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Behind the Scenes

Encounters between Sámi interviewees and Finnish Journalists

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Abstract

This thesis is about interviewing Sámi people from the Finnish side of Sámiland about their experiences with Finnish journalists. Empirical material consists of semi-structured interviews, and the main theory and method lean on the hermeneutic tradition.

The researcher's attention is focused especially in the problems of the interaction between Finnish journalists and Sámi interviewees. Interactions are analyzed within theories of hegemony and Indigenous methodologies in order to reveal power relations, and potential differences in worldviews and ontological backgrounds. The aim is to reveal the kind of journalistic practices that may cause misunderstanding and resentment in the communication, and to give voice to the Sámi and Indigenous perspective.

The main argument is that in order to have a deeper understanding of the Sámi people, Finnish mainstream journalists need to improve their level of knowledge of Indigenous issues and particularities of communication. Ontological and epistemological differences remain, at some level, incommensurable, but by knowing one's own (mainstream) culture it is possible to see norms and values that may differ from one's interviewees' values. In order to improve journalism about Indigenous people, Western journalists need to pay attention to their journalistic practices, especially in listening without prejudices.

Ábstrakta davvisámegillii

Dán masterčállosis de jearan mo suomabeale sápmelaččat vásihit go suopmelaš (látte dahje rivgu) journalistta leat sin sáhkkehallan. Empiriija vuođđun leat Kemi-struktuvrralaš jearahallamat. Sihke váldoteoriijas ja metoda oasis de dorvvastan hermeneuhtalaš vieruide.
Dutkin, válljen fuomášuhttit makkár čuolmmat dahje gulahallan váttisvuođat gártet ságastaladettiin gaskkal suoma journalisttaid ja sápmelaččaid geat jearahallojit. Dáid gulahallamiid analyseren hegemoniija teoriijaid ja álgoálbmogiid metodologiija vuođul, namalassii áddet fápmu oktavuođaid ja vejolaš erohusaid, numo máilmmioainnus ja duohtavuođaid áddejumis. Mihttun lea sihke duođaštit ja čilget makkár oasit journalisttalaš barggus dagahit boasttu áddejumiid ja duhtameahttunvuođa gulahallamis, ja addit čilgehusa sihke sámi ja álgoálbmogiid perspektiivvas.

Váldo ággán lea ahte jos galggaš buorebut áddet sámi álbmoga, de Suoma váldomediaid journalisttat fertejit alcceseaset háhkat buoret gelbbolašvuođa álgoálbmot áššin, erenoamážit gulahallamis. Ontologiija (duohtavuođa) ja epistemologiija (máhttosystema) erohusat leat muhtin dásiin veadjemeahttumat, muhto go journalista dovdá dušše iežas (váldoálbmoga)

kultuvrra, de berrešii áddet norpmaid ja árvvuid mat leat sus gii jearahallo. Go lea sáhka journalistihka ovdánahttimis, mii guoská álgoálbmogiidda, de oarjemáilmmi journalisttat dárbbašit fuomášuhttot mo sin journalisttalaš vuogit báidnet, mo ovdagáttut stivrejit gulahallama

Tiivistelmä

Tämä pro gradu -työ käsittelee saamelaisten haastateltavien kokemuksia heitä haastatelleista suomalaisista toimittajista. Empiirinen materiaali koostuu puolistrukturoiduista haastatteluista, ja teoreettinen viitekehys nojaa hermeneuttiseen traditioon niin itse teorian kuin metodinkin osalta.

Tutkijan huomio on erityisesti suomalaistoimittajien ja saamelaishaastateltavien kommunikaation ongelmissa. Vuorovaikutusta analysoidaan hegemoniateorioiden ja alkuperäiskansametodologian valossa, jotta voimasuhteet sekä mahdolliset maailmankatsomukselliset ja ontologiset erot tulisivat näkyviksi. Tavoitteena on paljastaa journalistisia käytäntöjä, jotka saattavat aiheuttaa väärinymmärryksiä ja tyytymättömyyttä kommunikaatiossa. Lisäksi tavoitteena on antaa puheenvuoro ja ääni saamelaiselle ja alkuperäiskansojen näkökulmalle.

Pääargumentti on, että syvemmän ymmärryksen ja paremman journalismin saavuttamiseksi suomalaisten medioiden journalistien on syytä lisätä tietämystään saamelaisista, heihin liittyvistä asioista ja kommunikaation erikoisuuksista. Ontologiset ja epistemologiset erot säilyvät aina jossain määrin saavuttamattomissa, mutta ymmärtämällä oman (suomalaisen enemmistön) kulttuurinsa journalistien on mahdollista nähdä ne yhteiskunnan normit ja arvot, jotka eroavat saamelaisten haastateltavien arvoista ja normeista ja tavasta hahmottaa ympäristöä. Kehittääkseen saamelaisia ja muita alkuperäiskansoja ja vähemmistöjä käsittelevää journalismia toimittajien on kiinnitettävä aiempaa enemmän huomiota journalistisiin rutiineihinsa, erityisesti kuuntelemiseen ilman ennakkoluuloja.

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1. Introduction

> "In the summer, Niillas Holmberg walked with his dog, Benu, on a three-day trip from Skalluvaara (Skallu fell) to Pulmankijärvi (Pulmanki lake). 'I sing about that people are forgetting the skill of walking in nature with their eyes, ears, and everything open. They no longer want to receive everything that nature tells. When a sudden and surprising idea pops up into my head, I get a feeling that perhaps one of the animals has arrived to tell me that. And people that I have lost, my mother and friends, they seem to come closer to me in nature."

This is a short extract of one of my first interviews in Sápmi, the Sámi home region. Five years ago, I interviewed a young multi-artist Niillas Holmberg in Utsjoki, on the Finnish side of Sápmi. I still remember how surprised and impressed I was about his way of talking about nature and its multiple meanings. Nature was such a natural part of life – and death. Later, Holmberg told me that I did not quite understand what he meant, or rather that he felt that he was not able to really explain to me the meaning of the connection. During these five years working as a freelance journalist in Lapland, I have written many news stories and features about Sámi issues, and the feeling of perplexity has followed me. Partly it has been because of my insufficient knowledge of the Sámi culture, but I suppose there has also been a cultural and communication difference, which may be due to different ontological backgrounds. In any case, this feeling of *"not quite getting it"* is one of the main reasons for my studies in the Sámi University of Applied Sciences, and it is the driving force for my thesis as well.

I am a Finnish non-Sámi freelance journalist for mainstream media (print and radio). Sámi issues in mainstream media mostly handle conflicts about land rights or about the definition of a Sámi: who is Sámi and Indigenous, and who is not. The discussion in Lapland has been heated, and as a journalist I feel that I'm indirectly, and sometimes directly, part of that. I also receive feedback on my stories, so for the Sámi community they do matter.

So far, the research in this field has mainly been focused on the journalistic products (news, articles, radio, and television stories), and often the result of these studies is that the media gives a biased and simplistic impression of minorities, in this case of the Sámi people; for instance Ikonen (2013) and Pietikäinen (2000, p. 244-253) notes that often Sámi people are represented as passive objects, whereas the majority are represented as active actors.

In my thesis, my aim is to find out what kind of experiences Sámi people from the Finnish part of Sámiland, especially people who give interviews about Sámi issues, have in encounters with Finnish, non-Sámi journalists. I am interested in getting a better understanding of what happens "behind the scenes" before the story is published. I want to give voice to the people and

hear their version of the interview process, as well as of the historical and cultural context around the interview. My research question is divided into three parts: What is wrong in the relationship between Finnish journalists and Sámi interviewees, expressed by the Sámi themselves? What are the processes and forces behind this problematic relationship? What could be done to contribute to a change?

My aim is to gain more knowledge about these encounters, and to share this information with my Finnish journalist colleagues. Equally important, or even more important, is that I share my conclusions with the Sámi community. As Kovach (2009) emphasizes several times in her book *Indigenous Methodologies*, Indigenous peoples all around the world have traumatic experiences of researchers grabbing information from the community and never giving anything back. Kovacs claims that one of the most critical aspects of Indigenous research is the ethical responsibility to ensure that Indigenous knowledge and people are not exploited (Kovacs 2009, p. 35-36, citing Marie Battiste, 2007). Due to the reflexive nature of my research, I hereby share some information about me, my history, and my ontological background. This is also part of the reciprocity, accountability, and transparency in Indigenous research. I do not claim that I can tell the truth about the ways that Sámi people think, or how all journalists think about the Sámi. Neither can I know how I am perceived by my informants and Sámi people in general. These self-evident facts need to be represented and acknowledged. Rather, the point of this journey is to recognize and reveal areas of disagreement and misunderstandings between these parties.

I chose this topic because I want to be a better journalist in covering Sámi issues. I live in Lapland, Finland, and since I live nearby the Sámi home area *Sápmi*, it is important to aim to understand particularities of the only Indigenous people in the region of the European Union. During my studies in the Sámi University of Applied Sciences (in the Master's program Sámi journalism from Indigenous perspective) it has been my privilege to learn about many Indigenous peoples and to get insight into different ways of perceiving the world. I have learned that it is not only my way that is the right way.

Since this analysis is based on my perceptions and interpretations, I feel it is important and appropriate to acknowledge my understanding of journalism and my own background in the field. I am a journalist; it is my occupation. I am proud to be a journalist, and it is a big part of my identity. I have studied communication and journalism in the vocational school (Länsi-Lapin ammatti-instituutti, nowadays part of Lapland University of Applied Sciences) and at the University of Jyväskylä. I have worked in several national media, such as Helsingin Sanomat, the biggest daily newspaper in Finland; national broadcasters MTV and Finnish Broadcasting Company. I have also worked in the Green Weekly, and after moving to Rovaniemi, I have been

a freelance journalist working for Helsingin Sanomat, YLE, and a weekly magazine called Seura, and many others. I started my studies in this field in 1998 in Tornio, and my first internship was in 2000, in the regional radio of Finnish Broadcasting Company in Kemi, Northern Finland. Due to this experience, I claim that I know something about how Finnish media works.

One can become a journalist in many different ways. Not all of us study journalism at universities, which is good for our occupation, since we need a variety of perspectives. For those of us who do study or have studied journalism at the university, or other schools, it is a foundation for our thinking – and not just in relation to journalism. I claim that university studies have been of utmost importance in building my theoretical understanding of society on both the micro and macro levels. Studies have helped me to understand how society works. On the other hand, studies at Sámi University of Applied Sciences have taught me that there are alternative perspectives to Western perspectives.

For instance, in Jyväskylä approximately five percent of the applicants are accepted into the program yearly. Oh, the pride! But with pride comes a hint of arrogance. In our studies, we are taught to be the fourth power of the society – the watchdog of the powerful and of the elite. Our work is to bring corruption and misuses into the daylight, observe and make sense of the world around us. But the thing that is largely missing is to understand our own background and our own motives. In whose interests do we speak? What is our standpoint? What are the values and norms that guide us? We have our self-regulation in the form of journalist's ethical guidelines, and legislation sets limits for our work: But how often do we mainstream journalists stop and take a look at ourselves? Researchers do that, they analyze their work, but it is not self-evident that this information will reach journalists in their field work. This is why I chose to take a "double standpoint" in this research, i.e. one in which I position myself both as a researcher and journalist. I use my own experiences as a journalist, and juxtapose those with my interviewees' information and to theories that are applicable in my research.

This is not to say that I want to continue the history of the Eurocentric gazing, and to make this thesis a monologue of me. Instead, my aim is to be as transparent as possible: I know that I have presumptions and biases that may blur my vision and have an impact on what I am doing. I also have journalistic practices and routines that are so self-evident that I perhaps do not recognize them. I argue that the first step in doing better journalism is to scrutinize these routines. As our dear professor, Charles Husband, said to us during our very first week in this program in Sámi Allaskuvla of Applied Sciences, it is our professionality that scares him. Husband said that his aim is to break this barrier of journalistic professionalism so that we are

able to build it up again. It has been a very interesting and instructive two years that have taught me to see my surroundings differently.

Again, and again I have returned to the basic questions of my profession: what is our role? Whose voice are we hearing, and are there people and groups that we leave out? Why is that? In addition to journalism, I have studied, for instance, Development Studies and East and Southeast Asian Studies (University of Helsinki) and as a part of Development Journalism Studies (in Jyväskylä) I have worked as a journalist in Tanzania and Rwanda. My first Master's thesis was about the working process of a journalist and photographer in a developing country. One could say that this all is oriented toward the exotic – and yes, of course it was exciting for a young reporter to travel and see the world – but I would like to think that I have also always been interested in Otherness and the ways that we create it. I have put myself in places that are not my own ground, places where I am in the minority. Moments when the world does not work according to my expectations are often insightful. I recognize my position as a white privileged person: on global level, I live in one of the richest and wealthiest countries in the world, I have the opportunity to travel to distant places, I do not really need to worry about my safety, and I have a nation-state that offers me a social safety-net in case I lose my job or I have health problems. On the Finnish national level, nevertheless, as a freelance journalist I live quite low-income economically, and my family background is not academic or wealthy. All these experiences have an impact on me as a journalist.

In this thesis, my aim is to open up my profession and professionalism before my interviewees and let them tell me and my colleagues how they feel and in what ways they would improve journalism and interactions between journalists and Indigenous, Sámi interviewees. I open the discussion and expose myself for critique. By doing this, I consciously step outside of one of the very essential points in journalism: journalistic independence.

Journalists tend to be quite possessive and aware of their territories. Journalistic independence is a very important cornerstone, and we do not want outsiders to tell us what to do or how to do it. If we let others guide us, we feel that we are in the public relations business, not in journalism. Nevertheless, as a student and researcher, I have a rare opportunity to open this discussion and to open-mindedly put myself into the audience of my interviewees and listen to their opinions and insights. We journalists have strict routines and ethical guidelines, but I argue that we are not always doing our best regarding Sámi people or other minorities. One thing that almost all of my informants shared was a request that we journalists be more aware of and transparent about our standpoints and backgrounds. With my own example, by opening my

routines and biases, and by showing a willingness to learn from my mistakes, I hope to give more transparency to our work.

My research aims to be a part of the decolonizing research tradition in the field of journalism –in both Indigenous and mainstream journalism. My aim is to find discourses that illuminate the Sámi perspectives and journalism practices. Since this study is intercultural, with an emphasis on Indigenous people and perspectives, it might have something to provide other Indigenous groups as well – and especially in cross-cultural encounters. Risks for validity are as follows: instead of decolonizing, I might end up colonizing. As Helander-Renvall (2010, p. 45) argues, the norms concerning how an authentic group should behave are created as a result of hegemonic power relations between different ethnic groups. She continues by citing Brody 1987), that "these kinds of norms may also emerge from the Western consciousness of the failings of Western culture that may lead to romantic expectations of other cultures." She reasonably reminds us that research shows that there are still perceptions, linked to the past, that describe Sámi people as idealized others. To avoid this, I need to pay close attention to my research/interview questions and to methods of analysis, and to the interview situation.

Structure of Thesis

Due to the dialogical nature of my research the structure of my thesis is not the traditional one. This is to say that I will not have theory and analysis parts separately. Instead, I will build my theory along the way, and I will intertwine it with analysis. One could say that this thesis draws circles and cycles, as does the yoik.

I start by telling about my own background and personal reasons to adhere to this topic. By using my own experiences as examples and reflecting on them, and by using empirical material along with apt theories and Indigenous methodologies, I hope to reveal insights that are useful for others who work and live in this field. In Chapter 2, I tell briefly about the Sámi people and their history in Finland in order to provide context for my study. I will also illustrate the representations of Sámi people in Finnish mainstream journalism. In Chapter 3, I discuss the history and current (problematic) use of concepts such as objectivity and neutrality from the perspective of minorities, such as the Sámi. I believe that the feeling of injustice is common and shared, not just among Sámi people or Indigenous peoples, but for many minorities. Theoretically, the foundation of my thesis is in hermeneutics, since it offers possibilities to reflect my assumptions and preconceptions. These basics I tell about in Chapter 3, continuing to Chapter 4 where I bring in the mode of analysis.

In Chapter 5, I demonstrate the interview situations as a performative act, since my experience of the research interviews indicates that many of my informants were aware of their position as representatives of their community, in addition to describing their individual experiences with Finnish journalists. In Chapter 5, I also begin my empirical analysis by introducing keywords that, according to my understanding, illuminate some central points of the interview situation between Sámi interviewees and Finnish journalists. I aim to demonstrate both Sámi and journalistic perspectives.

In Chapter 6, I represent and analyze the perception of the Finnish media and journalists from the Sámi perspective. This I base on my informants' and my own experiences, and I reflect them using Indigenous methodologies and epistemological dimensions. According to my understanding, the relationship between the interviewer (journalist) and the interviewee (Sámi person) includes power relations, and I aim to illuminate them by analyzing my material via theories of hegemony and dominance, such as Michel Foucault's capillary power. As one example, I use the ongoing debate of the definition of the Sámi, since it is a topic that every informant brought into the discussion, and it also illuminates power relations between the nation-state, the Sámi, and the media. At the end of Chapter 6, I focus more specifically on the interview situation, and circumstances that have an impact on the interview and consequently to the end result, i.e. the journalistic product. These circumstances consist of both explicit and implicit dimensions, and my aim is to illuminate both the journalist's and the interviewee's viewpoints. In the Chapter 7, I summarize and conclude my findings, and I illuminate some potential improvements that can strengthen the integrity of the interaction between journalists and interviewees.

2. Sámi people

2.1 Sámi people in Finland

The Sámi are the only Indigenous people of the European Union. The Sámi people's land consists of the northern parts of Finland, Norway, Russia and Sweden. The total Sámi population varies from 60 000 to 100 000, depending on the way of counting. The majority of Sámi people live in Norway. There are about 9 000 to 10 000 Sámi in Finland. More than 60 percent of them now live outside the Sámi Homeland (which includes the municipalities of Enontekiö, Inari, Utsjoki and the northernmost parts of Sodankylä). Traditional livelihoods, such as reindeer husbandry, are still culturally central for the Sámi, but the majority of the Sámi people live in

bigger cities (such as Helsinki, Oulu, Rovaniemi) and work in offices, universities, and other fields.

In Finland, there are three Sámi languages and groups: Northern Sámi, Inari Sámi and Skolt Sámi. The majority of Finnish Sámi people are Northern Sámi. Inari Sámi is one of the smallest groups among Sámi people: there are about 900 Inari Sámi, but the number of speakers of their language (Inari Sámi) is only about 350 people (Lehtola 2015, p. 105). It is one of the few language groups that exist inside in only one country; for instance, Northern Sámi is spoken in Sweden, Norway, and Finland, and Skolt Sámi is spoken in Finland, Norway and Russia. There are approximately 500 Skolt Sámi in Finland, and the number of speakers is 250-300 (Lehtola 2015, p. 109). All Sámi groups have their own distinct culture and languages, even though the Sámi are often represented as one united people. This unity, which can be called strategic essentialism, might be created by the Sámi themselves, since it gives more weight and importance in the negotiations with decision-makers. Still, more often than not, the picture of the one group is created by outsiders, for instance by mainstream journalists.

One of the most visible and concrete symbols of the Sámi is the Sámi cultural dress or garment, *gákti*. Sámi people recognize each other's home regions by looking at their garments. In Finland, there are five main categories for the garments, and they vary in color, design, and accessories. In addition to home region, elements on some of the garments can reveal marital status, for instance. The dress is a symbol of identity, and that is why it is considered offensive if someone outside the group and culture is wearing Sámi cultural dress. (Lehtola 2015, p. 17.) Fake garments are still common in the tourism industry, and in these occasions people often mix up men's and women's styles from different areas. This kind of activity is common and familiar for many Indigenous groups around the world. In November 2016, the Sámi Parliament and House of Lapland (a marketing and communication house for the Finnish Lapland) published ethical guidelines for using Sámi clothes and culture in marketing. The guidance is not obligatory, but it is hoped that it will restrain the inappropriate use of the Sámi culture.

In Finland, the definition of a Sámi is laid down in the Act on the Sámi Parliament and is mainly based on the Sámi language. In the Act on the Sámi Parliament the definition has been described and restraint as follows: "For the purpose of this Act, a Sámi means a person who considers himself as Sámi, provided:

1) That he/she himself/herself or at least one of his parents or grandparents has learned Sámi as his first language;

2) That he/she is a descendent of a person who has been entered in a land, taxation or population register as a mountain, forest, or fishing Lapp; or

3) That at least one of his/her parents has or could have been registered as an elector for an election to the Sámi delegation or Sámi Parliament" (Finlex, Act on the Sámi Parliament, cited in March 7th 2016.)

The struggle over Sámi identity has been one of the main topics in the mainstream media. The incoherent definition (above) has created a situation where there are people who claim to be Sámi but are not accepted as such by the (majority of) the Finnish Sámi Parliament.

It is not solely Sámi people that are struggling with (external) problems of identification; due to a variety of Indigenous peoples it has been impossible for United Nations to find a solid definition that covers all Indigenous peoples. The UN has decided to create a solution that, for instance, Walters and Andersen (2013, p. 18) call a *non-definition*. This kind of definition gives typical, but not necessarily always present, characteristics. The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) lists characteristics such as

- Self- identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member
- Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies
- Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources
- Distinct social, economic or political systems
- Distinct language, culture and beliefs
- Form non-dominant groups of societies
- Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities.

It is said that the aim is to rather identify than define Indigenous people. This vague situation has caused problems in implementing international conventions and agreements, such as the ILO 169 Convention. I will examine this debate more closely in Chapter 6.2.1.

2.2 Sámi people in Journalism

According to Pietikäinen and Leppänen (2007, p. 185), mass media is one of the most important battlefields of identity struggles for Sámi people and other minorities, and "media

representations, as they are seen, considered, or followed, are always located within networks of power, culture, and history."

> "Sámi representations, as well as other ethnic minorities' representations are labeled by their 'otherness': we and them are separated, and 'the others' are represented via unfamiliarity and problems." (Pietikäinen & Leppänen 2007, p. 185, my own translation.)

Sámi researchers Lehtola and Länsman (2012, p. 13) argue that the representations of the Sámi people play an important role in the discussion about Sámi culture and institutions. They claim that the understanding of Sámi people is always dependent on the point of view and position of the speaker. In the struggle for rights, Sámi people are very dependent on the images and representations that are attached to them.

In mainstream journalism, excluding northern newspapers, Sámi news and representations are quite rare, and usually the news handles either Sámi rights or minority culture. As Pietikäinen and Leppänen (2007, p. 185) claim, the typical way to handle Sámi rights is to represent them as a conflict between official Finland and the Sámi as a homogeneous group. Much rarer are the alternative representations, such as to write about two official systems (Finnish state and Sámi Parliament) or as between two ethnic groups (the Finns and the Sámi). Pietikäinen claims that, for instance, the Sámi Parliament is often ignored in the mainstream media, and instead the Sámi people are represented as an unorganized group demanding their rights from Finland. Pietikäinen and Leppänen's article was written in 2007, and my experience as a journalist is that nowadays the Sámi Parliament is heard to a greater degree than it was before and it is valued by the mainstream media. Nevertheless, I agree with Pietikäinen and Leppänen in their observation that the small amount of news and publicity makes it difficult for Sámi people to participate in the public sphere and to make alternative perspectives, topics, and definitions on Sáminess visible. Pietikäinen and Leppänen did interventions on Sámi (related) texts (journalism, advertisements, and jokes) in order to illustrate stereotypes, categories and polarizations connected to Sáminess. They argue that Sámi representations that are made visible and reflected to the mainstream public do not have the same postmodern variety that is typical when journalists write about Finnish people. Sáminess was not hybrid, changing, or subtle in any of their example cases. On one hand, it is also a way to show solidarity and togetherness that is important in ethnopolitics and in the struggle for Sámi rights; on the other hand, these ongoing, simplistic representations may also continue and strengthen cultural colonialism (Pietikäinen and Leppänen 2012, p. 187).

Ikonen (2013) notes in her Master's thesis, in which she compares the representation of Sámi people in the regional newspaper Lapin Kansa and in the national newspaper Helsingin Sanomat in 2011, that most of the Sámi news stories and features were about arts and Sámi cultural events. According to Ikonen, in these topics the Sámi were represented as active actors, but in topics related to the nation-state and politics the Sámi are represented as quiet and passive.

Lately, during the years 2015 and 2016 for instance, Sáminess and Sámi people in Finland have been on display, especially in topics related to cultural appropriation. One of the cases was the misuse of the Sámi garment for artistic purposes, and the other case was the misuse and offensive representation of the Sámi culture in the international marketing video for tourist purposes. In addition, there have been several national legislation modifications which concern Sámiland and its nature resources (fishing, land use rights, for instance).

2.3 Different worldviews, ignored epistemes

Sámi people, as any other group or nation, are a heterogeneous group, but there are some beliefs and value systems that are important to know and understand. Kuokkanen (2008, p. 62) claims that Indigenous epistemes are "not only Indigenous knowledge but more broadly, Indigenous ontologies, philosophies and presuppositions or conceptual framework through which one looks at and interprets the world." Kuokkanen makes a comparison between Western and Indigenous epistemologies.

Figure 1.

Western epistemologies	**Indigenous epistemologies**
- dualistic structures (Greek philosophy) - rationality - individualism - detachment, ideal of objectivity - universal knowledge	- holistic structures, interconnectedness - intergenerational and collective knowledge, experience - context and specific locations important - the logic of gift, which includes the idea that human beings are only one aspect of nature, and that the balance of the world is renewed by giving gifts

These differences in our worldviews might had been the reason for me not understanding what Niillas Holmberg (in the introduction) tried to tell me. Kuokkanen argues that Indigenous people are silenced in Academia because of the dominance of the Western episteme. I claim that this "epistemic ignorance" is present in the practice of (mainstream / Western) journalism as well. My aim is to try to find out whether this ignorance and difference is visible in my empirical material. I will write more about epistemic differences and ignorance in Chapter 6.

It should be mentioned, and kept in mind, that when studying and writing about Indigenous and Western epistemes there are no definite objects. Foucault (1972, p. 191-192) emphasizes that epistemes are not something constant, lasting, and fixed.

> "The description of episteme presents several essential characteristics: it opens up an inexhaustible field and can never be closed; its aim is not to reconstitute the system of postulates that governs all the branches of knowledge of a given period, but to cover an indefinite field of relations. Moreover, the episteme is not a motionless figure that appeared one day with the mission of effacing all that preceded it: it is a constantly moving set of articulations, shifts, and coincidences that are established, only to give rise to others." (Foucault 1972, p. 191-192.)

I am aware of my limitations in analyzing indefinite concepts such as Indigenous and Western epistemes. Ontological backgrounds are not something that one could fully learn by studying. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that such differences do exist and may have an influence on communication (and journalistic outlet). It should also be mentioned and clarified that when I refer to Western epistemologies, I mean the aforementioned definitions and my own experiences of growing up in a Western country. Furthermore, as I compare journalistic practices and Sámi perspectives, I use my experiences as a Finnish mainstream journalist. My experiences may differ from someone else's experiences but I claim that there are multiple shared nominators, since Western journalistic education is largely based on principles of Western epistemologies, such as the aforementioned (figure 1.) detachment, ideal of objectivity, and rationality (Kuokkanen 2008, p. 62).

