



Sámi allaskuvla
Sámi University of Applied Sciences



The Role of the Mass Media in Conflicts

Sámi reindeer herders balancing between traditional law and state law in a predator dispute against officials in Finland

Aslak Antti Paltto

Master's Thesis in indigenous journalism

Presented within the programme
Sámi Journalism with an Indigenous Perspective

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Tom Moring
29.8.2017

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2017

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Conflicts – Sámi reindeer herders
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and state law in a predator
dispute against officials in
Finland

Aslak Antti Paltto
Sámi University of Applied
Science
Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino,
Norway

Photos: Aslak Paltto

Acknowledgments

First, I would like to thank all the reindeer herders who have shared their personal life experiences with me; that they opened their homes and let me come in. I feel privileged that I had the chance to meet them, including their families, and speak about sensitive matters. Of course, they also spoke openly about their families, relatives, and friends. Thanks to all of them for sharing their stories with me, and now it is my time to give back to the community and to the families.

I would like to thank Dr. Professor Tom Moring, Dr. Professor Charles Husband, Dr. Associate Professor Lia Markelin, and Dr. Associate Professor Nils Johan Päiviö for their outstanding support and help during this master class in Sámi journalism from an indigenous perspective.

I have many good friends and colleagues who are always supportive in reaching our goals as journalists. One of them is my colleague and co-student Liv Inger Somby. She has challenged me to work with indigenous journalism, and when this master program was planned – she challenged me again! One of reasons for finding my path into indigenous issues was originally through bachelor studies with Per-Josef Idivuoma and Inga Marja Steinfjell – my biggest thanks goes to them. Together we learned and created something new, and now we are moving forward.

My classmates, new friends, these two years have gone really fast; thanks for all the creative conversations fantastic discussions and support. Huge thanks for the support from home: dii lehpet dorjon ja veahkehan gokko sáhtta ja galgá, Giitu!

Hánno Heaika Ásllat Ánde – Aslak Antti Paltto

Leammi, Borgemánnu – August 2017

Abstract

This thesis is about reindeer herders' untold stories and about the challenges facing journalists to do these stories. Focusing on the realized situation in the Giehtaruohtas area in Northwest Finland, the last years have seen the biggest reindeer damage by predators. The Sámi reindeer herders' situation in Finland differs from that in other Scandinavian countries; the effect also is seen by the European Union. The rising number of predators have been seen as an issue because of the protection, but officials have not been able to take necessary actions based on legislations and many other reasons. The role of the Sámi and Finnish media in the north has been crucial because southern media have not given much attention to this matter. That is why this study is important, to see if reindeer herding is receiving its rightful coverage in news at least in Northern Finland, where reindeer herding is still one of the core livelihoods. My aim is to find out why reindeer herders feel they do not get their voices heard and what role the media are taking in predator matters. These issues are reflected through Sámi history and their rights in history then and compared with the laws in Finland today. Media articles and their perspectives on these matters are reflected through indigenous philosophies.

Dát čáluš gieđahallá boazodoalliid jávohisvuođa ja dan mii lea sivva dasa ahte sámi boazodoallit eai leat oidnosis Davvi-Suomas Sámi ja Suoma mediain. Giehtaruohtasa guovllus leat Suoma boazodoalu stuorimus spirevaháгат, gos stuorimus vahát eallit leat geatki ja goaskin, máт guktot leat ráfáidahtton. Lágaid rievdan manjimuš 30 jagis lea váikkuhan ollu boazodillái, danne geahččadange Sámi vuoigatvuođaid historjjá ja veardidan dálá dillái Suomás jagis 2017 ja movt media buktá dan ovdan. Gažádan mediaid rolla jearahallamiid bokte, dego maddái eiseváldiid oainnuid dán áššái. Seammás go ozan vástádusa vuoigatvuođaid sajádahkii álgoálbmot perspektiivvas, čielggadan mán dásis ja mán viidát mediat nágodit gokčat fáttáid ja gii oazžu jienaset gullot.

Keywords: Reindeer herders, traditional knowledge, wolverine, eagle, media, illegal, Sápmi, Indigenous, minority media, legacy media, journalism, Sámi rights, hunting rights.

Table of contents

Abstract.....	IV
Table of contents	V
1. Introduction.....	1
2. Societal structures and its roles in Sápmi/Lapland	7
2.1. Reindeer: A symbol of life.....	8
2.2. Role of media in societies	11
2.3. Theoretical perspectives.....	15
3. Sámi and the immemorial rights to land ownership.....	20
4. Árvaleapmi as a traditional decision-making tool	29
4.1. Hunting rights in Finland.....	33
4.2. Reindeer herding in Finland	37
4.3. Finnish predator regulations and legislation.....	39
4.3.1. Predator regulations in neighboring countries.....	41
4.3.2. Old predator regulations: No way back?	41
4.4. Role of Sámi politics in Finland	42
4.5. Researches finally backing up the oral information	44
5. Ethics of nature	47
5.1. Indigenous peoples as part of decision-making.....	49
6. Methodology	50
7. Analysis	54
7.1. PART 1: Interviews among reindeer herders.....	54
7.1.1. The biggest predation is in the Sámi co-operatives	56
7.1.2. Fearless wolverine: A killing machine?	58
7.1.3. A complicated compensation system with strange mathematics	60
7.1.4. Public talk and reindeer talk	61
7.1.5. Reindeer herders feel that their words have no value	63
7.1.6. Documenting for safety is a necessity – not a demand.....	64
7.1.7. Eagles are protected but are deadly for the reindeer	67
7.1.8. State law vs. traditional law.....	69
7.1.9. Media and reindeer herding	71
7.1.10. Summary	72
7.2. PART 2: Interviews with journalists.....	74
7.2.1. News Analysis	75
7.2.2. News in numbers	78
7.2.3. The three dominating media in Sápmi.....	80
7.2.4. Multimedia work with multitasking	84
7.3. Articles with wolverines in focus summarized	86
7.3.1. Reindeer herders’ voices are not heard	90
7.3.2. Too much conflict-oriented news.....	91
7.3.3. A challenge to make news in the tundra	92
7.3.4. Summary	93
8. Sámi media’s role as indigenous media	94
9. Conclusions.....	100
References	110

1. Introduction

People are always interested in untold stories, and I am one of them. I have read most of the books written about the history of Sámi people and the constant change of life these people faced over the last 500 years: that is as far as there is written “accurate” information. When reading our history, there is very little information about what Sámi people have thought about in regards to right or wrong or how people think life should be. A lot of changes have happened. The borders between the countries and the national laws are changing and affecting the people living in four different countries. We Sámi people recognize ourselves as one people, even though we are living in four different countries. Yet we all have different regulations and laws to control our daily actions. We are all citizens of the countries where we live, in my case in Finland. I live in the heart of Sápmi, at very close distance to each of the three other countries. The Norwegian border is 35 kilometers away, the distance to the Russian border is 80 kilometers, and to Sweden 120 kilometers.

Finland is surrounded by three other states: Norway, Sweden, and Russia in the north, the area where most Sámi people live. Yet, there should be no doubt that Sámi people through history have had a structured society and sustainable livelihoods long before they were divided with borders into different countries. Nowadays, Sámi people are the only indigenous people recognized in Europe.

I come from a Sámi reindeer herding family, and I have been working with reindeer since I was a child. Our reindeer live mostly inside the biggest national park in Finland, Leammi, Lemmenjoki National Park, which has an area of over 2,850 square kilometers. On the other side of the border in Norway is the Øvre Anárjohka or Anárjohka National Park, with an area of 1,414 square kilometers. Together these two parks are the biggest national park area in the whole of Europe. These areas are defined in maps as wilderness areas, assuming there are no people living permanently on those lands. But our reindeer live in these areas around the year, and we live and migrate with our animals.

I am writing this thesis from my standpoint of wide expertise in reindeer herding and the predators around them, as I am a reindeer owner myself in Sállevárri or Sallivaara Co-operative, with 120 other reindeer owners, with a maximum limit of 7,500 reindeer. In 2013, we found over 350 reindeer killed by predators, and I alone found over 75 adult reindeer

killed by predators, mostly by wolverines between January and April. This equals the amount that was found in total in Sállevárri between 1976–1986. During this 10-year period, all together 355 reindeer were found killed by predators (Nieminen & Leppäluoto, 1988). Last winter alone (2015–2016), the number of killed reindeer was 290. Wolverines have been listed as an endangered species for over 35 years, and a total ban on hunting was set in 1982 in Finland. Since then, the wolverine population has been slowly rising.

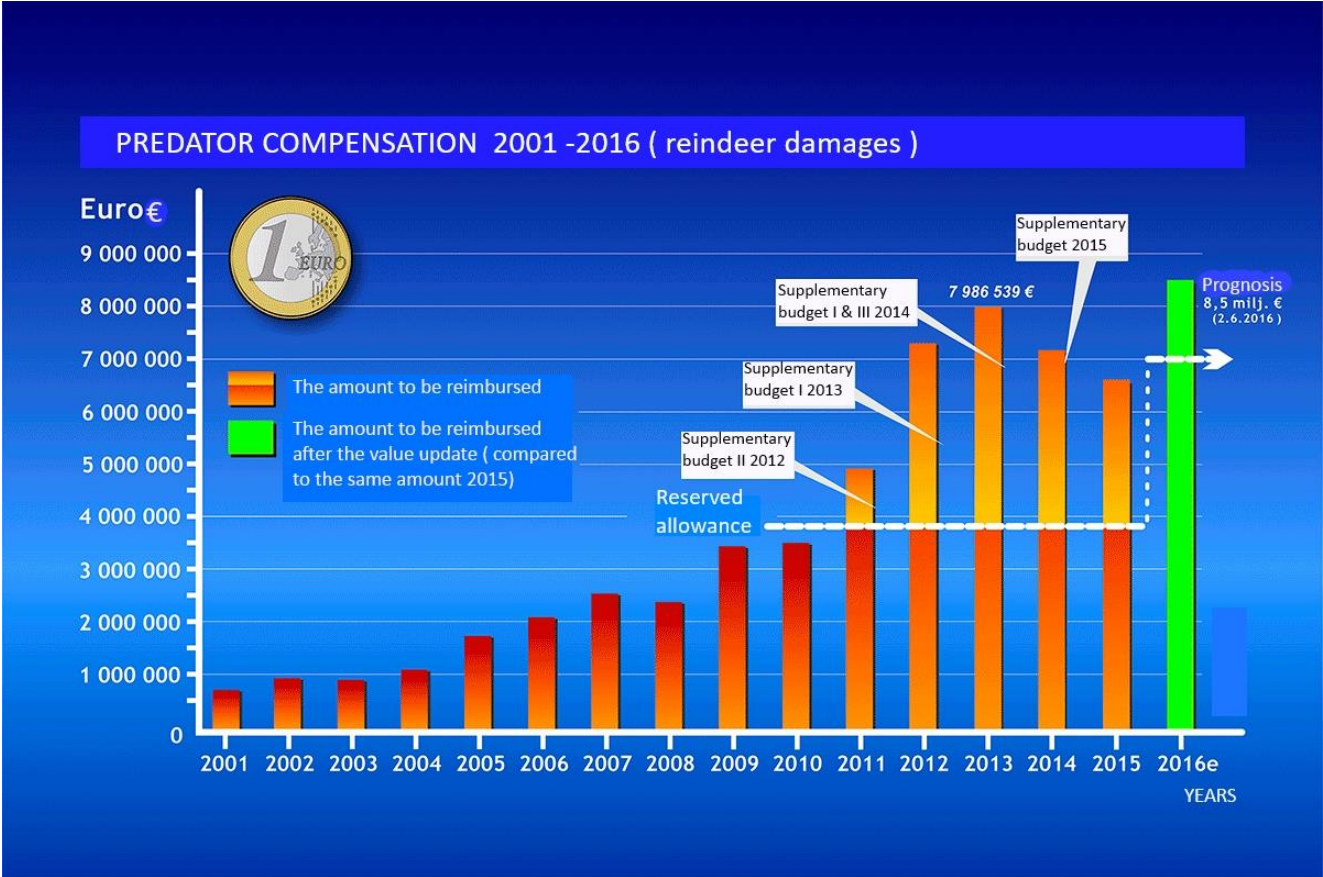


FIGURE 1. Development of the paid compensation of reindeers killed by predators. Source: Paliskunnat.fi

Statistics show that, in 2001, the damages for reindeer killed by predators were under 1-million-euro compensation paid to the reindeer herders in the whole reindeer husbandry area (see Figure 1). In 2011, the compensation for the killed reindeers was almost 5 million euro. Reindeer damages can be compensated up to 1.5 times the maximum value of the reindeer killed because many of the reindeer killed by predators are not found. The National Agency for Rural Affairs (MAVI) issues rules on the fair value of reindeer damaged by reindeer gender and age. For co-operatives that have an exceptionally high number of reindeer losses, the reindeer damage allowance can be paid two times the maximum value. Cooperatives entitled for double compensation is confirmed annually by the Ministry of Agriculture and

Forestry's administrative decision. Add to this – between the calving (in May) and the last day of November – reindeer calves killed by predators are compensated by a separate calculated deduction for the reindeer cooperatives.¹

By far the highest peak ever was in 2013 when damages rose up to almost 8 million euro, with registered 5,421 killed reindeer (the estimate by Öje Danell is that, yearly, 20% of the reindeer is killed by predators). By Danell's math, this means that every year around 20,000 reindeer are killed by predators in Finland (Danell & Norberg, 2010: 15,18). These damages are caused by recognized predators such as the wolverine, bear, wolf, lynx and golden eagle. In Finland, from 2011 to 2016, the government had to supply extra money to cover the damages. For two years, because of lack of money, the support had to be paid in two parts (Figure 1). Since 2011, the damages have been bigger than the money reserved for the damages, so payments have been delayed for 1.5 years. Reindeer herders have received most of the compensation they are entitled to for the killed reindeer, but, according to the Ministry of Forest and Agriculture, even though the damages are high, the money bar can no longer be raised; the changes must be done to the compensation system (Laanikari, 2016). A main reason causing the high damages is the rise in the wolverine population. As wolverines are protected, they cannot be hunted.

There is a problematic mismatch in the information from the responsible ministry, as it says that there is not going to be more money for compensation of loss of reindeer, but at the same time it communicates a disbelief in that even a licensed hunt for the wolverine would help significantly (the debate has been viral in the Sámi and Finnish media since 2010 and, as will be shown later in this thesis, the frustration has been growing among the reindeer herders). The last five years have shown that in Finland, the government is careful in following EU directives, and a complicated system has been built to control and secure legal practice in Finland. At the same time, statistics show the rise of the wolverine damages, with no action from the government to control this issue. Many factors show that, when Finland joined the EU in 1995, this changed predator politics for good, with no turning back (Laanikari, 2016). As will be shown later in this thesis, the media have given this issue little coverage. At the same time, work officials have to figure out that the mismatch during the last years is showing marks of a slow change, where reindeer herding is seen as a minority in EU politics, and Finnish officials seem to have no interest or not enough impact to change the situation. This

¹ See more at <http://www.mavi.fi/en/tuet-ja-palvelut/vahingonkorvaukset/Sivut/petovahingot.aspx>

mismatch becomes even more serious, as the predator numbers are not accurately estimated in the northern-most area of Europe. As media plays a key role in the impact on society, it is crucial to see what kind of news coverage it has: Is there a difference between the Finnish and Sámi media, and if there is, why is that?

Research aim and research questions

My aim is to analyze Sámi media and Finnish media and how they are covering and reporting on these issues or matters. For me, being a reindeer herder and a journalist makes me an “insider” in regards to these articles. The standing point is that I will compare how *Yle Sápmi* as Sámi media and *Lapin Kansa* and *Yle Rovaniemi* as Finnish media let the voices be heard from the reindeer herders’ perspective and from the officials/government perspective. My assumption is that Sámi media would have easier access to the reindeer herders and get their “real” thoughts to the public, and the Finnish media have easier access to the officials since they are often seen as more “neutral” in Sámi related issues and thus seen as having more credibility. As reindeer herding is one of the main livelihoods still among the Sámi, I expect *Yle Sápmi* to have wider coverage on predator issues and reindeer. There is no Sámi newspaper in Finland, so I analyze *Yle Sápmi* and *Yle Rovaniemi* by the internet articles and newspaper outlet *Lapin Kansa* by their internet articles to make comparison possible between these media.

My aim is to critically look at media within the eyes of indigenous journalism,² how do they fill in the category of indigenous journalism; if at all, this will be explained later on. I have worked with *Yle Sápmi* since 2004, so I know the system and how it has changed over the years. I also know *Yle Rovaniemi* and many of its workers because of the co-operation inside *Yle*. But *Lapin Kansa* has always been more distant for me and from the office; I know only the journalist who writes in the Sámi language, about Sámi issues.

As a reindeer herder, I have spoken with other reindeer herders, and I know many things or topics that are not spoken of (told) in the media because of their illegality (sensitive subjects), so I will also do qualitative interviews with reindeer herders in the areas where the most damage is done in Sámi reindeer herding areas. The interviews with reindeer herders will be anonymous. My aim is to find also persons who have been in the media, and through this

² www.Riic.ca *Reporting in Indigenous Communities* by Duncan McCue. These guidelines are made for journalists in Canada but can be suited also for journalists working in Sápmi.

method to find out what is not said in the media and via both officials and reindeer herders. My aim in this study is to be as transparent as possible when analyzing the interviews, but also the reader can start to adjust to the thought that there are many conceptions that researchers have already owned to themselves by making theories. I am going to show existing theoretical claims and question their validity. As a journalist, I am looking at statistics through the eyes of a reindeer herder. This may be seen as I would be unduly biased when going through the material, but then again, this thesis aims at giving a voice to reindeer herders who were not involved at all in many of the studies made in the reindeer herding area about reindeer herders – claiming to be objective research.

Research questions

1. How is the legal status of Sámi reindeer herders taken into consideration in the context of predator news coverage in the main mass media in Northern Finland?
2. What determines the values that are reflected in the media in Northern Finland?

Theoretical context: Earlier research

Sikku and Torp have in their book, *Vargen är värst: Traditionell samisk kunskap om rovdjur* (2004), and through a wide material of interviews, mapped the traditional knowledge of the Sámi in Sweden and their relation to predators. The study goes through the damages caused by predators, hunting methods, and the behavior of the predators. The study shows that, traditionally, a reindeer herder's purpose has always been to maintain as good conditions as possible for the reindeer and protect the reindeers from predators. It has not been about the hate against the predators – nor have they wanted to get rid of all the predators. Predators were accepted, but in a way that they didn't threaten the livestock and the existence of its owners (Sikku & Torp 2004: 37). The Sikku and Torp study has helped us to understand the Sámi and their traditional relationship to predators, and I will take this as one of my cornerstones upon analyze my interviews with the Sámi reindeer herders in Finland.

According to my research, in Finland there is one thesis by Magga (2012) about the Sámi reindeer herders being in conflict with nature conservation organizations, which concluded that reindeer herders are not part of the decision-making processes. To solve the predator conflict, it is necessary to change the compensation system; there is a need to change the policy for large carnivores and thoroughly analyze its foundations. Magga sees that, in

predator politics, in predator management and protection, the perspective and knowledge about the predators and the needs for the reindeer herders should be taken more into account (Magga, 2012).

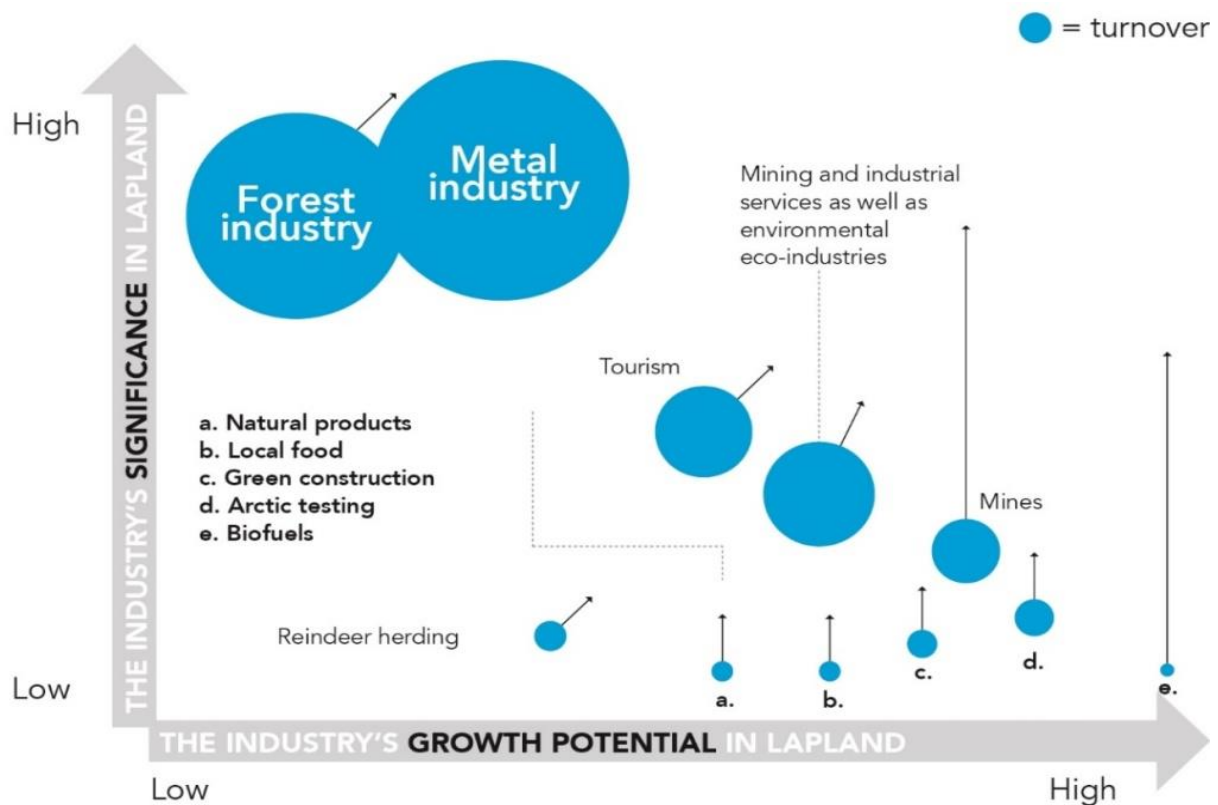
Another study by Pakkanen and Valkonen in a pre-report (2011), *The Wealth of Reindeer Husbandry and Outlook in Southern Cooperatives*, has discussed the effects of large carnivores to the southern reindeer herding. According to Pakkanen and Valkonen, in the southern co-operatives these predators have the most effect on economical profitability, encumbrance, and the future. Large carnivores create a significant economic threat and weaken above all the well-being and health control of the reindeer herders. The rapport states that reindeer herders should have access to decision-making in regards to the numbers of predators (Pakkanen & Valkonen, 2011: 54-58.)

There is also a new doctorate study, *State Steering and Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Reindeer-Herding Governance*, by Dr. Ellen Inga Turi, where she compares reindeer herding in northern Norway and Russia. Results from Turi's research show that, even if authorities in their consultative processes frequently include herders' own organization units, the Siida, they do not use herders' traditional knowledge as a basis for decisions and management. The explanation is that corporate governance is so formalized that there is neither room for other types of knowledge bases other than Western research knowledge, or other organizational models other than the hierarchical model (Turi, 2016).

Turi states that the management of reindeer husbandry needs a comprehensive strategy for how traditional knowledge will form the basis for management processes in the future because the current management model is not sufficient enough to use the participation and regular consultation processes (Turi, 2016). Later, through my own interviews, I will further develop the understanding of how this reindeer herder expertise comes about.

My aim is also to highlight the different conceptions of nature and what it means nowadays to different people and find answers that may be applied to European Union regulations for nature conservation and biodiversity. "Nature-related concepts are inextricably linked to the question of what is possible for human community and impossible when the framework of nature set the terms and conditions" (Haila & Lähde, 2003: 9).

My aim is also to look to Sámi rights development and sovereignty through the Swedish Sámi history (Päiviö, 2011) and Finnish Sámi history (Lehtola, 1996), (Lehtola, 2003, 2012) and relate it to the current situation by qualitative interviews, three with reindeer herders and two with officials in higher decision-making processes.



Source: *The Arctic specialisation programme 2013, page 24*

FIGURE 2. This figure shows that the metal and forest industries have the biggest turnover in Lapland. This way of counting shows reindeer herding in a small role, as it looks only on immediate economic impact.

2. Societal structures and its roles in Sápmi/Lapland

Finland, as in many other countries, has been struggling with the economy, and many companies have moved their labour abroad, creating a lot of unemployment. North Finland is comprised of mostly state-owned areas, and huge areas are in forestry use. Even though nowadays most areas in northern-most Lapland³ are wilderness or otherwise somewhat protected, the economy there is mainly based on tourism. Mining has been developed in recent years as the biggest economy in northern Lapland. From an economic point of view, reindeer herding is a marginal livelihood (see Figure 2). This figure is derived from a website

³ Lapland: as foreigners and others than Sámi people call Sápmi as Lapland, or Lappi.

that shows how Lapland is marketed for investors. According to the latest report by the Centre for Economic development, Transport and the Environment (ELY Centre), in Northern Lapland, most investments in the future are seen in tourism.⁴ According to a first-ever study in regards to the economic impact of reindeer herding in Sweden and Finland, its total revenue is 1.3 billion €, and it creates jobs for 15,000 people.⁵ Thus, in reality, the size of the reindeer herding turnover is larger, as shown in Figure 2.

2.1. Reindeer: A symbol of life

Reindeer herding is one of the oldest livelihoods in the world but is nowadays under the pressure of modernization and industrialization. Traditional land use by livestock and in the Arctic region, especially in Scandinavia, has been threatened in many ways for the past 100 years; for the last 50 years, the situation has gotten worse for the reindeer herders due to increasing land use. Reindeer herding is not an exclusive Sámi right in Finland, as it is in Sweden and Norway. In my study, I put a lot weight to this point that, historically, the Sámi have had their rights to the land and water, but as taxation has developed and changed livelihoods – through reindeer herding and nomadism – their rights have changed from owning land to owning reindeer. This will be explained in more detail in Chapter 3.

With this setting, it is vital to see the importance of the reindeer for the Sámi people and all of the traditional knowledge tied to the reindeer and to the life and nature around it. For example, Finnish media do not separate reindeer herding in their news as Sámi or Finnish reindeer herding, as the rules are the same for every one. As hunting is a right for all people in Finland, there are many processes that have had an effect on older local rights and ways that are now history. Ever-changing laws are limiting the traditional way of living and for the reindeer herders, thus making the protection of their livestock basically illegal. More about this will follow in Chapter 4.3.

⁴ http://www.temtoimialapalvelu.fi/files/2685/Alueelliset_kehitysnakymat_syksy_2016.pdf

⁵ BENERIK, Bengt Eriksson, 2014.

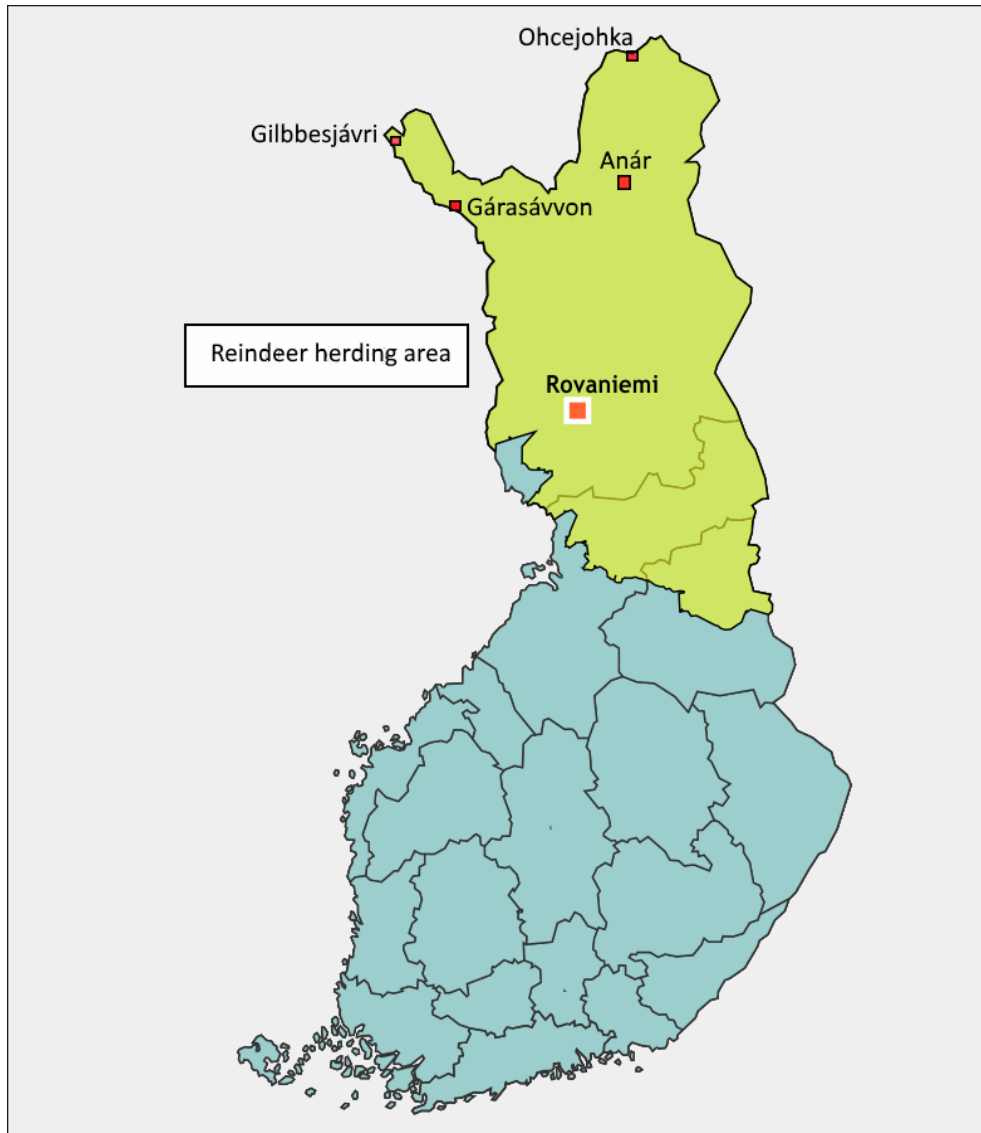


FIGURE 3. Reindeer herding areas in Finland. In Finland, reindeer herding is not a Sámi privilege as it is in Norway and Sweden. Map by Paliskunnat.

