

MASTER'S THESIS

Course code: SO345S

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Candidate Number: 4

Representation and/versus Self-articulation: A Non-Western Meta-perspective on Indigenous Sámi Identity in Norway

Date: 01.092020

Total number of pages: 63

ABSTRACT

The goal of this study is to examine how articulation of indigenous Sami identity deconstructs representation in the context of Norway. While doing so, it actively works with the ways Sami identity was/is (mis)represented or marginalized and how the very (mis)representation gets problematized when Sami people articulate their identity on their own. The study is based on analysis and interpretation of four data sets, and in two occasions a comparative reading of their extracted essentials.

The four data sets in the study are a qualitative interview with five Sámi participants from Norway, six selected works from the prescribed course materials in a 2018 university course on *Sámi Society and Identity in the Past and Present* and Sami texts (three texts from Sámi literature and five Sámi songs/yoiks). To add a possibility for comparing indigenous experiences, a qualitative interview with one Tharu participant from Nepal was included. The study analyses and interprets these sets of data from an indigenous perspective discussed by Linda T. Smith, Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln.

The study investigates into two objectives before answering the problem topic, representation and/versus articulation of Sámi identity in Norway. The two objectives are whether the selected university course materials accommodate the voice of interview participants regarding representation and/versus articulation of Sámi identity, and whether indigenous Sámi experience of representation and/versus articulation in Norway somehow echoes a Tharu experience from Nepal. After making a comparative reading of the essentials extracted from the data sets, the study explores that the chosen university course incorporates the Sámi participants' experience of representation and/versus articulation. It also finds that it would be even more inclusive if the course included Sámi texts like literature and songs/yoiks. There is reason to assume that Sámi experience of representation and/versus articulation somehow resonates with a Tharu experience from Nepal.

Stepping on the findings derived from the analysis and interpretation of each data sets, finally, the study comes to the conclusion that articulation of Sámi identity deconstructs non-Sámi representation. Identity articulation of Sámi identity problematizes non-Sami representation in two ways: it deconstructs non-Sámi representation and at the same time re-affirms self-identification.

Key terms: indigenous identity, (mis)representation, (self)articulation, self-affirmation, Norwegianization, indigenous perspective, non-Western perspective, revitalization

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to extend my sincere thanks to our glorious institution **Nord University**, Bodo, Norway which enrolled me in the program Master International Northern Development, Faculty of Social Sciences. I would also like to extend my profound gratitude to my thesis supervisor Associate Prof. **Astrid Marie Holand** for her smart and intact supervision. She motivated me from A-Z with meticulous feedbacks reading my drafts between the lines. Particularly, her suggestion to answer the ‘why’ questions in my writing so as to justify my collection and selection of materials, theories, methods, and interpretation has now been imprinted as my research insights.

My immense gratitude also goes to the Academic Advisor **Margit Konstane Jensen** who kindly granted me a year-long study extension period which helped me to collect data and allowed me a good span of time to work with my data. I would also like to say ‘Tusen Takk’ (Thank you very much) to all the faculty members, teaching and non-teaching staffs at Nord University whose ‘hi’ with smile always motivated me to stay long in the libraries and work hard.

My deep respect from the inner core of my heart goes to the Sami participants from Norway and the Tharu participant from Nepal. Their cordial, informative, honest and sincere participation in interview made my thesis project complete. Without their participation, the work was bound to remain incomplete. Similarly, I am truly indebted to all the authors whose books and journals academic observations I freely consulted while carrying out this study.

Last but not the least, I am grateful to my Mother (Dhrubakala) late Father (Govinda), my brothers (Lekhnath and Chandra) my cousins (Mohan, Tilak, Shree, Gyan), Sister (Krishna), and my daughter (Arina). They always motivated me to earn an international degree from Norway. Most especially, my deeper appreciation goes to my wife Renuka Bashyal for her continuous encouragement, support and a lot of patience during these years of study.

Purna Chandra Bhusal

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DEDICATION

To all the indigenous identities out there

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 My re-search inquisitiveness

I did a course named Sámi Society and Identity: Past and Present in my master's program in International Northern Development, Faculty of Social Sciences, Nord University, Norway. While going through the program, I came to know that the past and present of indigenous Sámi identity and Arctic development are essentially linked to one another. Going through the prescribed readings, which presented the trials and tribulations of the Sámi people, my curiosity to know the Sámi people and culture better rose up irresistibly. Later, to be honest, I thought that my study in Norway goes unjustifiable if I leave Norway without meeting and “feeling” Sámi people. It also intrigued a series of questions in me: do the Sámi people present themselves as the course materials talk about them? If yes, how? If no, what else will I have to study additionally to find out who they are?

Honestly, when I joined the study program Masters in International Northern Development under the faculty of Social Science, I had no previous knowledge of the Sámi situation in the Arctic countries. Still, I am a student from Nepal where many indigenous groups live. As a non-indigenous, my closest knowledge of an indigenous group was that of the Tharu, a people in my home country, who have been struggling for their protection and promotion of identity. Later, reflecting on the indigenous identity, I also wanted to look into whether Sámi identity in Norway somehow resonates with indigenous Tharu identity from my homeland Nepal. With this inquisitiveness, I planned to work on how indigenous Sámi identity appears as *represented* and *articulated*.

In the following parts of chapter one, I will introduce my thesis topic, give a brief background information on the Sámi and the Tharu, followed by an overview of the university course in focus here. Next, I will present my research questions, throwing light on the significance of my study. Then, I will reflect on the limitations and delimitations. After that I will define the key terms used in this thesis, and finally I will present an outlook over the following five chapters.

1.2 The topic of the thesis

The topic of this thesis is “Representation and/versus self-articulation: a non-western meta-perspective on indigenous Sámi identity in Norway”. In this topic, representation means how indigenous Sámi identity was/is presented from a non-Sámi perspective in Norwegian society. Self-articulation, on the other hand, means the way indigenous Sámi identity is performed by Sámi people on their own. The non-Western meta-perspective adds, so to speak, a ‘non-colonial’ reading of Sámi identity compared to indigenous Tharu identity from Nepal. In the topic, the insertion of a slash (and/versus) indicates that the study looks at both ‘representation’ and ‘articulation’ of Sámi identity exposing possible contradictions between them. The terms ‘representation’ ‘articulation’ and ‘non-Western’ are semantically loaded with an indigenous and a decolonizing perspective.

1.3 A brief introduction to Sámi identity in Norway

The term ‘Sámi’ refers to the indigenous people inhabiting the *Sápmi*, the territory expanding from the Central-Norway and Central-Sweden through the northern parts of Finland to Russia’s Kola Peninsula.

Image 1: The Sami land



(Source: Our Sapmi)

According to Solbakk and Hansen (2006), the Sámi are geographically distributed in Finland, Sweden, Norway and Russia. They are an ethnic minority who have their traditional lands in the Northern parts of Scandinavia, Finland, including the Kola Peninsula in the Russian Federation, numbering between 50,000-80,000 persons, writes Ravna (2014).

Sámi identity is an indigenous identity. Jentoft, S. et. al. (2003) list three fundamental premises in order to get recognized as an indigenous group: (a) People living in a land with a population consisting of different ethnic groups, (b) who are descendants of an original group of people who lived on the land, but (c) do not have control over the leadership and administration of the lands they live in. The Sámi history corresponds to the above criteria since they are the distinct ethnic group inhabiting in the High North from the ancient times possessing their distinct culture, language, education, skills, and communal life. They have been struggling for reviving their ‘Norwegianised’ identity making claims in decision making process.

In the context of Norway, indigenous Sámi identity has undergone trials and tribulations. The representation and articulation of Sámi identity in Norway necessarily recalls the history of Norwegianization. Norwegianization, also known as *fornorsking*, is a minority policy of assimilation or cultural mainstreaming which stretched from the mid nineteenth century to the last quarter of the twentieth century, approximately from about 1850 to approximately 1980. Henry Minde (2003), regards Norwegianization policy as a distinct phase of development, a separate era in Sámi history. The policy started with ‘Norwegianization’ of indigenous Sámi identity which paved the way for misrepresentation and marginalization Sámi people. However, it came to a challenge along with indigenous self-articulations after the 1980s. The movement of indigenous self-determination and ethnic re-awakening, celebration of ancestry and revitalization of Sámi language, culture and education have gone to be self-affirmative.

In this connection, there were/are various possibilities of how one could/can look at Sámi identity in the past and at present. However, as I have already mentioned in 1.1, this study delves into the topic of representation and/articulation of Sámi identity.

1.4 A brief introduction to Tharu identity in Nepal

The Tharu are one of the indigenous minorities in Nepal living in the plain lowlands known as Terai. According to the latest population census of 2011, the Tharu population in Nepal was

recorded to 1,7 million (1,737,470). The Tharu people have distinct cultural artefacts, language, rituals, customs, ornaments and lifestyles. They are also rich festivals and folklores, including ceremonial costumes.

Historically, the Tharu in Nepal were bonded labourers, that is, unpaid workers who lived at the house of landlords since they lacked the property of their own, also known as *Kamaiya*. It lasted for more than two centuries (from the 18th century until the later decades of the 20th century). For last two decades, after the Government of Nepal outlawed the practice of bonded labour prevalent under the *Kamaiya* system in July 2000, the Tharu communities have been struggling for their indigenous rights of self-determination (Bellamy, cited in Khadka, 2016). The Tharu have now been recognized as one of the official nationalities and indigenous groups of the Terai region in the present Constitution of the Federal Republic Nepal, 2015.

In this thesis, I have included only one Tharu participant. So, the essentials explored in the responses of the Tharu participant will be observed in order to seek whether/how indigenous Sámi experience in Norway somehow echoes Tharu identity in Nepal.

1.5 An overview of the university course

The course *Sámi identity and society in the past and present* was a part of the International Northern Development study, belonging to the master's program in Social Science at Nord University in Bodo. I took this course in the Spring Semester of 2018. The course contained a range of resources or prescribed materials (attached in appendix). A compendium was prepared for the students and it was available at the university bookstore. Besides, two books which were not in the compendium were available online. The course materials were explicitly introduced into the following thematic sections:

- (a) Ethnicity, identity and revitalization
- (b) Indigenous perspectives
- (c) Nation building, politics and education
- (d) Gender and feminist perspectives
- (e) Nature, culture and indigenous rights.

Out of those materials, I have selected following texts from ‘suggested literatures’ for closer examination. They were the only texts prescribed for the first theme above. They are:

- “When ethnic identity is a social stigma” by Harald Eidheim (1969),
- “When Ethnic Identity is a Private Matter” by Kjell Olson (2007),
- “The silent language of ethnicity” by Britt Kramvig (2005),
- “Taking care of the ancestral language: the revitalization of non-status Sámi in Finnish” by E. K. Sarivaara and colleagues (2013),
- “Making difference in a changing world: the Norwegian Sámi in the tourist industry” by Kjell Olsen (2006),
- “Sámi identity as a discursive formation: essentialism and ambivalence” by Lina Gaski (2007).

I selected those texts because they explicitly raise issues of representation and articulation of Sámi identity (the first theme).

1.6 The research question and study objectives

The goal of this thesis is to observe how indigenous Sámi identity was/is represented and articulated in Norway. There were/are various possibilities and perspectives when one works with indigenous Sámi identity, but my entire study revolves around a research question:

How does articulation of indigenous Sámi identity deconstruct representation?

The research question reinforces that there exist at least two social realities regarding indigenous Sámi identity in Norway: (there) was/is its representation, and there is its articulation. In the context of this thesis, representation means a non-Sámi way of presenting or looking at Sámi people, whereas articulation means a Sámi way of expressing Sámi -ness. In this sense, the research question primarily concerns with ‘how’ articulation goes counter to (mis)representation.

The study project attempts to answer the research question looking at the phenomena of Sámi identity from an indigenous perspective. So, it proceeds with analysis and interpretation of four sets of data: (a) interview with Sámi, (b) six university course materials, (c) Sami texts (three pieces of Sámi literature and five Sami songs (yoiks) and (d) an interview with a Tharu participant from Nepal. The study aims to expose an opposition between representation and articulation investigating into two study objectives:

- To observe whether the selected university course materials accommodate the voice of interview participants regarding representation and/versus articulation of Sámi identity
- To look at whether indigenous Sámi experience of representation and/versus articulation in Norway somehow echoes a Tharu experience from Nepal

Here, the purpose of these two objectives is to better ‘observe’ and ‘look at’ the phenomena of representation and/versus articulation of Sámi identity in Norway. In the qualitative interviews, there are five Sámi participants (two females and three males) from Finnmark, Tromsø, Bodo, Alta and Oslo. Their age ranges from mid-twenties to early sixties. There is also a Tharu participant (a male in his mid-thirties) from Nepal. Moreover, the course material (listed in 1.5) are also one of the data sets. I have also added three Sámi texts. The texts are: an excerpt “Boarding School” by Ellen Marie Vars (1957 –), a novel “The Night between the days” by Ailo Gaup (1944 –), a poem “*The Yoik*” by Paulus Utsi, yoik performances like *Luoddaearru* by Ella Marie Hætta Isaksen and *Gula Gula* by Mari Boine.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study necessarily resides in its topic and the research question. As shown in the topic (explained in 1.2), it endeavours to inspect representation and/versus articulation of indigenous Sámi identity adding a non-Western perspective. The research question (1.6), in addition, further specifies the topic leading us to a critical inquiry, that is ‘how’ Sámi articulation invalidates non-Sámi (mis)representation. Here, my thesis not only makes an effort to add a new perspective (a non-Western perspective) in looking at Sámi identity but also tries to bring Sámi articulations at the front.

Likewise, the two objectives of my study are of crucial significance. The first objective — a critical reading of the university curriculum on the Sámi identity to consider to what degree it is corresponding to findings from qualitative interview data — is likely to empower the academics, which either justifies the university course or suggests to add something in it. Moreover, my second objective — study of representation and self-articulation of indigenous Sámi in relation to indigenous Tharu from Nepal — provides a lens to indigenous ‘Norwegian’ Sámi people to

look at themselves from a new perspective, and the same thing – vice versa – applies to Tharu people in Nepal.

In addition, the thesis imparts an indigenous perspective in questioning (mis)representation through Sámi articulations. Therefore, it attempts to vocalize the indigenous voice which was ‘not listened to’ in the past. So, the study may contribute something in policy making processes of the local, national and international authorities. Here, it is worth noting that the Norwegian parliament, *Stortinget*, in the assignment for the Truth and Reconciliation Committee of 2017 specifically has pointed out the role of research and knowledge expertise when it comes to defining identity, role and rights of indigenous groups along with the need of mapping today’s scientific production concerning indigenous groups (Stortinget, 2017). The indigenous identity articulations discussed in this study is also likely go fruitful to Federal Republic of Nepal which is still working for an inclusive and a better democratic practice in central, provincial and local level.

1.8 Limitations and delimitations of the study

The study attempts to work with indigenous Sámi identity as *represented* and/versus *articulated*. However, the study has its limitations and delimitations in this thesis project. Firstly, there were only five Sámi participants and one Tharu participant as my informants. Secondly, I analysed and interpreted only six course materials. Thirdly, the study looks upon only a limited sample of Sámi texts: three Sámi literary texts and two Sámi songs (yoiks). The data sets will be further presented in chapter 4.

Alternatively, other researchers could analyse and interpret the same materials differently applying theories different than that of an indigenous perspective. Other researchers who worked with other data sets and sources in answering the same research problem could possibly come to a different conclusion. On the other hand, if I had worked with other data sets than interviews, university course and Sámi texts, even my finding could have taken a different turn. That being said, there still remains a possibility that if a big number of participants, multiple university courses and plenty of literary texts from various sources could set direction and findings of the study different than this one, or maybe, discover some of the same.

Moreover, I have also delimited my study project. My thesis revolves around a problem topic (mis)representation and/versus articulation of indigenous Sámi identity in Norway. It is restrictively based on an inspection of a representation-articulation tension only within my selected data sets. So, this study does not work with generalizing, theorizing and defining what indigenous Sámi identity “is”. Alternatively, it only concerns whether and how representation and self-articulation of indigenous Sámi identity contradict each other. So, my delimitation is that the object of my study is how indigenous Sámi identity is *represented* and *articulated*, rather than the identity per se. More specifically, it excavates ‘how’ articulations of Sámi identity dismantles non-Sámi representations.