3. Hermeneutics and Challenges of Objectivity

In this chapter my aim is to reveal and analyze some of the blind spots in mainstream journalism; in that, I assume to have a role in shaping the experiences of injustice among (interviewed) Sámi people. First I open up for definitions – as contested as they are – of

journalism, Indigenous, and Indigenous journalism. This is because my research and my interviewees will probably compare mainstream and Indigenous journalism, and it is something that I also do as I compare informants' perspectives and journalistic practices. In the Conclusion chapter, I scrutinize possibilities to integrate Indigenous and Western journalism.

After that I tell about objectivity and its history. Then I will try to dismantle some of the reasons for biased journalism when writing about marginalized groups. For one solution to the problematic objectivity I offer and lean on feminist standpoint epistemology (see for instance Durham 1998) which I also use in analyzing my empirical material.

3.1 Defining Indigenous, Journalism and Indigenous Journalism

What is Indigenous Journalism? There is not a one right answer, because both Indigenous and Journalism are contested and unstable terms. According to the United Nations, the definition of Indigenous people is as follows:

> "Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system." (The Cobo definition of Indigenous peoples, cited in June 4th 2015.)

As mentioned in Chapter 2.1, UNPFII (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues) also has an identification for Indigenous peoples, but as Walters and Andersen (2013, p. 18) note, this is a so-called non-definition, which offers certain characteristics in recognizing Indigenous people. Compared to the Cobo definition, it has several similarities (Indigenous people as non-dominant groups of society; historical continuity with pre-colonial societies; distinct social, economic or political systems) but it highlights the importance of group identification, that is self- identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member.

In Finland, the question of who is a Sámi is a very contentious issue. The Sámi Parliament and and the Supreme Administrative Court have had different opinions regarding who is Sámi and thus should be accepted into the electoral role of the Sámi Parliament. International legal experts have criticised the decisions by the Supreme Administrative Court for going against the Sámi right to autonomously decide who belongs to the group. Simultaneously, individuals who have been denied entry into the Sámi Parliament have accused the Sámi Parliament of

discrimination. This has caused a rift in Sámi politics in Finland that will be visible in quotes later on in this text

Husband (2013, p. 2) claims that colonial experience was a shared history that provided Indigenous people the existential basis for common *shared narratives* of historical dispossession and continuing racisms, marginalization and denial of their rights. On the other hand, Smith (2012, p. 6) argues that the term 'Indigenous' is problematic in that it appears to collectivize many distinct populations whose experiences under imperialism have been vastly different. Other collective terms are 'First Peoples' or 'Native Peoples', 'First Nations' or 'People of the Land.' Naturally, the people who share similar experiences of imperialism and oppression, can have a global interconnection, but still the history and culture, habits and values, more often than not vary in Australia, Sápmi, Greenland, and Africa.

Journalism has a fluid and unstable definition as well. The basic definition could be that the responsibility of journalism is to share the most important information for its audiences, but this is of course an oversimplified definition. Schudson (2011, p. 7) has defined journalism as "information and commentary on contemporary affairs taken to be publicly important." Schudson also cites media scholar John Hartley's definition, which describes journalism as "the sense making practice of modernity." In any case, as Schudson (2011, p. 26) reminds, news and journalism at large are not a mirror of reality, even though we journalists would like to cherish this beautiful ideal. Journalism is always a representation of the world, and all representations are selective.

Hanusch (2013, p. 2) defines Indigenous journalism as the production and dissemination of information about contemporary affairs of general public interest and importance, by Indigenous peoples for the benefit of Indigenous, but also non-Indigenous, communities. Hanusch argues that this definition acknowledges the differences in Indigenous communities and that Indigenous journalism will likely differ depending on political, economic and cultural circumstances. I agree with Hanusch in that journalism is a cultural resource and is culturally contextualized, although there are some universal guidelines (sharing the information, for instance). Hanusch (2013, p. 6-7) builds up the definition of Indigenous journalism by dividing it into five dimensions: empowerment, counter-narrative, language revitalization, a culturally appropriate environment and the watchdog function. Hanusch writes that this fifth dimension relates to what is in the West often seen as one of journalism's most important roles. He argues that Indigenous news often provides a counter-narrative for mainstream news, but many Western journalists see this as a threat to objectivity and thus reject advocacy of any kind. Hanusch (by citing Hudson, 2003)

reminds us that the notion of objectivity in journalism has emerged only in the late twentieth century.

3.2 Objectivity – from whose perspective?

As Waisbord (2013) and many other scholars argue, objectivity has been lifted to be one of the most important and universal guidelines for journalism, even though its history in journalism and communication is not as long as one might think. Calls for journalistic objectivity and neutrality became particularly common after World War 1. Those values were submitted as necessary antidotes against the excesses of journalism that was complicit with government propaganda and public relations operations. Waisbord notes that of all ethical principles, the notion of objectivity has received the most extensive attention, also from press scholars (Kaplan 2002; Schudson 1978, cited by (2013, p.123).

When we talk about objectivity in the mainstream media, or any media, we should remember that there is always a person or several people with their own histories writing the stories. The typical view of the world is still witnessed by upper-class and upper-middle-class sectors of society, and furthermore the news reflects a white male social order (Gans 1979, cited by Durham 1998, p. 131). Still, mainstream journalism sees itself easily as "ahistorical, value free, devoid of connections to socially and culturally determined belief systems," as Durham (1998, p. 127-128) argues. Durham compares (Western) science and journalism, and claims that both professions like to think that they produce "supposedly objective knowledge [that] is presented as 'the view from nowhere'." She claims, amongst many other researchers, that knowledge is related to the social group(s) to which the knower belongs. Durham claims that traditional notions of objectivity permit – even encourage – journalists to speak without acknowledging their own identity locations in relation to the issues on which they report. Durham argues that (feminist) standpoint epistemology could give more variety to the journalistic practice:

> "Standpoint epistemology can advance journalism by compelling journalists to rethink themselves and their craft from the position of marginalized Others, thus uncovering unconscious ethnocentric, sexist, racist, and heterosexist biases that distort news production as it is governed by the dominant news paradigm. […] It is this consciousness that that provides a basis for seriously and rigorously understanding various knowledge claims, by revealing the logic, or logics, behind various representations of truth." (Durham 1998, p. 132-133.)

I asked my informants about objectivity, and many of them argued that it is more of an illusion than reality.

> "I claim that objectivity is an illusion, a dream wrapped in beautiful gift-wrapping paper. A journalist always chooses his side! If you for instance interview [Member of Parliament Mikko] Kärnä and [president of the Sámi Parliament] Tiina Sanila-Aikio, and no matter how much you have the opposite sides and you claim to be objective – you aren't. You cannot be. Every time you kind of choose sides. First, the heading: what kind of a headline do you have? What is in the subheading? And so forth. Objectivity is a total illusion." (Informant 1)

> *"Sanoisin, että objektiivisuus on semmonen harha, kauniiseen lahjapaperiin paketoitu unelma. Eihän se pidä koskaan paikkaansa. Aina toimittaja valitsee näkökulman! Vaikka olisi haastateltu vaikka [kansanedustaja Mikko] Kärnää ja [Saamelaiskäräjien puheenjohtajaa] Tiina Sanila-Aikiota. Vaikka kuinka ois muka vastapuolet ja oisit muka objektiivinen – et ole! Sä et pysty oleen! Joka kerta tavallaan valitset myös puolen. Ensimmäinen on otsikointi: miten sä otsikoit? Mitä on ingressissä jne. Objektiivisuus on täys harha." (Informant 1)*

Many criticized the journalistic practice for taking the opposite side, extremities, and representing them as equal choices. This was topical especially in the case of the Sámi definition, which will be more closely represented and analyzed in the Chapter 6.

3.3 Hermeneutics and reflexivity

At the core, is the understanding and juxtaposing my interviewees and my own standpoints. I need to be self-reflective about my journalistic communities of practice, for instance, and this can be done by utilizing hermeneutical theory. This is not to say that the roots of these approaches and studies would be in hermeneutics, but to argue that hermeneutics can give me the background to better understand the whole. For instance, Boxer (2002, p. 151) claims that in cross-cultural pragmatics (a part of cross-cultural communication) "individuals from two societies or communities carry out their interactions (whether spoken or written) according to their own rules or norms, often resulting in a clash in expectations and, ultimately, misperceptions about the other group." If communication is between a journalist (or a researcher) and interviewee, there is the question of power and dominance, and the history of colonization. The interviewer has the power to use the content of the interview. In my research, I will try to put away my journalistic "armor" and be as open-minded as possible.

Methodology plays a vital role in my research, because my research standpoint is in between different ontological backgrounds. I think that reality is fluid (=ontology) and a social construction (=epistemology), and that journalists and researchers, as well as people that are interviewed, build this social construction. In this kind of research, it is obvious that we live in multiple realities – people may have very different opinions and experiences of the shared

moment. My aim is also to open dialogue between multiple realities. Due to my methodological solutions – searching for differences and similarities in worldviews, for instance – I need to be visible and self-reflective in my research. Kremer (cited by Helander-Renvall 2010, p. 46) argues that it is important for Western-minded researchers to embody theories in her/his physical being, and that researchers always participate actively in the construction of truth. The awareness of participation, however, increases a researcher's burden in terms of integrity, self-reflectiveness, ethical and other considerations of value. I found interesting Kovach's (2009, p. 33) mention of autoethnography: "an approach with its foundations in ethnographical research, brings together the study of self (auto) in relation to culture (ethnography)." Even though my research will not be ethnography per se, it is important to be open about my own perspectives. Even as a researcher, I cannot hide my history as a journalist, since many of my interviewees know my profession, and some of them I have interviewed also as a journalist.

In hermeneutics, Gadamer (2004, p. 30) claims that the task of hermeneutics has always been to correct the imperfect or disturbed consensus. In hermeneutics "the idea is not to reach any final answer; instead the journey is its own reward" (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000, p. 87). In this kind of research, the ambiguity is ever-present, and a researcher can never truly and completely know how the interviewee thinks or feels.

Hermeneutics is a theory of understanding and interpretation. From the beginning, the main theme in hermeneutics has been that the meaning of a part can only be understood if it is related to the whole (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000, p. 53). This has been exemplified by a circle or a spiral in which a researcher processes his / her information, and by doing that (comparing the part and the whole) researcher / subject will progressively gain deeper understanding of the object. This is called objectivist hermeneutics. In alethic hermeneutics, however, the basic idea concerns "the revelation of something hidden, rather than the correspondence between subjective thinking and objective reality," as Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000, p. 58) argue. In this circle, the whole and the part are replaced by preunderstanding and understanding. Alethic hermeneutics includes and embraces the existential hermeneutics presented by Heidegger and Gadamer, poetic hermeneutics by Ricoeur, for instance, and the hermeneutics of suspicion by Marx, Freud and Nietzsche. (Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000, p. 59.)

In my research, the alethic hermeneutics is a more suitable approach, since it is more reflexive, and in this kind of research it is of utmost importance to acknowledge one's preunderstanding and possible biases and prejudices. The hermeneutic approach is appropriate for my research also because my research is apophatic (rather than cataphatic). As Husband (2015) argues, "apophatic listening involves temporary suspension of listener's categories in

order to make room for the speaker's voice." The cataphatic approach would mean that I have prefigured categories in encoding the communication of others.

In hermeneutics, there are several ways to analyze the material, and there are no strict rules for that. One of the basic concepts is to undertake a *dialogue* with the text. Alvesson and Sködberg (2000, p. 86) make a difference in grounded theory by saying that in hermeneutics, the researcher needs to *listen* to the text instead of breaking it apart as in grounded theory. They also emphasize the need to actively *ask* questions instead of waiting for the text to reveal itself to us. They claim that the most important part of the text or communication is between the lines.

4. Mode of analysis

4.1 Informants and the Semi-structured interview

The method used for the interviews in this thesis is semi-structured interviews. Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2000, p. 47-48) define the semi- structured interview as having four phases. First, the interviewer knows that the interviewees have lived through a certain situation (in my case the interviews with Finnish journalists). Second, the researcher has analyzed the larger picture and ended up with certain assumptions. The third phase is that the researcher develops preliminary questions. The fourth phase is the interview, which is focused on the subjective experiences of the interviewee.

I had certain questions that were the same for everyone, but at the same time, there was a possibility to go "off course" if an interviewee prioritized other aspects. This is to say that I was open to the interviewee's responses and ready to change my plans. My attempt was to achieve an adequate level of knowledge about general Sámi issues in advance, so that I can understand what my interviewees talk about. Similarly, I tried to avoid the idea of being too knowledgeable and consequently potentially excluding some aspects of the discussion. My plan was to interview 8-12 people, and I aimed to interview people from different fields (politics; education; speakers of North, Inari and Skolt Sámi; "City Sámi"), but to not to get so much material that it would be a burden to analyze them all. I ended up having nine informants. The Finnish side of Sápmi was chosen due to language: I do not speak any of the Sámi languages, so the interviews were conducted in Finnish. I could also interview in English, but I argue that in this kind of research it is important to understand the nuances of the language. This I could not do in English, and supposedly it would be challenging for the interviewees as well.

For my pilot study, I conducted one interview, analyzed it and drew conclusions. The most important conclusion of the pilot study was that there are many problems in the preparation of

Finnish journalists when they interview people about Sámi issues, and this lack of knowledge is often seen in the articles in the form of mistakes:

> "Every now and then I would like to give them [journalists] Lehtola's book and say that they should read this first and then come and do the interview! We've half-seriously talked about the possibility of having some kind of information sheet to hand out to journalists. Even in Northern Finland, journalists just don't have the information. It's not surprising because in Finland people just don't know about Sámi people. But it's a pity and it makes one feel a bit hopeless: is the knowledge about my child's people really this limited?" (Informant in my pilot study)

> *"Välillä tekis mieli iskeä toimittajalle [Veli-Pekka?] Lehtolan kirja käteen, että lue tämä ja tule sitten haastattelemaan. Ollaan me puolivakavissaan puhuttu, että pitäis olla joku monistenivaska, että saisivat perustietoja. Pohjois-Suomessakin toimittajilla ei vaan ole tietoa. Ei se toisaalta ole yllättävää, koska eihän Suomessa vaan tiedetä saamelaisista. Se on vähän sääli ja herättää vähän toivottomuutta, että näinkö vähän lasteni kansasta tiedetään." (Informant in my pilot study)*

The interview situation was informal, and I encouraged my 'pilot interviewee' to raise themes other than mine. By using this method, I got more information than I got using a strict interview structure and a formal situation.

I did my actual research interviews during the spring and summer of 2016. I started the process in the winter and spring by contacting people by email, or by calling them. Some informants I found by telling about my project on Facebook. Before contacting people, I reviewed archives of Finnish newspapers, magazines and other publications, such as Helsingin Sanomat, Lapin Kansa, and public broadcaster YLE (Finnish Broadcasting Company). I wanted to find people that have been interviewed more than once, so that they can compare and describe their experiences with Finnish journalists. It was relatively easy to make the first list of these people, since quite often they are the same people that comment on current affairs of the Sámi community, or are visible due to their artistic achievements.

Most of my interviewee candidates reacted positively to my suggestion, and they found it refreshing to have a chance to tell how they feel about journalists and journalism. Some were worried about their anonymity, and some wanted to know if they would have the opportunity to comment and affect the information and they wondered about its consequences for the community, i.e. they wanted to know if there will be reciprocity. From the beginning, my idea has been to bring the information back to the community: to organize meetings or lectures, and possibly tell about my findings for Yle Sápmi. Hopefully I will have a chance to visit some media houses and talk about my research. I believe that this incentive to "send greetings" to journalists was quite important for many of my informants.

But there were also exceptions. It is noteworthy to mention here how one of my potential informants answered me about the suggestion of an interview. This informant claimed to be so frustrated with Finnish mainstream journalists that she had declined to give them any more interviews. After some persuasion, we agreed to do the research interview, but due to schedule problems this never happened. Nevertheless, this reaction gives an indication about problems and tensions that exist between Finnish journalists and Sámi people. On the other hand, I have also heard from some Finnish journalists that they do not want to write or even familiarize themselves with Sámi issues because "it is so complicated, messy and all about conflict." This is to say that also journalists may have as biased an image of the Sámi as the average (Finnish) citizen. This is also remarkable because it reveals that journalists, as well as everybody else, create their image of the Sámi based on what they learn from the media. This speaks volumes to the power of traditional media (cf. Hartmann & Husband, 1974) – even though social media is stronger than ever, and is used both as a tool of counter-hegemony as well as against Sámi.

It is relevant here to say something about the backgrounds of my informants. I have promised them anonymity, so I will not reveal any detailed information, but I can tell some general information and give an overview of their publicity in journalism. I have nine informants, and about half of them are or have been involved in politics or activism. Some of them are part-time reindeer herders, and some are entrepreneurs in different fields (duodji / handicrafts, tourism, arts). Their age variation is from 23 to 75. A few of them had experiences with the media already from their childhood; others had been interviewed only recently.

I did my interviews in Inari, Rovaniemi, Oulu and Enontekiö. I met my informants once, and the interviews lasted on average from 1.5 to 2 hours. Many of my informants were busy in their work, so interviews were adjusted to their schedules. The interviews were loosely divided into different themes but if informants wanted to talk about something else, I listened to them. My main themes were experiences in the interview situations, different worldviews, journalistic practices and the hegemony of journalism, and suggestions for improvements in mainstream journalism. Interviews were recorded, transcribed in the original language, and later partly translated into English.

I started interviews by letting my informants tell their history, and especially their history with the Finnish media. Stories that informants told dated from the 1950's to the year 2016. First encounters with journalists varied from very positive to very negative. The experiences of my older informants spanned over several decades. Two of them had been interviewed already as a child, and some of the occasions had been quite oriented toward exoticism: for instance, a journalist following a Sámi child's trip to school:

> "One of the first times must have been [pause, thinking], the very first time, I was eight years old. But it was, of course, exotic for a journalist that a Sámi child was on their way to school. […] I don't remember this myself, I've seen pictures of it in the [weekly magazine] Apu, or Seura, one of these kinds of magazines." (Informant 6)
>
> *"Ensimmäisiä kertoja varmaan silloin [tauko, miettii], ihan ensimmäisiä kertoja, olin silloin 8-vuotias, mutta se oli tietenki toimittajan mielestä eksoottista, kun saamelaislapsi on koulumatkalla. […] En mie kyllä ite muista siitä muuta ko kuvia nähny jossaki Apu-lehti vai mikä lienee, vai Seura, joku tämmönen lehti." (Informant 6)*

This informant reminisced that it was quite a common journalistic story about Sámi people at the time, in the 1950's. Finnish journalists came to the Sámi home region to marvel at the exotic Sámi people and their lives. Culturally, Sámi people lived a more traditional life than nowadays, and their culture was still more separated from the majority culture. In the following case, in the 1980's, a Sámi child was interviewed for television and the audience was global. Sámi people were shown as one feature of Finland, and this informant was asked to answer some questions in front of the camera. The intention was good, but the result was less than perfect:

> "It must have been, I suppose, when I was ten years old. It was a live television program where they had short stories and interviews all around the world. I think it was like the presenter of the programme asked me some questions in Sámi, or I had to say for example what a snow castle is in the Sámi language. Of course, I couldn't, I had no idea. I did remember the right word three minutes later, but since it was live, and he asked two more words, 'what is this and what is that in Sámi'? But I couldn't remember… [voice wanes]. They were not even difficult [words] but somehow I just froze. But it did leave a scar that I will remember for the rest of my life. The presenter could've asked me beforehand, to brief me about what he is going to ask." (Informant 2)
>
> *"Kyllä se varmasti on ollu joskus tuota, kuuleppas tuota, varhmaan joskus 10-vuotiaana. Oli semmonen televisiolähetys, joka puolelta maailmaa tuli pätkiä. Kysy vielä saamen kielelä, tai minun piti saameksi sanoa mikä on lumilinna. Enhän mie, ei harmainta aavistusta. Kyllähän mie sitten heti kolmen minuutin päästä huomasin mikä sana olis kelvanu, mutta ko suorana tuli niin, ja se kysy kaks sannaa vielä että mikä on saamen kielelä se ja mikä on tämä. Mutta en mie muistanu [ääni hiipuu]. Ei ne ollu ees vaikeita, mutta jotenki se vain meni jummiin. Mutta niin jätti arven että ikäni muistan. Ois voinu kato etukätteen kysyä siinä, briiffata vähän että mitä kyssyy." (Informant 2)*

It is easy to understand and empathize with this person's experience and its bitter aftertaste. It would be a stressful situation for almost anyone, and in this case, the interviewee was caught off guard by the questions. I think this is a universal "failure" that might happen to any of us. As a journalist, I argue that more than intercultural or interpersonal communication, this is about journalistic practices and about preparing the interviewee for the situation. In this case, the right thing to do would have been to inform the interviewee about the questions in

advance. Despite the rough start with journalism this informant has given many interviews during the decades to follow.

My informants have a variety of backgrounds, and some of them have been in public in many roles: for instance, as politicians, artisans, officials, entrepreneurs, and so forth. As with journalism in general, different public (or private) roles affect the way that interviewees are perceived by journalists. One of my informants commented on the different roles and their consequences as follows:

> "The ones that have interviewed me […] have often wanted to illuminate and give attention to the fact that we have also this kind of Sáminess here, the basic tune has been positive especially at the time I was mostly an artisan and worked as an entrepreneur. It's like, all women's magazines **love handicrafts** [emphasizes, laughs]! So, those were sort of nice stories, they were pleasant to do." (Informant 3)

> *"Mutta ne jotka minua on haastatellu […] on yleensä halunneet nostaa, että täällä on myöskin tämmöistä saamelaisuutta, että se perusvire on ollu positiivinen varsinki silloin ku mä olin enimmäkseen käsityöntekijä ja tein yrittäjänä hommia. Kaikki naistenlehdet rakastaa käsitöitä! Niin ne oli semmosia kivoja juttuja, että niitä oli mukava tehdä." (Informant 3)*

4.2 Phases of the analysis

I will focus on the content of the interviews more closely in chapters 5 and 6. In chapter, 6 I also analyze nonverbal communication and its consequences for the interview situations. Here I review the phases of the analysis.

Transcribing the interviews was a time-consuming project, and it took some time to detach from the material in a way that I was able to concentrate on my interviewees' messages and in the interaction between us (instead of noticing my shortcomings as an interviewer). After reading the material several times and in a different order, I started to see connections, similarities, and overlaps. At the same time, it was obvious that informants have different views and opinions, and that it would be difficult, and indeed impossible, to draw quantitative statistics about their citations. For that my sampling was too small anyway.

The main aim of the project is to give voice to the interviewees and their experiences and representations. In order to let my interviewees' voices be heard I have used a lot of citations. I also decided to use Finnish and English citations next to one another, so that the original quotes are visible. In the English translations, I have concentrated on conveying the right content rather than translating literally. In this process, some of the nuances may disappear, so I wanted to offer

my Finnish speaking readers also the Finnish version. In the selection of quotes, I aimed to illustrate the "main trends" of the content but, in addition, the variation within the content.

After the first round of reading, I continued discussions with theoretical literature, especially with established Sámi scholars such as Rauna Kuokkanen and Elina Helander-Renvall, as it felt that they helped me to bridge between knowledge systems and to familiarize me with the feeling of injustice and colonial legacy.

In my discussion with the empirical material, I asked the following questions: What kind of themes emerge from the interview texts? What kind of preconceptions and presumptions do I have, and how do they possibly affect the interviews? Are there things that are difficult for me to understand? If so, what might be at the root of this? Hermeneutics is most importantly a reflexive way to analyze material but I felt that I need something a bit more concrete, like tools to get a grasp of my material, so I started to categorize my material in an iterative way.

Srivastava and Hopwood (2009, p. 77) argue that "the role of iteration, not as a repetitive mechanical task but as a deeply reflexive process, is key to sparking insight and developing meaning." According to them, reflexive iteration is at the heart of visiting and revisiting the data and connecting them with emerging insights, progressively leading to refined focus and understanding.

Srivastava and Hopwood (2009, p. 78) suggest provoking empirical material with these questions:

Q1: What are the data telling me? (Explicitly engaging with theoretical, subjective, ontological, epistemological, and field understanding)
Q2: What is it I want to know? (According to research objectives, questions, and theoretical points of interest)
Q3: What is the dialectical relationship between what the data are telling me and what I want to know? (Refining the focus and linking back to research question)

The first rounds of reading brought me categories such as:

- Power of media to shape public Sámi image (dependency of the Finnish media)
- Negotiations with media (trusted journalists, using media to gain publicity)
- Who owns the Sámi identity (the painful question of the self and group identification)?

- Improvements for the interview situation (hurry, environment, parachute journalism)
- Particularities in communication (silence as a way to protest, circulating stories, anecdotes)
- The importance of understanding the context (reindeer husbandry etc.)
- Inadequate level of knowledge
- Interpreting the cultural differences (epistemological and ontological differences)

5. Analyzing the interview situation

5.1 Interviewing as a performative act

The interview situation has many elements, some of them undoubtedly subconscious, that are important in my thesis. Where there are two people communicating, there are always possibilities to succeed or fail. We read each other's body language, pauses in the talk, things that are silenced or left "between the lines." In this part, I aim to conceptualize and illustrate the experiences of the research interviews (and generally of the journalistic interviews).

During the research interviews, I learned that sometimes people seemed to answer a different question than what had been asked, or that there seemed to be multiple audiences that they took into consideration. In order to understand this kind of action, I rely on Goffman's concept of the performative interview. The most basic conception of communication is the one of sending and receiving messages, of transferring information from sender to receiver. Social psychologist Erving Goffman (1971) has described the communication situation as a performance act. Goffman claims that the performance of self is the most crucial thing in the communication process. We all have a variety of roles that we use with other people. We are aware of ourselves in relation to others. In the interview situation, or in otherwise public communication (in front of a live audience, for instance) we are aware of ourselves, the other part of communication, and the audience. When an individual comes into contact with other people, that individual will attempt to control or guide the impression that others might make of him or her by changing or fixing his or her setting, appearance and manner. At the same time, the person the individual is interacting with is trying to form and obtain information about the individual. All participants in social interactions are engaged in certain practices to avoid being embarrassed or embarrassing others. Goffman uses theater as metaphor in describing interaction between people.