The Finnish reindeer herding area is 114,000 square kilometers, and the number of reindeer after a slaughter is around 200,000. During summer and autumn, the number rises with new-born calves to over 330,000 in total. The reindeer herding area is divided into 56 co-operatives and covers 36% of Finland's area (see Figure 3). In Sweden, the area covered is 49% and in Norway 45%.

From all of the national parks and nature reserves, 82% are in the reindeer herding area, constituting 7% of the whole Finnish reindeer herding area. Only about 10% of national parks and 16% of nature reserves are outside of the special reindeer herding area (Metsähallitus, 2004; Nieminen, 2008a). In 1991, 12 wilderness areas were established to the especially dedicated reindeer herding area, the goal was to secure traditional livelihoods and of Sámi culture. There are not as many protected areas in the reindeer herding area in the northern

parts of Lapland as there are in the southern parts. Even though sizes of the protected areas grow bigger in the north and 80% of Northern Lapland is protected in a certain way (Kallio, 2001; Nieminen, 2010: 7).

When going north, the proportion of state-owned land within reindeer herding area increases, the population density decreases, and the forest productivity decreases. Establishment of expanded statutory national parks has been easier there compared with other parts of the state. In Northern Finland tourism, recreation and hunting also are connected to the use of protected areas without diminishing everyman's rights and local people's rights (Vuorisalo & Laihonen, 2000; Nieminen, 2010: 7). Reindeer has the right to free grazing in the whole reindeer herding territory of the country, regardless of ownership or possession rights (Reindeer Herding Act, 1990). Reindeer herding work is allowed by reindeer owners of Siida co-operatives within the protected areas, except in the Malla Nature Reserve of 30.5 km² located in the Käsivarsi area (Kauhanen & Mattsson, 2005; Nieminen, 2010: 7).

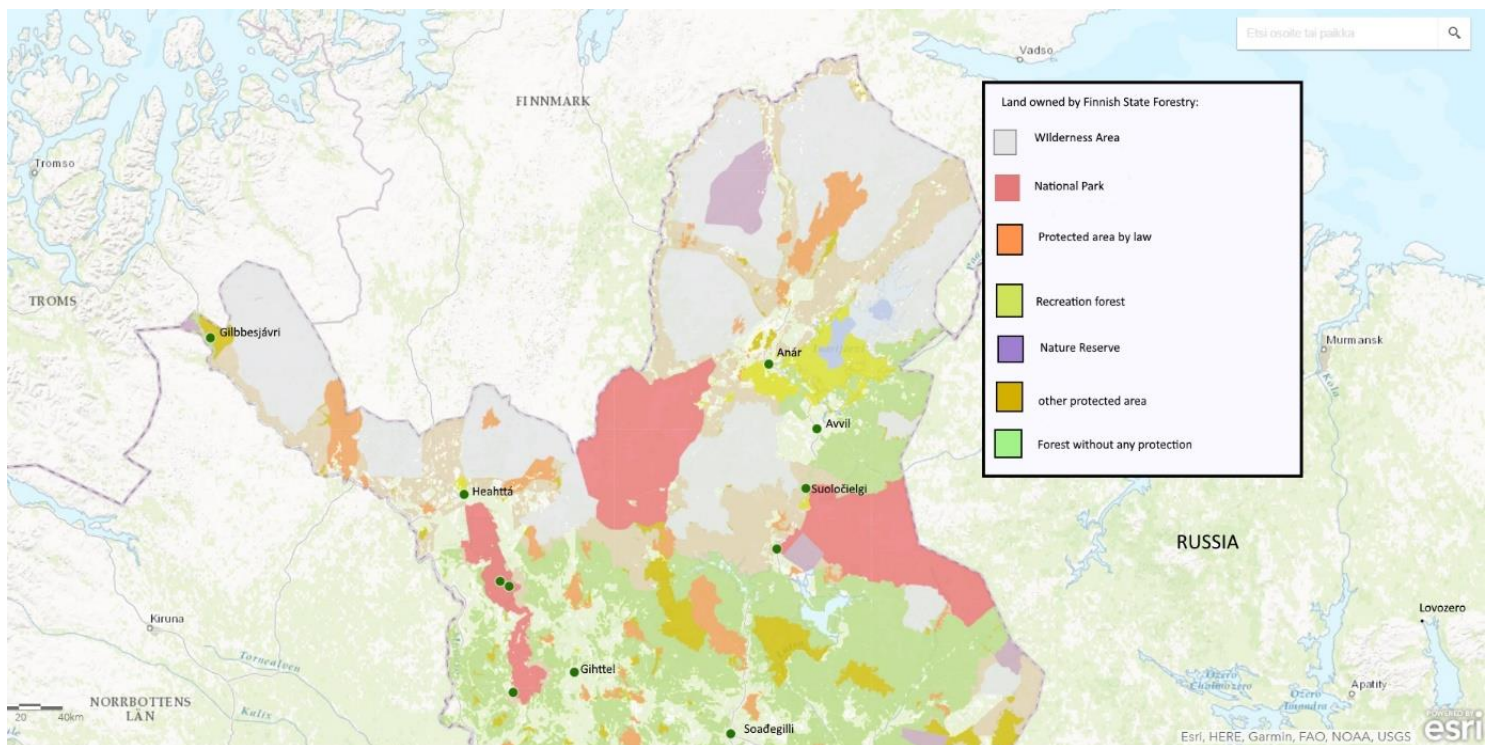


FIGURE 4. Different types of land management by Finnish State Forestry; grey areas are wilderness areas.

Wilderness areas have been excluded from the actual nature conservation areas, but each wilderness area is at least 15,000 hectares and at its most natural state (see Figure 4, grey color). Areas have been established to support the wilderness character of the Sami indigenous culture and livelihoods, such as reindeer herding, preservation, and development of the area for the utilization of diverse nature. It is not possible to build roads in wilderness

areas, and mining concession can be opened only by permission of the Finnish government. Intensive forestry may not be engaged in, but rather more natural forestry or thinning is possible (Wilderness Area Act, 1991).⁶

According to the act, these wilderness areas are categorized to support reindeer herding; at the same time, it is there for the protection of “nature.” This thesis does not cover issues related to the condition of the grazing lands or to the discussions about what effects their condition. From this follows that I am not going to cover the issue of the numbers of reindeer – if there are too many or too little of them. My focus is on how a growing predator population is threatening reindeer herders’ traditional livelihood, at the same time encouraging them to break the formal law and to follow traditional law.

As for predator hunting in Sápmi, 90% of the lands are government owned and controlled by a state-owned body, Metsähallitus (Finnish State Forestry), which sells licenses to the areas. FSF governs all the hunting licenses and quotas in specially dedicated Sámi home areas, which are located in the four northernmost municipalities of Finland: Inari, Enontekiö, Utsjoki, and Lappi reindeer co-operative in the Sodankylä municipality.

2.2. Role of media in societies

Finland has been among the top five countries in statistics of least corruption in the world. In 2016 Finland was the third least corrupted country.⁷ The Finnish legislation also caters for the openness of government activities.⁸ So for the media, one might assume they should have very good access to making news. The rights and ethics of a Finnish journalist follows a universal set of rules. However, different media have their own guidelines. The Finnish broadcasting company Yleisradio YLE has its own code. My target media, the broadcasting units *Yle Rovaniemi* and *Yle Sápmi*, follow the same guidelines. The newspaper *Lapin Kansa* belongs to the big commercial chain ALMA media, which also has its own guidelines and ethics. Yet, these and all the “trustworthy” media belong to JSN, Julkisen Sanan Neuvosto (Council for Mass Media). It means that media follows the common rules of journalism.⁹ If

⁶ Erämaalaki 17.1.1991. Finnish state law 3. 1991/62 1§-4§.

⁷ www.transparency.org

⁸ Act on the Openness of Government Activities (621/1999)

⁹ The task of the Council for Mass Media is to cultivate responsible freedom in regard to the mass media as well as to provide support for good journalistic practice. Media associations, journalists' unions and independent media companies that have affiliated to the Basic Agreement are bound to adhere to its principles. They also endeavour to ensure that their members and those working for them act in accordance with the intentions of this agreement. See www.jsn.fi/en.

these rules are not followed, people who are interviewed can complain to the JSN. If JSN sees that the media have done wrong, or misreported, the media in question have to make it right by issuing the decision of JSN without delay.

The question of the accuracy of journalism has recently come into new light through internal critiques of how journalism is carried out. According to recently awarded American journalist, Christiane Amanpour,¹⁰ journalism should be: “truthful, not neutral, not banalizing.” Amanpour talks about fake news, which are the same as lies. Her feeling is that people are getting dumber and simply no longer fact-checking. The US-based organization Committee to Protect Journalists is working around the world to protect journalists. As in relation to the American presidential campaign, it points out how lost most of the journalists were or how bad of a job they were doing, having no idea that Donald Trump was going to win the presidential election in the USA. The requirement of “truthfulness” poses questions of immediate relevance to how the reindeer herders are represented in public discourse.

There are no special rules written for the Sámi media ethics, even though there could be. As there are examples from Canada such as the Native News Network of Canada (NNNC) guidelines in 1997. In these guidelines, it is separately mentioned that:

“Journalism should encourage creativity in writing and broadcasting, and foster the different authentic voices of aboriginal people” (NNNC Statement of Principles).

The founder of NNNC, Bud White Eye, was concerned about their own stories:

“Journalists can change or influence the thinking of those who are mere bystanders or news followers ... how can the public judge, if they never have a chance to read? First of fall, you need to hire Native writers. Let them write the stories they feel are important and let readers decide if this is what they’ve been looking for all these years” (Alia, 2004: 195).

In an earlier study about the societal approach to journalism, German scholar Manfred Ruhl (Ruhl: 1969) provided the first empirical study that focused on an organized social system instead of journalistic individuals. His case study of a German newspaper marked a radical change in perspective because he did not describe journalism by identifying characteristics and attitudes of journalists as individuals but by analyzing it as a rationalized production

¹⁰ (video in facebook, speach 23.11.2016 -CPJ page)

process taking place in an editorial setting that was defined as an organized social system (Löffelholz & Weaver, 2008: 5).

“It took, however, decades before the relevance of theoretically driven empirical journalism research was adequately recognized” (Löffelholz & Weaver, 2008: 5).

Nowadays it is not the simplest job as a journalist to work in Sápmi or Lapland. When one considers issues related to land rights, customary law, climate change, indigenous rights, majority–minority relations, indigeneity, politics; all this means that there are many variables that a journalist requires basic knowledge of in order to have an understanding. Luckily many Sámi people have educated themselves as journalists and established media that have been working since the 1960s, step by step building a larger network for the Sámi to breathe and speak in public and in their own language. This has opened a public space where Sámi people can feel safe to speak about how they feel and deliberate on problems and conflicts. But in all the four countries, the Sámi people are a minority. One key issue for Finnish and Norwegian Sámi Radio was that Sámi were recognized as indigenous, and this position is reflected within the state-owned public broadcasting companies. In Sweden, the public broadcast media SR Sámeradion still has to fight for broadcasting hours via radio (Markelin, 2003).

Sámi media on the Russian side are facing collapse, even though there used to be a working Kola Sámi Radio station in Lujávri or Lovozero in Murmansk Oblast. This is now run by youth working for free, so there isn't any systematic news flow. The biggest Sámi media producer is NRK Sápmi, which has its center place in Kárášjohka in Northern Norway and is the center for the Nordic TV news Ođđasat. SVT Sápmi and Sveriges Radion (SR Sámeradion) have worked the last years under the same roof in Kiruna and have divided their resources to be more efficient. Before their emergence, they were more rivals than allies. The *Yle Sápmi* headquarters is located in Anár or Inari (see Figure 5).

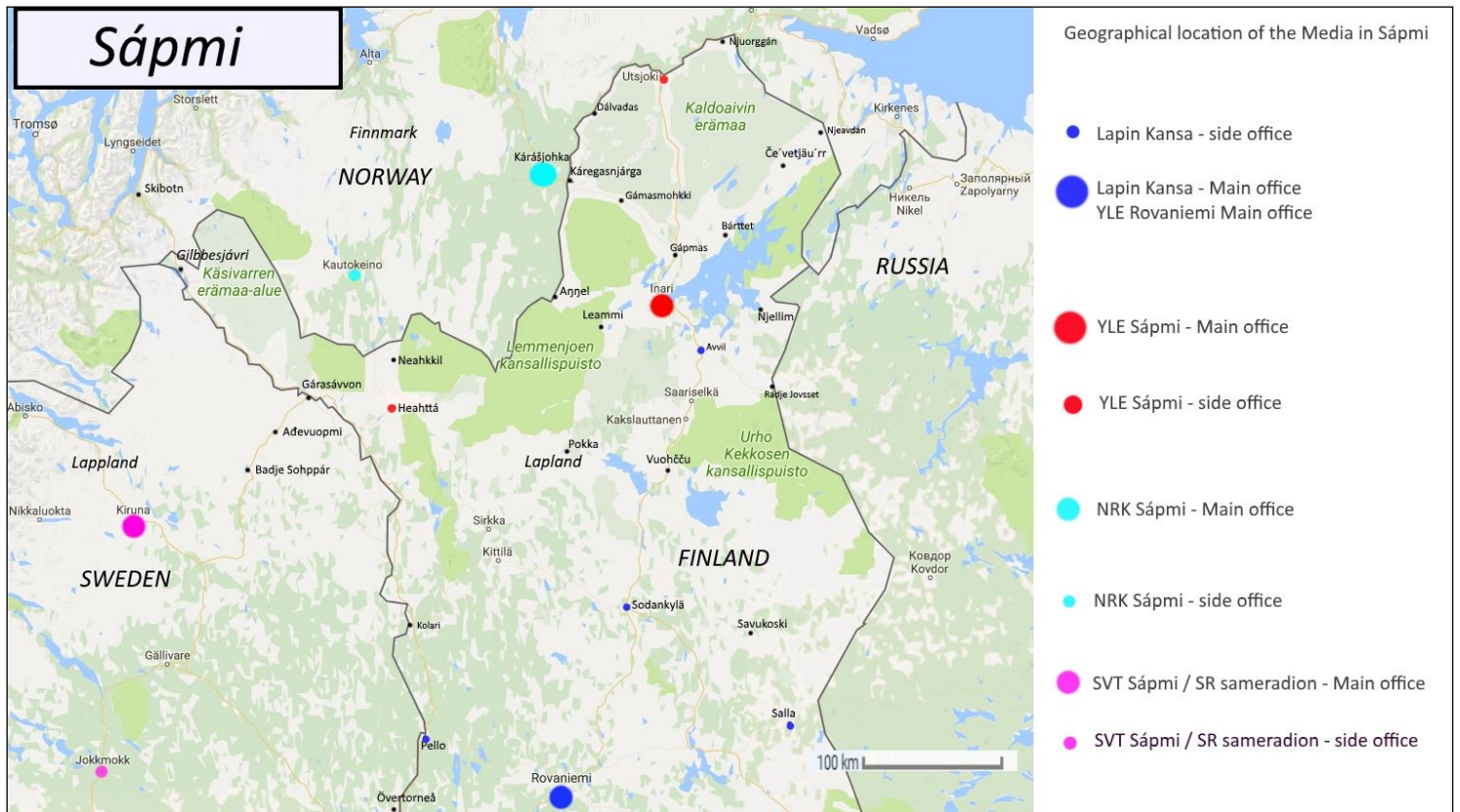


FIGURE 5. The map shows geographical locations of the media houses studied in this text. These include the main partners cooperating with *Yle Sápmi*. Source: Google /A.P..

Sari Pietikäinen and Helen Kelly-Holmes have studied minority-language media both in Sápmi and Ireland. According to them, Sámi-language public service broadcasting takes place in a highly complex context, reflecting the sociolinguistic particularities of a multilingual, transnational environment, defined by asymmetrical relations between the nine endangered indigenous Sámi languages and national languages (Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and Russian). While Sámi languages have the status of recognized minority languages in all of the Scandinavian countries, they are still endangered and some are nearly extinct. The biggest Sámi language, Northern Sámi, has approximately 35,000 speakers, whereas Skolt Sámi and Inari Sámi, the two other indigenous languages spoken on the Finnish side of Sámiland, have some 300–450 speakers each (cf. Kulonen, Seurujärvi-Kari, & Pulkkinen, 2005). Despite active language revitalization projects and attempts, for example, in the areas of media, arts, education, and day care, the domains of everyday life are dominated by national majority languages (Pietikäinen 2008a). In this multilayered sociolinguistic context, Sámi media on the Finnish side of Sámiland (sápmi) produce approximately 11 hours of programming daily,

mainly in Northern Sámi, and a few hours weekly each in Inari and Skolt Sámi (Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2011: 54).

According to Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2011: 55) Sámi Radio has a long tradition of being part of the Sámi revitalization movement and being one of the instruments of language revitalization and maintenance (Sara, 2004). Currently, Sámi media face the impasse of continuing with this role while, at the same time, taking into account the linguistic heterogeneity of the community and of their audience (Pietikäinen, 2008b). They are going through the shift from a modernist conception of a homogeneous speech community to a polycentric reconceptualization of audience and voice. In Sámi Radio, this is reflected in the attempt to reconcile a Sámi-only language policy with multilingual practices, both entangled with the discourses of revitalization and hybridization, affecting and regulating multilingual practices in the daily routines and decisions involved in making Sámi media (Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2011: 55).

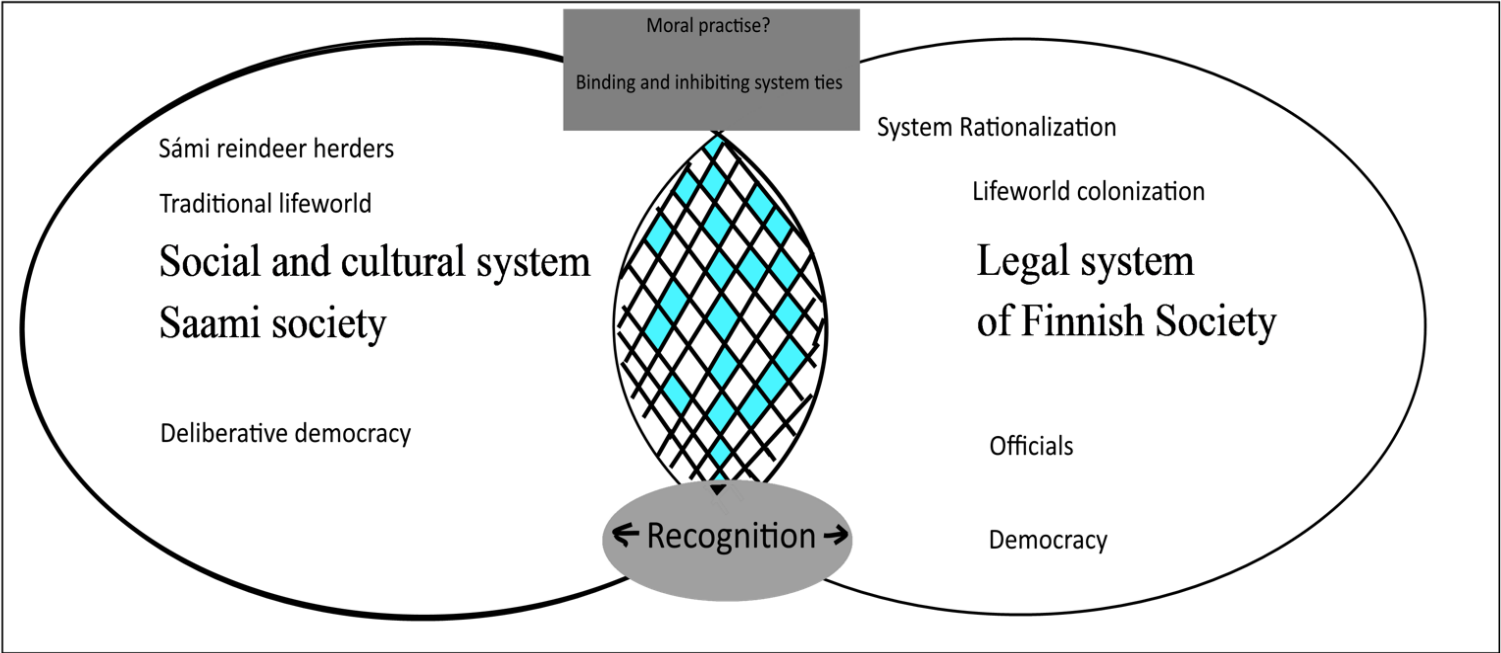


FIGURE 6. Jürgen Habermas model of Lifeworld system and Sámi reindeer herders: A Habermasian perspective on the discourse on reindeer protection.

2.3. Theoretical perspectives

I argue that moral practice in protecting reindeers from predators must be safeguarded by communicational procedures that explicitly address issues relating to the use of power and the need for “recognition” between subjects (Figure 6).

Different concepts of nature build the phenomenon at present in its own way and, at the same, time rule out other ways to understand the matter (Kettunen, 2003: 29; Valkonen, 2010: 112). Kettunen argues that, although in the society, at the same time there are many different conceptions of nature in presence, some are more strongly present in the discussions about nature than the others. There are struggles about prevailing conceptions of nature and the content of the established nature discourses in the discussions. These are attempted to either institutionalizing or destabilizing (Kettunen, 2003: 32).

Expressed in Habermasian terms, the question is about how the society's trade-bureaucratic subsystems break into the life world of local community, paralyzing or displacing comprehension-oriented areas of activity where maintaining it would have been necessary (Kangas, 1989: 82; Habermas, 1981: II 215, 470-471). (Kettunen, 2003: 33) This core idea of Habermas will become central in the later analysis of the interviewed reindeer herders (see Figure 6).

The traditional religion and world view of the Sámi have always been, both in terms of knowledge and emotion, based on the relationship between humans and nature. The Sámi have traditionally had a different notion of nature than, for example, urban people. Nature is not only a source of income or something interesting to look at. It is a physical and spiritual entity, and humans are a natural part of it. For the Sámi, *luondu* or *nature* represents a home, a way of life, the source of ethno-history and the future (Porsanger, 2003: 151).

The use of nature is still based on values that are characteristic of the people living in the extreme north. Traditionally, their aim has not been to make the most efficient use of the natural resources but to use them rationally, as survival depends on the renewal of the riches of nature. The values and norms regarding nature that the Sámi learn already as children are especially crucial today (Porsanger, 2003: 151). Porsanger's words sound nice but really have a meaning that people of the north understand better. To live from the land in 2016 in winter, for those raised in city surroundings, would be devastating without the traditional set of skills, combined with contemporary technology, of course; when the life is so different in two ends of one country like Finland. In May, in the south farmers are growing potatoes and daffodils are blooming; at the same time in the north reindeer herders are waiting for the snow to melt while herding reindeers in winter weather.

Lifeworld (*lebenswelt*) is a concept that has been developed within the phenomenological philosophy; it means narrowly speaking, the cultural knowledge. However, Habermas has extended this concept so that, in his terminology, *lifeworld* is built linguistically, the reality between the human operators, which is produced through seeking agreements through an exchange of ideas, i.e., of communicative action. In addition to culture, parts or components of the lifeworld defined by Habermas are society and peoples' personality operating in their lifeworlds (Kangas, 1989: 50-52; Habermas, 1981: II, 189-205, 209; Kettunen, 2003: 33).

“Speaking about the internal colonization, Habermas says that the modern way of life is associated with the loss of freedom and meaningfulness, which is due to the imbalance of two different social integration bases. The pre-modern and modern cannot live side by side, but the former must give way to the latter. This is due to the fact that the modern creates expert cultures, but the information is not channeled to everyday life. This is how the lifeworld loses its connection to an important cultural resource, updated knowledge and losses in competition - making it weaker. According to Habermas, the fragmentation of people's everyday consciousness can lead to a situation where competition between system and lifeworld will continue latent; in other words, the conflict does not burst open and large-scale, but exists.” (Kangas, 1989: 86-90; Habermas, 1981: I, 322-345; Habermas, 1981: II, 447-489, 518-522; Weber, 1968: 603; Weber, 1980: 134; Kettunen, 2003: 37).

Kettunen (2003: 38) talks about communicative action theory, which helps one to understand why small communities are dependent on a nature economy, such as through sharing cultural knowledge, coordinating actions, and shaping identity, and why these communities become threatened when society favours the large-scale use of natural resources. An economic model, where no resources are spared and where multinational actors buy or possess vast land and /or water areas and change those to gain profit, for the locals dependent on the same area means a narrowed economical basis. Local people who have learned to use renewable natural resources without damaging the reproduction of the nature realize now that their way of life is marginal in the society and is not respected or valued anywhere else except in fine speeches. Here starts the crumbling of culture and identity.

The definition of *traditional knowledge* is vital to clarify its importance when discussing predator politics in reindeer herding areas (working definition by TEEB):

“A systematic way of thinking and knowing that is elaborated and applied to phenomena across biological, physical, cultural and linguistic systems. Traditional knowledge is owned by the holders of that knowledge, often collectively, and is uniquely expressed and transmitted through indigenous languages. It is a body of knowledge generated through cultural practices, lived experiences including extensive and multigenerational observations, lessons and skills. It has been developed and verified over millennia and is still developing in a living process, including knowledge acquired today and in the future, and it is passed on from generation to generation” (Arctic Council Permanent Participants, 2015).

As will later come forth in the media analysis: “Each society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true” (Foucault, 1980: 131). These aspects will be discussed later in more detail, in connection with theories about professional journalism and public sphere and the implications for reindeer herders’ appearance in mass media in North Finland.

This thesis is also about challenging Western research. Murkherji (2004) challenges all researchers to debate whether the social science methodologies that originated in the West and are indigenous to the West are necessarily universal for the rest of the world (Chilisa, 2016a). Chilisa, Kovachs, and Kuokkanen talk about indigenous methodologies. Chilisa talks about a fifth paradigm and that we are captive to four research paradigms as positivist/postpositivist paradigms.

“From where you are standing, how you see, what you write. If you climb on a high mountain, you see more, but a low mountain, you see less. What about if these mountains do not give enough view to write about?” (Chilisa, 2016a)

One of the most important aspects of this thesis is to try to have a positive impact on the quality of our communities. Me as a Sámi and the interviewees as Sámi will bring to the fore a worldview that is based on a Sámi way of thinking. As of what does that mean, it is about relational ontology, relational epistemology, relational axiology and cosmology; best explained by Chilisa (2016b) from Botswana, Africa – this ideology fits to Sápmi amazingly well.

Socially constructed realities are shaped by the set of multiple connections that human beings have with the environment, the cosmos, the living, and the nonliving. There is an emphasis on an I/We relationship as opposed to the Western I/You relationship with its emphasis on the individual. Among the Bantu people of Southern Africa, this principle is captured under the philosophy of Ubuntu (I am because we are) (Chilisa, 2016a).

Structure and method of the empirical research

For my thesis, I have gathered eight interviews: three with Sámi reindeer herders, two with authorities, and three with journalists. Interviews were semi-constructed theme interviews. Interviews with reindeer herders were made in July 2016. I interviewed the officials in August 2016 and the journalists in November 2016 and January and March 2017. The reindeer herders are from northwest Finland, the Giehtaruohtas or Käsivarsi co-operative. The area was chosen because of the highest rate of killed reindeer by predators. In choosing the informants, I wanted to speak with reindeer herders who were recommended to me by the people in the reindeer community and were known as good speakers, while not being official representatives of the area. Following from the recommendations I received, only men have been included. None of them are mentioned in the news articles I studied. In reindeer herding, the gender gap is visible, as there are only few women working as full-time herders.

Three interviews with reindeer herders and one interview with a Sámi journalist were made in Sámi language. The other interviews, with the officials and with two non-Sámi journalists were done in Finnish. I have transcribed and translated the interviews into English. The duration of the interviews varied from 45 to 80 minutes. To protect the reindeer herders' anonymity, I will refer to them as Inf. 1 – Inf. 3.

The official side of predator politics were represented by Jussi Laanikari from the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, who is the media liaison for the ministry in predator politics and works as a senior inspector. The other official interviewed is senior inspector Tuomo Ollila, who does all the official counting of eagle nesting, coordinates counting of wolverine tracks, and has been working for the Finnish Forestry service over 25 years. They were chosen because of their assumed knowledge and work experience and also because they have been interviewed by the media many times before.

Interviews with journalists were first thought to be done with those who have made most of the news during the time period of August 2015 to June 2016, or those who have most work experience at their newsrooms. In the selection of persons to interview, some practical adjustments had to be made. For *Lapin Kansa*, I interviewed the editor in chief, Antti Kokkonen, who is also a member of the Finnish Council for Mass Media. I first tried to get someone from the news desk, but their answer was to interview Kokkonen. For *Yle Rovaniemi*, I interviewed Perttu Ruokangas, who has worked as a journalist over 13 years and worked in all platforms in the newsroom. I chose him because of the many articles he had written about predator issues and because of his work experience. In *Yle Sápmi*, I interviewed the responsible editor in chief, Maria Saijets, who is also the corresponding editor in chief for the publications in Sámi languages. I first wanted to interview someone who has worked for a long time at the news desk but finally ended up with Saijets who was not working during the time of research articles. Through my sample of interviewees, I was not looking for representativeness in terms of numbers. Rather these were expert interviews gathered on the basis of the person's merits and expertise on this particular issue.

3. Sámi and the immemorial rights to land ownership

In this section, I discuss the right to landownership and, through that, what has been the “development” of reindeer herding and the consequences of that development from the reindeer herders' perspectives. As Sámi traditional rights are not bound to any particular modern state, I will start here by discussing the issue through Sámi history in the Anár–Inari region. I will then look at the jurisdictional part, as it has been studied in the parts of Sápmi, which later became Swedish, with further examples from Finland and Norway. This will then be applied to the Giehtaruohtas area where the reindeer herders that I interviewed still have working Siida systems.

The basic system of reindeer husbandry in the Sámi area is the siida, which consists of a Sámi reindeer village comprising several families or one family who work together on a daily basis. A siida can vary and function in different ways according to the area and type of reindeer herding involved. It is defined as a unified system composed of economically independent households. A siidas's success in herding depends on its degree of consensus and the members' ability to act and exchange information in accordance with the knowledge and

insight gained by regular participation in the daily life of the system (Oskal, 1995; Joks, 2000; Sara, 2001).