1.9 Defining terminologies

The key terms which work as the touchstones in this thesis are identity, representation and articulation. One can define these terms differently in different research paradigms. In this thesis, the first principle to the use of these terminologies is that they are weighted with indigenous perspective(s). Sámi identity, in the context of this study, means a summation of socio-historical and cultural experiences of Sámi people. It indicates their journey from colonization, resistance to revivalist performances or decolonization. Likewise, representation means the way indigenous Sámi were/are presented in the public discourse in Norway from a non-Sámi perspective. The term (mis)representation, therefore in this study, is fuelled with indigenous/Sámi perspective which perceives representation as misrepresentation. It is (mis)representation because it was/is characterized with the discourse of binary oppositions such as ‘We’ versus ‘They’, Norwegian-Self versus the Sámi Other. Self-articulation, on the other hand, means the way Sámi people present themselves interrogating the practice which (mis)represents them. Here, it is also important to disambiguate the use of the terms ‘articulation’ and ‘self-articulation’ in this thesis. The difference between them is that I have added ‘self’ before articulation only to emphasize an indigenous voice, the voice of an indigenous self. So, it means articulation of indigenous agency. I have also used the term meta-perspective simply to mean a double perspective. That is, how indigenous Sámi articulate their identity from their own perspective, and what impressions and implications I find in them while exposing an indigenous commonality between Sámi identity in Norway and Tharu identity in Nepal. In the context of this thesis, ‘non-Western’ means a non-colonial, no-essentializing perspective to look at indigenous identity. A non-Western perspective,

therefore, supports an indigenous perspective and critiques a colonialist version of representation in my thesis.

I have used the terms ‘indigenous Sámi’ and Sámi interchangeably indicating that Sámi is necessarily an indigenous group in Norway. Decolonization, in the context of this thesis, means a process of Sámi revitalization which undoes or attempts to disqualify colonial legacies. The terms Norwegianization and assimilation refer to the official state policy of Norway (from early 1850s to early 1980s) which legitimized colonization of Sámi language, culture, land, above all a Sámi way of life. When I use the term Norwegianization, it indicates the same anti-Sámi policy of Norway.

1.10 Thesis overview

The thesis is divided into six chapters: introduction, literature review, theoretical framework, methodology, data presentation, analysis and interpretation, and finally conclusion. All the chapters are logically divided into sections and sub-sections which collectively attempt to answer the research question by carrying out the two study objectives on the way. So, they are not only interconnected, but also appear in coherent sequence.

Chapter two provides a short literature review. This chapter reviews the scholarly observations which have already been carried out on the problem topic of my thesis, representation and/versus articulation of Sámi identity. The scholarly observations (texts) have been categorized, analysed and interpreted into six different thematic categories. After the analysis and interpretation of those articles, this chapter shows my overall impression on representation and/versus articulation of Sámi identity in them and makes a point of departure stating where my study stands in this spectrum.

Succeeding literature review, the third chapter of this thesis presents my theoretical framework. It includes a discussion of relevance and justification of theoretical perspectives which I applied during analysis and interpretation of the four sets of data. The theories discussed in this chapter are basically indigenous perspectives, representation, articulation and non-Western meta-perspective. All these theories are discussed in so far as they communicate with indigenous methodologies.

Theoretical framework, moreover, follows, methodology in the fourth chapter in this thesis. It elaborates the methodological choices which I made while working on my thesis project. Since the theoretical lenses in my study stem from an indigenous perspective, it is important that the methodological choices go in line with it. Sticking to this principle, this chapter discusses philosophical implications, methods of data collection, interviews and documents as sources of data, ethical considerations, and finally my position and role in this study.

Chapter five displays the crux of this thesis, that is, is data presentation, analysis and interpretation. The entire chapter works with a step-by-step analysis and interpretation of my four sets of data in separate sections and sub-sections. The four data sets are:

- qualitative interviews with five Sámi people,
- six selected works from the University course materials
- three Sámi literary texts and five yoiks performances
- a qualitative interview with a Tharu from Nepal

While working with the four sets of data, the coherence and cohesion has been maintained. That is to say, I present/introduce the data, analyse, interpret and extract some essentials out of the them applying an indigenous perspective. Chronologically, the chapter presents Sámi interview data and then the university course material. Exploring the interconnection between them, which is also the first objective of my study, it also adds Sámi texts on my own in order to make a more wide-ranging understanding of representation and/versus articulation of Sámi identity. Then, it looks upon Tharu interview data so as to examine whether Sámi experiences somehow resounds in Tharu identity, which is the second objective of my study. Finally, the chapter concludes with my overall reflection on the interpretations of four data sets. It sets a background for answering the research question in the following chapter, which is the conclusion.

Conclusion is the final chapter in this thesis. Based on the analysis and interpretation of data in chapter five, it starts with a statement of the conclusion itself. That is, an answer to the research question. Then, it conclusively revisits the findings drawn from the four sets of data. Owing to the findings, it finally answers the research question: how does articulation of Sámi identity deconstruct representation? After answering the research question, it reflects on the issues where

I came across in this study, the issues which were not explored in this study but deserve to be researchable. It paves the way of my further research interest.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I am going to review the works which have already worked on my problem topic 'representation and/versus self-articulation of Sámi identity in Norway'. The texts which have been reviewed in this this chapter are not from university course materials. Examining their discussion on Sami identity in its changing contexts, this chapter reviews the texts, and finally makes my point of departure, that is where my thesis stands. The analysis and interpretation of the literature has been divided into six themes relating to Sámi identity: history, language, citizenship, film and media, museum and sports.

2.1 Sami identity: Representation and/versus articulation

Representation and/versus articulation of Sámi identity are the products of historical circumstances. I have already touched this topic in introduction [1.3] with reference to Norwegianization policy. Now, it important to track the texts which have traced the history of Sámi. Ossson and Lewis (1995) in 'Welfare rules and indigenous rights: the Sámi people and the Nordic Welfare states', draw an outline of Sámi history including a Sámi encounter with non-Sámi peoples. They trace out history as follows:

- The Sámi settled in the present Sámi land two thousand years ago.
- Sámi society was flourishing, but they came in contact with Scandinavians in the eighth and ninth centuries, there happened to be exchange of trades.
- Gradually, the sparsely populated Sámi were forced to move to northwards, away from their occupancy areas.
- Scandinavian colonization of the north was fully underway by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.
- They had to renounce their old religion and surrender their sacred drums to the missionaries (Christians).
- In Norway, from the mid-nineteenth to the last quarter of the twentieth century, Norwegianization took place, which was the phase of loss of Sámi language, culture, control over territory.
- After the 1980s, the movement of revival of Sámi identity took place and the Sámi and Norwegian government are in a phase of interaction. (summarized, p-141-181).

In the historical outline, we can particularly observe three historical conditions of Sámi people: flourishing of Sámi culture and identity, colonization (misrepresentation) of Sámi identity, and Sámi revitalization in progress. Here, though the revitalization process sounds optimistic, I wonder where the Sámi culture and identity would have reached today if they were never colonized.

2.2 Indigenous Sámi identity and language

Language represents one's knowledge, culture, history and identity. Sámi language was/is also a part of Sámi identity. Many researchers have worked on how Sámi language was perceived in the past and what its status is at present. Margrethe Balsa et al (2010), in "Internalization Symptoms, Perceived Discrimination, and Ethnic Identity in Indigenous Sámi and non-Sámi Youth in Arctic Norway" revisits the Sámi identity making the contrast between the past and present by questioning the assimilation policy. For them, symptoms of anxiety and depression among indigenous Sámi at present are the "influence of perceived discrimination and ethnic identity" (p. 165). They question misrepresentation of Sámi identity from 1830s to 1980s: "harsh assimilation and colonization has for many Sámi, as for other indigenous peoples worldwide, led to an extensive loss of ethnic identity, ethnic language, and traditional knowledge" (p. 166). The researchers notice changes, a shift from misrepresentation to revitalization of Sámi identity: "Over the past three decades, a process of integration and an increased ethnic revival has gradually replaced the official assimilation policy" (p. 166). Thus, Balsa and colleagues are at the position that Sámi identity records the experience of misrepresentation, but now it holds revitalization.

Moreover, Kristine Nystad and colleagues (2017), in "Ethnic Identity Negotiation among Sámi Youth Living in a Majority Sámi community in Norway" studied 22 Sámi adolescents aged 13-19 years in 2010. They come to know that all 22 youths reported being open about either their Sámi background (86%) and/or ethnic pride (55%). However, a minority of youth (14%) with "poor Sámi language skills, not having been born or raised in the community and with a lack of reindeer husbandry affiliation experienced exclusion by community members as not being affirmed as Sámi" (p.1). It shows that Sámi language, along with reindeer husbandry and growing up in a Sámi community are functioning as identity markers, which can either affirm or

doubt a Sámi identity. Hence, socio-lingual and cultural re-vitalization is a part of Sámi identity articulations, and it can appear to be both including and excluding.

2.3 Sámi identity and citizenship

Besides language, being a citizen and holding citizenship is always a part of one's identity. Sámi identity is also intertwined with citizenship identity. "Useful citizens, useful citizenship: cultural contexts of Sámi education in early twentieth-century Norway, Sweden, and Finland" by Otso Kortekangas (2017) observes the early twentieth-century elementary education policies in relation to the policy of Norwegianization stating "In Norway, the stern, nationalistic assimilation policy with political undertones regarding national security, held that the Sámi should be made Norwegian, in terms of both culture and citizenship" (86-7). It raises the issue of representation exteriorizing the discourse of the 'Norwegian self' and 'Sámi other'. It explores the ideological underpinnings inherent in the policy of Norwegianization. The terms like 'Norwegianized', 'educational authorities', 'nationalistic assimilation' 'national security' sound antithetical to Sámi identity.

However, Per Selle and colleagues (2013), in "Citizenship identity among Norwegian Sámi in core Sámi areas" find a Sámi identity more integrated at present. They raise the issue of 'indigenous citizenship' stating that the current international trend critically examines how the indigenous peoples are integrated in the 'national' identity. They write, "the fact that the perceived content of Norwegian-ness does not seem to include elements that are incompatible with the perceived content of Sámi -ness also indicates that it may not be particularly difficult for individuals to combine Sámi and Norwegian identity. (p. 712). It means the dichotomy between Norwegian self-versus Sámi other is gradually declining. In context of Norway, they write, "a mixed settlement pattern and a long history of intermarriage, have put the Sámi of Norway in a situation that in important respects differs from that of many other indigenous peoples. (p. 713-14). Hence, the writers 'represent' an optimistic aspect of Sámi identity in Norway.

2.4 Indigenous Sámi identity in film and media

Film and media are a part of representation. They represent characters who exist in certain social-historical contexts. Whose point of view is dominant, how the characters are presented and how they speak evoke their identity and their social belongingness. Anne-Kari Skardhamar

(2008) in “Changes in Film Representations of Sámi Culture and Identity” investigates the representation of Sámi people in popular films and documentary from films from 1929 to 2007: *Lajla* (1929), *Lajla* in its abbreviated form (1937), *Same-Jakki* (1957), *Sámi -Ællin* (1972), *Veiviseren* (The Guide) (1987) and *Kautokeino-Opprøret* (Kautokeino riot) (2007). Skardhamar compares the two versions of *Lajla*: in the first version (1929) “the story of the young girl Lajla is told from a non-Sámi point-of-view, and the mode of representation of otherness is of importance” (p. 293); whereas in 1937, it was not “necessary to disclose the secret of Lajla’s Sámi identity at all” (p. 297). In addition, Per Høst’s *Same-Jakki* (1957), “wants to inform and encourage empathy and insight, nevertheless the result is ambiguous” (p. 297). *Same-Ællin* (1972), “marks a shift in the colonial discourse. Criticism of political obstacles to the survival of Sámi culture are clearly expressed” (p. 298). In the same vein, in a Nils Gaup, who is a Sámi himself, in the narrative film *Veiviseren* (The guide, in Sámi *Ofelas*) (1987) “the narrative perspective as well as the language is Sámi ” which shows “the self-esteem of the Sámi population”. *Kautokeino-opprøret* (2007) strengthens “consciousness of power abuse and of social and cultural confrontations in the past” with “renewed debate about the rights and the position of the Sámi people in the multicultural Norwegian society of today” (p. 203). Cato Christensen (2012), similarly, throwing light on *The Kautokeino Rebellion* (2008), writes that it shows a shift in point of view, from Norwegian to Sámi point of view. Hence, for Skardhamar and Christensen, indigenous Sámi identity in Norway witnesses the experiences of marginalization to self-exploration in its various stages.

Moreover, at present, news media representation of the Sámi has played an important role in shaping and reshaping indigenous Sámi identity. Markelin and Husband (2013) in “Contemporary dynamics of Sámi media in the Nordic states” cover Sámi representation in the public service broadcast companies of Norway (NRK), Sweden (SVT and SR) and Finland (YLE). As the report exposes, the primary concern of these media is to work with and revive the language and culture of Sámi people. Husband writes, “The media also indicate a good possible future of the Sámi self-articulation: The Sámi media in the Nordic states are a critical element in the expression and reproduction of Sámi identities” (p. 80). This very form of revivalism of Sámi identity in media has not only accentuated the voice, views and visions of Sámi people, but also challenged the representation rooted in the mainstream discourse.

2.5 Indigenous Sámi identity and museums

Representation of Sámi identity in museums has also a significant role in characterizing Sáminess, both in the past and at present, write Lien and Nielssen (2012) in “Absence and Presence: The Work of Photographs in the Sámi Museum, RiddoDuottarMuseat-Sámiid Vuorká-Dávvirat (RDM-SVD) in Karasjok, Norway”. Questioning Riddo Duottar Museat-Sámiid Vuorká-Dávvirat (RDM-SVD) in Karasjok, the first Sámi museum in Norway which was established in 1972, they write “While the massive colonial visual legacy influences the exhibition practice at RDM-SVD in many ways” (p.308). However, the colonial representation of Sáminess in the museum has been challenged at present. For example, “Constructing Sámi National Heritage: Encounters Between Tradition and Modernity in Sámi Art” by Hanna Horsberg Hansen (2016), sheds light on the construction of Sámi national heritage through a touring exhibition, Gierdu, which opened in 2009 displaying 27 artworks from the art collection at RiddoDuottarMuseat in Karasjok in Norway. Hansen argues that it is a Sámi cultural institution displaying Sámi self-determination which counteract the previous objectification in museums and art galleries. It means a shift in perspective from non-Sámi to Sámi heralds self-articulation.

2.6 Indigenous Sámi identity and sports

As we have seen national flags being hoisted in the World Cup, sports are connected to one's identity. Helge Chr. Pedersen (2008), in “Sports, Politics and Ethnicity in the North. Workers Sport in Western Finnmark in the Late 1930s” explores an interconnection between indigenous Sámi identity and sports. For example, for Pedersen, The Norwegian Workers' Sports Association (Arbeidernes Idrettsforbund, AIF), which was established in the second half of the 1930s, played an important role in revitalizing indigenous Sámi identity in Norway. The viewpoint that Sámi athletes, too, contributed to revive the identity of the Sámi: “sport generated self-esteem and a sense of local and ethnic pride in the Sámi communities, is also supported by works on ethnicity in Troms County” (Grenersen, 1995, 2002; Mathisen, 1994) (p. 177-178). The argument of Pedersen comes to the point that sports was/is one of the constitutive elements for the revival of endangered indigenous Sámi ethnic identity. Pedersen (2013), exemplifies it with reference to skiing: “It played a central role in the lives of nomadic Sámi communities for

centuries. ... shaping and reshaping ethnic and local identities in Inner Finnmark (p. 580). Hence, Pedersen shows sports as an agent of revival of Sámi identity.

In summary, this chapter reviewed the literature that present their explorations and findings on representation of indigenous Sámi identity in the mainstream discourse, and Sámi people's incessant struggle against it. The review shows that there are various issues and angles from where indigenous Sámi identity can be viewed. Sadly, all the pieces of reviewed literature agree at one point: indigenous Sámi identity either fought against essentialist and stereotyping discourse/representation in the past or they have been striving to define themselves at present. Both of these struggles are directed against their misrepresentation—be it in the past or at present.

2.7 Concluding remarks

From this literature review, we get the impression that the idea of what Sáminess in Norwegian contexts is and means has changed over time. Both common and scholarly perceptions and representations of the Sámi seems to have changed accordingly as the table shows below:

Table 1: Sámi identity in historical contexts

Authors	Discussions on Sámi identity
Olsson and Lewis (1995)	Flourishment, encounter with non-Sámi, colonized, struggle, attempting to revive
Margrethe Balsa et al (2010)	A journey from alienation to integration
Kristine Nystad et al (2017)	Sámi people (must) use Sámi.
Otso Kortekangas (2017)	Early-twentieth century: Forget Sámi language, learn Norwegian to be a citizen of Norway
Per Selle and colleagues (2013)	One can become both a Sámi and a Norwegian citizen, mixed settlements in society
Anne-Kari Skardhamar (2008)	1920s-misrepresentation, 1930s-not exposed, 1950s-ambiguous, 1970s-struggling to survive, 1980s-revivalist attempt

Markelin and Husband (2013)	Media plays a key role to revive Sámi identity with the turn of 20th century.
Lien and Nielssen (2012)	1970s-colonial legacy,
Hanna Horsberg Hansen (2016)	2000s: self-determination is on the way
Helge Chr. Pedersen (2008)	1930S: sports and athletes made Sámi identity audible

Using broad categories drawn from the above table, the development can be summarized and divided into distinct phases, in which Sámi articulation and representation took different forms.