Goffman (1971, p. 91-93) describes three levels of facts: 1) an individual and his performances, 2) participants and their interaction as a whole, and 3) social organization's / system's expressions i.e. interaction of two groups. The third level means interaction between two people but in such a way that they are also both representatives of their groups. In my interviews, both in my journalistic work and in this research, I have sensed that often my interviewees seem to have multiple imaginary audiences. This is not to say that interviewees would have been somehow dishonest. Instead this is a question of constructing reality and playing different roles. As a journalist or as a researcher I play a role as well. A person in the interaction can be his own audience or create an imaginary audience. As a performer, he might be so vividly in his performance that he actually believes his own performance completely. In this situation, he becomes both a performer and observer. Goffman argues that probably even then person acts in a socially acceptable way. The performer regulates his private actions in a way that they meet moral demands, and often these requirements he connects with a certain interest group. This is how he creates an absent audience. Sometimes the individual might not personally believe in these requirements, but he still vividly believes he is being observed by an invisible audience which would punish him if he differed from those demands. Members of this kind of group are dependent on each other, since anyone in the group might cause problems for the whole group by acting inappropriately. According to Goffman (1971, p. 98), this dependency is partly due to unpredictable consequences. These kinds of groups emerge in much variety in society; they might be political, hobby related, etc. The essential point is that they want to maintain a certain appearance of themselves, and to use it as a tool to gain their aims. In general, there seems to be a consensus that if group members publicly appear to disagree, it exploits group's possibilities to collaboration, and in addition it confuses the impression of reality this group pursues. In order to maintain the desirable impression, members of the group may be expected to restrain from making public their opinions until the group's own position has stabilized; and once the group's contention is being published, everyone is expected to obey. I claim that this is applicable to minorities and Indigenous groups such as the Sámi. Due to relatively scarce visibility in the media, it is important to defend one's own group.

Goffman (1971, p. 104-105) gives different positions to participants depending on the situation. When interaction is observed as a dialogue between two groups, it might be valid to identify one group as performers and the other group as audience or observers. In many socially significant situations, only one group organizes "the social set up" of the interaction, to which the other group responds. The first group, thus, has a better chance to make its own performance visible and dominant. In my research, there are two aspects that need to be mentioned. First,

journalists have the power to frame the stage by choosing interviewees, topics, and the final content of the story. Of course, interviewee has the power to decline, or to impact interview situation, and the content. Journalist is dependent on interviewee's words.

In the context of the Sámi, I find the idea of strategic essentialism applicable to Goffman's theory. Sanna Valkonen (2009, p. 13, citing Kuokkanen 1998, p. 13) claims that strategic essentialism emphasizes marginalized peoples' and groups' need to create positive images that strengthen their identity. Originally, strategic essentialism was used by postcolonialist researcher Gayatri Spivak, meaning adopting a collective, essential, identity in order to achieve particular political goals, and temporarily putting aside the group's internal disagreements. In this idea, strategic essentialism is very close to Goffman's social psychologic theory. Essentialism can be a way to reveal silenced histories and perspectives. (Valkonen 2009, p. 13.) Rogers Brubaker names this kind of activity groupism, in which ethnic groups, nations and races are seen as entities, and thus, these groups' interests are seen as a result of their particularity. In the Sámi context, this means seeing Sámi people as one, united and Indigenous people. As Valkonen (2009, p. 12) claims, it is also common in the media, everyday talk, and even in research to treat Sámi people as one homogeneous group. This is often criticized by the Sámi people themselves, and also by researchers.

My empirical material revealed that my interviewees also used an us/them dichotomy a lot in their answers. It was more difficult to get them to talk about their personal experiences with Finnish journalists, even if they had the chance to talk anonymously. I often felt like my interviewees were constantly aware of their possible audiences, their own community, and that they consciously or subconsciously monitored their words. This was an interesting insight for several reasons. First, I have recognized something similar in my journalistic interviews: a feeling that something is left unsaid. I want to emphasize here that this is not to say that my informants would have deliberately kept things from me or that I was not satisfied with my interviews. It was more like an implicit way of talking and thinking that, for me, seemed like "semiautomatic filtering." For me it seemed that some of my informants were burdened by the expectation that their dominant feature is Sáminess, and due to the inflamed discussions over Sámi identity and the fear that the information will be misused, interviewees are cautious of what they can say. From the journalistic perspective, this kind of action may seem to be hiding something, especially if the body language indicates that the interviewee is anxious. The journalist probably does not know how to read these signs properly, so he or she does not know or cannot even guess what is causing this kind of reaction.

Secondly, these moments of "considering the right words" made the invisible audience a bit more visible. I, the interviewer, was on stage with the interviewee, and we two were actors for the audience. And even though in this occasion my role was to be a researcher, I suppose that many of my informants considered me to be at least as much a journalist (and as a potential channel to send their messages to Finnish journalists and decision-makers).

Valkonen (2009, p. 15) writes that the empirical starting point of her research is the idea of diversity in Sáminess and its experiences. Valkonen argues that as a result of many factors – consequences of colonialist practices on Sámi communities and individuals, Sámi people's historical diversity, and reforms inside the Sámi community – Sámi people are nowadays a group of remarkably varied and distinct individuals. When multicultural Sáminess is represented as oneness, locked on certain essentially produced symbols, this diversity is no longer recognized necessarily. At the individual level, Sámi people do not necessarily recognize themselves in this stabilized Sámi image. Valkonen adds that people and institutions outside the Sámi community may only see this essentialized image of the Sámi (Valkonen 2009, p. 15-16). I argue that this also applies for media and journalists. The difference with my journalistic experiences was that in this case, my informants were able, and also willing, to be transparent about it, and they also shared their frustration about it:

> "Sometimes it gets distressing when you think about it: that you're not just yourself but a whole people. When you put the Sámi clothes on, you can't hide. If you screw up, the whole Sámi community is disgraced. I mean, it's different here [in the North], but if you're for example in Southern Finland lying on the [central market square in Helsinki] with a beer bottle in your hand, then **'that's terrible, those Lapps are such drunks!'** [emphasis]. Even if it's just that one person, and the other 9000 don't behave that way."
>
> JL: "How does that feel?"
>
> Informant: "It pisses me off, it really does… [whispering]. […] Here it's different but elsewhere, I really have to psych myself. You know that as soon as you open the door and step outside you represent your entire people. So, you need to have a certain courage and pride."
>
> JL: "Do you feel journalists acknowledge this pressure felt by the interviewee?"
> Informant: "Probably not very often." (Informant 1)
>
> *"Välillä ku sitä rupeaa miettimään, niin se on niin ahistavaa; ettei ole vain itse vaan koko kansa sitten. Ja vähän sama kun laittaa saamenpuvun päälle, et sä pysty enää piiloutuun. Sä edustat koko kansaa sillä hetkellä, ko laitat puvun päälle. Jos sä mokaat, niin koko saamelaisporukka on sitten niinkö häpäisty. Ja tarkotan siis, että täällä [pohjoisessa] se on eri asia, mutta jos ollaan tuolla etelässä, niin siellä jos saamenpuvussa vaikkapa makaisit tuolla kauppatorilla kaljapullon kanssa, niin* ***'kauheita nuo lappalaiset ko ne on niin juoppoja!' [korostaa]*** *Jos se on se yks ihminen siellä. Ja 9000 muuta ei tee sitä. Mutta jos se on se yks, niin sillä on niin iso merkitys sitte sillä kuvalla tuolla etelässä.*
>
> *JL: No miltä se tuntuu?*

Informant: Vituttaa, kyllä se vituttaa [kuiskaa]. […] minun pitää psyykata itteeni, että nyt edustat koko kansaa […] Mä rakennan itteni ennen ku mä aukasen sen oven ja menen ihmisten ilmoille.

JL: Mitä sie ajattelet, että tiedostaako toimittajat sen paineen, mikä sillä haastateltavalla on?

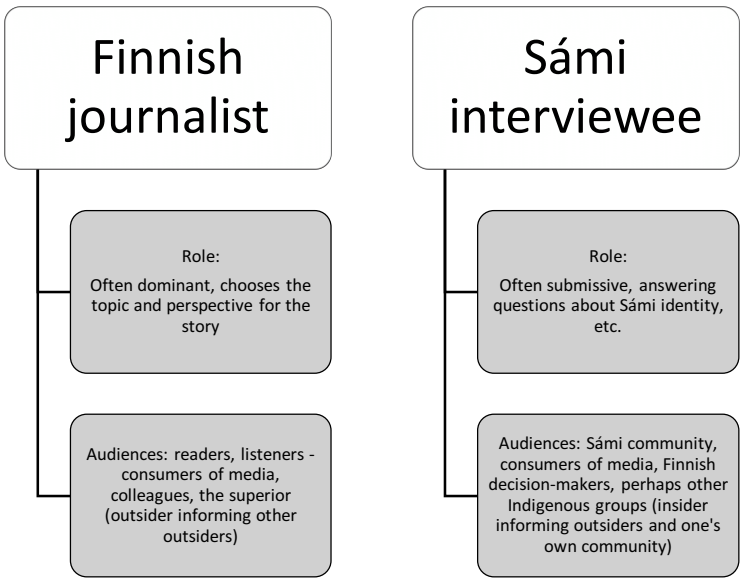
Informant: Aika harvoin varmaan tiedostaa." (Informant 1)

Journalists love stories and opinions from ordinary people instead of, or in addition to, officials; but when it comes to minorities or people with different backgrounds, we may not be aware of the potentially cumulative impacts. The pressure to represent the whole group may lead to a situation where people do not want to tell about their background or ethnicity.

5.2 Sámi and Journalistic perspectives on the interview situation

In this chapter I demonstrate the interview situation and the players that I argue play a role in the interview situation between Finnish journalist and Sámi interviewee. This is applicable in my research interviews, but maybe even more so in journalistic work. I start by conceptualizing roles and their power relations as I understand them, based on my experiences and my research (figure 2). In figures 3 and 4, I outline some basic themes and keywords, which are based on my previous understanding and preliminary reading of empirical material. During Chapter 6, I build these boxes with empirical material, and the fulfilled figures are presented in the Conclusions (Chapter 7).

Figure 2. Audiences and basic roles in dyadic communication



These roles (figure 2) have a connection to societal power relations, which I analyze more closely in Chapter 6 (6.2 and 6.3, for instance), but here it is important to open up some of the central points. For a person living in the majority in mainstream culture, it might be challenging to understand the perspective of a person living as a minority. Foucault has the idea of capillary power, wherein power is embedded in us; it is in our bodies and in our everyday lives. For a mainstream journalist, this kind of "self-evidence" comes with power over others. As shown in figure 2, the journalist has the opportunity and authority to set up the frames for the interview. An interviewee also has the possibility to dominate the interview situation (and according to the ethical guidelines of journalists, the interviewee has the right to correct his or her quotes) but mainly journalists are the ones to dominate. But journalists also have their own audiences: explicitly they are consumers of the media in question, but similarly colleagues and superiors. There is a competition over scoops, desire to please colleagues and bosses, and when it comes to Sámi / Indigenous issues, it almost always means that an outsider to the community is reporting for other outsiders. From the Sámi perspective, this includes many potential risks, for instance one of not understanding the information or misusing it (and it is very possible that the journalist does not realize the misuse at all, since the culture and its codes are not familiar).

From the Sámi perspective, audiences are even more multiple. Often there is a Sámi person informing Finnish people about the theme in question, and in general about Sámi culture. If there are questions of land rights or material resources, messages are often geared toward national and regional decision-makers. In addition, there might be messages for the Sámi community that only insiders of the group understand. It seems that these roles exist even if one does not actively pursue them. In chapter 6, especially subsection 6.3, I analyze these roles more and their subtle consequences.

In the following figures (figures 3 and 4), I bring up some fundamental themes that I will scrutinize more closely in the next chapter and in the conclusions. These keywords and themes are based on my preliminary reading of empirical material. This is to say that these themes are a result of having a dialogue with the transcribed interviews. They also enter into discussion with tentative themes that were presented in Chapter 4.2 (for instance: power of media to shape public Sámi image, negotiations with media, trusted journalists, using media to gain publicity, particularities of communication, the importance of understanding the context). Already at this abstract level, one can notice that juxtaposing keywords of the Sámi interviewee perspective and journalistic practices and perspective (below) reveal potential reasons for dissonance. For instance, collective knowledge and individual experiences; particularities of communication

(implicit and explicit); conflict-orientedness and internal solving of conflicts; detachment and holism are topics that probably cause resentment and even misunderstandings in interview situations. These themes are more closely analyzed in the next chapter.

Figure 3. Sámi perspective based on literature and presumptions.

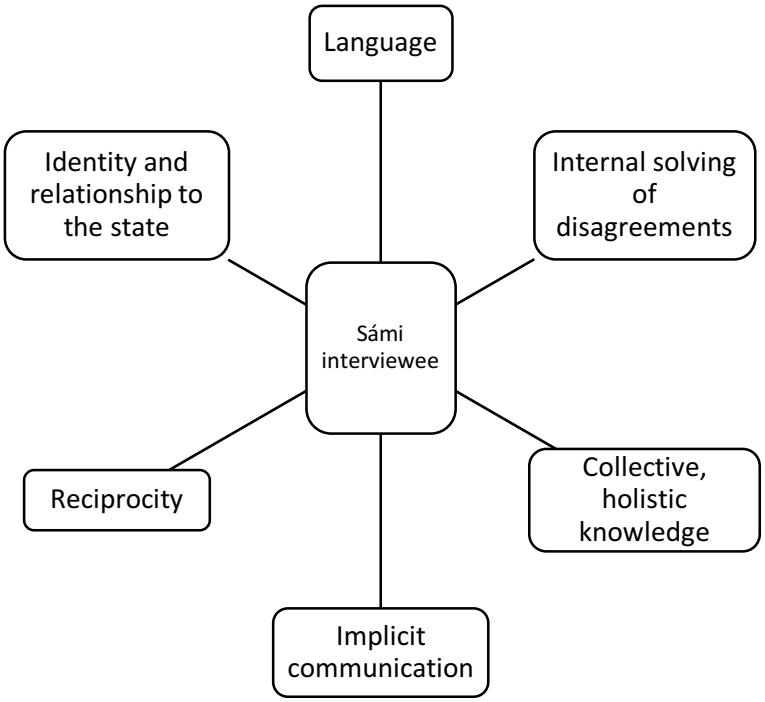
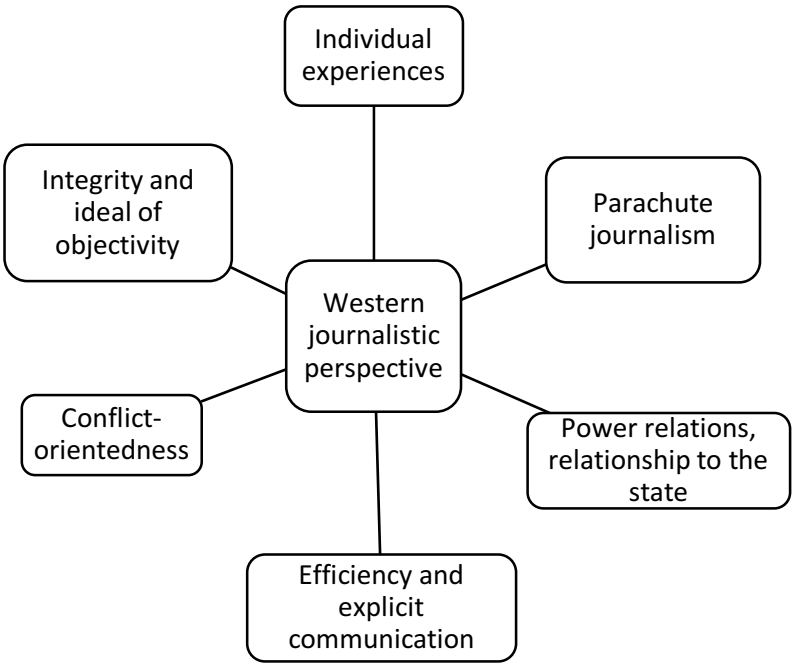


Figure 4. Western journalistic practices and perspective based on personal experience



The aforementioned Western journalistic perspective and practices are based on my previous education and experiences as a journalist. Integrity, objectivity and detachment, for instance, are largely shared principles among Western journalists. Conflict-orientedness shares opinions (for instance, constructive journalism prefers solution-orientedness), but is still pivotal in news criteria; proverb *"bad news is good news, good news is no news, no news is bad news"* is still valid in newsrooms. Efficiency and rushing are present in newsrooms globally as well.

The keywords' content varies from the very practical level to the epistemological level, but on the other hand, they also intertwine in a way that perhaps has not yet been researched and realized. After the analysis, I will theorize my conclusions in chapter 7.

6. "They have an enormous power" – How the Finnish media is perceived

In this chapter, I enter into a discussion with the empirical material in a hermeneutic way. This is to say that I compare content from the interviews with literature and my own experiences, and I juxtapose details with the larger context. As previously stated, instead of dividing the theory and empirical parts, my aim is to bring theories into discussion along the way. I start this chapter with my informants' positive encounters with journalists (subsection 6.1). After that I concentrate on the context of the media image of the Sámi by especially using the concept of hegemony. In the next subsections, I represent and analyze themes such as level of knowledge of Sámi issues, negotiations with the Finnish media, and the importance of language and nonverbal communication. I use a lot of citations from my informants in order to genuinely give them a voice in the research.

6.1 Positive individual stories and experiences

I was interested in learning from my informants about their personal experiences with the media. Soon I noticed that informants answered on two levels: individually and on a general level, i.e. on behalf of the Sámi community. In most answers, there was a similar pattern: personal experiences with journalists were for the most part positive, but the overview of the Sámi media image was negative. This may be due to the choice of the informants, or habits of communication (which I analyze more closely in the Chapter 6.7). It seems that even though

homogenization from the journalist's perspective was perceived as frustrating; many informants tended to answer on behalf of the whole Sámi community, and they used this opportunity to raise concerns about the Sámi media image. This action has connections to representation and strategic essentialism. In the beginning of this chapter, I concentrate on these two perceptions (on the individual and collective level) and contextualize them with concepts of hegemony and dominance. I will also use the case of the Sámi definition as an example to illustrate the comments on power relations.

As said, surprisingly – and contradictory to my previous understanding – the majority of the informants were mainly happy and satisfied with their personal publicity in the media. This quote from an informant gives an illuminative insight of the answers I received:

> "I've always managed to get a good representation of myself. But if you think about the people Sámi as a whole, the media has really had a field day with these so-called disputes. And those who yell the loudest get all the attention, while the truth may remain muffled under the yelling. This is what happens when the other party doesn't want to get into a contest of who screams with the loudest voice." (Informant 1)
>
> *"Mie olen aina saanu kaikkea hyvää itestäni esiin. Mutta sitten kun aattelee saamelaisia yleensä niin, kyllähän niillä niin sanotuilla riidoilla herkutellaan aivan kauheasti. Ja ne jotka huutaa kovimpaan ääneen niin ne pääsee esiin, ja totuus saattaa jäädä sen huudon alle, kun toinen osapuoli ei jaksa alkaa kilpaa huutamaan." (Informant 1)*

One informant is aware of the common opinion of the negative Sámi image, but he also questions it:

> "It's a good thing that journalistic stories are made, and in my opinion most of them are really good. Often Sámi people themselves are being contradictory when they say that we're not covered [in the media]. Research shows that there are enormous amounts of Sámi- related material produced in the media. And then again, [the argument that] the material is one-sided, that isn't true either. There's **surprisingly** [emphasis] diverse material out there. (Informant 5)
>
> *"Sehän on hyvä, että tehhään juttuja, ja minusta suurin osa on oikein hyviä. Ja monesti saamelaiset itekki on vähän ristiriitasia ko sanovat, että meitä ei juuri käsitellä. Ja kuitenki esimerkiksi ko on mitä vaan tutkimuksia tehty mediasta, niin sieltähän tullee valtavasti saamelaisia koskevaa aineistoa. Että se ei piä paikkaansa, että jotenki saamelaisia ei ois käsitelty. Ja sitten myöskin, että se ois ykspuolista se aineisto niin, niin, ei sekkään kyllä sillä lailla piä paikkaansa. Kyllä sieltä **yllättävästi** [korostaa] löytyy monipuolista aineistoa." (Informant 5)*

He describes the Sámi media image, or the nature of publicity, as one particular sector in the media, among other sectors. There are journalists and networks that are well aware of Sámi issues, and conduct good quality journalism. According to his understanding, there is additionally the "main public sphere" and the public discussion which is more difficult to

achieve, and this arena is the one that is most criticized from the Sámi community, since it has the most power, and there the media image is more easily stereotyping:

> "It's a very small proportion that ends up in the public realm, and there the starting point may be very different. […] In different networks there are various ways to speak about Sámi issues, and then one of them becomes dominant. Now the definition of the Sámi is so dominant that it's annoying. It's like it's not possible to talk about Sáminess without referring to that, and it simplifies things. It's also an easy way to sabotage [other important issues]: whatever the topic, one can ask that what about the definition, wasn't that a bit vague?" (Informant 5)

> *"Se on hyvin pieni osa, joka nousee julkisuuteen. Ja se voi olla, että siellä on kokonaan erilaiset ne lähtökohat. […] Eri verkostoissa saamelaisuuesta voiaan puhua eri tavalla, ja sitten joku niistä nousee tavallaan hallitsevaksi [painottaa], ja nythän tässä on tämä saamelaismääritelmäaihe niin hallitteva, että ottaa päähän. Että saamelaisuuesta ei tavallaan voi puhua ilman että sitä jotenki joku siihen niinku viittaa, ja yksinkertaistaa. Se on helppo sabotointimenetelmä myös. Mistä vain aletaan puhua niin, mitenkäs tämä saamelaismääritelmä [ääni nousee, ikään kuin matkii toimittajaa tms.] Eikös se ollut vähän epäselvä?" (Informant 5)*

The common feature in positive experiences is that they are mainly about topics such as arts, handicrafts, or parts of the Sámi culture that are further away from the economy, power, and the establishment. Informants that have been in publicity in several roles, for instance, as artists and activists or politicians, had recognized the differences in perceptions from journalists: the higher or more power-related the position, the tougher the treatment. This is one of the basic principles in journalistic work, and interviewees were aware of that. I was also interested in knowing my interviewees' familiarity with the journalistic process, including editing and the journalistic integrity over the interviewees chosen in the story, since this is something that frequently causes resentment toward journalism in general. Most of the informants were aware of the journalistic process from the interview to a ready story, and that capability to influence the content of the story is only limited. Even if they were dissatisfied with the story, they understood that it is always a co-operation of the interviewee, journalist, and editors:

> "My starting point is that no interview or story is what the interviewee envisions it to be. There is always the writer, the editorial staff, and before the story gets anywhere it's read and decided whether it's suitable to be published. I also think that, well, I wouldn't say that the editing and publishing process isn't understood, but **perhaps it's not so well known either.** [emphasis] […] I don't get angry if someone writes something else than I had intended, because journalists are not mind-readers and there is the whole editing process in between." (Informant 3)

> *"Olen lähteny siitä, että eihän se tietenkään haastateltavan mikään juttu ole sitä mitä haastateltava itse visioi. Ei koskaan, vaan siinä on aina se kirjoittaja, siinä on toimitus, ja ennen kuin se juttu menee mihinkään sitä myöskin luetaan, että voidaanko tätä laittaa*

> *tällasena. Että mää luulen myöskin, että, no en väittäis, ettei tätä julkaisuprosessia ymmärrettäis, mutta **se ei ole niin hyvin tunnettu välttämättä sekään**. [korostaa] […] Että en mää ota sitä itteeni, jos joku nyt kirjottaa vähän jotenki muuten ku mä olin ajatellu. Koska toimittaja ei ole ajatustenlukija plus siinä on se koko toimitusprosessi siinä välissä." (Informant 3)*

Despite these favorable arguments, comparatively there were more negative remarks concerning the Finnish media and Finnish journalists. These remarks are also more interesting with respect to my research, so in the next chapter I shift focus more on the topics that cause resentment. I also argue that for some part the representation of positive experiences, was due to my position as a journalist; it might be more difficult to represent critique to me than it would be for someone outside the field of journalism. According to my informants, it is not the journalistic process per se that causes resentment, but perhaps the larger context: attitudes, and ignoring the distinctiveness of the culture.

6.2 "The offended Sámi people"

The description of "the offended Sámi people" was general among my informants when asked about the Sámi image in the media. This is how one of the interviewee told about frustration concerning the ways that the Sámi are represented:

> "This is exactly how the technique (of regional newspaper Lapin Kansa) works: "The decision on the election register **angers** [emphasizing, some). sapettaa] the Sámi people." I mean, the reactions of the Sámi side are always depicted like this, they are crying and shouting and troubling. Instead, umm, it is left unsaid that the Sámi Parliament says that this is **an illegal decision**. […] But Lapin Kansa claims that **yes, now they are angry because they lost this case [emphasis]**." (Informant 8)

> *"Siis tässä näkyy se Lapin Kansan tekniikka: Vaaliluettelopäätös **sapettaa** saamelaisia (paripalstaisen lehtijutun otsikko). Siis saamelaisosapuolen reaktiot on aina tämmösiä, ne on itku ja huuto ja sapetuksia. Sen sijaan, tuota, jätetään sanomatta se että se oli Saamelaiskäräjien tulkinnan mukaan **laiton päätös [korostaa]**." (Informant 8)*

This kind of "emotionality" in headlines and subheadings was perceived as condescending. The frequency of these kinds of headings raised questions of biased journalism. It is worth considering the consequences of this kind of journalistic practice. It has an impact, not only on the Sámi community but also on people reading or listening to the news. This kind of activity, which may seem to be a random choice of verbs for a journalist that occasionally reports on Sámi issues, actually underrates the whole group. This applies not only for the Sámi people, but other indigenous groups, and ethnic or sexual minorities as well. From the Sámi perspective, the

time taken to explain these external problems and image-related conflicts are taken away from improving more concrete issues, such as revitalizing languages and improving health care opportunities:

> "Reported issues and headings keep living in people's minds. There are many people who only read the headlines, for instance that Sámi people are offended again. […] Nowadays when you talk about the problems facing the Sámi everyone just thinks of these issues, of the Sámi Parliament and who wants to be Sámi. But we have real problems as well, not only these that eat all the energy. Bad roads, need for more Sámi education, elderly care. It must be difficult to promote these issues nowadays, because the only thing that interests people is who do you think is a Sámi! [gushes, sounds frustrated]" (Informant 2)

> *"Kuinka se jääpii elämään se asia ja juttu ja otsikko. Monikaan ei lue ko otsikon, esimerkiksi just se, että saamelaiset on taas närkästyny. Nykyaikana jos puhuthaan saamelaisten ongelmista niin kaikki mieltävät sen näihin asioihin, saamelaiskäräjiin ja kuka tahtoo olla saamelainen. […] Onhan saamelaisilla tietenki oikeatki ongelmat olemassa eikä vain nämä, jotka syövät energian. Huonot tiet, koulussa voipi olla vähän opetusta, vanhusten palvelut. Semmosia asioita on varmasti hankala nykyään viiä etteenpäin, ko se aina vain kiinnostaa se, että kuka sinun mielestä on saamelainen! [turhautuneen kuuloinen, puuskahtaa viimeisen lauseen]. (Informant 2)*

From the interviewee's point of view, the real problems are more economic and material than image-related (for instance the anger against tourism industry or artists that misuse the (fake) Sámi dress, i.e. gákti). Common features for this articulated frustration is that the topics are related to economic resources, reindeer husbandry or its competing livelihoods, such as the mining industry, or tourism, and on a general level, topics that are related to legislative modifications, for instance land rights and ILO Convention 169. These can be described as issues and occasions in which the Sámi community is claiming their rights as Indigenous people, and with these claims they confront the nation-state of Finland.