The Sámi have never had an official state. A long time ago, the Sámi social system evolved into the Siida, the village community, which took care of maintenance of its residents, “free service,” such as what state and local government do today. The leader was the elder of the village, like in the former Finnish village community leader, Oltermanni. He was elected at a village meeting, together with a number of trustees, with whom he designed the village functions (Lehtola, 1996: 59). Siidas were miniature societies that harboured all the necessary functions. Land ownership was village-specific, and borders were marked carefully. Siida shareholders owned the land and the water, which were divided into each family and the nuclear family. This was the other exclusive right, which could be sold or otherwise transferred. However, it required the adoption of a village meeting. An outsider was able to get to the village community, as long as the village adopted him as a resident, as the documents show from the settlement period (Lehtola, 1996: 59).

The hunting grounds and waters for beaver and deer were common for the village community. No one was to go there alone, to hunt for his/her own account. Also, the use of justice was controlled by the Siida, in district courts (Kotakäräjät). Ordinary disputes were solved in district courts, but the more serious crimes, as well as complaints from the district court convictions, were subjected to national courts (when they were), in Sweden to Lagman court and the king (Ibid: 59).

The actual conquest and scattering of Lapland between the various states began in the sixteenth century. At that time, an effort was made to integrate the territories of each of the regions into a fixed part of the kingdom. Initially, it was the creation of permanent tax areas; the next step was to demonstrate power by building churches. This development happened in the name of civilization and improving conditions ... this northern region was not part of any state (Ibid: 76).

Doctor of law and researcher Nils-Johan Päiviö in his thesis poses the questions: What is it that drives the development of the law?

“Is it the factors of production that rule in a society at a given time-point that result in property relations and legal conceptions suited to these? From an internal Sámi perspective,

this could be part of the explanation as to why the development went from a system with a strong right to individual Sámi taxable land, to a collective usage of the entire area of the Lapp village. It is from this standpoint that the economic development or the factors of production have been the driving forces for the legal development. If one takes as the starting point that the Sámi were rational, thinking people who had the capacity to adapt to changed circumstances in society, in many and in new economic realities, then the development can appear natural” (Päiviö, 2011: 261).

The people of Anár–Inari hunted all kind of fur animals, especially squirrels, martens, otters, and ermines. Squirrels were abundant until the end of the 1580s, when they disappeared for about 10 years because of the tax evasion (in older times squirrels were referred as money, and were used to pay taxes.) Also large carnivores like bears and wolves and wolverines, the killer of reindeer and the deer, were bravely hunted. Lynx was one of the most valuable fur animals, as well as fox, especially black, blue, and cross fox. Foxes were separated by up to seven different colors. Each animal required its own way of hunting. For hunting it was mainly through a bow and a variety of traps, but guns also began to appear already in the early seventeenth century. All description depicting Sámi praised them as skillful foresters and shooters (Lehtola, 2003: 126).

The old Sámi economy and taxation were built, in the first place, on the lucrative hunting of furred animals. Because there was a great demand for animal fur internationally, the crown had an interest in collecting tax in the form of pelt tax; in addition, an extensive trade with these occurred. The hunting of furred animals therefore had economically important significance and was the most important source of income – which, in fact, the taxation was built on. The system gave the possessor a protection that prevented others from being able to use the land. In this way, it secured the possessor’s prospects of paying tax and supporting himself (Päiviö, 2011: 261-262.)

According to Lehtola (2003: 127), inevitably the most important merchandise for the people of Inari was different kinds of fur, but trade was also done with dried pikes and handicrafts. Swedish tax doubled in Inari since 1695. Still, also the King of Denmark and the Tsar of Russia collected their share of the wealth of Lapp village residents. In connection with the tax reform of 1695, the villages wanted tighter ties with the Swedish kingdom (Lehtola, 2003: 142).

“When the pelt tax subsequently lost its economic significance during the 1600s, the Sámi society ended up in a deep maintenance crisis since the tax remained at an unrealistically high level. As a result of the economic changes that occurred, this tax began to have harmful consequences for the Sámi society. As a result of these circumstances, the tax-paying Sámi experienced great problems paying their taxes. The consequence was an increasing number of skattevrak (if a landowner had not paid taxes for three consecutive years, the crown could replace him with another person) and, with that, the crown also failed to secure the tax revenue. In order to compensate for the high taxes, wild reindeer came to be placed under a large hunting pressure, which in time led to their eradication. Because the wild reindeer were not protected except when they were on taxable land, they were put under great pressure all the time, even when they came down to the forest regions where they were hunted by the settlers” (Päiviö, 2011: 262).

Reindeer herding developed slowly in time into a dominant livelihood, as Päiviö (2011: 262) explains: Reindeer herding was favoured by this development due to the fact that increasing areas were liberated and opened the way for an expansion of the number of tame reindeer – which was not at all liable for taxation in relation to this. Large reindeer owners, with perhaps 1000 reindeer, paid no more tax than other owner–possessors of taxable land with a few reindeer.

“As a result of these disparities, the taxation of the Sámi was reformed such that a collective tax was established for the entire Lapp village comprising the Sámi taxable lands, and the number of reindeer became an important parameter for the determination of the tax. Thus, it is evident already at this time that factors in the surrounding world have an impact on the organization of the Sámi society and the exercise of Sámi livelihoods. As a consequence of these circumstances, the reindeer industry becomes the most economically important of the Sámi industries” (Päiviö, 2011: 262).

At the same time, the crown, to an increasing extent, turns to a requirement for proprietary rights for those lands that the Sámi have at their disposal, and the Sámi land is colonized by immigrating settlers. It is in the crown’s interest that this part of the country is under cultivation and that the agriculture and other industries are developed. The fact that the Sámi in the north no longer claim the Sámi taxable lands makes it easier for the crown to realize its intentions. The interests of the Sámi and the crown coincide, but it results in disastrous consequences for the legal position of the Sámi (Päiviö, 2011: 264).

Although there are no documents left in the district court files that would prove Sámi rights, a court system did once exist. In Anár–Inari region in Finland, obligations of the crown and crowns were handled regularly in the gatherings of the district court and the markets.

According to Lehtola (2003), there are no references in the sources to their own home regime, and it would be tempting to say that it was no longer in operation at the end of the seventeenth century. Legal issues could be handled by the district court. A variety of issues were brought to justice, and, by the end of the eighteenth century, the district system became an exclusive and well-established legal body in Inari Lapinkylä. Nor was the court in any way a shaky system, as has sometimes been found in investigations, but a well-established institution (Lehtola, 2003: 158).

There is still proof of Sámi courts (*Kotakäräjät*) from the nineteenth century, in parish priest Jacob Fellman's writings from 1823, when he visited in Anár–Inari at Christmas, the Sámi court was gathered that time. He had been the chairman of the court. In the Sámi court, disputes between Inari Sámi and settlers were settled. The settlers had devoted themselves to old Samaritans (*fordna buffers*). According to Fellman, the ancient rights of the Sámi had to be respected (Lehtola, 2003: 193)

The Eastern Sámi or Skolt Sámi community on the border of Norway and Finland have had their own court system, the so-called *Kotakäräjät*, Sámi court. Findings presented by Korpijaakko (1999: 82) clearly indicate that the Sámi court system had administered justice among the Sámi totally apart from the official Swedish system. The model for this Sámi court was indeed found in the beginning of the twentieth century. Among the Skolt Sámi, this court had jurisdiction over all possible court cases in the village, and it was naturally based on Sámi customary law, which is called *Norraz*, *Sobbar*. The legal documents for Skolt Sámi are on paper, on *Gramota*,¹¹ which is kept in the Sámi archives in Anár–Inari.

As Päiviö's research reaches the present time, he concludes that owning land is no longer important amongst the Sámi. It is, rather, more important to own the herd to have access to the land. As a factor of production, the land has no longer any value, while the herd has become an increasingly important resource. Ownership of the herd was considerably more important because it was the basis for prosperity. These two lines of development came to, in

¹¹ The documents are official edicts issued by the Russian emperor and the imperial government (*gramota*), which confirmed the rights of the Skolt Sámi community to their fishing and reindeer herding territories. The oldest preserved document dates from 1601 and the latest from 1775.

part, coincide, and it became easier for the crown to assert ownership to the land because this no longer was prioritized amongst the Sámi themselves (Päiviö, 2011: 265). Päiviö says that this situation prevailed in the north and that, for the Sámi, it was more important that the right of the resource of reindeer herding was protected because this was a prerequisite for the economy in the exercise of their livelihood.

The Sámi understanding of law had, as a consequence of this, changed, and the legal conceptions that were used were adapted to reindeer herding. This new reindeer-herding based land use, which also meant that the Sámi to a greater extent had become nomads, was entirely foreign to Swedish law, and, with the implementation of legislation during the 1800s, no consideration was given to prior circumstances (Päiviö, 2011: 265).

“This leads to right being changed to a right of usufruct.¹² As far as the family is concerned, this amounts to a considerable weakening of their right in spite of the fact that there is an economic, cultural and relational continuity, and that they have used the same lands uninterrupted up until today” (Päiviö, 2011: 265).

The legal systems of formal law and traditional law thus parted farther from each other, leaving the fundamental base for traditional livelihoods unprotected in the formal legal system.

Sámi fighting for their rights against Swedish state

Sámi have been in the forefront in working for indigenous rights, represented mainly by the Sámiráđđi or Sámi council.¹³ Mattias Åhren as a lawyer has been in the working group to finalize the UNDRIP.¹⁴ Åhren said in an interview (Nuorat, 2016) that Sámi people are in the middle of a paradigm shift; Sámi people living in four countries have not been recognized as people until recently:

¹² The legal right to use and derive profit or benefit from property that belongs to another person, as long as the property is not damaged.

¹³ The Sámi Council was established in 1956 as the first official pan-sámi NGO organization that has represented Sámi before the Sámi parliaments were in place. The role of the Sámi Council is known in UN, where Sámi have been very active.

¹⁴ United Nations Declaration of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) was adopted by the General Assembly on Thursday, 13 September 2007.

“Just look at the Girjas court case, it would have been seen differently just ten years ago. In this and Nordmalingsdomen can be seen understanding for Indigenous rights from an international perspective. The Härjedalen case in the 1990s is missing that.”

Thus, what is so special about the Girjás case then? Girjás is one of 51 čearru or Sámi villages in Sweden.¹⁵ The Sámi village is an area where Sámi reindeer herders live and herd their reindeer. In Sweden, the right to herd and own reindeer is only for the Sámi; unlike in Finland, where it is open for everybody.

The Girjás Sámi Village has been demanding the right to control the hunting and fishing in their area since it lost the control in 1993 to the Swedish government. One problem that politician and researcher Lars-Anders Baer (2002: 45) casts light on is that Swedish citizens have the right to unrestricted small-game hunting and fishing in Sami areas. These rights were earlier an intrinsic part of reindeer herding rights. The new law became a fact the same year that Sweden ratified the Convention on Biological Diversity (Lasko, 2003) and established the Sami Parliament. After Sweden in 1993 abolished the traditional Sami hunting rights in Sami mountain regions, there have been many conflicts between the state and the Sami and between local authorities and Sami (Helander-Renvall, 2005: 20).

The Girjás Sámi Village made an appeal in 2009 of these rights belonging to the Sámi Village. Finally on 3 February 2016, Girjás won against the Swedish state in Gällivare District Court. This marked an historical event for Sámi rights, as they were recognized as being older than those of the Swedish state. The Swedish state has filed a complaint about this issue to a higher court.

Åhren (2016: 232) talks about paradigm shifts:

“How an international legal system that for three and a half centuries was completely inhospitable towards the notion of both sovereign and private rights of indigenous peoples and communities has recently undergone two, to some extent interrelated, paradigm shifts of paramount importance to the indigenous rights discourse.”

The first big shift is the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

¹⁵A čearru is a certain area where herders can have their animals. A membership in a čearru gives the right to be a herder and to have their own animals.

“The states that took form in Europe following the peace of Westphalia in 1648 sent vessels to explore other continents. This brought Europe into increased contact with peoples there, including indigenous peoples. To ‘legally justify’ the taking of indigenous peoples’ territories and natural resources, European legal scholars developed certain doctrines, doctrines that have continued exercise influence over international law for centuries” (Åhren, 2016: 7).

The second paradigm shift Åhren refers to is the late 1970s and early 1980s, when the UN took tentative first steps toward addressing the particular situation of indigenous peoples in earnest.

“The indigenous rights discourse that subsequently gradually emerged increasingly challenged the conventional understanding of peoples, and eventually successfully so. This resulted in indigenous peoples emerging as international legal subjects. They became recognized as ‘peoples’ with rights as such. This means, among other things, that indigenous peoples today are beneficiaries of the most prominent of peoples’ rights – the right to self-determination Åhren” (2016: 232).

Åhren sees that these paradigm shifts must fundamentally change our understanding of what are indigenous rights under international law.

Sámi lawyer, John B. Henriksen (Lecture, 2015), is critical about the lack of knowledge among Sámi journalists, that there are not enough specialists – those who can question how property rights and cultural rights are handled and question how the legal instruments are followed in decisions made by the states.

Sámi fighting for their rights against Norwegian state

In Norway, the ILO Convention 169 was adopted in 1990, a year after the establishment of the Sámi Parliament. Still it took 15 years to establish the Finmárku Opmodat or the Finnmark Estate Agency¹⁶ (FEFO), which was established in 2005 to guarantee the rights to the local people, both Sámi and Norwegian. This agency was established not just to guarantee Sámi rights – but for all “local” people. Its principal activities are land-use management on behalf of the residents of Finnmark. Later years have shown that one purpose of FEFO is to sell

¹⁶ <http://www.fefo.no/en/Sider/Hunting.aspx>

hunting licenses to people who come from outside the area. For example, moose hunting is restricted only to the locals in the area.¹⁷

As Päiviö explains:

“Another aspect of the development is, quite simply, that an older customary-law based legal system in an older society, where customs have been of great importance, is replaced by a new society with completely new power structures and a new, more modern, legal system which means that the laws to an ever increasing extent are made centrally. Customs and the local legal rights lose their significance with the consequence that a shifting of power occurs from a local level to a central level. In this process, the Sámi fall short due to a lack of potential influence since they are so few in number. In a developing parliamentary system where the minorities have no constitutional protection, they were destined to lose” (Päiviö, 2011: 266).

The latest battle is still going on, where a young Sámi reindeer herder Jovsset Ánte Sara was threatened by the Norwegian Ministry of Agriculture and Food to reduce his flock from 150 to 75 reindeer. The same year, in 2014, NRK Sápmi revealed the names of the reindeer owners and the number of reindeer.¹⁸ This had been protected before by the privacy policy. But NRK Sápmi revealed the numbers in December 2014. In Sweden and Finland, only the cooperative total numbers are open, but detailed information is classified. The reason for this action was the decision made by the Norwegian government in 2013 to put pressure to reduce flocks that had grown over the limits. Jovsset Ánte Sara has been in court against the Norwegian state and has won twice¹⁹ and will be challenged by the state at the highest court in the near future.

These examples show how Sámi issues are dealt with in the national judicial system. As many of the cases are still not finally closed, it is difficult to determine how indigenous traditional rights are reflected in the decisions of the courts. A telling example, however, is the decision

¹⁷ FEFO: In northernmost Norway, the right to own and manage the land in Finnmark was transferred from the state to the the Finnmark Estate (FeFo) in 2005. The land tenure arrangement was a result of land claims made by the indigenous Sami people of Norway. The resources and the land that was previously managed to the best for all Norwegian citizens by the state is now managed to the best for the inhabitants of Finnmark.

¹⁸ <https://www.nrk.no/sapmi/her-er-reintallene-1.12050012>

¹⁹ In Tingrett 18.3.2016 and Lagmannsrett 17.3.2017.

by the Finnish Supreme Administrative Court to take away the right from the Sámi Parliament to determine who is Sámi and who is not (KHO:2015:147).²⁰

4. Árvaleapmi as a traditional decision-making tool

The dictionary²¹ determines “deliberative democracy” as the aim for elected officials and the general public to use deliberation rather than power struggle as the basis for their participation in the democratic process.

In Sápmi, people have an older tradition called “árvaleapmi.” It has been used for ages among the Sámi in decision-making. Usually an elder opens the discussion, and if there were, for example, reindeer herders discussing where to move the flock, everybody has a say. In árvaleapmi, one weighs different options carefully and then ends up choosing the one that is the best at the moment, for those who are making the decision, along with the information from traditional knowledge included in the discussion. Thus, the English word “deliberation” is close to the Sámi word “árvaleapmi.” Aimo Aikio has written a book about Sámi basic principals.

“The Sámi people have all kinds of strategies to control their lives and well-being. According to them lifeworld, lifestyle and the flow of persons life affects to well-being. Values for well-being are good life and survival strategies” (Aikio, 2010: 11-13).

The roots of deliberative democracy can be traced back to Aristotle and his notion of politics.²² To me it came as a surprise that these theories are taken as owned theories in the Western world by people like Bessette and Jurgen Habermas.

“Central to Habermas’s early work on ‘deliberative democracy’ is a commitment to consensus decisions, which would be based on free and equal deliberation between participants, a communication that was based on the giving of reasons that all could accept, an open-minded

²⁰ All together, 93 overruling decisions were made by the Finnish Supreme Administrative Court against the Sámi Parliament’s decisions in 2015.

²¹Wikipedia

²² “Rhetoric” or “Ars Rhetorica”

approach by those involved, and a willingness by participants to be swayed only by the force of the better argument as they strove to achieve the public interest. This was best reflected in Habermas's ideal speech situation. Here, communication is undistorted, as all participants are free and equal, with no power discrepancies, and unconstrained from subjection, self-delusion and strategic activity. All views are aired in an unlimited discourse, creating open participation aimed at rational consensus where the "unforced force of the better argument" is decisive" (Habermas, 1990: 56-8; see also Elstub & Mclaverty, 2014: 4)

Linda Tuhiwai Smith has formulated a strong critique against the neglect of traditional knowledge in the regard as she writes:

"It appalls us that the West can desire, extract, and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas, and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture ... (and) deny them the validity of their own knowledge ... " (Smith, 1999: 1; Odora Hoppers, 2002: 6).

Thus, the first generation of deliberate democracy as formulated by Habermas builds exactly on the same principle as the decision-making done in Sámi reindeer herding, where the stand point is that every individual is equal and has a say about the issue until a consensus is reached.

The second generation of deliberative democracy, per Bohman:

"For Bohman, in particular, a realistic conception of deliberative democracy must acknowledge cultural pluralism and its challenge to common goods and unitary public reason; social inequalities would mean the exclusion of permanent minorities from public deliberation; that large scale public organizations are inevitable; and finally, owing to community bias, there is a restriction on the problems that will be acknowledged and solutions that are considered feasible" (Baber & Bartlett, 2005: 107; Elstub & Mclaverty, 2014: 5).

From a reindeer herders' point of view, deliberative democracy is traditionally used in their work. However, the old tradition is disappearing in some places, whereas this leader role-based decision-making has appeared more often over the last few years in the Sállevárri–Sallivaara Co-operative based on my own notions. On a bigger scale, talking about all

reindeer herders in Finland, when they discuss predators, they use the same way of speaking with the authorities, but the authority system is not based on the same idea. It is based on laws and hierarchy; that a higher rank gives one more power and legitimacy to speak, which does not include deliberative democracy as a default paradigm. From the reindeer herders' point of view, traditional knowledge is simply a form of "data" to be incorporated into existing management bureaucracies, to be acted upon by scientists and resource managers (for further development of this view, see Paul Nadasdy's reflections on the situation with First Nations in Canada [Nadasdy, 2003: 25]).

But the closest that comes to *árvaleapmi* is Ubuntu. In the Ubuntu context, to exist is to respect others and oneself. Ubuntu embraces the importance of agreement and consensus (Louw, 2001; Chilisa, 2012: 186).

In African traditional culture, when issues are discussed at the Kgotla (community gathering space), there may be a hierarchy of importance among speakers, but every person gets an equal chance to speak up until some kind of agreement, consensus, or group cohesion is reached. The role of the people in consensus building is etched in the language that guides the discussion (Chilisa, 2012: 187).

There is new research on wolverines made in Norway and in Sweden by Mattisson et al. (2016), where wolverines were monitored by GPS radio collars to get results on their behavior on hunting and scavenging. As the wolverine has been rarely studied, this kind of study feels necessary. However, this study, like many others, is made by majority researchers, and the officials that are not part of reindeer herding – nor do they have traditional knowledge or experience of everyday life in nature with reindeer. This study confirms that wolverines kill one or two reindeer in a month and sometimes 15 reindeer in a month (Mattisson et al., 2016: 7), information that has been known for centuries by reindeer herders.

One of the most known persons known in Sápmi is reindeer herder and hunter Johan Turi (1854–1936). He is one of the only sources for us Sámi to site about our life.²³ Turi was a

²³ Maitalus Sámiid birra (2010, originally published 1910)

known hunter who wrote all the tricks and tips in his book on how to find nests and cubs and the best ways to hunt or trap the predators. Turi describes killing a wolf:

“Don leat mu herggiid borran ja áldduid, ja bora han velá, garruduvvon siepman, duos don vel njeaccut, muhto it don leatge šat, garruduvvon siepman, eambbo mu áldduid ja herggiid borrame! Mannan ija don leat mu buoremus vuojána gáikkodan, b(iro), b(eargalat), s(áhtána), h(elveha), galjes gorka, guhkes bátni! Muhto it don leatge šat mu ealu širadidahttime, garruduvvon siepman! Jos it don leat visot goddán mu bohccuid ieš, muhto du garruduvvon sogat goit lea dahkan!”

[“You have eaten my bucks and females, and take another bite, cursed seed, here you still are, but no more, you cursed seed, will not eat more my females and bucks! Last night you have torn my best driving reindeer, b(iro), b(eargalat), s(áhtána), h(elveha), galjes gorka, guhkes bátni! No longer will you eat from my flock, cursed seed! If you have not killed all of the reindeers yourself, but your cursed kind did it!”] (Johan Turi, 2010: 96).

As Turi (2010: 96) describes the ritual before taking the life of a wolf, he claims that hunters who kill more predators won't curse or blame the wolf. He knows that the wolf does its job. It cannot kill more than it is allowed, like the waves in the sea have a limit on how high they can rise.

So why did Turi want to write his book?

“I have thought that it would be better if there was a book that tells about the Sámi life and situation, so that there would not be a need to always ask about the Sámi way of life and the facts won't get twisted, especially those who lie about the Sámi ja turn Sámi people guilty, when there are conflicts between the house people and the Sámi in Norway and Sweden” (Turi, 2010: 11).

The current situation is totally different compared with 100 years ago, when traditional ways are prohibited, and laws restrict actions derived from traditional livelihoods. Reindeer herders cannot act immediately if reindeers are killed by predators. There are legal procedures to be followed, which are made by somebody else than the communities' closest.

“As a result, Aboriginal peoples are forced to express themselves in ways that conform to the institutions and practices of state management rather than to their own beliefs, values and

practices ... And, since it is scientists and resource managers, rather than Aboriginal hunters and trappers, who are expected to use this new integrated knowledge, the project of knowledge integration actually serves to concentrate power in administrative centres rather than in the hands of Aboriginal peoples” (Nadasdy, 2003: 25).

A.P.: Now that these predator killings are rising, there has come another problem. Like in Finnish side (of Sápmi), it is almost 8 million Euro that the Finnish state should pay compensation for the killed reindeer, but the state can afford only half of the sum. It means that reindeer herders have to wait for compensation.

Inf. 2: Well, that is also a problem. They know themselves that there are predators. The Finnish state knows predators are there and they protect those. And still they don't give that (compensation money). It is like getting this compensation money for predation, it's like protection money for the predators. It is so wrong to wait for that money to come every year. I am not sure if, for example, these state people who work in Helsinki: Would they do their job with 50% salary, not knowing when the other half is paid. So would they do it? I doubt it. It is very strange that we suffer from their protection of the predators now, and we are not allowed to control the amount the predators. And if you are caught (illegal hunting), it is almost a bigger crime than killing a person. But still they are not ready to pay compensation money. So this is for me very peculiar: Why has it gone like this these last years? There has to come some sort of better solution to that, too. Is it then that we get to cut down the numbers of predators a little, or what is it going to be? Are they going to raise the compensation, or what? That is what they have to decide.

According to the informant, the Finnish government has created a big conflict for the reindeer herders. The biggest predation and compensation money in total are in the Giehtaruohtas area, where all of the informants live and herd their reindeer.

A more detailed analysis about the interviews with reindeer herders will follow in Chapter 7.1.

4.1. Hunting rights in Finland

For people who do not live in the Sámi homeland but want to hunt there, the Finnish State Forestry (FSF) sells hunting licenses, too, except to the protected areas. In protected areas like

national parks, hunting is only allowed for the local people. For local people, it means that a person's permanent home address needs to be in the same municipality as the national park.

If licenses are not enough for everybody, those are offered primarily to the citizens, who do not otherwise have reasonable possibilities for hunting (Hunting Law 45§ & 46§). These possibilities are to be shared in a manner that notes the rights to practice Sámi culture (law of Sámi Parliament, law of Metsähallitus 4§), and it is noted by the Hunting Act 8§ that every person in the municipality has free hunting right on state land.²⁴ Before granting the yearly areal quotas for hunting, the Finnish Wildlife Agency and local wildlife agencies need to be heard.

Basically, this means there is no difference in the rights between the Sámi nor the other people living permanently in the municipalities in Sámi homeland.

Special mentions about the Sámi in Finnish hunting law

“Hunting, especially trapping of ptarmigan, is also a part of Sámi traditional culture. The decision yearly made by FSF is to make quota for the hunting, so it is ecologically and socially sustainable and rights mentioned will be secured. Sámi Reindeer herding is taken into account during the planning of licenses for hunting and guiding. The quotas are made every third year and changed if necessary. In this decision making the Sámi parliament must be heard” (Law of Sámi Parliament §9).

The Finnish State Forestry is required by the end of the hunting season to organize a yearly meeting with the Sámi Parliament, where the hunting results of the Sámi homeland are discussed along with those issues that Sámi parliament sees as important when planning a yearly hunt. Otherwise, the Finnish State Forestry organizes yearly areal negotiations for hunting. For example, organizations invited are the Sámi Parliament, game-keeping associations, reindeer co-operatives, and other important representatives (MH, 1740/2016).

According to FSF, reindeer herding is an essential part of Sámi culture and is to be taken into consideration when planning licenses to hunt and also is one of the core values when social sustainability is evaluated. Preparatory meetings for the quota decision take into consideration the problems of reindeer herding and license hunting. This is to be taken to account when

²⁴ MH 1740/2016

guiding licensed hunters, where reindeer herding co-operatives also participate. Further, the aim is to take into account the issues from the Sámi Parliament, when planning the practicalities of hunting (MH, 1740/2016).

The government and the Sámi people in Finland have long been operating on the assumption that wilderness areas, national parks, and the co-management of wildlife and other resources will resolve centuries-long inequities. I challenge this premise, arguing that co-management and land use processes, based as they are on European concepts of “knowledge” and “property,” are in many ways incompatible with Sámi beliefs and practices regarding human-animal-land relations (more about this in Section 7.1.5).

In accordance with views expressed by Glen Coulthard, writing about the First Nation peoples' in Canada, to participate effectively in these processes, Sámi people have had to (HAVE TO) develop bureaucracies that parallel those of the federal government with which they must deal. These bureaucracies reproduce existing power relations and compel Sámi people to speak and act in uncharacteristic ways. As a result, I argue that land control and co-management may be helping to undermine the very life Sámi is trying to protect.²⁵

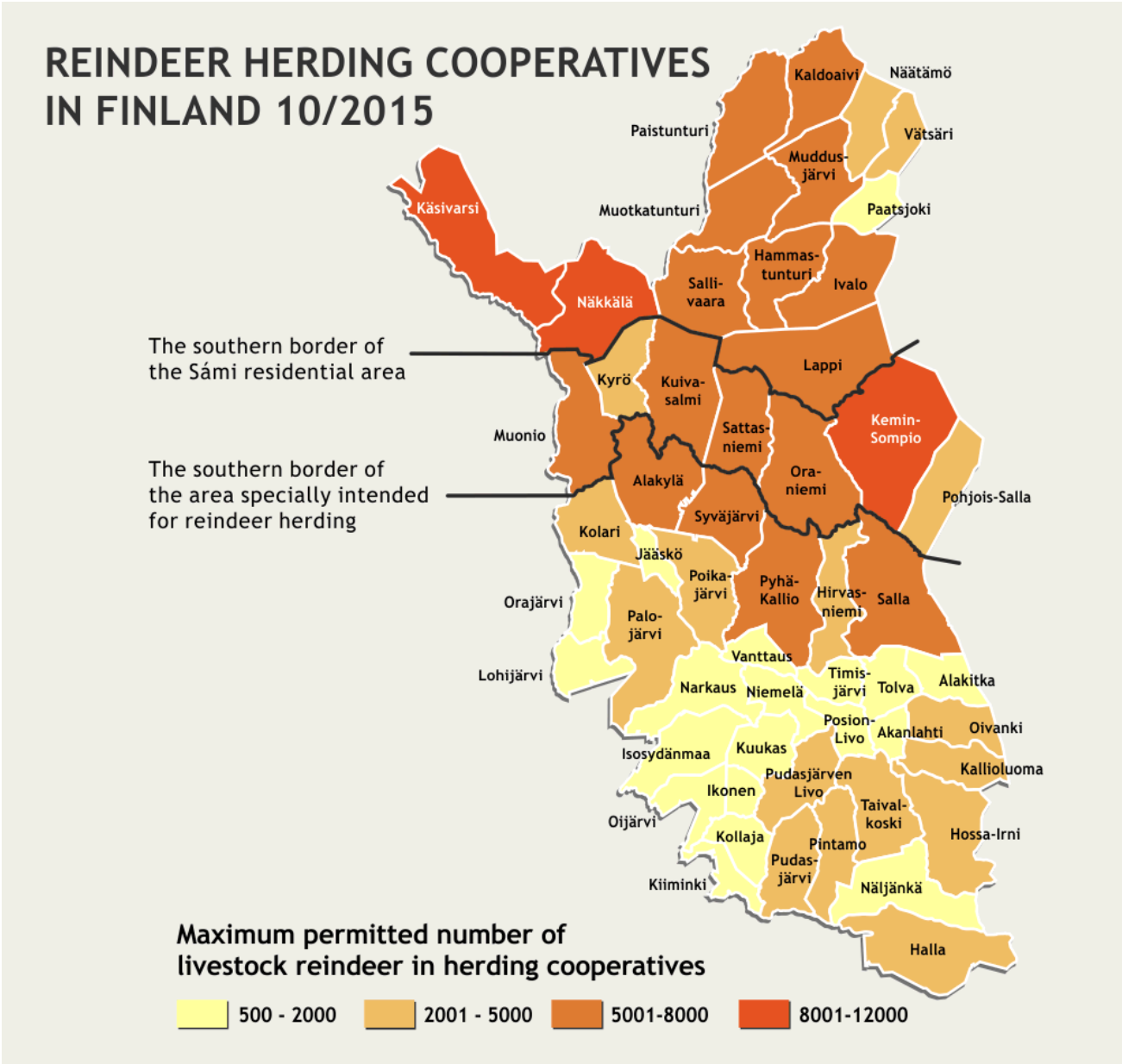


FIGURE 6. Most of the reindeer are situated in Sámi residential area, which is also the area especially intended for reindeer herding. Over half of the reindeer herding co-operatives are on the south side of the specially intended reindeer herding area. Source: Paliskunnat.fi

²⁵ Originally in G. S. Coulthard: Red Skin, white masks, 2014.

