project has a website, a Facebook page and a Twitter account. The project leader relates that, encouraged by her employer (a university), she took courses in how to use social media for communicating research. However, she reported feeling at an early stage that the project's media strategy was "a mess", and that the motivation for the use of social media was to a greater extent based on the expectations of the funding agency and academia, and only to a lesser extent a choice made on scientific or pedagogical grounds. Later, she commented that the group had developed a strategy and managed to reach out to local communities via social media.

Social media use in this project is mostly academic, including conference updates and project milestones. This is in line with what the project leader described in the interviews, namely that the communication strategy on social media mainly addressed the scientific community, at least at the beginning of the project. The posts mention and illustrate meetings, conference participation, information about new project members and photos from fieldwork. The website is primarily informative (project members, calendar of academic activities, list of publications); it links to the project's Facebook page and provides updates about posts on Twitter. The languages used are English and the national language.

The second person interviewed is a project leader for one part of a larger international project about collaborative research and participatory techniques for resource governance (2017–2020). The project was in its final phase at the time of the first interview. The project leader explained how this specific project builds on other projects with similar approaches, meaning in close collaboration with reindeer-herding communities. He underscored on several occasions how visibility and continual communication with stakeholders are central to the approach. However, it remains unclear to him how social media can achieve that end, and he is quite sceptical about how social media can be an efficient tool for communicating research within an ongoing project.

This overall project has a Facebook page and a homepage on the website of one of the project partners. There is also a project page on ResearchGate[5] that displays a few posts from 2017 on the project log. According to the

project leader, it had few followers and was soon abandoned, due to a change in staff, and a Facebook page became the main channel of social media communication in the first phase of the project. This page contains photos, including landscape photos, and updates from seminars, conferences and field trips, as well as additional links (to a questionnaire, for instance, or a press article). The language used is English. Commenting on the Facebook project page, the interviewee sardonically noted that "I am the hero who posted THREE times", calling attention to the low degree of activity.

Due to a low degree of interaction and perceived low visibility, the Facebook page has since been replaced by a Twitter account. Here we find posts, retweets, and references to people or universities. There is also a hashtag for the project. Several periods of activity can be distinguished, such as a field trip or a conference. Between these periods of activity, the Twitter account has fewer posts or no updates. The languages used are English and sometimes the national languages, and the degree of interaction ("likes" and retweets) is low. The webpage, hosted by one of the partners, provides a project presentation, links to newsletters and materials (e.g. slide shows from presentations at conferences). It is informative and the intended audience is academics, researchers and national authorities. Despite the limited media use and low exposure of the project, it did receive a prestigious award for a video about the project.

The third scholar interviewed is a project leader for several projects regarding the health of children and adolescents in the Far North. She has considerable experience of participatory research and strives to follow, adapt and develop Indigenous methodologies in a Sámi context. The use of social media by the project group is not extensive, but the project leader recognizes that social media today has its place and expressed a desire in the interviews for improvements to prerequisites for social media communication with the people most affected by the research.

The project that is given the most careful attention in this article is a register-based longitudinal study comprising several sub-projects about physical and mental health, sexuality, education, and school and home environments (2003–). Social media has been used only rarely to disseminate information. Contact with the participants in the study is established and maintained through (offline) institutions (e.g. schools), and the need for visibility and communication online has not been of immediate interest.

The project's webpage on the official website (university and partner institutions) provides a description of the project, a list of the sub-projects in the national language, a list of publications, a link to contact information, a profile of the principal investigator and information about the leadership and organizational affiliation of the project. The site is in the national language, but it provides a short description of the research group in English. It also includes a list of attachments: questionnaires and

information for parents (in the national language, and in North Sámi) and information addressed to young people (in the national language). The project's website thus functions both as a means to present the project and as a hub for resources addressed to partners and others involved in or concerned with the project.

The project leader said about the projects' webpages that "they are not good enough. Here, we should do much better" (interview 5); she further noted that "in other, more recent studies we are using social media extensively, both for recruitment and dissemination. We make video films, information materials, etc., which are distributed via social media. Our experience with this has been positive".

Perspectives, applications and experiences

"You have to be proactive"

How do the scholars in question perceive social media communication in research? Similarly to what has been described previously, one interviewee identified the potential advantages of social media in communicating about one's research as follows:

> Potentially, it could actually influence the impact of the research quite a lot I think. If people are reading and following and getting information about researchers, what they are doing, and their results, I think that's a great way to bring research closer to people. (interview 1)[6]

In that sense, the role of social media in narrowing the gap between researchers and people outside academia may be important. Reflecting on the choices and implications of a web presence, one interviewee noted the changes that have occurred during her career as follows:

> We live in a more complex world today, with social media. You have to be proactive; it takes time. As a researcher, and when you reach the level of professor, your time is limited. (interview 3)[7]

The main change emphasized here, and a topic of concern for this project leader, is the time-consuming nature of social media in relation to other tasks, and the structure of academic work and responsibilities. "Novel" modes of communication, and the way in which they have become integrated in academic practices, have not been followed by a redistribution of work priorities. On the one hand, social media use is encouraged and its potentially positive effects are promoted; in practice, however, such usage is in addition to other research tasks and presents challenges for successful time management.

Another interviewee made a similar observation about the need to be "proactive" and identified one driving force in this development:

> [T]he demands of communicating with different groups are rising all the time … I think the university is sort of emphasizing this and they are organizing these training sessions for scientists, how to talk about your science to the general public, and I think also more and more projects are engaging in social media, and they have Facebook pages and blogs and that sort of thing. (interview 1)

The university as employer is in this case one of the agents encouraging media use in research. So, too, are a number of funding bodies, as an interviewee active in a project funded by the European Research Council explained when talking about media use in the project: "That's a demand from the EU; otherwise we'd have done nothing" (interview 2).[8]

The importance of communicating one's research was strongly emphasized in all interviews, but the potential and perceived benefits of a web presence were not unquestioned, particularly in relation to the difficulty of reaching out. "My worry is that I'm doing it for nothing, that nobody is reading [it] …" (interview 1); another interviewee commented, "I can't point to any success story" (interview 2). Someone else reflected on the costs and benefits of the need to use social media for the project, observing that "[i]t takes time to update, and the returns are not necessarily that great" (interview 6).[9]

One interviewee, though, reported nonetheless appreciating the convenience of social media:

> I actually think it's a relatively easy way for researchers […] you can just do it on your phone, and it takes only a little time, so I think that's an advantage. (interview 1)

Although the use of social media differs between the projects, it is possible to observe a pattern in the feed of posts and photos. One common genre in academic tweeting appears to be photos of meeting rooms and conference venues, with a short text or hashtag precisely identifying the place and context (a specific conference or workshop), sometimes with colleagues' names. It is reasonable that this form of communication – and, at the same time, documentation – does not necessarily require much time. Other tasks, such as writing longer texts and designing a platform, require greater resources. Likewise, the need for – and lack of – resources was a recurrent topic in interviews when we discussed the need to communicate one's research:

> The setting up of the webpage was the most difficult thing, I guess. [laughs] […]

> I had to do it; well, I tried asking around the university whether there was someone able or willing to help me—but no. (interview 1)

All three projects make use of an official project webpage, hosted on a university website, a partner's homepage or, as in the previous example, one created by the researcher using an open-source publication tool. A webpage gives the project and its members a presence and visibility, and it provides information about the project and team members, and their publication lists and activities. Webpages also function as a hub for social media platforms, for instance by linking to a Facebook page or displaying a Twitter feed, or as a place to share resources, for example an information leaflet to be shared with those participating in the project. None of the interviewees reported negative effects due to media exposure, and reading the social media posts and their comments reveals a friendly and professional tone of voice.

The three participants noted that they had dealt with raised expectations regarding a web presence, and a tension existing between the benefits of this type of presence and the conditions required to make use of social media in an efficient manner. On the one hand, all the interviewees underscored the importance of communicating their research beyond an academic setting; on the other hand, a lack of support (technical assistance and media strategies) and of resources (time and personnel) makes it difficult for them to establish and maintain a successful presence online.

The interviewees also expressed contrasting temporalities: while research takes time, and academic publication processes are slow, a media presence requires rapid, continuous updates, with a focus on findings and results. "You collect data for several years and then get it out, write an article. Research takes time …", noted one interviewee, before adding that "… Indigenous groups, they are vulnerable groups, you have to be very careful and have done a good analysis of the results" (interview 3).

In addition to the divergence in temporalities between media communication and scientific work, research conducted in accordance with Indigenous methodologies requires a pace and a process which may be longer and slower than in other disciplines. The time required to establish and maintain relationships creates a point of tension with the logic of social media communication, which requires quite quick and brief updates.

The complexity of our contemporary world (to borrow the words of one of the interviewees) has not only to do with the media landscape, though. Additionally, and not least, an increased demand in the need to communicate one's research derives from the requirement to make research relevant to communities which have suffered from earlier misconduct in research—another topic that emerged in the interviews. The need to "bring research closer to people" (as one interviewee expressed it) implies an enhancement of the benefits of research for those directly involved with and concerned by it, a similar line of thought to that articulated in Indigenous

methodologies. Kovach is one of several Indigenous researchers who underscores the value and necessity of sharing (Kovach, 2009, 149; see also CIHR 2007), an aspect of research emphasized by Tuhiwai Smith (2012, p. 191) in terms of both short-term and long-term benefits, and with a focus on collective benefits (ibid., p. 160; see also Chilisa, 2012, p. 235). As illustrated in this section, the interviewed scholars perceive both benefits and limits in a web presence and social media communication for outreach purposes, and the ability of digital communication to support their agenda has been only partially proven.

Reporting back: strategies for the dissemination of research

The importance of sharing research – from the beginning and during the process, not only the results – with communities concerned by the projects and/or who can benefit from them was highlighted by the interviewees, which is in line with Indigenous research practices. The interviews illustrated a variety of practices regarding research communication.

Indigenous research literature emphasizes the diversity (and the importance of remembering the value of such diversity) inherent in different modes of communication (e.g. Wilson, 2008). Tuhiwai Smith writes:

> There are diverse ways of disseminating knowledge and of ensuring that research reaches the people who have helped make it. Two important ways not always addressed by scientific research are to do with 'reporting back' to the people and 'sharing knowledge'. Both ways assume a principle of reciprocity and feedback. (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 15)

The interviewees told of their experiences with and strategies for achieving such goals: how they not only adapt ways of sharing knowledge and information (online and offline), for instance, but also how they choose various arenas and places in which to do it:

> We have used different conferences to present [information]. Two examples: a medical association in April, for professionals and researchers, and meetings with Sámi children in hospitals; we have invited other groups; it is more like a user and political conference. And then in June, we have an international conference on Indigenous youth, youth in transition to adulthood. In both cases, there is a need for outward communication. … (interview 3)

Conferences addressing various audiences, not only academics but also, and not least, stakeholders and end users, here serve as an example of reporting back to the community.

In response to my question about his strategy for reaching out, one scholar promptly replied:

> The third task![10] For this, I spend … —and I have no money for that—I spend an awful lot of time… talking to people, going to meetings, to the court[11]… It's like a third task, getting the research out. […]
>
> Right now, we have completed an educational programme for professionals, for 300 people [at a national administrative authority] about reindeer husbandry. It's awesome, and I don't know if Facebook would have helped us to do this. (interview 2)

Besides adapting conferences to meet the needs of various groups, the interviewees also mention educational programmes and activities for target groups and other forms of non-academic communication, such as reports in the national language, articles in newspapers and participation at specific events, for instance those organized by reindeer herders or other stakeholders. Two of the projects make use of online videos shared on the video-sharing platform YouTube. In one case, the video is a science video, in which the project leader presents her project to the public in an accessible manner, in the national language with English subtitles. In the other case, a short film (in English) produced by a member of the partner reindeer-herding unit presents the project from the perspective of the reindeer herders; this ended up playing an important role as a project outcome. The video, uploaded and shared on YouTube, was presented at the concluding meeting of the conference and received numerous "standing ovations" (interview 4).[12]

According to the project leader mentioned previously, the video became a kind of flagship for the whole project and a key factor when the project was nominated for, and eventually received, a scientific award. This form of communication seems mostly to have impacted the scientific community, but the use of short videos easily shared on YouTube here illustrates both a form of co-production of knowledge and an alternative to academic publication. Science communication videos are increasingly being used by academics, and despite disciplinary differences in their content and range of use, many universities now even have their own YouTube channel(s). Studies in this form of science popularization, such as the popular format of TED talks (Technology, Entertainment, Design), indicate that "academics are not disadvantaged in this new media environment" (Sugimoto & Thelwall, 2013). Kousha et al. (2012, p. 1715) have observed "a steady upward growth in citing online videos within scholarly publications from 2006 to 2011".

Based on previous outreach activities, the interviewees sometimes also commented on less successful experiences:

> "For [the project] we also have a newsletter, but it doesn't reach anyone. First, I wrote about our work. And I've never heard that someone ever read it. It's good to try, but …" (interview 2)
>
> The newsletter appears on the website and the link was shared on several platforms. Later, the project leader clarified that "we had the newsletter because we had to. It was a requirement from the funders". (interview 4)

In discussions about communication strategies, the topic of publications addressing the research community in relation to other types of outcomes rapidly emerged. The need to adapt and accommodate publications to fit specific audiences is reflected in the choice of language: English is the established scientific language, whereas Norwegian, Swedish or Finnish are more appropriate for a local readership. In the case of one project, information about the project is in the national language and in Sámi, but publications are mostly international, scientific and in English. The project leader explained:

> English is important for us in order to reach out. In my opinion, Indigenous research is so limited that it is extremely important that what people write reaches Indigenous groups. (interview 3)

This perspective varies between projects and disciplines, however, and the scholars expressed different ways of approaching the question of language choice:

> The most important is not to write scientific publications in English. It is through our reports [in a Scandinavian language] that the reindeer-herding units and society can learn and become inspired. […] Researchers usually plan to write three scientific articles, which will be published in highly prestigious journals, but that's not the most important thing to me. (interview 2)

Researchers differ on how to strike a proper balance between popular science presentations and publications, and scientific articles and outcomes, as illustrated here – a choice influenced to some extent by the traditions of the disciplines within which the scholars conduct their research. However, every project leader reported being aware of the need to address several audiences, along with a responsibility for communicating the results with the Sámi community.

Language choice relates to the intended audience; English is not only a *lingua franca* for international scientific publications, but also a language shared by many Indigenous groups and used to build alliances between various Indigenous groups, lands and countries. National languages are prioritized in order to reach local communities, as they are also the

languages and mother tongues of most Sámi people. In the case of the projects included in this study, Sámi is not used to a great extent and the more inclusive national languages are prioritized when informing people about projects in reports, media interventions, popular science publications and presentations. The use of Sámi in an information leaflet for one of the projects indicates that Sámi groups are being specifically targeted. None of the social media materials for the projects include posts in a Sámi language, and English is the dominant language. Scholarly interactions and networks indicate that in these cases, English is used to reach and/or maintain an academic audience, rather than to include other Indigenous groups.

The development and adaptation of communication strategies in relation to digital media is changing rapidly – a fact that became clear when following the three projects over a relatively short period of time. One project had no defined communication strategy to begin with, but the group found ways of developing and applying social media.

> [L]earning has happened, and we also have managed to reach relevant local communities (especially reindeer herders) via social media (especially Facebook), which gives more meaning to the updates and posts we do, I think. This change has occurred quite naturally, as we have reached more followers and we also have more interesting content (actual research results).[13]

In this section, I have illustrated how the various scholars being interviewed have elaborated and reflected on various strategies for sharing knowledge and information. The increased demand for Indigenous community participation and decolonizing methodologies does not imply an imperative to communicate research online. However, social media communication is so widely used that it is interesting to approach it in the context of efforts to find culturally sensitive ways of "reporting back", a practice that requires researchers to adapt and take into account "protocols of respect and practices of reciprocity" (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, p. 136). If and when digital media are used, they should of course be seen as one means among many: "Sharing knowledge is also a long-term commitment" (ibid., p. 17), and the use of social media communication is only one way of keeping up with this commitment.

A shift

The interviewees gave an account of their experiences in addressing the tensions or conflicts between different ways of conducting research – tensions and conflicts that highlight ongoing changes in Sámi research.

The amount of time defined as necessary to disseminate research findings and make the findings applicable within the community is one instance

when research structures are in conflict with efforts to give back and share knowledge.

> It is totally untenable in terms of work to have 100% funding from projects and then lecture and tell about old projects. For if you had good projects, you have to talk about them for several years. So, you have ended up in a completely untenable situation. (interview 4)

The need for flexibility and time, as well as the process of research design in collaboration with communities, is something that research funding agencies still need to take into consideration.

> So, there is a shift in Indigenous research […] we haven't come so far yet, but it has begun. And it can be very difficult to get other non-Sámi or non-Indigenous researchers to understand. Because it is expensive, it takes time, and so on […] They listened to us about this in the latest application, but we must also argue because it entails additional costs. (interview 3)

Commenting on another project, one interviewee illustrated both the shift in approaches and the difficulty in making changes:

> The first mistake they made was not formulating the issue with the Sámi reindeer units. Maybe they didn't have time, for the application had to be sent in November. So, you can identify a relevant question, but I would say: first, we must get the Sámi unit on board and know what they want, and they are the ones who have the data. And then the scholars reply that they have no time. So, it's not an ethical filter, it's a practical filter. (interview 2)

The "practical filter" described here implies that the time required to develop an application that truly follows a participatory process is hardly to be found in a researcher's schedule. Even when the "ethical filter" is correct, that is to say when there is an awareness and willingness to conduct participatory research, the prerequisites are not favorable.

The shift or change in Sámi research observed by the interviewees appears to have developed slowly:

> I think there will be a change … The Research Council have emphasized that you have to incorporate participation in the process. […]
>
> Different researchers act and choose to involve users in different ways.