Before analyzing empirical material more closely, it is essential to give insight into the role of the media in society and its role in upholding hegemony in society. This quote from one of my informants summarizes eloquently the critical point of this research:

> "We are such a small minority and our visibility in the media is so marginal, that every single story is read very carefully […] because they are so **extremely important, we are totally dependent on it [strong emphasis]**, on how the media writes about us." (Informant 3)

> *"No me ollaan niin pieni vähemmistö, ja meiän näkyvyys on mediassa valtakunnallisellakin tasolla niin pientä ja marginaalista, että sen takia joka ainoa juttu luetaan niin tarkasti […], koska ne on* ***äärettömän tärkeitä, me ollaan täysin riippuvaisia siitä [painottaa vahvasti]****, että miten meistä kirjotetaan.*" (Informant 3)

None of my informants argued that the media did not have an effect on the Sámi community. On the contrary, the role of media is seen as powerful. Some of the informants thought that journalists understand their power and also actively use it. On the other hand, some of the informants thought that journalists and media houses do not realize how significant the consequences stories may have on the local level.

McCoy claims that the media performs functions that alter our conceptions of knowledge and truth. In Western societies, truth is largely articulated through media (McCoy 1988, p. 84.) In the process of accepting or declining discourses and information, journalists and the media play a crucial role. As it is often mentioned, journalism is a gatekeeper of publicity – nowadays perhaps less than five or ten years ago, but it nevertheless has power to create public discourse. Hegemony has various definitions from several researchers – Marx, Gramsci, Hall, Foucault – but what they have in common is the idea of someone's dominance over others. Hall describes hegemony as the "process by which a historical bloc of social forces is constructed and the ascendancy of that bloc secured" (Hall 1986a, p. 42, cited in McCoy 1988, p. 73). McCoy compares these by claiming that Gramsci (1971) and Hall refuse the strict homogenization of class; the organization of dominant social groups or the dominant culture is more complex than the classic Marxist conception of class (and struggle between classes). Hall (in Hall & Jefferson 1976, p. 12, cited in McCoy 1988, p. 72) claims that "dominant and subordinate classes will have distinct cultures, but when one culture *experiences* itself in terms prescribed by the dominant culture, then the dominant culture has also become the basis of a dominant ideology."

These codes of meaning appear transparent, natural and largely unquestioned. In this context, it means that for the mainstream journalist it is challenging to sincerely see power structures and his or her own role as part of majority culture. McCoy uses "free speech" and "democracy" as examples of the things and definitions that we just "know." This means that speakers and writers themselves may not be aware that these significations are taken from an ideological framework, and the politics of signification often take place through the media: for instance, "our legal-political system, projected through media, constricts communication, resulting in acceptable views by trusted sources through strategic manipulation of power relations" (McCoy 1988, p. 72). McCoy emphasizes that at the very least, this is accomplished by agenda-setting, which is the tool to restrict alternatives and to legitimize some perspectives while relegating others to the margins (ibid.)

I find Foucault's definitions of power and hegemony especially useful for my research. For Foucault, power is relational, and individuals are as much constituted by power as they are subjects of power. Power is not solely repressive but also productive. As McCoy (1988, p. 73)

notices, both Foucault and Hall declare the struggle to be between social groups, but Foucault goes further by arguing that it may be the struggle of all against all, and even intrapersonal. This is to say that Foucault avoids totality and holism (whereas Hall and cultural studies in general emphasize holism and the idea that culture structures society, and a social formation is a "structure in dominance").

One of Foucault's central points is that different periods of history have constituted different systems of thought or epistemological fields, or as Foucault labels them, epistemes, which are in turn applied as formal systems of knowledge (Foucault 1972, 1973, cited by Hobbs 2008, p. 6). As Hobbs describes, "Foucault was interested in the shifts in the configuration of knowledge, or what society considers and values to be knowledge, from episteme to episteme (Hobbs 2008, p. 6). Foucault defines discourse as:

> "[a] group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment. […] Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But […] since all social practices entail *meaning*, and meanings shape and influence what we do – our conduct – all practices have a discursive aspect." (Foucault, cited in Hobbs 2008, p. 7.)

According to Foucault, people ascribe meaning to things, so these meanings are not intrinsic. Bluntly said, for Foucault knowledge is power, and "power is implicated in the manner in which certain knowledge is applied" (Hall 1997, p. 48, cited by Hobbs 2008, p. 10). Foucault also spoke about truth, but not one sole truth but rather "regimes of truth";

> "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 truth, the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements." (Foucault cited in Hobbs 2008, 10).

Foucault's regimes of truth are visible in my research: Finland as a nation-state and society has its own regimes and rules, and so does the Sámi community. Journalists are interpreters and they are able to contest these regimes of truth if they are capable and willing to see them. Hobbs (2008, p. 6) has interpreted Foucault's views on power and knowledge in relation to mass communication. Foucault himself did not study mass communication, journalism or media in his work, but as Hobbs (2008, p. 11) claims, Foucault's theories apply equally to the media houses and newsrooms, since journalists profess to impart social truths, operating within the context of a professional code that values objectivity, balance and the public interest. As Hobbs reminds us, such a code is a discourse, which influences the manner in which events, objects, and things are

represented by the media text. Even though journalists themselves often think that they articulate faults in society, monitor the elite and defend the underdogs, many researchers see journalists and media houses as a part of the elite. McCoy (1988, p. 84) argues that journalists most often speak the same language as their sources, meaning those in control. Chomsky (cited in McCoy 1988, p. 83) names the public discourse as the "bounds of thinkable thought." Chomsky argues that Western democracies control thought by normalizing public discourse:

> "To be admitted to the debate within mainstream media, one must not violate the fundamental principle that the government is fundamentally benevolent" (McCoy 1988, p. 83).

Hobbs (2008, p. 12) emphasizes that to be a journalist, or other news producer, is to be powerful, and it is the discursive practices that have the power to 'make true' particular regimes of truth. Hobbs adds that journalists – perhaps unwittingly – participate in the 'government' of modern society.

One side of the media power is its capability to create, as Couldry (2003, p. 41, 45) defines, "the myth of the centre" and "the myth of the mediated centre." These myths deserve to be observed here since they illuminate some realities, often subconscious, of the media and journalists. Couldry claims that the media is a participant in the building and maintaining of the so-called 'centre' in society, meaning that the form of media rituals suggest that somewhere there is a 'truth' or a 'naturalised' centre that we should value. This is connected with the myth that the media has a privileged relationship to that centre, and media has a 'natural' role to represent or frame that 'centre' (the myth of the mediated centre). This is not to say that there would not be centralization in the decision-making and global consumption, but to claim that beneath these pressures there is this mythical 'core':

> "The idea that that society has a centre helps naturalise the idea that we have, or need, media that 'represent' that centre; media's claims for themselves that they are society's 'frame' help naturalise the idea, underlying countless media texts, that there is a social 'centre' to *be* [original emphasis] re-presented to us." (Couldry 2003, p. 47).

In the Sámi context and in the interview situations this could play a role in the feelings of misunderstanding. At the very basic and practical level this 'centre' is valued in our school books that are centered on the perspective of the nation-state, undermining the Indigenous population and their experiences that are historically intertwined with state's assimilation policies. This perspective is extremely naturalized in our society. Finnish children – and adults –

still know very little about the Sámi. In my empirical material, the dominance of one culture over another was mentioned, for instance, in the choices of interviewees in the Sámi-related articles, and especially in the newspapers that are published in Lapland:

> "In Lapland we have this odd situation, that of course we have the national and local services of YLE [Finnish broadcasting Company] and newspapers of which *Lapin Kansa* is the biggest and then in addition the local newspaper *Inarilainen*. […] Lapin Kansa seems to have this **very consistent policy** [emphasis] to cover Sámi issues. They write from a certain perspective, and usually without interviewing the Sámi themselves, unless they really have to. They write only about certain things and then do not bother to broaden and contextualize the issue. At times, it has been openly biased, which is really sad because **we too are residents of Lapland, we also pay our taxes and try to live here**. And still we are put into this kind of strange margin, this position where **we don't really belong to the group**. […] This kind of journalism I find very depressing." (Informant 3)

> *"Lapissahan on oma ihmeellinen tilanteensa, että meillä on tietenki nää Ylen valtakunnalliset palvelut, sitte paikallispalvelut, plus sitte nämä sanomalehdet, joista suurin on Lapin Kansa ja sitten paikallislehti Inarilainen. Jos niinku lähestyy, paikallislehti Inarilainen nyt on mitä on, sitten Lapin Kansalla on ollut* ***hyvin, hyvin johdonmukainen linja*** *saamelaisasioitten uutisointiin. He kirjottaa tietystä näkökulmasta, mahdollisimman pitkälle haastattelematta saamelaisia itseään. He kirjottaa tietynlaisista asioista eikä sitten niinku vaivaudu sen kummemmin laajentamaan sitä. Että semmosta välillä ihan avoimen asenteellistaki kirjottelua on ollu, mikä on tosi ikävää jos ajatellaan että* ***mekin ollaan lappilaisia, mekin maksetaan veromme näihin kuntiin ja yritämme elää täällä.*** *Ja silti kuitenki meiät pistetään jonnekki ihme marginaaliin, jossa* ***me ei oikeasti kuuluta joukkoon.*** *[…] Että se on ollu lähtökohtasesti semmonen journalismi tosi latistavaa." (Informant 3)*

According to Couldry (2003), in contemporary mediated societies the media has an enormous concentration of symbolic resources in particular institutions, which he calls dominance symbolic power. McCoy (1988, p. 78) argues that mass communication produces symbolic products through signification, and these products are constructed via choices that are made to employ this articulation rather than some other account. The attempt, from the perspective of the powerful, is also to give ethnic and other minorities "an acceptable role":

> "One can argue not that the media repress interests other than the dominant, useful views, but that the effective strategy works to contain minority interests as regional views, acceptable minority positions, affordable costs for sustaining democracy in the marketplace (McCoy 1988, p. 78)."

Pietikäinen (2000b, p. 31) argues that the frozenness of ethnic representations in news implies that the otherness of ethnic minorities may be deeply embedded, both in journalistic practices and in the societies in which they are functioning. Pietikäinen estimates that the combination of journalistic practices and the powerless positions of ethnic minorities may partly

explain it, as well as language problems and safety issues with some ethnic minorities. But since these aforementioned restrains do not really apply to the lack of the Sámi related news – globally Sámi people have a relatively strong position compared to many other Indigenous groups – main explanations may lie elsewhere. Pietikäinen argues:

> "One such explanation may be what could be called the invisibility of ethnic minorities: they are not considered part of the society or, alternatively, not an important part of the society in terms of the criteria of news making, i.e. important decision makers, consumers, opinion makers, etc. Consequently, news is not made about them." (Pietikäinen 2000b, p. 31.)

Pietikäinen's claim resonates with the informant's aforementioned notion about the feeling of being excluded in journalism, or as Couldry above argues, from "the myth of the mediated centre." In the sense of political economy, minorities are neither economically nor politically as attractive as the majority group. This is to say that even if most of the media in Finland is committed to ethical self-regulation, they nevertheless need to be aware of their customers' needs. At the provincial or societal level, political decision-makers and entrepreneurs aim to develop the region, and often this development, for instance, in Finnish Lapland means mining, wind power, tourism, or other businesses that especially threaten reindeer husbandry. There is an ongoing discussion about natural resources, and even though this does not have a straightforward connection to my research, it was mentioned in several research interviews, and since it was articulated in a way that it seems to be reflected in the journalistic interviews, it is worth mentioning here:

> "At the end of the day it's about power and resources; who has the right to decide on who can use the natural resources and whose needs should be prioritized. If you try to promote Sámi livelihoods, there is this really strong headwind all the time. […] I think that in these kinds of human rights questions – as nation-states the world over have oppressed certain groups using all sorts of excuses, whether it's been religion or ethnicity or whatever – when it boils down to it, it's a question of resources and power: who controls the resources and who gets to decide upon them." (Informant 3)

> *"Kyse on loppupeleissä vallasta ja resursseista, eli kenellä on oikeus päättää kuka näitä luonnonrikkauksia täällä käyttää ja kenen tarpeet priorisoidaan. Koska saamelaisten tarpeet ja elinkeinojen tarpeet, jos niitä aletaan ajamaan, niin koko ajan tämmöstä valtavaa vastatuulta. Että siinä on ihan selkeä vastustus, että saamelaiset ei vain pääse hallinnoimaan näitä resursseja ainakaan yhtään enempää kuin nykyään. Että oon sitä mieltä, että tällaisissa ihmisoikeuskysymyksissä – kun ajatellaan että monet valtiot on maailman sivu sortanu tiettyjä kansanosia ties millä verukkeilla, oli kyseessä uskonto tai etnisyys tai mikä hyvänsä – niin* ***loppujen lopuksi kyse on resursseista ja vallasta; kuka hallitsee resursseja****, kuka saa päättää niistä." (Informant 3)*

One informant reflects the journalists' position in reporting these frequent situations, and in addition she hopes that journalists would contextualize their news better, i.e. explain the reasons why the Sámi community is opposing certain matters and advancing others:

> "Probably one reason for the negative tune in journalists' writings is that the Sámi people are forced to [oppose]. Every time there are these big issues, such as the State Forest Enterprise Act or the Sámi language act, we can't say that hurrah, everything's fine. It's not, we don't have services in Sámi languages […] Reindeer husbandry is always forced to give way to other livelihoods. […] **They don't write it from this perspective; that we want to exist and that's why [we need to oppose it]** [emphasizing strongly]. We can't say that please set up the mine here, or please do continue mechanical gold mining in the Lemmenjoki National Park, or log away all the forests. We have to say that it's not good for our culture." (Informant 6)

> *"Se varmaan myös toimittajilla tullee, että miksi on se negatiivinen vire kirjoituksissa, ko saamelaiset joutuu joka kerta [vastustamaan], ko on näitä isoja asioita, on metsähallituslaki, on kielilainsäädäntö. Ei voida sanoa, että hurraa, meillä on kaikki hyvin. Ei ole, ei ole saamenkielisiä palveluja […] Poronhoidossa ilman muuta, ko se joutuu aina väistymään muun tieltä. […]* ***Ne ei kirjota sitä niin, että me haluamma olla olemassa ja sen takia vastustetaan, vaan se lähtee siitä että taas ne yrittää kammeta ja milloin mitäki.*** *[…] me emme voi sanoa, että tehkää nyt tähän kaivos esimerkiksi, tai jatkakaa koneellista kullankaivuuta Lemmenjoen kansallispuistossa, tai hakatkaa sileäksi kaikki metsät, että saahaan aukeaa. Jou'uthaan sanohmaan, että se ei ole meiän kulttuurille hyväksi." (Informant 6)*

This citation reveals also a pattern that I see in my empirical material, and hear in my work as a journalist: it is that many Sámi feel that they are in a never-ending round or spiral of reacting to external threats, and that instead of being proactive for the community, they are forced to react again and again, and to explain fundamentals of their culture. I will analyze the level of knowledge and its consequences in Chapter 6.4.

Referring to figures 3 and 4 (pages 33-35), in which I start to sketch the Sámi perspective and Western journalistic perspectives, these themes point to identity, relationships to the nation-state, and history of assimilation. From the journalistic perspective, themes in question are objectivity and detachment, power relations, and conflict-orientedness.

6.2.1 The Case of the Sámi definition

The importance and power of the media was described especially in two topics: the identification and definition of the Sámi, and in reindeer husbandry. In this Chapter, I focus on identity, which was one of the things that was present in almost all the interviews. It unfolded, for instance, as a topic of journalistic interviews, and as a positioning in relation to the Finnish nation-state and journalists. Identity questions and definitions of Indigenous peoples are also

timely globally. In the Sámi context, there are some particularities that need to be illuminated and contextualized here. As I briefly mentioned earlier in the Chapter 2, in Finland the definition of a Sámi is laid down in the Act on the Sámi Parliament and is mainly based on the Sámi language. According to the definition, a Sámi is a person who considers him / herself a Sámi, provided that this person has learnt Sámi as his or her first language or has at least one parent or grandparent whose first language is Sámi. (Sámediggi / Sámi Parliament of Finland, cited in March 7th 2016.)

In the 1995, updates in the legislation led to the situation that made the definition more vague and ambiguous by opening up for the opportunity to identify as a Sámi based on ancestors in early history. The crucial factor in this legislation is that it gives potential Sámi status for people that already have lost their connection to the Sámi tradition, language, culture, and lifestyle. Now there is a group that describe themselves as Non-Status Sámi. They are people that claim to be descendants of the Sámi or the Lappish people, as the Sámi people were previously called. The Sámi community does not recognize them as Sámi either because they are considered Finnish from the origin, or they have lost their connection to the Sámi culture and become Finnish many generations back. This is to say that these people do not have the group identification from the Sámi community, but some of them have been approved to be in the "voting / registration list" of the Sámi Parliament by the Supreme Court. This has been seen as a violation of Sámi sovereignty. Consequently, the Sámi community is afraid and worried that, for instance, their parliament, Sámediggi, will be conquered from within by the Finnish people that claim their rights based on old documents. This inflamed situation has caused problems and so-called ethnostress in the community.

This heated, and even traumatizing, discussion was not prioritized in my research since I did not want it to suffocate other features of the communication and Sámi culture, but since it was mentioned by all of my informants and it was the topic that raised strongest emotions, it is appropriate and important to refer it, especially from the perspective of hegemony. In addition, this is one of the basic stories that are repeated in the media. Usually it is reported as an internal Sámi conflict, which emphasizes the image of the Sámi as contentious and aggressive people.

My informants did not recognize themselves in this image, and they saw the whole conflict as a conflict between insiders and outsiders of the community, or as a fake conflict that does not have truth behind it. As one of the informants puts it:

> "…Who is Inari Sámi and who is Sámi, one of the most amusing things is that in Finland the Sámi are so few, and the Sámi region consists of very remote, little and compact communities and families that, regardless of ethnicity, definitely know who is whose

> cousin, and so forth. **There simply aren't enough people here to suddenly be able to find this kind of enormous group of Sámi that no one had any knowledge about! [laughs] This is amusing because it's just physically impossible that all of a sudden we have Inari Sámi that nobody knew about!** [emphasis] I do understand that many have tried to hide their Sáminess in their youth, I don't blame anyone for that, since times have been really cruel. But whole families can't disappear just like that for any other reason but that **they simply are not Sámi**." (Informant 3)
>
> *"...kuka on inarinsaamelainen ja kuka on saamelainen, yksi huvittavimpia puolia on, että Suomessa saamelaisia on todella vähän, saamelaisalue […] koostuu aika paljon syrjäseuduista, hyvin pienistä ja tiiviistä yhteisöistä ja sukuyhteisöistä, jotka etnisyyteen katsomatta tietää kyllä hyvin kuka on kenenkin serkku ja niin edespäin.* ***Täällä ei ole niin paljon porukkaa, että tänne mahtuisi ykskaks yllättäen tämmönen valtava porukka saamelaisia, joista kukaan ei ole tiennyt mitään! [nauraa] Tää on huvittavaa, ku tää on yksinkertaisesti fyysisesti mahdotonta, että ykskaks yllättäen täällä on inarinsaamelaisia joista ei ole tiedetty!*** *Että kyllä mä ymmärrän sen, että monet on yrittäneet sitä nuoruudessaan piilottaa, mää en sitä halua siitä halvenna ketään,* ***koska se aika on ollu tosi raaka****. Mutta kokonaiset suvut ei voi noin vain häviä muitten tietämättömiin muista syistä kuin siitä että* ***he ei yksinkertaisesti ole saamelaisia****. (Informant 3)*

This comment above is really intense and it has a lot of emotion in it, and it reveals a prolonged frustration about identification of the Sámi. According to the informant, these so-called non-status Sámi people use misinformation to prove their Sáminess. This quote also reveals the gap between local people and journalists that come from outside of the region, as well as the Supreme Administrative Court of Finland. There is a big difference in only viewing documents of ancestors, and actually living in the area. It is easily forgotten that despite large areas in Lapland, people are few, and usually they know each other. In addition, for Sámi people, family is important and extended compared to Finnish concept of family. This comment has a historical dimension, as it reminds us that there has been a time when Sáminess was something to be ashamed of, but still families know their relatives, also those who have tried to hide their background. Lappish people or non-status Sámi people use rhetoric such as "the Northern Sámi elite" to show that they are the ones that are discriminated against. This fight has economic dimensions: Lappish people claim that this "elite" does not want to share their rights with other Sámi groups. At the same time, the Sámi Parliament and Sámi activists are worried that if non-Sámi people are (by external order) accepted to be Sámi, the Sámi community will lose its possibilities to improve livelihoods and culture, and will eventually be blended and embedded in Finnish culture.

One interesting feature related to this topic was the sarcasm or a kind of "vice versa commenting" about the Sámi rights as Indigenous people, and the actual influence of the Sámi Parliament and Sámi people. Two informants used sarcasm as a way to illuminate the legislative situation of the Sámi. The first one emphasized the role of the media and the so-called Lappish

people in "digging problems," and its consequences. At the same time, she questions the Sámi rights:

> "This way of deliberately digging for problems, of course it culminates the situation. People start to be afraid that those Sámi people are taking all of our rights. And we Sámi people are equally stupid in claiming that you can't take our rights. And now that I think about it, I mean: what rights? We don't have any rights! [laughs]. I can't cut down a single little tree without permission." (Informant 9)
>
> *"Tää tämmönen, kaivamalla kaivetaan ongelmaa, ja kyllähän ne pikkuhiljaa kulminoituvat. Ja ihmiset alkaa pelkäämään, että ne saamelaiset vie kaikki oikeudet. Ja me saamelaiset kans yhtä tyhmästi olemme, että meiän oikeuksia ette vie. Ja nyt ku tarkemmin ajattelee, niin mitä oikeuksia? Eihän meillä ole mitään oikeuksia! [nauraa] En minä saa puuta mettästä taittaa, ei mulla ole mittään oikeuksia." (Informant 9)*

With this quote, the informant concretizes the relationship to the nation-state and to decisions that the government has made – or rather, has not made despite its promises. These include the ratification of the ILO Convention 169, and the Act on Metsähallitus (The State Enteprise Act). The underlying resentment and disagreement is that regions (forests, mountains, lakes and rivers) that Sámi people understand to be theirs and their ancestors, according to Finnish law, are the property of the Finnish nation-state. This is one of the reasons that Finnish journalists are considered to be talking on behalf of the Finnish nation-state and Finnish establishment. In addition to identity identification, this is one reason for some people in the region to claim that they are the actual Indigenous people of the area instead of Sámi people. People are worried that they would lose rights to use the land.

This informant also talks about other legislation plans that weaken Sámi people's possibilities to live according to their traditional lifestyle. The informant illuminates the small amount of Sámi people and the imaginary "super power" they possess. She also first detaches herself, and then she turns the power structure on its head:

> Informant: "How can 10 000 people be so dangerously strong? If I were the nation-state of Finland, I would want them to get stronger and become an important part of this society, as we are. But it feels like they really don't want to let it happen [pause]. But we're not going to disappear from here. At least the reindeer will stay [laughs]. We will always find our way back here, no matter how much there might be a will to wipe us off the face of this Earth. But, if there was a big Sámiland and tiny Finnish minority here, I don't believe that we would treat them any better."
>
> JL: "Really? How so?"
>
> Informant: "Definitely we would think that hey, no one even knows your language. At least our [North Sámi] language is spoken in four countries, but you speak only Finnish; it's not worth supporting." (Informant 9)

Informant: "Miten voi 10 000 ihmistä olla niin vaarallisen vahva? Ku jos minä oisin Suomen valtio, minähän haluaisin, että ne vahvistuis siellä ja niistä tulis tärkeä osa tätä yhteiskuntaa niinkö me ollaan. Mutta ei niinkö millään annettais mennä siihen [tauko]. Mutta ei me hävitäkään täältä mihinkään. Ainaki poro jää tänne lopuksi [nauraa]. Ja kyllä me jostakin kuopasta kaivaudumme takas tänne, vaikka kuinka yrittäis hävittää jonnekin maan päältä meiät. Mutta en minä usko, että jos olis Saamenmaa ja pikkunen vähemmistö täällä suomalaisia, niin ei me varmaan koheltais niitä yhtään paremmin kuin suomalaiset kohtelee meitä.

JL: Meinaakko?

Informant: Aivan varmasti me olisimme sitä mieltä, että teiän kieltäkään ossaa kukkaan. Että me sentään puhumme neljässä maassa tätä kieltä, mutta te puhutte vain suomea. Että ei sitä kannata tukea." (Informant 9)

With these quotes, the informant skillfully illuminates the position of the Sámi people in relation to the nation-state, and I argue that simultaneously she implicitly tells her thoughts about the media, our habit to often speak according to the principles of the nation-state. The informant also reveals something important about ways of communicating: the critique and discontent is told via examples and not as explicitly as perhaps a Finnish person would have expressed a similar critique. In the interview situation, I was surprised about the comment of the big Sámiland and tiny Finland. It was only afterwards that the allegory and critique occurred to me as a whole. Dependency of the nation-state is obviously causing frustration. By turning the situation upside- down, the informant underlines the critique, if only the receiver of the message is capable of reading the message. The other informant questions these so-called Lappish people's urge to be recognized as Sámi. In the following quote, he speaks to at least three different audiences: for national level decision-makers, for "Non-Status Sámi," and for journalists (and researchers):

"Why do we need a distinct cultural self-government body for these Forest Sámi and Non-Status Sámi, because the Sámi Parliament is not an administrative body, it doesn't decide on anything. It's a representational body! It **represents** [emphasizing] the Sámi. Finland has been very careful to not give it any decision-making power." (Informant 8)

*"Miksi tarvitaan erillinen kulttuuri-itsehallintoelin metsäsaamelaisille ja statuksettomille, koska eihän Saamelaiskäräjät ole hallintoelin, eihän se päätä mistään. Se on edustajisto – representation! Se **edustaa** saamelaisia. Suomen valtio on visusti varonu antamasta sille mitään päätösvaltaa." (Informant 8)*

In one way, the informant is underrating the Sámi Parliament, but according to my understanding, the real objects of dismissal are the nation-state and the group of Non-Status Sámi. I find it interesting that these two informants – strong and powerful characters as they are

– use this kind of rhetoric. It is a kind of reverse strategic essentialism. As the discussion continues, this informant emphasizes the role of the media in constructing a false image of Sámi power:

> JL: "I think about the role of media here: Has it created an impression that it [the Sámi Parliament] has more power than it actually has?"
>
> Informant: "Yes, definitely. This is one of the roles of the media. They can spread false stories. They are able to create this impression that it [the Sámi Parliament] is extremely important. I have thought about this a lot, and I've come to the conclusion that it's because they [Sámi Parliament] have a permission to represent and to speak. [pause] But, every single citizen of Finland enjoys freedom of speech, so there's nothing special about that, this right to speak." (Informant 8)
>
> *JL: "Mietin tiedotusvälineitten roolia tässä. Että onko se syntyny vaikutelma, että sillä ois päätösvaltaa?*
>
> *Informant: No sanoppa muuta. Siinä on yks tiedotusvälineitten rooli. Ne voi levittää ihan perättömiä juttuja. Ne saa syntymään vaikutelman kansalaisille, että se on hirviän tärkeä. Mie olen miettiny sitä kauhean paljon ja tullu siihen tulokseen, että se mikä kiikastaa, se että ku niillä on, niillä on lupa edustaa ja saa puhua. [tauko] Mutta se puheoikeus on kaikilla Suomen kansalaisilla, että se ei mitenkään ole erilaista ja eriävää." (Informant 8)*

Journalistically thinking, these kinds of quotes are delicious, and the temptation to use them in headlines would be great – and it would cause misunderstandings and resentment. Thinking about figures 3 and 4, the quotes above and below, are linked to implicit communication and language. Gradually, the informant shifts the focus to the fundamentals of identity:

> Informant: "Do Finnish people think that Sámi people are not allowed to differ from others? This is what I've always been told; that we're all the same, **the same Finnish people** [emphasizing]! Sometimes if I've been really annoyed I've said that by no means am I a Finn, that I'm Nordic and European rather. But that I don't consider there to be anything specifically attractive about being a Finn to make it worth it."
>
> JL: "Do journalists understand that?"
>
> Informant: "**No** [responds very fast and determinedly]."
>
> JL: "They think that you are Finnish and Sáminess is a kind of bonus?"
>
> Informant: "No, **but it's an insult** [emphasizing]! I mean, if you say something like this you have offended something very sacred, because **one just has to be Finnish** [emphasizing]. I've wondered if it's because of Finland's rough history, Finland has been in war with Russia many times." (Informant 8)
>
> *"Tarkottaako se tavallinen kaduntallaaja, onko se sitä mieltä, että saamelaiset ei saa poiketa muusta? Niitten pittää olla samanlaisia? Sehän on se mitä mulle on sanottu aina; kun mehän ollaan kaikki samoja suomalaisia! Jos minua joskus on ottanu päästä, mie olen sanonu, että mie en mistään hinnasta ole suomalainen, että mie olen enempi*

pohjoismaalainen ja eurooppalainen. Mutta suomalaisuuessa ei ole minusta mitään semmosta kovin hohdokasta, että kannattais.