4.2. Reindeer herding in Finland

The difference in Finland with other Sámi countries is that everybody can basically own reindeer, not just Sámi people. The easiest way is to get married to a reindeer herder.

Alternatively, one needs to be accepted to a co-operative and apply for or buy a reindeer mark.²⁶ In Sweden, there is a cultivation border (odlingsgränsen)²⁷; the same kind of border is also in Finland (see Figure 6). It does not limit reindeer herding in any way but protects the land from other land use, which would cause considerable harm for reindeer herding. To hand over or rent land in this area can happen only if the owner cannot receive any compensation for the damages caused by reindeers.²⁸ In the Sámi residential area, the need for fencing reindeers to prevent damages is milder than outside the Sámi residential area.

The role of the reindeer herders' organization Paliskuntain yhdistys (from now on marked as PY) is significant because it is the official representative (official press contact for the media), but there is a conflict between the Sámi reindeer herders and PY. My informants are not satisfied with the work PY has done, and they believe that PY is not actually making any effort for them. Thus, if the media are not reaching the reindeer herders themselves, the "true image" is being polished, and the voice of the reindeer herders in the field is not heard.

The history of the PY is 85 years old. It has always been run by Finnish people. The Sámi people have been part of it, but, from the start of the organization, Sámi reindeer herders have been worried that their voice is not heard because it was led from Rovaniemi, far away from the Sámi area (Lehtola, 2012: 252).

On the informative side, PY has its own magazine called *Poromies*. It was established in 1931 and centered to the southern reindeer herding area where they have non-Sámi herders. Thus, what is seen is a long period of time that Sámi reindeer herders have not been taken into account.

²⁶ The reindeer mark needs to be accepted in a district meeting and in the board of the Reindeer Herders' Organization.

²⁷ A geographic line determining that land is specially intended for reindeer herding on northern/western side of the border. It was established in 1890.

²⁸ Reindeer Act Chapter 1, 1§ - 14.9.1990 / 848.

The first reindeer herding act was implemented in 1932. This was when the PY (at that time Poronjalostus yhdistys) became the organization that represented all Sámi and non-Sámi reindeer herders.

The planning of the law was based on the way of Finnish reindeer herding, which emphasized the meaning of agriculture as side work for reindeer herding. The law unified the governmental and practical ways of reindeer herding in the whole Finnish part of Northern Lapland. Sámi reindeer herding was not given any kind of special mandate. Even though, later on, weaknesses in the law were found, which were reconsidered by a reindeer herding act committee, which implemented a new law in 1948; nonetheless, the position of Sámi reindeer herding did not change. There was an attempt to merge it into an agricultural reindeer herding model (Kortessalmi, 2008; Lehtola, 2012: 252). In order to understand the current situation, it is important to reflect on this as background information.

According to the newest rapport gathered by Timo Koivurova (2015), traditional livelihoods of Sámi, especially reindeer herding, enjoy various kinds of protection from the four respective legal systems. The protection of Sámi traditional livelihoods takes place via different legal means in different legal systems. There is also other legislation that holds relevance for whether the Sámi receive legal protection.

“It would be clearest if the Sámi were to enjoy full ownership over the land or resource rights in regard to conducting their traditional livelihoods as is the case in some other regions, for example some parts of the Inuit governed Nunavut region. This however is not the case, even in Norway’s Finnmark County. The Sami Parliament also has influence on how non-cultivated areas of Finnmark are developed. Although the Finnmark Act enhances Sami rights in Finnmark, it also has been criticized as not correctly implementing ILO 169, given that all rights are non-discriminatory between Sami and non-Sami in the region. Hence, even in the case of Finnmark, Sami have no clear ownership rights over the land for the purposes of practicing their traditional livelihoods, especially reindeer herding” (Koivurova, 2015).

4.3. Finnish predator regulations and legislation

The large carnivore policy led by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (MMM) is guided by three key factors²⁹: 1) habitats directive; 2) management plans; and 3) the use of scientifically reliable information as a basis for decisions and measures.

There are four large land carnivore species in Finland: wolverine, lynx, bear, and wolf. They are all protected at all times. In certain special circumstances, the Finnish Wildlife Agency (Riistakeskus) may grant a derogation allowing the capturing or killing of a wolverine, wolf, bear, or lynx. The precondition for the derogation is that there is no other satisfactory solution, and the decision is not detrimental to maintaining the species at a favourable conservation status in its natural range (MMM, 2016). Even though it is said by the MMM (2016) that it is possible to grant a special license to capture or kill a wolverine in certain special circumstances, no wolverines have been killed by this kind of license, even though there have been many cases of wolverines killing 10–30 reindeer in small areas in reindeer herding areas in North Finland, which have caused increasing damages for the reindeer herding.³⁰

Under the Hunting Act, further provisions on the maximum allowable quarry numbers of large carnivores, the sex and age of individual quarry animals, and the area to which the restriction applies may be issued by a decree of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. The decree limits the powers of the Finnish Wildlife Agency, which cannot derogate from the numbers specified. The maximum permitted hunting bag does not set a target for the number of kills that should be achieved. On the contrary, it limits the number of derogations the Finnish Wildlife Agency may grant for killing large carnivores (MMM, 2016).

The Finnish Wildlife Agency has granted many derogations for killing wolf, bear, and lynx in the reindeer herding area but not so many outside the reindeer herding area. In the reindeer herding area, where most damages occur, co-operatives need to prove that the animal has killed at least three reindeer in order to get a license. The hunting area is always a specifically determined area, and hunting time is usually for two weeks. If the animal is not killed in that time, reindeer herders can apply for a new license. In this kind of hunting, reindeer herders are

²⁹ <http://mmm.fi/en/wildlife-and-game/large-carnivores>

³⁰ Changed since February 10, 2017

http://mmm.fi/documents/1410837/1822248/Ahma-asetusmuistio_2016-2017.pdf/c59e39b6-1e0d-4a96-baa0-f3f0a8ba2595

allowed to use motor vehicles (sometimes even a helicopter) and carry a gun during the hunt, but the hunters must have a hunting license to participate to the hunt.

According to MMM, management plans have been drawn up for all populations of large land carnivores. The aim of the plans is to ensure the long-term, goal-oriented management of large carnivore populations, taking into account the views and interests of different stakeholders.

The Natural Resources Institute Finland's (LUKE) population estimates are largely based on the carnivore observation system's litter observations and other carnivore observations recorded by volunteers monitoring large carnivores. The population estimates are complemented with radio collar monitoring, DNA research and other monitoring activities carried out by The Natural Resources Institute Finland. Population estimate for the wolverine is made at the end of the year, if needed.³¹

The wolverine has not had regular population estimates because it has been totally protected. One explanation to all this is in the history.

While Northern Finland has been in a peripheral position compared with South Finland, it can be seen that the remoteness of the area has increased after Finland joined the European Union. Moving the decision-making to an international level comes with a threat that the already weak autonomy will be further diminished. The justification of EU decision-making can be questioned in the light of a colonialist view of history. Nature conservation by the EU can be questioned because the orders for nature conservation come from middle Europe, where most of nature has been already destroyed. To question the justification and expertise of multinational decision-making as the same as referring to local peoples' traditions to protect the nature were the center subjects of Finnish Natura conversation (Saaristo, 2000, 104-105; Autto, 2003, 54).

Finland, along with other European countries, has signed agreements for nature protection. Two of the most important conventions are the Bern Convention³² and the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) (92/43/ETY). Based on these agreements, Finland has made its

³¹ <http://mmm.fi/en/wildlife-and-game/large-carnivores>

³² <http://www.coe.int/en/web/bern-convention>

management plans for large carnivores; the last of those was made for the wolverine in 2014 (MMM, 2014a).

4.3.1. Predator regulations in neighboring countries

Sweden is part of the European Union like Finland. Norway is different because it is not part of EU, which also can be seen in yearly licenses granted for large carnivores. In Norway, to control the population of wolverines, officials have a yearly hunt for adult wolverines and for the cubs, too, unlike in Sweden and Finland. In Sweden, it is possible to obtain a special permit for a wolverine that has caused extreme damages. In Norway, there were 50 wolverine nestings registered, which calculates to around 350 wolverines.³³ Most of the wolverine nestings are in Northern Norway, Troms, and Finnmark (14), according to Rovdata. In 2016, in Sweden there were registered 58 wolverine nestings, and approximately 500 wolverines together.³⁴

Russia is estimated to host the biggest wolverine population, approximately 20,000. Of those, around 1400 wolverines live on the European side (Novikov, 2005; MMM, 2014b).

4.3.2. Old predator regulations: No way back?

Not many records show how hunting was licensed in the old times, but, according to Lehtola (2003), in Inari area, all of the large carnivores have been previously hunted, along with all kinds of predator birds such as eagles.

The number of predators killed and the fees paid by the municipality have been compiled since 1877. The municipality's payroll for predators varied annually. Probably the damage caused by wolves to the reindeer herds was so great that it was worth paying the highest compensation. Even at the turn of the century, the crown paid for the destruction of predators such as wolves, wolverines, and bears (Lehtola, 2003).

“According to rural (Inari region) police chief Rossander, a few Sámi's livelihoods were partly dependant on hunting wolves. There were not as many wolverine as bears. Most of these predators, though, were small in numbers in Inari region. From time to time, even a bear

³³ www.Rovdata.no

³⁴ <http://rovdata.no/Nyheter/Nyhetsartikkel/ArticleId/4171/Betydelig-faerre-jervekull-i-Skandinavia.aspx>

or a wolverine was caught. The tables on the previous page are compiled from the statistics of the crown bailiff and are based on the number of killed predators reported by the Inari Rural police chief. The reported statistics are by no means complete, as there are no figures available every year and not everybody reported about their catch” (Lehtola, 2003:229).

In terms of hunting rights for the reindeer herders (or protecting rights) not much was done to continue the traditional spring hunt for the brown bear. In the 1970s and 1980s, most of the reindeer herders used to hunt bears when the animals wake up from their nests; they were easier to track down in deep snow. In Finland, the spring hunt ended in 1993, before Finland was even part of EU. Since then, bear hunting has been in the autumn, making the hunt much more demanding. This has created a need to have special bear dogs for the hunt. In 1993, the renewal of the hunting act removed bear, wolf, and wolverine from the common hunting rights, which nowadays concerns animals such as waterfowls.

Similar to restrictions in the hunting of wolverine, which was allowed until 1982, restrictions to hunt wolf were installed.³⁵ Nowadays only bear and lynx³⁶ can be hunted with normal licenses, but hunting times are specific, and the same regulations apply to the whole of Finland. A bear hunt is divided into reindeer herding areas in western and eastern sections, and numbers are verified each year by MMM for the hunting time 20 August to 31 October. For 2017, quota for the reindeer herding area is 85 bears, eastern area 60, and western area 25. Growth is 15 licenses compared with that in 2016. The target with this enhanced hunting is to decrease the damages caused to the reindeer herding.³⁷ In 2011, the quota was 45 bears; in six years, the numbers have doubled.

4.4. Role of Sámi politics in Finland

In 1971, the Finnish government had set up a Sámi committee to evaluate the situation of the Sámi during that time. The committee suggested the establishing of a Sámi commission, and the first elections were held in 1972, with 3000 people entitled to elect the members to the

³⁵ Changed as protected species in Finland in 1973, except in reindeer herding areas. In 1977, wolf became possible to hunt again also in other parts of Finland with derogation. In 1993, it was protected again and in reindeer herding area 1.4.-31.10.

³⁶ 1976–1986 lynx was a protected species.

³⁷ <https://riista.fi/karhun-poikkeuslupia-viime-vuotta-enemman/> site visited 17.7.2017

commission. The Sámi Commission (1972–1995) had no real power to make decisions relevant for the Sámi; it was more in an advisory role.

The Sámi Parliament of Finland was established in 1996 and is located in Inari. The Sámi Parliament was the next step to reach cultural self-governance. Still the Sámi parliament is more an advisory governmental body because it does not have legislative power. The most important issues for the parliament are land rights, livelihoods, language, and teaching.

The Sámi parliaments in Norway (1989–) and in Sweden (1993–) together with the Finnish Sámi Parliament have established the Sámi Parliamentary Council, which works with the pan-Sámi issues.

In 2002 November, a Finnish–Norwegian–Swedish–Sámi expert group was appointed to build up a Nordic Sámi convention, aiming to clarify the difficult legal situation and provide a comprehensive framework for regulating the legal relationship between the Sami and the three Nordic states. To show the importance of the issue, the convention contains a separate chapter about Sami rights to land and water and also a chapter about Sami livelihoods.

As of 2016, the Sámi parliaments have been working together with state officials to finalize the Nordic Sámi Convention. One reason for the Nordic Sámi convention is that it could also make it possible for Finland to adapt the ILO 169 convention and through this convention it could give the independence for Finland (with the Sámi people) to have power over the EU regulations and nature conservation and to control the predator levels as is done in Norway. About the relevance of EU, senior officer from Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, Jussi Laanikari says that it was radical change: “So then when we joined the European Union, these large carnivores came overnight from hunted animals to protected animals.”

The Finnish Sámi Parliament is involved in many different platforms and has a say in different forums and meetings with government officials, but it is usually underrepresented as the minority among the majority. The Sámi Parliament participated in the latest major project organized by Lapin Liitto, where the goal was to collect information about the predator situation and start better cooperation among all the actors at the field. The first open seminar was arranged in 2011 in Salla, where a list with 44 action points was presented for the future actions based on a 100-page rapport about the problematic situation with reindeer and

predators. A project was launched later in 2011.³⁸ The goal for the project was to find a balance between reindeer and predators. In March 2012, finally for the first time, people from EU visited Finland to look at the predator problem. The director of the environment section B from the European Commission, Pia Bucella, visited Lapland for the first time, and a group of representatives visited Salla to see fresh reindeer carcasses killed by wolverines. Lapin Liitto, the Sámi Parliament, PY, and MMM together organized the meeting. As a result of this trip, reindeer herding received a stakeholder position in the EU. Finland and Sweden received a seat at the round table, where Finland is represented by PY (Anne Ollila). Sweden is represented by a person from SSR (the Swedish Sámi reindeer herders' organization).

The representative from the Finnish Sámi parliament Heikki Paltto met with Bucella³⁹ and talked about the Sámi perspective; that the predator problem needs to be solved together:

“We want united predator politics at least to Finland, Sweden and Norway. With Russia there has not been any kind of cooperation, says Paltto” (Yle lappi, 2012).

4.5. Researches finally backing up the oral information

One of the main arguments by officials has been that predators kill only the weakest reindeer. In my home area in Sállevárri-Sallivaara, the predator official (reindeer carcass inspector) has said to me (a view that was also presented in the newspaper⁴⁰) that reindeer die because they are in poor condition and for this reason the authorities have disqualified carcasses, meaning that the owner gets no compensation.⁴¹ (More detailed information about this is included in Chapter 7.1.6.)

Until recently, there has been no research about the condition of the reindeers killed by predators. In Finland in 2003–2015, evidence was collected to study the condition. This study was funded by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and it shows that over 90% of the killed reindeers were in good condition (LUKE, 2016). To better understand the interviewees and their comments, this report has a lot to offer.

³⁸ Poro-ja Lohi-hanke (reindeer and lax project)

³⁹ <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-5101127>

⁴⁰ Lapin Kansa article 19.3.2017

⁴¹ Two carcasses were not approved in the Sallivaara Reindeer Co-operative 2010–2011.

In the LUKE report, the reported losses for predators were significant in 19 and very significant in eight co-operatives. Wolverines and eagles caused the most losses in the Northern cooperatives. Everywhere else losses were caused to varied degrees by all large carnivores. In three co-operatives during two winters there were collected bone marrow and tooth samples (102) from reindeers killed by predators. Results show that their condition was good (93,4%) or decent (6,6%) and no samples of poor condition or starved reindeers were found. Also the age and gender structure was the same as in a normal livestock (67% female grown-ups).

The Natural Resources center and University of Helsinki studied the predator mortality on the productivity, income and financial sustainability of reindeer husbandry in 2013–2016. Calf production, slaughter and livestock numbers dropped significantly correlated to rising numbers of predators. Also the amount of golden eagle nestings affected calf productivity. Otherwise slaughter rates and calf production were significantly affected by yearly snow conditions.

According to special researcher Jouko Kumpula, a noticeable part of animal losses is not noted because, for example, the losses during summer are very difficult to find. Added to these straight losses are the losses of young adults that are in their best breeding age, that have an effect especially on the calf productivity. The study (LUKE, 2016) reveals that for each reindeer killed by a predator it takes two to eight workdays to find it. The significant drop in reindeer productivity caused by predators together with the extra costs can reduce net income for reindeer husbandry 21–82 euro for each livestock reindeer (optimum circumstances net income together 62–90 euro/reindeer). At worse, the net income for reindeer husbandry dropped to minus, meaning a collapse in the economic sustainability of reindeer herding.

According to the LUKE research, the yearly losses for reindeer herding by a single wolf is (32 160 €), wolverine (16 996 €), lynx (11736 €), and brown bear (3575 €). The same loss in net income for each golden eagle nesting was 2742 €.

Another study made in Sweden found no evidence that lower autumn body mass generally increased the risk for a female reindeer of dying from one autumn to the next. In the study, the reindeer flock was studied together in the summer, then separated in two areas for the winter for five years, 2007–2012.

“We conclude that the prime driver of the on-going collapse of herd B is not high animal density or poor body condition. Accidents or disease seem unlikely as major causes of mortality. Predation, primarily by lynx and wolverine, appears to be the most plausible reason for the high female mortality and state of collapse in the studied reindeer herding community” (Svensson & Rönnegård, 2014)

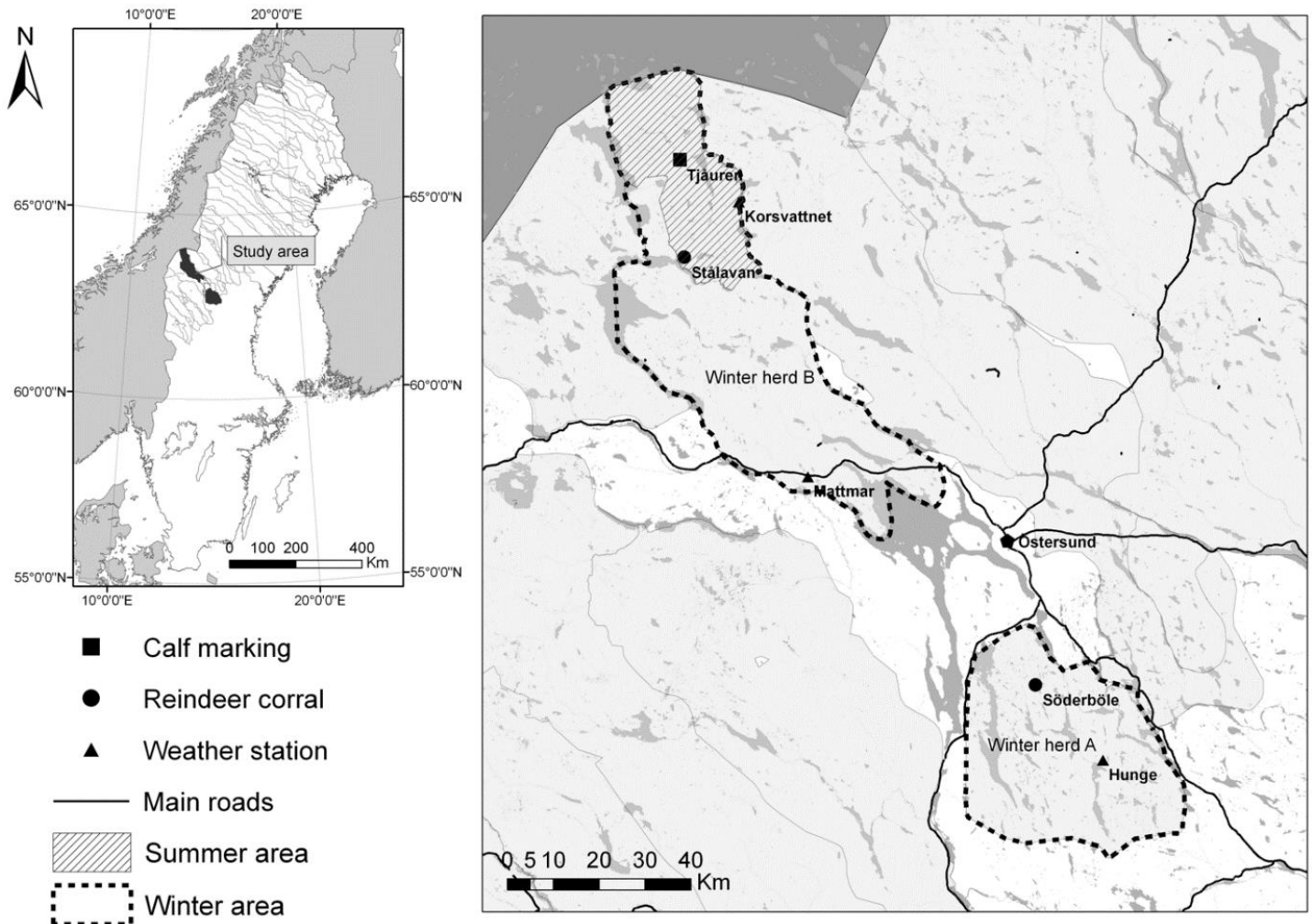


FIGURE 7. Map of the study area with spring-summer-autumn ranges for the whole herding community and winter ranges for the two herds, and showing the main locations for reindeer gathering (Åhman, 2014: 3)

The study by Åhman, Svensson, and Rönnegård (2014), as the study made by LUKE (2016), is significant because until these recent years there have not been any sufficient research to show that the reindeers killed by predators are usually in the best, and not in the weakest condition, as it has been stated before.

For example, the Inuit of the Labrador Peninsula have participated in many researches about caribou. Especially valuable is the knowledge by the locals about the condition of the caribous, for which they have their own methods to estimate (Berkes, 1999: 108; Kofinas,

2004). In Alaska, traditional ecological knowledge has been used in whale research, when research problems and topics were gained by the knowledge of the hunters (Huntington, 1997; Helander-Renvall & Markkula, 2011).

It is strange why this kind of cooperation is not seen more in Sápmi. The information that comes forth in the Åhman et al. study is orally known among the reindeer herders but has not been counted as scientific information. Before these studies, reindeer organizations have been struggling to prove the necessity of cutting down the numbers of predators, at the same time narrowing the rumours in social media about the condition of reindeers.

5. Ethics of nature

To survive in the arctic, man has developed the skills to survive in rough climate and nature. In northern parts of Canada, Alaska, and Greenland, seals, whales, fish, and caribous with other furred animals have been and still are the lifeline for indigenous peoples, and they still possess the knowledge about how to use these animals for food and clothing. In Scandinavia and Russia, the reindeer also has been the most crucial animal for survival, with other furred animals. But nowadays, the world is changing rapidly, and differences in opinions among the Indigenous and city people are growing bigger. Ethical differences of opinion with respect to nature uses create a variety of interpretations as to what is acceptable and what is not.

Internal differences in culture and the differences between cultures in relation to the use of nature and its functions develop ultimately into different ways to understand and accept the relationship between man and nature: There is not just one real and legitimate relationship (Alaraudanjoki, 1996; Epäilys, 2003: 157).

As this is recognized, Hoppers (2002: 7) raised an essential issue that it is also recognized that a major threat to the sustainability of natural resources is *the erosion of people's knowledge*, and the basic reason for this erosion is *the low value attached* to it.

“The erosion of people’s knowledge associated with natural resources is under greater threat than the erosion of the natural resources themselves. Questions therefore need to be asked as to why the most disadvantaged people have to carry the heaviest burden of maintaining genetic diversity for future generations. Indigenous herbalists, veterinary experts and pastoralists know a lot about the habitats and life cycles of plants and animals, and various

other aspects of other resources. Yet, efforts to build upon knowledge systems of people who have maintained their natural resources are, so far, quite inadequate” (Hoppers, 2002: 7).

Elli Louka (2002) concludes in her book about biodiversity and human rights by presenting three pillars; the third is local management of wildlife supported by free trade. Louka’s study proposes that the international system could provide guidelines for the management of resources. Decisions on what to do in particular environments and circumstances should rest with the people who live in the area (Louka, 2002). The jump from talking about nature and harmony to predators is natural for many indigenous peoples or people who have a tight connection with nature. There also could be harmony in the discussion when talking about predators concerning reindeers, and it would be good to remember Johan Turi’s⁴² writings from 100 years ago (cited above), even though it was a different time.

EU-led predator politics aiming to protect wolves has been experienced among the Sámi as excluding and overly guiding, as if Sámi people would not know how to handle nature, in spite of the ways of how Sámi people have maintained their culture and nature in balance for thousands of years. Most Sámi defend independent land use in Sápmi. Based on the politics of the right of way the predators attacking reindeer flocks can rightfully be killed (Frandy, 2015: 42), I will return to this issue in more detail when reporting the interviews with reindeer herders in Chapter 7.1.

The economics of an ecosystems and biodiversity (TEEB) scoping study are part of the conservation of arctic flora and fauna in which all of the arctic countries and indigenous organizations are involved. The Arctic Council has worked with a project, CAFF, aiming at conservation of arctic flora and fauna.

“The value we place on particular ecosystem services in making decisions about policies that govern human activities is based partly on our knowledge, but also on negotiations among social actors who may have different priorities, as well as different power positions (Ernstson & Sörlin, 2013). An example is the on-going negotiation about the management of large predators, such as wolves, in areas where reindeer herding plays an important economic and cultural role for Sámi people” (CAFF, 2015: 53)

⁴² Johan Turi: *Muitalus Sámiid birra*, 2010, 95

5.1. Indigenous peoples as part of decision-making

The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) signed in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 entered into force in Finland on 25 October 1994. The objective of the convention is the conservation of biodiversity, the sustainable use of its components as well as the fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising out of the utilization of genetic resources. *The Voluntary Akwé: Kon Guidelines*⁴³ were adopted by the seventh meeting of the Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity. The guidelines are a part of the implementation of the convention. The purpose of the guidelines is to ensure the preservation of biodiversity and the traditional knowledge held by indigenous people as well as their relationship to nature.

The State Forestry Service in Finland was the first in the world to take the *Akwé: Kon Guidelines*. These are meant to be applied to the assessment of the cultural, environmental, and social impacts of projects and plans concerning the Sámi homeland, which may affect the Sámi culture, their livelihoods, and their cultural heritage. The guidelines are applied in cooperation with the Sámi Parliament and, in the Skolt Sámi area, with the Skolt Sámi Village Assembly (Juntunen & Stolt, 2013).

As an example, the *Akwé: Kon - Application of Guidelines* was reflected in the Final Report of the Management and Land Use Plan for the Hammastunturi area. The contracting parties recognize that many indigenous and local communities with a traditional way of life have traditional dependence on biological resources. In Finland, the obligations outlined in the Convention on Biological Diversity concerning indigenous people apply to the Sámi people. In 2009, the Ministry of Environment appointed a national group of experts on Article 8(j) regarding the traditional knowledge of indigenous peoples in the Convention on Biological Diversity, with the task to coordinate the measures concerning the traditional knowledge of indigenous peoples, as outlined in the Finnish strategy and action plan for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity for 2006–2016 (Juntunen & Stolt, 2013).

The task also was to enhance the general awareness of the content and objectives of the working programme related to Article 8(j) of the Convention, with particular emphasis on the Sámi people of Finland. The objective of the expert group was to promote the implementation of the working programme in Finland by means of cooperation between various ministries

⁴³ Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, CBD Guidelines Series 2004.

and stakeholders and, for its part, to provide recommendations for the application and implementation of the Convention in Finland (Juntunen & Stolt, 2013).

In its final report, the national working group presented a proposal for action:

“*The Akwe: Kon Guidelines of the Convention on Biological Diversity* are to be applied in the management and planning of the land use in the Sámi Homeland in accordance with the national legislation”. The objective: In all new and renewed management and land use plans as well as natural resource plans in Sámi homeland *Akwe: Kon Guidelines* are to be implemented. Based on the experiences attained through the drawing up of the management and land use plan for the Hammastunturi Wilderness Area, a permanent procedure will be adopted for the implementation of the *Akwe: Kon Guidelines* in Metsähallitus’ operations” (Juntunen & Stolt, 2013).