The different phases can be characterized as follows:

- 1) encounter between Sámi and Norwegian people,
- 2) Norwegian people attempting to take control over Sámi domains (land, language, culture, economy),
- 3) the colonizing perspective was sanctioned by the policy of Norwegianization,
- 4) Sámi people struggling to take their encroached domains back,
- 5) Sámi and Norwegians in the process of integration (or Sámi revitalization).

By now, I got the impression that Sámi identity has withstood twists and turns in Norway. It means representation and articulation of indigenous Sámi identity took changing forms with the change in time. My study primarily works with the last two phases (i.e. phase 4 and 5). It attempts to see how the Sámi articulations in the last two phases go counter to the first three phases; that is representation versus articulation.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study attempts to explore indigenous Sámi articulation as a counter-performance to non-Sámi representation. While working with indigenous Sámi experiences in Norway (and secondly in relation to indigenous Tharu from Nepal), it is essential to impart an indigenous perspective. Therefore, in this chapter, I am going to discuss indigenous methodologies revisiting Linda T. Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* (2012) and Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln's *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* (2014). The theory of representation and articulation—having an intersection with Smith, Denzin and Lincoln—also draws upon the ideas of Edward Said, Michel Foucault and Stuart Hall insofar as they are in harmony with an indigenous perspective. The non-Western perspective, on the other hand, is discussed with the ideas of Timothy Reagan, and Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan with an indigenous touch. Hence, this chapter contains four sections on theoretical perspectives: indigenous perspective/decolonizing methodology, representation, articulation and non-Western perspective.

3.1 Indigenous perspective, decolonizing methodologies

In simple terms, indigenous perspective means a practice of throwing light upon indigenous worldview, the worldview which not only differs but also opposes colonialist/Western epistemological tradition. It is a point of view which extracts the meanings in social phenomena as indigenous people perceive it. According to Smith (2012), research in indigenous context “stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile” (p. i). It means adding an indigenous perspective in a research requires means to look at the world from the perspective of indigenous identity, the identity which was silenced and pushed to the margin in the past.

The subdued indigenous identity was an outcome of positivist tradition of colonialism which “enabled knowledge to be produced and articulated in a scientific and superior way” (p. 172). It is a perspective that shatters the very colonialist superiority which pushed indigenous identity at the margin as “surrogate and even underground self” (Said, 1978, p. 4). So, indigenous perspective, critically re-visits European imperialistic and colonialist discourse which “has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous people was collected, classified and then represented” (p. i). An indigenous perspective therefore questions the phenomenon like “they came, they saw, they named, they claimed” (Smith, p.83). Here, “they

came” means encroachment, they “named” means colonial representation and they “claimed” means the knowledge claims of colonial epistemology.

Moreover, if there was colonial representation of indigenous identity, an indigenous perspective demolishes it with a call for self-determination. Smith (2012) writes: “Indigenous peoples want to tell their own stories . . . in our own ways, for our own purpose” (p. 29). In this context, Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (2014) rightly paraphrase Smith’s point stating that “the spaces between decolonizing research practices and indigenous communities must be carefully and cautiously articulated” (p.7). It means the indigenous perspective is supposed to vocalize the voice of indigenous peoples interrogating the essentialist colonial knowledge claims. It signifies that there are indigenous stories to be shared and to be heard. Gayatri Spivak’s “I will speak for myself . . . I should be listened to seriously” is the voice of indigenous people (Smith, p. 74).

In addition, a research with an indigenous perspective is assigned to make the indigenous identity speak itself or to articulate itself. Denzin and Lincoln (2014) come with an argument that indigenous research “must re-present indigenous persons honestly, without distortion or stereotype”, and that researchers “should be accountable to indigenous persons” (p. 3). After all, indigenous perspective in research has two functions: to deconstruct the misrepresentation of indigenous identity and to re-construct their identity from the perspective of indigenous identities.

Developing an indigenous perspective is also a decolonizing project. In this decolonial perspective, the colonial supremacy over indigenous identity is seriously critiqued and invalidated. The purpose of decolonizing methodologies, therefore, is to draw the colonial history down into the indigenous world and then challenge it as an influencing force of imperial worldview (Smith, 2012). Decolonizing indigenous cultures requires a critical examination of colonizing epistemic influences which constructed the stereotypes such as underdeveloped, uncivilized, and savage (Lovern, 2017). Claiming, celebrating, indigenizing, revitalizing, connecting, restoring of indigenous identity are the premises for decolonizing an indigenous identity (Smith, 2012). Hence, decolonizing methodology not only challenges the colonialist

research practices but also aims to revitalize and reorient our attention toward an exploration of indigenous identities.

In my study, an indigenous perspective has been imparted from data collection to analysis and interpretation. If the voice of indigenous people comes at the forefront in indigenous methodologies, my study also attempts to make the voice of Sámi and Tharu participants audible. While analysing and interpreting data, an indigenous voice has been provided an ample space for articulation. In fact, they speak themselves. In addition, my thesis not only tries to vocalize Sámi voice but also examines and critiques the way Sámi people were/are misrepresented in Norway. Hence, indigenous perspective is a part and parcel of this study project.

3.2 Theory of representation and indigenous identity

When I use the term *representation*, unless further specified, it normally means the way indigenous Sámi people were (or have been) presented in public domains, and how an indigenous Sámi identity was/is perceived by non-Sámi or Norwegians. Stuart Hall et al (2013, p. 1) define representation as “an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture”. It implies that representation exchanges a set of meanings between the addresser and the recipient. Here, representation is an act of communicating meaning. It means that representation does not necessarily give us the valid or absolute knowledge on/about the entity which is represented. It is a cultural or discursive construct. In my study, misrepresentation of Sami identity has also been challenged as a discursive construct, a construct which was colonial and exploitative. In his *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), Foucault also challenged the traditional concept of history and representation. Representation, he writes, is a system of discourse formation which is “constituted by all that was said, in all the statements that named it, divided it up, described it, explained it, traced its development” (p. 32). Here, the activities like naming, dividing, judging, explaining and describing are the different forms of representation. Foucault also describes the nature representation critically examining a nexus between truth, power and discourse: “Truth is a thing of this world; it is produced only by virtue of multitude form of constraint” (Foucault, 1979, p 131). Therefore, before accepting any representation as truth, it is important to know its circumstantial details: who created it, when, where, why and for what purpose. Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) challenges representation as a phenomenon created by writers, intellectuals,

artists, commentators, travellers, politicians working with discursive formations during the colonial era. The rationale of representation was to legitimize exploitation and domination. Hans Bertens (2001) in *Literary Theory: The Basics*, interprets Said arguing that colonial representations was a discourse or for military domination, cultural displacement, and economic exploitation. The same phenomenon of exploitation and domination can be observed in the history of Sami identity.

In the context of indigenous identity in the Arctic, the colonial illustrations and narratives visualized indigenous people as a type, unnamed and anonymous even up to the nineteenth century explorations (O'Dochartaigh, (2019). Therefore, an indigenous perspective is required make the indigenous identity travel across by invalidating those illustrations. My study, in line with Foucault, Hall and Said, attempts to explore how representation is questioned. My study while questioning the Norwegian or non-Sámi representation of Sámi identity stems from an indigenous presumption “indigenous cultures and the cultures of resistance have been born and nurtured over generation”, and the revival and nurturing is no other than self-determination (Smith, 2012). It disrupts taken-for-granted epistemologies or truths, by privileging indigenous interpretive practices over non-indigenous (Denzin and Lincoln, 2014). This very privileging is an attempt to interrogate Norwegian misrepresentation of Sámi identity. Therefore, a postcolonial and indigenous critiquing of (mis)representation is one of the theoretical perspectives in this thesis.

3.3 Theory of articulation and indigenous identity

In my study, I apply the theory of articulation while working with expressions and performances of indigenous Sámi identity. In other words, theory of articulation deals with the practice which make indigenous Sámi experiences revitalize in the Norwegian society. Stuart Hall introduces theory of articulation with his remarks “articulate means to utter, to speak forth, to be articulate. It carries that sense of language-ing, of expressing” (Grossberg, 1986, p. 53). It is like what Linda T. Smith (2012) calls self-determination and self-identification. That is, the practice of self-articulation not only gives a better opportunity to vocalize the subdued voice but also deconstructs the stereotyped and generalized indigenous identity. Therefore, articulation is more a pragmatic tool analysing the dominant discourse in each society: “By means of the practice and principle of articulation, we can index semiotic forms and performances as traces of wider

interpretive and political processes that allow for reflexive modes of subjectivity” (Zienkowski, 2016, p. 94). Here, articulation is a mode of expressing indigenous identity from their own perspectives.

The significance of self-articulation in indigenous research gets reflected when Linda T. Smith (2014) states the insight of indigenous perspective:

It becomes more than a political goal. It becomes a goal of social justice which is expressed through and across a wide range of psychological, social, cultural and economic terrains. It necessarily involves the processes of transformation, of decolonization, of healing and of mobilization of peoples (p. 120).

The argument strengthens the viewpoint that self-articulation is a multidisciplinary response of indigenous experience. The goal of the response is more than justice and political freedom; it aims at empowering indigenous psychology paving the way for self-dignity. In a sense, self-articulation is an emancipation project of the indigenous identity. It decolonizes the colonial pains and transforms the indigenous identity into an agent of social changes.

Self-articulation, in my research context, is a part of indigenous identity because it strives for self-determination where indigenous Sámi become the active participants and prepare for the possibilities and challenges (Smith, 2012). This study exposes Sámi articulations in various forms such as language, culture, literature and popular expressions like songs (yoiks). In this study, these articulatory performances are analysed and interpreted revealing that they transgress colonial stereotypes attributed to indigenous identity.

3.4 A non-western meta-perspective and indigenous identity

My study works with the representation and/versus articulation indigenous Sámi identity in Norway. While doing so, it also incorporates a non-Western indigenous experience by adding one Tharu participant from Nepal. A non-Western meta-perspective, in this thesis, therefore, is what Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan (2010) call “a cross-cultural comparative perspective” (p. 2). Furthermore, for Acharya and Buzan, a non-Western perspective challenges the dominance of Western theory, questioning its inadequacy to comprehend the social World apart

from that of the West. It is because, for them, Western theories are products of academic and cultural discourses of the West.

Timothy Reagan (2005) draws a connection between an indigenous perspective and a non-Western perspective. For him, a non-Western perspective presupposes the “differences” between the West and non-Western socio-cultural phenomena. According to him, it is necessary to develop a non-Western perspective while exploring experiences, traditions and cultural performances which are ‘different’ than that of the West — be it indigenous or non-indigenous. Reagan (2005) justifies the relevance of non-Western perspective while interpreting the identity articulations which exist in non-Western societies:

It is essential that we all learn to invite and listen to the ‘multiple voices’ and perspectives that can enlighten our understanding of these traditions, just as we must learn to recognize that different groups may, as a consequence of their sociocultural contexts and backgrounds, possess ways of knowing that, although different from our own, may be every bit as valuable and worthwhile as those to which we are accustomed. (p.3)

The terms ‘multiple voices’, ‘their socio-cultural contexts’, ‘different from our own’ imply that an indigenous experience—either from Sámi society or from Tharu society—can be contextualized in their contexts for a comprehensive understanding. Since my study attempts to move back and forth between Sámi identity and Tharu identity, it exposes the interplay between two non-Western realities, the two perspectives (Sámi and Tharu). Hence, it is a meta-perspective.

To sum up, indigenous perspective, (colonial) representation and (indigenous) articulations are the theoretical lenses which shape this thesis. Indigenous perspective is a decolonizing and emancipating perspective. It challenges representation by shifting a perspective from mainstream colonial perspective to emancipatory indigenous perspective. The emancipatory performances of indigenous people are articulation. In line with indigenous perspective, a non-Western approach also questions the Western colonial epistemology and throws light onto a world which is different from the West, that is *non-West*. This is the point where the indigenous and non-Western perspective meet in the process of decolonization.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Exploring an indigenous terrain is always a challenge. It is because the tangible and intangible elements of indigenous performances are unlikely to be understood by an outsider who observes only from a distance. The serious questions are who ‘does’ an indigenous inquiry ‘where’ and ‘how’ and for ‘whom’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 2014). Responding to these challenges, I was very conscious in imparting indigenous methodologies from data collection to analysis and interpretation. So, in this chapter, I am going to present the methodological choices which I made in order to carry out the study process from data collection to analysis and interpretation. It has been elaborated into five different sections: philosophical implications, methods of data collection, ethical considerations, analysis and interpretation, and finally my role as a researcher.

4.1 Philosophical implications in my study

The philosophical assumptions are the stance the researcher takes in constructing meaning in a qualitative research process (Creswell, 2007). In this thesis, there are various philosophical assumptions which interpret representation-articulations tensions of indigenous identity. They can be introduced as ontological, epistemological and axiological stance.

Ontologically, my stance in this study responds to constructivism. Constructivism holds that social reality and meaning is “continually being accomplished by social actors” and that a “researcher’s own accounts of the social world are constructions” (Bryman, 2012, p. 29). As I have stated the delimitation (1.8), this thesis, revisits indigenous identity as a ‘social construct’. Adding an indigenous perspective, it further attempts to reveal contradictions in the non-indigenous ‘constructs’ of indigenous identity.

Epistemologically, my study inclines to interpretivism. Interpretivism, in a qualitative research, stands on the philosophical assumption that social scientists “grasp the subjective meaning of social actions” in a context (Bryman, 2012, p. 26). My exploration of indigenous Sámi identity is an act of interpretation. It is an analytical interpretation of data sets from an indigenous perspective (discussed in 3.1).

Axiology, in a qualitative research, is the presumption that the understandings and investigations of people or communities are always value laden. “All researchers bring values to their study,

but qualitative researchers like to make explicit those values”, writes Creswell (2007, p. 18). In the context of my thesis, the values which are accentuated are indigenous values which go counter to non-indigenous (mis)representation.

Hence, my ontological, epistemological and axiological stance in this thesis are inclined to indigenous paradigm. A paradigm, which according to Smith (2012) is not only competing but also oppositional to the essentialist Western-colonial positivist paradigm.

4.2 Methods of data collection

The method of data collection, in my study, was essentially elicited by the research question: ‘How does Sámi articulation deconstructs representation’? Linda T. Smith (2012) argues that one who is interested to work on indigenous identity must understand “meaningful, rich, diverse; interesting lives are living in the margins” (p. 205). In the context of my thesis ‘the interesting lives’ are Sámi people from Norway and the Tharu from Nepal. In order to meet and feel those lives, I chose the following two methods of data collection.

4.2.1 Interviews

In general, the purpose of interviewing informants is both to gather factual information and to learn about their experiences, motives, sentiments and judgments. In an interview setting, the researcher is implicitly dealing with other people’s understandings and interpretations of events and practices. Especially the interview is an interesting setting for producing data. This is an exchange situation, where both information and understanding is traded in a dynamic process. The interview is a co-creation of meaning, so to speak. Basically, in an indigenous research, the interview has three uncertain factors: the interviewer, the interviewee and the dialogue between them. Do the participants share a common language? *How* are questions asked and understood? How are answers given and understood?

Taking these questions under consideration, my first step to interviews was to go through Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata (Norwegian Centre for Research Data-NSD) registration. It is routine register projects including interview data in this institution in the context of Norway. So, I registered a semi-structured interview guide as a preliminary step (attached in appendix). I chose a semi-structured interview it is both flexible in structure allowing a greater degree of freedom to accommodate the experiences of participants (Bryman, 2012). The semi-structured interview

guide was prepared with five themes, and each theme followed two questions (ten questions in total). While making interviews, the themes worked perfectly. I also added one more theme, that is ‘challenges to Sámi identity,’ because the Sámi participants mentioned the challenges several times. However, I made a few changes in the questions because I sensed that the immediate contexts and participants’ responses demanded so. The interview guide is attached in appendix 1.

Moreover, even though I had a limited number of participants, I tried to be as inclusive as possible, especially on geographical distribution, age composition and occupation.

Table 2: The participants in interview

Ethnicity	Sex	Age	Occupation	Location
Sámi	Male	Early sixties	Reindeer herding	Finnmark
Sámi	Female	Early fifties	School teacher	Tromso
Sámi	Male	Early thirties	Unspecified	Bodo
Sámi	Male	Early forties	Student	Alta
Sámi	Female	Mid-twenties	Employed in a restaurant	Oslo
Tharu	Male	Mid thirties	School teacher	Nawalparasi, Nepal

(**NB:** I have mentioned Finnmark even though it is less specific location in comparison to others. I did so both to anonymize the data and to do justice to the participant as he perceived ‘Finnmark’ as his identity marker.)

The Tharu participant is from my locality in Nepal. There were basically two reasons why I chose the Tharu participant: he was the one who was most often preferred by Tharu community to speak about Tharu issues in my locality. As a schoolteacher, I thought he was in communication with non-Tharu people every day. So, he was a potential participant to share Tharu experiences, and most possibly a Tharu experience at the midst of non-Tharu people. It is important to mention that most of the teachers in our community school were/are from non-Tharu background. Though we were not very much familiar to each other personally, we were Facebook friends. I found him very much positive about my study project when I approached him. I took his interview through skype. Finding a Tharu participant was not a big job for me.