> But I think it's a shift, it is on its way, even here, like with the proposal for ethical guidelines. (interview 3)[14]

Discussions and processes aimed at developing ethical guidelines and principles for Sámi research are under way in Sápmi, for instance in defining modes of community involvement (Svenska Samernas Riksförbund, 2019), forms of informed consent (Kvernmo et al., 2018; Samediggi[15]), guidelines[16] and Indigenous data sovereignty (Kukutai & Taylor, 2016; Rainie et al,. 2019). Sámi scholars tend to compare the processes occurring in Sápmi with other Indigenous contexts; "even here" in the quote above refers to a comparison with similar processes that have taken place earlier and proceeded further elsewhere.

Differences between research approaches can lead to tensions between scholars, for instance regarding issues of objectivity, impartiality and distance from the field.

> The problem is that the researcher should not become too allied with the research objects. We see, for example if we have to talk about negative aspects, then the researcher is actually more reticent about bringing it up. There are some ethical problems and challenges for the researcher. Not getting too biased, maintaining neutrality. (interview 3)

This dilemma has been made concrete through the use of social media and having an online presence, as one of the interviewees noted:

> I'd be partial if I "like" [on Facebook] all refusals for wind farms and "dislike" all that get granted, so maybe I get less credibility when I stand before the court [as an expert]. "So, you don't cheer for wind power?" While I answer, "Does this park fit in [with] this situation?" There is no completely correct assessment—everything is a form of assessment. So, there is some search for integrity [on my part]. And it is also threatened by this way of working. Being friends, working together, there are many researchers who would be cringing. (interview 2)

Social media use is here problematized in terms of integrity. Contacts and interactions are potentially visible to everyone when they take place on Facebook, for instance. The risk of being questioned as a researcher increases with the public exposure implied by social media. Issues of objectivity and credibility (as perceived by peers and collaborators) here become a reason for not being active in social media, for instance by not showing sympathy for a specific group when working with different forms of resource use in reindeer-herding areas.

Responsibility in research, as emphasized by Tuhiwai Smith (2012) and Wilson (2008), for instance, and its consequent involvement with communities and commitment to collaboration imply that the ideals of

neutrality in research are difficult, and not always preferable in practice. There are naturally different ways to respond to what are at times conflicting expectations from the research community, on the one hand, and a willingness to commit and make a difference in Indigenous research on the other. The interviews show how these tensions may be enhanced on social media when communication includes a variety of audiences and the risk of context collapse.

Looking forward

Based primarily on interviews, but also on the use of social media data in relation to research projects, this study has examined how social media can support Indigenous methodologies and presented some general conclusions about how ongoing changes influence Sámi research today.

Online presence and social media offer new tools for reaching the goals of transparency of research and the sharing of knowledge. The data on which this article is based illustrates that it is still unclear, however, if and how digital media are appropriate and successful in achieving these goals. One major issue identified by the scholars who contributed to this study is a lack of synchronization, or in other words, a mismatch not only between funding agencies and research in practice, but also between the temporalities of media communication and research.

The various social media platforms vary in terms of audience and media logics: we can identify a mode of academic tweeting, for instance, and a standard format for Facebook updates or science videos. Audience-specific communication online is more challenging, though, and the projects focused on in his chapter illustrate how offline means of sharing information are prioritized when researchers want to reach out to specific stakeholders.

This study also gives an indication of the role that social media might play in communicating research objectives and findings beyond an academic audience and readership. A web presence and the use of social media or science videos for communication can have an impact and be successful, but strategies and professional support for implementing them are lacking, or underdeveloped, resulting in an often inefficient and potentially time-consuming form of media use, with limited benefits for the communities and the researchers involved. Sharing their experiences, the scholars I have interviewed implicitly call for a professionalization of social media communication in terms of time and strategies, which can be integrated in projects by means of personnel and financial resources. Sámi research, with the urge to prioritize dialogue and communication with the communities and groups involved and concerned, has much to contribute in evaluating the various applications of social media in research.

The title of the article, "We haven't come so far yet", citing one of the interviews conducted for this study, summarizes the situation and development of Sámi research in relation to Indigenous studies. While much has

happened concerning relationships with research subjects and in the design of research projects, much has still to be developed in order for Sámi research to be better aligned with Indigenous research elsewhere: in Australia, for instance, which was raised as a point of comparison in one of the interviews. Without going further in comparing research in Sápmi with research in Australia, we may observe that efforts are being made to integrate perspectives from Indigenous methodologies into Sámi research.

The same comment, "we haven't come so far yet", might also summarize the situation of social media use in Sámi research. The potential to reach out and the hope of making one's voice heard are widespread in academia, as elsewhere. This study indicates that expectations for social media use are high, but the means and prerequisites for doing so have yet to be evaluated. The interviewees all expressed scepticism regarding the impact of social media communication, and we may indeed conclude that even though the ideas and concepts of transparency and reciprocity are attractive, both have yet to be proven in practice. Insight and communication are essential in Sámi and Indigenous research, but the assumption that social media is the right place to increase visibility and establish communication is contested.

At the same time, the ubiquity and significance of social media with regard to Indigenous groups should not be neglected. Some scholars claim that "Indigenous people are overrepresented on social media" (Carlson & Frazer, 2015, p. 214), but we may paradoxically observe how the role and relevance of digital media for Indigenous persons and groups is underresearched. Moreover, Indigenous perspectives of digital communication are indispensable in highlighting the plurality of norms, cultural values, and epistemes that are inevitably in play online. Aspects which need to be addressed from such perspectives include the prerequisites for and possible cultural protocols and ethics in relation to digital data and technologies, in order to develop culturally responsive research practices.

Notes

1 https://www.sametinget.se/121195.
2 https://www.ulapland.fi/FI/Kotisivut/Saamelaisia-koskevan-tutkimuksen-eettiset-ohjeet.
3 Russia is yet another country within Sápmi, and it would have been interesting to include information from Russia in this study. However, while Norway, Sweden, and Finland share common nodes and milestones in the establishment of Sámi research, Russia – where the Sámi are a smaller group among a number of other Indigenous peoples – differs to a greater extent; it was therefore omitted from the study after careful consideration. The conditions and prerequisites are central to an understanding of the current changes and influences in the area of Sámi Studies: a fair analysis that adequately accounts for the situation of scholars in the four countries of Sápmi, and the great variations between the countries, would require a larger and more in-depth study.
4 The interviews were conducted either face to face or via Skype (audio and video), and email was used for additional follow-up questions.

5 ResearchGate is a platform/portal designed for researchers and academics. A scholar can create a "profile" describing himself/herself, the affiliation to a university, a list of publications, and so forth. A researcher or research group can also create a project page offering descriptions and updates.
6 18 October 2018.
7 30 January 2019.
8 12 December 2018.
9 10 September 2019.
10 Societal impact, along with teaching and research, is one of the three main tasks expected of an academic employee.
11 Reference to a court case about land use.
12 19 August 2019.
13 E-mail communication, 27 March 2020.
14 Reference to a work that defines ethical guidelines for Sámi research (Kvernmo et al., 2018).
15 https://www.samediggi.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/FPIC-principles_Sámi-Parliament-in-Finland-1.pdf.
16 https://www.ulapland.fi/FI/Kotisivut/Saamelaisia-koskevan-tutkimuksen-eettiset-ohjeet.

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10 Negotiating research: studying Sámi photographs as Norwegian outsiders[1]

Sigrid Lien and Hilde Wallem Nielssen

Introduction

This chapter aims to explore the tensions and dilemmas we have faced in different ways and phases while studying the Sámi visual heritage as members of the Norwegian colonizing majority society. Our journey into this field of research began in 2010, when we approached the director of Riddo Duottar Museat-Sámiid Vuorká-Dávvirat (RDM-SVD), the Sámi Museum in Karasjok, in order to request a research visit. As members of a European Research Project on *Photographs, Colonial Legacy and Museums in Contemporary Europe* (2010–2012), we wanted to study the use of photographs in a Sámi museum. The purpose of our visit was to reflect on the various uses of images of Sámi people in light of Norwegian colonization, namely how the Sámi museum relates to, and makes use of, this colonial visual heritage. The museum reluctantly agreed to receive us. The director explicitly expressed her scepticism by referring to former negative experiences with scholars from Southern Norway. Nevertheless, when we arrived as visiting scholars, the director and her staff generously put all their reluctance aside and invited us to share their perspectives on the issues in question.

During our stay we experienced not only how the staff revealed a very conscious and reflective, although ambivalent, attitude toward the use of photographs; they also expressed a reservation toward the medium with reference to the negative feeling of being observed through the gaze of others. However, they did collect photographic material systemized by means of Sámi labels and categories. Significant to us was how they had chosen to leave photography out of their permanent cultural history display. This absence of photographs puzzled us (Lien & Nielssen, 2012a, 2012b).

Finally, we also realized how photographs in a Sámi context is an understudied field. Our visit to Karasjok thus initiated what became a longer engagement with Sámi-related research than we had imagined. With funding from the Norwegian Research Council's Sámi program, we established a new project titled *Negotiating History. Photography in Sámi Culture* (2014–2017). The project involved mapping photographs from the Sámi area kept in multiple and dispersed archives, museums and other

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institutions in Norway and abroad. We are still in the process of analysing and publishing the material collected during this period.

During the ten years that we have been studying Sámi photographs, photography studies have changed and we have changed. When we in 2010 presented our research to our colleagues in the south of Norway, their reaction to our research topic was mild surprise and perhaps also indifference. Now, in contrast, we observe how Sámi-related issues, particularly in post-colonial and decolonial perspectives, attract considerable attention from students and younger scholars. This new and increased interest in Sámi studies thus represents a major change in the context of our own work. As Laura Junka-Aikio points to elsewhere in this volume, this turn in Sámi research is also connected to the rise of Indigenous studies on an international basis. She holds that this development should be understood as a consequence of the broader popularity of post- and decolonial perspectives in the humanities and social sciences in general, as well as the growing, global Indigenous mobilization and accelerating political interest in the Arctic region (see Chapter 5).

These developments, together with our own experiences while working in this field, have framed and shaped our work. Our conceptions of our own research, as well as our reflections on positionality, have changed along the way. The chapter is structured accordingly, as a retrospective step-by-step-account of our self-reflexive process while researching photographs from Sápmi – and being informed by recent discussions in Indigenous and decolonial research. The many doubts and uncertainties that we have had, as well as our own conversations on these matters through the years, can be connected to core discussions within Sámi, Indigenous and decolonial research. Much of our critical self-reflections revolve around our positionality as Norwegian scholars working on Sámi material. According to Junka-Aikio (see Chapter 5), few still maintain that Sámi research should be conducted exclusively by the Sámi themselves. However, many hold that such research should be beneficial to the Sámi communities. Nevertheless, even for Sámi scholars, this expectation may come across as "problematic and insufficient"[2]. The current volume is itself an attempt to face some of these issues, in particular the overall question of how Sámi research should be defined. As non-Sámi contributors to this volume, we have pondered a number of questions. First of all, how and in what sense may we as outsiders undertake Sámi research? Does our research fit into the label "Sami research" at all, and what are the limits to what we may study, articulate and understand?

A first step: approaching Sámi self-presentation

As mentioned previously, the first step of our journey was the fieldwork at RiddoDuottarMuseat-Sámiid Vuorká-Dávvirat (RDM-SVD) in Karasjok. While the immediate purpose of our visit was to study how the Sámi museum relates to and makes use of the colonial visual heritage, the research project

we were engaged in formed part of a larger international development within the field of photography studies. This development took place from the 1990s onwards and was fuelled by the recognition of how photography is integral to the matrix of colonial power. Postcolonial and decolonial criticism challenged both the dominant aesthetic focus on works by canonized European-American photographers and the incessant discussions on the specificities of the photographic medium itself. The field of photography studies thus expanded to include other histories, topographies, images and actors. Moreover, this turn also involved a closer attention to the power dynamics of photography, particularly in the colonial context (Thomas, 1994; Ryan, 1997; Maxwell, 1999; Landau & Kaspin, 2002). The recognition of photography's intimate connection to colonialism's culture inspired studies that not only encompassed production contexts but also broadened the perspective to include the embeddedness of images in larger visual economies (Poole, 1997) and their uses and circulations (Edwards & Hart, 2004) – such as the use of photographs in museums.

However, postcolonial criticism had also at the time found its way into other and related fields, such as critical museology. Prior to our first visit to the museum in Karasjok, Sámi museums had been subjected to considerable criticism. They were accused of propagating ethnic reification and presenting stereotypical images of Sámi culture and identity. The Norwegian archaeologist Bjørnar Olsen, for example, described the exhibition at RDM-SVD as a replica of conventional ethnographic displays, arguing that it conveyed a romantic image of Sámi culture as static and premodern (Olsen, 2000). In the same vein, Sharon Webb argued that this exhibition produced an essentialist understanding of Sáminess (Webb, 2006). Silje Mathisen took the criticism even further by pointing to what she saw as a paradox: In taking responsibility for their own culture and history, the Sámi people reproduce ethnographic stereotypes produced by the majority society (Mathisen, 2010).

It may not come as a surprise to our readers that we reached other conclusions besides those of Mathisen and the rest of our critical predecessors. Our alternative approach was inspired by the counter critique voiced by other scholars informed by decolonial perspectives and a wave of growing recognition of Indigenous curatorial practices. A main argument was that Indigenous museums often develop strategies to counter the implications of operating within the context of the museum as a Western cultural form (Clifford, 1997; Kreps, 2003; McLaughlin, 1999; Simpson, 1996). Kreps, for example, points to the necessity of giving credence to Indigenous practices or strategies that have been overlooked or devalued as an important step towards decolonization of the museum space. Such curatorial practices may, for instance, involve the use of Indigenous terminology or attentiveness to object value and local community concerns (Kreps, 2003).[3]

It was with this discussion in mind, particularly the decolonial call for the need to move beyond the immediately recognizable in the museum space,

that we tried to make sense of our own encounter with the museum, its staff and their uses of photographs. We were particularly struck by the absence of photographs in the museum's cultural history displays. Wondering why, not least considering the massive amounts of ethnographic photographs that document Sámi everyday life, the absent photographs became a point of departure and a key to our analysis. In methodological terms, our approach was simple. First, we looked at the museum displays as a total experience, while paying particular attention to their aesthetic dimensions. We noted how the Sámi artist Iver Jåks' artwork, and his exhibition design made in collaboration with *duodji*-artist Jon Ole Andersen, established a connection between the Sámi museum and Sámi cosmological worlds. Second, we listened to the curators' own accounts of their exhibition practices and curatorial strategies. This consequently allowed us to see how the museum, by evoking a mythical landscape through aesthetic means, inscribes itself into a Sámi conception of time and space. Thus, the displays establish an alternative way of structuring the past, a way that distances itself from Western ethnography, historiography and museum practice. As we saw it, their apparent timelessness did not make them ahistorical (as argued by Olsen and others), but did instead signal an alternative mode of historicity as a response to a world where history may as much be a burden as a source of empowerment. Importantly, an extensive use of photographs, with their inherent connection to specific time and space, would have undermined this rhetoric (Lien & Nielssen, 2012b).

Even so, we understood that the museum also makes use of the colonial photographic legacy in new ways and on their own terms. While historical photographs are absent in the cultural history display, they were actively used in publications, public talks and temporary exhibitions, as part of an overall effort to reconceptualize themes such as history and change. Finally, our visit in Karasjok made us realize that this visual heritage is kept and owned by institutions located outside and far away from Sápmi. Sámi photographs are not stored in the basement archives of Sámi museums but tellingly situated in the museums and archives of the European colonial centers. Overwhelmed by the possible opportunity of discovering hidden photographic treasures in dusty archives in remote locations, while simultaneously legitimizing the venture through the prospect of making these known and available to the Sámi communities, we embarked on the next phase of our research journey.

A second step: mapping multiple agencies while questioning our own

The second phase of our research journey brought us to multiple museum collections and public and private photography archives in Norway as well as abroad. Our travelling activities encompassed road trips to the north of Norway and research stays in Berlin, Paris and Oxford. We discovered

enormous amounts of photographs produced in the Norwegian areas of Sápmi, the earliest ones dating back to the 1850s, and the more recent from the 1970s and 1980s. Addressing these collections, again informed by the development of the implementation of global perspectives within the field of photography studies (Ryan, 1997; Landau & Kaspin, 2002; Williams, 2003; Lydon, 2005), we studied the role of photography in the emergence of the modern/colonial order. In correspondence with major tendencies in the field, we explored the practices of Western photographers travelling or settling in the Norwegian colonial areas. More specifically, this involved mapping and discussing colonial photographic enterprises and analysing colonial iconography, stereotypes and naturalizations of otherness as well as photography's broader role in the colonial apparatus.

We realized how images of Sámi, once regarded as "European Indians", circulated widely in Europe in late nineteenth and throughout the first part of the twentieth century. The traces of this circulation, the archival images we encountered, bear witness to multiple photographic practices and projects, all related to colonial culture. They originate from a large range of agendas and are shaped by different, and even opposing, ideological positions and contexts. The photographs may in a sense be seen as reflections of this wide range of agencies held by the people behind the cameras: travelling explorers, scientists, ethnographers, and people engaged in civilizing missions such as missionaries, priests, teachers, etc. Some came to the north to seek personal and political freedom; others arrived in the roles of, for example, artists, soldiers or spies (Lien, 2017, 2018; Lien & Nielssen, 2021a).

The Pitts Rivers Museum in Oxford, for instance, holds a large number of photographs from Sámi areas, in the collections of Henry Balfour (Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum at the University of Oxford) and Sir Arthur Evans (Curator of the Ashmolean Museum at the University of Oxford), respectively. Both engaged in Britain's larger colonial enterprise of mapping other peoples' cultures and histories. In Berlin *Museum Europäischer Kulturen* (MEK) has a collection that contains around 1,000 photographs of Sámi peoples and landscapes accumulated over a period of nearly a hundred years, between the late 1880s and the 1970s. Among the photographers represented in this collection are scientists; communists who took refuge from Nazi-Germany in Sápmi; Nazi intelligence agents; and artists. The images, which originate from a large range of agendas, are shaped by different and even opposing ideological platforms and contexts. Nevertheless, they are all framed in an overall institutional history of colonial ethnography, racial science and its culmination and incorporation into the Nazi agenda – as well as postwar – and contemporary acts of institutional self-criticism.