JL: Ymmärtääkö toimittajat sen?

Informant 8: ***Ei*** *[hyvin nopea ja jämäkkä kieltävä vastaus].*

JL: Että heki aattelee, että te ootte suomalaisia, että saamelaisuus on tämmönen bonus?
Informant 8: Eikö se on loukkaus! Siis jos sanoo näin, niin silloin on loukannu jotain pyhää asiaa, koska kyllä pitää olla suomalainen. Mie olen miettiny voiko se johtua siitä, että Suomen historia on niin rankka, on oltu sodassa monta kertaa venäläisten kanssa." (Informant 8)

This notion of insulting Finnish journalists and Finnish people in general, by claiming not to be a Finn, is interesting. First of all, it makes a difference between being a citizen of Finland but having a Sámi identity, there is a sensation of belonging to the Sámi people but not to Finnish people. More than half of the informants agreed with this identity definition:

JL: "How do you feel, now that you work in both cultures [Finnish and Sámi], would you say that you are a hybrid, as being both…"

Informant: "I'm a Sámi. I will never become Finnish**,** no matter what. I definitely can't change it, but I have had to learn to understand it [Finnish culture]." (Informant 6)

JL: "Miten sie nytkö sie toimit molemmissa kulttuureissa, niin sanoisiks sie että sie olet tämmönen hybridi että on niinku molempia… [jää kesken]

Informant 6: Kyllä mie olen saamelainen. Ei minusta saa suomalaista, vaikka voissa paistais. En missään nimessä mie voi muuttua, mutta mie olen joutunu ymmärtämään." (Informant 6)

I claim that this is a fundamental and essential point in the communication between Finnish journalists and Sámi interviewees. As much as it is self-evident for the Sámi, it might be a strange thought for the journalist. It is quite generally known among journalists that Sámi people have their own history and traditional livelihoods, but to deeply understand that interviewee, despite sharing your language and home country, that he or she does not share the identity of a Finnish person, may surprise a journalist.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, stereotypical roles can be seen in the news coverage. As Pietikäinen and Leppänen (2007, p. 185) claim, the typical way to handle Sámi rights in the media is to represent them as a conflict between official Finland and the Sámi as a homogeneous group, and much rarer as two official systems (Finnish state and Sámi Parliament) or as between two ethnic groups (the Finns and the Sámi).

The question of hybridity, of being a Sámi and a Finn or being a Sámi living in the Finnish context, may feel confusing for a Finnish journalist. One of my informants describes the situation:

> "They [journalists] can't understand that they don't understand that we are different. Really, and I forgive them for that. How can a person know? I mean, if we look Finnish, we live in Finland, that we are all Finnish. Even though only thirty years we back we were our own distinct group. We had our own ways of living and being, and our own language. But now that we speak Finnish and we look Finnish maybe that's why it's difficult to understand." (Informant 9)

> *"Ei ne voi ymmärtää, että ne ei ymmärrä että me ollaan erilaisia. Ihan oikeasti, ja minä annan sen heille anteeksi. Mistä ihminen voi tietää? Että ko me näytämme suomalaisilta ja asumme Suomessa, että me ollaan ihan suomalaisia. Vaikka se koko systeemi on tuossa kolmenkymmenen vuoden päässä ikään kuin että me oltiin ihan oma kansa. Että meillä oli ihan omat tavat elää ja olla, ja oma kieli. Mutta ko me nyt puhumme suomea ja näytämme suomalaisilta, niin siksihän se on niin hankala ymmärtää." (Informant 9)*

As Finns, we journalists understand better the "Finnish side" of Sámi interviewees. This may belittle the Sámi side and its cultural distinctiveness. One aspect and opinion that seems to be very much in use in social media, is that Sámi people are asking for additional rights and something more than what is allowed for Finnish citizens. The Sámi perspective is that they wish to have equal rights after having been oppressed by the nation-state. According to my informants', this perspective is very rarely seen in the Finnish media, and this is seen as biased.

Discussions about identity and power can in one way be summarised as follows: the more informants talked about political, economic, and natural resources, the more they intertwined the nation-state and the media. The current discussion on identity is intertwined with the aforementioned, since one of its initiators is the debate over land (use) rights in Lapland. This indicates that in these topics, the mainstream media is perceived as a part of the establishment. In the Conclusions, I will contest and negotiate the role and endeavors of mainstream journalism: what is our place within the establishment, and how well are we aware of the signals that we send by our selection of the sources?

6.3 The subtle hegemony of journalists

There is yet one form of hegemony, and it is at the individual level and implemented by mainstream journalists. Couldry mentions the power of the media's ritual categories, which also entails journalistic practices. These ritual categories are reproduced in different circumstances, perhaps several times per day, and they become automatic. As in any profession, also journalists

become routine. It makes our often-hectic work more efficient and manageable. Couldry's example is probably very familiar for many journalists:

> "So you might say to your colleague or partner, 'Call her, she was once in that show, she might make a difference to our profile…', and think no further of the category distinction you are reproducing. In media rituals, we see these category differences internalized in particular action forms which both test out their workings and naturalize their significance." (Couldry 2003, p. 48.)

I find Couldry's and Pietikäinen's arguments critical for my research, because they illuminate the journalistic routines and networks that are exceedingly important in creating the public sphere and images. Even as competitors, journalists share information amongst colleagues, and in journalistically more arbitrary topics such as the Sámi, this internal information and tacit knowledge (Polanyi 1966) is valued. This means advice for good or challenging interviewees, relevant topics, and so forth. As I see it, this kind of activity circulates the information, but may leave more subtle voices and issues unheard.

Couldry's argument has a connection to Foucault's idea of capillary power, wherein power is embodied, embedded in us; it is in our bodies and in our everyday lives. This is why it is important to hear those that are objects of our use of power. Pietikäinen argues that all problems related to news coverage of minorities – scarcity of news, emphasis on majority interests, and imbalance in terms of quotations, access to news and reporting order – give support to claims made by ethnic minorities: that news coverage about them is unfair and imbalanced. Pietikäinen concludes that this can be called discrimination against ethnic minorities. But are journalists acting against their own ideals and practices, and if they are, are they aware of it? Pietikäinen writes that according to the ideals of objective news, all parties involved should be treated equally. "Journalists, instead, often argue that they apply the same rules when reporting about ethnic minorities as they apply in their news about anyone else […] Apparently, the news making practices entail that issues focusing on change, negativity, and people with status are covered, and that people belonging to the establishment and who are in power get access to news easily," Pietikäinen (2000b, p. 31) notices. I find Pietikäinen's arguments, including this one, interesting in terms of my study:

> "It may well be that journalists do not, indeed, report on ethnic minorities differently from other groups that are seen as not belonging to the power elite, the decision makers or the celebrities. The minority position of ethnic groups, however, makes them vulnerable to frequent negative coverage: As one of the most powerful public spaces for ethnic representations, news portrayals contribute to the positions and rights of different ethnic groups." (Pietikäinen 2000b, p. 31.)

Indeed, journalists may feel that they are being fair and equal in the aforementioned sense that Pietikäinen mentions, but this kind of fairness may feel and seem a like cumulative injustice from the point of view of the Sámi community. One aspect of the journalistic practices and their consequences from the Sámi perspective is the choice of sources. This informant does not explicitly blame this on the Finnish media, but evokes the concern:

> "I think it's seriously worrying that again we are in a situation where Sámi actors all in all are seen as biased and unqualified to say anything about Sámi issues. Meaning that if one wants to write about the Sámi, you listen to others than to the Sámi themselves, because they are perceived as biased." (Informant 3)
>
> *"Se on mun mielestä hirveän huolestuttavaa, että ollaan taas semmosessa tilanteessa, että saamelaiset toimijat ylipäänsä nähdään täysin niinku puolueellisina ja jääveinä puhumaan mistään saamelaisasioista. Elikkä jos halutaan kirjottaa tai tehdä juttuja saamelaisista, niin silloin kuullaan muita kuin saamelaisia, koska ne ovat jäävejä." (Informant 3)*

I recognize this pattern of perhaps avoiding interviewing Sámi people about Sámi issues. It has roots in the demands of objectivity in journalism. Sámi people are seen as lobbyists rather than as a sovereign group with rights to decide on matters that concern them. I have witnessed the same reaction regarding broadcaster YLE Sápmi, which by some Finnish journalists (and some Finnish people in general) are perceived as biased, as a sort of press officer instead of objective producer of journalism. In this "cycle of thought," the next step is the differences between mainstream and Indigenous journalism, which I have shortly analyzed in Chapter 3. I will continue scrutinizing these differences and potential similarities in the Conclusion chapter.

In order to make power relations between a journalist and an interviewee more visible, I asked my informants to describe situations that demonstrate this potential imbalance. Answers varied and they are partly analyzed in other chapters. Themes that were raised were, for instance, the inadequate knowledge and condescension, and questioning of identity. Herein I concentrate on the journalistic processes and the concept of collective knowledge meeting individual journalistic aspirations. The common feature is that even though the journalistic product (radio or television story, reportage or news piece in the newspaper) is the end product, there is subtle dominance in the process.

One way of homogenizing the Sámi group is journalists' request to demand answers from interviewees on behalf of the entire Sámi community. Most of my informants mentioned that it is quite rare that Finnish people need to answer on behalf of all Finns. They felt that if they were

required to answer on behalf of the entire Sámi community, it is easier to decline to participate in the whole journalistic interview or at least, refuse to answer the question that feels inappropriate (more about silence as a way to protest in Chapter 6.7.2). In this phenomenon, journalistic practices intertwine, or rather clash, with the idea of collective Sámi knowledge. Journalists search for individual stories which they can use as a tool to show bigger and more abstract structures of society. For the Sámi interviewee, this potentially increases pressure to answer "accordingly" (i.e. what they think that the interviewer wants to hear) instead of speaking out individually. On the other hand, in the Sámi context the concept of collective or tribal knowledge sets boundaries for what one can say or what one wants to say:

> "Even though I'm Sámi it doesn't mean that I have all the answers to all these questions. Somehow people think that you're an automatic answering machine; that I should somehow be able to give an answer to this question of 'what's the problem when everybody isn't accepted as Sámi'."
>
> JL: "Yes. Do you feel that journalists have this expectation that every Sámi can speak on behalf of all 10 000 Sámi?"
>
> Informant: "**Yes!** [emphasizing] Even that we have to." (Informant 7)
>
> *"Että vaikka olenki saamelainen, niin ei se sano, että minulla on justiinsa vastaukset kaikkiin näihin kysymyksiin. Sitä jotenki ajatellaan, että on automaattivastaaja kaikkiin kysymyksiin, että minun pitäis vastata, että mikä siinä nyt mättää että kaikkia ei hyväksytä saamelaiseksi.*
>
> *JL: Niin. Eli onko toimittajilla semmonen odotus, että totta kai jokainen saamelainen voi puhua kaikkien 10 000 saamelaisen puolesta?*
>
> *Informant: **Joo!** [painotus] Että on pakko kertoa." (Informant 7)*

Another informant mentioned that even if she is not politically active, journalists tend to ask about the definition of the Sámi or other current affairs:

> "I always try to say that I'm not a political person, and I want to stay out of politics. Of course, I have opinions, but I don't want to share them in public. I always try to say this to journalists. I want my work to speak for itself, I don't want to give political statements." (Informant 4)
>
> *"Mä yritän aina sanoa vaan, että mä en oo poliittinen ihminen ja haluan pysyä poissa politiikasta. Totta kai mulla on mielipiteitä, mutta mä en halua itteä tuua niitten avulla julkisuuteen. Mä tästä yritän aina toimittajille sanoa. Haluan että mun työt puhuu, en halua antaa poliittisia steitmenttejä." (Informant 4)*

The power of the media and an individual journalist has become clear in my empirical material. Nevertheless, it seems to be intertwined with social media and discussions on the

internet, which have a significant role in the interviewees' thoughts about media. Stories are shared and discussed in social media, and many of the informants talked simultaneously about journalism, social media, and other publicity as if they were all the same thing. On the one hand this is true, of course, since a story in the magazine or radio often causes heated debates in social media. Still, it was a bit surprising that in many cases, especially in the cases related to the definition of the Sámi, interviewees talked actually about social media instead of traditional media. This goes beyond my research focus, but it indicates that it is not necessarily always journalists that make mistakes or cause dissatisfaction. This is to say that sometimes the consequences and impacts of each journalistic story go beyond the journalist's quorum. In some cases, sharing or commenting on the story in social media causes the situation where both the journalist and interviewees get heavily criticized or even harassed in the social media. In order to avoid this, interviewees prefer to be silent. This kind of avoidance happens also for some journalists, because writing about certain (Sámi) issues leads to feedback that often goes beyond professional capabilities but to a very personal level. This is how one of the informants described the feeling of being criticized and bullied in social media:

> "Many of us, we don't even want talk [to media and journalists]. Because if you say something even slightly wrong, you get beaten up in the media, or I mean, in social media. […] Even the smallest little things give rise to the furor. If they [journalists] don't dare to write, so neither dare we to speak. So that you don't get the whole community attacking you, digging out all your relatives, attacking your looks, and old sins. So, in this sense it's an inflamed situation. […] And as you said, I've been in the public eye in all sorts of ways for a long time, but I haven't seen anything like this…"[1] (Informant 9)
>
> *"Ja sitten on monet meistä, jotka emme halua puhuakaan. Koska jos sä puhut vähänkään jotenkin väärin, niin turpiin tulee sieltä mediasta – tai siis somesta. […] Mutta että se raivo nousee niin joka asiasta, että jos ne ei uskalla kirjoittaa niin ei me uskalleta sanoakaan. Ettei tuu niinku sillai, päälle koko yhteisö ja siihen kaivetaan kaikki sun sukulaiset ja ulkonääöt ja vanhat synnit. Että siinä mielessä on tulehtunut tilanne. Ja niinkö sanoit, mä oon kauan ollut tässä kaikenlaisessa julkisuudessakin, niin en mä oo nähny tällaista, että se on näin…" (Informant 9)*

This kind of fear is tragic on the personal level and worrying about the societal and level of communication, and journalistically it is important to notice and acknowledge. I will discuss more on the journalist's role and ways of (mis)use power in Conclusions.

[1] Informant talks about the definition of the Sámi and the heated discussion around it. In addition to external disagreements, sometimes Sámi people accuse eath other of "missteps" with regard to the media.

6.4 "As if Google does not work here" – Inadequate knowledge

One of my presumptions before the interviews was that the knowledge of Sámi issues among journalists is inadequate. Many answers supported this presumption. It seemed to be one of the things that frustrated informants. The lack of knowledge becomes visible in the form of questions, for instance:

> "It begins already with the manner of approaching the topic and interviewee. For instance, Sámi dress as a fashion. Like, 'it's so nice that Sámi people have taken this fashion back,' when it's not really about that. And then you try to explain these things. And often it seems totally impossible [for journalists] to find these basic facts that are public information for anyone to google, like how many Sámi people there are in Finland. **Because [it seems as if] Google does not work when it comes to Sámi issues! [Like] books do not exist, they are impossible to find!**" [emphasis, laughing] (Informant 3)

> *"Mut se lähtee siitä jo, että miten näitä haastateltavaa ja esiteltäviä aiheita lähestytään. Että tota, et esimerkiksi saamenpuvut muotina. Että nyt on taas kiva, ku saamelaiset on ottanu tämän muodin, kun kuitenkaan ei ole ihan siitä kyse. Ja sitten on koittanu näitä asioita selittää. Plus se, että monesti tuntuu olevan aivan mahdotonta joillekki löytää ees nämä perusfaktat, jotka on kuitenkin ihan semmosta julkista tietoa, jotka voi ihan googlettamalla löytää. Että kuinka monta saamelaista on.* ***Koska google ei toimi, kun kyse on saamelaisasioista! Kirjoja ei ole olemassa, niitä on mahdotonta löytää!*** *[korostaa, nauraa] (Informant 3)*

The informant continues by saying that as a Sámi activist one needs to be a politician, sociologist, linguist, lawyer, and historian. Partly this is a skillful way to use sarcasm, as well as in the quote above, but probably this description is not far from truth in many cases. The informant argues that one needs to have an enormous amount of information immediately available, since it might be the only chance to get the information through and delivered.

One informant describes the life of the "quota Sámi" by which she means that, in addition to inadequate knowledge, often the Sámi are visible in the media only during celebrations such as the Sámi National Day on February 6th:

> "Well, this is the life of the token Sámi: that we are needed on that exact day to show how open-minded and, like, open to presenting multiculturalism this reporter is now that he calls that one Sámi or Roma or whoever he might call. It's like, I don't know whether I should cry or laugh. On the other hand, I'm really pleased that at least then we have access to the media, and we are written about and interviewed and so forth. But oh, how I wish it would happen more often. When we have something other than conflicts, that they would bring forth all the good stuff that we achieve and do, and also these kinds of ordinary interviews about ordinary people's lives. I'm sure there would be many things there too that would be good for the mainstream population to know." (Informant 1)

> *"No se on just se kiintiösaamelaisen elämä: että meidät tarvitaan juuri silloin tiettynä päivänä osoittamaan sitä, kuinka avarakatseinen ja monikulttuurisuutta niinku esiintuova*

tämä toimittaja, kun se soittaa saamelaiselle tai romanille tai kelle se nyt milloinkin soittaa. Se on vähän semmonen, että itkiskö ja nauraisko. Toisaalta mie olen kauhean tyytyväinen, että me ees silloin päästään mediaan ja meistä kirjoitetaan ja meitä haastatellaan ja näin. Mutta voi että kun se tapahtuis vähän useammin. Aina kun on jokin muukin kuin riita-asia, että tuotais esiin sitä kaikkea hyvää mitä me saadaan aikaiseksi ja tehdään, ja myöskin ihan tämmösiä tavallisia haastatteluja tavallisen ihmisen elämästä. Että sielläkin ois varmasti monta asiaa, jotka ois valtaväestön hyvä tietää." (Informant 1)

This informant has experienced that younger journalists have more knowledge about Sámi issues than the older ones. He also claims that reporters from Lapland or Northern Finland have more knowledge than reporters from Southern Finland:

"Of course it varies. Some have done their homework, and the age is usually quite telling. If an older lady gets this assignment that now quickly, go do this Sámi story, it can be on quite a shaky foundation. **You know it's all about exoticism and everything being so wonderful** [emphasis]. […] The younger ones, I guess they don't even dare to come if they haven't done some investigation beforehand. […] And of course the whole starting point is different if it's a journalist from the North, he or she already knows something. I don't know if it's even worth it, sending a reporter here who doesn't know anything about anything. I remember cases where a journalist and a photographer fly in from Helsinki and rent a car from Kittilä [municipality in Lapland], and then here they are as if they have been dropped in the middle of nowhere. Yeah, just try to do a story from that point." (Informant 2)

"No onhan niissä eroa. Joku on selvitelly ja toimittajan ikä kyllä ratkasee aika paljon siinä. Mutta jos joku vanhempi täti on saanu toimeksiannon, että nyt äkkiä juttu tekehmään semmosesta saamelaisasiasta, niin kyllä se on aika hataralla pohjalla. ***Tiiethään vain sitä eksotiikkaa ja on niin mahtavaa kaikkea****. […] Nuoremmat, ei kai ne viitti tulla ees kyselemmään, jos ei ole vähän selvitelly. […] Sehän heti muuttuu se asetelma, jos se on pohjosen toimittaja. Kyllähän se jotaki jo tietää. Seki on vähän, että en tiä kannattaisko tänne ees laittaa toimittajaa, joka ei tiiä mistään mittään. Kyllä mie muistan semmosiaki, että tullee kuvaaja ja toimittaja jostaki lentokonneella Helsingistä ja vuokraavat auton Kittilästä, ja on niinku ois puotettu keskelle erämaata. Alappa siinä jutuntekkoon." (Informant 2)*

Sometimes it happens that the unoriented journalist gets confused and emotional after hearing about the assimilation policies and the traumatic history of the Sámi:

"Usually they know that the Sámi people exist. And probably also some current topics are known. Perhaps they've heard something about the Skolt Sámi as well. But for instance, the reason for not speaking the language, or I mean, the deeper knowledge and understanding of the history is missing. You always have to tell them that it's because this and that happened, always this need to explain. And then it's immediately so sentimental for them, and they are like 'oooh no, really!' [said in a shaky voice, with irony]. Well, yes, it happened, but let's move on." (Informant 4)

"No tiietään, että on saamelaisia. Ja tiietään varmaan jotain päivänpolttavia kysymyksiä. Ollaan kuultu koltistaki ehkä jotain. Mutta esimerkiksi semmonen, että ai niin, miksi sää et puhu vaikka koltansaamea. Tai siis semmonen historian vähän syvempi tietäminen

puuttuu. Pitää kertoa aina, että kun tapahtui näin ja näin ja näin, pitää alkaa aina selittämään. Ja sitten se on niille heti sentimentaalista ja ne ottaa sen heti jotenki sillä lailla, että 'voiiiii' [sanoo värisevällä äänellä, ironisesti]. Joo, näin tapahtui, mutta että mennään eteenpäin..” (Informant 4)

As some of the informants said that sometimes it is refreshing and positive that a journalist does not have a ready-made set-up in his head when reporting a story, since it may prevent him from stereotyping. Still, more often than not, this kind of “tabula rasa” reporting and interview situations were viewed and experienced as condescending and disappointing. Informants were obligated to repeat the same basic information, and in that they are in fact doing the work that journalist should have done before the interview. The lack of knowledge often emphasizes basic characteristics of the culture, which consequently “freezes” the image. Almost all of my informants hoped that there would be more variety in Sámi related journalism, so that it would allow Sámi people to be who they are without needing to remain “traditional” or as something that a Sámi is supposed to be. One informant speculated that perhaps the Sámi image is expected to be similarly something new and something familiar:

“Sáminess becomes something specific. And after this has been done it's like there is nothing more to say. And then the same thing is said again in six months, when it is in a way new, but it has the same familiar elements. If you have, for instance, [duodji artist] Petteri Laiti and [researcher] Kaisa Korpijaakko, and you kind of know what they are going to say, then that's kind of it, you've filled the Sámi quota for the year.” (Informant 5)

”Niin että se saamelaisuus on jotaki tiettyä. Ja sitten ko se on täytetty, niin sitten siittä ei ole mittään muuta sanottavaa. Ja sitten sanotaan uuestaan se sama asia puolen vuoden päästä, jolloin se on tavallaan uusi, mutta siinä on ne samat jutut kuitenki. Että se on niinku toisaalta tuttu. Että jos on Petteri Laiti ja Kaisa Korpijaakko, niin tiietään suurinpiirtein mitä ne sannoo, niin silloin on täytetty tavallaan se tämänvuotinen saamelaisannos.” (Informant 5)

The informant and I discussed the shared feeling of frustration, since as a journalist reporting Sámi topics I have noticed that often the equation of the story is that there is a strictly limited space (since minorities are not as intriguing as others, as claimed earlier in this chapter; and relatively large part of the space needs to be used to provide information about basic facts about the Sámi.

JL: “I have also been frustrated with the fact that half of the space needs to be spent on basic information of the Sámi. The message from the desks is that Finnish people do not know how many Sámi languages are spoken, and so forth.”

> Informant: "Is it really necessary to know, if the story is for instance about Wimme [Saari, Sámi artist]? Is it obligatory to know that three Sámi languages are spoken? Or the number of Sámi? I've been wondering this. […] These expectations, I've wondered if ordinary people have as stereotypic views of the Sámi as the editors-in-chief?" (Informant 5)
>
> *JL: "Mieki olen ehtiny turhautua siihen, että mennee puolet jutun tilasta tai ajasta siihen, että kertoo perustiedot saamelaisista. Toimituksista sanotaan, että eihän ihmiset tiiä, että Suomessa puhutaan kolme saamen kieltä ja niin edelleen.*
>
> *Informant: "Onko sitä pakko tietää, jos on juttu vaikka Wimmestä (Saari, artisti)? Onko sitä pakko tietää, että Suomessa puhutaan kolmea saamen kieltä? Miksi se pittää tietää, tai kuinka paljon niitä on? Se minua on ihmetyttäny. Että nämä odotukset, minä aattelen, että onko tavallaisella ihmiselläkään noin stereotyyppinen ajatus saamelaisista ko uutispäälliköillä?" (Informant 5)*

As a journalist, I claim that in this case we do not really have valid excuses to defend ourselves. We are supposed to be professionals in gathering information, and it is no different in relation to the Sámi people. Information is available, but for some reason it is not utilized as well as it could be. The issue of rigid, one-sided, and perhaps stereotypical media images is more ambiguous and complicated. Based on my material, it seems to be frustrating that similar stories circulate in the Finnish media, instead of doing a fresh take on Sámi issues. On the other hand, perhaps because of the fear of becoming misunderstood or insulted, also interviewees partly maintain the "traditional" image and put the same issues on display. Since interviews are so rare and their importance so significant, it feels important to tell as much as possible since it might be the only chance to be heard, as one informant described the situation. And yet, for a Finnish journalist, it is easier to receive information that is already somehow familiar: information that is in our discursive practices and epistemes. If we think about Sámi and Western journalism perspectives and roles (figures 2, 3 and 4), this case illuminates the dominance of the journalist compared to the interviewee. It also underlines the idea of multiple audiences, and in general the importance of media in Sámi people's lives.