On the other hand, as an international student from Nepal staying in Norway, it was not easy for me to contact Sámi people for my thesis purpose. I attempted to approach many people personally through different channels, but unfortunately the responses were almost none. However, my visits to different places in Norway came to be much rewarding for me to get in touch with Sámi people. Firstly, one of my friends from Nepal, who is a schoolteacher in Finnmark, played the role of a mediator in introducing me with his Sámi friends. I visited Finnmark, met a number of Sámi people, shared my thesis project, and five of them were interested to take part. I made interview with each of them. In this study, I included only one of them because his information was different than that of others. The information of rest of the four was also hardly different from the participants from other locations.

By new year 2020, I became able to contact other participants from varying geographical distributions, which I had hoped for. When I presented an abstract at NORIL Workshop (9-10, January, 2020) in Tromsø, I met Sámi participants from a range of backgrounds. I also shared my thesis project. Using the same channel, I met a Sámi woman in Tromsø. She agreed to take part in my project and I thankfully took her interview in Tromsø. Next, my abstract for Sámi Education Conference 2020 (but now postponed), was accepted. Going through the programme website and its hosts, I e-mailed many of them. A couple of the them responded and one of them gave me an email of a probable participant. I did email, and he agreed to participate. He was from Alta; I took his interview through e-mail. Finally, the participants from Bodø and Oslo were my personal acquaintances. I did not know their Sámi background beforehand. Even though it was easier to communicate with them, I was very conscious in interviewing them so that my personal acquaintance does not influence the information I was looking for.

The interview session took place in three phases: pre-interview, while interview and post-interview. The pre-interview was the introductory part of the session where I honestly introduced myself, the purpose of my study and the value of their participation. Then, after signing and exchanging a consent form, the actual (and virtual) interview took place. I raised my inquiry in clear and simple words picking up the themes from the interview guide. I wrote what they said in my research notebook. I never interrupted them unless I sensed any deviation. When I collected required information, I summed up the interview cordially asking for feedback. Afterwards, we

engaged in different off-topic discussions on indigenous identity only if the participants had a spare time and interest.

While taking interviews, I came to face a few challenges too. Sometimes, the participants did not answer what I was looking for, and I had to reset the track by explaining the context before asking questions. On some occasions, I had a hard time understanding what they meant. In that case, I re-narrated what I understood, and asked them if I got it right. The important thing I came to know is that if I could speak Sámi language, it would be an easy job to make interviews. All the participants were able to speak English in this study.

4.2.2 Documents as sources of data

In this study, the documents are an important source of indigenous information/articulation. The documents are the archives where indigenous identity gets articulated. This study analyses documents of very different types, origins and purposes: academic, literary and popular texts (songs).

The six university course materials which I selected for this study (presented in 1.5) are the academic documents. If my interview data were the ‘words’ of Sámi people themselves, the course materials were the ‘observations’ on possibly similar Sámi voices made by other scholars (than me). Therefore, for me, adding academic materials was not only necessary to see where my study ‘is’ but also to add something to the university course if I could. This thesis comparatively works on both sets of data observing what role the university course has played (or could play) in articulating or decolonizing/indigenizing Sámi identity.

Like university course, literatures produced by Sami authors were of an additive value in this study. Daniel H. Justice (2018), claims that indigenous literature tell the truths of indigenous life challenging colonial stereotypes. So, in order to explore indigenous articulations, I found that it would be justifiable to go through indigenous literature. Therefore, for this study, I selected, three texts by Sámi authors: an excerpt “Boarding School” by Ellen Marie Vars (1957 –), a novel “The Night between the days” by Ailo Gaup (1944 –), a poem “*The Yoik*” by Paulus Utsi.

In addition, two Sámi yoiks are also included as ‘documents’ in my study. The yoik occasions are the indigenous spaces where identities are performed, negotiated and transmitted (Hilder,

2012). Hämäläinen, S et al (2017) highlight the psychological healing nature of yoik music stating that the musical qualities help processing negative emotions and inducing positive ones. Then, how could I stick myself only on interview data, a university course and literature? Therefore, in this study, I included five yoiks: *Luoddaearru* and *Maze* by Ella Isaksen and *Gula Gula*, *Sarahkka Viidna*, *Eadnan Bakti* by Mari Boine

In sum, for me, if the interview data are the ‘Sámi’ words’ working as a threshold to enter a Sámi ‘world’, whereas the course materials were more the academic ‘observations’ on Sámi identity made by other (than me). Likewise, Sámi literature exposes how the Sámi world(view) gets articulated in a fictional world. Yoiks, all alone, are the ‘voice’, ‘word’ and ‘world’ of Sámi identity articulations. Therefore, in my study, these documents add local colour in the phenomena of representation/versus articulation of Sámi identity.

4.3 Ethical considerations

Since my study inquiry attempted to explore “representation and/versus articulation of indigenous Sámi identity in Norway”, it was necessary for me to incorporate ethical issues while collecting interview data from indigenous peoples. Responding to the ethical obligations like privacy, freedom, respect to human dignity as mentioned in *Guidelines for Research Ethics in The Social Sciences, Law and The Humanities* (NESH, 2006), I did registration on 30 June 2019. I was also very much conscious for re-positioning the participants not as ‘subjects’ but as active participants (Dunbar and Margaret, 2006). I endeavoured to verbalize an indigenous agency (Kowal, 2014).

In my research, all the participants were thoroughly informed about the purpose of my study. They were also given the letter of informed consent (sample attached in appendix). I signed on it myself first, and they also signed on it before an interview took place. After collecting interview data, I anonymized the identity of the participants as ‘A, B, C, D and E’. The Tharu participant the only one. Hence, their right to privacy was properly responded. All the participants were free to share their experiences as far as they were in tune with my themes. I was also very conscious to my obligation to respect participants’ dignity. In fact, I must say that they I did not intrude them; they were free to express. All the interviews took place memorably in a conducive environment. The actual interview contexts have already been elaborated in 4.2.1.

Moreover, I tried be in line with the ethics of an indigenous inquiry, an inquiry which works “honestly, without distortion or stereotype” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2014). In my analysis and interpretation, I tried to extract the essentials which they ‘intended’ to share through my thesis. I have never generalized indigenous identity based on my data sets. Besides interviews, I also worked hard to explore an indigenous voice while selecting other data sets. Therefore, Sámi literature and Sámi songs are also included as part of ethics indigenous inquiry in this thesis. (discussed in 1.8).

4.4 Analysis and interpretation

The touchstone of my thesis is ‘representation and/versus articulation of indigenous Sámi identity’. The entire study is based on analysis and interpretation different data sets: interview data (Sámi and Tharu), university course materials, literature, and songs. The methods of analysis and interpretation were coding and thematising, and especially in two occasions a comparative analysis.

Coding was the first step of analysis in my study. The purpose of coding was to organize and make sense of the data sets (Basit, 2014) To take an example, while coding interview data of Sámi participants, I used labels such as ‘language use’, ‘painful past’, ‘dislocation’, ‘struggle’, ‘heard narratives’, ‘life incidents’ ‘challenges’, ‘self-definition’. The codes were based on the information each data invoked regarding indigenous Sámi identity. All the data sets followed the same process.

Then, the codes of all data sets were reviewed on the basis of the recurrent patterns like ‘we versus they’ ‘representation versus articulation’, ‘a non-Sámi perspective’ versus ‘a Sámi perspective’, ‘loss versus revival’. Out of these patterns, I constructed themes The themes have been presented in their respective sections. Most importantly, after coding and thematising all data sets, I looked for an intra-data (within a set of data) patterns and inter-data (in two or more sets of data) patterns, out of which the problem topic representation and/versus articulation was addressed. The interpretation was done from an indigenous perspective where an ‘indigenous agency’ came to articulate itself through the codes, patterns, themes and meanings. Besides, I also compared meanings extracted from each data set, and consider whether or not these confirm

each other. In short, I extracted the crux of the four sets of data and made a comparison where necessary.

4.5 My role in this study

I am an international student in Norway who came from Nepal for higher education. In this study, I aim at working with the way articulation of indigenous Sámi identity deconstructs misrepresentation. Humbly announced, my position in this study dwells on my research interest as a non-Western student working with indigenous Sámi identity in Norway. While working with indigenous participants and data sets, I was not testing any presumptions and preconceptions, rather I tried to make conceptions on the phenomena of articulation and/versus representation of Sami identity based on my observations on ‘how’ they were/are *done*.

To borrow the term of Norman K. Denzin (1996), I was a bricoleur—a French word for someone making a bricolage or collage – from whatever materials available. I collected interviews data myself with Sámi participants. I critically examined the entire university course and selected six course materials out of them. Then, I revisited three texts from Sámi literature and two Sámi songs/yoik performances. I also made an interview with a Tharu participant from Nepal. However, beyond a bricolage activity, my position in this study always aimed at deconstructing the centre-periphery discourse which prevailed as a part of the (mis)representation of Sámi identity in Norway. My position is also reflected in the rhetoric of this thesis which seeks to be indigenous, decolonizing and anti-essentialist, that is, what Smith (2012) means accentuating the consciousness of indigenous world.

In conclusion, the philosophical implications in this study are constructivist, interpretivist and indigenous approaches. The methods of data collection included interviews and documents, whereas analysis and interpretation were based on coding, thematising with a comparative perspective. The ethical considerations regarding privacy, informed consent, honesty, trustworthiness, impartial interpretation were also thoroughly applied throughout the study process. Finally, my role as a researcher in this study was no other than the collecting materials, extracting essential meanings from them and interpreting them comparatively from an indigenous perspective.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

This section answers my research question—how articulation of Sámi identity deconstructs representation—achieving its two objectives in course of analysis, interpretation, and in two occasions a comparative reading of data sets. Here, the data sets — a qualitative interview with five Sámi participants, six selected works from the prescribed course ‘*Sámi Society and Identity and in the Past and at Present*’ (Masters in Social Science, International Northern Development, Spring 2018, Nord University, Norway), three selected texts from Sámi literature, two Sámi songs (yoik) and a qualitative interview with a Tharu from Nepal — are interpreted one by one from an indigenous perspective. The chapter makes a comparative reading of the essentials extracted from both the chosen university course and interview data. It fulfils the first objective of this study, that is an investigation of message correspondence between those academic and interview data. Then, the chapter extends the discussion adding Sámi texts (literature and songs) which heighten the topic representation and/articulation of Sami identity. Then, a Tharu Tharu participant joins the representation-articulation debate with his somehow similar experience like that of five Sami participants. It is where the second objective of the study is done. Finally, the chapter concludes with my overall reflection on the four data sets setting a foundation for answering the research question.

5.1 A journey from ‘words’ to ‘world’?

Entering into an indigenous world is a challenging job; if one enters into the indigenous terrain, observes from the distance and generalizes indigenous identity, it is bound to be a misrepresentation. In fact, “Indigenous peoples want to tell their own stories . . . in our own ways, for our own purpose” (Smith, 2012, p. 29). So, firstly, in order to enter and understand representation and/versus articulation of Indigenous Sámi identity, it is important to witness how they ‘tell their own stories’.

5.1.1 A pragmatic use of the term ‘A Sámi’ (?)

I asked: “Is there such a thing as a neutral use of the term ‘Sámi’, or is it initially loaded with tension?” The varying responses were as follows:

Respondent A: *Well, it depends on the situation. If we Sámi people tell 'We are Sámi', I feel good. But when non-Sámi people just call me 'a Sámi', it is not good. I think nobody likes it.*

Respondent B: *It is always good to address people with their names. Calling someone like me 'a Sámi' is not a very good way of addressing. I introduce myself as a Sámi if I think it is necessary.*

Respondent C: *Addressing we Sámi people just as 'Sámi' is does not sound very good. But people can talk about 'Sámi Rights', 'Sámi Parliament', 'Sámi festival' etcetera. But for persons, I think it is not very good.*

Respondent D: *I think you can call me a Sámi if you are attending any Sámi gathering, concert, festival and like that. But just calling a person 'a Sámi' somewhere out of context is rather not good.*

Respondent E. *No, it is not good to call me just a Sámi, because I have my name. I use it myself when it is only necessary for me.*

The essential in this information is why there is an explicit or implicit response 'No, it is not neutral' in all the responses: 'it is situational', 'address people with their names', 'I use it myself when it is necessary'. So, the participants sound responding that 'the use of the term 'a Sámi' is not neutral; it is loaded with tension. Thus, they imply that whether labelling someone as 'Sámi' is ok or not is strongly depending on situation, and who is labelling whom in what context. for **Respondent A**, the term Sámi is giving sense of unity when used by Sámi people themselves, but when a non-Sámi addresses Sámi people as 'a Sámi', it is possibly expected to have negative connotations. The same line of expression continues in the other participants. The participants responded that they liked to be addressed by their personal names.

Here, the impression is that the informants are more in quest for self-identification rather than representation. One could say that the Sámi informants in this study are challenging the concepts of and images formed in outsiders thought regarding who indigenous Sámi are and where they accept or question being called just 'a Sámi'. Their responses echo what Smith challenges "they came, they saw, they named, they claimed" (p. 83). Their words indicate that they question 'representation' and prefer self-articulation. It is like what Gayatri Spivak, (cited in Smith (2012) means "I will speak for myself . . . I should be listened to seriously" (p. 74) So, listening to their words, the question intriguing me is that if addressing them as 'Sámi' sounds problematic, how could people from Norwegian society, both in the past and at present, represent or talk about Sámi

identity? It is a very serious question. Hence, the responses of Sámi participants deconstruct any representation of Sámi identity made by a non-Sami; they call for self-articulation.

5.1.2 Explore ‘world’ before making ‘words’

I asked: “If a stranger like me wants to get to know Sámi people and culture. What do you suggest that I do? Could you please share a few pieces of advice?” The responses were as follows:

Respondent A: *It is a very big job. First, you have to understand Sámi language. You stay here, take part in programmes, visit many places. Meet Sámi people, make friends. So many things to do.*

Respondent B: *It may not be very easy. Start reading history, visit many Sámi places, learn language. Always pay attention to small things. Observe the way Sámi people live a life.*

Respondent C: *It takes time. Read so many things, learn language, take part in culture. Listen to the most recent issues discussed.*

Respondent D: *I have no idea. But you can contact Sámi teacher, and the teacher can explain many things for you. But listen to the news read books by Sámi authors.*

Respondent E: *I cannot say which way is the best. But you can start with learning language, and visit many places, read books, listen to songs, watch movies, and feel Sámi culture.*

Explicating the information, we can explore that any generalization about Sámi identity made without an extensive and intimate understanding of Sámi world are invalid for Sami participants. The responses like ‘so many things to do’, ‘a big job’, ‘observe’, ‘feel’ necessarily demand one’s intimate communication with indigenous Sámi culture before making any conclusion about Sámi people. This should be understood in a context where the outsider’s view on the Sámi used to be rather negative. ‘learning language’, taking part in culture’, ‘pay attention to small things’, ‘make friends’ question the positivist tradition of colonialism which “enabled knowledge to be produced and articulated in a scientific and superior way” (Smith 172). Therefore, when Henry Minde (2003) writes the Sámi were stereotyped as beggarly, old fashioned, reactionary and heathen by Norwegian society, the colonial epistemology is receiving a serious attack in the above responses. If it is so, the question is ‘how far Norwegian people understood Sami words/worlds before assigning the attributes like ‘heathen’ and beggarly? So, the informants’

intrinsic message for me echoes emphatically to speak that is a time to ‘beg-early’ (not beggarly) to explore and understand Sami-ness if one is willing to ‘know’. In other words, Sámi self-articulation seriously challenges any non-Sámi representation.

In sum, this section (5.1) shows that working with Sámi identity in Norway is a topic of an extreme exploration and an extensive elaboration. As the informants suggest, even the use of the term ‘a Sámi’ by a non-Sámi is loaded with colonial attitude of misrepresentation. The information further shows that one as an outsider cannot generalize the understanding of Sámi identity. Having a glance to the participants Sámi world only through their words, I got the message that the selectively constructed non-Sami colonial stories have gone to be invalid (Smith 2012)

5.2 Sámi identity: (mis)representation

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2014), indigenous personal narratives function as performative interventions, the interventions are directed against any experience of misrepresentation. In this section, I directly enter into how Sámi participants recalled their bitter experiences just for being ‘a Sámi’ in Norway.

5.2.1 Life experiences

I asked: “Did you experience any misbehaviours and feelings of inferiority just for being a Sámi in Norway? How do you share your stories?”