In Paris, *Musée Quai Branly* and *Bibliothèque Nationale* keep the photographs and journals of Prince Roland Bonaparte, who in 1884 travelled to Northern Norway as part of his grand scheme of building a large collection of anthropometric photographs. This enterprise was not only

entangled with French racial research but also mirrored French imperial ambitions of creating a global archive of the physiologies of "exotic" others (Lien, 2018a). In our own hometown, Bergen, the picture collection at the university library includes the northern light explorer Sophus Tromholt's Unesco-listed images of Sámi peoples (Lien, 2018a); the earliest photographs of Sámi individuals (daguerreotypes) produced by Marcus Selmer in the mid-1850s (Lien & Larsen , 2007); and the tourist-market Sámi-representations by Knud Knudsen from the 1870s-1880s. All of these projects formed part of the Norwegian nation-building processes (mapping and discovering Norwegian topographies and peoples), with an emphasis on assimilating the Indigenous population in the north, yet they also catered for the growing tourist industry as well as the international market for ethnographic images.

While the Norwegian photographers represented in the archive mentioned previously travelled to the north, the archives and museum collections in Norway's northernmost counties, Finnmark and Troms, keep photographs produced by the many Norwegian settlers and government agents. A prominent example are the collections of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century photographs produced by two settler women, the Norwegian socialist activist Ellisif Wessel and the vicar's wife Margarethe Wiig (also known for producing the first Sámi ABC) (Lien & Nielssen, 2021a). Tromsø University Museum importantly also keeps what they call "a drawer of shame", which contains the photographs that originate from the racial research expeditions among the Lule Sámis in the Tysfjord area during the mid-war years, carried out by the Department of Anatomy at the University of Oslo (Nielssen, 2018).

In our critical attention to photographs as colonial representations, we were above all concerned with asymmetrical power relations and the agencies of the dominant part, image producers and users. This entailed a particular focus on the way these actors in different ways appropriated Sáminess for their own purposes. We have, for example, demonstrated how Norwegian middle-class women at the verge of the twentieth century turned to romanticized photographic visualizations of Sáminess (produced by Norwegian bourgeois photographers) as tropes of freedom (Lien, 2017). In a similar vein we have argued that Roland Bonaparte's and Sophus Tromholt's photographs from Sámi areas and appropriations of northern wilderness with its Native peoples come across as performances of male academic masculinity (Lien, 2018). Likewise, we have characterized the photographic engagements with Sámi peoples, by the bourgeois settlers Ellisif Wessel and Margarethe Wiig, as a way of gaining broader action space, greater autonomy and enhanced status in ways that would have been impossible for women in the urban centers in southern Norway (Lien & Nielssen, 2021a). We have also explored the way photographs of Sámi individuals were used to establish credibility for racial research as a scientific discipline in Norway in the 1920s and 1930s (Nielssen, 2018).

These are only a few examples of the many observations we have made concerning how Sámi peoples, reflected in the colonial archives, became a mirror for something other than themselves. The history of Sámi photography produced by non-Sámis thus appears to be a history of the ways in which representations of Sámi individuals were used to gain a wide spectre of interests external to the Sámi communities. However, struck by the totality of this pattern, the mirror inevitably turned in our own direction: How could we, as non-Sámi scholars engaged in studying photographs of Sámi peoples, avoid replicating the past? This question became even more urgent as we, also inspired by the broader literature on colonial photography, simultaneously saw the need to turn the table by incorporating reflections on Sámi agency in the photographs.

A third step: getting cold feet and acknowledging our limitations

In dialogue with the last ten years of development in the field of colonial photography studies, we began questioning the alleged totalizing force of the colonial gaze, followed by a growing awareness of the complexities of the photographic dynamics of power. Many scholars argued against what they saw as a tendency to overemphasise the significance of the dominant part of asymmetrical power relations, thereby neglecting the voice and agency of the photographic subjects (Behdad, 2013; Edwards, 2011). Edwards, for example, notes how: 'Even the production of the most overtly oppressive of images, anthropometric photographs, revealed points of fracture and resistance, which worked to restore the humanity of the subject' (Edwards, 2011, p. 176). Accordingly, in our own work we became attentive to how the Sámi people photographed by Tromholt and Bonaparte were far from naïve in relation to their own role in the visual economy of late-nineteenth-century scientific explorations. Their resistance to being photographed indicates indigenous cultural integrity and/or former negative experiences, rather than, as often presumed at the time, irrational fear or superstition (Lien, 2018).

Over time we also became increasingly aware of how the growing attention to questions of power and agency led to a more dynamic understanding of how photographs work in different decolonizing contexts. This turn implies a broadening of perspective from photographic production and representation to the way images circulate in time and space. Circulation and uses thus affect how photographs are perceived and understood (Pinney, 2003). Photography may even become a way of confronting a colonial past or making, remaking and even imagining histories (Edwards, 2001). These can then be incorporated into contemporary narratives of resistance and self-determination (Lippard, 1992) or implemented in Indigenous activist artwork (Tsinhnahjinnie, 2003).

Contemplating this development, the uneasiness and uncertainty concerning our own role as researchers engaged in a project titled *Negotiating*

History: Photography in Sámi Culture increased: As non-Sámis we surely could not take on the task of negotiating other peoples' history. Acknowledging our limitations, how then should our tasks in the project be defined? Our feelings of insufficiency and doubt intensified through the encounter with strong and complex Sámi art projects appropriating colonial photographs, particularly Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's poetry-image collection titled *Beaivi, Áhčážan* (Valkeapää, 1989) (The Sun, my father). This early and prominent example of artistic decolonial appropriation of photographs is a multidimensional work that consists of both poetry and hundreds of historical photographs. Valkeapää must have travelled extensively to collect these photographs from archives in Norway, Sweden, Finland, Germany and France. *Beaivi, Áhčážan* actively engages with the photographs, which in interplay with the poems create a sense of an extended Sámi family album (Dana, 2003). Realizing how Valkeapää had already repatriated Sámi colonial visual heritage and incorporated it into a Sámi cosmological universe, and in this way already made archival photographs available to the Sámi communities, we wondered what – if anything at all – was left for us to do.

Furthermore, learning from scholars such as Carol Payne and Veli-Pekka Lehtola, we understood that there is a multitude of ways in which Indigenous peoples reuse historical photographs. Payne shows how archival intervention through naming the nameless in colonial images can be seen as an Indigenous reparative testimonial practice (Payne, 2021). Lehtola argues that looking at the images "from the other side of the borderland" turns into more than testimonies of colonial encounters; the colonial experiences fade in favour of histories that are more important to the Sámi communities (Lehtola, 2018, 2021).

Even though historic negotiations of this kind must be done by the Sámi peoples themselves, we have in our research described and analyzed such practices, in art as well as in the museum space. One example is the way the *Árran Julevsáme guovdás*, the Lule Sámi Centre in Tysfjord, Norway, has reclaimed photographs produced by Norwegian physical anthropologists in their area in the 1920s and 1930s by engaging them in processes of restoring dignity and subjectivity (Nielssen, 2018). We have also studied how contemporary Sámi artists, such as Bente Geving and Marja Helander, make use of and creatively address archival images and their iconography (Lien, 2014, 2020).

However, although we in this way may be able to describe Sámi negotiations of colonial imagery and refer to Sámi renaming practices, we still felt uneasy about the inherent danger of going too far by taking on the role of speaking on behalf of others. Moreover, we felt the pressure of the call from the president of the Sámi parliament in Norway, Aili Keskitalo, for Norwegian scholars to confront their own colonial research history and "contribute to secure the restoration of honour and human dignity to the Sámi community" (NRK Troms, 2007).

Thus, we critically engaged with photography practices connected to research in physical anthropology and ethnography. But, we also started to see our project as a confrontation with our own colonial past. Perhaps paradoxically, this recognition came with a sense of relief because it opened up for what we saw at the time as a clear and manageable division of labour. We could "take care" of our disgraceful past as members of the majority society, while Sámi scholars and Sámi communities engaged with their side of the colonial aftermath. In taking on this newfound clarity we suddenly found ourselves deeply involved in writing histories, for example about adventurous Norwegian bourgeois women travelling to the north with a camera in their luggage (Lien & Nielssen, 2021a). Such stories reflected perhaps our own positionality more than we had been prepared for; in short, it was just another uncomfortable mirror.

In addition, we encountered another problem. Our neat, newfound division of labour was undermined by archival findings that, in addition to the many images taken by outsiders, also contained photographs produced by Sámi photographers and/or embedded in Sámi agendas and cultural practices. How could we then address this kind of material?

A fourth step: "oops we did it again"

The development within post- and decolonial photography studies provided us with some kind of direction. Even though photography as a Western technology and practice has been a main topic of discussion within this literature, some authors have also drawn attention to how quickly photography was embraced by the local population in the colonized regions. Poole's exploration of photography's role in the Indigenous modernist aesthetic (1997) is an early recognition of this way of rethinking the history of photography. Another example is Christopher Pinney's edited volume Photography's Other Histories (2003), which features pioneering contributions on local vernacular photographic practices beyond the colonial encounters, for instance in Asia and Africa. More recently, Sissy Helff and Stefanie Michels seek in the same vein to break the hegemonic view of photography as a mere Western practice, dominated by a Western gaze. They state that: "Photography never solely belonged to the West, nor was the idea of creating a likeness of a thing or a person an exclusively western or modern notion" (Helff & Michels, 2017, p. 9). They argue that professional photographers, by no means exclusively Europeans, were active on all continents, as early as the 1850s. Likewise, Alfred L. Bush and Lee Clark Mitchell's book *The Photograph and the American Indian* draws attention to how photographic representations of Native Americans were not only produced by outsiders; Native Americans started making use of the camera on their own terms from the 1880s (Bush & Mitchell, 1994).

Our own research confirms similar tendencies in the Sámi-Norwegian context. We have established that Sámi peoples approached Norwegian

photographers to have their family photographs taken at least as early as the 1880s. The Danish Norwegian scholar, Sophus Tromholt, for example, who spent a year in the Sámi community of Kautokeino in 1883 to study and photograph the northern lights, describes how Sámi locals asked him for photographs: "Among my instruments there was none which attracted their sympathy as much as my photographic apparatus. Daily some of them came begging to have their govva – portrait – taken. They never seemed to get tired of seeing themselves or their friends portrayed" (Tromholt, 1885, p. 92). We also know that members of Sámi communities themselves established photography studios in the first decades of the twentieth century. One example is the female photographer Kaja Larsen who attracted Sámi customers from the communities around Narvik (Lien & Nielssen, 2021b).

While doing research for Kaja Larsen's images in Norwegian archives, we came across a number of family albums that belongs to Ingolf Kvandahl, the grandson of the Sámi historian, teacher and activist Henrik Kvandahl (1865–1950). These albums visually document the lives of several generations of the Kvandahl family, from the 1890s to the 1950s. However, as we see it, they do not only bear witness to the movements within a closed, private, family sphere. On the contrary, they envisage how the family is also an arena for tensions connected to different and often contradictory cultural, social and political processes.

Our analysis of the images and their uses is in many ways a product of our conversations with Ingolf Kvandahl. During these conversations we learned how Ingolf uses photographs as integral to the story he tells about his legendary grandfather. In this way they form part of his commitment to the larger project of keeping alive the memory and legacy of Henrik Kvandahl. On Kalvås, the ancestral farm in Ballangen, Ingolf has established a Sámi cultural center and museum. Like his grandfather, he is dedicated to the task of envisaging Sámi history and revitalising language and cultural practices. He has also maintained his grandfather's political activism. In his storytelling, the photographs are activated in multiple ways: in written and online publications, and social media and films. In this way historical photographs are incorporated into a contemporary media ecology that opens up for new uses and new kinds of performativity (Larsen & Sandbye, 2014, p. XVI).

The album story that Ingolf tells is full of contrasts and paradoxes: He describes a man who upon return to his home village after having completed his education was mocked for being dressed in Norwegian clothes. Later in life he put the Sámi costume back on, at a time when most people in the community had distanced themselves from the costume and their Sámi background. He was a man that resented class differences, but whose own life was marked by class mobility. He sought towards the past, but was simultaneously strongly engaged with development and modernization. He struggled to reconcile his own efforts of rehabilitating Sámi identity with the dominant ideas about evolution, race and racial hygiene. He fought for

acknowledgment and self-determination at a time when Sáminess was systematically discredited.

The photographs in Ingolf's albums are inextricably entangled with the historical changes that took place in the local community and profoundly affected the lives of the different generations of the Kvandahl family. Thus, polarizations between the Norwegian government's assimilation policy from the 1850s onwards and Sámi political activism reaches far into the private album. The album photographs visualize the changes related to such tensions and the historical forces of power and resistance.

Our reading of these albums is informed by Marianne Hirsch's conceptualization of postmemory processes in photography: "a particular form of memory that characterizes the experiences of those who grew up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth" (Hirsch, 1997, p. 22). She thus refers to memory processes where the memories of former generations, often difficult, contribute to shaping the descendant's identities, self-understanding and relation to the past. Significantly, it is Ingolf who invigorates the photographs, and it is his postmemory work that becomes the connecting link between the past and present. As the generational gap is too wide, Ingolf does not share his grandfather's personal memories. Furthermore, his memory work differs from history writing in a more general sense due to his deep and personal connection to the past. He grew up surrounded by stories about what happened before he was born, traumatic experiences and events included. Like his grandfather, he finds the oppression of the Sámi peoples repulsive. He describes his own challenges in manoeuvring ethnic divisions, and also his fear of offending others through his Sámi-political engagement, but he also speaks about terrifying experiences of everyday racism and even death threats. His postmemory processes are activated by and connected to such experiences: "Ever since I was 20 years old, I have exposed my Sáminess. If I had been living in Narvik the whole time, I would probably not have been so engaged as now when I live here, in my grandfather's old place that means so much to me".[4] Thus, Ingolf Kvandahl's memory work also helps him to understand and cope with the challenges he encounters today. Photography serves as a catalyst in this work.

Notably, when writing about Ingolf's family photographs and the way he uses them, we somehow found ourselves transported back to where it all began in RDM-SVD ten years ago, analyzing Sámi self-representation. First it felt like some kind of repetition, or an "oops we did it again" experience. Again, we wondered whether this was really a story for us to tell. However, from Ingolf's point of view, his grandfather's story is an important part of Sámi history that should be known and spread, also outside the Sámi community. By bringing it to a broader audience, we could contribute towards making it wider known – even in the majority society.

Moreover, to us our work on the Kvandahl albums and similar material also represents a contribution to the field of photography studies, more

specifically to the understanding of family photographs and albums as genres, and to the complexities in the relationship between photography, colonialism and decolonialization. Yet, important to our discussion is the realization that such studies also have relevance beyond a local Sámi context. Ingolf's history as a member of an oppressed Indigenous minority, and our own histories as members of the colonizing majority society, are entangled in ways that, for example, complicate the division of labour we had earlier seen as a solution to our research dilemmas. The Kvandahl family photographs are, as we read them, just one of many manifestations of such imbricating processes of power and resistance. Therefore, and in line with Jason Chalmers, we see the need to acknowledge the networks and relationality that we are woven into as non-Indigenous researchers (Chalmers, 2017, p. 108). This is also a step towards further clarification of the main questions posed initially in this chapter.

Sámi research and decolonial relationality

In many ways, our research engagement with photographs from the Sámi areas demonstrate photography's embeddedness in what what Gunlög Fur has termed concurrent histories. She uses the term concurrences in order to investigate "conditions inflected by colonial asymmetries", thus aiming at "making sense of histories that stand in an ambiguous and often conflicted relationships to other histories, in terms of time and space" (Fur, 2017, p. 34). On an empirical level, Fur applies this method of searching for concurrences while addressing Scandinavian settler-colonialism and American Indigenous history. Thus, she draws attention to how these two fields of enquiry, often treated in isolation from each other, need to be seen as interrelated (Fur, 2014).

The same could be said about Sámi history and the history of Norwegian nation-building and modernization. The significance of the Sámi people in the formation of the Norwegian nation has long been acknowledged by historians that did not build on colonial reasoning or concepts (Ryymin & Nyyssönen, 2012). But, the extent to which these histories are intertwined has only recently been fully recognized, along with the understanding of how the identification of the nation's others was imperative to the establishment of a Norwegian national identity. The Sámi population became Norway's radical others (Aronsson et al., 2011). To take this even further, this entanglement could be seen as part of what Walter Mignolo sees as the inherent relationship between colonialism and modernity (Mignolo, 2011). Applied to the Norwegian context, forced assimilation and oppression of Sámi peoples were the dark side of the nation building and modernization process, or, as demonstrated by Patrick Wolfe, settler colonialism is integrally linked to a logic of elimination (Wolfe, 2006).

To Fur and her colleagues, "thinking concurrently" implies bringing such neglected interconnectivities to the fore, while also challenging the grand

narratives of the past and their inherent binary models of opposition (Brydon et al., 2017, p. 11). Important to our context, binary structures and categorization, which are in many ways fundamental to colonial thinking, have contributed to shaping academic compartmentalization. These institutional boundaries may not only leave concurrent histories and colonial entanglements invisible and repressed, they also imply a tendency to deny responsibility for histories other than one's own, while ignoring how this history, and its connected epistemic regimes, form part of the broader colonial fabric.

This said, we certainly recognize the necessity of maintaining and strengthening Sámi research as a distinct field. As Junka-Aikio points to in her chapter, Sámi research is one of the key sites where new claims over Sáminess are made and consolidated, and it is critical to Sámi decolonization. Furthermore, as Chalmers argues, a distinct Indigenous field of research is necessary as long as dominant forms of knowledge produced in the academy still tend to reproduce colonial orders and marginalize non-Western epistemologies (Chalmers, 2017, p. 98). While maintaining a particular position within the academy, Indigenous research is also linked to, and in many ways forms part of, the broader agenda of decolonization.