The Sámi Parliament sees Article 8(j) as the only suitable solution for the Sámi in Finland, as does the Ministry of Environment and the Finnish Forestry Service.⁴⁴ The problems that I find in the adaptation of the *Akwé: Kon* to the management plans relate to its incomplete application. The Finnish Forestry Service did not fully follow the *Akwé: Kon Guidelines* concerning the environmental impact assessment relating to one of its core elements: nature. In connection with devising the plan, species and ecosystems important to Sámi culture have not been inventoried separately, as they should have been according to the original plan.⁴⁵

6. Methodology

For my thesis, I have made eight qualitative interviews with reindeer herders, officials, and journalists. The media material was gathered from three respective medias (*Yle sápmi*, *Yle Rovaniemi*, *Lapin Kansa*), and news were gathered from articles that were reachable from their webpages. I gathered a total of 69 news articles that had connections to reindeer herding or predators. With a wider range of articles, my intention was to discern the interest of the media in reporting on reindeer herding and predators. To gather and analyze this media material required fluent command of Northern Sámi and Finnish language. *Yle Sápmi* and *Yle Rovaniemi* publish a lot in radio and TV, which is not published on their web pages, unlike

⁴⁴ http://yle.fi/uutiset/professor_biodiversitehtasoahpamus_guoska_suomas_dusse_sapmelacaid/6628620

⁴⁵ Metsähallitus, 2013: *Application of Akwé: Kon Guidelines in the Management and Land Use Plan for the Hammastunturi Wilderness Area*

Lapin Kansa, which has its newspaper in digital form. However, I used search on the *Lapin Kansa* webpage to see what news can be found by an “ordinary” reader. This turned out to be difficult, as the *Lapin Kansa* search engine doesn’t work properly. Some of the articles not found from the web pages had to be checked from the digital newspapers. Thus, this media material may not cover all of the news published during my research period (August 2015 to June 2016). However, all major news stories have, with reasonable certainty, been included, as they feature on the respective medias’ web pages. Interviews were made between July 2016 and March 2017. In order to cover different aspects of the material, I ended up with combining qualitative and quantitative research.

The media material gives the facts about how much and how widely news was done, thus creating a platform to see if there are differences between the Sámi and Finnish media. Through the interviews with journalists, I am reflecting on how the news is made, in light of what comes out in interviews with reindeer herders, in order to find answers to what affects decision-making at a news desk. I decided to first interview reindeer herders who have not been in the media and hear their stories about the predator conflict. Through their interviews it became obvious that they feel neglected by the media. The material also includes interviews with officials that have key roles in implementing policies related to the predator conflict. The choice of officials was difficult to make because I was advised not to do more than nine qualitative interviews. I chose to focus on how the predator issue features in the Giehtaruohtas/Käsivarsi area, which has seen the biggest damages. This guided my choice of which reindeer herders to interview. As most damages in this area are caused by golden eagles and wolverines, and these two species are protected from any hunting, I chose the officials who can best answer to questions that relate to these issues.

The methods I use in my research are agenda setting with framing and priming, but my tools include my Sámi language and the fact that I am a journalist and a reindeer herder. The Sámi language is the first step to give me credibility and understanding to what reindeer herders say. As a reindeer herder, I have another method, to share what I know, to gain trust of the other. The same method applies to the journalists. Being familiar with the work, there is much that I can relate to. My personal involvement in these roles also may have a negative impact, not noticing to ask the obvious question because it is too close to me. As of the interviews, it is not natural for the Sámi to do interviews but to have discussions.

An open-structured conversational method shows respect for a participant's story and allows research participants greater control over what they wish to share with respect to the research question. I subscribe to what Margaret Kovach (2009: 125) says, that the power lies with the research participant, the storyteller. As I value the story as knowledge, I am aware of that I took a risk when choosing open-ended interviews: "The more structured the method, the more control the researcher maintains" (Ryen, 2000; Kovach, 2009).

According to researcher Aimo Aikio, both the storytelling and the traditional knowledge has unique value and internal validity, in regards to how the elders are delivering information about survival strategies to younger generations. Aikio explains it this way: "njálmálaš árbediehtu lea oalle luohtehahti ja bissovaš." By using the method of storytelling, then the others (read: youth) are learning how to plan the traditional work (Aikio, 2010: 83-85).

Haraway (1988) emphasizes that gathered information requires that the object is seen as an active as well as a passive resource or a platform that the subject builds upon (Kuokkanen, 2009). As much as I wanted to have reindeer herders speaking with their own names, for the sake of their legal rights and because, here in Sápmi, people know each other, it was decided to keep them anonymous, even though speaking their names would make their stories stronger and would give more to the community (Chilisa, 2016a). If made by an outsider who does not know about reindeer herding, is not a Sámi, nor a speaker of Sámi language, these interviews, I feel, would not have been possible.

Reindeer herders also know my documentary work with reindeers and predators; this documentary was well taken in the reindeer herding communities, and I received only good critiques from it.⁴⁶ This contributes to my credibility among the interviewees.

After I interviewed the reindeer herders, I then interviewed the officials, with the focus to find information that is not covered by the media and to find out their relationship with the media. Last, I conducted interviews with journalists. As I have worked as a journalist since 2007, I have conducted a lot of interviews – but not with journalists. Before the interviews, I went through the articles (69 all together). I first had the idea to ask strict questions and push answers about daily newsroom life, what happens behind the curtains, but quite soon I

⁴⁶ Through a reindeer herder's eyes: <https://vimeo.com/199965634>

realized I did not have to do it because the interviewees knew that I am a journalist and that I am familiar with the issues affecting their work.

The reason to combine both qualitative and quantitative analyses was, as Walter and Andersen (2013: 134), point out:

“...even more critically from a policy context, statistical results will almost always count for more than quantitatively obtained evidence. We underestimate the power of the data in our colonizing settler first world nations at our peril.

“Essentially, methods are tools to collect data, and in the social sciences, the vast majority of research methods, Western and Indigenous, are just different ways of using human communication processes to reflect, measure, or describe, social processes. And as tools, they are adaptable and malleable. As such, they can almost always be utilized effectively within an Indigenous methodological framework” (Walter & Andersen, 2013: 135).

Statistics matter, but how they are compiled has an effect on people’s opinions and decision-making. Indigenous statistics are something new in the research field.

According to Walter and Andersen (2013), to reject quantitative work on the basis of the bad methodological company has been traditionally kept at best pointless and at worst – and we believe there is a strong argument for worst case – harmful. “The strength of statistical analysis and techniques can and should be retained and positioned within an Indigenous quantitative methodology” (Walter & Andersen, 2013: 133).

The effects of the pejorative investment of our social relations in statistical form by generations of government policymakers cannot be levelled nor balanced by a refusal to participate in the research arena in which these data are constructed. All such refusal does is ensure that the guilty methodological frames and practices remain unchallenged as the “normal” quantitative methodologies (Walter & Andersen 2013: 133).

There are many ways to see the world, but in the research field, there has for a long time been “one way” of seeing and doing things. Sámi society, as in many other indigenous societies, has been needing a different approach. This would require an analytic approach that questions earlier interpretations and engages with indigenous knowledge. Rauna Kuokkanen has

scanned through all kinds of methodologies to see what could fit to Sámi research. Her conclusion offers a base for my analysis:

“In examining and questioning the hegemony of Eurocentric intellectual and philosophical conventions indigenous epistemologies play a central role. These systems of knowledge ask important questions about research in indigenous communities and expand understandings of different ways of knowing and theorizing. However, it is necessary to recognize that this does not merely imply ‘translating’ indigenous epistemologies or philosophies into the languages and discourse of western or mainstream theories but it requires that the academy seriously engages with ways of knowing and interpreting the world that do not resemble or are not necessarily structured the along the lines of what is conventionally considered ‘theory’ or ‘philosophy’” (Kuokkanen, 2009: 211).

7. Analysis

7.1. PART 1: Interviews among reindeer herders

I have conducted interviews with reindeer herders as a researcher as well as using my knowledge as a reindeer herder, reflecting upon the situation in my area. Through the trust that has been established, I have gained access to the stories that remain inside the circle among the reindeer herders. Normally, this would not be possible for a journalist or a researcher. The interviews that I made in the Käsivarsi area are relevant to the facts that damages caused by predators are most frequent in that area and most damage in the area is caused by wolverines.

Because of the sensitive matter of my topic, these men are interviewed anonymously. All of these reindeer herders are born and raised into a Sámi way of life, and reindeer herding is for them a natural way of life. Actions around the year are bound to involve reindeer, even though reindeer herders nowadays have modern necessities such as houses, cars, snowmobiles, and ATVs. In fact, all of these new elements make everything in nature even more important because, as a consequence of this new equipment, reindeer herders can travel between two lives: a traditional way of life and a modern life. They can travel long distances in one day and still hurry back home to take care of children when their wives go to work.

Many things are different from the 1990s or earlier. Accessibility and connectivity gives possibilities to work at faraway mountains. Thus, with new technology a lot can be preserved, too.

The reindeer herders I interviewed represent three different generations: Inf. 1, 50 years; Inf. 2, 30 years; Inf. 3, 40 years.

For these Sámi men, reindeer herding is a lifestyle: It means life. All of them are born and raised into reindeer herding and cannot imagine doing anything else. As this is a key component in traditional Sámi livelihood, reindeer herding has a particular value for the Sámi identity. The basis for all is the Siida, the area that belongs to the specific families working and living together with their reindeer. Still a lot has changed since borders were established, which prevented the move of the flock to the coastal areas in the summer. Now reindeer in Finland must be moved into the fenced area around the year.

Inf 2: For me, as I am so young, the borders have always been there where they are now. But I know that of course it has narrowed our way of living and has changed our natural way of migration to a minimum, and it is against the natural order. Fortunately, Sámi people can adapt to everything, so we will adapt to this, too. We try to make best of what we have now. Even though there are visible borders, it is vital to keep good connections to the nearest neighbors on the other side, we know each other very well.

The interviewees have strong belief in reindeer herding that is economically sustainable and in that there is future in reindeer herding; for example, reindeer meat price are 10 times higher than in year 2000; that was when reindeer meat prices hit the bottom. In the last 10 years, the meat price has gone up. When comparing the meat price with snowmobile and ATV prices, their rate has stayed the same. However, the interviewees express their feeling as it is said in Sámi language, “gal olmmoš birge” (you can make a living).

“Huge difference between Sámi reindeer herding and Finnish reindeer herding”

According to the interviewees, there is so much that people do not know or understand about the huge difference between mountain Sámi reindeer herding and reindeer herding in the southern herding area. As they see it, in the southern area, the reindeer are mostly close to the houses inside private fences, meaning that there cannot be so much damages made by predators. In the Sámi areas, reindeer are free in nature, which makes it easier for the

predators to hunt. This is something that the interviewees feel it is not spoken about openly in the media.

For these interviewees, reindeer herding is not just paycheck, it is something totally different that ties Sámi language, family, clothing, survival, food, and all life together year-round. Many Sámi have said that there would not be any people up here in the north if it were not for the reindeer. Even though not all Sámi own reindeer, it has given tools for survival of the broader community.

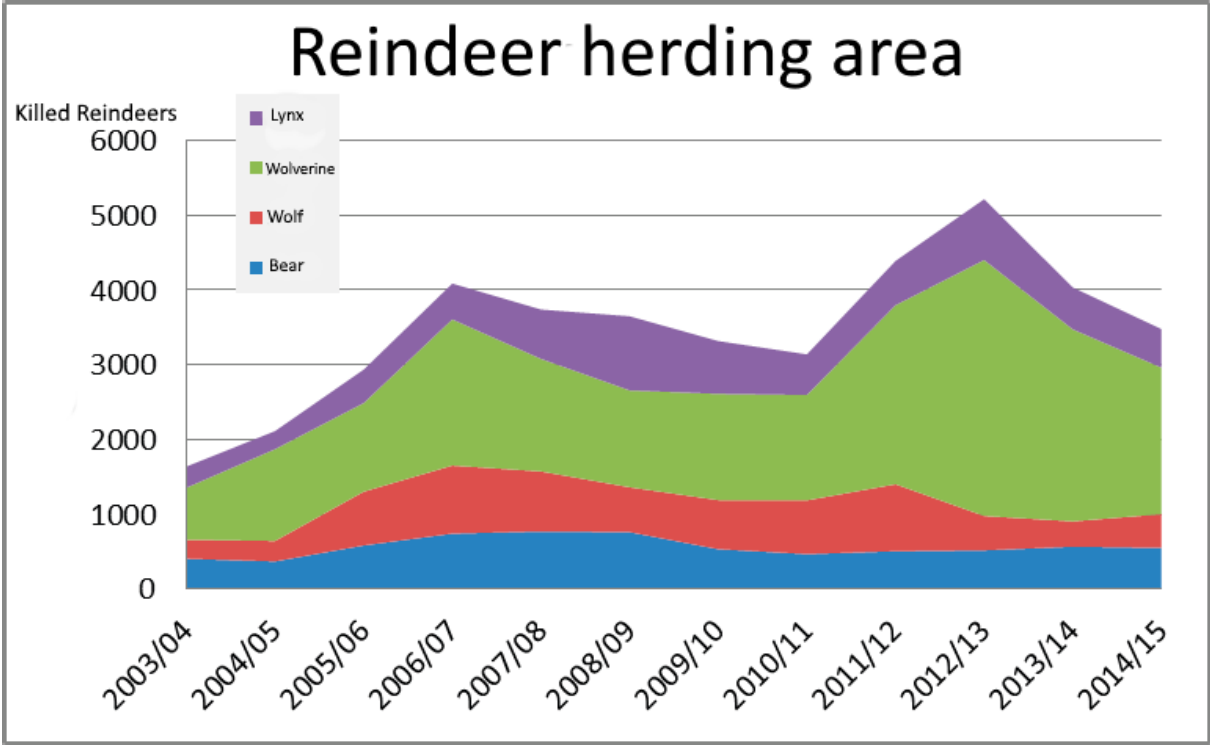


FIGURE 8. Number of found reindeers killed by large carnivores in the Finnish reindeer herding area, reindeer herding seasons 2003/2004–2014/2015 (Source: Ministry of Forestry and Agriculture, game damage register).

7.1.1. The biggest predation is in the Sámi co-operatives

The interviewees know the stories of the old way of life when bears were hunted in late spring and how the wolverine was to be hunted if it came to the reindeer flock. In the old times, 60 to 70 years ago, reindeer herders were most worried about wolves, but nowadays there are not many wolves in the reindeer herding area because the yearly hunt is measured by damages, and not a single wolf pack is living inside the reindeer herding area, while many packs live outside the reindeer herding area instead. The most effective in killing reindeer in mid-winter time is the wolverine. It can kill 20 to 30 reindeer in one night, when there are the right kind of conditions. In the Giehtaruohtas/Käsivarsi area, the year 2013 was the worst, when, according to the Reindeer Herders Cooperation, 947 reindeer were killed by wolverines.

During the last two years (2014 and 2015) the numbers have declined to 457 damages (see Figure 8, overall decline); most of them are adult female reindeer (see Figure 9).

The reason for the decline can be discussed from various points: One major point is that, on the Norwegian side, there are yearly wolverine hunts, which have an effect. Also, years are not brothers, so snow conditions affect wolverines. Deep snow with a little crust on it is the best for wolverine; for the reindeer, it is the worst, they cannot escape for that many meters. Reindeer are in different areas for the grazing in different years, and it depends also on the coming winter. If the mountains are frozen, then reindeer must be kept on lower levels, in the woodlands, where hunting is also easier for the wolverine.



FIGURE 9. This female reindeer was attacked by wolverine and was still alive but not able to move when found. It had to be killed instantly for its suffering. The day before, a wolverine had killed a calf nearby and another one as well. Photo taken by A.P. in 2013.

Inf 2: If you are caught (illegal hunting), it is almost a bigger crime than killing a person.

The wolverine is not liked around reindeer herders because of its nature to kill reindeer in big numbers and leave the reindeer alive suffering for days, just to keep the meat fresh. For the wolverine, it is practical to have many carcasses, to make sure that there is food for the storage, too. In Spring, In March and April statistically wolverines kill most of reindeer. Wolverine have been protected now for over 34 years. In 2010, the penalty for killing a

wolverine or other predators has gone up and is today 15 times higher – a 16,500 euro fine for a wolverine (Pohja-Mykrä & Kurki, 2013). Thus, for an illegal hunt, if a wolverine kills reindeer and a reindeer herder kills and gets caught doing it, there is a fine of 16,500 euro for the animal; one will lose all gun licenses, and guns are confiscated by the police. The hunter also will lose his snowmobile to the government (or pay the value of it), and finally he will be prohibited from hunting for five years and get probation for two years; the hunter may even possibly get a jail sentence. The cases in Finland have not caused jail sentences, but people under investigation have been in custody for a week or two for questioning.

7.1.2. Fearless wolverine: A killing machine?

The reason that so many things are questioned by the outsiders is mostly because they have not been there where it happens. My informants say that the herder sees a lot during his/her lifetime, but usually the worst cases are caused by wolverines. Most killings usually happen during the deep snow season, from December to April, depending much on the snow and on the grazing areas, if they are in woodlands or in mountains. In December, the daylight is only four to six hours, and it is constantly snowing and covering tracks. These factors make it much more difficult for reindeer herders to find the dead reindeers, as it is in April when there is daylight around the clock, and tracks are much easier to find from the snow, which also explains why more reindeer are found statistically. The wolverine is a lightweight animal with big paws and can float on top of the snow when chasing a reindeer. The reindeer is much heavier, so it usually plows through the snow, and the wolverine gets the reindeer easily. Usually most damages are in the mountain areas, in the tree line, or where there is soft and deep snow. A wolverine can go countless kilometers in a day nonstop, just killing what happens to come ahead, like grouse, rabbit ptarmigans, but in winter it is mostly reindeer. Wolverines kill mostly big female reindeer, as there is much more food in it than in a calf.

According to the informants, the reindeer that predators are killing in the winter are the best ones, which were already separated in reindeer round-ups in autumn when most of the calves were sold for meat. The wolverine can sometimes randomly kill many reindeer, take the blood, and move forward to another target. Many times, reindeer herders come across a nasty sight where a reindeer is still alive, but paralyzed by the bite of a wolverine to the neck (see Figure 9). One reason for the wolverine is to keep the meat fresh for later use (see also Åhman, 2015).

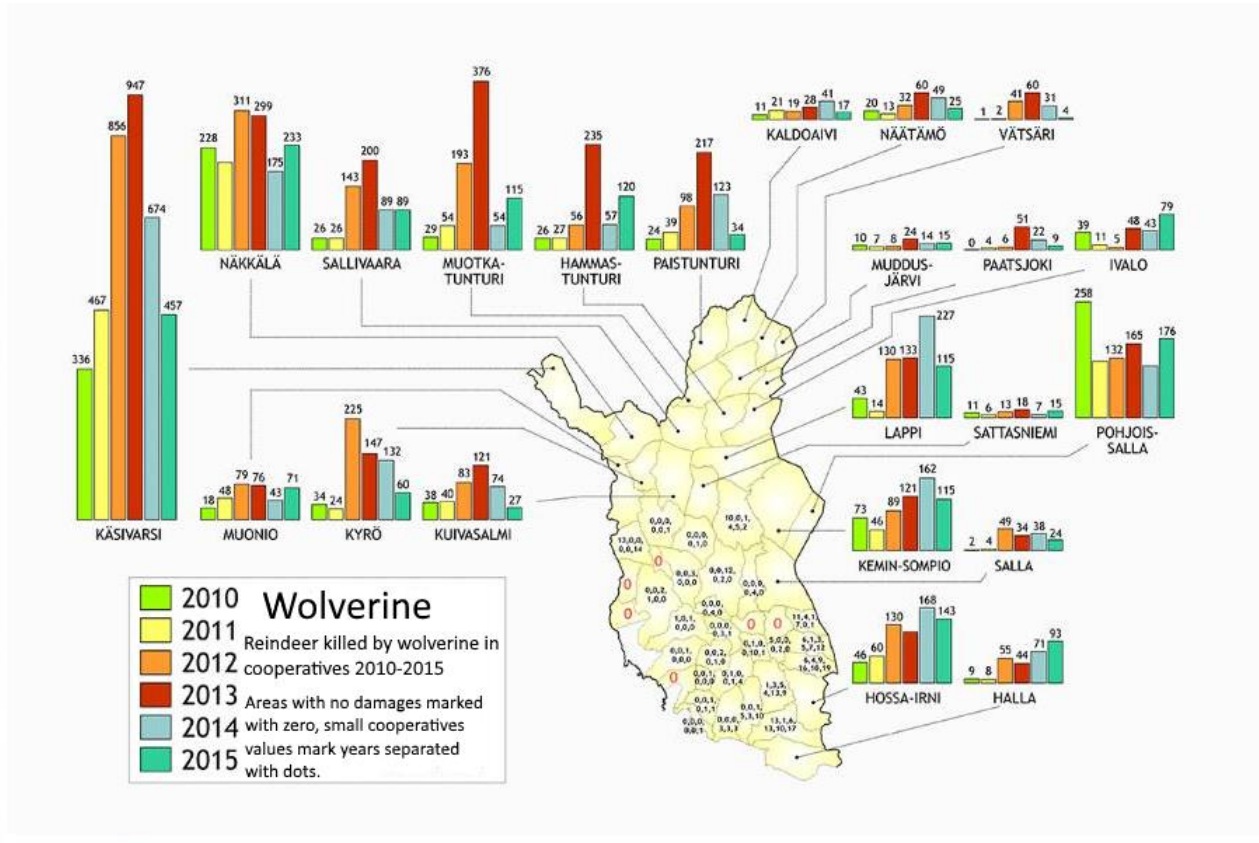
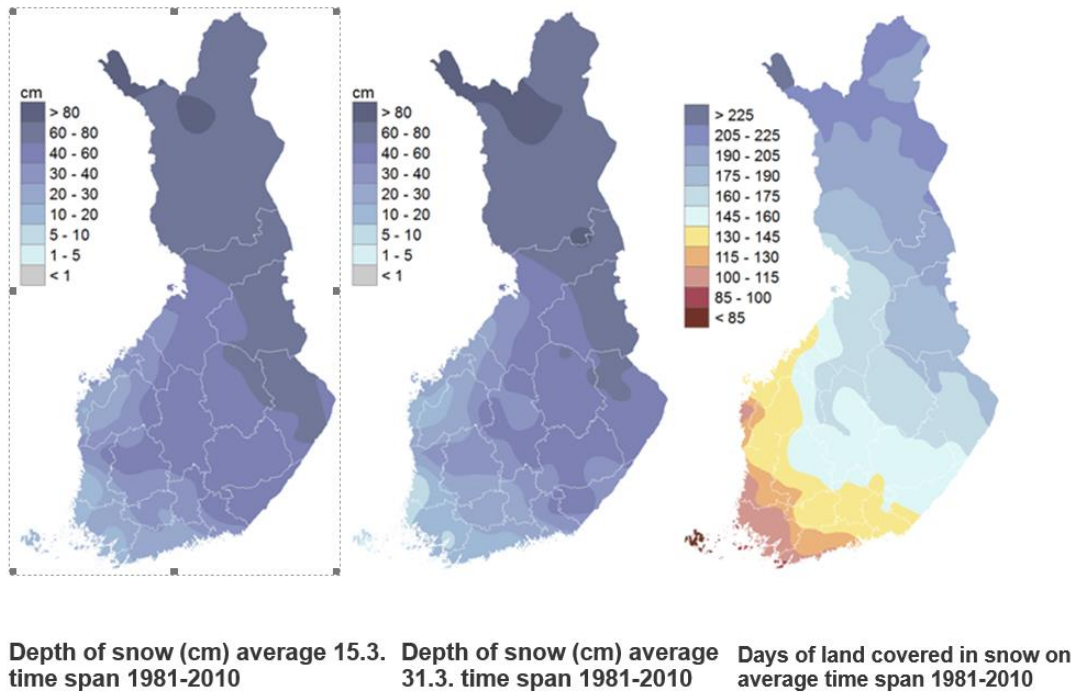


FIGURE 10. Šolverine predation 2010–2015 in the whole reindeer herding area in Finland. Source: Paliskunnat.fi

Snow fall average statistics Finland



Source: Ilmatieteenlaitos

FIGURE 11. Areas with most wolverine damage also have the most snow fall.

A lot of speculation has come forward from the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, wondering why the wolverine predation is no longer rising, even though reindeer herders say there are more wolverines (this issue will be further discussed in the interview section with the officials). I argue that the answer is the critical amount of snow. If there is less snow, it means there is better chance for the reindeer to escape from the wolverine, but when there is more snow reindeer cannot get anywhere and are easier pray for the wolverine. According to the statistics (see Figure 10), most wolverine predation is in the northwestern cooperatives, against the Norwegian border and mid-Eastern co-operatives against the Russian border. These areas are known to have most snow during the winter (see Figure 11).

7.1.3. A complicated compensation system with strange mathematics

The informants complain that, for each found killed reindeer, herders receive compensation from the government, which will be paid in a year or so. But if you do not find the reindeer, you do not get anything. Since 2013, the Finnish government has had problems of receiving compensation money for the reindeer herders, and many times the first half is payed, and then there are no promises of the other half. For one person, it can be a loss of 3,000 – 20,000 euro, with no guarantees of receiving compensation. Reindeer herders are mostly the only people in their reindeer herding areas, so if something suspicious is observed, officials are always targeting the reindeer herders for an illegal hunt. Thus, this money, paid by the government, also could be called protection money.

Inf. 3: It would be out of our pockets if we don't get any compensation. There has to be, or then they (predators) must be reduced, so much that they don't cause so many damages. If they kill so many, and you are not getting the compensation for it, it's going to be pretty bad.

According to the informants in this setting, it is obvious that reindeer herders see themselves as predator protectors, given money by the government for feeding the predators by their reindeer, while never credited for that – and only blamed for criminal or illegal hunting. The Käsivarsi is a narrow area that belongs to Finland; on both sides of it, there are wide areas of Norway in the northeast and Sweden in the southwest. Reindeer cannot move from one country to another, but predators do. Thus, it has been difficult to find good statistics on the number of predators. Finnish authorities need tracks or visual contact to verify the numbers

that reindeer herders provide. Interviewees say that, in the last years, it has been like talking to a wall to gather “evidence” to the authorities about the rising number of predators. At the same time, they feel that reports about carcasses are many times doubted to be true but are not checked by the authorities.

7.1.4. Public talk and reindeer talk

A.P.: How is it that there is public talk and reindeer herders’ talk?

Inf. 1: That is two totally different languages. We can talk together with other reindeer herders, but there it ends when an outsider comes. Our things we keep strictly to ourselves, and if an outsider is close, we are quiet about our things.

My interpretation of the meaning of this language is that it is to be built on trust and conflict. There is so much that reindeer herders say about what is going on in nature, but their words are not listened too often. During the last 35 years when most laws have changed and predators are now mostly protected, reindeer herders seem to have developed a mechanism to share information about their everyday life, whatever it is. In most cases, reindeer herders’ biggest threats in winter are predators and icy grazing. So whenever Sámi reindeer herders meet, they share knowledge around the Sápmi of the grazing and predator situations. According to the interviewees, at the same time most official statistics show nothing even close about the realistic numbers of the predators.

Inf.1: I see that the media gives an impression that there are no predators at all, very few ... And when they go counting the tracks, they say there aren’t so many wolverine tracks, etc. I don’t know, but I think they count these animals at the totally wrong time. Wolverines are usually nesting at the time they are counting (spring); in autumn, there is nobody counting anything.

A.P.: And the best time to count would be in January and February; then they are not counting?

Inf. 1: No, they won’t come. Then, when it’s nice weather, then they come, and it is very difficult to find tracks because the snow is different, hard-packed snow.

The State Forest Enterprise has been counting wolverine tracks around Sápmi in March and April for the last five years (Ollila interview, 2016). But, as in Käsivarsi, the same happened in Sallivaara in 2016. It was the hardest snow when counting started; luckily, the third and last day was so warm that snow melted enough for the wolverine to leave its tracks on the snow. The initial estimation of the authorities was five to eight wolverines, but after counting their estimate was 13 to 15. A good thing with these countings is that they are done by reindeer herders together with officials.

The message of distrust comes from the same mouth from all of my reindeer herder informants and concerns not only predator politics. They say they do not even trust to talk on the phone about most of the matters, constantly thinking that somebody is secretly listening to their telephones. When getting to the root of why this inner circle has been formed and why there is such distrust, according to the reindeer herders much of the answer can be found from what is going on in social media and the discussion threads there, e.g., how many bad things are being said about Sámi people. Those people who are defending reindeer herding as a livelihood and get most “shit” on their backs for various reasons.

Inf. 2: I have many friends working at mining factories. They, of course, would like to have mines here, too. When I say I don't want a mine that is on the other side of the border in Sweden, they say to me why should I care, it's not on our area. It is all this lack of information. If the mine is not going to be in my area, it is still going to have an effect on our area, somehow. So you end up in a conflict; you can't have a conversation you would with another reindeer herder.

This lack of mutual trust suffocates open deliberation within the Sámi community. This becomes visible both in reindeer herders' comments and in journalists' interviews. For the reindeer herders, it is through oral heritage and their own experience they feel that their story will not be the same in the end product and will not be as how they meant it. From a journalist's perspective, the ethical guidelines on how to do a news story requires the inclusion of other informants. When this has to be presented in a short news format, the editing ends up in shortening and cutting details, with the result that a narrower perspective is presented on the issue that the reindeer herder has told. This is especially true if the news is for TV, where the usual amount of time for one news story is only 90 to 120 seconds. The format of news is not optimal for those who are not used to answering exactly what the news reporter is seeking for his/her focus.

7.1.5. Reindeer herders feel that their words have no value

Reindeer herders are used to tension with officials, for the simple reason that they are holding on to their old habits and culture. According to the interviewees, reindeer herding as a livelihood seems to be left out of the conversations and is seen as an ancient and “dying species” that is blocking the evolution of the society. This view is in concordance with the reflections by Päiviö (2011) on the past, which are presented earlier in this thesis and in his work on finding an answer to what drives the development of the law.

Nowadays, following the media, most people are alienated from nature and do not know so much about from where their food comes to the shops and restaurants. Reindeer herders fall into an exotic category that most documentary groups who come to Sápmi want to film as the “ancient” lifestyle, which is so raw that even slaughtering cannot be shown in the program because some viewers might feel it to be too brutal. Things that are normal for a reindeer herder, such as eating tongue, liver, and making blood pancakes and sausages, might not be okay for a person who has grown up in a city. Thus, this gap between nature people and visitors to nature is growing.

There is also another side of the issue, which has been launched in commentary sections in newspapers on the Finnish side since autumn 2016, that there are too many reindeer, and they are destroying nature where tourists are supposed to walk and relax and flowers and bushes where lichen is supposed to grow in a “natural state.”⁴⁷ This aspect of the debate on full-scale reindeer herding is a big topic, but I will not take it further in my thesis; it is the subject for a whole other thesis.

It is also relatively unknown in Finland that the exclusive right of Sámi to reindeer herding concerns only Sweden and Norway. This misunderstanding makes reindeer herding in Finland to stand out as a “luxury” with special rights, erroneously understood to be restricted to the Sámi people.