The more concrete aspect of reporting without proper knowledge is deeply personal and private. This informant says that the image the media has created about the Sámi community has caused pain, hence, sometimes she feels ashamed to be a Sámi:

> "Now that there has been a lot of Sámi discussion [about Sámi identification] I would have hoped that reporters really would have taken [searching for the right words], may I say, a more proper or distanced perspective, somehow. So, that it would not be this 'oh, again he experienced it like this, and has to say that he's been rejected.' I think it's improper for the whole Sámi community. […]
>
> And if people depend on the media for their information on the Sámi, they think that we almost have a civil war here [laughs but with anxiety in voice]. It's awfully burdensome, sometimes I feel ashamed to say that I'm a Sámi if I visit the metropolitan

> area. Sámi people are not believed anymore because people think that we are not genuine and real because of this image that has been created." (Informant 6)
>
> *"Niinkö on kovasti käyty taas saamelaiskeskustelua niin jotenkin sitten ois oottanu, että ne oikeasti ottaa semmosen [hakee sanoja] sanosinko asiallisemman kannan toimittajat, jotenki. Että se ei ois tätä, että taas se koki ja taas sen pitää päästä sanomaan, että ko on hyljeksitty. Niin, ja se on minusta asiatonta koko saamelaisyhteisölle.*
>
> *Ja tuo, jossa tiedotusvälineitten varassa ollaan saamelaisasioissa, niillä on ihan semmonen kuva, että täällä on melkein syttymässä sisällissota [naurahtaa tukahtuneesti, ahdistuneen oloinen]. Se on kauhean hankala, että joskus ihan hävettää sanoa, että tässä on saamelainen ittekki, ko tuolla käy pääkaupunkiseudulla. Jotenki se, ettei enää sitten uskota saamelaisia, ko ajatellaan ettei ne ole tosia, ko luohaan semmonen kuva että minkälaisia ne saamelaiset on." (Informant 6)*

I argue that these kinds of comments should not be passed by solely to appeal to journalistic ideals of simply telling the "truth," nevermind the consequences. I will discuss journalistic responsibilities in the Conclusion chapter.

6.5 **"You need to gain trust"** – Negotiations with the media

It is obvious that interviewees also have their own motives to give interviews for the media (as well as for researchers). Even though there are visible and concrete manners which oppress Sámi people, they are not to be victimized and shown one-sidedly weak in the encounters with the Finnish or the international media. In my empirical material, it was clear that the rules of publicity were well known:

> "Well, yes, if I have something to say I have friends among journalists. I have some friends here and there, for instance in *Yle Rovaniemi* and *Lapin Kansa*. It's good in some cases, for instance if you organize activities or events. And as *Lapin Kansa* is the main media in Lapland, it's good to keep doors open there. And I comment a lot, if there are the wrong kinds of stories. I correct it if there's something that shouldn't have been published." (Informant 2)
>
> *"No mulla on kyllä, hyvin nopeasti, jos vain jotaki tiedotettavaa on, niin on kyllä kavereita joka sillä lailla, toimittajana. Vähän missäki paikkaa niitä on, Yle Rovaniemellä ja Lapin Kansassa esimerkiksi. Se on hyvä varsinki yhistystoiminnassa ja tapahtumien [järjestämisessä]. Ja Lapin Kansa on valtamedia Lapissa kuitenki, sinne on kyllä hyvin ovet auki. Ja kyllä taas kommentoinki kovasti, jos siellä on väärä juttu. Mie oion sitä, ettei tämmösiä ois pitäny päästä lehteen." (Informant2)*

It is important for interviewees to have trusted journalists, and equally important for journalists to have sources. One informant recalls, partly ironically, that there has been a time when Finnish journalists have travelled to the North with a bottle of booze:

> "I tell you, in the old days they [journalists] remembered to take a bottle with them, so they would get stories and yoiks. I remember these stories from my childhood. **But yes, journalists have needed to gain trust. This way he'd get good stories and would be allowed to come along and experience life with us** [emphasis]. […] Trusted journalists […] certainly would've made very different stories than first-timers." (Informant 2)

> *"Kyllä se on kuule ennen ollu semmosta paljon, että on muistettu se viinapullo tuua, että on saatu juttua ja saatu joikumaan ne saamelaiset vielä illan pääle. Kyllä mie muistan lapsuuesta semmosia juttuja.* ***Mutta kyllä toimittajan on pitäny luottamus ansaitakki. Sittenhän se saa hyviä juttuja ja pääsee matkaan ja elähmään****. Kyllä niitä vain on niitäki. Luottotoimittajat (niinkö joku Lihtosen Jussi,) kyllähän se varmasti on aivan erilaiset jutut tehny ko joku ensikertalainen." (Informant 2)*

One informant emphasizes the need for persistent collaboration between journalists and interviewees. According to her experience, this kind of networking has diminished:

> "Well, yes, it demands that you create a network and sustain it. That you are worth the trust. Even if you don't always have stories, you keep in touch [with journalists] anyway. It's something we Sámi people need to work with, but journalists as well. I think the media needs to have a good network, from where to get information and gain trust. That you have someone you dare to talk to, and protection for the reporter's source is secured. It's not that simple. Previously there were these journalists who checked in advance what was going to happen. This is how they were prepared to allocate space for the stories. Nowadays, this doesn't happen anymore." (Informant 6)

> *"Kyllä se vaatii sen, että sinä luot verkoston ja piät sitä yllä. Että olet itsekin sen luottamuksen arvoinen. Vaikkei sulla aina juttuja ois [toimittajille], niin kuitenkin […] voiaan olla yhteyksissä. Se on semmonen asia, jossa pitäis tehä töitä kaikkien saamelaistahojen, mutta myös toimittajapuolella. Tiedotusvälineellä minun mielestä pitää olla hyvä verkosto, mistä niitä tietoja saa ja luottamusta.* ***Että kelle uskaltaa sanoa.*** *[…] Että kelle voi luottaa, että se lähdesuoja säilyy. Se ei oo ihan yksinkertaista. […] Aikaisemminhan oli niin, että esimerkiksi kun oli näitä toimittajia, että he etukätteen tsekkasi, että mitä on tulossa. He ties sitten myös etukäteen varata tilaa, mutta tuota,* ***se puuttuu tänä päivänä."*** *(Informant 6)*

For journalists, networking is important but also challenging. One needs to consider the line between integrity and necessary networking. As one of the informants argue, interview situations (whether it is journalistic or for the research) are almost always a play on give-and-take, a question of fulfilling the public sphere:

> "Frankly speaking, I do have my own agenda for participating in these kinds of interviews, and why I overall speak to people. […] I can bring forth my own perspective and perhaps advance it, and on the other hand because you're a university student and I'm really interested in the development of this academic field. That I can give you something that you can somehow use. This is also something that people don't necessarily always realize, that these kinds of thesis interviews are also a way to influence. Because we are the ones to give you viewpoints. If I don't talk to you, someone else sure will." (Informant 3)

> *"Ihan suoraan sanottuna, onhan mullaki tässä oma agenda, että miks mää lähin mukaan tämmösiin haastatteluihin ja miks mää ylipäätään puhun ihmisille. […] Kyllä mää tähän lähin siksi, että saan ehkä edistettyä tätä oman näkökulmani esiintuomista jotain kautta, ja toisaalta koska sä oot kuitenki gradua tekemässä eli yliopisto-opiskelija, niin mua kiinnostaa myös hirveen paljon myös se, että miten paljon tämä kenttä etenee. Että mä voin antaa sulle jotain, jolla sä voit tehä jotain. Nää on myöski mitä ihmiset ei välttämättä aina hirveän hyvin sisäistä, että kyllä nää graduhaastattelut ja tämmöset niin ne on myöski tapoja vaikuttaa. Koska me ollaan ne, jotka antaa näkökulmaa. Että jos mä en puhu sulle, niin joku muu puhuu ihan varmasti." (Informant 3)*

One informant highlights the fact that without orientation and proper preparations the journalist may end up being guided by the interviewee, and it is one way to lose journalistic integrity and independence:

> "It's true that the interviewee can steer the poor journalist, if she's not prepared and doesn't know what she wants. I've probably told this kind of journalist what topics might be good to talk about. **But it's really dangerous! Just think about it, you can lead the journalist wherever you want!"** [emphasising, laughing] (Informant 1)

> *"Kyllähän haastateltava tosi paljon pystyy johdatteleen sitä toimittajaraukkaaki, jos se ei ole tosiaan valmistautunut ja tiedä itse mitä haluaa. Että mie olen varmaan sanonu sille, että kysy tätä ja että tästä ois varmaan hyvä puhua.* ***Mutta se on myös tosi vaarallista! Aattele ny, sitä pystyy sitä toimittajaa viemään ihan mihin pusikkoon tahansa!*** *[emphasis, laughs] (Informant 1)*

Theoretically, one can find connections to hegemony and dominance in the analysis in the previous section. More importantly, the minority negotiating with the media is also a way to be counter-hegemonic. Couldry (2003, p. 43) introduces us to political sociologist Melucci and his theory of naming the reality. Melucci is especially interested in social movements and their struggle and possibility to challenge the government's and media's monopoly of naming the reality. Melucci argues that since "we are living in the societies where there is no sacred at all" (Melucci 1989, p. 62, 109, 55, cited by Couldry 2003, p. 43), our lives are organized through the standardization of consumption and market forces, and the strategies of governments. In such societies, there are conflicts over "the production of information and symbolic resources" and "access to knowledge becomes a new kind of power." Nowadays, the real domination is the exclusion from the power of naming (Melucci 1996, p. 182, cited by Couldry 2003, p. 43). In this struggle for the power of naming, Melucci views social movements as contestants for the normal concentration of governments, corporations and media institutions. I claim that also at the individual level, for instance, the Sámi can utilize the media. The aforementioned quote from the informant 1 illuminates the dependency of interviewers and interviewees. One might say that it is reciprocal exploitation; for instance, politicians, activists and artists need and use media to

make their work and agenda public and visible. On the other side, journalists need stories, "cases," to be published. It is also a good example of representation.

Theoretically, representation means that something absent – in the past or physically somewhere else – is being described and recreated in the discussion. Representation also means that one is "standing for someone or something else" (Rossi 2010, p. 263-264). On a more concrete level it can be understood as representative politics, but during approximately the last two decades, politics has been understood more widely than just as representative politics in parliament. The broad definition of politics is that it is a struggle of signification (Rossi 2010, p. 262). This is intertwined with the media in at least two ways: since the media has a role of being a gatekeeper, many political and other representations are directed to the media, or rather, media is used as being a messenger. In my study, this means that my interviewees tell me about their experiences with Finnish journalists and being on the receiving end of this encounter, but also that they create represention that reflect matters that are topical and important to the Sámi community. Thinking about my "mindmaps", i.e. figures 3 and 4 of different perspectives, this links to reciprocity and dimensions of communication. Representations are often adjusted to desired audiences. Representation that arises in power relations is a struggle of the order of symbols; what can be made visible, what can we talk about and how. This also brings us to the question of authorization: on whose behalf are we authorized and allowed to speak? Who are "we" and how is it determined who is allowed to represent "us"? And, if representations are perceived from different ontological backgrounds, are they inevitably incommensurable? Rossi connects ideas of politics and signification struggles with Michel Foucault's idea of power. As mentioned earlier, Foucault claims that power is not solely subordinative power from the top-down, but that it goes from the ground up to the top as well (capillary power). Rossi (2010, p. 263, citing Tagg 1993, p. 21) claims that there are no representations outside of dominance, but instead representations are always shaped by power relations. Representations utilize codes and conventions that are within our reach, which both restrain the meanings of representations and enable understanding them (Rossi 2010, p. 263, citing Lahti 2002, p. 13).

One way to control the media image at the personal level and for the community is to ask that the story be checked in advance. In Finland, this is part of the ethical guidelines for journalists, i.e. the interviewee has a right to read and correct his or her own quotes in the story. Often journalists send the whole story for the interviewee, although this mode is contested and criticized internally in journalistic communities.

> "I **always ask** [emphasizing] to check the story in advance so that I can correct at least the biggest mistakes. I have learned during these years not to let a single interview be published without me checking it first. […] My corrections are usually modest; only concrete and explicit mistakes, such as years. For example, nuances are something I can't change. Correcting doesn't mean that I could impact that kind of thing. But at least then you know what will be published and you can be prepared. Even that helps." (Informant 4)
>
> *"Pyydän **aina luettavaksi** [painottaa] etukäteen, että saa ainaki ne isoimmat virheet sieltä pois sitte. Sen olen kyllä vuosien aikana oppinut, etten yhtäkään haastattelua päästä sillä lailla, etten ite tarkistais. […] No nyanssiasiat on just sellasia, että vaikka kuinka tarkistaa jonkin jutun, ei sieltä saa mitään nyansseja pois otettua. Vaan semmoset selkeät asiavirheet, että ei tuo vuosiluku piä paikkaansa. Ne korjaukset on hyvin pieniä aina. Se korjaaminenhan ei tarkota sitä, että pystys vaikuttaan sellasiin asioihin [kuten nyansseihin]. Mutta ainaki tietää mihin varautua sitten ko se tullee ulos. Seki helpottaa." (Informant 4)*

Nuances and particularities in communication are analyzed in the next chapter, but here it is in order to mention that one reason for disappointment in journalism are these nuances that often are caused by differences in communication (implicit and explicit). In addition, if a journalist has a solid plan and vision for the story already in advance of the interview, the interviewee may feel that his or her messages or presence has been neglected.

6.6 "You shouldn't hurry" – Problems of Parachute Journalism

One part of the communication between a journalist and interviewee is, of course, the way they experience the interview situation per se. One of the aims in my empirical material was to make visible the circumstances before, during, and after the journalistic interviews. By this I mean, for instance, requests from the journalist's side, and the ways in which stories are built already in the process of interviewing and planning the interview. As mentioned earlier, I argue that we live in multiple realities, and these realities are socially constructed. At the concrete micro level of these realities – journalistically one could say that representations of the reality – is built in the interaction between journalist and interviewee. One of my presumptions, and my own experience as well, is that often stories are built before the first actual meeting: a perspective is chosen, and the role of the interviewee might be to say the right, precise, and exciting content for citations. Sometimes this method works excellently, everybody is happy, and the journalistic product is of good quality. But sometimes the interviewee ends up being an assistant for the journalist, and perhaps in a role that he or she does not recognize.

The reality for many journalists is that there is not much time to create the stories in the field, so the prefabricated template helps to streamline the work. But we do not often stop and

think about how this is perceived. One informant explains that the feeling of being rushed is annoying and it diminishes the will to collaborate and talk to the interviewer:

> "You shouldn't hurry. **I see red immediately if someone's in a big hurry** [emphasis]. If the journalist says like 'you need to be there at 2 pm', my reaction is, well, I doubt that I will. Or if I am, I might not stay very long. As I see it, if you want a good story, you should come and say that I'm available whenever it suits you. As I see it, if you like to have a good story, just come along for the day and make a profile story or something. There while I'm busy with my stuff it's more natural to talk and discuss." (Informant 2)

> *"Aikaa pitäis olla ja käyttää. Ettei tehä semmosia suunnitelmia, että tänä päivänä pittää käyä niin monta ihmistä haastattelemassa.* ***Mie varsinki näen heti punasta, jos joku on oikheen kiihreelä*** *[korostaa, ääni nousee]. Se on heti, jos se toimittaja asettellee siihen, että olet kello 14 siellä niin se heti antaa semmosen kuvan, että jaha, tuskinpa olen siellä, tai jos olenki niin enpä taia sielä viihtyä kovin pitkään. Jos meinaa hyvän jutun tehä niin se pittää tulla ja sanoa, että hän on tässä päivän käytettävissä, että koska sulle soppii. Mie itte näkisin sen, että jos haluais hyvän jutun niin lähtis vain matkaan. Sanois että hän tullee sulle päiväksi matkaan ja tehä henkilökuvan tai muun jutun.* ***Siinähän se ko sie touhuat, niin luontevammin pystyt juttelemmaan****."* *(Informant 2)*

It is easier to show than to try to explain something that might be very different from the journalist's life. And quite often this is the case if the journalist comes, for instance, from Helsinki and is not acquainted with reindeer herding, handicrafts, tourism, or with the local lifestyle and environment in general. This is a sort of parachute journalism that is usually associated with foreign news reporting, but can happen inside the country as well. In parachute journalism, reporters are dispatched to locations previously unknown, or at least not well-known. Typically, journalists have a plan to get multiple stories, and the time for the implementation is limited. Mitchell (2002) concludes that parachute journalism consists of intense media competition, "round-the-clock deadlines, pressure to get the story first, and to demands to explain 'what it all means'." Mitchell claims that as a consequence the risk for assumptions, short-cuts, and stereotyping significantly increases.

My informants emphasized the need to have enough time and genuine presence in the interview situation. These quotes also reveal the contrast between clock-wise scheduling and context-dependent task, that for instance Mazzullo (2012) has examined amongst the Sámi. Mazzullo (2012, p. 216) concludes that even though "the Sámi are thoroughly familiar with clocks and watches, and with measurement of time in hours, minutes, etc., most of them (apart from those who are 'trapped' within official institutions such as schools and offices, as Mazzullo describes) are able to keep the 'officialdom' of the clock at bay."

> "In general, it is still unusual to specify duration in precise terms. When travelling, for example, if anyone asked at what time we would be arriving, or returning, no exact time would ever have been given, but only broad temporal indications like early morning, morning, evening, and so on. In fact, in this view, given that the journey is an ensemble of tasks that the travelers must perform to reach their given destination, depending on the topographical characteristics of the places and their given climatic conditions, its length is variable and difficult to predict with precision." (Mazzullo 2012, p. 217.)

Mazzullo remarks that unless activies are related to official timetabling, such as offices or schools, people are quite relaxed in their attitudes towards punctuality. Mazzullo gives an example of the conversation between a Sámi host and his Finnish friend. The latter one of the two argues that if one says that he shall meet tomorrow at 6:00 o'clock in the morning, then he will be there at six sharp, regardless of the reasons or of weather conditions. The Sámi host replies that whether he would be there at the agreed time would depend on the reasons for his presence and only if that was absolutely necessary. According to Mazzullo (2012, p. 218), the conversation continued, but the only agreement over the matter was that Sámi and Finnish people must definitely have different attitudes towards 'time.' Mazzullo concludes that not showing up at an agreed time is not regarded as impolite behavior, because the autonomy of people is so highly valued. Instead, he claims, it is the limiting of personal autonomy that would instead be seen as inappropriate.

I do have my own experiences with this flexible sense of time, and I know other Finnish journalists that have similar experiences. It was also during my research interviews that my suggestions for the meetings in one month or so often did not receive precise answers. One of my informants describes that punctuality is not impossible, but it is not the traditional and the most favorable way to work:

> "Then the understanding of time. We need to respect nature; we don't make any decisions before we go out and 'sniff the air' in the morning. Should we go today? We can't decide. Ask a reindeer herder when they'll have the reindeer in the fence, and they'll say it's not something you can decide. In principle, it's possible to set a specific date, but no one can even imagine that anyone could decide that. Like, let's say we'll have reindeer in the fence on October 15th. It's a ridiculous thought. […] And that's why our perception of time is like that. We're used to first checking the weather before we can start anything. […] And it's difficult that [nowadays] everything is based on the idea that, like, these specific days in January next year need to be booked." (Informant 9)

> *"Tai sitten se **aikakäsitys**. Että ku **täytyy kunnioittaa luontoa**, ei tehä mittään päätöksiä ennen ku mennään ulos ja haistellaan aamulla. Että mentäiskö tännään sitten? Eihän me pystytä päättämään. Kysy poromieheltä, että milloin niillä on porot aidassa. Ne sannoo, ei sitä pysty päättämään. Periaatteessahan sen kyllä pystyy päättämään vaikka päivälleen, mutta ei kukaan voi kuvitellakaan, että vois päättää, että sanotaan että lokakuun 15. päivä on porot aiassa meillä. Se on niinkö naurettava ajatuskin […] Ja siksi aikakäsitekkin on*

semmonen, että on totuttu siihen, että ensin pittää kattoa vähän ilmoja ennen ku aletaan millekään.[…] Ja sehän on hankalaa ko kaikki perustuu siihen, että ens vuen tammikuussa tietyt päivät pittää olla buukattuna." (Informant 9)

Other informants emphasized for instance the importance of reciprocity and tranquility in the interaction:

> "Getting to know each other is really important. So, that you're not straight away like, 'hey, you have a really nice dress, can I interview you since you seem to be a Sámi'. Just getting to know each other first and say that I am not interviewing you now but, kind of give something of yourself as well, so that the other one understands who he or she is dealing with. It's important to chat. Even if you're in a hurry and you have a deadline, you should try to ease the situation. And kind of probe what this person might think. And, of course, remember that not everyone wants to talk about all these issues." (Informant 7)

> *"Tutustuminen on tosi tärkeää. Että se ei ole heti suoraan, että 'hei, sulla on tosi hieno puku, voisinko minä sinua haastatella kun sinä näköjään olet saamelainen'. Että vaan niinku tutustua vähän ensin ja sitten niinku sanoa, että nyt mää en sinua haastattele, vaan tavallaan antaa niinku itestään myöski. Että ymmärtää, että kenen kanssa on tekemisissä. […] Se on tärkeää se jutustelu. […] Vaikka on kuinka kiire ja deadline painaa, niin yrittäis niinkö rauhottaa sen tilanteen siinä ennen sitä haastattelua. Ja vähän tunnustella sitä, että mitä mieltä tämä mahtais olla. Ja tietenki sitä, että ei kaikki halua puhua kaikista näistä aiheista. (Informant 7)*

The informant recalls the importance of "giving something of yourself," and this includes the manner of "locating." This is recognizable for me as a journalist working in Sápmi and in Lapland. Often the interaction starts by searching for common relatives, friends, or acquaintances. After hopefully productive searching, there is a feeling of knowing the other person better, and it increases mutual confidence. This is not solely Sámi tradition, but in Sámi community it is fundamental to start the conversation by telling one's family tree generations back. This comment from the informant (below) describes the challenges of balancing between getting to know backgrounds without ending up stereotyping. She also emphasizes the manners used in giving the voice:

> "I would hope that when I meet a reporter, he or she would have found out about my background. Or that she would cautiously ask what this and that means. But also, of course, to take the other one as individual, not already in advance, like, this a Sámi or Mongolian […] All in all, to have manners, without taking into account that someone is said to be difficult, for instance. I claim that journalism is about issues where the person gives the voice. It's important to hear and listen to people, but also equally important is to pay attention to how this is done. I see this as really important." (Informant 7)

> *"Mutta kyllä ehkä ite toivosin, että kun kohtaa jonkun toimittajan, että ois ottanu selville, että mitä sen toisen taustat on. Tai sitten että kysyä sillai varovaisesti, että mitä se tarkottaa tai niinku sillai pikkuhiljaa kysellä. Mutta että tietenki ottaa niinku jokaisen*

ihmisen yksilönä, sillä lailla ettei jo valmiiksi leimaa, että tämä on nyt se saamelainen tai mongoli. Lähinnä lähteä kohtaamaan ihminen tällä lailla. […] Mutta ylipäätään käytöstavat ja että pystyy kohtaamaan ihmisiä, oli sitten millainen ihminen tahansa, ilman että jo etukäteen miettii, että jos vaikka kollega sanoo, että tuo ihminen on hankala. Ite ainaki oon aina ajatellu, että journalismissa on kyse asioista, joissa ihminen antaa sen äänen. Että on tärkeää kuulla ihmisiä, mutta myös että miten se asia tuodaan esille, niin sillä on tosi tärkeä merkitys." (Informant 7)

These notices and wishes are fundamental for any journalistic interview, and for the interaction in general; a good interviewer is sensitive to the context. One particularity in the Sámi context is to realize that some information is considered to be internal to the community, and that especially older people may have concrete experiences of the assimilation policy or bullying. Of course, this cannot be generalized and it should not lead to stereotyping, but it is something that mainstream journalists may not recall or realize:

> "The history of the Sámi needs to be remembered; it is not so long ago that our own language was forbidden, and the Sámi were considered inferior in racial research. All this history, the Sámi being oppressed in Finland, has caused this idea that it's not self-evident that I am equal to the mainstream population and that I have similar rights. […] My father always used to say that you're not allowed to anger the [Finnish] gentlemen." (Informant 6)

> *"Ja kun täytyy muistaa saamelaisten historia, että ko ei ole niin pitkä aika siitä ko oma kieli oli kielletty ja saamelaisia piettiin alempiarvoisina rotututkimusten myötä. Kaikki tämä historia, ko saamelaiset oli alistetussa asemassa Suomessa, niin kyllä se vaikuttaa siihen, ettei ole ihan itsestäänselvää, että olen samanarvoinen kuin valtaväestön ihminen ja minulla […] on samanlailla oikeuksia. […] Kyllä minun isä sano aina, että ei saanu suututtaa herroja." (Informant 6)*

I asked informants to tell if they feel that there are topics that should not be covered in the mainstream journalism, or should be covered in a different manner. This seemed to be a difficult question. Many of my informants did not want to give the impression that they would try to prevent the media from working, but after explaining that this might help journalists to improve journalism, I got some answers:

> "Well, for instance about this who is Sámi and who is not, because it is such a difficult topic to write and explain correctly. Then [pause, thinks, sighs] perhaps about internal conflicts. They [journalists] overreact to those; like, now they're fighting there. They should let our people be in peace for some time, so that we could just bring up our young to be healthy and strong. […] It's like they don't let us get stronger [pained sighs]." (Informant 9)

> *"No esimerkiksi nyt tästä, että kuka on saamelainen ja kuka ei, koska se on niin vaikea aihe kirjoittaa ja selittää oikein. Sitten [tauko, miettii, huokaisee] ehkä siitä, että jos saamelaisilla on sisäisiä ristiriitoja, että ne [journalistit] niinkö ylireagoi niihin; että nyt*

ne siellä tappelee. Pitäis antaa koko kansan antaa olla vähän aikaa rauhassa. Ihan vaan, että sais kasvaa ja kasvattaa omat nuoret ihmiset terveiksi ja vahvoiksi. Että ne ei niinku anna meiän vahvistua [tukahtunut huokaus].” (Informant 9)

The concept of collective knowledge was present in the informants' answers. Collective knowledge is considered to be something that is to be discussed and decided inside the community; for instance, the use of external Sámi symbols by outsiders. Many teachings also shift in families from one generation to other, and sometimes these are also considered to be internal knowledge:

> "Sometimes I feel like I wouldn't want to tell these so called 'grandmom's teachings,' they are something I don't feel like sharing. But I would gladly tell about topics that Sámi people themselves try to do stories about and to keep the tradition alive, our own culture and all those traditions that we have. Those things that you work hard to keep alive. But, I think that those exotic-oriented reporters are interested in hearing stories of shamans, drums, religion, and all those mystical things." (Informant 7)

> *”Joskus tulee semmonen olo, että en minä välttämättä haluais semmosia niin sanottuja mummon oppeja, ei niitä halua jakaa kaikille. Mutta esimerkiksi justiinsa tämmöset aiheet, joista saamelaiset itse yrittää koko ajan tehdä juttua ja pitää omaa perinnettä yllä, omaa kulttuuria ja kaikkia niitä niin sanottua jäämistöä mitä omasta kulttuurista on. Mitä niinku joutuu kynsin ja hampain pitelemään, että ne säilyy elossa. Niin niin, kyllähän niistä mielellään puhuis. Mutta niillä eksotiikanhakuisilla toimittajilla on halu kuulla mahollisimman mystisiä asioita ja tarinoita uskonnoista. (Informant 7)*

My own experience of some of the journalistic interviews I have had with Sámi people is that the interviewee seems to be a bit cautious, no matter how I try to ease the situation. This may be due to many reasons (for instance the aforementioneded collective knowledge) but informants also gave me insights to possible reasons:

> "If someone asks to interview me, I first google him or her and check what kind of stories this one has written. This is because it's difficult to know whether the other one knows precisely what you are talking, or if it will be misused. That's why many people don't dare to be straight and outspoken. I believe that sometimes the critique [towards media] is partly due to the fact that they themselves feel annoyed for not saying everything they wanted to say. Sometimes when I have spoken with some people that have been interviewed for Finnish magazines, they say that they wish that they would have had the courage to just be and talk as they feel like. And, of course, if it's a totally strange person and you don't know how he or she is, you are a bit cautious – especially if it's one of those [difficult] Sámi topics." (Informant 7)

> *“Jos joku minuaki kysyy haastateltavaksi, niin ensimmäisenä googlaan, että minkälaisia juttuja tämä on kirjottanu. On hankala tietää ymmärtääkö toinen tarkalleen, että mitä sitä puhuu. Että jos sitä tullaan käyttämään väärin. Sen takia moni ei uskalla olla niin suora ja puhua suutansa puhtaaksi. Mää uskon, että ehkä se kritiikki koskee myös sitä joskus osittain, että mitä on toisella jääny sanomatta. Että niitä itteä harmittaa, että miksi en sanonut näin, että se ois sopinu tähän. Joskus ko on jutellu joittenki kans, joita on*

haastateltu suomalaisiin lehtiin, niin se ois niinku semmosta, että uskaltais vaan niinku olla ja puhua. Ja on se tietenki myös sitä, että jos on ihan uusi ihminen josta ei yhtään tiiä, että millanen se on, niin ehkä sitä on myös vähän varpaillaan – varsinki jos on jokin tuomonen hankala saamelaisaihe." (Informant 7)

This kind of cautiousness is understandable when comments are taken into account about the inadequate knowledge of journalists. The first steps toward improving the situation is for journalists to gain better understanding of the topic in question. Informants' comments also indicate that there should be sensitivity in asking questions about culture. It is better to ask than trying to guess, but it should be respected if there are matters and norms that are considered internal (naturally this is case-dependent). I believe that the concept of collective knowledge is something that needs to be better acknowledged among Finnish journalists.