This brings us back to the questions posed initially, whether our work can be labelled as Sámi research, and if so, in what sense. If Sámi research is defined in terms of its beneficence to Sámi communities, who are we to judge? Chalmers suggests that Indigenous relational thinking emphasising the ways all things are interconnected provides a useful lens for non-Indigenous researchers engaged in decolonial research. Relationship implies responsibility, and one's situatedness in a place and social reality defines this responsibility: "Everyone is enmeshed in the colonial fabric, but we must all do so, based on who we are and how we are twisted into its netting" (Chalmers, 2017, p. 112). In this way Chalmers positions himself within the so-called decolonial turn, borne out of, but at the same time critical towards, postcolonial criticism, while emphasizing that colonialism is not a matter of the past. Indigenous peoples still experience colonialism (Pedri-Spade, 2017). However, the structures of ongoing coloniality affect us all (Grosfoguel, 2011). Thus, applied to our own research, we use photography as a way to examine colonial encounters, recognizing that Sámi and Norwegian culture and society are distinct, but interconnected. This entails the challenges connected with critically engaging with the wide set of agencies, agendas and enterprises in which the photographs are embedded: their contexts of production, uses and circulation. Photographs are artifacts that help us unravel colonial concurrences and the situatedness of knowledge. They also contribute to establishing conversations, necessary for our own knowledge production — and the continuous recognition of our own limitations.

Notes

1 This chapter is based on research funded by the Norwegian Research Council's Sámi programme II and HERA (Humanities in the European Area).
2 Veli-Pekka Lehtola, personal communication, 16 August 2020.
3 Veli-Pekka Lehtola has recently commented on the dilemma faced by Sámi museums when adopting the museum approach, which is in many ways a colonial institution, by introducing the concept of cultural brokerage. He draws attention to how Sámi museums manage to manoeuvre between two cultures, while changing roles depending on circumstances and necessities (Lehtola, 2019).
4 Ingolf Kvandahl in conversation with the authors, 26.06.2017.

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11 Mapping prerequisites for successful implementation of an academic concept to societal arenas

The case of the non-status Sámi in Finland

Anni-Siiri Länsman and Terttu Kortelainen

Introduction

The popularity of conceptual innovations depends on how well they can describe a phenomenon, make it understandable and challenge older concepts. A new concept must be sufficiently abstract and recommended by respected actors and their networks (Alasuutari, 2017). Implementation and confirmation are the last steps in the process of the diffusion of an innovation (Rogers, 1995). In this paper, we seek to determine how a new concept rises and is circulated, implemented and becomes part of political language.

To this end, we study the diffusion of the concept of *Non-Status* Sámi, which was launched by a PhD thesis defended in 2012 at the University of Lapland, Finland. Referring to the North American concept of Non-Status Indians with certain rights and benefits (Bayefsky, 1982; Cornet 2003; Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada), the thesis, written by PhD Erika Sarivaara, defined Non-Status Sámi as people who (1) are of Sámi descent and (2) who have not been enrolled on the electoral roll for the Sámi Parliament (Sarivaara, 2012, p. 22). The aim of the concept, according to Sarivaara, was to enable the group to become visible and to be heard (Sarivaara, 2012).

The concept has met with contradictory reception, with both critics and proponents. In Finland, the debate on the rights of the Sámi has been focused especially on the definition of a Sámi person and the special rights connected to the Indigenous status, especially land and water rights. The discussion took a new turn in 2012 when a new group who argued that "we, too, are Sámi" used the Non-Status Sámi concept for the first time publicly in a demonstration in front of the Finnish Parliament. The group, led by the launcher of the concept, declared that the Sámi self-government body, the Sámi Parliament, discriminates against them and required that they should also be accepted by it as Sámi. In the media their demands were supported by some members of the Finnish Parliament, whereas the president of the Sámi Parliament

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rejected the concept, stating that the group calling themselves Non-Status Sámi does not have a connection to living Sámi culture (Aikio, 2012; Länsman, 2012). The event was reported in (mostly Lapland's) media, but also received attention in social media.

Our research concentrates on tracing digital footprints of the Non-Status Sámi concept in social and other digital media. A digital footprint is a trail of data you create while using the Internet. It includes the websites you visit, emails you send, and information you submit to online services (Christensson, 2014). Our research questions are: How has the Non-Status Sámi concept diffused and been used in discussions on Sámi issues in different digital publication channels? What consequences of the diffusion can be detected by digital footprints, such as writings or comments on the web?

Another aspect of our research deals with prerequisites for the success of a concept. The diffusion of new concepts has been studied in academic spheres (Forsman, 2009) and in media and political decision making (Alasuutari, 2017; Torres-Delgado & López Palomeque, 2012; Rogers, 2003) based on surveys and publications. Our study complements the variety of research materials with digital footprints and social media.

We apply Alasuutari's model (2017) to trace the paths of the *Non-Status* Sámi concept in Finland. Alasuutari (2017) studied the way the concepts of well-being and happiness have spread and become part of national policymaking in Finland between 2005 and 2015. We try to find out to what degree the Alasuutari model based on extensive data helps analyze the role of a marginal, smaller public in spreading conceptual innovations, which cannot be found by studying only mainstream channels.

Prerequisites for successful spreading and implementation of a concept

In information society, new concepts are created constantly. Some receive attention and become part of social discussion, while others are eclipsed. This is not a totally incidental process. Alasuutari (2017, pp. 257–260) recognizes four prerequisites that a new concept needs to fulfil to be successful: it must be (1) sufficiently abstract, in order to (2) function successfully as a "floating signifier" which can be attached to a variety of interpretations and meanings. This enables its modification (Rogers, 1995) or interpretation in various framings, which means selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient (Entman, 1993). In public debates, different groups frame political issues differently according to their interests (Meriläinen & Vos, 2011; McKenna & Pole, 2008; Lecheler & De Vreese, 2010). Sometimes an individual or a group can succeed in breaking previous frames and forcing other parties to adopt a new way to see a problem and its solution.

Furthermore, the reform promoted by a new concept must be (3) seen as generally sensible and recommended by respected actors (Alasuutari, 2017), i.e. it must be compatible with the values of a potential adopter and relevant for his or her societal status (Rogers, 1995). The concept must also (4) receive wide support among the political elite and other people. Authority for the concept is constructed by creating networks and organizations that promote it (Alasuutari, 2017). However, in a public debate not everyone has an equal say, as the factors of credibility, legitimacy and power differ (Guggenheim et al., 2015, 207; Meriläinen & Vos, 2011).

Fulfilment of these prerequisites for success does not guarantee that a concept will have any remarkable or long-lasting effects. Its actual impact depends on whether it can cause changes in social practices. Moreover, to become part of a new political agenda, the concept must find its way into institutions linked to legislative processes, such as national parliamentary discussions, drafting of laws and finally into legislation (Alasuutari, 2017). Before reaching this stage, the innovation must be in circulation and present on several arenas of the society.

Social media is one of the most important platforms for spreading political innovations and ideas (Luoma-Aho & Vos, 2010; Highfield, 2016). Many different actors are involved in debates over societal issues, each with their own point of view, and debates within social media take place on various platforms on local, national and international levels. Social media provides attention data, consisting of comments and "likes" of writings in social media (Kortelainen & Katvala, 2012; Kortelainen & Länsman, 2015), revealing the public that follows certain discussions. Analyzing attention data and digital footprints can also help identify potential societal impact.

Digital platforms create social spaces and networks enabling informal and interactive discourse by topically specific issue publics (Highfield, 2016). They can be present in social media, in local newspapers, web discussions, etc., and they are not necessarily online-only communities. These communities of interest are connected by shared views and can provide their own framing of issues, sometimes with a desire to change views, norms and even legislation (Highfield, 2016). On the topic of their concern, they exhibit more structured attitudes and larger stores of background knowledge (Henderson, 2014). The role of an issue public member may be close to that of citizen journalism. The choice of framing strategy and agenda setting will depend on the issue and the interests of the actor. Framing may be one of the central means used in creating issue publics and even antagonistic "us and them" identities (Pettersson, 2017).

Our theoretical framework supports the identification of actors, issue publics and networks that are present on various digital platforms, and which pass on, and frame, the Non-Status Sámi concept in accordance with their own political views.

The Sámi

It is estimated that there are about 100,000 Sámi in Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia, and roughly 10,000 of them are in Finland (Sámi Parliament, 2018). In 1989, the ILO No 169 Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries was drafted by the United Nations (Heinämäki et al., 2017). Its ratification was discussed in Nordic countries, but only Norway ratified it in 1990. Although the Convention was not ratified in Finland, the legal and societal status of the Sámi people proceeded remarkably in the 1990s, following the formal recognition of the Sámi as an Indigenous people in the Finnish constitution, which states that the Sámi have linguistic and cultural autonomy within their homeland (Sámi Parliament, 2018).

Since 1996, the Sámi Parliament has acted as the self-government body of the Sámi in Finland, but it is limited mainly to the administration of state funds and to releasing public statements on issues that concern Sámi culture and their status as an Indigenous people (Guttorm, 2018; Lehtola, 2015; Junka-Aikio, 2016). On the other hand, the Sámi Parliaments in the Nordic countries have been prominent employers with wide repercussions on the whole Sámi society (Länsman & Lehtola, 2015).

The improvement in the position of the Sámi people in legislation has led to a lively debate about who belongs to the Indigenous group in Finland. As a result, the ethnic boundaries between the Sámi and the Finns have been heavily problematized and politicized. The status of the Sámi as an Indigenous people has been challenged first at a local level, later expanding to some degree to a wider political and even academic discourse. Therefore, there are now widely different views in Finland about how an Indigenous people, belonging to it and the definition of the Sámi should be understood (Valkonen, 2017, 176–177; Lehtola, 2015; Pääkkönen, 2008). The conflict around this topic has grown deeper after the Finnish Supreme Administrative Court ruled people, whom the Sámi Parliament considered not Sámi, into the electoral roll of the Sámi Parliament prior to the elections in 2011 and 2015 (Heinämäki et al., 2017; Tervaniemi, 2019) and in 2019 (KHO, 2019, 123).

In order to regulate who has a vote in the election of the Sámi Parliament, Finland's act on Sámi Parliament defines Sámi as a person who considers him/herself a Sámi, provided:

1. That he/she or at least one of the parents or grandparents has learnt Sámi as the first language;
2. That he/she is a descendant of a person who has been entered in a land, taxation or population register as a mountain, forest or fishing Lapp; or
3. That at least one of his/her parents has or could have been registered as an elector for an election to the Sámi Delegation or the Sámi Parliament (Act on the Sámi Parliament 974/1995).

The Sámi definition was originally language-based as in Norway and Sweden, but the second paragraph – the so-called Lapp criterium – was added to the act in 1995. The proponents of the Lapp criterium argue that a great number of individuals identifying themselves as Sámi have unfairly been left out of the electoral roll of the Sámi Parliament because the Sámi definition has been only language-based and has not taken Sámi descent into account. In contrast, the Sámi Parliament in Finland has opposed the Lapp criterium, supported the language-based Sámi definition and emphasized a real connection to the Indigenous community. A person who wants to 'become' a Sámi cannot simply declare him/herself so – he/she also needs to be recognized as such by the Sámi community. This view is supported by international law requiring that being member of an Indigenous people requires not only self-identification but also group acceptance (Heinämäki et al., 2017; Lehtola, 2015).

The Non-Status Sámi concept (Sarivaara, 2012) ignores the linguistic aspect connected to the definition of a Sámi. Instead of language, the Sámi descent is emphasized. The concept was launched the same year when the Finnish government appointed a committee to reform the Act on the Sámi Parliament, which includes the legal Sámi definition. During our study period, 2012–2017, the Sámi issues were topical on the political agenda of Finland's government and Parliament also more broadly (see Table 11.1). The Sámi Parliament supported the reform of the Act on Sámi Parliament and the ratification of the ILO 169 convention.

The discussion on the reform of the Act on Sámi Parliament and the ILO 169 Convention in the Finnish Parliament and the launching of the Non-Status Sámi concept were related to each other through the Sámi definition: if people who call themselves Non-Status Sámi were accepted on the electoral roll of the Sámi Parliament, they would also benefit from the possible land rights brought about by the ratification of ILO Convention 169. Eventually, the government bill to reform the Act on the Sámi Parliament was killed, and the ratification proposal of the ILO 169 Convention shelved in 2015 in the Finnish Parliament. Furthermore in 2016, the provisions concerning the prohibition to undermine Sámi culture were excluded when the Act on Metsähallitus was adopted by the Parliament in 2016 (Sara, 2019) (Table 11.1).

Research materials and methods

All publications with the "Non-Status Sámi" concept (in Finnish, Sámi or English) mentioned in the texts were chosen to our research material. The publications were searched on the web using the Google search engine, complemented by databases of Finnish articles, a free copy database containing newspapers, the web archives of the Finnish Government, Parliament and Supreme Administrative Court, and the Web of Science and Scopus databases.

The research material consists of 288 web publications, which include newspapers, blogs, scientific publications, including monographs and articles, online news, official documents and discussion forums, which were reduced into five channel categories. In addition to these, there are 1,197 comments on postings, 2,832 shares on Facebook and 120 authors in the research material representing years 2012–2017.

The attention data used in this research consisted of comments on blog postings and web discussions, recommendations, sharing items on Facebook and viewings on YouTube. The data concerning the Facebook sharing and Tweets were obtained from blog sites where this data was available.

According to the ethics working committee of the AoIR (Markham & Buchanan, 2012), online contexts are public if they are publicly available. However, to avoid the linking of research material "back to an individual by means of internet search or other technology" (Markham & Buchanan, 2012), we protect data subjects, including the bloggers, in our research material by not publishing their names or direct citations. Different bloggers are indicated by codes B1, B2, B3, B4, etc.

We analyzed the texts by content and frame analysis (Entman, 1993). The different descriptions of the basic problem, their causes and solutions were identified to categorize texts into three frames, which will be presented later.

The IBM SPSS statistics program was used to produce diagrams and tables from the quantitative research material. It contained data on the publication year and channel, author, context, number of comments and attitudes towards the *Non-Status Sámi* concept. Citation data was collected from the Scopus and the Web of Science databases. Our research material in the form of tables and texts is stored in the protected cloud service of the University of Oulu.

Analysis and results

Non-Status Sámi is an umbrella term which accommodates several previous terms that have been used for indigeneity in Finland, such as Lapp, Forest Lapp, neo-Lapp, etc. (Junka-Aikio, 2016; Lehtola, 2015; Sarivaara, 2012; Valkonen, 2017; Pääkkönen, 2008), seemingly simplifying the picture of the Sámi debate. The concept divides Sámi people in two antagonistic groups: the Sámi Parliament and people included in its electoral roll and the Non-Status Sámi excluded from its electoral roll. It should be also kept in mind that the concept and its definition *represents* Non-Status Sámi as Sámi.

The new concept became subject to intense debate on both academic and other forums as soon as it was launched. Discussion has been ongoing mostly in Finland, and citations to the dissertation from other countries cannot be found in the Web of Science or Scopus.

According to Joona (2013), the Non-Status Sámi concept opened new streams in the discussion concerning Sámi status and identity and contributed to the establishment of the association of the mountain, fishing and forest Sámi (Metsä-, kalastaja- ja tunturisaamelaiset ry) in Finland to officially represent people identifying themselves as members of this group. Joona (2016), basing her view on self-identification as a human right, supports the idea that there exists a Non-Status Sámi group in Finland. In cultural and sociolinguistic studies it is noted that the emergence of the concept in the scientific debate confirms the fact that Sámi ethnicity is a contested subject (see for example Potinkara, 2012; Halonen & Pietikäinen, 2017; Nerg, 2017).

However, highly critical views have also been presented. The Non-Status Sámi concept was concluded to refer to ethnic Finns, not to Sámi (Sammallahti, 2013), and Lehtola (2015) found it contradictory with research ethics that Sarivaara (2012) defined her interviewees as Non-Status Sámi although they did not all identify themselves a Sámi but as Finns. Neither self-identification or group-acceptance, nor linguistic criteria were considered in Sarivaara's (2012) definition. According to Valkonen and Valkonen (2013, pp. 4–5), the Sámi question cannot be solved by constructing new group categories. Instead, the processes of how the Sámi have traditionally recognized each other by family and kinship would deserve exploration. Heinämäki et al. (2017) also point out that in the definition of a Sámi both self-identification and group acceptance must be considered.

The political nature of the concept was emphasized by Tervaniemi (2013), remarking that Sarivaara (2012) first named the group Non-Status Sámi to enable people to identify themselves as such, and then founded the association for them with the goal to change the definition of a Sámi in the legislation. Junka-Aikio (2016) argues that the Non-Status Sámi concept is employed to make claims on behalf of a more loosely defined group not appearing in the study itself. Kuokkanen (see Näkkäläjärvi 2016) remarks that in Finland there is no legislation that would be analogous with the Canadian Indian Act, nor can the social/juridical status of Canadian First Nations and Sámi be directly compared. Valkonen (2017) argues that the Non-Status Sámi concept has become a basis for a political movement aiming to reconceptualize the definition of the Sámi and Indigenous people in Finland.