Attitudes that are formed on these premises contrast strongly with the point that a reindeer herder should have the right to protect his/her herd, by killing a predator threatening the flock. Right now the law is so strict that, even if a bear comes inside your own fence and starts killing reindeer, you are not allowed to shoot it; it has to be a police officer to do that.

⁴⁷ <http://www.lapinkansa.fi/paakirjoitukset/avoimuutta-poropuheisiin-15695956/>

Otherwise, the herder who shoots the bear as defense for the reindeer can end up in jail for protecting his/her own property.

In the Giehtaruohtas/Käsivarsi area, interviewees say it would not be a problem to count the wolverines, if officials would believe the reindeer herders' word, but by far it has been more a dream than a reality to do as reindeer herders would prefer.

Inf. 3: It should be the co-operative counting the predators, the people from the area would obtain the best knowledge. When everyone who drives in their own areas would count the wolverine tracks and then together count the number of wolverines. Then the co-operative would know to apply for a hunting license for a certain number of wolverines, there can't be too many. And especially target the hunt to those areas where there are the most damages and affect there where the need is.

7.1.6. Documenting for safety is a necessity – not a demand

There is a common procedure on how to report killed reindeer: these are to be reported in each municipality carefully by place with coordinates and date and time when the damage has happened. There is a demand to report this information as quickly as possible via email or text message but not later than three days. When officials in the municipality concerned have received the email or the text message, the secretary has three days to inspect the carcass, if he/she wants. Usually the inspection is done when there are many reindeer killed. Even though there is much damage in the Käsivarsi area, reindeer herders feel that they are not trusted when they report new damages, and that the reports are not acted on.

Inf. 1: That is the thing, they suspect, but they don't check even if they have the possibility. They don't go to see if they are really killed by predators. I have said many times to the secretary to come check the bodies when they are still fresh. But if you wait a couple of days, there is nothing left, only a piece of hide is left.



FIGURE 12. Reindeer herders have a right to inspections with officials. Here inspection in Sallivaara Co-operative, where wolverines had killed 30 reindeers in two days in 2012. Photo: A.P.

When these reports are approved by municipality officials, a reindeer herder has 30 days to fill in the form that needs to be signed and sent to the official; otherwise, no compensation is paid for the damages.

They have had problems before in Giehtaruohtas/Käsivarsi, like in my own area Sállevárri, the reindeer carcasses are questioned by the officials as not killed by predators but by hunger. In the Sállevárri area, what I have witnessed myself a couple of times, when I have found an older carcass and the secretary comes to inspect it with an “expert” from the local the game and hunting association, they say that it is so eaten that they cannot define what predator has killed it. Two cases happened in our area in 2010, where experts made the call and said that the animals died of starvation. The expert gives a statement and then the secretary makes the decision. In regards to this decision, the reindeer herder has nothing to say, unless he or she has already taken photographs showing that there was blood, and there was a whole reindeer or signs of blood. In winter time, when it is a mild temperature close to zero, the carcass does not freeze, and eagles, ravens, and foxes eat carcasses very fast. In two to three days, a carcass is eaten with only the skeleton left, the interviewees say. And the carcass without ears goes to the co-operative, the owner gets nothing. That is why reindeer herders need to be on the move, and all this searching takes a lot of time and money for the gasoline, all paid by reindeer herders themselves or by co-operatives but not by the government.

The biggest conflict in the cases where reindeer carcasses were judged to have died of starvation is that – according to an old saying – even a raven would not touch the reindeer when it dies by itself. But these carcasses were eaten to pieces; there were no leftovers even to judge what had killed it, so this expert is not giving any credit to this knowledge, which has been passed on from one generation to another.

In the Giehtaruohtas/Käsivarsi area, the Käsivarsi co-operative has, according to the interviewees, received double compensation for each reindeer during the last three years. This means that, when normally the value of a female adult reindeer is 1000€, they get 2000€. This rule (known as Lex Halla) is implemented if there are big losses in certain reindeer co-operatives (Riistavahinkolaki, 2009: 105). For the government to pay this compensation money, it usually takes over a year, and since 2010 there has been doubt whether the reindeer herders get the full compensation or just some part of it because there is not enough money reserved.

Inf. 2: I'm not sure if, for example, these state people who work in Helsinki would do their job with 50% salary, not knowing when the other half is paid. So would they do it? I doubt it. It is very strange that we who suffer from their protection of the predators now are not allowed to control the amount of the predators.

As the biggest predator damages are in Käsivarsi, it is hard for the reindeer herders to understand why their predator problem is not seen as such a big issue in the newspapers as it has been covered in the southeastern border of Finnish reindeer herding area and Russia, where small reindeer co-operatives started to face huge losses because of predators between 2005 and escalating in 2010 (Pohjola & Valkonen, 2012: 17). Käsivarsi has the second biggest number of reindeer allowed in Finland, 10,000 reindeer, after slaughtering.

7.1.7. Eagles are protected but are deadly for the reindeer

In the Giehtaruohtas/Käsivarsi area, the interviewees say that the worst predators in addition to the wolverine are eagles, both golden eagle and white-tailed eagle. Both species of eagles have been protected in Finland for over 40 years, as in Sweden and in Norway, too, but the populations have increased rapidly after the 1990s (see figure 13), Norway having the strongest population.⁴⁸ In Norway, the reindeer herders and sheep farmers have been complaining about the white-tailed eagle's hunting of a great number of calves, and the Norwegian government has already taken steps toward allowing licensed hunting for the white-tailed eagle, possibly this year or in 2018.⁴⁹ In the Giehtaruohtas/Käsivarsi area, reindeer herders say that eagles take a lot of the new-born calves; this goes not only for golden eagles but also white-tailed eagles, which are more known for living and hunting in sea areas. Reindeer herders say ironically that it is interesting how the eagles find fish during the winter among the reindeer in the mountains.

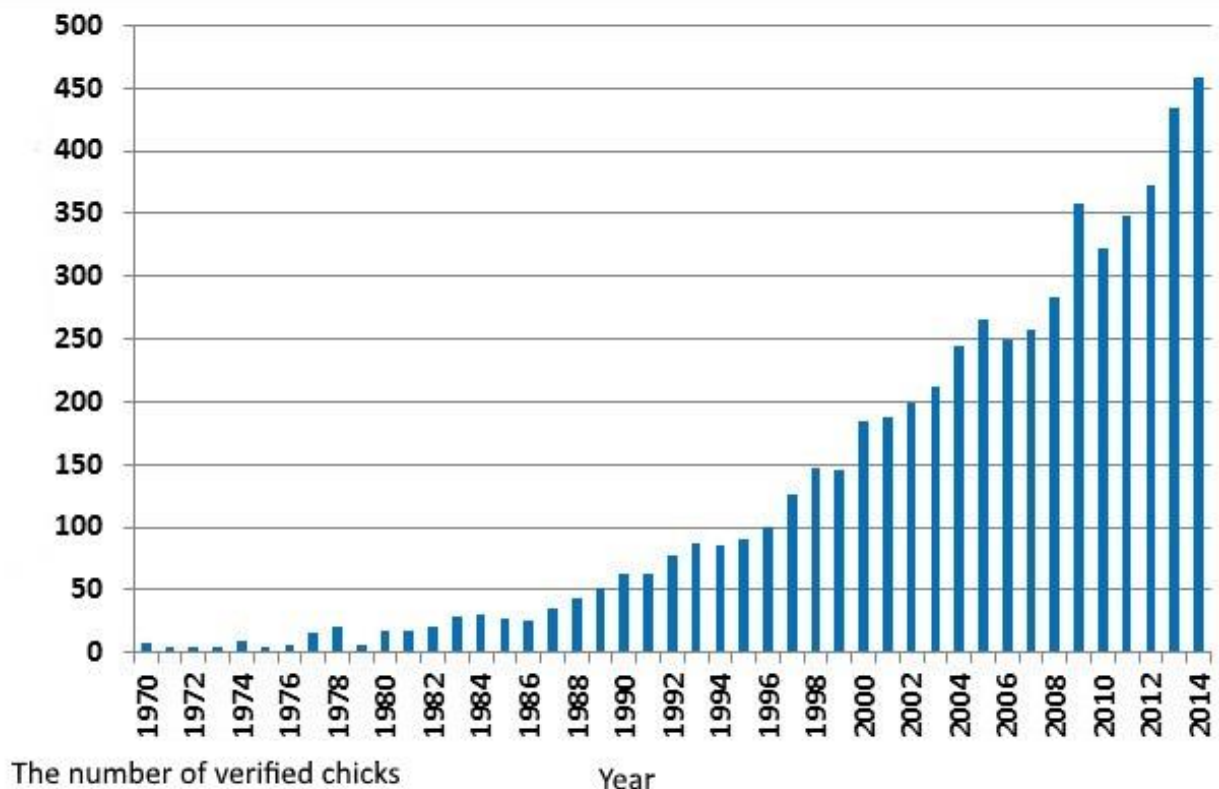


FIGURE 13. Development of chicks of white-tailed eagles in Finland. Source: WWF Finland.

⁴⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/White-tailed_eagle

⁴⁹ <https://www.nrk.no/trondelag/stortinget-gir-gront-lys-til-proveprosjekt-for-a-felle-kongeorn-1.12984588>

The Finnish government pays a yearly compensation to the co-operatives separately based on the golden eagle nesting. These nests are counted yearly by the State Forest Enterprise and based on the successful nesting and the number of born chicks. The calculations are based on the market value of the reindeer meat, the estimated percentage of born calves, and the number of adult females and estimated calf-predation rate.⁵⁰ Reindeer herders do not get any compensation of the reindeer killed by the white-tailed eagle in Finland.

The interviewees are bothered by all this never-ending full-scale protection because it is mostly affecting their livelihood, and the only thing that is supposed to keep them happy in this situation is compensation money. They would prefer peace for their herds over money.

Inf. 1: It should be more like new reindeer instead of the killed one; money is not necessary, a new reindeer would be ideal for me.

For the adult animals killed by eagles (see Figure 14) the compensation comes from the estimated total amount paid to the co-operatives. It is the co-operatives' responsibility to forward the payment for damages to the reindeer owners.



FIGURE 14. This female reindeer has been attacked by a golden eagle. Its lungs are punctured by eagle's claws. This reindeer had to be killed, as it could not be rescued with medical attention. Photo: A.P.

⁵⁰ Game Animal Damages Act 14 §; 2, 4 <http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/2009/20090105>



Figure 15: Golden eagle eating an adult female reindeer killed by wolverine. Photo: A.P.

7.1.8. State law vs. traditional law

Reindeer herding is categorized as a group-differentiated right that, to this day, has a somewhat big effect on maintaining traditional culture. This external protection ensures that both Finnish and Sámi reindeer herders have the same opportunity to live and work in their own culture where the minority exists under the same conditions as the majority.

In Sápmi, where Sámi people are the minority overall, reindeer herding as a livelihood is standing strong among the Sámi and shows continuity as the younger generation has faith in their future (Poromies, 2016: 3). As Kymlicka has noted, where these rights are recognized, members of the majority who choose to enter into the minority's homeland may have to forget certain benefits they are accustomed to, which creates a burden (Kymlicka, 1995: 109). For example, in Sápmi, reindeer herding guarantees the right to move wherever and whenever with a motorized vehicle, based on the herding right. Only reindeer herders can apply for a

special permit to carry a rifle in the vehicle for slaughtering reindeer. These rights are the key to the survival of the culture, but these special rights also create tension between the herders and non-herders.

Inf. 1: I have a carrying license, but it is limited for only the winter season ... if there is an injured reindeer, I need a gun to finish it from the pains, but the police have no understanding.

Thus, without such rights, the members of many minority cultures face the loss of their culture, a loss that we cannot reasonably ask people to accept (Kymlicka, 1995: 109).

But these group-differentiated rights create conflicts and a lot of bad talk: If reindeer herders are the only people in the forest with guns, and protected animals get killed, it shows in the media that reindeer herders get the blame, even if no one is prosecuted or suspected by the police. Reindeer herders have had to create a strict filter when speaking publicly with another reindeer herder.

Inf. 3: We can talk together with other reindeer herders, but there it ends when an outsider comes. Our things we keep strictly for ourselves; if an outsider is close, we are quiet about our things.

Our discussions reveal a big problem for the interviewees: before, guns had been allowed to be carried throughout the year when travelling, but nowadays it is limited just for the winter, ending 28 of February. These rules are something reindeer herders do not understand; that they cannot carry a gun throughout the year, which is necessary in order to catch a reindeer that is partly injured or attacked by a predator. From what I know in my area (Sállevárri), there is the possibility to have a year-round carrying license, but obviously from one area to another, the law can be interpreted differently. In the law, there is a separate paragraph for a reindeer herders applying for a gun license only for reindeer. Interviewees say that, in discussions with police, they get answers suggesting to use their lassos to catch the reindeer. But this restriction is something that reindeer herders do not understand, when it is the question of their tools for the entire autumn, including shooting for slaughter to earn a living.⁵¹

⁵¹ Carrying licences for reindeer herders are from 1.8.2017 not given by police anymore, but instead by Finnish wildlife agency. This is part of a bigger amendment to the law. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-9800633>

Inf. 3: You can get a gun, you can get it if you need it. There is no point making the gun law so strict – as it is now.

Inf 3. points out that, if a person does not have access to a gun, it is possible to get a gun easily from the black market when needed. In older times, everybody who was in the forest or mountains had a gun with them, but nowadays regulations are very strict on having a gun for hunting only in the hunting season. Even though reindeer herders can have a separate gun-carrying license and permit just for shooting reindeer, the law is implemented differently in different parts of Lapland, and implementation varies among the cooperatives. According to Inf. 3, in their area it is only their chief who has a full-time carrying license.

7.1.9. Media and reindeer herding

Reindeer herders are troubled when talking about the media coverage or more likely the lack of it. Interviewees talk about a two-sided blade, if they talk about their problems in the media, and how they can lose friends just by talking to the media. Most value is given to the Sámi Radio for taking Sámi matters seriously, whereas *Lapin Kansa* and Lapin Radio are seen as talking more vaguely and around the matter – for not being precise. Also, Sámi Radio gets a lot of critique for not being around more often and for working from a distance. All in all, Finnish media write more “around” reindeer but not about the issues that reindeer herders would want. Only Sámi Radio writes about the issues reindeer herders want to hear – but far too little.

According to senior officer Jussi Laanikari, in the ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, people are afraid of how nature conservation organizations react if the authorities give licenses to hunt wolverine again. The reindeer herder interviewees are also aware of how nature conservation organizations can use the media.

Inf. 3: It is this craziness that they get, it is so big ... and media, they are so strong through the media, and if they give us license, it can be that they are afraid, nowadays media has so much ... power ...

According to the reindeer herder interviewees, Finnish media is seen as writing in a romanticized manner. Truth is not interesting, and nobody wants to talk about bad things – instead the media choose to write according to how they see it, from a distance. At the same

time, it also hides a lot of information that the reindeer herders would want to come out in the public.

One of the big problems that comes forth in the interviews is the lack of trust among the interviewees toward the Reindeer Herders' Organization. They say that it has not done any good for them, does not represent them, and does not offer any real help, either.

Inf.1: This work feels sometimes like the work of an outlaw. There is no safety by the law, and you don't get any support from the law. At least many times it feels like it.

The interviewees also say that they have experienced that, in cases when they have had a need of police when, for example, reindeer are reported stolen or shot, the police have not come. But if there has been a doubt of an illegal moose hunt or suspicion of an illegal wolverine hunt, then police or border control has been there to investigate. Interviewees feel that there is no value given to if one is a reindeer herder. Reindeer herders are expected to deal with the problems by themselves, without the help from the law enforcement.

7.1.10. Summary

Reindeer herders talk about their livelihood as an inherited right, and nowadays their rights are tied to the reindeer. As Päiviö (2011) says, because of the taxation, the Sámi had to change their lifestyle many hundred years ago to adapt to the crown's demands and tame reindeer. Through this development, the Sámi have no more rights tied to the land with ownership and have changed to nomadism because reindeer were and still are the basis for prosperity, but the right has changed to a right of usufruct. According to Päiviö (2011, 265), this has led to a considerable weakening of the right of reindeer herders in spite of the fact that there is an economic, cultural, and relational continuity, and that they have had the same lands uninterrupted up until today.

Sámi reindeer herders are reluctant to give interviews to the media because they have many times seen how their or other herders' interviews are romanticized or the information relevant to them is not told in the Finnish media. What is surprising is that Yle Sápmi, both radio and TV news, is a big disappointment to the interviewees for making so little news in their area.

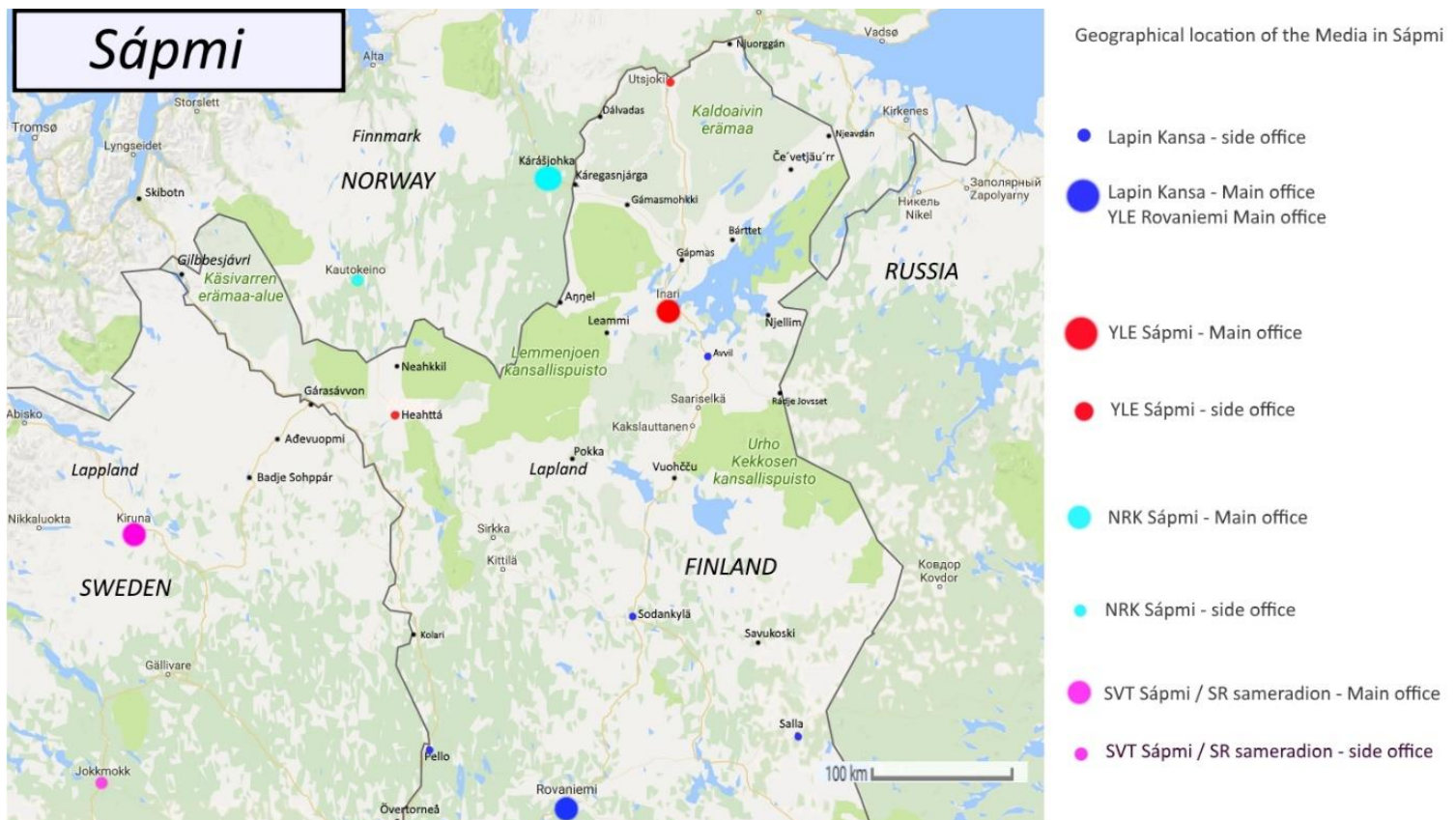


FIGURE 16. Map showing the geographic location of the media studied and also the neighboring Sámi media houses in Sweden and Norway.

Before, *Yle Sápmi* had a radio station in Gárasávvon, but it had to be shut down because of mold. After that the station was relocated to Heahtá (see Figure 16, same as Figure 5), 80 km southeast. Since then there has not been a reporter in the northwestern area. Sámi reindeer herders do not trust the Finnish media, so they expect the Sámi media to stand up, and they want much more thorough news coverage. When asked what would be preferable, one said: “This work that you are doing.” These interviews show that reindeer herders might be reluctant for a reason, but they also show that it is possible to gain trust, if you are interested to hear what they want to tell you. Many times, journalists have a focus that is originating from their superiors, building their case based on this focus. As interviewees say, their

answers are taken out of the context to fit to the stories. As of my own experience, this kind of work it is not fruitful work for a longer period because, especially in Sápmi, there are so little people and all are so well connected. Many people have said to me that they have lost trust in NRK Sápmi because of the end result in the news. If breaking someone's trust, it carries a long way to the other people elsewhere in Sápmi. According to the interviewees, journalists should know the codes of the culture and show respect and have plenty of time with the people who they are interviewing. Journalists have always explanations and reasons why they do not reach out to the people who are concerned. Right now, it seems that the reindeer herders are ready for the media, but the media doesn't know that there are people actually expecting them to arrive at their door step to gain that trust back.

7.2. PART 2: Interviews with journalists

I have conducted interviews with journalists as a researcher but also using my knowledge as an experienced journalist, reflecting upon my situation in my own area. In this work, I put myself into a questionable position from a researcher's point of view as an objective, not just because I am a reindeer herder, but also as I worked at *Yle Sápmi* at the time these interviews were made, in a youth radio programme, and I have been working for 10 years at *Yle Sápmi*. I know most of the people who work in former *Yle Lappi*, now *Yle Rovaniemi*, and I acknowledge that, when making these interviews, I am clearly trying to figure out the routines that my colleagues follow in their daily work and the basic ethics of the newsrooms. *Lapin Kansa* is the only medium for which I have no former work experience in. In any case, I see my role as a journalist more as a benefit, helping me to better understand the everyday life of these three mass mediums, which have the biggest coverage of northernmost Finland and Sápmi.

All of these media have been criticized by the reindeer herders that I have interviewed. Thus, in these interviews we talk about the location of the newsrooms and the journalists affecting journalism, available resources or the lack of them, and exploring positive and negative sides of multimedia journalism. Through example articles, I discuss with the journalists about their work, also unveiling the curtain behind the work that journalists do, in order to reveal what cannot be read or seen in the news.

Lapin Kansa and *Yle Rovaniemi* have their main offices in Rovaniemi, which is the biggest city in the Lapland area, situated just south of the Arctic Circle. *Yle Sápmi* has its main office in Inari, 300 km north from Rovaniemi.

Yle Rovaniemi and *Yle Sápmi* are part of Finnish Broadcasting Company Yle, which is the state-owned public broadcasting company in Finland. *Yle Rovaniemi* is one of the regional broadcasters, *Yle Sápmi* is categorized as a separate unit, producing mostly in Sámi languages. In Yle, there is one responsible editor as head of the Finnish news production in the whole country. The head of *Yle Sápmi* is responsible for all the news production in Sámi languages.

Lapin Kansa also has a long tradition in Sámi history, as it is the key newspaper in the north. Even though *Lapin Kansa* is part of a bigger organization Alma Media, the head of the newspaper, Editor-in-Chief Antti Kokkonen has full responsibility for and control of the content of the paper.

Knowing that these media are run somewhat independently, my interviews aim to find answers to the reindeer herders' dilemma: Is there a reason in the media to the problem they raise that they are not heard? As I have been working the whole time myself as a journalist, the one obvious thing to me was to look into the past to see how the media coverage has been and interrogating about which directions these media are developing in now. A trend has been seen in Finland that resources for journalistic work are getting smaller, but how does this affect these three media?

7.2.1. News Analysis

To compare and see the differences between the three media, I chose to analyze the news stories from the closest possible time to my interviews with the reindeer herders and the officials. The research period became quite long, because the news comes in different seasons. I chose dates 1 August 2015 to 15 June 2016, an over 10-month-long period. In this period, taking all three media together, it appears as if the coverage from a reindeer herder's perspective is quite okay. But when the media are studied separately, huge differences can be seen.

Depending on the search criteria, I ended up with different results. However, when looking just at the predator news, I soon realized that I needed to see what is written otherwise about

reindeer and reindeer husbandry. This meant more work and more articles. The reason for this is to understand the bigger picture in the media coverage of reindeer herding. Scheufele (2000: 299) writes about agenda setting and priming:

“The idea of accessibility is the foundation of a memory-based model of information processing, which assumes that individuals make judgments about other people or issues based on information easily available and retrievable from memory at the time the question is asked (Hastie & Park, 1986; Iyengar, 1990). According to a memory-based model, judgments and attitude formation are directly correlated with ‘the ease in which instances or associations could be brought to mind’” (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973: 208).

Thus, what media write and do not write can be critical in the outcome of what people think about reindeer herding and what kind of conclusions they make about predator issues. According to Scheufele (2000: 299): “Mass media, Iyengar and Kinder (1987) argued, ‘affect the standards by which governments, policies and candidates for public office are judged’ (p. 63). Political issues that are the most salient or accessible in a person’s memory will most strongly influence perceptions of political actors and figures.”

Thus, the hypothesis, along the critique posed by the reindeer herders, is: Media do not care about the situation of the reindeer herders, and they cannot reach people with their message because the media are not there.

When looking at the number of staff, *Lapin Kansa* (50 persons) is over twice the size of *Yle Sápmi* (22) or *Yle Rovaniemi* (23). From this angle, it could be expected that *Lapin Kansa* has the most resources for covering the relevant issues. *Yle Rovaniemi* and *Yle Sápmi* work independently, but there is a long history of sharing the news between these two, the only problem being the differences in language.

First it must be said that neither *Yle* nor *Lapin Kansa* have a capable search engine for their news. For *Yle*, I received a tip to just use Google and switch between different search words and languages, as *Yle Sápmi* mostly produces in northern Sámi and *Yle Rovaniemi* in Finnish.

For *Lapin Kansa*, as they are a commercial paper, 95% of its content is behind a pay wall. I used a user password to gain access to the paper’s digital archives, which are open to all people who pay for the paper. I used its own search engine, the functionality of which was not satisfactory. I later realized that going through the digital paper would have been easier, but

this way, I now know what can and cannot be found from the Internet. Also, as mentioned above, main stories tend to be found via search engines.

I managed to gather news articles with these search words: reindeer, reindeer herder, reindeer herding, predator, wolverine, bear, lynx, wolf, eagle, predator subsidies, and Reindeer Herders' Association. With these words and a lot of scanning on the Internet, I ended up with total of 69 news articles.

TABLE 1. Table shows how three different media have produced news about predators and reindeer herding. Abbreviations: YR = *Yle Rovaniemi*; YS = *Yle Sápmi*; LK = *Lapin Kansa*

Medias	<i>Yle Rovaniemi</i>	<i>Yle Sápmi</i>	<i>Lapin Kansa</i>
Staff (10.3.2017)	23	22	50
		(sm + fin)	(sm + in)
Total news	23	15 + 4	3 + 23
Telegrams	13	3 + 1	7
Editorial			1
News with at least two sources	2	7	11

The total number of news articles is close to the same for all media: YR 23 articles, YS 19 articles (of which four in Finnish), and LK 26 articles (three in Sámi). From these numbers, it appears as if news can be produced even with less staff. But when these articles were examined in more detailed, YR had over of half (13) of the news in telegrams or without any interviewed sources. YS had wider articles (7) and LK had even more (11), whereas YR had only two (2) news with at least two sources.

LK had many articles with three to five sources, where YS had two to three sources, and YR mostly one source.

But, when looking into the detailed distribution of sources, there is one radical difference in the coverage of YR, compared with YS and LK:

TABLE 1. YR has the least sources (nine) in 25 news articles. YS reaching 18 sources in 19 news and LK 33 sources in 26 news.

	YR	YS (sm + fin)	LK
Different Sources	9	18	33
How many times in media (can be same name):			
Politicians	0	0	0
Politicians' press release	1	1	2
Reindeer Herders' Organization	4	6	8
Co-operative leaders	0	5 + 1	8
Reindeer herders	0	4	2
Game officials	7	0	2
Finnish State Forestry	0	1	2
Government officials	0	3	1
Foreign	0	1	1
Business	0	0	4
Nature conservation	0	1	0
Other officials	0	0	3
Youth reindeer herders	0	3	3
Other	0	1	6

What came as a bit of a surprise was that YR had zero (0) interviews with reindeer herders, whereas YS had 13, of which six were co-operative leaders and three young reindeer herders. LK had a total of 13, most of them co-operative leaders (8). YR had four interviews from the Reindeer Herders' Organization, compared with YS, which had six, and LK, which had eight interviews with them. But then YS had zero (0) interviews with game officials, where YR had the most (seven) and LK had two interviews.

Government officials from the ministries play a key role in predator issues, but still YR had no interviews with them, whereas YS had three interviews and LK one. Most remarkable in these statistics is that none of media actually made any interviews with politicians concerning reindeer herding and predators but merely quoted press releases sent by politicians.

7.2.2. News in numbers

When looking into the news in more detail, there are again big differences between the media in their stories and focus.

TABLE 2. Gathered news categorized by its focus in three respective media.

Media	<i>Yle Rovaniemi</i>	<i>Yle Sápmi</i>	<i>Lapin Kansa</i>
News Focus			
Language	Fin	(sm + fin)	(sm + fin)
Predators	22	16	16
Bear	10	2	1
Wolf	8	1	1
Wolverine	1	2 4 +	1 + 3
Press releases wolverine	1	1	2
Lynx	0	0	0
Eagles	0	2	2
Reindeers and predators	9	15	15
Predator compensation	0	2 2 +	1
Predator hunting	1	2	1
Predator numbers			1
Overall reindeer situation	3	3	17
Meat price	1		
Economy	2		
Environment		3	

These numbers show further details about the news coverage. First of all, YR has the most news (22) in the category of predators, YS with 16 and LK with 16 news. But when considering the news, where predators are discussed in the context of the reindeer, numbers change: whereas YS and LK have 15 news stories with this focus, YR drops down to nine news stories. YR dominates in writing news about bear hunts (10) and licensed hunts of the wolf in the reindeer herding areas (eight), in total 18 news stories, whereas YS has three stories and LK has two. What is not seen in these findings is that, in LK, these small hunting news stories are usually in the print version of the paper or the digital paper and cannot be found on the Internet. So why is it that Finnish media report predator hunts when the Sámi media does not?