Respondent A: *I do not have a very good experience as a Sámi in Norway I have lived in this place for sixty years. I experienced domination, suffering, misbehaviour. I was very fluent in my Sámi language, but they forced me to learn Norwegian language. They used to laugh at me and my friends when we were slow in learning Norwegian language. Our costume and physical appearance were a matter of bad experience.*

Respondent B: *I was a Sámi and I am a Sámi. But in the past, I never claimed myself to be a Sámi with confidence. I was married to a non-Sámi family, but the family inquired me many times and I always said I was a non-Sámi. They used to take my language intonations and pitch as a matter of shame. Though my husband knew about the fact, he never exposed it to his family. I did not have a very good experience in my life as a Sámi woman married into a Norwegian family.*

Respondent C: *I was born in the turning phase. There was a conflict between the Sámi and non-Sámi in terms of the use of land, fishing, and education. I was brought up in the anti-non-Sámi family sentiments. My parents always taught me to be strong enough to*

encounter the possible conflicts and encroachment of our territory. My feelings were in line with my parents. I did not feel secure.

Respondent D: *To be honest, I am not very much informed about all the past Sámi experiences. But, for sure, what I can say is my parents did not have a good feeling towards non-Sámi people. They always thought that they were exploited, and they did not get justice. But they told me that I have to study and compete with Norwegians in my profession. I took the words of my parents wholeheartedly.*

Respondent E: *I was born when the conflicts between the Sámi and non-Sámi people were almost settled. I never hid my identity as a Sámi, and I don't remember an incident when I was ashamed to call myself a Sámi. But one important thing is I tell I belong to Sámi only when it is very necessary. I have heard and read of Sámi experiences, and truly my heart is always with them.*

Going through the responses here, we can observe key experiences of all informants. Their age span allows glimpses into what it could feel like to be Sámi in Norwegian society at different stages in the post-war era.

Table 3. Changing experiences of (mis)representation of Sámi identity

Participants	Age	Life experiences as a Sámi	Impact on identity
A	Early 60s	Norwegian invasion and conflict	was laughed at, felt bad,
B	Early 50s	Exclusion in the family	Hid her identity
C	Early 30s	Possibility of invasion and attack	Felt insecure
D	Early 40s	Heard the parental narratives of exploitation	Sense of rivalry/competition
E	Mid 20s	Heard and read painful past	Sense of Sámi unity

As displayed in the table, all the responses articulate that indigenous Sámi identity was not taken that much seriously by the mainstream Norwegian culture. **Response A** recalls the hierarchical relation between Norwegian ‘self’ versus Sámi ‘other’. Forcing Sámi to learn Norwegian language – even though there was also the possibility of learning Sámi by Norwegians – demonstrates the power and politics of Norwegians directed against Sámi identity. **Response B** accentuates that the Sámi identity could not only experience ‘inferiority’ in the larger community but also in one’s own family life. Here, we can point out that the Norwegian family did not have a positive attitude to look at the indigenous identity even as a family member. Is an indigenous identity much dividing than a family/marital bond? **Response C** exemplifies that the Sámi

identity at present was not always necessarily the first-hand experience. The respondent clearly states that his family was against the Norwegian people and their behaviour. When his parents told him to be cautious of any assault from Norwegian people, it implies a traumatic terror, and possibly possibly a sense of revenge. **Response D** reveals a critical question why the parents of the informant suggested to compete with Norwegians. It possibly indicates the Norwegian discourse of competitive Norwegian-ness versus uncompetitive Sami-ness. **Response E** indicates a noticeable side of Sámi identity, that is, the young generation may experience less of a personal stigma.

From the analysis, despite the differences in their particular life experiences shared by the participants, we can detect that all the participants either experienced themselves or heard of Sámi struggles against Norwegian invasion. The participants' stories of being at threat possibly point out a colonized, surrogate and even underground self (Said, 1978). The Norwegian discourse of 'inferior' Saminess, as recalled by the participants, might have led to writes "false representations that have effectively paved the way for military domination, cultural displacement, and economic exploitation" (Bertens, 2001 p. 204). The Sámi participants' response, therefore, most possibly are a critique of (mis)representation.

5.2.2 Media (mis)representation

Next, I asked: "Now, have you ever noticed the problems the way Sámi people are presented in media? Could you please share your general experience?"

Respondent A: *I don't care what other people tell about the Sámi. What is important for me is I am a Sámi and I have my own life. Sometimes people come to me to share my experience and I share it. But I cannot say how it goes to the media.*

Respondent B: *In the past, we were regarded in news and other media as tough and difficult to handle type of people. But I think we are presented as a part of History of Norway these days. For me, it is more important how the Sámi community thinks of me rather than how non-Sámi think of it. We can easily guess that when we are not liked by Norwegians, they never present us as good people. When they present us as good people I assume they liked us at least in certain degree.*

Respondent C: *I have gone through a few forms of representation in music videos and movies of the non-Sámi people. In fact, I feel that non-Sámi people cannot talk about us because our lifestyle, community, occupation is rather different than that of other people. They cannot present us as we feel of being the Sámi.*

Respondent D: *People only think of the Sámi in terms of our language, traditional occupation and costume. All the Sámi people are not the same. But when we read about ourselves in media, we find that all the Sámi have almost similar experience. It is never like that.*

Respondent E *I do not have enough knowledge about it. When I hear people talking about the Sámi people, I think that they are talking about my parents and grandparents not about me, honestly. I think people must go through the Sámi history before representing the Sámi people.*

The responses can be collectively understood as the table illustrates:

Table 4: The differing experiences of misrepresentation

Respondents	General perception to misrepresentation	Meaning
A	Does not share clearly	Self-affirmation as Sámi
B	Noticed misrepresentations	Misrepresentation as a reflection of social discourse
C	Noticed misrepresentations	Perspective matters
D	Noticed misrepresentation	Generalized representation is problematic
E	No enough stories	Critical, sounds more integrated in Norwegian society

The table necessarily takes us back to literature review (discussed in 2.4) where Anne-Kari Skardhamar (2008) in “Changes in Film Representations of Sámi Culture and Identity” re-reads the changing perspectives on representation of Sámi people in popular films and documentary from films from 1929 to 2007. In line with Skardhamar, the informants too share a changing perspective. Going through the responses, firstly, **for Respondent A**, sounds rather radical: ‘I don’t care what other people tell about the Sámi’. The concern of the respondent is that he has his ‘own experience’ as Sámi. He also frankly shares that he gives information about Sámi experiences. In fact, the respondent has a very good sense of self-articulation when he says, ‘what is important for me is I am a Sámi’. Here, recalling with his previous life experience, we can sense that the legacy of stigmatic experience is more or less still burning his heart.

Secondly, **response B** tells the experience of being misrepresented in the past. The terms ‘tough’ and ‘difficult to handle’ show examples of Sámi stereotypes created by the mainstream culture. If the Sámi people were taken as ‘tough’ and ‘difficult to handle’, we can easily assume that they were presented with negative traits. However, the negative stereotypes are hardly acceptable for the people being represented.

Thirdly, **response C** highlights a gap between the Sámi experience and non-Sámi experiences which problematizes the form of representation. The informant accepts that he has seen Sámi people being represented in digital media (music videos and movies) by non-Sámi people. Although he does explicitly say that the Sámi identity is mis-represented, which tells that there is a problem with the practice of representation for him. The fundamental problem lies in the fact that the Sámi feelings and identity are essentially linked to their lifestyle, community and occupation. An ‘outsider’ can hardly penetrate into the Sámi feelings because he/she comes from a different socio-cultural background.

Fourthly, **response D**, shows that the Sámi experiences cannot be generalized, and therefore there is no possibility of uniformity in representation. There are both similarity and differences in terms of the Sámi experiences. This means that there exists a difference in Sámi experiences both as an indigenous group and as individuals. Indigenous identity and its representation is a very serious topic. It is because ‘all the Sámi people are not the same’, There are the factors like age, education, gender, family, community and even language, which play an important role in characterizing the identity of an individual as an indigenous Sámi. If it is so, it is necessary to combine the individual experiences and indigenous experiences while talking about indigenous Sámi identity. Like the respondent tells, ‘it is never like that’. It implies that the Sámi identity is heterogeneous and it is beyond any stereotype or representation.

Finally, **Respondent E**, however, regards representation in a different way. In fact, the respondent indicates that she has assimilated the Norwegian culture because she says that she lacks much information about Sámi culture. However, sounds more critical: ‘people must go through the Sámi history before representing the Sámi people’. Her point is that one cannot talk about and represent the Sámi identity without collecting ample knowledge on Sámi history, and without reflecting on it.

Observing the analysis above, we can understand that there the participants are critiquing the practice of Norwegian representations of Sami in the media. Collectively, we can notice that outsider's perspective, lack of knowledge, social discourses, generalizations are the fundamental problems while Sámi were/are represented by non-Sámi. Here, their information questions the process of anti-Sami discourse formation: it is "constituted by all that was said, in all the statements that named it, divided it up, described it, explained it, traced its development" (Foucault, 1972 p. 32). The very acts of naming, describing, explaining are misrepresentation of Sámi identity for which media played an active role. So, their critiquing of media misrepresentation of Sámi identity is What Smith (2012) might be a call for reclaiming their (misrepresented) identity.

In a nutshell, this section (5.2) gives the impression that the way Sámi people recall their experiences differ in terms of their age and even gender (participant B). The participants' perspective to look at misrepresentation is also plural. However, from the responses, we can extract that Sámi identity underwent an experience from marginalization to self-identification. What matters the most for them is the way they look at themselves, an affirmation of self-identification.

5.3 Sámi identity: self-articulation

After exploring the problems in representation in 5.2, now, in this section, I am going to analyse the interview sets, how articulations of Sami identity have been vitalized. Stuart Hall's notion of articulation, in an indigenous worldview, means an indigenous politics of constructing counter hegemonic possibilities as a site of resistance (Clarke, 2010). So as to look at those 'counter hegemonic possibilities' it was important for me to 'listen' and 'feel' (as presented in 1.1) how and why Sami participants take their identity markers, and what challenges they were facing.

5.3.1 Reviving identity markers

I asked: "What are the Sámi identity markers you want to revive at present?" The question was followed by "why" question each time.

***Respondent A:** I am a Sámi because I experienced much more as a Sámi. I live in Finnmark, do reindeer herding, speak Sámi language. Everyone knows me as a Sámi if I say this much in Norway. My heart is a Sámi heart.*

***Because:** Calling oneself a Sámi but unable to use Sámi language is not very good. Reindeer is our age old occupation, and Finnmark has a long history of Sámi people.*

***Respondent B:** I can speak Sámi language. I am also a teacher of Sámi language. I wear gakti in Sámi formal occasions. I enjoy Sámi songs like yoik (yoik) and Sámi literature.*

***Because:** Teaching Sámi language is like making a Sámi community. Sámi language and Sámi songs let us know our past and present. Gakti normally every Sámi use it in formal occasions. It tells many things about us.*

***Respondent C:** I can speak Sámi. I also write the experiences of Sámi and I raise Sámi voice. I read Sámi magazines, listen to Sámi songs, read Sámi literature.*

***Because:** You know, we know many things about Sámi if we can use Sámi language. It is always good to follow Sámi magazines, Sámi literature as a Sámi.*

***Respondent D:** Many people know me as a Sámi in Norway when they see me. I speak Sámi and my Norwegian language is not excellent. I listen to Sámi songs and watch movies.*

***Because:** watching movies about Sámi people always makes me feel I am Sámi, and it has a long history.*

***Respondent E:** Actually, I am a Sámi because my parents are Sámi. My Sámi language is not very good, especially speaking and writing. But I listen to the Sámi songs, read Sámi news and literature.*

***Because:** My parents taught me Sámi and my relatives talk about Sámi issues when there is a Sámi gathering. I always like to listen to the history of Sámi. Listening to songs, watching Sámi related movies is my interest.*

In this information, as one might expect, **Respondent A** makes a very strong connection between identity markers and himself. He seems to be saying ‘A Sámi has to speak Sámi. For him, we get the impression, his occupation (reindeer herding), geographical location (Finnmark) necessarily affirm his Sámi identity. **Response B** sounds indicating linguistic revitalization because she is teaching Sámi language; it means Sámi language has drawn the attention. **Respondent C** too sounds proud of his knowledge of Sámi language since it is working as an access to the Sámi world, he claims. The open acceptance of **Respondent D** is that his Sámi language is better than Norwegian language. It possibly means his inclination is towards Sámi identity. On the contrary, **Respondent E** lacks good mastery over Sámi language, but she connects her Sámi identity with her parental history.

In informants show a sense of revitalization and articulation of Sámi identity. Seen from an indigenous perspective, the informants' affirmation of identity markers "involves the processes of transformation, of decolonization, of healing and of mobilization of peoples" in the words of Smith (2012, p. 120). The reference of Sámi magazines, yoiking, listening to history, teaching Sámi language are the necessary practices of revitalization of Sámi identity. Hence, the argument of Smith (2012), that revitalization in languages leads to revival of indigenous education, skills and community-based programmes. Thus, the practices are forms of self-articulations.

5.3.2 Articulating challenges to Sámi identity

I asked: "Do you think there are challenges to indigenous Sámi peoples, in terms of your experiences with local authorities? Are there any challenges from nature to Sámi people? How do you share thoughts?"

***Respondent A:** I don't have a very good experience. They want our land and property in their control, but we want our grazing land to be our own. They want our reindeer less in number. They say there is disturbance in the road and works. Sometimes they make plans on our land without consulting us. I am not very happy with their behaviour.*

***Respondent B:** I have mixed feelings. Sometimes I feel good and sometimes bad. But what I think is the present condition of the Sámi people in Norway is not bad. We are sometimes given our choices but sometimes not. They must think about our community when they make development plan near our community.*

***Respondent C:** I am happy as a Sámi. Sometimes they make very tough decisions regarding our land. But we Norwegian Sámi have a much better condition in comparison to that of others in other countries.*

***Respondent D:** Sámi people now have rights and a special place in Norway. I think they have to think more in this issue seriously. It is good if they don't want to control our land.*

***Respondent E:** I do not know very much about it but I think the present condition is good, at least not bad. Sometimes I hear of the conflict between the authorities and Sámi people in media but it is common. I don't think the Sámi people are that much unsatisfied in Norway.*

The response of **Interviewee A** expresses a strong sense indigenous rights like 'land ownership' and participation in decision making in his territory. The repeated use of the words 'our' and 'we' (versus 'they') sounds like the responder is talking on behalf of Sámi people. The very difference between 'I' and 'they' indicates that there possibly exists a gap between the Sámi and Norwegian identity in Norway. The response of **Informant B** seems agreeing with **Informant A**

regarding the call for involvement in decision making. But, her terms ‘mixed feelings’ and ‘sometimes’ does not clearly say what her stand is. The **Informant C, like Informant A**, raises the issue of land ownership. **Informant D**’s reference of the ‘conflict’ that she came to know in the media almost tells that there are ongoing public debates about the challenges of Sámi identity. the same line expression regarding the present condition of the people. When **Informant E** hints the ‘conflict between authorities and Sámi people in media’, we come to know that Sámi issues have been brought to the forefront in the public.

So, the Sámi reclaiming for their land, call for their participation in decision making, the Sámi issues raised in media show that Sámi people are still struggling for their rights. It is the de-colonial phenomenon which has facilitated indigenous peoples to making claims and self-assertions about their rights and dues (Smith, 2012). Even though a majority of informants do not share their dissatisfaction, they still have reservations regarding whose voice plays a dominant role in domains of Sámi identity.

Moreover, the participants had the following responses regarding natural challenges.

***Respondent A:** The big challenge for the Sámi community is climate change, which directly affects reindeer herding, and fishing. The temperature is comparatively high, and it is not suitable for our reindeer and fish. Therefore, our Sámi lifestyle is challenged.*

***Respondent B:** The growth of moths, danger of predators and reduction of grazing land have been the challenges to earn the livelihood of the Sámi people. If the traditional livelihood is lost, the indigenous Sámi livelihood will be highly affected.*

***Respondent C:** The Sámi people have many challenges to face. Firstly, they must change their lifestyle from agriculture, fishing and reindeer herding to small entrepreneurship or job holding.*

***Respondent D:** There are many challenges. But the problem is all the Sámi people do not have the same challenges. Now, what I think is the Sámi people must engage themselves in sustainable economic activities. The state must think of it and give them better alternatives and choices.*

***Respondent E:** The Sámi people must think differently. They can join any work of their choice for their better future. Whatever they do in the market, they remain the Sámi and the identity will not be lost.*

The **Respondents A and B** raise the issue of climate change. There is an adverse impact of climate change in Sámi livelihood practices. The **respondents C, D and E** look at the challenges

with possible solutions: change lifestyle, engage in sustainable economy, think differently. It is interesting to note that the three youngest respondents call for a shift in occupation and everyday life of the Sámi people in order to cope with challenges.

In this information, we can observe Sámi worldviews to look at natural challenges and the probable solutions to those problems. When we ‘listen’ to them, indigenous livelihood practices are under serious threat. Informant A and B rather seem to be sticking to traditional livelihood whereas the other three participants advocate for adapting changes. Linda T Smith (2012) writes, “indigenous peoples have philosophies which connects humans to the environment and to each other” (p. 109). It is important that their differing philosophies matter. So, the information shows that even though the participants give a differing response, they all agree at a crossroad: effective measures are to be taken for the protection of Sámi livelihood practices.