Discussion in social media

The 288 items in our research material show how the Non-Status Sámi concept has spread both widely and surprisingly fast beyond academia and found its way even into formal legislative debates and documents in just two years. Already in 2012, the concept received attention through public lectures given by Sarivaara (Figure 11.1). The video recording of the doctoral defence received more than 2,500 items of attention, mostly viewings

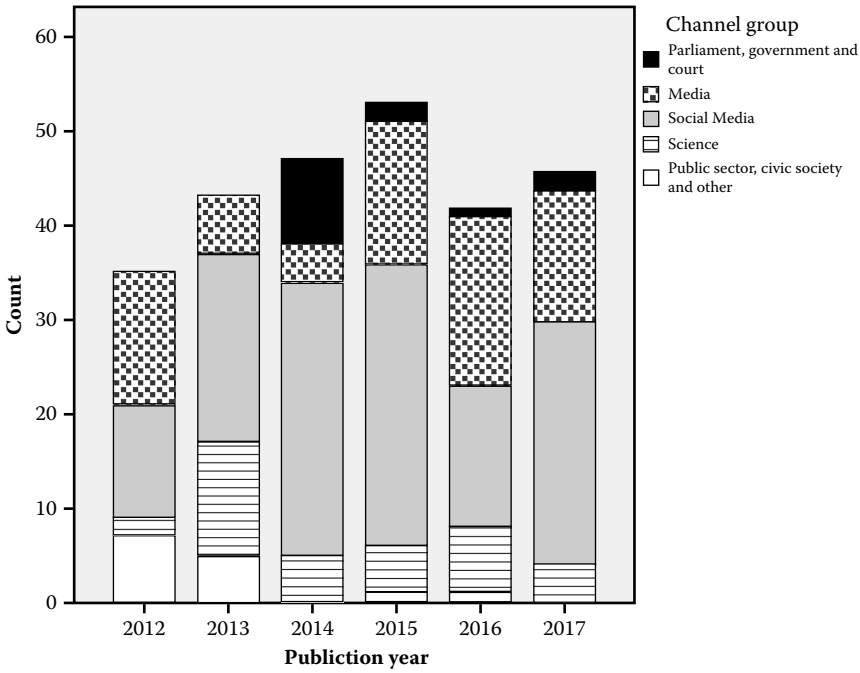

Figure 11.1 Number of publications mentioning the non-status Sámi concept in different forums.

on YouTube and recommendations and sharing on Facebook. After the first year of launching, the Non-Status Sámi concept can be found across a broad spectrum of social and traditional media (local, provincial and nationwide newspapers, radio web sites, web journals and magazines), scientific and scholarly journal articles and monographs, announcements on websites, commercial webpages and in statements given by public actors. Social media items are the biggest group of publications (Figure 11.1).

Both publication and attention figures were at their highest in 2014–2015 when the Government bill of the Act on the Sámi Parliament was discussed in the Finnish Parliament (Table 11.1, Figure 11.1). The figures started to decline in 2015 after the bill was killed and the ILO 169 agreement proposal was shelved. In 2017, the government appointed another committee to reform the Act on the Sámi Parliament. This increased discussion and the use of the concept, bringing it back almost to the level of 2014. It is noteworthy that the concept also appeared in some official documents of municipalities, the Finnish Parliament and Government and in some official documents of the Supreme Administrative Court (SAC) (Figure 11.1). This development shows that the spread of the concept and the parliamentary proceedings of Sámi-related legislation are interlinked.

Table 11.1 Timeline of Sámi legislation in 2012–2017

2012	*2013*	*2014*	*2015*	*2016*	*2017*
Ministry of Justice appointed a committee for reforming the Act on Sámi ParliamentLaunch of the Non-Status Sámi conceptProposal for the ratification of ILO 169 Convention 4.12.2011.	The committee presented its report on the reformation needs of the Act on Sámi Parliament->Government's request for statements concerning the report	Government bill on the Act on the Sámi Parliament (autumn session)	The bill was killed in the Finnish Parliament (spring session)ILO 169 Conventionratification proposal was shelved by the Finnish Parliament 13.3.2015	The Act on Metsähallitus (Forest Management and Park Services) was approved in the Finnish Parliament (spring session)	13.1.2017Nordic Sámi Convention was initialized23.10.2017The Ministry of Justice appointed a committee for the reform of the Act on the Sámi Parliament

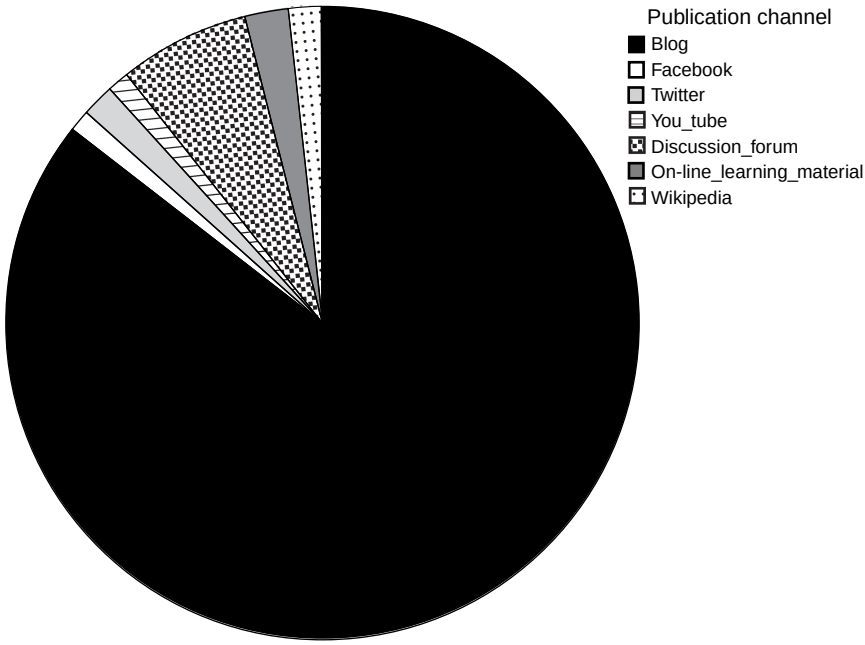

Figure 11.2 Channels of social media.

In our research material, social media covers almost half (41%) of all publications and consists mostly of blogs. A surprisingly high proportion (75%) of all blogs is produced by only four male authors, three of whom are Finns and one Sámi. Among them are retired journalists, local politicians and one member of the Finnish Parliament. Their texts covered a stunning one-third (33%) of the whole research material (Figure 11.2). Other social media forums where the concept is mentioned are various discussion forums, but also Facebook, Twitter, Wikipedia, Slideshare and YouTube.

A great majority of the texts supported the concept and used it without presenting a critical viewpoint. In traditional media, less than half (45%) of the texts take the concept as "given". In social media, a notably larger portion, about 80%, clearly has adopted the concept, indicating the acceptance of the existence of the Non-Status Sámi group, and suggesting the Sámi Parliament as an oppressor. Correspondingly, a third (30%) of traditional media but only 12% of texts representing social media indicated a critical attitude or used the Non-Status Sámi concept in quotation marks.

Framing as problem definition and suggested solution

The way societal problems are framed has consequences on what solutions are proposed to the problems presented (Entman, 1993). According to our

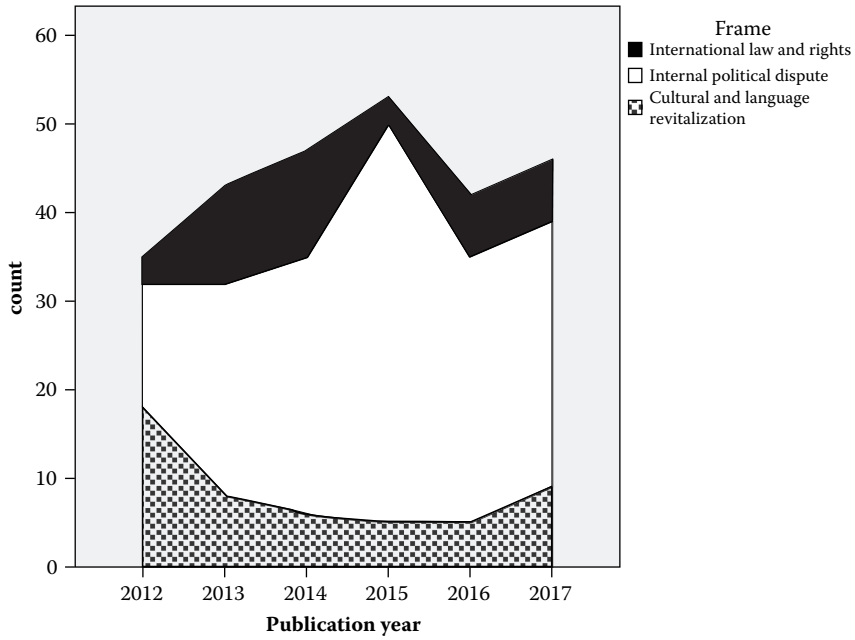

Figure 11.3 Frames used in the articles and blogs.

research, texts which used the Non-Status Sámi concept framed the debate on Sámi definition in three broadly different ways. First, the *internal political dispute* frame (Figure 11.3) represented the debate as a quarrel among the Sámi themselves. The proponents of this frame were highly supportive of the concept. This frame dominated most social media writings, especially the blogs.

Secondly, *cultural and language revitalization* supports Non-Status Sámi by representing them as a resource, not as a threat, to the revitalization of Sámi culture and languages. In 2012, the *cultural and language revitalization* frame was present in research texts (Sarivaara, 2012) and in some media writings (Kotosalla, 2012; Virtanen, 2012) and in discussion forums like *Suomi24*. In 2013, the concept was further applied in pedagogical research texts concerning Sámi education and the revitalization of Indigenous and Sámi languages (Sarivaara et al., 2013a, Sarivaara et al., 2013b; Määttä et al., 2013).

Thirdly, one can identify an *international law and rights frame,* which challenges the *internal dispute frame* based on the fact that the Sámi have a constitutional right to collective self-determination and to maintaining and developing their culture as an Indigenous people in Finland. This frame emphasizes that the Non-Status Sámi have no connection to the contemporary

Sámi cultural group, as their ties to a living Sámi culture have weakened already several centuries ago. Therefore, the so-called Non-Status Sámi are actually Finns, not Sámi (Sammallahti, 2013; Aikio, 2012). Support for this frame comes from authors with critical attitude towards the *Non-Status Sámi* concept, present also in academic publications. In this frame the justification of political demands of the *Non-Status Sámi* is challenged and even denied, and the fact that Sámi people should have the right to self-determination following international law and the Finnish constitution is emphasized (Agon thematic issue 37–38, 2013; Heinämäki et al., 2017; B12). Bloggers B11 and B12 say that Finns should not decide on behalf of the Sámi about their self-government. The promotion of the Non-Status Sámi concept and the political agenda behind it is seen as an attack against the self-determination of the Sámi in Finland (Junka-Aikio, 2016; Sammallahti, 2013; Valkonen & Valkonen, 2013; Tervaniemi, 2013; Lehtola, 2015).

Given its dominance in the material we have studied, the focus of our analysis is on the *internal dispute* frame. In this frame, the central claim is that the Sámi Parliament oppresses the Non-Status Sámi by keeping them outside its electoral roll. Therefore, their rights to land and traditional livelihoods are in danger. Consequently, if the Finnish state ratifies the ILO 169 Convention, the human rights of the Non-Status Sámi would be trampled underfoot, and they would not get their share of the potential collective land rights. Within this frame, a solution for this problem would be the inclusion of the Non-Status Sámi to the electoral roll of the Sámi Parliament, or alternatively, the foundation of a distinctive self-government body for the Non-Status Sámi and their recognition as an equally Indigenous people.

The users of this frame constructed ontological authority and credibility capital by appealing to the scholarly origin of the concept. Moral authority was constructed by referring to the United Nations and the Supreme Administrative Court (See Alasuutari, 2017). This frame was dominant in texts written by the four most active bloggers and also some academic authors represented this view. They (B6, B8, B19 and B28) started advancing this frame in 2013. Since then they have continued blogging, commenting, echoing and sharing each other's writings (Figure 11.4), creating a kind of "echo chamber" (Bail et al., 2018, p. 9216). These four bloggers dominated and facilitated communication in the studied blogosphere, arguing that the Sámi Parliament discriminates against the Non-Status Sámi, who would need help from the Finnish state to secure their legal position.

As an example of interaction with the public and its attention, blogger B28 received a total of 932 comments on his postings concerning Non-Status Sámi. The postings by blogger B8 have received a total of 2,597 shares on Facebook in the whole study period. Resharing on Facebook increases these figures manifold. The comment and sharing figures indicate the existence of a network and an issue public closely following the discussion concerning Non-Status Sámi. There is an interplay between social

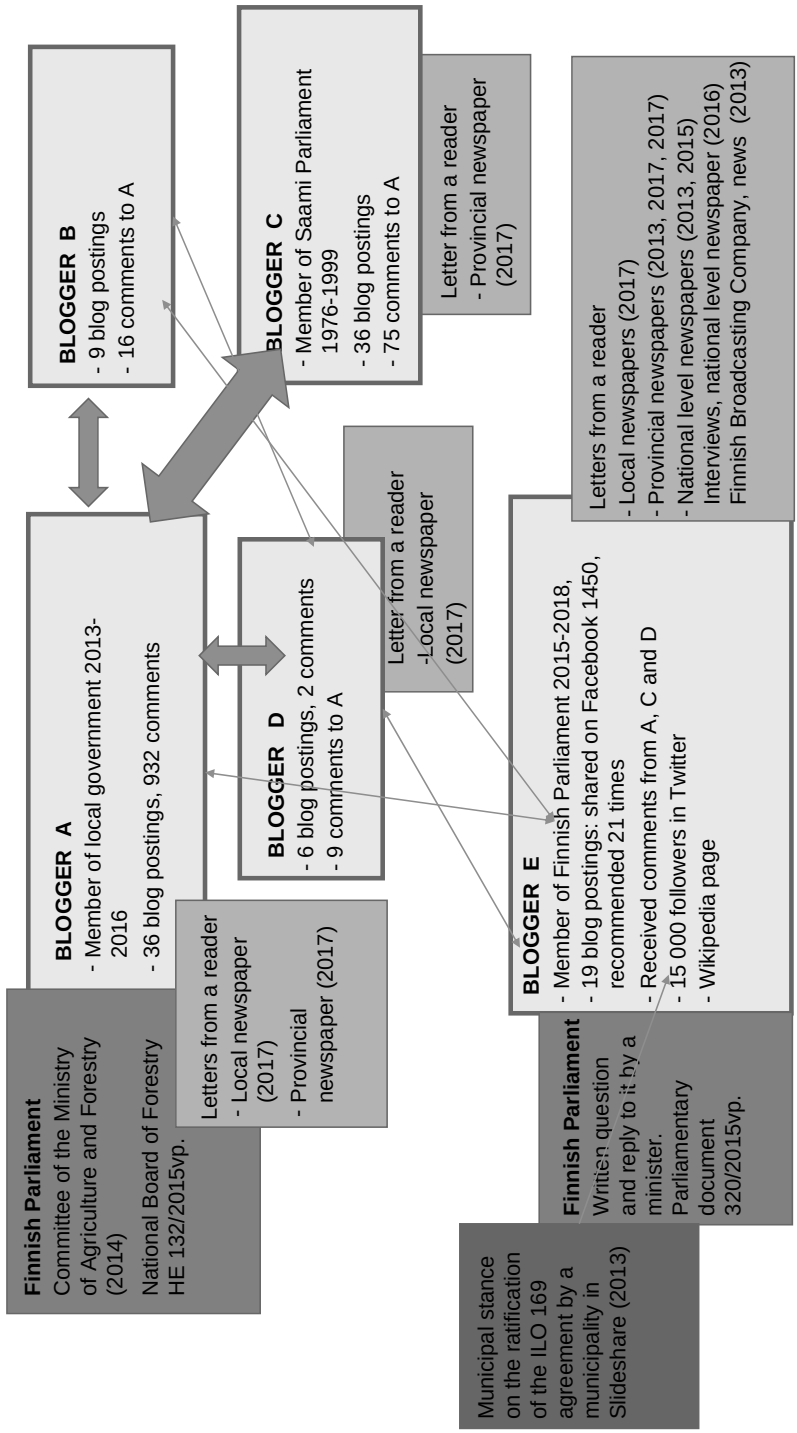

Figure 11.4 Interplay between social and traditional media and attention from the public.

and traditional media: from time to time newspapers interview the bloggers and cite their blog postings, forwarding the *internal political dispute* frame to the general public (Figure 11.4).

Figure 11.4 also describes attention received by the core blogs. Attention data consists of comments on blogs and shares and recommendations on Facebook. Some blog postings were shared thousands of times on Facebook and received dozens of comments on the blog platform. These figures indicate a readership that is also outside the core of the issue public. The blog postings were also noted by newspapers interviewing bloggers and using the blogs as sources for news.

Due to the readings of the Act on Sámi Parliament in the Finnish Parliament in 2014–2015, the concept was recognized also on the level of national media. For instance, the chief organ of the Centre Party used the *internal political dispute* frame in its reports (Kontio, 2015). The leading Finnish current affairs magazine *Suomen Kuvalehti,* in turn, presented all the three frames in an article about the Non-Status Sámi issue (Venesmäki, 2014).

In Lapland's local newspapers, the concept was frequently used especially in letters-to-the-editor and news. Although most of these documents framed the Sámi Parliament as an oppressor, one letter-to-the-editor accused the Non-Status Sámi concept of building an absurd victim story about a discriminated indigenous group oppressed by the Sámi elite in Finland (Lapin Kansa February 1st, 2017) and feeding it to the masses. This latter view is supported also by some bloggers and academic writers who highlight, for instance, that the Sámi cannot concentrate on developing self-government, because they must continuously defend themselves against these kinds of attacks (Agon thematic issue 37–38, 2013; B2; B9; B12; B17; B20; B22; Lehtola, 2015). Some writers connected to the Green party see the Non-Status Sámi concept as a tool for policymaking (Heikkinen, 2014).

In 2016, there were more critical contributions than in any other year during the study period. A private radio station wondered how the Southern-Finnish media had presented the Sámi dispute as an internal controversy among the Sámi themselves (Totuusradio, 2016). Moreover, an article with a critical view towards the Non-Status Sámi concept was published in seven newspapers (Talvensaari, 2016).

All of these activities have taken the issue forward and given it more attention even on the parliamentary level. The *internal political dispute* frame is present in some official documents concerning the ILO 169 Convention and the Act on Sámi Parliament[1]: in parliamentary records, in committee statements given for the Finnish Parliament, and finally, in reasonings regarding decisions over individual membership in the Sámi Parliament's electoral roll made by the Supreme Administrative Court. In addition, by 2016 the concept had spread to documents relating to the drafting of other laws and to the preparation of the Regional Strategic Program 2018–2021 of the Regional Council of Lapland. This development

shows how successfully a new concept, the Non-Status Sámi, has been forwarded to the level of policymaking and legislation, largely as a result of its active online dissemination by relatively limited number of committed actors.