YS has the most stories focusing on wolverines (six, of which four are in Sámi and two are translated into Finnish); the two others have less with no significant difference (LK three and YR two). YR has nothing on eagles, whereas LK (two) and YS (two) have some news and YS reaches with these news stories the target area of Käsivarsi (YS, 2016).

LK definitely has focus on the overall reindeer situation with 17 news, whereas YS (three) and YR (three) have a lot to consider in this regard. In Section 7.3, the content of the articles about wolverines is summarized.

7.2.3. The three dominating media in Sápmi

Changes in the media during the past years have been mostly aimed at cost reduction, which, in practice, has meant less jobs. For the biggest weekly newspaper in North Finland, *Lapin Kansa* (established in 1928), like for all newspapers, the Internet and handheld devices have lowered readership, but the newspaper with its web site still holds a strong position among the media. Before, *Lapin Kansa* and another Southern Lapland newspaper, *Pohjolan Sanomat*, functioned separately with different news rooms but sharing most of the news, as they belonged to the same company, Alma Media.

In March 2015, Alma Media decided to merge its editorial offices of the two newspapers, and 30 people were fired. At the same time, a change was made in publication periodicity: the daily papers had to reduce their print version to a six-day paper. No newspaper is now produced in Lapland on Sundays, only the digital version is published on the Internet. This change has led to that much of the content being read per pay view; as with all of the news I searched for in my research, I found news that can be read if you have paid for it.

Pohjois-Suomen Media as part of Alma Media consists of eight newspapers with merged editorial offices: *Lapin Kansa*, *Pohjolan Sanomat*, and *Kainuun Sanomat* and five local newspapers. As of March 2017, the *Pohjolan Sanomat* newspaper no longer exists, when *Lapin Kansa* changed to cover the whole Lapland.⁵²

⁵² <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-9497625>

Editor-in-chief of *Lapin Kansa*, Antti Kokkonen, says that paper distribution is steadily dropping by a yearly 5%, but at the same time digital subscriptions are going up. It is still not enough.

“In fact, we have started to talk about total distribution, when counting together how much the print has gone down and how many new subscriptions we have got digitally, then we talk about a total 3% drop rate.”

Thus, for *Lapin Kansa*, readership is critical, and the media house is in a need of new readers who are willing to pay for the information.

As *Yle Rovaniemi* and *Yle Sápmi* are both parts of the Finnish public broadcasting company Yle, they should not need to be concerned about clicks and readers, as they are reachable without any passwords. Still, both newsrooms admit that they follow very carefully the most-read articles. During the time period that I have chosen, *Yle Sápmi* has had huge changes with its working offices having moved many times and spread to many locations around the Inari municipality, which is their main location. The director, Maria Saijets, was not working at *Yle Sápmi* at the time of my research period (August 2015 to June 2016) but has been working in the Sámi media over 15 years both in NRK Sápmi and SVT Ođđasat.

“The last two years have been the most challenging with so much travelling and so many changes in the staff. So all of this may have had effects on not being able to do the things we had in our focus. But now the last six months have been quite stable with the staff.”

Perttu Ruokangas has worked over 10 years for *Yle Rovaniemi*, and he has also seen big changes at their work place, or in their working environment.

“There is this development that *Yle* is cutting down the staff elsewhere around us, but not from here. Our focus is too much on Rovaniemi and its surroundings, also in news making. Now there is less focus around Lapland.”

According to Ruokangas, *Yle Rovaniemi* had a reporter before in Inari, and when that place was gone, there was one reporter in Vuotso for a while. Now for years there has not been a dedicated reporter in the north and only one reporter outside Rovaniemi, working in Kemijärvi. Otherwise, all news is made from Rovaniemi, and Ruokangas admits there is a need for a reporter in the northern and western parts of Sápmi.

Yle Sápmi has three functional locations in Hetta, Utsjoki, and Inari as the headquarters. According to Director Maria Saijets, there is too much focus on Inari:

“Most of our staff work in Inari. We have one person in Hetta, hoping to get another one soon. In Utsjoki we do not have anyone permanently there.”

Saijets admits, when I mentioned the focus of my research, that Giehtaruohtas/Käsivarsi is a challenging area where they travel very seldom but says that the distance is no excuse; they should have had news from that region. So what is the explanation?

Antti Kokkonen has been the editor-in-chief for eight years, and he sees that the merger of the editorial offices of *Pohjolan Sanomat* and *Lapin Kansa* have made the papers stronger, meaning that they now print basically two identical newspapers with different names.⁵³ But when looking geographically, when Kokkonen started, there were eight regional reporters of which two were not permanent, and now they have only four regional reporters, one in Ivalo, one in Sodankylä, one in Ranua/Posio, one in Pello, and in addition one part-time in Salla. For *Lapin Kansa*, the only explanation given as to why there are less regional reporters is that the print paper is made in Rovaniemi; thus, most of the staff needs to be there.

Thus, it is not such a big puzzle to figure out why not so many stories are published about Giehtaruohtas/Käsivarsi: there are no reporters in the field close by. *Yle Sápmi* has the closest reporter in Hetta, which is about a 200 km drive to Gilbbesjávri, the biggest village in Giehtaruohtas/Käsivarsi.

When going deeper into the changes of the media world, *Lapin Kansa* as a commercial medium has suffered from the development of social media, which has affected most journalism.

Kokkonen says: “Now anybody gets their voice heard. It can be said that the position *Lapin Kansa* has had was almost a monopoly, but it was much closer to that still eight years ago. Of course, *Yle* was strong and still is, but ... there were not even close as many social media channels at use back then.”

According to Kokkonen, the aim of *Lapin Kansa* is to transfer the same credibility it has on paper to the webpage and not to look for clicks, which weakens the brand. Thus, *Lapin Kansa*

⁵³ Since 12.4.2017, *Pohjolan Sanomat* and *Lapin Kansa* is printed only as *Lapin Kansa*.

even consciously might differ from the other papers of Alma Media, with its attempt to build credibility on the web and to be trustworthy instead of hunting for clicks.

But when it comes to reindeer herding and predators, Kokkonen admits that *Lapin Kansa* needs clicks, too, and might have been affected in some choices of topics, like those related to licensed hunts in the reindeer herding area. These issues are seen as very good news material, and they are quite attractive on the web. *Lapin Kansa* has a big screen in the center of the office with an analytics programme, showing in real time how many readers there are and what they are reading.

A.K.: We have many sort of “hot” topics in Lapland, but it needs to be a topic with some conflicts that wakes up emotions and for example the predator issues are many times bigger than their regular news value would justify.

Ruokangas from *Yle Rovaniemi* sees *Lapin Kansa* as a worthy competitor, and the predator hunting news seems to lead to rivals for these two media, both competing for the same readers, but at what cost? Most of the news published by *Yle Rovaniemi* was just about the killing of the animal – not explaining the cause why the license was granted, and again, no reindeer herders were interviewed.

The effects in these cases are to be seen in social media with two very opposite sides being present: “green people” are strongly critical about killing predators and bring forward how these should be protected, whereas hunters support the hunting news stories and bring forward how important it is to hunt them because there are so many predators. This argumentation between the opposite sides just makes more clicks for the media, and it looks good in the statistics.

All of the media interviewees talk about the news making about reindeer herding in sections around the year. Many times, news is tied to some events, like reindeer round-ups or calf markings. One of the sure gatherings all report is the reindeer parliament at the first week of June, when most the reindeer herders gather for the yearly parliament of the Reindeer Herders’ Association.

Perttu Ruokangas says that *Yle Rovaniemi* is not doing enough compared with the amount of people it effects:

“It is still quite little that we do, and then the most weight is on predator issues and the concerns to the reindeer. When talking about predators and reindeer, we cover how much subsidies they got, but we have made very little about the everyday life of reindeer herders. I bet that it is quite marginal in all news.”

Ruokangas is betting right: The statistics of analyzed news articles show that not a single reindeer herder was interviewed during 10 months, nor government officials. Most of their news is about predator politics and interviews with game officials or officials from the Reindeer Herders’ Association but not with the persons upon whom the news has the biggest effect. This is what my interviewed reindeer herders say is the problem. If they speak to the media about the predator issue, they become live targets as murderers, and they feel they instantly become suspects of poaching.

7.2.4. Multimedia work with multitasking

These results from *Yle Rovaniemi* (YR) are harsh and show that the main part in news about predator damages is totally ignored in the media. For this medium, it is enough to interview someone from the Reindeer Herders’ Association. But this matter is more complicated inside Yle because of the news sharing. *Yle Sápmi* (YS) and YR have a long history of sharing news and co-operation, which, according to Ruokangas, was working very well during the research period, meaning that articles written by YS in Finnish were tagged so they were also visible on the YR website and vice versa.

For *Yle Sápmi*, the situation is totally different compared with the other media, when their aim is to be the voice of the Sámi people. Maria Saijets says that the wide area of Sápmi itself is a challenge, knowing that YS needs to tell about Sámi matters around Finland and also cover indigenous issues to their audience. In that sense, *Yle Sápmi* is a lot bigger than the regional desk that it officially represents. All of the staff in YS speak and write fluent Finnish, but, as the budget has been shaped to produce news in the Sámi language, news in Finnish is a side product, produced when YS have resources and time to translate.

Sari Pietikäinen has studied a lot of minority language media, especially Sámi media. In her work, she refers to Dorian (1991), Fishman (1991), Crystal (2001) and others who comment on the need for minority languages to be present in the media, simply to index their role in the modern world within the nation state, from a status-planning point of view (see also

Diatchkova, 2008). This process often translates into the “gifting” (Kalish, 2005) or allocation of (usually very limited) media space or airtime by the state-run media to a minority language. The nation-state is the most obvious actor in the “gifting” era, managing multilingualism at a national level by allowing access and visibility for certain of its minority-language speakers while denying it to others. Another key actor in this area are the minority-language activists, often a group of people or sometimes just individuals, working to make minority media happen, pressuring and lobbying for the creation of their media (Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2011: 58)

When looking back to the news analysis, *Yle Sápmi* shows relatively good figures when comparing the amount of staff, but then again, Inari is located in the heart of the Finnish side of Sápmi with several Sámi languages to serve. Maria Sajets speaks with heavy tone of the responsibility to make news in the three languages that are around the Inari region (Northern Sámi, Inari Sámi, and Skolt Sámi):

“...And there is a lot that we translate. Our responsibility is to the Sámi speaking people and our responsibility is to publish in three Sámi languages. This means that we need to have a platform in Internet, radio, TV in Northern, Anaraš, and Eastern Sámi languages and to some extent in Finnish, too; all of our TV broadcasts are subtitled in Finnish. Just to manage three languages and three different media is a bit of challenge.”

All of the media concur that smaller resources cause the news reach to shrink to the close-range neighborhood, and many of the possible topics are not reached. All of the media say that news can be made by telephone interviews, but the margin of errors grows bigger when journalists are not in the field face to face with the interviewees. With this latter point in mind, that leaves the question why YR has not interviewed the reindeer herders.



FIGURE 17. Wolverine visiting a reindeer carcass that it possibly had killed earlier. Photo: A.P.

7.3. Articles with wolverines in focus summarized

Most of what reindeer herders say in my interviews is about the conflict of understanding the problem caused by too many wolverines. When looking at what is written about the wolverines, which create most of the damage and are on a wanted list for reindeer herders, the mismatch is obvious. There were 10 articles on this subject in three media written during the time period. *Lapin Kansa* published three direct or semi-direct articles about wolverines, *Yle Rovaniemi* published only one, but direct, article about wolverines, whereas *Yle Sápmi* published four articles in Northern Sámi, and two of them were translated into Finnish.

In my study, the articles are numbered with a running number. The first news item in my material was published by *LK* (three) on 10 August 2015, when there was a local meeting in Rovaniemi about the large carnivores in EU. The leader of the Reindeer Herders' Association Anne Ollila says that the predator conflict is no longer so bad, but the next thing is to get enactment for the wolverine, followed with a quota for license hunt by predation. The European Commission organized the meeting but cannot work as a negotiator, says Andras Demeter from the commission. Nature conservationists are worried about the wolverine but understand the situation for the reindeer herders.

[Pictures: Close up with Ollila, Demeter, and Heli Siira]

YS (31 only in Sámi language) published the news on the same subject, the forum for the large carnivores, a couple of days later on 10 December 2015. The news presents the same comments from Ollila as in LK about the situation, in which there is no longer such a bad conflict. The news adds comments from a Sámi representative from the Sallivaara co-operative, Magreta Sara, which is new to the story. Her view is that all parties now listen better to what reindeer herders say, but a lot needs to be proven to make a point. She still sees there is a long way to go to reach a consensus on predator politics, even though the Reindeer Herders' Association has done a lot of work. The forum pointed out that the question is not how reindeer herders tolerate predators but how to save reindeer herding as a livelihood. Another comment was about how expensive it is when predators kill so many reindeers and the carcasses have to be found. The compensation money is not enough, and Sara says this information is crucial in decision-making. The wolverine makes more damages than all the other predators together. Thus, to get licenses for a wolverine, accurate numbers are needed, and politicians need to be convinced about the situation. Researcher Ilpo Kojola admits that there is no clear system to estimate an accurate number of wolverines.

[Pictures: Magreta Sara in Sámi traditional regalia and Anne Ollila]

YR (67) on 15 March 2016 published positive news based on an interview with Anne Ollila about better reindeer meat prices and slaughter numbers that have slightly increased. The wolverine causes worry of big damages, but for over 30 years it has been protected. Over 7 million euro are reserved for the damages by doubling the normal amount. The money is not enough; there needs to be a more efficient hunting license policy. Reindeer meat is selling well, but there is not enough to meet the demand on the market, Ollila says.

[Picture: A half body of a reindeer inside a fence]

A week later (22 March 2016) the same article is used by YS (33, only in Sámi language), adding more detail into the discussion, stressing that the worst situation is in the mountain areas in the north and in the east, at the Russian border. According to Ollila, there has not been so much damage during the year (2015–2016). Finland has created a population management plan for the wolverine in 2014, to control the population. The representatives of the Finnish Parliament from the north made a statement last autumn to get a licensed hunt started for the wolverine. MP Markus Lohi said in a press release that it should be possible to

give licenses already in winter 2016. Anne Ollila says that it is the only way to cut down the numbers of predators to secure the livelihood.

[Picture: Reindeer killed by wolverine and a snowmobile. (Picture taken by A.P.)]

YS (34 in Sámi; 35 in same news in Finnish) made this talk concrete a week later, on 31 March 2016. Wolverines have increased in mountain areas [reindeer herders demand a licensed hunt]. There are so many wolverines that they are now on a killing spree, and wolverines hunt in groups like wolves do. The leader of the Reindeer Herders' Association, Anne Ollila, comments on the conservation of the wolverine causing trouble for the reindeer herders. The leader of the Muotkatunturi co-operative, Tarmo Lietoff, says that the habit of wolverines has changed; they are killing 15 reindeers in a pile in the mountain areas. A reindeer herder from the neighbor co-operative Muddusjärvi, Uuno Angeli, says that they do not have the same problem because they have woodlands, and the conditions are not good for the wolverine there. According to the Ministry of Forestry and Agriculture, there are not enough wolverines to give licenses for the hunt of wolverine.

[Pictures: Tarmo Ljetoff, Uuno Angeli, and Anne Ollila]

YR (68) on 20 April 2016 published follow-up news about wolverine numbers. Researchers say that the number of wolverines remains a mystery, but the estimate is now 250–300 total in Finland, half of these in Lapland. Wolverine numbers are estimated by counting the tracks in spring, in co-operation with reindeer herders and the State Forest enterprise. Still, the yearly changes in the number of killed reindeers create uncertainty among researchers. Added to these counts there are thousands of track observations outside of the reindeer herding area. According to researcher Ilpo Kojola, 15 years ago there were 400–500 observations yearly. Now there are over 3,000. Now they are starting a research based on genetics (DNA tests).

[Picture: Close up; wolverine in a zoo]

YS (40 in Sámi; 41 in Finnish). On 24 May 2016 news was published moving from the numbers of wolverines in regards to how officials see the wolverine numbers. According to senior inspector Jussi Laanikari from the Ministry of Forestry and Agriculture, even though licenses are given to hunt wolverines, it will not affect the whole predation. According to Laanikari, next autumn, the minister and ministry are going to decide how to go forward with wolverine hunting licenses. If wolverine enactment goes forward, there needs to be hearings.

According to Laanikari, the possibility to permit the hunt of wolverines is restricted because the law is against it. He does not believe that it would make an effect to the damages. The worst year by far has been 2013, when over 3,500 reindeer were killed by wolverine. In these circumstances, there are licenses for brown bear, lynx and damage preventive licenses for wolf.

[Pictures: Big picture, wolverine close up and in smaller picture Jussi Laanikari]

LK (24). On 6 June 2016 news was published that reindeer herders are doing at least averagely well. The 68th Reindeer Parliament was held in Rovaniemi. Meat prices are rising, and damages have decreased. There is a demand for side products such as horns. Vice chairman for Reindeer Herders' Association, Nils-Heikki Näkkäljärvi, says that wolverine creates a lot of damage, especially in Sámi co-operatives. There should finally be some licenses. Jaana Husu-Kallio, from the Ministry of Forestry and Agriculture, says that other livelihoods do not show as good numbers as reindeer herding does. More money is not promised, nor is there an answer to the predator problem. Answers will be given in autumn 2016. The chief director from the Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment, Pirkko Saarela, advised reindeer herders on how to make reindeer a luxury product and reminded readers that values are changing. Peoples' attitudes toward overused grazing lands and toward predators can change dramatically, and productivity of reindeer herding cannot go up by increasing the amount of reindeer; nature cannot handle it.

LK (26). On 14 June 2016 published news on that the wolverine population rises, but even researchers do not know how much – collar tracking does not work. The last estimation of the population was made in 2013, but old numbers do not match the reality. Reindeer herders have constantly expressed their dissatisfaction with the growing wolverine predation. Researcher Samuli Heikkinen from the Natural Resources Institute of Finland says that the wolverine population has become stronger everywhere in Finland, but there is no decent surveillance system for them. With the collars, there would be more accurate information about the areas where wolverines travel. The body structure of the wolverine avoids the GPS collar to stay on the neck. According to Heikkinen, there seems to be no answer to the tracking problem.

[Picture: Close up, a wolverine named Rasputin in a zoo]



7.3.1. Reindeer herders' voices are not heard

These reviews reveal that a lot is said about reindeer and wolverines in the media. But as noted earlier in the interviews with reindeer herders, they feel that their voices are not being heard in the media. All the journalists interviewed have a fast response to this claim that reindeer herders themselves have trouble getting in front of the camera to talk about these issues.

But looking again at the statistics, numbers show that *Yle Rovaniemi* and *Lapin Kansa* actively conduct interviews with the Reindeer Herders' Association, and *Lapin Kansa* also has a lot with the leaders or the co-operatives, but very few of the interviews are made with Sámi reindeer herders, unlike *Yle Sápmi*, which has interviewed mostly Sámi reindeer herders or indigenous reindeer herders (YS, 2015).

There is thus a reason to go deeper into this issue of reindeer herders feeling they are not given a voice, and journalists saying that the herders are not giving interviews.

Lapin Kansa follows the same logic as in all political reporting, that people with mandates are the ones to interview.

Antti Kokkonen: We have noticed also that because we are not present and do not know the people, it is much harder to get the other (than mandated) people to speak.

All of the journalist interviewees say that reindeer herders are sensitive and careful about what they say in the public, especially when talking about difficult and conflicting issues.

Perttu Ruokangas: I don't know if the fault is in the media, that we are in some way ... how many reindeer herders think that we are trying to make things difficult for them, for the livelihood? For example, some years ago we had an awful lot of news about these illegal hunting crimes, in which reindeer herders were the defendants in many cases. So, do they suspect that there is a conspiracy against reindeer herding? There isn't really, but from the outside, it can look like that – like I then realized that there were a lot of news in a short period of time.”

Yle Sápmi as a Sámi media has an advantage, when having the possibility to interview reindeer herders in their own language. Maria Saijets, coming from the inside of Sámi society, knows the problem that reindeer herders might have. The Reindeer Herders' Association seems to be more important to the Finnish-speaking media, whereas Sámi media goes straight to the co-operatives.

Maria Saijets: Of course what effects the debate is that, among the Sámi co-operatives, there is not much trust in that Sámi co-operatives are well enough tied to decision-making processes. In the north, people see the Reindeer Herders' Organization as a Finnish organization.

7.3.2. Too much conflict-oriented news

The journalist interviewees say that reindeer herding news is tied very much to the yearly circulation of events, such as reindeer round-ups and calf markings or the yearly Reindeer Parliament.⁵⁴ But the published news and the interviews with journalists confirm that the most focus, when talking about predators and reindeers, is on how much subsidies the reindeer herders received and how many predators were killed in licensed hunts. This would be news from a negative angle.

⁵⁴A yearly summit for the members of the Reindeer Herders' Association, where a new board is elected from the Sámi and Finnish reindeer co-operatives.

Perttu Ruokangas: But we have made very little about the everyday life of reindeer herders. I bet that it is quite marginal in all in our news.

Antti Kokkonen: Therefore, I would see all that kind of news necessary because there are so many prejudices. Social media in particular, it is alleged, contains this and that about predator damages. However, there is malevolence, those who want to spread (prejudice). When you said just now that a reindeer herder must earn himself there (in the forest) the respect by doing, then there are people who think that surely no one out there is doing nothing else than just drinking and then just go killing the reindeer and then receive a large compensation. That there is prejudice.

A.P.: Stereotypes?

Antti Kokkonen: Stereotypes. Those should, in a sense to disassembly those, that is just it, to do a story about ordinary (people). At the moment, I am interested to see what is, say, everyday life of a young reindeer family with small children; the other is perhaps at a wage job. That kind of stuff should be done much more.

Where Saijets mentions the challenges working with a small staff, Kokkonen sees that these everyday life issues with reindeer herders are not maybe in the newspaper because of the journalistic logics, that there always needs to be that hook of conflict for the reader. Media are in a need of creating conflict-oriented news because they have taught people to read these kinds of stories, and they do not have the guts to write other kind of stories, being afraid to lose readers. But in light of what Kokkonen says about the reindeer herding as one of the important livelihoods, it is strange that this livelihood is often presented to be in conflict with other livelihoods such as mining, so that the newspaper enhances or strengthens the image of the reindeer herders as always complaining about something and that they are against “the progress of society.”

7.3.3. A challenge to make news in the tundra

All of the journalist interviewees talk about the long distances and logistic problems with making news about reindeer herding, that many times people are far from the office; in most cases, it is not on usual worktime. Cases demand a lot of planning, and still they cannot be sure if reindeers are in the fence at the time planned.

A.P.: You cannot set a time?

Perttu Ruokangas: Exactly. It is difficult, like for you, too, with the deadlines – especially for *Yle Sápmi*, the deadline for TV is even earlier than it is for us. If we do for the TV, it needs to be agreed upon way before. Planning needs to be rock solid.

7.3.4. Summary

The interviews with journalists show that the situation is quite similar for *Yle Sápmi* and *Yle Rovaniemi*, when looking at the media they are producing. The huge difference and benefit for *Yle Sápmi* is its location 300 km north from the two other media. It is to be noted here that the Reindeer Herders' Association is located in Rovaniemi, which makes it much more accessible for the Finnish media. But it is not just about locality – it is also about what comes from being close to your sources. It is essential to know key individuals and to build personal relationships of trust that spread out into the community.

A big issue seems to be the simple fact of not having regional reporters. If this issue is extended to consider its consequences for the community as a whole, and the situation is reflected not just on reindeer herding but on other news also, then an even bigger issue rises. Then it is not just about reindeer herders but about indigenous people at a whole.

Waisbord (2013: 97) presents a variety of arguments that find the very idea of professionalism problematic for journalism to contribute to democratic life. This critique finds the intention to shape journalism along the lines of professionalism troublesome. It does not simply a question of whether journalism should subscribe to specific conventions because such conventions arguably constrict reporting and produce formulaic and predictable news.

“Journalism’s position is analogous to the role of legislatures and technocratic elites who control decisions that affect citizens. Hierarchical assumptions are embedded in the conventional notion that journalism tells people what to know and, accordingly, relegates citizens to passive roles” (Waisbord, 2013: 108; Deuze, 2005b,)

In light of my research, I question whether these media can hide their responsibility by just saying that there are not enough resources, or that news is made according to journalistic ethics. Trying to solve the puzzle, there is one development on the Norwegian and Swedish side mentioned by Maria Saijets. There, reindeer herders have started posting videos on social

media about reindeers killed by predators, just by using their own smartphones, trying to show and change the view of the majority about the predator problems of reindeer herding.

8. Sámi media's role as indigenous media

There are about 350 million indigenous people who make up 5% of the world's population. To the indigenous peoples, it has been first surprising and then relieving to see how similar suffering stories there are among these peoples.

Nation states have suppressed indigenous peoples through school systems and thereby systematically started assimilation processes in the 1950s and 1960s (and much earlier, too); for example, in Canada, USA, Greenland, and Sápmi (Finland, Sweden, Norway, Russia), and these stories are told by the people who experienced it around the world. Even more radical ways have been used as in Australia, where Aboriginal children were separated from their families and put to white colonist-settler families to be taught "white people's" manners and way of life, which is nowadays known as the "stolen generations."

Common historical experiences today put indigenous peoples across the world into similar struggles for their rights. Their experience and political mobilization remain central to the necessary developments in political philosophy and in international law; and in the struggles of the political economy of the media (Markelin, 2003: 282). In the light of Markelin's research, things have really not developed as many people expected. In 2007, finally the UN permanent forum on indigenous issues endorsed the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). Now when I am writing this, 10 years have passed and still UNDRIP is not implemented in the Finnish national legislation. Still indigenous peoples such as the Sámi are even more dependent on international agreements, when national legislation weakens the rights for Sámi people. The same seems to apply to the media. As there is not more resources available for news making, the mismatch between people's needs for accurate information and the supply of journalism grows. The interviews and examples presented above show that more quality news is needed in the social media era to correct stereotyping and erroneous information, whilst social media also can contribute to give voice to indigenous peoples.

"Native people are doing for themselves what cannot be accomplished by the mainstream media. They are sharing their communities' concerns in their own stories, uninterrupted by

cultural interpreters and reporters and reporters who lack the background to understand the complex issues of contemporary native life ...” (Peggy Berryhill, Native American broadcast producer, in Alia 2009: xi)

“To me one of the answers comes through native people creating books, films and radio stations. I believe control of our own institutions is going to empower us; being able to get the story, tell our story, work and edit our own stories ... For the first time, native people are on the breaking edge of information technology in terms of computer systems and the Internet, which means that we’re going back to an old tradition, the oral visual presentation and the storyteller’s credibility” (Paul De Main, Oneida/Ojibway journalist, in Alia 2009: xi)

To be able to use the storyteller’s credibility, you need the background of contemporary native life, and if the people with these abilities are refused an opportunity to present their stories, the fourth world might never rise. That is why the Dakota Access pipeline fight (DAPL) in Standing Rock, North Dakota, was so empowering. It showed to the world how little the U.S. mainstream media was covering the protests against the pipeline project, but how these independent “activist” media rose to occasion with Facebook livestreams and wide news coverage to turn the pages that would not otherwise have reached the world. But DAPL also showed how independent persons can act as a medium to serve information, even if it is not wanted on governmental level.

One very important issue that this research has brought about is that, as an indigenous journalist, you have to have your background deeply rooted in your indigenous culture. A background in the culture makes work easier, whereas following Western media rules everything can go wrong if those rules are not melted together with traditional knowledge and respect of codes existing in the environment or community.

It is also crucially important for an indigenous journalist to know his/her rights, and it is also an obligation for journalists to know the rights of the indigenous peoples (Henriksen, 2015). The Idle No More campaign in Canada (Coulthard, 2014) is an example that went global and presents a challenge for indigenous journalists, how not to be activists in the process, at the same time fighting for your rights.

Coulthard (2014) introduces a four-step model of indigenous waves of uprising in Canada, in his book *Red Skin, White Masks*. According to Coulthard, indigenous identity claims are in

some form of a renewed legal and political relationship with the Canadian state. Although these models tend to vary in both theory and practice, most of them call for the delegation of land, capital, and political power from the state to indigenous communities through a combination of land claim settlements, economic development initiatives, and self-government agreements (Coulthard, 2014:3).

As Coulthard concludes:

Settler–colonialism has rendered us a radical minority in our own homelands, and this necessitates that we continue to engage with the state’s legal and political system. What our present condition does demand, however, is that we begin to approach our engagements with the settler–state legal apparatus with a degree of critical self-reflection, skepticism, and caution that has to date been largely absent in our efforts. It also demands that we begin to shift our attention away from the largely rights-based/recognition orientation that has emerged as hegemonic over the last four decades, to a resurgent politics of recognition that seeks to practice decolonial, gender-emancipatory, and economically nonexploitative alternative structures of law and sovereign authority grounded on a critical refashioning of the best of Indigenous legal and political traditions” (Coulthard, 2014: 179).

The difference here is that, in Canada, they have engaged in a truth and reconciliation process with the native people of the land. In Sápmi, such official hearings have just started with the Norwegian state. In Finland and Sweden, these processes seem to be starting in 2017. In 2015, the Swedish church voted in favour of ILO 169, putting pressure to the government; in 2016, the Swedish church announced that the truth and reconciliation process should be started with Sámi people.⁵⁵ In Russia, these discussions seem to be a far-fetched dream right now and in the near future, as political activities for the minorities are not supported by the government and people have been taken to custody and accused as foreign spies.⁵⁶

How could this affect our journalists then? Let us look at how this can work in practice, so we can remain in Canada. In 1999, the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) was established. It is one of the members of the World Indigenous Broadcasters Network (WITBN). APTN director Jean LaRose says that there has to be indigenous journalism, and it

⁵⁵ <https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/svenska-kyrkan-vill-forsonas-med-samer>

⁵⁶ <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-9347826>

seems to annoy the government. APTN has had an impact on major broadcasters like CTV and CBC, as APTN is trying to look at issues from another angle: “You will see, no stories are the same” (LaRose, 2015). LaRose sets the value on earning accountability within the community, but to achieve it actions need to be appropriate, and it takes time to ask questions from the communities in a respectful way. LaRose says that journalists have to be able to ask good questions but also at the same time be “native journalists” (LaRose, 2015).