In summary, this section (5.3) shows a significant Sámi narrative of identity revitalization, and obstacles to those revivalist articulations. This section sounds antithetical to the previous section (5.2) where the participants shared their stories of traumatic Sámi identity in the past. In contrast, in this section, I observed that they are struggling to decolonize their identity through the practices of articulations. Hence, we can notice that the participants perceive non-Sámi misrepresentations and natural interventions as a challenge to the domains of their indigenous identity.

5.4 University course and/versus the interview data on indigenous Sámi identity

In this section, I am going to analyse the university course material presented in 1.5. This section contains two sections, first the participants’ general perspective to look at any university course which deals with Sámi identity and secondly an analysis of the university course.

5.4.1 Sámi perspectives towards a university course about Sami

Before analysing the course materials, I wanted to know the general perspective of the Sámi toward the topic “university education in Sámi identity”. The interview question and their responses are presented below.

I said: “I did a paper about Sámi identity. Do you think a university course introduces its students to the issues you shared with me so far?”

Respondent A: *I think university always teaches something good about us, but I am not sure. There are also professors and teachers from the Sámi people. They will raise the voice if the course has anything lacking.*

Respondent B: *University education is always supposed to be good. A university cannot say something bad about us. Instead, they help us to promote indigenous lifestyle.*

Respondent C: *I personally think that university plays a good role for the protection and promotion of the Sámi rights. They are always at the front.*

Respondent D: *The objective of a university curriculum is always good. The selection and prescription of the study materials plays a key role in defining the Sámi identity.*

Respondent E: *If we go against the study of the Sámi identity and history in a university, it never gives a good result. University education raises the issues and debates about indigenous identity.*

The respondents express a positive perspective on any the university course which talks about them. They accepted that it is and should be an important part of their identity promotion.

Participant A, unlike others, shares that professors and teachers with Sámi background are supposed to work on any problematic issues regarding a university course on Sámi identity. We can sense that all respondents expect something good from a university course on indigenous Sámi issues. Alternatively, they seem to assign a bigger role to university education and researchers in revitalizing and decolonizing Sámi identity.

5.4.2 University course materials on Sámi identity

Going through the six selected materials of the university course, I re-visited the prescribed texts form an indigenous perspective. All the texts have been analysed into following four themes.

- **Sámi identity: a social stigma**

The oldest course literature sample draws a gloomy picture of the situation for Sámi identity in Norway. It is a critique of the (then) contemporary situation. “When ethnic identity is a social stigma” by Harald Eidheim (1969) presents the identity crisis of Sámi people in the 1960s. Eidheim concentrates on “how ethnic diversity is socially articulated and maintained” (p. 40). Borrowing Goffman’s notion of stigma, Eidheim explores how a Sámi /Lappish identity was stigmatized. He examines a case of Per, a Lap from the fjord community, who is a member of the township’s school board attending regular meetings in the administrative centre of the township. The hierarchy between Norwegian self and Sámi other is reflected when Eidheim finds “They

have the right identity, which makes them authorized initiators in the situation, while he is only some kind of satellite. (p. 48). The gap between ‘they’ and ‘he’ shows the centre-periphery discourse, the hierarchy between Norwegian self and Lappish other. Moreover, regarding the perspective of Norwegians toward Lappish identity and language, Eidheim describes: “The Norwegians not only regard Lappish as an inferior language in a general sense, but also judge it highly improper and challenging if it is used in their presence (all Norwegians are monolingual.)” (p. 49). Eidheim’s discussion, here, shows the colonial discourse and its impact in indigenous psychology which Smith (2012) describes as “exclusionary practices which reaches across such areas as education” (p. 57)

- **Sámi identity: transition and articulation**

Sámi identity underwent changes with a change in historical context. For example, Eidheim’s presentation of a stigmatized Sámi identity in the 1960s gets a positive turn in the hand of Kjell Olson (2007). In “When Ethnic Identity is a Private Matter”, Olsen writes that there have occurred changes in the discourse of Sámi identity after Eidheim. Olsen writes: “From being a ‘social stigma’ in the 1950s a Sámi identity is today something that can be expressed in certain cultural constructed spaces. (p. 75). Olsen, here, means that Sámi identity at present is not necessarily stigmatized. Moreover, making a contrast between the rigorous Norwegianization policy and indigenous revitalization at present. Olson claims that in the late 1950s and early 60s there was pressure from the conscious policy of Norwegianization., but at present expression of Sámi identity is possible.

In line with Olsen, Britt Kramvig (2005), in “The silent language of ethnicity” also explains the changes in Sámi identity. For Kramvig, Sámi society has changed radically over the past 30 years. In ethnically mixed communities, ethno-political identity categories and any notion of ethnicity are poor tools for the analysis of what takes place. The Sámi political movements required different Sámi identity markers, for example kinship systems or traditions like exchange of gifts. Regarding the articulatory performances of Sámi identity, Kramvig writes, “they consisted of visible signs that articulated a difference from the symbols of Norwegian culture, such as Sámi costumes, music, and handicraft and other cultural features” (p. 47). Hence, Kramvig’s writing of revitalization shows what Smith (2012) means discovering the beauty of

indigenous identity by “rediscovering indigenous knowledge and its continued relevance” (p. 161).

- **Sámi identity: articulation as re-vitalization**

With an emergence of indigenous consciousness, Sámi identity has now taken a form of revitalization. E. K. Sarivaara and S. Uusiautti (2013) in “Taking care of the ancestral language: the revitalization of non-status Sámi in Finnish” present their optimistic findings about the use of ancestral (Sámi) language by new generations, the non-status Sámi. Non-Status Sámi are defined as a group of people who are of Sámi descent, but they do not have official Sámi status; they do not belong to the electoral register of the Sámi Parliament. Even though the case is an example from Finnish Sámi, it is relevant in Norway because the Sámi identity went through almost the same experience in the High North. According to Jon Todal (2002, cited in Sarivaara and Uusiautti, 2013), there are three types of motivation for learning a language: instrumental, integrative and continuity. Sarivaara and Uusiautti come to the finding that there were two main motivations for learning Sámi language: continuity motivation and integrative motivation. Due to these pull factors, there has been a linguistic re-vitalization: “non-Status Sámi have revitalized this lost language and begun to use it in their lives. (p.7-11). This shows a deeper level of consciousness in the new generation (non-status) Sámi who are striving for learning their ancestral language for their articulation of identity.

Moreover, Kjell Olsen (2006) in “Making difference in a changing world: the Norwegian Sámi in the tourist industry” describes revitalization of ‘Sámi identity’ from tourism perspectives. Analyzing five brochures with regard to their pictorial representation of Sámi, Olsen writes: “The most frequent motif was nature that was included in 39 of the pictures. Traditional clothing was found in 38. Reindeers, arts- and heritage motives were found in respectively 17, 13 and 11 of picture. Bonfires and food were each motive in five pictures” (p. 45). Here, Sámi identity, as represented in brochure, indicates that there is more sense of local (Sámi) culture rather than the global culture. Representation of traditional Sámi identity markers along with their natural setting has re-vitalized and re-defined Sámi identity. It means Sámi life in the public discourses like tourism has articulated Sámi identity more vividly. Hence, revitalization has played to transform indigenous identity which Smith (2012) indicates with the statement “indigenous communities also have something to offer the non-indigenous world” (p. 160).

- **Sámi identity: articulations and dilemmas**

According to the course material, Sámi identity has encountered many crossroads. Lina Gaski (2007) in “Sámi identity as a discursive formation: essentialism and ambivalence” delineates the ambivalence. The process of political autonomy and identity articulation seems a problematic turn for Gaski. The Sámi political elite are developing the Sámi nation in a process, but there dwells a problem in this process. Gaski accentuates the problem: “The people from northern Norway who meet certain Criteria are invited to choose and define themselves as Sámi to assert Sámi values and claim publicly” (p. 219). This raises the issue of a collective consciousness. For Gaski, all Sámi people do not necessarily think of the same model; they have differing opinions regarding a political program of expressing Sámi identity and nationhood. Gaski further talks about difference between re-articulation of Sámi identity and a political campaign of indigenous nationality with the remark, “Norwegianization and modernization have resulted in the disappearance of idioms and contemporary Sámi society hence displays a wide range of cultural articulations” (p. 222). For Gaski the history stigma and marginalization have taken new cultural turns. Gaski shows that the cultural articulations of Sámi identity do not necessarily go in line with the political movements. Hence, for Gaski, there still exists the question of how inclusive Sámi identity is.

Conclusively, in this section (5.4), we can observe that Sámi identity was a matter of stigma and trauma in the past. However, with the turn of the twentieth century, revitalization of the lost identity took place, Sámi articulations are on the way. The problem, however, is the question of inclusiveness. That is, the society has gone to be more heterogeneous and therefore the identity idioms are unlikely to include all Sámi people in the same domain of articulations.

5.5 Interview data and university course: a comparison

In this section, I am going to make a comparative reading of two sets of data — interview information and university course materials — which I discussed in 5.1, 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4. The purpose of this section is to achieve my first research objective, that is to find out how far the chosen texts from the university course incorporates the participants’ versions of Sámi identity. There are various possibilities to compare these two data sets, but my limitation here is representation and articulation of Sámi identity. So, in the following sub-sections, I am going to extract and compare the meanings generated so far.

5.5.1 Interview data: representation and/versus articulation

I cannot generalize my findings as my Sámi interview data restrictively sticks on five participants. In doing analysis and interpretation of Sámi interview data, I observed that the meaning of the term ‘a Sámi’ dwells in its context, who uses it and where (5.1). The bitter experience of being misrepresented still exists in Sámi memory; the participants either experienced it themselves or heard of it (5.2). Likewise, so far as participants claim, a better understanding of Sámi culture and identity needs a greater degree of intimacy with Sámi language, culture and articulations. The Sámi identity articulates through different identity markers such as Sámi language, Sámi literature, their occupation (reindeer herding: informant A), Sámi songs, a costume like *gakti*, *yoiking*, Sámi magazines (5.3). The informants also disclose that the conflict between Sámi people and Norwegian authorities is that of land ownership and Sámi not being actively involved in decision making regarding development plans in their community (5.4).

5.5.2 Course materials respond to interview information

Now, I am going to work with my first thesis objective how far the university course materials incorporate the voice of my interview participants. when Harald Eidheim (1969) explores Sámi identity as a social stigma in 1960s, it incorporates various issues evident in the interview data. For example, the participants’ reservation to be called ‘a Sámi’ by a non-Sámi (5.1.1), the painful past of the participants (or their ancestors) (5.2.1), media misrepresentation (5.2.2) are necessarily the products of ethnic stigma. Going through the interview data, we can observe that the memory of stigmatic past is still in there in Sámi participants. Moreover, Kjell Olsen (2007) and Britt Kramvig (2005) present the more integrated aspect of Sámi identity with the change in time. In fact, it includes the information of my informants in terms of their age; the youngest participant (D) fits in their model because the participant shares that she is Sámi just because her parents are Sámi (5.3.1). Serivara and Uusiautti (2013) discuss on revitalization process of Sámi identity in terms of language. The participants take Sámi language as their identity markers; it means revitalization process in terms of language is an important topic for the participants and the course materials. The shared challenges (from informant A to informant E) with response to climate change gets addressed in Kjell Olsen (2006) when it is shown that tourism business has also gone to be an alternative to traditional occupations such as reindeer herding. Tourism, for

Oslen, has been a part of revitalization process making Sámi identity traveling across. The phenomenon of plurality of Sámi articulations, which is evident in the interview data has been addressed by Lina Gaski (2007).

Now, I must say that my university course was consciously designed and incorporated an indigenous perspective. It means there is a bigger correspondence between my interview data and university course materials in terms of ‘articulation of Sámi identity’. The first objective of my research is partially fulfilled. So, this could be one possible conclusion of my study.

However, as a student from Nepal, I am still in need of more than this because there are a few issues which are not included in the course materials; For example, Sámi language as such, Sámi newspaper, Sámi literature, Sámi songs (5.3.1). All these disciplines of articulations have been taken as identity markers by the participants. So, now, I am working with supplemented data collected on my own.

5.6 Is there something to add?

The important thing for me here is to recall my inquisitiveness which I presented in 1.1. So, as an international student, my study interest was to “see” and “feel” how Sámi identity is articulated. At this point, in the university course, I could understand but I could not “listen” to the ‘raw’ Sámi voice; the materials are more academic and scholarly observations. Therefore, now, I move to the next step of my study; that is how Sámi identity is articulated in the documents. Going back to my interview data I pick up two forms of Sami articulations: “Sámi songs” and “Sámi literature”. It is because firstly Sámi songs and Sámi literature were not prescribed in the course, and secondly, Sámi literature and Sámi songs have been put forward as identity markers by respondent C and D, and B and D respectively (5.3.1). The documents and their role in this study has already been thrown light in 4.2.2.

5.7 Sámi identity articulations: literature and songs

In this part, I am going to visit a sample of Sámi texts, and songs articulating indigenous identity. This subsection aligns itself with the second chapter, literature review. In my literature review, I went through the scholarly observations and perceptions regarding representation and articulation of Sámi identity. Here, I present a selection of Sámi literary texts and Sámi songs.

now, I am going to analyse and interpret these, extracting some essentials and, possibly, some intrinsic messages.

5.7.1 Sámi literature

Literature is always produced in a set of socio-historical circumstances. It reflects the perspective of the author toward the worldly realities where he/she exists. Ellen Marie Vars in an excerpt “Boarding School” (compiled in Gaski, 1996), shows trials and tribulations of a young Sámi girl, Katja, who attends a Norwegian school. Her identity as a Sámi undergoes a threat because her parents lack reindeer. The painful portrayal of Sámi identity of Katja, can be seen in the narratives: “No one was supposed to talk about their parents or home” (p. 217); “The others laughed and mimicked the way the Sámi speak Norwegian” (p. 218); “Days, evenings and nights were equally horrible.” (p. 218); “She and her little brother came to the conclusion that a person had to be really mean in order to survive at school” (p. 224). All these lines take us to the traumatic past of Sámi identity.

The story recalls a painful memory of Sámi identity from a Sámi perspective. In the words of Smith (2012) Katja’s school is an example of an education system which denies the knowledge of the indigenous people. Importantly, the punchline “She couldn’t care less about the housemother, stock out her tongue and spoke nothing but Sámi so as the woman didn’t understand a word” (p. 226), reveals how Sámi language was used by Katja as a tool to express her anger and hatred against a Norwegian anti-Sámi system. Hence, the logic behind the use of Sámi language as a means of resistance can be understood as an important part of Sámi articulation.

In addition, Ailo Gaup (1944 –) in the novel “The Night between the days” (compiled in Gaski, 1996) portrays Jon as a principal character who travels from Oslo to Sápmi in search of a shaman drum: “It was to make a drum he had come here”, and wanted to “learn from it, from nature and from the starry sky” (p. 254). Jon also finds himself in the heart of Sápmi: “[Jon] stopped at the highest viewpoint overlooking the whole valley” and “he wanted to explore the unknown landscape on foot” (p. 154). Jon meets Anders who whose physical trait is “a small round man with a small round stomach, round face, round cheeks and eyes. Even his ears were round” (p. 255). It sounds that the physical traits spoke so many things about his indigenous Sámi identity.

Jon shares his interest with Anders, “I want to learn traditional crafts, use my hands, and work with wood” (p. 255). Anders replies that he only teaches “traditional woodworking”. However, Anders suggests Jon to visit “someone named Johan, who lives out by the coast. According to Andres, he “dares to use a drum” (p. 258).

This narrative thread reveals that Jon is going to the Sápmi in search of a drum, a search of his identity symbolically. Jon’s search of a drum is an act of ‘connecting in’, to borrow the term of Smith (2012). He tries to connect his indigenous identity not only with the land but also with the lost Sámi heritage. Hence, through the character of Jon, we come to know that Sámi language, yoiking, and Shaman’s drums are parts of Sámi identity articulations.

5.7.2 Sámi songs (yoiks)

Songs express feelings with words and with a certain melody. Different ethnicities have different songs transmitted from one generation to the other. Yoik is an indigenous form of song articulated by the Sámi. In “Repatriation, Revival and Transmission: The Politics of a Sámi Musical Heritage” Thomas R. Hilder (2012) writes “Yoik is a way of naming and remembering people, of bringing to life places, animals and other aspects of the environment, as well as a form of storytelling” (p. 163). It means that yoik is an identity performance connecting Sámi identity to nature. Hilder further writes of the seminar *Ma’ddarija Giela* [Voices of the Ancestors] which took place at Ájtte Museum, Jokkmokk, Sweden on 13 September 2007, and decided to recollect, digitise and make accessible yoik recordings scattered in archives throughout the Nordic peninsula. It tells that yoiking is one of the important articulations of Sámi identity which the Sámi people want to revive.

To get an impression of present yoiking occasions, I chose the yoiks of Ella Marie Hætta Isaksen, Mari Boine because I came to know that Ella is a rising star, while Mari has been the mother of yoik for decades and is a renowned artist also within World Music. So, this is the time for an observation of five Sámi yoik performances: *Luoddaearru and Maze* by Ella Isaksen and *Gula Gula, Sarahkka Viidna, Eadnan Bakti* by Mari Boine.