Conclusions

In this paper, we sought to determine how a new concept emerges and is circulated, implemented, and becomes part of political language. The originally academic Non-Status Sámi concept has proved to be a successful conceptual innovation (Alasuutari, 2017). It has been diffused especially by active political bloggers widely in traditional and social media during the five studied years 2012–17, challenging and redefining the established Sámi debate in Finland.

An interplay between social and traditional media is evident in this process. Because of the efficient diffusion of the term and consequently growing awareness in social media, the Non-Status Sámi concept started to gain space first on the level of local and regional media, and eventually also in national newspapers and radio news. The bloggers' postings were cited and used as sources for news, and their texts were published in the letters-to-the-editor of various newspapers. In addition to this, the concept was used in some parliamentary and other decision-making documents. Digital footprints demonstrate the existence of issue publics, networks of people with joint interests and various power positions.

Social media is connected to everyday politics, and political blogging has, for a long time, been a significant way to seek to influence political discussions (Highfield, 2016, 7; Karlsson & Åström, 2018; Wallsten, 2008). Political blogs generally have a relative low readership, but they increase their number of readers by linking to other blogs sharing their political views (Vaccari, 2015). The primary goal of political bloggers is to persuade and inform their audiences (Wallsten, 2008) by filtering information for them from an ideological perspective (McKenna & Pole, 2008) and by means of framing. In this study the most active bloggers had this strategy, too.

Alasuutari claims that a successful conceptual innovation must be recommended by respected actors (Alasuutari, 2017). It must also be compatible with the values of potential adopters (Rogers, 1995). Some active bloggers participated also in political decision making on local, regional and even parliamentary levels. Consequently, the concept found its way efficiently to official decision-making institutions and their publications and official documents.

The polarization and simplification of political debates characteristic of social media discussions (Calais Guerra et al., 2013; Bail et al., 2018) is evident also in the diffusion of the Non-Status Sámi concept. In the *internal political dispute* frame, the Sámi Parliament was represented as an

oppressor of the Non-Status Sámi, while earlier the frontline was drawn between the Finnish state and the Sámi (Pääkkönen, 2008; Lehtola, 2015). Occasionally social media writings also called readers to identify themselves as Non-Status Sámi. The identification was not in the scope of our study but would deserve a study of its own.

In conclusion, social media, with its interplay with traditional media and its ability to construct and maintain networks and issue publics with political agendas, and to provide attention data, cannot be overlooked when attempting to understand how academic research is circulated, framed and reframed in the society and used as a basis for defining societal problems and solutions for them. Alasuutari's model forms a suitable basis for tracing the diffusion of conceptual innovations. However, to reveal the consequences of the use of the conceptual innovations in political decision making would require a wider analysis and societal contextualizing.

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Note

1 MmVL 50/2014 vp — HE 264/2014 vp; Ojala-Niemelä December 2nd, 2014; HE 264/2014 vp; Ojala-Niemelä, October 8th, 2014; HE 167/2014 vp; KHO, 201, 145; Lindström 320/2015 vp; Committee on Worklife and Equality 12/2014 vp; Expert opinions for the HE (government bill) 132/2015 vp; Savukoski municipality 201 Pelkosenniemi municipality 2017.

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12 Sámi research ethical guidelines: reflections on a *contact zone* of Sámi and dominant society

Lydia Heikkilä

Introduction

The volume of Sámi research has expanded at a remarkable pace in recent decades across the Nordic countries, as it now includes new disciplines, themes, approaches, methods and academic institutions. Against this background, the fact that Sámi research ethical guidelines are still lagging, despite many long-standing and more recent efforts, deserves consideration. The situation is extraordinary compared to that of many other Indigenous peoples, where Indigenous research ethical guidelines have long been an established and approved part of national research ethical guidance and regulations. In contrast, Sámi research is predominantly conducted in accordance with universal research ethical principles and the ethical norms and regulations of each mainstream academic faculty (Drugge, 2016b). Alternatively, some Sámi researchers and Sámi research institutes rely on the research ethical guidelines of other Indigenous peoples (e.g. Tri-Council policy statement (TCPS 2) 2014, from Canada or WINHEC guidelines, 2010; See Juutilainen & Heikkilä, 2016). In the long run, the lack of Sámi research ethical guidelines may jeopardize or slow down efforts to strengthen the integrity of the discipline. Thus, Sámi research continues to refer mainly to research on Sámi topics or those related to the Sámi in a narrow sense, and less to a multidisciplinary entity with characteristic paradigms, research orientations, epistemological and methodological commitments, ethical principles and confluence with the Sámi Indigenous and self-determination rights (see Junka-Aikio, 2019).

Since the 1970s, several initiatives have been taken to establish Sámi research ethical guidelines, but for a number of reasons, the efforts have stalled (Stordahl et al, 2015; Juutilainen & Heikkilä, 2016). This chapter critically reviews these endeavours and discusses the factors involved, major achievements, obstacles and shortcomings. The variety of social interactions and mutually interconnected and detached measures are studied from the perspective of *contact zone* (Pratt, 1991; Pratt, 2007; Bull Christiansen et al, 2017; Harris, 1995). Contact zones are social spaces of intercultural communication typically characterized by asymmetric power relations. In

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addition to institutional spaces, they can consist of a variety of local negotiations, interventions and compromises (Miller, 1994). In the context of Sámi research ethics, the key actors involved include both Native and non-Native Sámi researchers, research institutions, and the national bodies which have the responsibility to set the standards and practices for the management and implementation of research ethical guidelines. In addition to Sámi researchers and research institutions, Sámi perspectives are represented by the Sámi self-governing bodies, which are responsible for implementing and monitoring the rights of the Sámi as Indigenous people. I seek thus to distinguish to what extent legislative barriers, conflicting interests and principles and inflexibility of agreed academic conventions and practices have hindered efforts to establish Sámi research ethical guidelines. Ultimately, analysis of the contact zone sheds light on the relationships between the Sámi and the majority society.

This chapter builds on manifold types of qualitative material concerning the long process of designing Sámi research ethical guidelines in Finland, Sweden and Norway.[1] The material includes articles, reports, seminar proceedings and policy statements, the legal base of research ethics as inscribed in laws, regulations and norms within each country, and the structures and proceedings relevant to their implementation through committees, boards and advisory boards. These materials are examined through comparative analysis. I will examine the particular and nationally specific social spaces, where Sámi research ethical issues are handled and negotiated in separate but interrelated contexts. I will focus on the emerging differences and similarities, as well as the continuity and breaks, as I build an overall picture of the phenomenon. In addition, I draw on personal experience of, and participation in, the process of developing Sámi research methods and ethics as a researcher within Sámi Studies,[2] especially in particular research project on Sámi welfare service use and well-being.[3] More recently, I have also been appointed by the Sámi Parliament as a member of a working group that prepares Sámi ethical guidelines in Finland. The main aim of this chapter is to generate new understanding and awareness of the issues involved in the development of Sámi research ethical guidelines, particularly those that slow or hinder it, and facilitate the ongoing processes.

Indigenous research ethics

The aim of Indigenous research ethics and research ethical guidelines is generally to ensure that research relating to Indigenous peoples is conducted in a manner that is respectful and fair to the Indigenous people in question. This usually requires a radical re-organization of familiar interactions and research practices, for example through the application of participatory methods and through dialogic interaction on the level of research design, analysis, interpretation of results and publishing, as well as the retrieval of knowledge and reorganized facilities for data retention and reuse. To a

certain extent, questions relating to research methods and personal privacy are also involved. Hence, Indigenous research ethics and guidelines tend to challenge many of the well-established policies and practices in academic research that have consolidated over time become largely considered as part of "scientific freedom".

The establishment of research ethical guidelines and protocols that address Sámi research as an aspect of Indigenous research has accordingly been a long-term objective (see, for example, Keskitalo, 1976; Lasko, 1993; Oskal, 1998; Kuokkanen, 2008; Kuokkanen, 2009; Stordahl et al, 2015; Drugge, 2016a; Juutilainen & Heikkilä, 2016). As within Indigenous studies more broadly, the objective is to create a framework that ensures that research on and with the Sámi is conducted "in a good way" from the perspective of the Sámi people themselves. This implies, for instance, a critical reconsideration of whether the prevailing general research ethical guidelines and national recommendations regarding data collection, use and ownership account for issues that are of central significance in Sámi research and whether there are other measures that need to be implemented to ensure that research on the Sámi is conducted in way that is compatible with Sámi rights. One such example relates to the scope of free, prior and informed consent: whereas general research ethical guidelines emphasize the need to obtain the consent of *individual* research subjects, in the context of Indigenous and Sámi research, the *collective* consent of the Sámi community should also be considered and obtained.

Ultimately, the issue at stake is the Sámi right to participate in the production of knowledge about themselves and to influence the knowledge production mechanisms of the mainstream society. This is essential for the exercise of Sámi self-determination and the enforcement of their rights as an Indigenous people. In this sense, Sámi research ethical guidelines seek to address both past and present unequal power relations or inappropriate treatment or injustice towards Sámi individuals and people made in the name of research. Many Sámi and other Indigenous people share negative and confusing experiences of being mere objects of research, without being able to express properly their views or influence data gathering and the outcomes regarding how such views are presented (Sámediggi, 2018a). In addition, many Indigenous peoples have experienced that they are subject to an excessive amount of research, a majority of which proceeds from the perspective of the interests of the mainstream society or actors. Such research is usually financed and carried out by non-Indigenous researchers and institutes, and from the onset there tends to be a lack of meaningful community involvement and collaboration with Indigenous communities. Consequently, the research results tend to profit primarily the researchers themselves, governments, technology or commercial interests, and they are not returned to the community or made available in a format or language that would be accessible to it (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) 1996; Snarch, 2004; Brown, 2005, cited in Juutilainen & Heikkilä, 2016).

Throughout the world, ethical guidelines for Indigenous research have sought to address these problems and increase the influence of Indigenous people in knowledge production. In New Zealand, Australia and Canada, Indigenous research ethical guidelines have gained wide legitimacy within the academic community, been endorsed by the National Research Funding Councils and approved by the Indigenous communities themselves. These guidelines implement international Indigenous agreements, which include rights to knowledge about the people and community in question.[4] This notwithstanding, in the Sámi context, this process has progressed slowly and intermittently. Below, I try to address the main factors that have contributed to its slowdown and the current options.

Research ethics governance and the arising sovereignty issues within nation-states

Applying the theoretical understanding of *contact zone,* we can discern certain congruent and contradictory standpoints, which are activated in different social spheres in connection with the initiated procedures for establishing Sámi research ethical guidelines. As is evident, forming such guidelines in relation to mainstream research ethics faces many challenges. The prevailing, dominant system of research ethical governance within each country has its own logic of action, rules, conventions and customary practices; incorporating entirely new principles and practices into these systems is very difficult. According to the general premise, academic knowledge is primarily advanced through commonly agreed practices and critical debate by and within the academic community. Thus, the academic community itself has the primary responsibility to implement and control the ethical conduct of research activities. The starting point for the mandate is accordingly the freedom of science.

The ethical principles adopted over time by the scientific community are based on the privacy of the individual and his or her protection from potential harm (Helsinki Declaration, 1964). Within Finland, Sweden and Norway, national research ethical advisory boards or corresponding agencies have approved and confirmed the key principles of responsible conduct concerning the research and procedures for handling allegations of misconduct, to which research institutions commit.[5] National research ethical committees in medicine, the humanities, social sciences, behavioural sciences and biotechnology have respectively established discipline-wise ethical principles and recommendations for scientific research practice. Discipline-specific research ethical conduct differs in some significant respects depending on the discipline. In medical and health research, ethical pre-evaluation is mandatory in all research involving humans. In contrast, the ethical pre-evaluation of research in the humanities and social sciences is recommended, but not yet compulsory, except in Sweden concerning specific categories of personal data, such as the Sámi.

Academic institutions have traditionally enjoyed a relatively strong authority over the implementation of ethical practices. Universities and research institutions that are committed to the national research ethical guidelines can arrange for ethical guidance and pre-evaluation to be conducted in ways and with expertise that they consider appropriate. Since Sámi research is multidisciplinary and transcends traditional disciplinary boundaries, designing specific research ethical guidelines would require cross-disciplinary cooperation. However, setting Sámi research guidelines does not seem to be in the interest of any particular mainstream disciplinary-specific ethical council or national advisory board of research ethics. It is therefore necessary to consider the establishment of a separate Sámi ethics committee, as well as ethical pre-evaluation bodies of Sámi research. Their competencies and relationships with other disciplinary research ethics councils and committees should be clearly defined to make their decisions binding. Another option would be to strengthen Sámi expertise and control within the existing ethical boards, but it remains to be determined what arrangements are required for the Sámi people's right to self-determination to be realized.

As we can observe, the field of actors is complex, and the expected competencies exceed conventional organizational boundaries. What is currently lacking are national and Nordic forums where ethical issues in Sámi research could be addressed. For instance, such fundamental questions such as the role of the Sámi Parliaments, which formally implement Sámi self-determination in relation to the academic freedom and authority of the academic institutes, should be negotiated. The fundamental question of which institutions have or should have the mandate to establish and supervise the implementation of Sámi research ethical guidelines was addressed, for example, at the Seminar on *Ethics in Sámi and Indigenous research* in Karasjok in 2006. Participants included Sámi researchers and Sámi politicians (Kuokkanen, 2008), but the potential foundational contradictions remain unsolved.

The general attitudes of researchers towards Sámi research ethical guidelines seems also to vary between the different Nordic states, depending on the adopted Sámi policy and the views that each state holds towards the exercise of Sámi's right to self-determination. Negotiations between Sámi researchers, Sámi political authorities and national research ethical advisory boards, discipline-specific research ethical committees, national research councils and government ministries have produced mixed results across the Nordic countries over time. Furthermore, the process has often been characterized by an inconsistency of central decision-making and interruptions in implementation. The key actors and institutions of the national administration responsible for research seem to be uncertain about how the ethical principles and implementation of Sámi research should be resolved, and they are reluctant to take responsibility for related issues.

The implementation of Sámi research ethics guidelines is most advanced in Norway, but even there the development has been inconsistent (Stordahl et al., 2015). In Norway, the driving force behind the process has been the Sámi Parliament, which succeeded, in 1997, in briefly arousing the interest of the national research ethical advisory board and The National Committee on Research Ethics in Social Sciences and Humanities (NESH 2002). As a result, The Northern Norway Medical Research Ethics Committee (REC V) was appointed for the special task of overseeing the ethical pre-evaluation of Sámi-related research. However, the role was removed ten years later, along with the organizational reform on regional ethics committees in Medical and Health Research. In this context, the Ministry responsible for research no longer considered it necessary to stipulate a Sámi-specific research ethics committee but instead decided to enforce, to a certain extent, the Sámi cultural expertise of existing regional research ethics committees.

In addition, the overall status of Sámi research has been strengthened in Norway through the establishment of a specific funding programme for Sámi research (SAMISK). This is administered by the Norwegian Research Council and follows a set of research ethical principles and instructions that were created in connection with the program. Norway's subsequent efforts to establish a joint Nordic Sámi Research Council, which would be responsible for designing a Pan-Sámi research policy and ethical guidelines, have, however, collapsed as a result of opposition from other Nordic countries (Stordahl et al., 2015.)

In Sweden, the National Ethical Review Act was reformed in 2004, and in this context the ethical pre-evaluation of research on the Sámi became mandatory. However, no specific body concerning this implementation was founded in support of such procedures, and therefore the ethical pre-evaluation of Sámi research initiatives is currently conducted by the National Ethical Review Authority (Etikprövningsmyndigheten). It consists of a total of 18 departments, none of which has Sámi representatives. There is also no permanent Sámi Research Council in Sweden, but the Swedish National Research Councils (VR, Formas and FORTE[6]) have provided earmarked funding for Sámi research through a specific Sámi research program (2012–2016). The content of the new programming period is currently being negotiated, and the Sámi Parliament has made its proposals on the matter (Sametinget, 2019a). Nevertheless, ethical guidelines and criteria for Sámi research are still lacking in Sweden, and according to Drugge (2016a), the issue continues to be addressed sporadically by the researchers.

In Finland, unlike in the other Nordic countries, Sámi research or issues relating to Sámi research ethics and ethical pre-evaluation have not been addressed on the level of national research funding nor by research ethical advisory authorities. The Academy of Finland has not established any special Sámi research program, and Sámi research initiatives are financed

through general, Arctic or other relevant themed funding calls. The need to develop Sámi research ethical guidelines has thus been addressed by Sámi researchers themselves. In recent years, the National Board on Research Integrity (TENK) has begun showing a growing interest in the development of Sámi research ethical guidelines, and it added a reference to the constitutional rights of the Sámi as an Indigenous people in the reformed ethical guidelines for human research (TENK, 2019).

Three paths to designing Sámi research ethical guidelines

As we can conclude from the previous section, measures to create Sámi research ethical guidelines have progressed at different paces in each Nordic country. The initiators and responsible actors have differed, and measures and achievements vary. What is typical, however, is that with a few exceptions, these processes have taken place predominantly within the boundaries of the nation-state with limited Pan-Sámi effort.

Moreover, current efforts continue to proceed along three different nationally defined paths. Norway is thus far the most advanced at implementing Sámi research ethical guidelines, but only within the field of health research. The Sámi Parliament in Norway appointed, in 2016, a working committee to prepare ethical guidelines for Sámi health research. The working committee was placed at the Center for Sámi Health Research in the Arctic University of Norway in Tromsø. It consisted of expert members of Sámi health studies and law, as well as a member of the Regional Ethics Committee in Health Research. The working committee drew up a *Proposal for Ethical Guidelines for Sámi Health Research and Research on Sámi Human Biological Material* (Sámediggi, 2018a). In the background, there were growing concerns regarding the ethical conduct of research and protection of natural persons in relation to the processing of personal data. These are particularly topical concerns regarding the establishment of biobanks and expansion of biotechnology, along with an associated and increasing interest towards Sámi genetics and ethnicity.