In the process of accepting or declining discourses and information, journalists and media play a crucial role. As is often mentioned, journalism is a gatekeeper of publicity – nowadays perhaps less than five or 10 years ago, but it nevertheless has power to create the public discourse. McCoy claims that the media perform functions that alter our conceptions of knowledge and truth. In Western societies, truth is largely articulated through media (McCoy, 1988: 84).

During the last couple of years, the changes in journalism have affected journalists so much that one could compare some of them to race horses with their eyes covered on the sides: they are blinkered. Journalists are working more than ever with multitasking, having less abilities to go far outside the office. At the same time, reindeer herders are saying that you no longer see journalists. Officials can be content as they have come up with a system that works for them. With press releases, they can control the media, and media takes the bait as an easy savior for the day.

The bigger news with wider coverage is less frequent. Journalists are aware of this, but, as they work for a company, they say they have to fill in the day plan to earn a salary, and then many cases are written to fit a bigger audience, to get the clicks. And then there is the reindeer herder complaining about not getting his voice heard: living in a setting of old tradition, using all the nowadays luxuries, at the same time having access to places where “regular” people from the south have no access, the wilderness. Also, the realities of reindeer herding make them difficult to get for the journalists, as reindeer herders work in difficult locations with changing and often unpredictable schedules.

I have heard many stories in my interviews, which are obvious topics for news stories that are yet not told in the media. The Finnish Ministry of Forestry and Agriculture (Laanikari, 2016) implicates that the wolverine population could be counted with DNA testing, while the government does not have the money. Or when Tuomo Ollila from the State Forest Service

says there is no problem because Norway has money for DNA testing, and Finland has been sending the samples to Norway for years already, which is something the reindeer herders have not heard about before I told them. These issues put the researcher in front of the question: Why all this secrecy, is it by purpose or just a communication failure? Reindeer herders have to live with a suspicion – right or wrong – of being guilty of illegal hunting. But for them all this is not a game; it is about their life and survival. All the other people in this complex relation are getting paid for their work by somebody else. For the reindeer herders, protecting their own property (reindeer) has become illegal by a legislative system that shows no respect for indigenous rights.

One reindeer herder thought long and hard why he has to be careful about what to say in public. He finally came to the conclusion that it may be racism. In the area where my interviews were conducted, the Sámi people are in the minority, and the reindeer are mostly owned only by the Sámi. When you go farther south, there many unsolved crimes every year of illegally killed reindeer. And if conflict develops there inside a co-operative, police have, in many cases, said that the members have to settle it between themselves. But, when talking about predators and illegal hunting, the government has a lot of resources for intervening – and not just in Finland; as a recent case has shown, also in Sweden, 50 police were involved at the same time to capture suspects in an illegal hunt operation.⁵⁷

According to Professor Glen Coulthard, who has studied the reasons behind the Idle No More campaign in Canada, the theory and practice of indigenous anti-colonialism, including indigenous anti-capitalism, is best understood as a struggle primarily inspired by and oriented around the question of land. It is a struggle not only for land in the material sense but also deeply informed by the land as a system of reciprocal relations, and obligations can teach us about living our lives in relation to one another and the natural world in nondominating and nonexploitative terms – and less around our emergent status as “rightless proletarians.” (Coulthard, 2014: 13). These same themes have become more apparent around the world, in places where indigenous peoples are realizing their rights and starting to demand them.

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https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/sapmi/bolesat_burge_stobuid_via_sajis_norrbottenis__ohcamin_duoastusaid_suolabi_vddus/9138984

Knowledge and power relations in predator dispute

The integration of traditional knowledge and scientific knowledge has been discussed for decades. Coordination between the two has been a cornerstone in the efforts to involve the northern indigenous peoples into management of natural resources and evaluation of environmental damages (Nadasdy, 1999: 1). If traditional knowledge is seen as just new information that can be adapted to scientific knowledge, according to Nadasdy, indigenous peoples are forced to express themselves in ways that do not comply with their own beliefs, values, and practices. Scientists and managers of natural resources are those on whose terms the production of information takes place and who end up deploying this “combined” information, so that the coordination of the project is meant to serve, in fact, to the centralization of power in administrative centers. This does not serve the empowerment of indigenous communities and the requirements of land management to be fulfilled (Nadasdy, 1999: 1).

For the interviewed reindeer herders in Giehtaruohtas/Käsivarsi, most actions are controlled by the “land owner,” the State Forestry Service, the authority of the wilderness area management authorities, but are more vulnerable than protected by Wilderness Act.

“It is evident that the Wilderness Act safeguards the facilities of reindeer herding by prohibiting sale of land and major encroachments such as roads. However, from the reindeer herders’ point of view, the protection measures are currently not sufficient. The herders are referring to disturbances caused by promotion of recreational use of nature and nature tourism industry. Yet, the situation is not altogether unambiguous. On one hand, increased and intensified use of nature may conflict with the needs of reindeer herding for peaceful pastures. On the other hand, reindeer and reindeer herding are important images for nature tourism. In addition, some reindeer herding families receive part of income from nature tourism related occupations, and therefore may profit from promotion activities” (Heikkilä, 2006: 341).

9. Conclusions

My research started from a conviction that there is a problem among the media to reach the core news in its reporting on predator issues and especially in reaching Sámi reindeer herders. When I began to write this thesis, I thought it might be easier for me to approach the reindeer herders and find their answers to the problem because I am a Sámi, a reindeer herder, and a journalist. Then again, from a researcher's point of view, many said to me that it is going to be an activist research. But for me it is about the untold story, and if I do not tell this story, how long do I have to wait to hear it or read it from someone else? However, the more I have read about indigenous methodologies, it seems that, in the indigenous scholar's world, there is an understanding for my kind of work; that we cannot limit ourselves to understandings that do not take indigenous knowledge into consideration.

The media play a role in the levelling of the scores in the balance between opinions on the predator issue. One important mechanism that research has detected is the mechanism of framing. According to Scheufele (2000: 297) and McCombs (1997: 6), framing can be considered an extension of agenda-setting, as it "is the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the media agenda when a particular object is discussed."

"Frames influence opinions by stressing specific values, facts and other considerations, endowing them with greater apparent relevance to the issue than they might appear to have under an alternative frame" (Nelson et al., 1997:5 69; see also Scheufele, 2000: 298).

The framings of the predator issue in the media in the north that I have studied clearly build different representations of the issue itself, of who are the important actors: the officials, the nature conservationists, the reindeer herder co-operation in the south of Lapland, or the Sámi reindeer herders in the northern parts, where the problems caused by predation are most urgent. In this balance, the weakest voice is that of those most affected. The Sámi reindeer herders can be seen as a silenced stakeholder with factual knowledge that does not enter the public deliberation at the level where this issue is legally and administratively regulated.

According to Scheufele (2000: 301), Heider (1930), in his work on attribution theory, assumed that human beings cannot understand the world in all its complexity. Therefore, the individual tries to infer underlying causal relations from sensory information. These

assumptions were supported by experimental evidence. Based on these studies, Heider (1978) defined attribution as the link between an observed behaviour and a person who is considered responsible for this action. In his later work, Heider (1959) expanded this definition of attribution to include environmental factors.

According to Scheufele (2000: 301), Goffman (1974), too, assumed that individuals cannot understand the world fully and therefore actively classify and interpret their life experiences to make sense of the world around them. The individual's reaction to sensory information therefore depends on schemes of interpretation called "primary frameworks" (Goffman, 1974: 24 [see also Scheufele (2000: 301)]. The insight that there are many parallel understandings of the world, and many routes to arrive at an understanding, is crucial to the question how formal law and traditional law are waged against each other. And here, media in all forms have a role.

Thus, based on Scheufele's (2000) readings of Heider (1930, 1959, 1978) and Goffman (1974), in this kind of case when reindeer herders speak about the predator problem and what it means to them, if the audience cannot really see or feel what herders are talking about, they stay distant, and the sympathies of the broad audience toward the situation of the reindeer herders is difficult to achieve. The other side of the conversation is run by officials and nature conservationists talking about how few the predators are and the need of protection. The media in the north, on the relatively rare occasions when they cover these issues, understand the reindeer herders' frustration on the matter from the point of view of constitutional rights, that they should have the right to protect their livelihood, when threatened. However, the predominant mainstream media context, within which the media in the north is only one voice, tends to cover these issues much less if at all. According to the reindeer herders' understanding, in this world the voice of nature conservationists is clearly stronger and also more influential when it comes to setting the tone for new legislation.

When media are mostly reaching out by phone interviews and writing stories on the Internet based on this, the audience remains distant. The only way to affect the audience is to put the media coverage of the reindeer damages on par with competing discourses based on nature conservationist views and to be able to publish video footage that can give emotions and visual understanding to the audience of the situation that reindeer herders have been talking about. Thus far, the media are lacking this type of material, giving voice to the social media and sources such as official representatives, without any eyewitness pictures.

In the case covered in this research, where most predator damages fall upon reindeer herders in Käsivarsi, the incongruence in the public representation of the problem is evident. My interviewees from Käsivarsi are not visible in any of the media analyzed, in news stories related to the matter of wolverine that causes the most damages. Only one TV news was published during my research period by *Yle Sápmi* (2016), which could reach the goal of representing the reindeer herders' view, and that was made possible by video clips from my own film archive.⁵⁸

According to Hardt (1997) and Waisbord (2013: 109), in ideal communicative relations journalists should not act as gatekeepers, information providers, or mediators. Horizontal, unmediated communication between citizens is submitted as the ideal to be pursued. From this perspective, reformist solutions, like the ones proposed by communitarians, are insufficient to address the divide between “professional” journalism and citizens. They fundamentally ignore the economic reality of the press and remain ideologically loyal to core principles of the capitalist press. They fail to engage with structural factors that perpetuate the problems of professionalism for democratic communication. This critique against the structural constraints of legacy media indeed gets support from my research. The balance in the legacy media is indeed skewed in a way that gives priority to other issues than those most important for the people living in the areas I have studied. But the developments in social media do not, in this case, give support for the perspective that an “ideal deliberation equilibrium” would be developing. Quite the contrary. What we see is the isolation of the reindeer herders and their experience, a withdrawal of this group from deliberation with the broader society that fosters an internal communication pattern, where issues are discussed in isolation, and the knowledge that is shared within this group does not reach out.

The head of *Yle Sápmi*, Maria Saijets, sees the role of media as not just sharing information, but working both ways:

“We are committed to have a fluent discussion among the people and the media. And those who work in media are just people ... The nation has also a role to actively guide us in the right direction, that ‘this is important to us and we want to hear more about this,’ or ‘we feel this is wrong and you should write about this.’ Even though to get this communication to

⁵⁸ “Through a Reindeer Herders’ Eyes” <https://vimeo.com/152389722> or <https://vimeo.com/199965634>

work, it is not an easy work and it takes a lot of time. But nowadays communication is made so much easier, it should work.”

Long before “citizen journalism became a subject of wide debate, the tradition of alternative media embraced the notion that true communication requires citizens and opportunities for public expression outside the conventional boundaries of the mainstream media (Downing, 2010). This was expressed in an eclectic collection of progressive movements and initiatives responsible for community radio, grassroots video, alternative newspapers, and other forms of citizen communication that rejected “professional journalism” (particularly the ethics of objectivity and neutrality). This tradition of journalism and participatory communication is intended to equip ordinary citizens with critical skills and platforms to produce news and information free from commercial and narrow political considerations (Waisbord, 2013, p. 110).

Talking about the ivory tower of journalism, as editor-in chief of *Lapin Kansa*, Antti Kokkonen wants more connections to the audience and receive news tips; it is argued by Waisbord (2013: 110) that citizens should have a salient role in the news-gathering process and in the way journalism reports news.

Kokkonen admits that their network is not good enough and that the paper is too centered in one place; his biggest worry is how to connect more with the audience to get news tips. Kokkonen talks about the former situation with many more local journalists and how it helped their paper to reach a wider audience, but in today’s situation it seems there is no way of going back to having more regional reporters.

The logic of *Lapin Kansa* in interviewing reindeer herders is the same as in other political news: Interviews are conducted with the people who have an official mandate to speak; in this case, it is someone from the Reindeer Herders’ Association or a leader of a co-operative.

The biggest surprise in analysing news articles was that *Yle Rovaniemi* does not have a single article that includes reindeer herders’ interviews. Most of its news is about predator politics and interviews with game officials or officials from the Reindeer Herders’ Association.

Rethinking the relationship between citizens and journalism is imperative to produce news that better represents community interests and promotes active citizenship. Ongoing trends

already suggest positive changes in this direction (Deuze, Bruns, & Neuberger, 2007; Waisbord, 2013: 111)

Thus, what is eating the resources in Sámi Radio? When Saijets is asked about the future of Sámi Radio, she talks about the dream of all journalists multitasking and speaking all Sámi languages. In this vision, people could be moving around more easily.

What seems to be the issue now with Sámi Radio is that it is trying to reach from a “gifting era” to the “performance era,” where the community attempts to provide a full service in the minority language rather than fit into predetermined or “gifted” slots on national media and to achieve what Moring (2007) has termed “institutional and functional completeness” (Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2011: 60).

According to Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2011: 60), the certainty of the gifting era (i.e., the requirement of just having a presence for the language) gives way to the realization that a full service is an unachievable goal, while the freedom of the performance era (e.g., from the demands of serving all speakers, and the freedom afforded by technological developments) is still to come. Thus, right now it seems that, with limited resources, when all languages and media platforms are in use, reindeer herders are the first to suffer from it because they do not hang around the city centers. They also have not – at least yet – developed their own ways of communication with the outside world, which could present a voice that challenges the voices of other actors. A new development, and an exception to the above said, is the example of reindeer herders sharing predator damage pictures on social media in Norway and Sweden. This is one step toward reaching out. However, society and legacy media cannot withdraw from responsibility and leave a small minority alone in the massive flow of information that sets the agenda and frames the issues most relevant to this minority.

My research questions

1. How is the legal status of Sámi reindeer herders taken into consideration in the context of predator news coverage in the main mass media in Northern Finland?
2. What determines the values that are reflected in the media in Northern Finland?

The legal status of Sámi reindeer herders has narrowed, and recent years show enormous pressure from mining companies and tourism in finding new locations, which practically means the lands that have been previously prioritized for reindeer herding. A new law for the Finnish State Forestry was approved in April 2016. Even if it is said that wilderness areas and protected areas remain the same, and the demands of Sámi culture and reindeer herding are important issues for FSF,⁵⁹ the Sámi Parliament and many Finnish organizations have criticized the new law.

The issue that my work has raised is that media are not taking a big role as they should, in light of the development in Finnish politics. According to my research, there is news made directly from the press releases by Finnish Parliament members, representing the Lapland area. Only in few news are politicians interviewed or pressed to give answers to the probing questions. *Lapin Kansa* and *Yle Sápmi* are clear in that they see reindeer herding as a vital livelihood, which is an important part of the news picture, *Yle Rovaniemi* is not as clear about that. This is important when evaluating the role of the media and the news produced.

A question that remains is how the attitudes of the journalists that I have interviewed are transformed into practice. For the media, the only thing that counts is what they publish, and if they do not publish what the journalists say they wish to publish, the media do not meet their promises.

Lapin Kansa has an important role as the biggest media outlet in Lapland. According to the news written during my study period, August 2015 to June 2016, it is clear that LK has the most sources and the widest coverage of reindeer herding, but news is not made based on those predator statistics on reindeer losses, which show that the Käsivarsi area and the reindeer herders there have suffered the biggest damage. According to the interviews, it is understood in the newsroom of *Lapin Kansa* that there are too many predators, which is an issue; however, news is lacking real cases with reindeer herders' voices from areas that have had the most impact. Those represented in the news are officials from the Reindeer Herders' Association and game officials. The consequence is that, even in their local newspaper, readers do not meet the grass roots level of Sámi reindeer herders. *Yle Rovaniemi* misses the reindeer herders totally. *Yle Rovaniemi* sees *Lapin Kansa* as a competitor in readership, and most of its news is about licenced hunts for predators, making it look like its interest is in

⁵⁹ <http://mmm.fi/metsahallituslain-uudistaminen>

conflict with other news but without problem-solving. When reporting about each bear kill or wolf kill, it creates a picture that a lot of animals are killed.

As in the study by Sikku and Torp (2004: 37), my interviewees reach the same results, meaning that the oral information and code of ethics are the same on the Swedish and Finnish sides of Sápmi, even though my research was done 13 years later.

As Magga (2012) talks about the needs of the reindeer herders to be more involved to the predator politics to have better impact in decision-making, slight progress has happened in five years, but if there was previous discussion in regards to changing the compensation policy, it is not visible now. Through my research, it has become evident that media can have a major impact on predator politics and the situation of reindeer herders.

The Siida system has been the core of Sámi reindeer herding and has a strong position on the Norwegian side; nonetheless, Turi (2016) states that authorities do not use traditional knowledge as a basis for decisions. and management favours the hierarchical model. This issue comes forward on the Finnish side, and the media proves to act the same way as authorities, which creates an even bigger problem for the reindeer herders.

Yle Sápmi defines itself as better understanding reindeer herding and having sympathies for the herders. Two of their stories⁶⁰ are examples in the way my reindeer herder interviewees express that they would wish to get their voice heard. Overall, *Yle Sápmi* had the widest coverage in the Sámi area in topics, but only one article was made in regards to the Giehtaruohtas/Käsivarsi area. It could be seen that there is not so much variation among the journalists writing the stories about the reindeer and predators.

All in all, in contradiction to the views presented by the journalists that this topic could be considered media sexy, the results show that there is little problem-solving or aim to find answers to the problem in the news. This observation corresponds with the criticism among the Sámi about the lack of knowledge among Sámi journalists, that there are not enough specialists – those who can pose question about property rights, cultural rights, and questioning the implementation of legal instruments and decisions made by the states.

⁶⁰ Listed as numbers 34 and 45. See the list at the end.

Another level of investigative journalism is needed, and much more time needs to be spent to improve the level of journalism, if this topic is to be covered decently.

From an indigenous educational perspective, there should be courses for the Sámi journalists in order to teach or remind them of their Sámi culture and background to help journalists gain a better understanding of their society and its holistic. Most of the educated journalists, have received their education outside of Sápmi, outside a Sámi way of thinking and outside an indigenous lifeworld in a national education systems, where teaching is based on Western knowledge and Western news-making routines. Finally, there is a change to be seen, when indigenous studies are available in the major cities in the Nordic countries. During the last 30 to 40 years (and earlier, too), partially because of the Western school system, many Sámi have forgotten traditional indigenous knowledge, which is still alive across the Sápmi, based on the traditional livelihoods such as hunting, fishing, reindeer herding, and duodji, which have, until this day, managed to tackle many challenges and threats by the modern society.

Reindeer herding is not just about herding, but for those who herd and take care of the reindeer, it is a profession and a lifestyle carried from one generation to another. There is a lot of pride and honour in reindeer herding that has kept people in this livelihood, and still new generations are learning the traditions. Traditions can change fast, but reindeer remain the same, as do the predators. People have tried to learn to live with the rising number of predators for the last 20 years, but as it has now become obvious that it is very difficult. Many of those who are not there in the forest or the mountains, to see everyday life from this perspective, still do not believe that there are so many predators or how they behave.

A Habermasian perspective would indicate the pre-modern and modern cannot live side by side, but the former must give way to the latter due to the fact that the modern creates expert cultures. However, the information gained at different levels is not channelled equally to everyday life. In the modern sense, as experts are valued, without a position you are a nobody. Get a title and argue what you think is right; then your views will be reflected in the mainstream media. In another epistemology, if the mountain near your home is sacred, should you put a sign there so people will know about it, or you keep it to yourself? When the government starts to build an observatory or a mine to the mountain, it is then you start

talking openly about the sacredness of the mountain.⁶¹ How is this voice heard and interpreted in the media?

Traditional knowledge is crucial to have in mind; for its purpose is not just in the past but looks to the future too, meaning that traditional knowledge is to know your lifeworld and epistemology and work as a guideline for what you respect and honour. If this knowledge is neglected, people with this knowledge get frustrated and challenge the new information and laws that are against traditional knowledge. For the Sámi people, this brings up a question. They have lived from the land as long as they know, and their methods for survival have been accepted in their communities, having faced many struggles. Why do they resist the current changes? Do they have a right to do so? Sámi media have the power to explain the background for the conflict that is at hand, such as the one concerning predators and reindeer herders.

Through traditional knowledge, reindeer herders know what are their grazing lands and their boundaries. But if a minority living in a majority society are using their “basket of rights,” it can take them to jail, to international court, or to the UN to fight for their rights. Sámi media are connected around the world with other indigenous media that share the same kind of battles against the majorities, facing huge problems with different kinds of industries, land grabs, or injustices. We who speak the language have access to indigenous knowledge, and we find the information embedded in this knowledge because we seek it. But in mainstream media, minorities with their “own basket of rights” are seen as a threat and as a handbrake to the progress of the society. Mainstream media can and ought to do stories objectively, but if the country or government talks about losing jobs for nature preservation, minorities (in most cases indigenous peoples) have to step aside, there cannot be a different basket of rights with bigger fruits in it, meaning there is little room for indigenous content in mainstream media.

Inf. 2: Muhto duon, galhan dat lea boahtan dakkár govva, ahte spiriid stuorimus balddahasti lea boazoolmmai, ahte dat dat eanus goddá daid, suoli maid ... muh danhan maid galggalii jurddahallat ahte dathan suodjala fal iežes ealáhusa.

⁶¹<https://www.facebook.com/IdleNoMoreMaunaKea/>

[Well, there has now developed this image that the worst enemy of the predators is a reindeer herder and that he kills most of those, illegally, too ... but one ought to consider too that he is protecting his livelihood.]

I argue that, for the credibility of the media, it is not so important to tell the “truth” but to shed light on both sides of the fence. Many times, there is a lot that is left in the dark; many times, the light is not strong enough to lighten the darkest spots. Legacy media should take its responsibility and stand up to the views presented by their journalists. For the indigenous peoples and minorities, a further chance exists in the social media platforms. While also working against them, social media gives them a public space, to get good and cheap “led lights” to point the light to the darkest spots, when legacy media is not capable of doing so. Who has determined that there cannot be tails or heads on both sides of a coin?

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Lapin Kansa: 26 news (T: telegram / 1,2,3,4,5: number of sources in article)

- 1 28.7.2015 T Ilveksen poikkeuslupametsästys poronhoitoalueella alkaa lokakuussa
- 2 20.8.2015 4 Poro työntyy lemmikkikoiran ruokakuppiin
- 3 8.10.2015 3 Anne Ollila: ”Riita suurpedoista helpottaa Lapissa”
- 4 16.10.2015 5 Pörrää kuin kurmupaarma ja paimentaa tokkaa
- 5 16.11.2015 1 Ságát: Nákkáhallá siiddastallanárbevieruid ja siidavuogádaga sajjádaga birra
- 6 17.11.2015 T Maakotkia löytyi enemmän kuin koskaan – Reviirikorvaus pelasti kannan
- 7 17.11.2015 3 Susi tappoi vuomaselän aidalla
- 8 18.11.2015 T Kotka mahtuu porokairaana
- 9 18.11.2015 1 Porotalous saa kotkista ennätyskorvaukset (newspaper, not in web)
- 10 23.11.2015 5 Homehtuva maa on lämpimän talven suurin harmi poroille
- 11 28.11.2015 2 Poronuoret: Pohjoinen kutsumusammatti
- 12 16.12.2015 T Tutkimus: Tuottava poronhoito edellyttää joustavaa strategiaa poromiehiltä
- 13 19.1.2016 T Tutkimus: Poikkeukselliset sääolosuhteet haastavat poroelinkeinoon
- 14 27.1.2016 1 Ságát: Paltto ohcá buvttadeaddji Badjealbmá čalmmiiguin – dokumentárafilmii
- 15 11.3.2016 2 Maakotkakanta kasvoi huippuunsa

- 16 1.4.2016 1 Maijala vaatii ahmakannan suuruuden selvittämistä
- 17 10.4.2016 2 Ylpeys, perinne ja yhteisö kannattelevat poronhoitoa
- 18 11.5.2016 2 Porotalous elpyy hiljalleen Itä-lapissa
- 19 20.4.2016 Maijala: Vahinkoahmat poistettava
- 20 17.5.2016 3 Poronsarvi menee kuin kuumille kiville
- 21 23.5.2016 T Nákkosgirji: Eiseváldit eai ane boazodoalu árbevirolaš máhtu vuodđun mearrádusaide
- 22 2.6.2016 Talvi oli hyvä poromiehelle - Editorial
- 23 6.6.2016 1 Ságát: Nákkäljárvi meahciráđđehusalágas: dagahan olu eahpesihkarvuoda sámi boazodillái
- 24 6.6.2016 4 Ahmat tekevät tuhoa
- 25 10.6.2016 1 Karhuja saa kaataa viimevuotista enemmän
- 26 14.6.2016 Ahmakanta kasvaa, mutta tutkijakaan ei tiedä kuinka paljon

YLE Sápmi: 20 news (T = telegram ; 1,2,3,4= number of sources in article)

- 27 7.8.2015 1 Ánggelis guovža- johtán šiljuid lahkosiin ja geaidnuguoras
- 28 31.8.2015 1 Lappi riikabeaiáirasat hoahpuhit getkkiid spiehkastanlobiid (press release)
- 29 21.9.2015 4 Nuorra bajoniid dilli hástaleaddji miehtá Arktalaš guovllu – fuolaid juogadeapmi fámuidahtta nuoraid
- 30 23.9.2015 0 Boazonuorat gáibidit stáhtaid suodjalit boazodoalu ja dorvvastit nuoraid boahhtevuoda ealáhusas
- 31 12.10.2015 2 “Ságastallan spiredilis lea mannamin davvin buoret guvlui”

- 32 17.11.2015 1 Gumpe fallehii bigálusáiddi sisa Vuopmečielggis – ožžo sierra lobi gumppe bivdimii
- 33 22.3.2016 2 Bálgosiid Ovtastusa doaimmajodiheaddji: “ geatki dagahan eanemus váttisvuodaid dán jagi”
- 34 31.3.2016 3 Duottareatnamiin geatkit lassánan – Badjealbmát gáibidit bivdoordnega rievdadeami
- 35 31.3.2016 3 Rauhoitettu ahma on tunturialueiden poronhoidon suurin kiusa
- 36 4.5.2016 T Spirebuhttádusaid máksigohtet bearjadaga rájes
- 37 4.5.2016 T Petovahinkokorvaukset poromiesten tileille perjantaista lähtien – Vain puolet maksuun
- 38 20.5.2016 2 Spirevahágiid máksin ádjána jáhkkimis boahhte jagige – “ Váivi ja bahčča dovdu”
- 39 20.5.2016 2 Petovahinkokorvausten maksatus viivästynee myös ensi vuonna – “ilkeää se on ja tuntuu pahalta”
- 40 24.5.2016 1 Geatki speadjá bohccuid eanemus – “geatkebivduge ii njeaiddášii alla vahátloguid
- 41 24.5.2016 1 Rauhoitettu ahma tappaa yhä eniten poroja – “Pyyntikään tuskin vaikuttaisi vahinkomääriin”
- 42 3.6.2016 MMM ehdottaa karhunkaatolupien lisäämistä, 45 kaatoa lisää (johanna Sarjas YLE Rovaniemi)
- 43 7.6.2016 Näkkäljärvi: Metsähallituslaki on suuri uhka porotaloudelle
- 44 8.6.2016 1 Norggas áigot bivdigoahtit goaskimiid (NRK)

- 45 14.6.2016 4 Tornensis: Ávkin Giehtaruohttasa bálgosii, jus Norgga bealde besset báhčit goaskimiid
- 46 15.6.2016 4 Poroisántá: Norjan kotkanpyynnistä hyötyä myös Suomen puolen poronhoidolle

YLE Rovaniemi (Lappi): 23 news (T = telegram; 1,2,3,4= number of sources in article)

- 47 18.8.2015 T Karhupuhelin pois
- 48 20.8.2015 1 Karhunpyynti alkaa – pohjoisessa saa kaataa 52
- 49 21.8.2015 T Ensimmäiset karhut on kaadettu
- 50 22.8.2015 T Viisi karhua nurin poronhoitoalueella
- 51 24.8.2015 T Karhuja kaatui Itä-Lapissa
- 52 25.8.2015 T Yksi karhu nurin poronhoitoalueella
- 53 27.8.2015 T Savukoskella kaadettiin uroskarhu
- 54 29.8.2015 T Karhuja kaatuu tasaiseen tahtiin poronhoitoalueella – Riistakeskus
- 55 31.8.2015 T Lapin kansanedustajat: Nopeasti poikkeuslupia ahmanpyyntiin
- 56 4.9.2015 Sami Mursu ampui kolme karhua
- 57 7.9.2015 T Saijalla kaatui Karhu sunnuntaina
- 58 4.11.2015 1 Luke: poronhoitoalueella yksi susilauma
- 59 12.11.2015 1 Poromiehet metsästävät susia Lapissa
- 60 13.11.2015 T Kaksi sutta kaadettu Itä-Lapissa – Riistakeskus
- 61 17.11.2015 T Itä-Lapin susijahti jatkuu – neljä hukkaa saaliiksi - Riistakeskus
- 62 23.11.2015 1 Poikkeusluvilla metsästetty kahdeksan sutta Itä-Lapissa

- 63 4.12.2015 T Lapin paliskunnassa kaatui yhdeksäs poikkeuslupasusi
- 64 4.12.2015 2 Susilupakiintiön korotukselle kritiikkiä metsästäjiltä ja WWF:ltä
- 65 11.1.2016 2 Lapissa ei vakituisia susilaumoja – hukkien tarkka määrä mysteeri
- 66 12.1.2016 2 Pahimmat porokatovuodet takana – kannattavuus noussut
- 67 15.3.2016 1 Poronliha käy kaupaksi – poromiehille parempi tili
- 68 20.4.2016 1 Suomen ahmakannan koko perustuu yhä enemmän arvaukseen kuin faktaan
- 69 3.6.2016 T MMM ehdottaa karhunkaatolupien lisäämistä, 45 kaatoa lisää