Firstly, I listened to and watched Mari Boine’s songs (May 26 2016). Despite the language constraints, I listened to these songs encouraging myself to observe more on Sámi identity. Though I had really a hard time to get into the lyrics and its meaning, after consulting many open

resources, I came to know that they are most possibly about Sámi ancestry, nature, identity and their message to the present generation. Significantly, what drew my attention was the way the yoikers performed their Sámi identity.

One can hardly resist the vibrating Sámi articulation while listening to the prize-winning song *luoddaurre* by Ella Marie Hætta Isaksen. To take a particular example, the yoiking in the YouTube video we can watch “Stjernekamp 2018-yoik-Ella Marie Haetta Isaksen-Maze-Mari Boine and Liu Sola” (13 Oct 2018) which dramatizes her yoik performance. Honestly, I felt a multidisciplinary articulations Sámi identity in her yoik performance. I could observe the concentration of the singer, the singer in Sámi costumes, the positive responses of the jury, the musical vibes, and most importantly the its impact in me.

Moreover, in order to understand what yoik is and what it means to Sámi people, I went through a poem, “The Yoik” by Paulus Utsi (1918-1975) (compiled in Gaski, 1996). The poem reads:

***THE YOIK IS A SANCTUARY FOR OUR
THOUGHTS***

*Therefore, it lies few spoken words
Free sounds reach
Farther than words.
The yoik lifts our spirit
Allows our thoughts to sour*

*above the little clouds
has them as its friends
in nature's beauty. (p. 112)*

They poem presents yoiking as a reservoir of Sámi identity: “which lifts our spirit”. The words in yoiking infuse a Sámi spirit, thought, relational self, nature and after all indigenous Sámi identity. Therefore, Gaski, in the editorial introduction rightly remarks that “the yoik has played an important role in creating a feeling of unity within the group. It has reinforced the Sámi identity” (p. 12). Hence, yoiking is a necessary articulation of Sámi identity. Similarly, yoiking is not merely a song articulating Sámi identity. It has its underlying meaning within Sámi spiritual tradition. Yoiking is connected to shamanism and use of magic drums. Gaski unveils the secret of yoik: “The yoik was used to draw the shaman into a trance, so that his spirit could wander freely and gain the wisdom he otherwise could not find” (p. 12). Yoiking, as a form of reviving Sámi identity, contains what Smith (2012) claims; indigenous “knowledge has beauty and can make the world beautiful” (p. 161). It gave me the impression that the Sámi people are not only

articulating their identity through yoiking but also reaching a public audience from the world around them; they are heard.

In summary, the Sámi literary texts and Songs (yoiks), in the words of Smith (2012) are a part of indigenization of Sámi identity showing the consciousness of indigenous landscapes, images, metaphors, symbols, heritage and skills. It is a form of indigenous self-articulation. Ellen Marie Vars in “Boarding School” shows the pains and pangs of Sámi identity (misrepresentation) through the character portrayal of Katja, whereas Ailo Gaup (1944 –) in “The Night between the days” describes how Sámi people are striving to revive their lost identity through Jon’s search of a drum (articulation). The yoiks of Ella Marie Hætta Isaksen and Mari Boine dramatize the articulation of Sámi identity both in verbal and non-verbal patterns.

Now, the first objective of the thesis is fully carried out. I not only compared course materials and interview data in terms of their message but also added Sámi texts from my side. So, this could be the second possible conclusion of my thesis. However, my study inquisitiveness (1.1) is still not quenched. So, in the following section, I am going to have a glance on indigenous Tharu identity in Nepal so that I can better understand representation and articulation of Sámi identity with a comparative perspective.

5.8 Indigenous Tharu identity in Nepal

In Nepal, Central Bureau Report (2011), has recorded 125 ethnic groups and 123 spoken languages, and 59 ethnic groups under the indigenous groups. The Tharu belong to one of those indigenous identities in Nepal. Due to the limitations of my study project, I included only one Tharu participant. He is a teacher in a community school and actively takes part in Tharu issues if raised in my community. I interviewed him modelling my questions as asked to the Sámi participants.

Firstly, I inquired if one could address him as ‘a Tharu’. He responded:

Both yes and no. Call me a Tharu in my presence, but I do not like to be called ‘a Tharu’ in my absence. But my parents never want to be called a Tharu. Our surname shows that we are Tharu. So, it is not necessary to call us ‘Tharu’. Sometimes, we use T-Shirts marking ‘I am a Tharu’ when we go for Tharu rights.

Secondly, I inquired how he looks at the history of Tharu identity. He responded:

The history of the indigenous Tharu identity is that of struggle and survival. The Tharus were the indigenous people living in the Southern plain region in Nepal. But in course of time, people from the Hilly region migrated to the plain land and encroached the fertile plain lands. Gradually, the Tharu people were pushed to minority.

Thirdly, regarding how they have been represented in media, he said,

The identity markers differentiating us from other people are firstly our physical appearance and secondly the family name. We are not very good at Nepali language and therefore sometimes are looked at differently. Such traits are rather misrepresented in TV shows. Sometimes, when we make big claims for our rights, national media reports it as violent behaviour of Tharus. But it is not so.

Fourthly, I also wanted to know how he wanted to revive of identity. He responded:

Tharu costume, Laathi naach (stick dance), collection of Tharu songs, learning Tharu language have been a part of their identity revival. But the problem is that of financial crisis. Sometimes we ask help from local authorities but we are hardly heard. But we are working from our side. We have Home Stay Management Committee, Tharu Cultural Forum, Tharu Rights Forum in our district.

In the information, we can see that use of the term ‘a Tharu’ has its contextual meaning. His parents’ reservation and his acceptance to be called ‘a Tharu’ shows that its meaning changed with time. His remark of land encroachment by non-Tharu indicates that they were marginalized in their land. Sometimes, they are also misrepresented in TV shows as he claims. However, we can see optimism in his words; even though they are lacking a good financial support, they are trying their best to revive their identity on their own.

Moreover, the non-Tharu people’s act of ‘encroaching’ the land sounds like a colonial encounter. Hedrick & Hedrick (1972) define the Tharu people as “an aboriginal race whose ancestors were driven into the Terai by the Aryan and Mongolian invaders” (164). In addition, Arjun Guneratne (1998) in “Modernization, the State, and the Construction of a Tharu Identity in Nepal” explores that Tharu people in Nepal lack particularly a uniformity of identity as they differ in their lifestyles. Guneratne claims that modernization and state authorities played a key role in marginalizing Tharu identity in Nepal. Hopefully, The Tharu have now been recognized as one of the official nationalities and indigenous groups of the Terai region by the present Constitution of the Federal Republic Nepal.

Hence, from his information, we can observe that a Tharu experience is possibly an experience of marginalization, misrepresentation and now in is in the process of revival. It is the responsibility of authorities to support and enhance their identity articulations.

5.8.1 To what extent Sami experience echo a Tharu experience?

It is important to note that my Sámi people in Norway are geographically from the West, whereas Tharu people are from the East (South Asia) in the world map. So, they are from different socio-cultural background. If so, how can they be compared? My study, at this point, adopts a non-Western perspective with an indigenous turn. So, firstly, it is to be known that Sámi and Tharu people are indigenous people; and secondly their voices sound like counter narratives to Western epistemological thought, a colonial and an imperialist perspective. As per Reagan (2005) a non-Western perspective includes ‘multiple voices’ and perspectives that can enlighten our understanding of an identity which is different from the West.

So, now, I am going to address the second objective of my study, that is what the common indigenous experience is between Sámi identity and Tharu identity. Here lies a relevance of a non-Western perspective, which Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan (2010) call “a cross-cultural comparative perspective”. The five Sámi participants in my study (from 5.1 to 5.6) shared their narratives of misrepresentation and self-articulation of indigenous identity. Based on their information, we understood that the Sámi identity underwent a crisis in the past (misrepresentation) and encroachment, but it is in the process of revival at present. The story of loss and a revitalization process can also be noticed in the information of the Tharu participant. Like the articulation of identity in yoik, language in Sámi culture, the Tharu participant shares *laathi naach* (stick dance) and Tharu language. I am pretty aware that there must have been differences in Sámi and Tharu, and the experiences of all Sámi people and all Tharu people. Here, the objective was to at indigenous interlocution between Sámi identity and Tharu identity based on my participants’ responses. They possibly share experiences of moving from colonisation to decolonisation in the post-war era with many indigenous people worldwide.

5.9 Sámi articulations go counter to a non-Sámi (mis)representation

I have fulfilled my thesis objectives so far. Now, it is the time to revisit the four data sets and their meanings in order to explore how Sami articulations oppose misrepresentation. According

to Denzin and Lincoln (2014), indigenous experiences are the instances of an intersection of discourses where performance, power, truths and articulations come into play. In this study, the voice of the participants (interview), the arguments made by the scholars (course materials), depiction of literary characters (Sámi literature) and the yoik performances revitalize an indigenous agency by deconstructing non-Sámi (mis)representation.

We observed that all Sámi participants have reservation against being called ‘a Sámi’ by a non-Sámi, but they can introduce themselves as Sámi when they feel it is necessary (5.1.1).

Moreover, they also call for an extensive exploration of domains of Sámi -ness before making any statements (5.1.2) It indicates that they claim for self-identification; any labels or stereotypes imposed from ‘outsiders’ (non-Sámi) based on limited knowledge is unacceptable for them.

However, unfortunately, the participants shared that they either experienced or heard of being painful stories of marginalization and shamefulness for being a Sámi (5.2.1). They also noticed same stereotyping discourse even in media (5.2.2). The information of the participants further shared that the participants are struggling to revive their identity through various articulatory performances in different domains such as language, movies, literature, songs, newspaper, yoiks. This is definitely a practice of re-constructing their (mis)represented identity (5.3.1). Their call for participation and challenge to local authorities in Sámi -related matters are genuinely the indigenous voices speaking aloud against any authoritarian exclusiveness (5.3.2). The participants are also very conscious of possible challenges in their livelihood practices caused by climate change (5.3.2). All these essentials communicated via interview data, therefore, are a part of Sámi articulations in this study. Hence, the participants’ demand for participation is what Smith (2012) means “existence, protection, ownership, and right to development of indigenous entities” (p. 221). In this logic, participants voices are not only calling for revitalization but also challenging the obstacles made by authorities in their identity articulations.

In line with the Sámi participants, the rest three data sets enhance Sámi articulations critiquing representation. The scholarly observations or the university course materials (from Harald Eidheim to Lina Gaski), also delineate the journey of Sámi identity from stigmatization, transition, revitalization to plurality and dilemmas (presented as the themes in 5.4.2). For the scholars, the revitalization process is on the way and it has gone to be plural or multi-vocal in re-affirming indigenous Sámi identity. So far the literary texts are concerned, Ellen Marie Vars in

“Boadrning School” challenges misrepresentation through a character katja, a school girl who uses Sámi language against Norwegian speaking people (Articulation as resistance, 5.6.1). Ailo gaup in “The night between the days” makes a call for reviving lost heritage through the protagonist Jon, who goes back to Sapmi from Oslo in search of shaman’s drum (articulation as revitalization, 5.6.1). Likewise, Paulus Utsi makes high claims on Sámi yoiks stating that they lift Sámi spirit (5.7.2). The Songs of Ella Marie Hætta Isaksen and Mari Boine have made Sámi -ness speak in the world theatre (5.7.2). Finally, the phenomena of representation and/versus articulation of Sámi identity is so strong that it somehow includes indigenous Tharu experience from Nepal (5.8).

Conclusively, indigenous Sámi identity in Norway has been striving against the past experiences of colonization, marginalization, stigmatization through identity articulations. It is like what Linda T. Smith (2012) calls decolonizing practices through the “consciousness of the landscapes, images, languages, themes, metaphors, and stories of the indigenous world” (p. 147). This very articulatory performances are no other than ‘resistance’ to non-Sámi misrepresentation and ‘affirmation’ of their Sámi identity. Thus, Sámi articulations deconstruct a non-Sámi representation of Sámi identity. The very decolonizing and deconstructive performances, as evident in interview data, have been articulated by Sámi participants. Even the university course has played a good role in identity articulations of Sámi people. Importantly, it would be great if university courses included a couple of Sámi ‘raw’ texts so that international students could listen to and read and feel the Sámi identity articulations themselves. Likewise, even though there possibly exist differences—which is not the objective of this study—indigenous Sámi identity in Norway to some extent accommodates the indigenous Tharu identity from Nepal in its decolonizing process irrespective of national and cultural borders

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

The thesis concludes with the statement that self-articulations of indigenous Sámi identity in Norway deconstructs non-Sámi representations. Self-identification or self-articulation interrogates non-Sámi representation in two ways: firstly, it seems negating the stereotypes attributed to Sámi identity, and secondly it vocalizes the silenced voice of Sámi identity. So, the very simple thing which I found in my study was that a shift in perspective brings big changes in the perception of Sámi identity.

Fore and foremost, the study was set with a research question along with two objectives. The research question was: How does articulation of Sámi identity deconstruct representation? The objectives were to observe if the meanings derived from interview data and a university course and to reflect on representation and/versus articulation of indigenous Sámi identity in Norway compared to indigenous Tharu identity in Nepal. The study took three steps to draw the conclusion from each data sets. I firstly collected and selected all data sets reviewing their relevance in representation and/versus articulation of Sami identity in Norway, and then created themes. After that, the data sets were analysed and interpreted step by step. Then, I came to draw findings from different data sets, and in some occasions made a comparative reading where it was necessary.

In order to address the research objectives and answer the research question, four data sets were 'collected/selected': interview data (Sámi and Tharu participants), selected literature from the university course which explicitly talk about Sámi identity. The selected course materials were explicitly prescribed under the category 'Sámi identity' in the course outline. Moreover, I also added Sami three Sami literary Sámi texts and five/yoiks for strengthening my understanding. The analysis and interpretation was made with an indigenous perspective or decolonizing methodologies drawing from Linda T. Smith, Norman K.Denzin and Yvonna S.Lincoln, together with Michel Foucault, Stuart Hall and Edward Said. The theories other than that of Smith, and Denzin and Lincoln were discussed on the condition that they had intersection with indigenous perspectives. While making a comparative study of Sámi and Tharu interview data analysis, a non-Western perspective was applied borrowing the theoretical concepts of Timothy Reagan, Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan.

Regarding interview data with five Sami participants, firstly, I came to find that the use of the term ‘a Sámi’ by a non-Sámi is problematic and the participants exposed their Sámi origin when they felt necessary (5.1). Secondly, recalling the history of marginalization and misrepresentation of Sámi identity by Norwegians in the past was interrogated by Sámi participants (5.2). Thirdly, Sámi participants shared that have been striving to revive their lost identity through various articulations (5.3). Finally, Sámi participants had strong claims on their participation and involvement in development plans in Sámi matters (5.3).

Moreover, chosen university course aligned with the voice of the five participants while critiquing representation via self-articulation (5.4). The materials shared that Sámi identity was a social ‘stigma’ or misrepresentation in the past (Eidheim, 1969), but at present Sámi identity has been affirmatively performed in different contexts (Olsen, 2007) with plurality in articulations (Kramvig, 2005). One of the important orientations of articulation was language revitalization works as an affirming a Sámi identity (Serivaara and Uusiautti, 2013). Sámi identity is struggling to survive and revive even in a modern industry like tourism (Olsen, 2006). In sum, Sámi Society displays a wide range of cultural articulations which are unlikely to be generalized. (Gaski, 2007).

In addition, I also added an analysis and interpretation of Sami texts articulated by Sami authors. Responding to the disciplines of Sami identity markers shared by Sami participants. I entered the domain of Sámi literature (5.7.1) and Sami songs/yoiks (5.7.2). Both literary pieces and songs joined the finding which were drawn from interview data and university course. For example, Sami literature strongly expressed a Sámi willingness to explore lost heritage (Ailo Gaup’s “The Night between the days”), a traumatic past caused by misrepresentation (Ellen Marie Vars’ “Boarding School”) and yoik as an echo of Sami identity (“The Yoik” by Paulus Utsi). Sámi yoiks are also a part of indigenous identity performance which articulated indigenous-ness in music, words, costume, and theatre (5.7.2). I observed that the yoiks like that of Ella Marie Hætta Isaksen and Mari Boine have vocalized the local culture to the global audience.

Finally, as evident in my participants’ responses, the indigenous experience of Sámi people also was somehow common with that of a Tharu from Nepal (5.8.1), particularly an indigenous journey from colonisation to decolonisation in the post-war era

While interpreting the data from an indigenous perspective, the first objectives of my study was addressed in 5.5.2., where it was discovered that the selected university course material incorporated the voice of the Sámi in many ways similar to the thoughts expressed by my five Sámi participants. However, the course materials could not ‘take’ me to the Sámi people because I was/am from Nepal and was not familiar with indigenous Sámi identity in Norway (mentioned in 1.1). Therefore, I also added few Sámi texts beyond the course materials so as to make my understanding of Sámi identity more exploratory (5.7) The second objective of my study was carried out in 5.8.1 where I came to see that Sámi experience in some ways echoed Tharu identity.