6.7 Particularities in communication

In this chapter, I rely on Kuokkanen's division in Western and Indigenous epistemes, in a sense that ontological background may have an impact on the communication in subtle ways that often stay unnoticed. I also process journalistic practices, and by reflecting my informants' and my own experiences of these encounters, I aim to reveal routines and worldviews that probably cause resentment. The interview situation includes contacting an interviewee, communication in the interview situation, and about the subject of the story's life after the interview and before publishing. As mentioned in Chapter 2, cross-cultural communication consists of parallel rules and norms, and as Boxer (2002, p. 151) claims, interactions between individuals from two societies or communities often result in a clash in expectations and misperceptions about the other group. One of my informants describes potential misunderstandings as follows:

"I'm sure that cultural misunderstanding happens many times, when a Finn says something and a Sámi answers that 'yes, it's like that, I guess…' Then a Finn assumes that the other one has agreed. But actually, the Sámi disagrees. That if he's, like, 'hmm' [the informant looks away, demonstrates evasive behavior] then he most certainly doesn't agree with you. But this is one of those cultural codes that you can't know, if you don't know. It's in our culture. I don't know where it came from, that if a Sámi keeps silent then he disagrees. And for a Finn it's a sign of agreement." (Informant 1)

"Tämmönen kulttuurinen väärinymmärrys tapahtuu varmasti monta kertaa siinä, ku suomalainen sanoo jotaki ja saamelainen vastaa, että niin, onhan se tieten niinki, joo, kai… Niin se niinku olettaa, että toinen on myöntyny, että näin se on. Mutta saamelainen on ihan eri mieltä. Että jos niinku yrittää, että 'hmm, jaa' [puhuu epäselvästi, kattelee muualle demonstroidakseen käyttäytymistä], niin se on varmasti täysin eri mieltä. Mutta ko tää on just niitä kulttuurikoodeja, mitä ei pysty tietään, ellei tiedä. Se on joku kulttuurissa, mie en oikein tiä mistä se on tullu, että ko saamelainen vaikenee, niin se on varmasti eri mieltä. Ja suomalaiselle se on myöntymisen merkki, jos on hiljaa." (Informant 1)

A bit longer extract of the discussion with one of my informants deserves to be referred to here, since it illuminates eloquently many aspects of the challenges of (cross-cultural) communication, and in addition it gives concrete examples of the division between Western and Indigenous epistemologies that, for instance, Kuokkanen (2008, p. 62-65, 67, see also Kuokkanen 2006, p. 251-255, in this thesis presented in Chapter 2) claims to lead to epistemic ignorance.

> JL: "For us the style of discussion is so straightforward that it might even be rude. But what can be done in this kind of situation?"
>
> Informant: "As a Finn you do not know, there is nothing you can do! Because you don't know the codes, you can't prepare in advance, like, okay, when a Sámi keeps silent, he disagrees. You can't read it anywhere. You're just totally at the mercy of the other."
>
> JL: "Is it then inevitable that there will be something wrong with the story?"
>
> Informant: "Well, yes [laughs]. There is always that risk. If I would go and interview an Ethiopian in Ethiopia about something, surely there would be something I cannot understand at all, no matter how well I had done my homework. It just is the code that one cannot know beforehand."
>
> *JL: "Meillä se taas on niin suora se, töykeyteen asti suoraa se kommunikointi. Mitä siinä tilanteessa voi sitten tehä?"*
>
> *Informant: "Koska* ***suomalaisena sä et tiedä****, et sä voi tehdä mitään! Koska sä et tunne sitä koodistoa, et sä voi etukäteen valmistautua että jahaa, kun saamelainen vaikenee niin se tarkottaa tuota. Et sä voi lukea sitä mistään tuolta. Sä oot vaan siinä täysin sen toisen armoilla."*
>
> *JL:"Onko se sitten väistämätöntä, että sitten siihen juttuun vaan jää jotain?"*
>
> *Informant: "Niin [naurahtaa]. Se on aina se vaara. Jos mäki menen haastattelemaan jotain etiopialaista Etiopiassa jostain asiasta, niin tuota varmasti tulee semmosia asioita mistä en mitään tajua, vaikka kuinka oisin muka läksyni tehny. Se on vaan se koodisto, mitä ei pysty tietään etukäteen."*

Still, the informant encourages us to ask directly if there is something in the interaction that is difficult to understand. She also argues that it is a greater problem if the journalist is overcautious and so afraid of offending the interviewee that it begins to blur the vision.

> JL: "I recognize the feeling of being overcautious. One wants to be, like, I understand, but on the other hand that might appear silencing and so that one does not dare to ask."
>
> Informant: "And that is exactly where it goes wrong. If you go to interview a Finnish person, you might have a totally different attitude; that okay, here we discuss and meet as human beings. But when you go to meet a Sámi, you already have a bit like, uh, I don't

know if I have the courage, and I wonder what this other person thinks of me. Then you're already going wrong. You're not really present there. Instead, you're a prisoner of your own presumptions and fears."

JL: "Tunnistan sen itsekki, että sitä on kauhean varovainen. Ei halua loukata. Haluaa olla tämmönen jotenki että ymmärrän, mikä sitten toisaalta voi näyttäytyä niin että hyssyttelee eikä uskalla kysyä."

Informant: "Ja siinä mennään just mettään, koska silloin sä et kohtaa sitä toista ihmisenä. Jos sä meet haastatteleen suomalaista, sulla saattaa olla ihan eri asenne; että no niin, tässä nyt keskustellaan ja näin kohdataan ihmisenä. Mutta kun sä meet saamelaisen luo, sulla on jo etukäteen vähän semmonen, että ääh, uskallankohan mie ja mitähän tuo nyt ajattelee. Siinä jo mennään mettään. Sitten ei kohdata sitä toista. Sä oot sen oman ennakkoajattelun ja omien pelkojesi vanki."

This informant also describes her experiences of the different worldviews, and for instance, the meaning and importance of language in perceiving the world:

JL: "Are you familiar with what Rauna Kuokkanen, for instance, has written: about differences in worldviews, relationship with nature, holistic thinking? Kuokkanen claims that these are visible, since the perception of the world is different."
Informant 1: "Yes, it may be totally true. One doesn't need to think about more than words. If I say *biegga* (wind) in Sámi and *tuuli* in Finnish, it has a different meaning for me. Even just one word has a different meaning. And then thinking about your worldview, that's already different worlds. So trying to understand one another is hard."

JL: "And if we talk about the relationship with nature, which of course is also romanticized [Informant: Yes.] but if you have grown up in the middle of nature and it is, anyway, different than going picking berries once a year, and so forth. And then if we then talk about mines and like, economic talk. So, there must already be many different worldviews."

Informant: "Yes, they can never meet each other. Because **I do not understand** [voice gets stronger] that someone can offer me money because I have lands. That he would, like, buy those lands. It's **horrible** to me! I would never sell that land, no matter what. Not enough millions have been invented in this world for me to sell my own lands."

JL: "Is it somehow like you would sell a part of you?"

Informant: "Yes, **it is so much a part of me** [emphasis] that I want it, well, to be there in peace. I don't want there to be cottages or roads or mines or anything. [pause] It is sacred to me. I do collect firewood, berries, and fish, and so forth, but it's part of life spent together. I could never log all the woods and leave, like, three trees standing somewhere." (Informant1)

JL: "Onko sulle tuttu semmonen mistä Rauna Kuokkanen esimerkiksi on kirjoittanu; maailmankuvalliset erot, luontosuhde, holistisuus. Ja Kuokkanenhan on sitä mieltä, että se näkyy, koska se maailman hahmottaminen on erilaista."

Informant: "Joo, kyllä se voi olla täysin totta. Ei tarvi aatella ku sanoja. Jos mä sanon saameksi biegga ja suomeksi tuuli, niin sillä on eri merkitys mulle. Niin, pelkästään jo

yhellä sanalla on eri merkitys. Ja maailmankatsomuksella, sehän on ihan eri maailmat sitten. Siinä sitä onki sitte, ku yrittää ymmärtää toista."

JL: "Ja jos puhutaan vaikka luontosuhteesta, mitä totta kai myös hirveästi romantisoidaan. [Informant: Joo.] Mutta taas niinku se, että jos on kasvanu luonnon keskellä ja se on kuitenki eri kuin että menen kerran kesällä marjaan ja näin. Ja sitten ko otetaan siihen kaivokset ja tämmönen niinku talouspuhe. Niin siinä on varmaan jo niin monta eri maailmankatsomusta."

Informant: "Kyllä, ei ne voi kohdata koskaan. Ku ***mä en ymmärrä sitä*** *[ääni nousee ja voimistuu], että joku voi ees tarjota mulle rahaa, kun mulla on maata tuolla. Että hän niinku ostaa ne maat. Se on mulle* ***aivan hirveetä!*** *Mä en myis* ***mistään hinnasta*** *sitä maata. Että niin montaa miljoonaa ei ole tässä maailmassa keksitty, että mä myisin omat maani."*

JL: "Onko se jotenki, että myis osan ittestä?"

Informant: "Joo, ***se on niin osa mua*** *[painottaa], että mä niinku haluun että se saa olla rauhassa siellä. Mä en haluu, että sinne tulee mökkejä tai teitä tai kaivoksia tai mitään. [tauko] Että se on mulle se pyhä. Kyllä mä sieltä puut haen, ja marjat ja kalat ja näin, mutta se on osa sitä, sitä elämää yhdessä. Mä en vois koskaan hakata kaikki puut jostaki ja jättää se kolme siemenpuuta jonnekki."(Informant 1)*

In the extract above there are segments that reveal dimensions of both communication and epistemological dimensions. My claim is that these dimensions are overlapping and intertwined, and they are crucial to scrutinize together, and also from the point of view of a journalist. According to my understanding, these quotes reflect some of the crucial points of Indigenous epistemology. First, the notion of the land as "part of the self" emphasizes the logic of the gift, which for instance Kuokkanen (2006, p. 255-256) describes as the understanding of the world which foregrounds human relationships with the natural environment, and it is common for many Indigenous peoples. The logic of the gift is manifested by give-back ceremonies and rituals or individual gifts, which are supposed to acknowledge and renew the sense of kinship and coexistence with the world. The informant says that she could never sell her ancestral lands, or to destroy them, because the land itself is sacred to her. Seeing and perceiving specific locations as important, sacred, and to some extent as persons, is also common for Indigenous epistemologies. Her description of living together with the land – chopping firewood and picking berries but at the same time respecting and taking care of nature – is reciprocal. To avoid an overly sentimental interpretation, it is in order to say that this kind of intergenerational knowledge and reciprocity is also highly practical; if one wants and hopes to develop a livelihood or commodities, it is wise to collaborate. Indigenous methodologies also include the idea of interconnectedness and holistic structures. Instead of perceiving the world as distinct and separate units, Indigenous peoples often perceive things as interrelated, and also rather than

seeing the self as separated from the environment, there is a sense of belonging, for instance to nature.

Journalistically and in relation to interpersonal communication, it is interesting to analyze and compare Indigenous epistemologies and journalistic practices. I claim that a large majority of mainstream journalists in Finland are driven by Western epistemologies: rationality, individualism, detachment, ideal of objectivity, and universal knowledge are all common for Western society and journalistic guidelines. These are widely accepted and appreciated values per se, but it is worth considering their integrity and self-sufficiency in relation to other epistemes.

First of all, most journalists do not actively think about epistemes or identities, just as Sámi people do not think about their Sáminess all the time. As one of my informant said, "I do not wake up every morning thinking that oh, I am a Sámi!" It is the cultural and personal baggage that all of us carry with us. But when the carrier has power and a hegemonic position, thoughts and their consequences become relevant to analyze.

One way to analyze this is to rely on the fundamentals of feminist philosophy and Indigenous methodologies, which have a lot in common. As Kuokkanen (2006, p. 253-254) writes, "feminist philosophers have called critical attention to several basic assumptions of mainstream epistemologies constructed as neutral and value-free but which, after a closer scrutiny, turn out to be gendered as male. Instead, feminist and Indigenous perspectives emphasize relations to social, cultural, and historical frameworks, and they also ask questions of legitimacy: Whose knowledge is validated and on what grounds? Who gains and who loses when knowledge is validated and structured in certain ways? The knower is also situated in his or her community and knowledge is rooted in and stemming from a specific location. In addition, Indigenous epistemologies recognize the significance of other than rational modes of knowing (Kuokkanen 2006, p. 254).

One recent but similarly long-standing example of the different views is the amount of lichen and the proper number of reindeer in Northern Lapland. Disagreements are between the (Sámi) reindeer herders and some researchers. Things are not black and white, and there are several opinions amongst both "groups," but in general arguments are divided in a) scientific results and claims, and in b) community-based, intergenerational knowledge in specific locations. Journalistically mainstream media have relied more on the scientific perspective, and it has displeased many Sámi people. This topic is illustrative, since it has major societal and hegemonic dimensions; many reindeer herders claim that the best solution to the problem at hand would be to reopen pasture circulation to traditional pastures in Norway and Sweden. This seems

highly unlikely since it would need substantial changes in legislation, but it illuminates the importance of the Sápmi region, and also that many topical Sámi issues span historically, geographically, and mentally over long distances and over centuries. For a journalist, these are not the easiest entities to understand and to work with.

When it comes to epistemology, it is in order to scrutinize the (im)possibility to really have insight into these particularities. As Kuokkanen (2008) reminds us, it is necessary to remain aware of the Eurocentric arrogance of conscience, i.e. delusion that simply by gaining knowledge one could know other cultures. As my informant claimed, there is always a risk of misunderstanding the other person (basically, this risk exists every time two people meet and communicate, regardless of their backgrounds). Claiming to know how another person thinks and perceives the world can easily turn out to be one way of stereotyping, or even of sustaining structural racism. According to Kuokkanen (2008, p. 78), as well many of my informants, the best results come from "unlearning one's learning", i.e. critically examining one's beliefs, and biases, and understanding and how they have arised and become naturalized. Kuokkanen writes about the academy and its relationship to Indigenous peoples, but I claim that her approach applies equally to the media and journalists.

6.7.1 Interpreting between cultures

One substantive theme in the empirical material was the interviewee's urge to make the context more visible in the journalistic articles. Reindeer husbandry, for instance, is a topic that is frequently on display in the media. Simultaneously, it is one of the topics that is challenging for outsiders to understand, since the vocabulary has developed over centuries in a way that it is practical and precise for the reindeer herders, but possibly totally strange for the outsider. To conquer this incommensurability, some of my informants have taken the role of interpreter between these two worlds. This theme also has a connection to my theoretical choices in a way, that like hermeneutics – in addition to many topics related to the Sámi culture – is difficult to understand details if one does not have an idea about the whole.

Almost all of my informants were familiar with situations where it has been challenging to try to explain one's own culture and the way of life. For instance, the everyday life of a reindeer herder might be totally strange and new for the journalist covering the story. Two of my informants were especially aware of the possible misunderstandings:

> "I have noticed that if there are many of us there, especially reindeer herders in the forest, I need to interpret and translate my friends for the journalist. […] If there is a journalist from

> Helsinki, he or she has absolutely no idea of what these words mean. But the local herder may not even realize that there could be something weird in the situation. I have noticed several times that I have some kind of a skill to see if now people are talking about totally different things." (Informant 2)
>
> *"Sen mie olen huomanu, että jos on useampi meitä siinä, niin mie omasta mielestä jou'un tulkkaahmaan sitä kaveria koko ajan. Mie näen, ymmärrän sen, että se toimittaja ei ymmärrä sitä puhetta. Mie jou'un aina oikohmaan, että se tarkottaa sitä ja tätä. Varsinki ko poromiehiä on ollu tuolla mettässä, siinä pittää olla niinku tulkkina välissä koko ajan! Helsinkiläinen toimittaja, nehän on ihan hoomoilasena että mitä tuo tarkottaa. Mutta se paikallinen ei välttämättä ees huomaa. Se yrittää kertoa ja toimittaja on siinä jo että häh, missä tässä mennään. Ne on niin tosin tavallisia sanoja ja lauseita, ettei paikalliset niitä huomaa. Mie olen monesti huomanu, että mulla on joku semmonen taito, että mie näen sen asian ja huomaan, että nyt ihmiset puhhuu ihan eri asioista." (Informant 2)*

The other informant had gradually learned to explain the differences in everyday life, values, and the way of thinking. As a young woman, she had moved from the Sámi environment to a Finnish municipality, and she was forced to understand and learn that the Finnish way of acting and thinking were different from her own. In her current work, this awareness has been helpful, and she thinks that it would also help communication with journalists:

> "It is not that simple to verbalise your own culture. […] In the core there is language and communication. There is the relationship with nature, livelihoods, clothes, food; there are all these traditions, norms, rules, (extended) family, of course. And, of course, the cycle of nature, the calendar of nature that direct life in the Sámi community." (Informant 6)
>
> *"Se ei ole ihan yksinkertaista pukea omaa kulttuuria sanoiksi. Mie oon joutunu ihan piirtämään ja miettimään ko mie olen siitä puhunu. Keskellä on se kieli ja kommunikointi. Mutta siellä on sitten asiat, jotka siinä kulttuurissa vaikuttaa. Siellä on tämä luontoyhteys, elinkeinot, vaatteet, ruoka, siellä on nää perinteiset tavat, normit jotka yhteisössä, säännöt, tietenki suku. Ja tietenki sitte on kaiken kaikkiaan se luonnonkierto joka on siinä, se luonnonkalenteri jonka mukhaan ihminen elää saamelaisyhteisössä." (Informant 6)*

The informant emphasized that in order to receive comprehensive answers one needs to be skilled to ask relevant questions:

> "You need to know the right questions, so that one can explain the content of the culture. I think this applies for journalists as well! Because the ordinary person, or someone who doesn't need to work with these issues, he can't explain it because it is self-evident. I don't know how to ask about journalist's work, since I have never done it." (Informant 6)
>
> *"Pitää osata kysyä oikeita kysymyksiä. Että osaa selittää sen kulttuurin sisällön. Se varmaan muuten on toimittajien kohalla, että osata kysyä niitä oikeita kysymyksiä [oivaltaen]! Koska ei se tavallinen ihminen, tai semmonen joka ei ole joutunu sen asian kanssa tekemään töitä, niin ei varmasti osaa sitä selittää koska se on itsestäänselvyys. En miekään osaa kysyä mitä se toimittajan työ on, ko en ole koskaan sitä tehny." (Informant 6)*

The responsibility to explain one's culture was familiar to all my informants. Especially recently it has been on display because of the discussion of the Sámi definition. One informant illustrates the difference in perceiving the Sámi in the Finnish media by claiming that in the 1990's, the media was even overly ethnosensitive in relation to the Sámi. Nowadays the perspective has shifted to the questioning of Sámi identity and culture:

> "I think that in the 1990's it was so ethnosensitive in the media that it was already a bit annoying. There was no critique. […] But in the 2000's when media widened to the internet, ethnosensitivity and consensus ended. And well, it went to the other extreme. And then began the questioning. There have been quite aggressive interviews where everything is questioned […] and there are questions of in what ways Sáminess is somehow distinct. No one asks a Finn how Finnishness is distinct; how it differs to, for instance Swedishness, if the language is excluded. This kind of defining and demands that you have to define your distinctivity, it can sometimes be annoying." (Informant 5)

> *"Jos ajattellee, että 90-luvulla oli vähän ärsyttävässäkin määrin mediassa etnosensitiivisyys. Aina piti varovasti sanoa, eikä voinu kritiikkiä. […] Mutta 2000-luvulla ku media aukeni netin suuntaan, sitten se hajosi se etnosensitiivisyys, konsensus. Ja tuota, se meni täysin toiseen ääripäähän. Ja se meni siihen, että alko kyseenalaistaminen, myös toimittajakunta. Tässähän on tullu semmosia aika aggressiivisiaki haastatteluja, että aletaan kyseenalaistaa kaikkea […] että missä mielessä saamelaisuus on jotenki erilainen. Niin tuota, ehkä se justiin, että eihän kukkaan kysy, että missä mielessä suomalaisuus on erilaista, että miten sinä määrittelisit missä mielessä suomalaisuus on erilaista kuin esimerkiksi ruotsalaisuus, jos kieli otetaan pois. Sitten tämmösen määritteleminen, että sitä edellytetään, että sinä määrittelet, että missä se on erilainen. Niin, semmonen voi olla joskus vähän ärsyttävvää." (Informant 5)*

An interesting detail about the shift in perceptions of the Finnish media deserves to be mentioned here; I found the quote from one of my younger informants interesting when the informant analyzed the intergenerational differences in ways to defend one's culture:

> "I think this is really a generational question. If I think about the previous generations, they have actually lived in the world where you got beaten up if you spoke out [emphasizing]. I am privileged compared to these earlier generations because I have grown up in a world where Sáminess has gradually lost the stigma. […] It's not that shameful anymore. I have lived in that context, and it affects a lot how I talk about issues. And then again, I've been raised by my Finnish mother, and they have their own ways of speaking, sometimes really straightforward." (Informant 3)

> *"Mä luulen, että tää on aika paljon sukupolvikysymys. Ja sitten jos toisaalta aattelee jotain Heikki Palton sukupolvea, jokka on käyny paljon kovemmat koulut. He on oikeasti eläny siinä maailmassa, että tulee turpaan jos puhuu suoraan [ääni kohoaa]. Että mää oon niinku kuitenki etuoikeutettu näihin aikasempiin sukupolviin nähden, että mä on saanu kuitenki aikuistua sellasessa maailmassa, jossa saamelaisuus on pikkuhiljaa, että siittä on hävinny pikkuhiljaa se stigma. […] Että ei ole ennää niin häpeällistä. Mä oon eläny, tai siis kasvanu aikuiseksi siinä kontekstissa, ja se vaikuttaa tosi paljon siihen, miten mää*

puhun asioista. Ja sitten toisaalta, mä on suomalaisen äitini kasvattama, ja heillä on sitten omat tietyt tapansa puhua, ja hyvin suoraan välillä. (Informant 3)

It is interesting to consider how these trends – the growth of social media, increasing courage to claim Sámi rights, and growing interest towards the natural resources of Sápmi (Sámiland) intertwine and affect each other. I will return to this topic in Conclusions.

One of my informants talked passionately about the sadness she had witnessed among young Sámi reindeer herders regarding news coverage, and the incommensurability related to the demand of explaining your own existence and livelihood:

> "From the Sámi perspective it would be important to write about reindeer herding, but probably there is not enough insight for it in the media. Some years ago, I executed an inquiry about young reindeer herders' wellbeing […] And especially younger reindeer herders, who wondered whether to stay in this livelihood or go to study. They raised the issue of **negative publicity, every single one of them**! [interviewee emphasizing] That they found it so hard, opening the newspaper and get the impression from the stories that the reindeer have eaten everything, even the stones. That you are always guilty: whether it's opposing gold mining, or logging, it's always something. And, of course, they defended their own livelihood and, like, why you always need to defend it and explain why you exist." (Informant 6)

> *"Se mistä kannattais saamelaisesta näkökulmasta kirjoittaa, mutta siihenhän ei sitten välttämättä ymmärrys riitä, on poronhoito. […] mie tein joku vuosi sitten selvityksen poronhoitajien hyvinvointiin liittyvistä asioista […] Ja varsinki nuoremmat poromiehet nosti esille, nää nuoret jotka mietti, jääkö poronhoitoon vai lähteekö opiskelemaan. Siellä nousi **negatiivinen julkisuus, jokkaisella!** [painotus] Että ei jaksa että ko avaa lehen, niin porot söi kivetki melkein. Että aina on syyllinen: milloin vastusti kullankaivuuta, milloin metsähakkuuta, aina oli joku. Ja totta kai he puolusti ommaa elinkeinoa ja tuota että, miksi pittää ommaa elinkeinoa puolustaa ja selittää että miksi on olemassa." (Informant 6)*

According to the informant, older reindeer herders did not think about negative publicity as much as younger herders did, for them it was burdensome. In describing the importance of reindeer husbandry and reindeer per se, this informant also reveals one particular Sámi and Indigenous way of perceiving the world; a concept of animism:

> "I never really thought that young people feel like this. For them it is self-evident that reindeer husbandry is an occupation and a livelihood, and it is important in their lives. When they were asked about their wellbeing, every one of them answered that when the reindeer are fine, I'm fine. They all valued the world via the reindeer. The first thing was the reindeer, and the bad thing was the negative publicity." (Informant 6)

> *"Ei sitä oikeastaan ollu koskaan ajatellu, että nuoret kokee näin. Heille se on itsestäänselvyys, että poronhoito on ammatti ja elinkeino, ja heiän elämässä se tärkeä. Koska ko kysyttiin hyvinvoinnista, niin joka ainoa haastateltava sano, että ko poro voi hyvin, mieki voin hyvin. Jokkainen arvotti maailmaa poron kautta. Ensimmäisenä oli poro, ja huono asia oli negatiivinen julkisuus.*

Animism is one of the themes that was visible in my empirical material – not perhaps explicitly but as a sort of undertone. Helander-Renvall (2010, p. 45-46) argues that the Sámi reindeer herders and other Sámi subsistence people still live within a frame that can be called animism. All places have their special character, and on their lands Sámi people feel themselves safe and experience a continuation of life through generations. The land is also important because Sámi herders' spatial organization and overall activity is very much dependent on how reindeer move across landscapes. Animism is one of the oldest concepts of anthropology (Helander-Renvall 2010, p. 47). More recently, animism has become a term to describe "a style of worldview that recognizes the personhood of many beings with whom humans share this world" (Harvey 2006, p. 205, cited by Helander-Renvall 2010, p. 47). For the Sámi lands are perceived as living entities, and animals are significant aspects of the land, and the Sámi are very anxious to follow what happens to animals in their environment (ibid, p. 48).