Because the initiative to create Sámi research ethical guidelines for health research came from the Sámi Parliament, the process was thus from the outset founded on ideas of the Sámi's right to self-determination. The working committee exercised delegated expert powers, consisting of experts in Sámi health research, Sámi legal issues and other relevant matters. Following the proposal, the Sámi Parliament established the Ethical Advisory Committee for Sámi Health Research, which has responsibility for ethical pre-evaluation of Sámi research initiatives.[7] The challenge for the future remains how the status of this body is legitimized in relation to the national health research ethical bodies. Although in the steering group of the working committee there were members from different sectors of Sámi society, an extensive community consultation failed to take place in the formative phase of drafting guidelines. Instead, the working committee

became acquainted with the research ethics guidelines of other Indigenous peoples (Senter for Samisk Helseforskning, 2016). The Sámi Parliament conducted a public hearing of the proposal and then submitted it to the Sámi Parliamentary Council for a broader Pan-Sámi approval (Sámediggi, 2018b).

The creation of Sámi research ethical guidelines is especially urgent in health research because ethical pre-evaluation is mandatory in health research concerning humans, for the above-mentioned reasons. Collaboration across the borders is, however, seriously hampered by the lack of counterparts in other Nordic countries. In Sweden there are researchers working on Sámi health issues, but there is relatively little interest in promoting Sámi research ethics guidelines (Jacobsson, 2016). In Finland, there are no research institutions that would specialize in, or carry responsibility for, Sámi health. A preliminary proposition for ethical guidelines concerning Sámi health research has been drafted in Finland by a project group financed by the Arctic Council (Rautio et al., 2017), but the report did not resolve how it would be implemented in the absence of an influential institution responsible for Sámi health research.

While the Sámi Parliament has been the driving force in Norway, in Finland the process has rested primarily on the shoulders of Sámi researchers themselves. In 2018, professors and researchers of Sámi and Indigenous studies at the Universities of Lapland, Oulu and Helsinki initiated a working group to draw Sámi research ethical guidelines. The aim is to create recommendations that are binding for all disciplines but that can be later supplemented by discipline-specific ethical guidelines. The working group consists of professors in Sámi and Indigenous studies in the humanities and social science faculties who carry mandates and responsibilities for developing these disciplines. In addition, representatives of key Sámi organizations (the Sámi Parliament, Sámi Museum and Sámi Vocational School) were invited to participate in the process. In parallel, tentative negotiations were begun with the National Board on Research Integrity (TENK) and the universities' own Ethics Advisory Committees. With the aim of broadening the scope of the ethical guidelines across disciplinary boundaries, a broad consultation body was formed consisting of researchers from a variety of other disciplines and institutes studying Sámi subjects.

The process of drafting Sámi research ethical guidelines in Finland is informed by general principles and ethical guidelines of Indigenous research. Moreover, Sámi communities will participate in the process through extensive community consultations, to be held in the near future. The aim is to develop a strong position for the Sámi research ethics guidelines as part of national research ethics in Finland. However, the role of the Sámi Parliament in the implementation of the guidelines remains unresolved. Consequently, the question of authority with regard to the guidelines is still unclear, as no ethical advisory or pre-evaluation body is proposed to take

responsibility. In fact, the Sámi Parliament has set, as a separate process, the ethical guidelines and protocol for the protection of cultural heritage,[8] the content of which partly overlaps with the planned research ethical guidelines. It is recommended that prior consent be sought from the Sámi Parliament for research or other projects that concern or may concern the Sámi cultural heritage and traditional knowledge.

In Sweden, legislation obliges not only health researchers, but all those conducting research involving Sámi human subjects, to undertake an ethical pre-evaluation. Such a strong normative base is missing in the other Nordic countries, although organization-specific agreements may, in practice, require such action. The acute question is, however, how to safeguard Sámi cultural expertise and the self-determination of the Sámi in the ethical pre-evaluation process, as there is no Sámi representation in the expert bodies. As in Finland, the Sámi Parliament in Sweden has prepared as a separate process, the research ethics guidelines for the protection of cultural heritage.[9] Moreover, Sámi researchers have advanced lively public debate on the key issues related to the ethical guidelines for Sámi research. Above all, the Vaartoe Sámi Research Unit at Umeå University has contributed to the debate by organizing a series of seminars raising ethical questions (Bockgård & Tunón, 2010; Drugge, 2016b). The participants involved were mainly from the humanities and social sciences (See Drugge, 2016b), with fewer representatives of medical and health research (Svalastog & Eriksson, 2010; Jacobsson, 2016). Attempts to establish a Nordic network of Sámi researchers were also made, but these failed in establishing a more permanent forum to advance Pan-Sámi research ethical issues (Drugge, 2016b).

Collective consent and community participation

Besides the fundamental questions of mandate and agency discussed previously, there are certain substantial issues in the content of Sámi research ethical guidelines that may contribute to the fact that they are not easily accepted and implemented by mainstream researchers and research institutions. In addition, some Native Sámi researchers have also found the matter foreign to their way of thinking. I will highlight two of them here: *community participation* and *collective consent*.

Community participation is perhaps the most central aspect of "good practices" in conducting Sámi research. Community participation implies broader dialogic processes with the community under study, better opportunities for the community to participate in the implementation of research, a fostering of research partnerships, and ultimately, that research projects should be run by the community. *The Proposal for Sámi Ethical Guidelines for Health Research* in Norway emphasises the respect, cultural knowledge, and cultural skills of researchers as well as collaborative research practices (Sámediggi, 2018a). Internationally, Community Based Participatory Research Methods (CBPR) are often linked to Indigenous

studies. They provide a good starting point for the implementation of Indigenous research ethics and practices. However, they do not, in themselves, provide sufficient guarantees that the research target community is taken properly into account and can participate in the research, or that the research process has been carried out in an ethically correct manner.

There might be certain fundamental differences regarding how Sámi research ethical principles are received within different disciplines and research paradigms. This applies, in particular, to the idea that the subjects of research should also be active collaborators in research design and implementation. In many disciplines and research traditions, which follow natural scientific worldviews and positivist scientific conventions, the idea is simply not considered viable: such methods are most likely to be considered irrelevant, non-scientific, conducive of biased results or politically tarnished. In contrast, within critical research orientations, the basic principles of Indigenous studies are more readily acceptable. Whatever the paradigmatic premises, methods and approaches are, the underlying idea of Indigenous and Sámi research ethical principles calls for increased awareness and self-reflection in the name of respect and reciprocity for all researchers doing research.

While the general ethical principle of scientific research concerning humans seeks to minimize harm to individuals, from the Indigenous perspective, the collective view should also be noted. Besides harm, the potential benefits of the research for the community should be assessed more profoundly. Regarding collective consent, *The Proposal for Research Ethical Guidelines for Sámi Health Research* in Norway stated that "collective consent must be obtained for all research that directly involves the Sámi communities or people" (Sámediggi, 2018a). In this context, such consent or approval could be obtained from the Sámi Parliament or from a body designated by the Sámi Parliament.

The question is not unambiguous, however. Depending on the research topic and methods, the consent of the actual subject community may also be required. However, it is often difficult to determine the boundaries of the community in question or decide who can give consent in the absence of existing community representative bodies or institutions. In practice, Sámi Parliaments are the supreme bodies that formally represent the Sámi as a people and that could be entrusted with the task. However, in Finland, for instance, extending its authority to research or increasing its role in the creation of research ethics guidelines has raised doubts for many researchers, including Native Sámi researchers, because the Sámi Parliament's involvement is seen as political interference with the freedom of science. As we have observed, attitudes and solutions regarding this issue vary from country to country, and, as the Norwegian example shows, it is not necessarily an irreconcilable contradiction. In Norway, the Sámi Parliament initially acted as the driving force for the development of research ethical guidelines, but it later delegated the mandate to an expert group.

The questions of collective consent and decision-making power concerning the use of personal data are particularly acute in the present context in which biobanks are busily being established. Biobanks collect biological samples from patients and citizens, in particular tissue and blood samples, which are combined with other health information to generate genetic information. The aim is to support health and medical research activities and disseminate information to support diagnosis and improved health care. From the Sámi point of view, the situation is complex and revolves around key research ethical issues. At present, Sámi health knowledge is limited or non-existent like in Finland, which reduces the ability for health promotion and well-being. Thus, there is a great need for health and perhaps even genetic information about the Sámi. At the same time, it is crucially important to address the governance issues surrounding this sensitive material safeguarding the Indigenous rights perspective. *The Proposal for Research Ethical Guidelines for Sámi Health Research* in Norway left these issues completely unaddressed. At worst, this could mean that control and decision-making power over health and other registry material concerning the Sámi will be appropriated by an ever widening and increasingly abstract range of global actors.

Personal privacy regulations and open-access policy

In addition to the complex field of actors and an unclear mandate, as well as difficult issues regarding the substance of the guidelines, there is yet a third feature that needs to be addressed: The changing environment of international regulations with regard to the production and handling of knowledge and personal data, and the rise of open-access policies. These have ripple effects on the general attitudes within the academia towards the specific needs of Sámi research ethics, and they may even contribute negatively to the progress of separate ethical norms for the Sámi or any other minority group.

Overall, these changes reflect increasing concerns over personal privacy regarding data collection and use, especially concerning sensitive data. In accordance with the EU Privacy Regulation (GDPR), the rights of individuals are strengthened in relation to information production, as now everyone has, in principle, the right to the protection of personal data concerning him or her (Regulation (EU) 2016/679).[10] From the point of view of Indigenous peoples' rights, strengthening personal privacy is, in principle, a desired turn. However, the concept of privacy rights focuses only on individuals. Subsequently, it poorly recognizes any group perspective or collective rights as a whole. For instance, there are concerns about the extent to which private rights are being curtailed in the name of public interest. As ethical issues are increasingly addressed from the perspective of personal privacy, the fundamental ethical principles of Sámi research, based on the interests, disadvantages or rights of the community,

will not be considered. Existing regulations do not thus sufficiently support or recognize these requirements (see Strøm Bull, 2018).

On the most basic level, we are discussing ownership issues and control in the context of the collection and use of statistical data on the Sámi people. Collective ownership and control of data are cornerstones of Indigenous research ethics, although from the point of view of general principles of research ethics they are often excluded. Moreover, in practice, the application of data protection legislations on the Nordic national level strengthens the role of centralized state institutions in collecting statistical data on the health and well-being of the population. In that respect it limits or weakens the protection of privacy. Regulations in the Nordic countries allow for the collection, registration and analysis of ethnic-specific data to continue, without the ethnic or minority groups concerned having any influence over the use of the data or interpretation of its results.

The Nordic national authorities for statistical information and registration of health and well-being have thus a considerable amount of centralized power compared to many other European countries. Their authority is currently being expanded in the field of national social welfare data registration. Public interest considerations regarding data collection and access rights are thus based on the needs and views of this public administration. According to the statutory task of providing information on the whole population, the national health research institutes are entitled to collect data and carry out analysis without the influence of the ethnic group involved. In this context, the Sámi are perceived as a minority population group and not as an Indigenous people with a right to collective self-determination.

This is a particularly important issue from the Sámi point of view, since in the Nordic countries there is an extensive, systematic recording, monitoring and reporting of public records by the national health research, population information system and other statistics authorities. Individuals cannot therefore deny access to information concerning themselves. This is a principled question for members of the majority population as well, but when it comes to recording data of ethnic background, the question is urgent. Even if ethnicity is not recorded in population registers, such groups can still be distinguished by their mother tongue. Similarly, as the Data Protection Ombudsman has pointed out, for small populations, standard anonymization practices are not sufficient and individuals can already be identified by using only three background variables. In the context of large-scale information systems, a structure should be created that safeguards the rights of minorities and groups. This is especially true of the growing global interest in big data, meaning access to large records across the world. Particularly in the Nordic countries, we are facing a striking increase of interests from abroad.

In this context, adoption of secondary legislation is of major importance. It defines and regulates secondary use of social and health information. The

law allows samples of social and health care to be used for purposes other than their original use. The sample originally collected for treatment could thus also be used for research and development. The aim is to create a national licensing body from which the international pharmaceutical companies could request sample masses. The licensing authority will be the National Institute for Health and Welfare, entailing them the authority to decide on the further use of data on ethnic minorities.

Another acute concern relates to the implementation of open access policy. Following the European Commission Recommendation (C(2012) 4890), the overall aim is to provide the public with easier access to research data free of charge, as early as possible in the dissemination process, and enable the use and re-use of scientific research results. As the reasoning goes, research data that results from publicly funded research should be made publicly accessible, usable and re-usable through digital e-infrastructures. Institutions responsible for managing public research funding, and academic institutions that are publicly funded, assist in implementing national policy by putting in place mechanisms that enable and reward the sharing of research data. One of the criteria for obtaining research funding from the National Research Council's or other funds today is open re-use of the data produced in the research initiative. This requirement, however, corresponds poorly with the fact that in the context of research on Indigenous peoples (as well as ethnic minorities and other vulnerable groups), special measures to protect data subjects from possible risk are often necessary, and this involves restrictions on access and reuse of the collected research materials. Issues related to property rights and control are also of paramount importance for ethnic minorities and should be addressed through separate arrangements.

Conclusions

Although the position of the Sámi has been strengthened during past decades, the Sámi's ability to collectively influence the production of knowledge about themselves (as a people) is still relatively weak when compared with the development of Indigenous studies internationally. The persistent lack of established research ethical guidelines for Sámi research is a case in point. A review of the process demonstrates how difficult it is to change existing hegemonic structures, governance protocols and practices and to transform relationships between different actors make room for Sámi self-determination. In this respect, the (under)development of the ethical guidelines can be interpreted in terms of delayed decolonization or as a continuum of colonial relations and structural discrimination in the academia within the Nordic countries. A look at the different stages of the process, and the social relations they entail, brings attention to many different factors that have either slowed down, or promoted, the guidelines in each of the Nordic countries.

Firstly, a certain ambiguity of mandates, competence conflicts, and even lack of understanding concerning the substance of Indigenous research ethical principles that differ from many principles and protocol of general research ethics, have hampered the process. The resulting misunderstandings can contribute to negative attitudes or even fear over the guideline's impact among the researchers, including the Native Sámi researchers themselves.

Another important factor that has, in practice, hindered the creation of Sámi research ethical guidelines is the fact that the field of actors is highly fragmented along academic disciplinary divisions and along the nation-state borders, given that regulations and laws, and governance of research ethical principles, differ in each Nordic country. It is challenging to maintain and implement processes that require both interdisciplinary and cross-border approaches and vision, especially when the underlying idea stems from minority needs, and overtly or covertly challenges the hegemonic positions and views of incumbents. Moreover, from the point of view of the academic mainstream, the specific ethical needs of Sámi research might not seem particularly relevant; the topics are not familiar, and it is often unrealized that the requirements of international human rights treaties for Indigenous people also apply to research. General interest in the guidelines is further reduced when they are perceived as limiting current research practices and freedom of science.

However, overall, there does not seem to be any direct statutory barriers to the adoption of ethical guidelines for Sámi research. Rather, the lack of development appears to reflect an insufficient consideration of Sámi self-determination. In addition, the development is hampered by the fact that the mandate remains unclear. Who holds the ultimate authority to determine Sámi research ethics guidelines, or control their implementation? In this respect, the Nordic Sámi societies have chosen somewhat different paths. In Norway, the initiative came from the Sámi Parliament, which set up an expert committee to regulate the ethical guidelines for Sámi health research and, once completed, stipulated the Ethical Advisory Committee on Sámi Health Research. On the Finnish side, the driving force has been Sámi university researchers and a working group consisting of representatives of key Sámi institutions. The Sámi Parliaments in Finland and Sweden have separately prepared ethical guidelines for the protection of cultural heritage and serve as bodies for ethical pre-evaluation for applying for collective consent. In Sweden, the national legislation has made ethical pre-evaluation mandatory in all research on the Sámi. However, the regional institutions responsible for such evaluation do not have Sámi research ethical guidelines at their disposal, and neither do any Sámi representatives.

Good research practices from the Sámi perspective are based on respect for Sámi culture and the people and communities involved in the research. Good research requires that the researcher and the research team ensure, already *in advance,* sufficient linguistic and cultural competence and understanding to

facilitate reciprocal interaction throughout the conduct of their research. One aspect of this is that researchers need to reflect more accurately on the disadvantages and benefits of the research initiative, including from the Sámi perspective. Recent legal developments that seek to strengthen privacy rights through the protection of personal data are, in principle, a desired turn from the point of view of Indigenous peoples' rights, but the concept of privacy rights generally focuses on individuals rather than groups. Fundamental ethical principles of Sámi research, which stress the interests, disadvantages or rights of the community, will not be considered.

In sum, Sámi research ethical guidelines should not only protect the storage and use of traditional information from external abuse, but also enable the vitality of Sámi culture and the improvement of the current living conditions of communities. Many positive steps towards this end have been made over recent decades across the Nordic countries and in different disciplines. However, changing public opinions around this topic might be the most difficult part. Such change is likely to take place only once the ethical guidelines and evaluation practices are established and operating. Gradually, researchers and research institutions might come to realize that it is not just another restriction on their freedom of research – although that is likely to be the case in certain respects – but more importantly, a matter of new research protocols and methodological openings that will, in the end, contribute to improving the quality of knowledge concerning the Sámi. This generic process for creating Sámi research ethics guidelines can be useful at best if it succeeds in initiating a public debate on the cultural issues and rights involved in conducting research. At the same time, public debate helps to shape the ethical principles of Sámi research and thus strengthens the integrity of Sámi research across national and scientific boundaries.