The above tension between articulation and representation which I drew from the four data sets suggest that Sámi identity in the past was (mis)represented in the discourse created by non-Sámi people. However, the very misrepresentation came to be problematic when articulations took place through various forms like Sámi language, Sámi costume, Sámi songs, Sámi literature, Sámi occupations like reindeer husbandry, indigenous tourism and many others. These forms of articulations affirmatively brought Sami identity at the front— it was in direct contrast to (former) misrepresentation and stereotypes. Therefore, identity articulations of Sami people disqualify non-Sami representation in their double dimensions: a form self-identification and a critique of (mis)representation. In a long run, the answer to my research question is that Sámi articulation deconstructs representation by bringing the previously marginalized identity at the front, and therefore by questioning the way it was represented in the mainstream Norwegian social discourse.

In this research project, it is important to note that the conclusion is built upon both research works and my endeavours. In terms of data collection, my contribution in this thesis is primarily the qualitative interview made with five Sámi participants and a Tharu participant. The chosen materials from the university course, Sámi literature and Sámi songs were ‘out there’ before my study was done. So, my contribution in this study was to analyse and interpret collected data in relation to the selected materials from an indigenous perspective adding a non-Western touch. Therefore, my study explored how Sámi articulation deconstructed representation on the basis of an interpretation of intrinsic meanings in the ‘collected’ and ‘selected’ data.

Additionally, it is important to mention that the findings and conclusion of my study was restrictively based on the sets of data which I collected and selected. Therefore, my study is unlikely to be generalized to ‘all Sámi people’ in Norway. In other words, my study is only a form of an academic discussion which works with Sámi articulations as interrogation of representation together with self-affirmation of indigenous Sámi identity.

Along with the conclusion, I also accept that I came across a number of issues which the study could not address due to its limitations and delimitations. However, my research interest on indigenous Sámi identity is much broadened now. The experience of **Respondent B** triggered a new are of research: “*the family inquired me many times and I always said I was a non-Sámi*” (5.2.1). Her narrative of being ashamed of exposing her Sami identity in her family could be a research agenda: Is being married to a Norwegian family an integration or disintegration? Does it cause a revival or a loss of indigenous identity? Likewise, **Respondent A**, the eldest participant in my data shared that except other identity markers he was a Sami because he lived in Finnmark (5.3.1). Here, I was stuck: is indigenous Sami identity a ‘relational identity’? Is it a relational self with geography? In addition, the youngest participant from Oslo remarks “*I am a Sami because my parents are Sami*” (5.3.1). If so, how do my respondents like **Respondent A**—who said “*My heart is a Sami heart*”—look at this response? I think these topics deserve to be researchable. When, I discovered a common experience of Sami in Norway and Tharu in Nepal (5.8.1), I was bound to think “Does indigenous identity disqualify national boundaries? If yes, to what extent? Stepping on such issues on indigenous Sámi identity in Norway, I have framed two questions:

- a. What possible strategies are essential to both integrate and promote indigenous Sami identity in the context of Norway?
- b. How can we study indigenous identity both nationally and transnationally? Is indigenous identity restricted by or in harmony with national borders, or counter to these?

Therefore, as I am from Nepal studying in Norway, I am thinking of extending this thesis project to further research. My interest is to work with the second question. indigenous identity(ies) in relation to the discourse of nation and nationality.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

A Poetic Reflection

(Reflection: an octosyllabic poem in couplets: all verses in 8 syllables for musical effect)

---by Purna Chandra Bhusal

Part I

Sámi I was far off the sight
Wanna go up on the same height.
Name was naughty, I was mystery
Reclaim I now haunting history.

Alien was I at my own home,
Guest guy was host, but so fearsome.
He told my home was his nation,
Laughing at me was a fashion.

Tongue was twisted, my land got lost,
Friends I found then High North snow-dust.
Reindeer, fish, farm all-ways were block,
Hope I had one with Time and clock.

Farthest margin with my kinsfolk,
Eggshell boarder I was the yolk.
Grew I inside no-one could catch,
I fought, broke shell myself to hatch.

Living body dreams were broken,
Fought for freedom-to-live token.
Selfish Others they felt not me,
The world shouted on what they see.

Part II

Then, they heard me, asked “what you need?”,
“Sámi Rights” I told and then indeed.
Partly given but much is there,
I need my voice on my sphere.

Friends they are now, I claim so too,
Who heals but my wounds and the woo?
Contest goes on but within peace,
I miss past life which was a bliss.

Kinsfolks are in search of history,
Of course, I have long ancestry.
Language costume, crafts and the band,
Then, we must walk now hand in hand,

Many are lost, paying the cost,
Much are way home, few came just.
Speak and write, culture ringing,
Twisted tongue then goes on singing.

School college teach now my past,
I doubt they know start to the last.
Guys come and talk and see our show,
Little they know us, I feel so so.

Part III

Much from the West few from non-West,
Compare us they, findings they test.
One guy, not tall nor was so white,
Came and asked me “What is your Right?”

“Hug and feel me, then do my set,
What I need is articulate.
Don't re-present but you can show,
Words and letters head to the toe.

See my stage here, steal the fine chance,
Forget dancer, feel Wow! My Dance.
Learn my language, and then you teach,
Ocean I am dive deep in beach.”

Then, I asked Him, “Now, did you know?”
Then, he said, “I go to and fro”
Guy left quickly, with a page-pen,
I came to know he wrote this then:

Part IV

Sámi ! Sámi ! Beauty in word,
All in all is not a whiteboard.
Reading too much you cannot light,
Feeling their way, I guess, is right.

I mixed Tharu in His history,
He was in there but in mystery.
He seemed Tharu seen since childhood,
Always fighting for some-thing good.

My friend-myself in a fine bond,
Swimming across painful was pond.
Promise I make come back and sit,
Tongue I should twist before visit.

Part IV

Indeed-genius they are in there,
Claim not your mind is high in here.
Indeed-genius hides whole history
Never keep them in a mystery.
Now is the time to change your lens,
Far off you are making a fence.
Articulate indeed-genius,
Grow they popular, and then famous.

Appendix 2

Interview Guide (Semi-structured interview)

(NSD REGISTERED, but few technical changes do take place)

Introduction

This interview takes place in three sessions: pre-interview, while-interview and post-interview.

1. In the pre-interview session:

Meeting/contacting the prospective informants, I introduce myself with a sense of intimacy, trustworthiness and honesty in the interviewees so that they feel comfortable during interview sessions. Here, I share who I am why I am there. After this, I throw light on why I am going to conduct the interview and how their participation matters. Then they are asked if they can participate. If it is okay, in order to arouse communal feelings and sentiments in the informants I share few my life stories (attending university and doing a course on Sámi identity) relevant to the purpose of the research. In order to address research ethics, the researcher shows a letter of consent addressing the issues of confidentiality or anonymity. After they and I sign the letter of consent and both of us keep a copy of it, the interview is about to take place. After a good warm up, both parties decide the time, date and place, and mediums of participation for the interview.

Interview themes

The study, prepares the domains of research questions so that the interview questions can easily be framed out for the interviews. The research question is ‘How does articulation of Sámi identity deconstruct representation? The research themes for the same have been drafted as follows:

- a. Self-identification of participants
- b. A non-Sámi enters a Sámi world
- c. Participants life experiences as a Sámi
- d. Participants overall perspective towards non-Sámi representations of Sámi people
- e. Their perspective to look at a university course on Sámi identity
- f. Identity markers

g. Challenges to Sámi identity in changing context

The same themes apply to the Tharu participant from except the fifth one (e).

Interview Questions

Name:

Age:

Sex:

Address:

Occupation:

Academic Qualification:

Telephone:

E-mail:

Remarks:

2. While interview session (recalls the while interview session, and enters into actual interview.)

Questions (may vary as per the immediate context, but the themes remain the same):

- a. I am an international student in Norway. I have gone with a course on Sámi identity. In this sense, I am like an outsider, I accept. So, I am going to ask a question regarding how one can address you. Does it sound okay if someone calls you ‘a Sámi’? How do you take it?
- b. Repeating the first answer of the participant, I will enter the second question: “You told that.....” If so, how can we understand a Sámi way of life, let’s say a Sámi world? What things do you suggest me to do for it?
- c. Now, I am going to ask questions about your life experiences as a Sámi in Norway. So far I know, Sámi people possibly have their life stories of their own. It may differ from one person to the other. In this context, how do you recall your past as a Sámi? Could you please share your dominant experience?
- d. Making a connection with the previous responses, “you told me that.....”. Now, it is important to know how Norwegian or non-Sámi people talked about

you, and how you felt. Could you please tell me what you think about the way Sámi people are presented in Norwegian society by Norwegians, those who are not Sámi people?

- e. Well, you told me that Then, I also did a course about Sámi people and culture in Nord University, Bodo. So, do you think a university can speak on your behalf? Why do you think so, please?
- f. So far I understand, Sámi people are different than Norwegian people in various ways. You have your own culture and a way of life. So, how can I know that you are a Sámi? I mean as a Sámi; what things do you do? What are your identity markers?
- g. Then, finally, people say that there are challenges and opportunities for everyone in the present world. I have my own challenges and you have your own. So, now I want to know the challenges of Sámi people in Norway. What challenges do you see for Sámi people in Norway? I request you to mention particularly two types of challenges: challenges created by the local authorities and challenges from nature.

During this session, I will write all the answers, and add necessary details of my observation. Both the verbal and non-verbal forms of communication will be observed and will be recorded in words instantly as side notes (it applies only with a physical meeting).

3. Post-interview session

I will thank the participants for his/her participation. I will summarize what he told by now, and what I understood looking at the key words in the script. Then, if there is a good span of time for the participant, we enter into off-topic discussions on Sámi identity. I will share something about indigenous Tharu people in Nepal. Then, finally, I will depart thanking again.

Appendix: 3

A request for participation in a thesis project

“Representation and/versus Articulation: A Non-Western Meta-perspective on Indigenous Sámi Identity in Norway.”

1. Background and Purpose

This is a master’s thesis project is the final examination of the program International Northern Development, Faculty of Social Sciences, Nord University, Bodo, Norway.

This master’s thesis project will explore the phenomenon of indigenous Sámi identity in Norway. The exploration basically looks into representation and articulation, that is how Sámi identity was/is represented. While doing so, it is restrictively based on the four sets of data: interview with Sámi participants from Norway, interview data participant(s) from Nepal, selected university course materials, Sámi literary texts and Sámi Songs (yoiks).

This is a qualitative thesis project the four data sets will be analyzed, interpreted and compared from an indigenous perspective. So far as the interview data is concerned, Sámi participants from Norway will be analyzed comparing them with selected materials from a University course named *Sámi Society and Identity in the Past and Present* (Spring, 2018) from Nored University, Norway. The information collected from Sámi participants and Tharu participant(s) will also be compared based on the themes of indigenous identity.

2. What does participation in this project imply?

In this thesis, participation of interviewee implies that the participants voice/words will be the first-hand materials. They are expected to be true, trustworthy and subjective as far as possible. My interview is a semi-structured where I will ask not more than ten questions about the experiences, feelings, identity markers, representation, changes and challenges of indigenous (Sámi and Tharu) people. It will take not more than an hour if we allocate five minutes to each question. But, it will depend on how the participants express themselves. The questions in the interview will be more general because I am going to explore the subjective experiences of the participants.

The participants can take part in a physical meeting, telephone conversation, email, and skype as per their viable choice. The answers of the informants will be written in my personal ‘project diary’. Therefore, the participants are requested to answer very slowly. The participants can answer the questions in their own way, but sticking on the question is preferred.

3. What will happen with the information about you?

All personal data will be treated confidentially. No personal data will be published except sex, tentative age, occupation, the city they live. It is only the researcher (me) and the supervisor will have access to transcripts during the project period. The transcripts will have been anonymized with ‘A’, ‘B’, ‘C’.....

The project is scheduled to get it completion by 01-09-2020.

4. Voluntary participation:

It is voluntary in the project, and the participants can at any time choose to withdraw their consent without stating any reason to me. If you decide to withdraw, all your personal data will be anonymous and the responses will never be used in the project. The participants can contact me at any if they want to know what is going on the use of their data.

If you thought of withdrawing your consent or if you have any questioning the project, please contact me.

Contact: Cellphone: +047-40561258 Email: pra.norway@gmail.com

The study has been notified to the data protection official research, Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

Consent for participation in the study

(.....)

Signature to the participant, date

I hereby state that all the above mentioned details about the study project are true.

(.....)

Signature of the researcher, date

Thank you!!!

Appendix 4

The University Course

Weekly schedule and suggested literature 2018:

Sami identity and society in the past and present SO342S

Lecture: Teachers will give lectures based on the literature

Seminar: The students will be given topics for discussion by the teachers, in addition to a discussion in plenum.

Lectures/seminars	Suggested literature
Lecture/seminar: Ethnicity, identity and revitalization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eidheim, Harald: When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma • Olsen, Kjell: “Making differences in a changing world: The Norwegian Sami in the tourist industry” • Gaski, Lina: “Sami Identity as a Discursive Formation: Essentialism and Ambivalence” • Olsen, Kjell: “When Ethnic Identity is a Private Matter” • Sarivaara, E., & Uusiautti, S.: “Taking care of the ancestral language: the language revitalization of Non-Status Sámi in Finnish Sápmi” • Kramvig, Britt: "The silent language of ethnicity"
Lecture/seminar: Ethnicity, identity and revitalization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eidheim, Harald: When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma • Olsen, Kjell: “Making differences in a changing world: The Norwegian Sami in the tourist industry” • Gaski, Lina: “Sami Identity as a Discursive Formation: Essentialism and Ambivalence” • Olsen, Kjell: “When Ethnic Identity is a Private Matter” • Sarivaara, E., & Uusiautti, S.: “Taking care of the ancestral language: the language revitalization of Non-Status Sámi in Finnish Sápmi” • Kramvig, Britt: "The silent language of ethnicity"
Lecture/seminar: Indigenous perspectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lecture/seminar: Oskal, Nils: “The Question of Methodology in Indigenous Research: A Philosophical Exposition” • Kuokkanen, Rauna. “Towards an Indigenous Paradigm from a Sami Perspective”
Lecture/seminar: Nation building, politics and education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stordahl, Vigdis: Nation Building Through Knowledge Building. The Discourse of Sami Higher Education and Research in Norway • Keskitalo, P., Uusiautti, S., & Määttä, K: “How to make the small indigenous cultures bloom? Special traits of Sámi education in Finland in Current Issues”

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Broderstad, Else Grete. The promises and challenges of indigenous self-determination. The Sami case.
Lecture/seminar: Gender and feminist perspectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eikjok, Jorunn: Gender, essentialism and feminism in Samiland • Kuokkanen, R: 'Myths and realities of Sami women. A postcolonial feminist analysis for the decolonization and transformation of Sami society' • Grydeland, Svein Erik 1997: Women's position in former Saami society. Some reflections on demographic changes in Kvænangen County, Northern Norway.
Lecture/seminar: Nature, culture and indigenous rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ravna, Øyvind: "The fulfilment of Norway's international legal obligations to the Sámi : assessed by the protection of rights to lands, waters and natural resources" • Rybråten, Stine and Grete K. Hovelsrud: Local Effects of Global Climate Change: Differential Experiences of Sheep Farmers and Reindeer Herders in Unjarga/Nesseby, a Coastal Sami Community in Northern Norway • Ween, Gro & Colombi, Benedict: "Two rivers : the politics of wild salmon, indigenous rights and natural resource management • Risvoll, C., G. Fedreheim, A. Sandberg, and S. Burn Silver: Does pastoralists' participation in the management of national parks in northern Norway contribute to adaptive governance? • Broderstad, Else Grete; Eythórsson, Einar: Resilient communities. Collapse and recovery of a social-ecological system in Arctic Norway • People-nature relations: Local ethos and ethnic consciousness • Bjerkli, Bjørn: Landscape and Resistance. The Transformation of Common Land from Dwelling Landscape to Political Landscape

There is also some literature that you can access online through the university library (check the library web page). <http://www.uin.no/en/library/find-resources/databases/Documents/Database%20Access%20from%20Home%20oppdatert%20140815.pdf>

Two of the books on the course can only be read online:

Here is a link to Bjørklund, Ivar 2000: Sápmi: becoming a nation. The emergence of a Sami national community. This will not be in the compendium: <http://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/4cfe9900fc100389c48c022ea120b5a9.nbdigital?lang=no#0>

And this is the link to Hansen, Lars Ivar and Bjørnar Olsen: Hunters in transition: an outline of early Sámi history. The northern world: North Europe and the Baltic c: 400 - 1700 AD:

peoples, economics and cultures; vol. 63.

Leiden: Brill <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/hbobib/detail.action?docID=10815255&p00=hunters+transition%3A+outline+early+s%C3%A1mi+history>