Notes

1 Unfortunately, up-to-date information on the developments in Russia, which would allow a comparative study of development in all of *Sápmi,* was not available.
2 Heikkilä et al., 2013; Heikkilä, 2016; Heikkilä & Miettunen, 2016; Juutilainen & Heikkilä, 2016; Heikkilä et al, 2019. In addition, I have held numerous presentations and lectures on the topic in Sámi Research seminars and co-ordinated an ethics and methodology course SAAM 0103 in the Sámi Studies Program, University of Lapland.
3 SÁRA – Sámi well-being and welfare services outside Sámi home area in Finland (ESF-funded project, administered by the University of Lapland, Faculty of Social sciences 2015–2019).
4 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (OHCHR) art 1 and 2; ILO Conventions no. 169, Art. 25; UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.
5 Tutkimuseettinen neuvottelukunta TENK (Finnish National Board on Research Integrity), De nasjonale forskningsetiske komiteen FEK (Norway), Vetenskapsrådet (Sweden).

6 VR Vetenskapsrådet; FORMAS Forskningsråd för hållbar utveckling; FORTE - Forsknngsrådet för hälsa, arbetsliv och välfärd.
7 Sakkyndig, etisk komité for samisk helseforskning.
8 Sámediggi, 2019.
9 Sametinget, 2019b.
10 In principle, the processing of personal data on special groups is prohibited (i.e. revealing racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership, sexual orientation and other). These are defined as "*special categories of personal data*" (Regulation (EU) 2016/679, Art. 9.1). There are nevertheless several exceptions to this paragraph. It does not namely apply, for example, if processing is necessary for the purposes of carrying out the obligations and exercising specific rights of the controller, or for reasons of substantial public interest such as public health or otherwise (Regulation (EU) 2016/679, Art. 9.2). Moreover, prohibition does not apply if data processing is necessary for archiving purposes in the public interest or for scientific, historical research, or statistical reasons in accordance with Article 89(1) based on Union or Member State law (Regulation (EU) 2016/679).

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13 Ten problems faced by a Sámi who studies her own community

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When you conduct research on your own community, personal and work-related problems tend to be closely connected.[1] Or, perhaps one should say that the problems of the community are neither distant, nor new to yourself. In this talk, my aim is not, however, to deconstruct this complex bundle of problems in detail, or to explore how such issues could be considered on the level of research design and planning. Instead, I want to speak in more general terms about the challenges that researchers who are Sámi face in the academia.

According to John Dewey, research is born out of things that people experience in their own environment. In other words, it begins from things that people see, deal with, and use, and which they enjoy or suffer (Dewey, 1929, according to Lappalainen, 2007). Being and becoming a researcher is therefore something that originates in persons themselves, irrespective of whether they are projecting their thoughts on topics near to their own life-world and experience, or far from it.

In principle there is thus nothing peculiar about a Native Sámi doing research on questions that relate to her own community or society. Except, perhaps, for the fact that one is quite likely to end up researching the topic without having ever, throughout one's own school history (including studies in higher education) received tuition on the history of that community. That one can understand and see the world and the majority society in a different way than a person who doesn't belong to any minority group (and who therefore, has never had to question the truths in the national curriculum), derives from one's own personal experiences of exclusion and from active decisions to overcome the lack of knowledge and to learn more about one's own community and its past.

In addition, I believe that we Native Sámi researchers are forced to question prevailing interpretations more actively, and to explore critically what kind of interests our own scholarship *actually* serves, as opposed to what it is *supposed to be* serving. However, doing research based on perspectives and interests which differ from those of the dominant society, means that our work risks being placed automatically in the box of "political and less objective" research. Hence, the *Problem One* that I want to

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highlight is that instead of our scholarliness, even within the academia we tend to be viewed, above all, through the prism of ethnicity.

As part of my doctoral research, I examine Sámi political history in the context of the (Nordic) Sámi Council. One practical challenge that I face relates to the availability of research materials. The Sámi Council is not only the oldest, but so far also the only Sámi organization, which the Sámi in all the four different states share together. Its archives are located in two countries, across three different localities, and they contain materials not only in North Sámi, but also in several other Sámi languages as well as in the four majority languages, Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish and Russian. In each locality, the materials remain unorganized – not even to mention their digitization – due to the permanent lack of resources.

But then we have to ask, does a Native Sámi researcher always conduct research on her own community, if her research concerns the Sámi? That, of course, depends on how we define community and community-based research. Although my research deals with the wider Sámi society, I consider it as community-based, in the sense that growing up and living as part of a Sámi community has fundamentally affected my perspective on what I study, and why. In the same way, also theoretically oriented research can be considered as community-based, when researchers who have grown up within the community begin to problematize and challenge dominant theories, with questions and positionings that they have set up by themselves.

Therefore, I consider it as a problem (*the Problem Two*), if community-based research is conceived merely as a method whereby the researcher engages the people she studies, and invites them to participate in the research. In this case, the importance of having researchers who actually belong to these communities is not taken to account properly. Ultimately, I suppose that community-based research is driven by the idea that we look at the world from fundamentally different perspectives – and that it should be examined also based on Sámi worldviews.

Of course, all research exists in conversation with other research. When we Sámi researchers take part in mainstream academic discussions, we might be particularly inclined to highlight the marginality of our positioning as well as of our research topics. The act of speaking through an ethnonym, however, involves double-communication, as one is always speaking to people both inside and outside one's own community. Those of us who work with the word "Sámi" prefixed in both our own title as well as in the title of our research topic, are thus considered by many as those people who "never tire of speaking about that Sámi stuff". Consequently, we are often regarded as "Sámi activists" or as "Sámi political elites", both in the eyes of Sámi communities and the academia at large.

However, in the Sámi world, being part of the "elite" has traditionally not been a matter of education, but rather, of doing and making. Schooling and higher education has been, and can still be, something which alienates you from your community. From the community point of view, you

possibly end up just *writing* about things, instead of *doing* things that could have actual significance. If all research activity entails some level of agonizing reflection on the work's meaning and value to the world, I can assure you that for a scholar researching her own community, especially when that community is in many ways in need of urgent resuscitation, faith in the importance of one's work (and thus in one's own life choices) is a constant, serious ordeal (*the Problem Three*).

To the extent that being a Sámi might endanger your credibility in the academic world, being a researcher can do the same in the Sámi world. And yet, the latter loss doesn't affect you only in front of the Sámi community, but also in the academia. To some extent, policy makers and the academic community still look for voices which would remain untouched and hence unspoiled by modernity or, at least, by higher education, to represent the Sámi community. If, however, you are a Sámi scholar and hold expertise in a certain topic, that expertise can be sidelined simply as one opinion among several that are present in the Sámi community, irrespective of whether the other opinion-holders in the community hold any deeper knowledge of, or even interest in, the given topic. This, in itself, is a paradox, insofar as in principle, researchers ought to be committed to supporting and recognizing each other's expertise. Indeed, the *Fourth Problem* relates to the prevailing illusion that there could exist some kind of a distant and isolated Sámi community which doesn't entail any researchers or politically active persons – and that if such persons do exist, at least they are not the ones who could represent the community in a transparent and authentic way.

This illusion is linked to yet another problem. If a non-Sámi scholar approaches the community she studies with an expectation of finding a clearly defined, idyllic and harmonious community, already the unavoidable conclusion made through research that the community fails to meet those expectations, can be seen to contribute some intrinsic critical value to the study. For a Native Sámi researcher, however, the broken and fragmented nature of Sámi communities is a starting point, and an aspect of lived experience. Highlighting it through research isn't therefore necessarily regarded as important in itself, unless the observations are linked with further analysis of unequal structures of power, and the criticism is grounded within the community in ways which allow one not only to identify, but also act on those problems, and to search for better solutions. Following, the *Fifth Problem* is that we Native Sámi researcher seriously lack safe social spaces where *we* could openly discuss the sore points and taboos of our own society and community.

At this point, I want to mention that personally, I have been somewhat lucky: I have had a chance to participate in two interconnected publicly funded research projects led by Prof. Sanna Valkonen, which explore the ontological politics of Sámi cultural heritage. In the projects, I, together with other Native Sámi researchers and Sámi artists examine, building on our own life-worlds and experiences, questions such as, how Sáminess

manifests, and is being manifested, in the contemporary world.[2] The setup might sound rather simple, but within the world of research, it is rather unique!

I participate also in another project which brings together arts and science and which is led by the Sámi theatre director Pauliina Feodoroff. The project is conducted in collaboration with the Muddusjärvi reindeer herding district and its herders. One of the challenges that I have taken note of in this context is that when a community genuinely commits to the research project, one has to continuously clarify, what is possible within the limits of research, and what the research can be expected to realistically achieve. This is particularly important if the project deals with an existing, flared-up social conflict. The expectations of a community which is unfavorably positioned can become too high in relation to the potential impact that science (and art) can have in an acute situation which would actually demand immediate intervention and action. A further question which concerns the social responsibility of research is, can a project, which is based on artistic engagement, be expected to carry responsibility over issues which require high legal and policy expertise, such as the supervision and assessment of the legal aspects of a major extractive project (in this case, the Arctic Ocean Railway) which is threatening the community's future?

Political scientist Audra Simpson (2014) has concluded that she refuses to speak or write in any ways that could endanger the self-determination for which her People, the Mohawk Nation, continues to fight. She refuses to bring any further damage to her community. And, she refuses pre-determined frameworks for how and what she should talk about her community. In the Sámi context, historian Veli-Pekka Lehtola (2019) has examined the politics of refusal in terms of "silent refusal". The silent refusal is a phenomenon or practice which exists within the Sámi society also today, and it should be taken to account also on the level of research. To clarify what I mean, I quote a Sámi elder with whom I collaborate:

> "I have encountered this research theme of yours often in my life. In the early days I was, of course, ignorant and lacked insight. In other words, unnecessarily open. Later on, I have familiarized myself with literatures on the topics […] After that I have started to select, what kind of research I choose to be available for. And I am puzzled by my choices. I do know how to say "no" to all sorts of researchers, and how to protect my community from them. But sometimes it goes otherwise. I agree to participate, and I have actually no idea why I do. Perhaps it is just some kind of a good feeling, which someone is able to pull out from me."

The collaborator also mentions a research project which hired a Sámi language-speaker for fieldwork in order to better reach local Sámi's, and adds:

> "that tricked many people to opening their door to the researcher, including myself. Should the researcher have been a Finnish speaker, many would have remained closed. And if they did open the door, people would have told the researcher entirely different stories that what they ended up telling to the person that is one of us".

His words communicate a deep sense of distrust towards researchers in general, as well as towards the particular research project in which the elder had agreed to participate. At the same time, they also reflect the silent refusal, which is articulated, for instance, in terms of speaking differently ("people would have told the researcher entirely different stories"). Instead of recognizing the silent refusal or taking it as a starting point for a sustained self-reflexive discussion on how to build better relations of trust with the Sámi people, in the academia I repeatedly come across with the idea and attitude that "it is just so hard to collaborate with the Sámi".

And yet, isn't it so that no one should be expected to participate in research, or to agree to become a research object, against one's will – not even the Sámi? Like other people, also the Sámi are free to reflect, read and consider, alone or together with their peers, whether the interests underlying the research project are such that one would want to participate. *The Sixth Problem* refers to the prevailing expectation of so-called "open access communities" which have as their duty to open their doors to the researchers and to trust them and their research interests. At the same time as the Sámi are expected to welcome research, there is a lack of recognition, even on the level of a phenomenon, of Sámi mistrust towards research, and of the different ways it is expressed in the Sámi world.

Researchers are, of course, free to study the topics they choose. However, if the research entails fieldwork with a community, it is part of the researcher's job to think through in advance, what kind of research ca be implemented successfully. This implies that it is essential to possesses sufficient expertise in relation to that community, and to recognize the challenges involved in carrying out the research. Among such challenges could be, for instance, the limited number of Sámi people, their preconceptions regarding research, challenges presented by Sámi everyday life, policies regarding research permits and institutional lack of resources – to mention just a few.

I believe that researchers who are Sámi are better able to recognize these challenges in their own community, and that is why the threshold for asking communities to participate in research might also seem higher for us, than for those who come from the outside. *The Seventh Problem* that I want to highlight relates to the fact that it is difficult for institutional research funders to evaluate and assess the social impact, interests and viability of a research project from the perspective of the Sámi. Research proposals and projects which study the Sámi are currently being developed at many different research institutions and often without the involvement of any Sámi

researchers or Native Sámi scholars, their expertise, or their research interests. If, at a later stage, the project seeks to hire a researcher who is Sámi or Sámi-speaking, there is a risk that no such researcher, whose interests would coincide with those of the research project, can be found. In addition to having to evaluate one's own research interests and those of the research project, a Sámi researcher who studies her own community has to take to account how the project will affect her own, confidential community relationships, and to make sure that those relationships will not be abused (a potential *Problem number Eight*).

Establishing and maintaining a relationship of trust with the community doesn't imply that the researcher has to be a Sámi activist, that she has to agree with the Sámi in everything, or that she would have to play down any critical remarks. However, a community-based researcher has to be, to a certain extent, a *servodatberoštеaddji* – someone who cares for the community. This is of primary importance, not only in terms of one's research positioning, but also in methodological terms. For how can you study a community, if you are not genuinely interested in it? And how can you build relations of trust with the community and reach access to it, if you do not really care about that community, its future and its well-being?

Within Sámi studies, the rise of politically oriented research is usually conceived in terms of a disciplinary transition from "Lappology" to "Sámi research", where the latter is especially seen to be more forward-looking form the Sámi perspective. This turn also entails the rise of Native Sámi researchers who conduct research on their own communities and society. The shift is usually seen to date back to the 1970s, when the Sámi were joined the transnational Indigenous movement and its discourses of indigeneity. In reality, the link between Sámi issues and international academic and political discourses, which later gave rise to the discipline of Indigenous studies, developed much earlier. Similarly, Sámi efforts to make research accountable to the Sámi society, dates further back in time.

For instance, Astri Andresen (2016) has shown how Norwegian scholars' views on the "Sámi problem" in the 1950s paralleled the ways in which the well-known Swedish economist and sociologist, Gunnar Myrdal, wrote about the Afro-Americans in his transformative book *The American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* in 1944. And yet, whereas Myrdal held that the assimilation of Afro-Americans would be desirable, researchers in Norway felt that Sámi culture was actually worth conserving. For instance, archaeologist and ethnographer Gutorm Gjessing suggested that the handling of Sámi affairs in Norway should be modeled after the example of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in the United States. His contemporary, Karl Nickul, a Finnish scholar and activist in Sámi matters, suggested the same in Finland. These initiatives were influenced by a study trip to the United States which both Gjessing and Nickul made together with Sámi experts, to learn about schooling conditions of the Native people in North America.

The Nordic Sámi Council was established in 1956 building on these new ideas and perspectives. Over time, its establishment clear pathway also for the institutionalization of Sámi political representation through the Sámi Parliaments, and for the establishment of the Nordic Sámi Institute. The purpose of the Sámi Institute, which was founded in 1973 and which received its funding from the Nordic Council of Ministers, was to develop and coordinate Sámi research, to promote its long-term development, and to make it more accountable to the Sámi society.

Since then, the institutional road has been much rockier for both Sámi research and for the Sámi Parliaments – especially in Finland. The watering down of Sámi aspirations for collective self-determination is the *Ninth Problem* faced by a Sámi scholar who studies her own community, and unfortunately it is a problem that I cannot leave aside. The headwind on the level of Sámi rights is causing problems also on the level of research practice, for instance by hampering efforts to form a solid legal Sámi definition, which would be a precondition for the collection of up-to-date data on the needs of the Sámi society, to improve the situation. Although such definition has been called for more than 70 years, a definition that the Sámi could approve with is still lacking. This has resulted in a crisis of the Sámi Parliament's electoral system (see chapters by Lehtola, Junka-Aikio and Länsman and Kortelainen in this book), and a situation in which even basic knowledge over Sámi population and society remains unmapped in Finland. This, in turn, is hampering for instance ongoing efforts to develop Sámi language services and infrastructures.

Drawing on the examples from the 1950s, Andresen (2016) shows that individual scholars and academic knowledge production had a strong influence on the Nordic states' Sámi policies from the 1950s onwards. For instance, Gjessing's research (1953) contributed to the view, which eventually became the official one, that the Norwegian state was grounded on a territory that was originally inhabited by two peoples – the Norwegians and the Sámi.

In Finland, however, academic knowledge production and persons working within the academia have recently strongly contributed to the rather extraordinary and problematic ways in which the state has begun to interpret Indigenous rights. This has resulted in politicization of Sámi research, in ways that many people clearly feel uncomfortable with. Research and researchers are no less political or more neutral, however, when they turn their face "away from politics" and purposefully avoid issues that the Sámi cannot choose not to avoid. Thus, I want to pose the *Problem Ten* in the form of a question: is it so, that it has become more difficult than before for non-Sámi scholars to show support for the Sámi right to self-determination, even on the level of a principle? For the Nordic "Lappologists" from the 1950s whom I have mentioned, the need to secure the future of the Sámi people was a fundamental value which grounded their actions, even if they also erred on more dubious research practices

such as taking measures of Sámi skulls. In this sense, they can be seen as international forerunners in the attempt to overturn the state's assimilative policies.

In so far as my concern regarding the Problem Ten is grounded, it has serious implications for how, and from which perspectives questions relating to Sáminess are currently being discussed in Finland, and what is the nature of the public and academic debates in which we Sámi researchers are constantly drawn to. The public sphere is today predominated by a fundamental lack of appreciation for the Sámi right for self-determination. This atmosphere of depreciation is taking all of us further away from a constructive environment, in which discussion of issues that are difficult for the community itself, would be possible.

Notes

1 This chapter is based on a speech originally presented at a research seminar *Ahma ja tietämisen tavat – tutkimuksen eläimellinen vaikeus* at the University of Lapland 27th August 2020. The speech has been published previously in Finnish language at the website of the Kone Foundation, https://koneensaatio.fi/kymmenen-ongelmaa-jotka-yhteisoaan-tutkiva-saamelainen-kohtaa/.
2 See https://samiontologies.com/presentation-of-the-project/.

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