So, these themes might be "below" the interview discussion, as an implicit ontological background, but not explicitly on display. I argue that here, and also in many other issues, the incommensurability between the interviewer (journalist) and interviewee (Sámi person) happens and may result in a misunderstanding or the unsatisfactory feeling of decontextualization. I argue that a person coming from outside the community and from a particular worldview cannot fully comprehend another person's perspective; but at least recognizing these potential differences in perceiving the world increases mutual comprehension.

Naturally there are risks of exoticising or make the Sámi as idealized others, as Helander-Renvall (2010, p. 45) justifiably reminds us. On the other hand, since the Sámi concepts and views have been marginalized in schools and in literature, and by the Christian religious and Western knowledge tradition, many Sámi fear to tell about their beliefs and practices. In the media context, this relates to the "bounds of thinkable thought," as Chomsky (cited in McCoy 1988, p. 83) calls public discourse. As mentioned in Chapter 5, Chomsky argues that "to be admitted to the debate within mainstream media, one must not violate the fundamental principle that the government is fundamentally benevolent" (McCoy 1988, p. 83). In the media context, these fundamental principles include Western ideals of neutrality, detachment, and the scientific point of view. Concepts such as animism are included perhaps in religious views or as something that is perceived as naïve. I claim that especially for journalists in the news sections, the idea of recognizing concepts such as animism is challenging, if not impossible, since it is not something you can weigh, make statistics about, or value in economic terms. This relates to Hobbs' (2008, p. 12) argument that as a journalist or other news producer, it is the discursive practices that have

the power to 'make true' particular regimes of truth. I argue that there are "double barriers" in these kinds of situations, and both journalist and the interviewee are afraid of being ridiculed by their audiences. For the Sámi, this might also belong to the collective, internal knowledge, that is not supposed to be told outside.

6.7.2 Ambiguous silence

Silence was something that almost every interviewee mentioned, although the point of view varied. Firstly, it was mentioned as a factor in communication, and secondly as a difficulty or unwillingness to give (critical) feedback about the published story. It was also related to the fear of saying what you really want to say. In the communication aspect, silence was described for instance as "a warning sign":

> "Regarding behavior there are some things, that [for instance] cause conflicts, that when a Sami is **quiet** [interviewee lowering her voice] it really doesn't mean complying or agreeing with you, but rather that he or she is so annoyed that doesn't bother to say anything. This is when you should back up a bit! [laughing]. I'm not talking about the risk of violence, but that we are used to solve problems with words, directly or indirectly. According to my understanding [it is a clear message] if someone says that s/he is no longer willing to give interviews or does not necessarily answer anymore." (Informant 3)

> *"Käyttäytymisessä on joitakin tommosia, että hyvin paljon tulee ristiriitoja, että silloin ku saamelainen on hiljaa [madaltaa ääntään], niin se ei todellakaan tarkota myöntymistä, vaan se on silloin niin suivaantunu, että se ei viitti ees puhua mittään. Silloin on parempi pakittaa vähäsen! [nauraa, ääni nousee] En puhu nyt sillai mistään väkivallan uhasta, mutta me pyritään yleensä siihen että ne ratkaistaan sanoin, että suoraan tai epäsuorasti, mutta ne ratkaistaan sanoin. Se on mun käsitys, että jos joku sanoo, että mua ei oikeastaan kiinnostaa enää antaa haastatteluja, tai että mää en jaksa enää, tai ei välttämättä ees vastaa enää." (Informant 3)*

The other informant points out that the style of communication between Sámi people is not as straightforward and explicit as in the Finnish communication. In addition, silence has an important role in the discussion:

> "One circulates towards the topic. It's somewhere there [pointing to afar] and that's where you start. There is a **difference in how you talk** [demonstrates by speaking slowly, pausing between words]. In many places in our culture it is a virtue to be quiet and, not talk the whole time or to brag, but be like. […] That, if you are quiet, in our culture it's a sign of intelligence, and so forth. [..] But in Finnish culture, if you apply for a job for instance, you need to yakyak all the time, like a parrot." (Informant 9)

> *"Kiertelemällä ja kaartelemalla mennään kohti. Se on jossakin tuolla [osoittaa kädellä kauemmas] ja sieltä lähetään. Ja sitten on myös keskustelun ero se, että [havainnollistaa puhumalla rauhallisesti, taukoa sanojen välissä] monissa paikoissa meiän kulttuurissa on*

hyve olla hiljaa ja sillä tavalla, että ei ole niinkö koko ajan äänessä ja rehvastelemassa, vaan on vähän sillai. […] Ja nykykulttuurissa Suomessa, jos esimerkiksi haet töitä, niin sun pittää olla äänessä ko papupata." (Informant 9)

More importantly, the use of silence was mentioned when there had been something wrong or weird in the journalistic piece. The majority of the informants did not give feedback to the journalist. The main reason for unwillingness to correct and speak out was frustration or feeling that it does not have any effect, or that it is very challenging to correct nuances, which are not explicitly wrong but neither are they correct. If the story was already published, only a few said that they would send feedback to the journalist:

"Yes, it's very common that you have plenty to say but you don't say it out loud, or at least not in public, because it's just not part of our culture altogether. Then one just grouses alone, or in other ways try to demonstrate. **But it simply doesn't work with Finnish people!** You have to say things straight and out loud." (Informant 3)

"Joo, se on hirveän yleistä, että sanottavaa on vaikka kuinka paljon, mutta sitä ei sanota ääneen tai ei ainakaan julkisesti, koska se ei vain kuulu meiän kulttuuriin ylipäänsä. Että sitten jupistaan itekseen tai jotenki muuten koitetaan osottaa sitä mieltä. Mutta se ei vain yksinkertasesti toimi varsinkaan suomalaisten kanssa asioidessa. Silloin on pakko sanoa suoraan." (Informant 3)

One informant emphasized that even though staying silent does not improve journalism, it still has positive sides as well: this is a sense of community and the fact that there are shared ways of thinking and acting:

"If the journalist sends me the story, then I give feedback and critique. If it is a good one, I thank them. But if the story has been revised and I see it in the newspaper, then I won't… I have this traditional Sámi tactics, that I'm quiet. […] I'm aware that it's quite a lousy strategy. […] On the other hand, it reflects something positive as well. And it is that the community is tight and it shares similar ways of thinking. As it is said about Sámi community, people take care of each other, and so forth. This kind of similar reaction reveals that we still have this connection." (Informant 5)

"Ko se lähettää sen jutun että katoppa tätä, niin silloin minä olen antanu sitä kritiikkiä kyllä. Ja jos se on hyvä, minä kiittelen. Mutta sitten jos tullee tämmönen, että se vasta siellä ilmestyessä, että siinä on vielä tapahtunu jotaki, niin en minä sitä sitte. ***Mutta sitten mulla tais olla tämä perinteinen saamelainen taktiikka, että hiljaa ollaan, niin se sitten tarkottaa… [puhuu hiljaa, naurahtaa lyhyesti lopussa… Mielenosoituksellisesti! [ääni kohoaa, kuulostaa mielestäni itseironiselta]*** *Niinku minäki sanoin, se on aika surkea strategia niinkö se, että ollaanpas hiljaa. Toisaalta se heijastaa jotain muuta, mikä on yhtälailla positiivista. Ja se on se yhteisön sisäinen, mistä saamelaisyhteisöstä sanotaan, että siellä pidetään huolta toisistaan ja niin edelleen. Sehän heijastaa myöskin sitä." (Informant5)*

The third concept or level of silence was related in the societal – but at the same time very local – level. All my informants talked about the aforementioned conflict about the Sámi definition; who is Sámi and who is not. It almost felt like an open sore, and it seemed to affect almost all the topics that were discussed in my interviews. This topic has been analyzed already, but due to its centrality, this illustrative quote is in order to mention here:

> "Well, just think about it: I consider myself to be a kind of person [who dares to say, but I don't], then think about the **ordinary Sámi** [emphasizing], as we have been talking about this silence. And it's quite distinct [emphasis] in these Sami issues. So, when even I don't do anything, how would ordinary Sámi people?" (Informant 5)

> *"No ajatteleppa, niinkö mie piän itteäni kuitenki semmosena, että **ajatteleppa tavallisia saamelaisia** [korostaa, ääni nousee]. Tästähän on puhuttu tästä vaikenemisesta. Ja se on kyllä aika **ilmeinen [painottaa]** näissä saamelaisasioissa. Että kun minä olen ollu kuitenki aika paljon tekemisissä, ja myöskin omasta mielestä **ainaki jossaki määrin uskallan ottaa kantaa**. Niin kun en minäkään sille tee mittään, niin miten sitten tavalliset saamelaiset?" (Informant 5)*

It was especially insightful for me to hear about the importance and meaning of silence in the Sámi community. It explains, at least partially, the unstructured sensations I have had during the years reporting Sámi issues. It also gave me new insights into reading these research interviews. Naturally, as a journalist I find this habit of silencing also problematic, since very few of us are mind-readers. It is difficult to correct mistakes and improve journalism if the mistakes are not explained.

6.7.3 Answer as a story, circulating stories

Perhaps one of the most challenging, yet crucial, parts of my research is to understand and reflect the vaguer answers I got from my informants in a way that I could interpret the answers – not only on the explicit level but also on the the implicit level. One of my informants guided me by asking questions:

> Informant: "Have you noticed if your interviewees have told you a lot of stories? I mean, that they do not answer but instead begin to tell stories and anecdotes?"
>
> JL: "Yes."
>
> Informant: "Well, how does it feel?"
>
> JL: "It's a bit confusing. We have talked about this at university, analyzed certain encounters, and differences in handling the situation. My Sámi colleague said that it is important to chat before the interview, whereas I'm used to thinking that I do not want to take any more of the other person's time than is necessary."

Informant: "It's interesting, in the book *No beginning, no end,* which is written in the interview mode, it especially reveals the way in which the author Kerttu Vuolab does not answer precisely, but instead begins to tell stories."

JL: "And there is the question of whether you understand the answer or not."
Informant: "Yes, exactly. And sometimes it might be that you come home from the interview and think enthusiastically that it was a great interview. And then you start to dismantle the interview and notice that all you have are these stories…"

JL: "Yes. And I have noticed that often people do not answer from their own perspectives and experiences, but instead on a more general level."
Informant: "But isn't it good that they do not answer what has been asked, but instead you can check what they have answered to? This is actually a way to break out of the journalist-dominated situation, and provide another perspective." (Informant 5)

Informant: "Ookko huomannu, että onko sinun haastateltavilla ollu paljon tarinointia? Että eivät vastaa, vaan alkavat kertoa tarinoita?"

JL: "Joo."

Informant: "No miltä se sinusta tuntuu?"

JL: "Se vähän hämmentää. Me ollaan kyllä puhuttu siitä koulussa, pohdittu näitä erinäisiä kohtaamisia. Esimeriksi saamelainen opiskelukaveri kertoi, kuinka ensin juttelee kauan ja sitten alkaa tehä haastattelua, ja mie taas yritän olla tehokas ja viiä mahollisimman vähän toisten aikaa."

Informant: "Mutta tuossahan on mielenkiintoinen se Ei alkua, ei loppua, oletko lukenu? (JL: Joo.) Siinähän on haastattelumuodossa ja hauskasti tullee etenkin Kertun (Vuolab) kohalla, että kun siltä kysyy jotaki niin se alkaa kertoa jotaki juttua."

JL: "Ja jos vastaa, niin ymmärtääkö kysyjä sitä vastausta."

Informant: "Niin justiin. Ja varmaan voi joskus olla, että tullee haastattelusta innoissaan että oli tosi hyvä haastattelu ja sitten ko alkaa purkaa, niin mitä tässä vastauksia onkaan, tämmösiä juttuja vaan."

JL: "Joo. Ja semmosta olen huomannu, että ei vastata välttämättä omalla kokemuksella vaan yleisellä tasolla."

Informant: "Mutta eikö se ole hyvä sitte, että ei vastata siihen mitä sinä kysyit, vaan sitten sie katot, että mihin ne oikein vastasivat. Silloinhan ne on niinkö omien… Tässähän päästään pois siitä journalistikeskeisyyestä, vaan tavallaan näkökulma oiski toinen." (Informant 5)

This refreshing suggestion from the informant is related in the importance of (decolonizing) listening, and different ways of listening, which I will reflect in my Conclusions. Informant refers to the book *No beginning, no end* by Elina Helander(-Renvall) and Kaarina Kailo. Helander and Kailo (1998, p. 11) illustrate the dialogical nature of discussion, and reveal the same struggle that I have struggled with in my research:

> "Asking direct, structured questions is not part of the traditional Sámi communication mode. Hence, one could argue that it is contrary to Sámi cultural practice to embark on a project based on interviews that precisely depend on direct questions. Additionally, for practical reasons (lack of resources and time) we could not do what it would have required to approach the Sámi through indirect questions and through the storytelling form of communciation." (Helander and Kailo 1998, p. 11)

Helander and Kailo noticed the same things that I did: in many cases, direct questions did not receive direct answers. Their interviews led either to a "question and answer" interaction, or to a "dialogue" or a relatively loose conversation complete with digressions.

> "During our conversations, attempts at a 'dialogue' expanded into stories, anecdotes, chatter, interviews and even monologues became, in this process, an appropriate method for reaching our intended goal: open-ended glimpses of Sámi culture beyond predetermined agendas." (Helander and Kailo 1998, p. 12).

I recognize authors' experiences in my own interviews. I heard many stories and anecdotes that I enjoyed and found useful in improving my understanding of the person, and his or her background and cultural landscape. But as the informant above says, transforming these stories into a journalistic piece or to academic thesis proved challenging. As Helander and Kailo argue, in Sámi culture storytelling and informal conversations are part of the traditional knowledge system, and their importance among mainstream scholars has probably been underestimated (and storytelling has been revised to the academic form). In my case, it is also a question of anonymity that restrains the use of many of the anecdotes, but nevertheless this process has taught me valuable lessons. Firstly, I have realized some of these incommensurabilities in the communication. After reading and re-reading the empirical material, I started to see connections between my questions and the stories, which at the time of the interview, seemed irrelevant; but because of my inadequate competence and experience in the Sámi way of communicating, I often was incapable of asking relevant follow-up questions, or in general react in a way that would have deepened the conversation.

At the concrete level, I noticed some changes in my interview habits; in the beginning, I was nervous and it appeared as overly talkative. The roles of the journalist and researcher also became apparent to myself: as a journalist I have a clear focus on – bluntly said – what I need from the interviewee, and I usually know how to get it. As a researcher, I had a different role, and it was challenging to genuinely listen, to ask open-ended questions, and to remember that there are no "right or wrong answers." It was remarkably insightful to shift roles. I sensed that

sometimes in the interview situations I was too straightforward and pressuring for answers. My body language, nonverbal communication, sometimes seemed to be a bit too aggressive: leaning foward, perhaps getting physically too close, staring at my interviewee. Many of my informants preferred to sit sideways of me, and were not enthusiastic to look me in my eyes. I emphasize that this is not to say that all the Sámi, or even all my informants, would act this way or that this would be some kind of truth. Perhaps the most important lesson was that since I had more time than in an average journalistic interview, I had a chance to become aware of my behavior in relation to the interviewee, and I realized that there were frequent differencies in the ways of being and discussing. One of the reasons for the incommensurabilities is that it is diffcult to say it out loud; to say that I do not understand, and to ask: "could you help me with this?" Or that I guess you do not understand what I am trying to say here. It is challenging because often neither one wants to embarrass the other, as Goffman (1979) argues. In addition, if the "rule of silence", i.e. silencing the disagreement, is applied to the communication (verbal and nonverbal), the chances for misunderstanding and poorly conducted journalistic pieces are significant. To overcome these potential problems, it is desirable that also these "meta level" interactions and messages are at least, on some level, acknowledged. This requires a sort of concession from both sides; from journalists to admit and understand that not everybody is exactly like us, and that our ways of being are not the only right ways; and from the interviewees, in this case the Sámi, to be more open about potential misunderstandings.

Finnish journalists need to be more aware of their own cultural background and for instance of the impact of our educational system which still poorly educates us about the Sámi people (and hence may cause indifference and condescension toward the Sámi). I argue that this kind of compromising does not mean giving away integrity, but instead would add variety and ease tensions. Journalists could still ask the critical questions, and the Sámi interviewee could hopefully be more open to discussion without being afraid of being misunderstood, or that the information will be misused. As one informant claimed, a positive stance does not necessarily mean that the story is comprehensive and of good quality. Sometimes the questioning and "asking stupid questions" can produce good journalism. All in all, I got the feeling from the interviews that interviewees do not want to be uncritically embraced – it can turn out to be one way of disrespecting them and not taking the counterpart seriously – but instead they want to be recognized and respected for their own perspectives. In this case, it means, for instance, that the distinction of the Sámi people is acknowledged but also that 9000 Sámi people from the Finnish side consists of a variety of individuals; there are not just one or two ways of being a Sámi, and people should be treated and met as individuals.

Secondly, both academic and journalistic publication forms are relatively strict, predetermined and dogmatic. Journalism is still strictly divided into distinct sections (foreign news, culture, sports, etc.) and genres (news, profiles, reportages), and each template has its own specific elements. Stories are built into these categories, and interviewees have a predetermined role and space to fulfill. Newspapers, magazines, radio and television programs are constructed entities – constructed realities, one could say – that serve certain (Western and mainstream) audiences, purposes, and communication habits. Whereas "the holistic view of life means for the Sámi that nature, humankind and life itself are not seen as mutually exclusive phenomena; the natural, cultural, social and linguistic environment are joined to a unity which must also be understood from an overall, not a fragmented, viewpoint" as Helander and Kailo argue (1998, p. 12). One very simple and fundamental conclusion is that it is challenging to make these two meet: the first one is extremely fragmented, the other one is very interconnected. The resentment about journalistic practices was present also when interviewees talked about YLE Sápmi, i.e. the Indigenous media. Even though most of the informants appreciated YLE Sápmi and the fact that they do not need to explain their backgrounds (or very existence) and that they were able to give interviews in their own languages; their disappointment was directed at news criteria ("bad news is good news", i.e. negativity as news criteria) and to inadequate follow-up of news events and stories. Needless to say, disappointment included the mainstream media.

7. Results

7.1 Summary and Discussions

In this thesis, I have interviewed nine Sámi people from the Finnish side of Sápmi, Sámiland. Informants varied in age (23-75 years) and background (North, Inari and Skolt Sámi, entrepreneurs, politicians, artists, reindeer herders, organizational and office workers). My interest was focused on power relations, epistemological differences between Western and Indigenous epistemologies, journalistic practices, and in varieties of communication. My method was a semi-structured interview, and in the analysis, I used a hermeneutical approach. I met informants once, and I have sent them empirical material to be scrutinized.

My research had three focusses: a discussion on what is wrong in the relationship between Finnish journalists and Sámi interviewees, and in this I was interested in the experiences of the Sám. After that I did an analysis of what the processes and forces behind this problematic relationship are. Eventually, based on previous research, my findings and my experiences, I considered, what could be done to contribute to a change.

Prior to the research interviews, I had some assumptions (preconceptions) of the potential problems between Finnish journalists and Sámi interviewees, i.e. problems and disappointments rising from the Sámi point of view. Those were, for instance, the lack of knowledge about the Sámi (especially about traditional livelihoods such as reindeer husbandry but, on the other hand, about the variety of Sáminess and its evolving culture), and arrogant or exoticized attitudes toward the Sámi. Based on my previous journalistic experiences, I also had an ambiguous feeling about limitations in communication, of which I was curious to learn more about. These included, for instance, the meaning of silence, rhetorical choices, and circular, story-formated answers. And as mentioned in the beginning of the introduction, I was intrigued to learn of epistemological, worldview aspects. I reflected interviewees' experiences with journalistic practices and mapped deficiencies between the two. In addition to the interview situations per se, I paid attention to the power relations, and social and historical context.

All my informants emphasized that the Finnish media has a lot of power regarding Sámi issues and the Sámi community. The media was perceived both as a companion and a potential threat for the community. I was surprised at the outcome that actually many informants had mostly good individual experiences with Finnish journalists. Still, they claimed that the general media image of the Sámi is negative. Pietikäinen (2000, look also Pietikäinen and Leppänen 2007) agrees about this point, for instance. It seems that in particular topics, and in particular media, the knowledge and media image is perceived as satisfactory and versatile. The hardest

critique was directed toward mainstream coverage in topics such as the definition of the Sámi and topics related to the relationships between the nation-state and the Sámi community (international conventions and agreements, land rights). In these issues, the Finnish media was perceived as a part of the establishment, and often incapable of seeing the Sámi perspective.

It was made clear by my informants that it feels condescending and disrespectful if the interviewee needs to explain the very basics of the Sámi culture for the interviewer. Informants did not expect journalists to be experts in Sámi history and culture, but they felt that if a journalist comes with next to nonexistent information and preparation, it has a significant impact on the collaboration and communication as well. This is to say that it is difficult to build a good interview and atmosphere if everything needs to be explained from the beginning. There were also some concerns about how the information and citations will be used, and the concern became greater if there was a feeling that a reporter does not have any or adequate understanding of the culture.

All informants were familiar with journalists' requests for them to provide answers on behalf of the entire Sámi community to questions such as 'who is Sámi and who is not,' or how the Sámi people differ from Finnish people. This was perceived as pressuring and challenging. Informants argued that in order to understand other cultures, one should be more aware of one's own background. This is to say that understanding your own culture is the key to understand others' culture as well.

In Chapter 5, I considered the interview situations as a performative act, since my experience of the research interviews indicated that many of my informants were aware of their position as representatives of their community. This action has connections to strategic essentialism, which emphasizes the unity of the group that in a hegemonic manner is oppressed by the mainstream or the majority group. I claim that journalistically, this creates problems in two ways: first, it maintains a "frozen" media image and even stereotypes. This is because both the interviewer and the interviewee tell a certain, similar story; Sámi interviewees do this because the opportunities to share information about the Sámi are still relatively limited in the media, and the media has an impact on what national decision-makers potentially base their Sámi-related decisions on. Interviewers may maintain the same image because of the inadequate knowledge and/ or because the expectations of the knowledge of ordinary people (consumers of the media) is thought to be nonexistent. The informants felt like similar stories circulate in the Finnish media, and the discussion on Sámi issues does not progress (and the media image does not broaden). In addition, my informants felt that often Sáminess is the dominant reason for the interviews, and due to this kind of starting point the journalist may "suffocate" the other sides of

the interviewee. Sometimes informants had tried to broaden the "traditional" picture and give a more profound context of their worldview, but journalists may decline to acknowledge it. As one informant said:

> "Everything needs to be so concrete and somehow conceivable, explicit, understandable in written form. […] But I understand that everybody does their story through their own filter, through one's own worldview. […] That's why the stories often stay on that certain level." (Informant 4)
>
> *"Kun kaikki asiat pitää olla niin konkreettisia ja jotenki ymmärrettäviä, selkeitä, kirjotettavia. […] Mä ymmärrän, että jokainen tekee sen jutun oman suotimen läpi, oman maailmankatsomuksensa ja elämänkatsomuksensa läpi. […] siks ne jää usein sille tietylle tasolle." (Informant 4)*

I learned that there are some epistemological differences and that they have an impact on interviews. For instance, animism and more holistic approaches to nature and animals was mentioned in some interviews to be difficult to verbalize for a person that comes from a different ontological background. The importance of language was emphasized to make a difference in communication and have a connection to the epistemological dimensions. It might be difficult to achieve and verbalize the "mental landscape" in Finnish compared to Sámi, and some Sámi words do not have a Finnish translation. It was also mentioned that sometimes language barriers have an impact on the interview in a way that it is challenging to express emotions and precise meanings. (This is one more reason to have people with different ethnic backgrounds and language skills in mainstream media.) Due to shared language and ontological backgrounds, most of my informants felt that it is easier to give interviews for Yle Sápmi and other Sámi media. There were also differences in communication which have a connection to different backgrounds. Answers to questions may include stories or anecdotes that for the outsider may seem ambiguous. I also learned that silence often has a meaning of disagreement, and that even if inside the Sámi community this works, outside the community and with Finnish journalists this way of protesting has caused problems. For the Finn silence is a sign of approval. At least three informants had made a conscious choice to interpret some cultural particularities in communication for the mainstream journalists. They "translated" vocabulary, activities and mindsets that were difficult for outsiders to understand, for instance in reindeer husbandry. It was also mentioned that the manner of speaking was shifted to be more straightforward when communicating with Finnish journalists.

I reflected journalistic practices with informants' comments. One aspect of the journalistic hegemony is the right to choose sources. In the Sámi context, especially with topics related to

societal power relations, the problem according to some informants is the absence of Sámi interviewees. Politically active informants claimed that often Sámi issues are discussed in the media without involving the Sámi in the discussion, or that the reaction of the Sámi are described with verbs such as *offend, got angry, lost their nerve, shout, make trouble*. Informants perceived this as arrogant and as a way of diminishing the Sámi as an Indigenous people. Some informants claimed that Finnish journalists should better contextualize the reasons that Sámi people have for opposing industries and activities that threaten the Sámi culture and livelihoods. Lately, the media image has been dominated by the issue of the Sámi definition, and this was experienced as very personal and on the private level. Some of my informants said that they have felt ashamed to say that they are Sámi because of the tone of the public discussion.

My research method, i.e. interview situations, was simultaneously an object of the research. This created challenging but insightful moments, both in interaction and later in analyzing the material. It was interesting to notice that partly the same tensions were present in the research interviews that are also in journalistic interviews; these were the way of speaking on behalf of the whole community (even if it was described as frustrating), being cautious of how the information will be used outside the community, and some incommensurabilities in communication that I have to accept. I have a feeling that I have lead some questions in a way that that I have gotten certain kinds of answers, i.e. every now and then I caught myself from hunting for the "juicy citations" that would fit nicely with my presumptions. I had to consciously restrain myself from leading interviewees, but still keep the conversation flowing and my reflections involved. I was also aware that some of my questions have annoyed people and produced answers that are answers to my expectations. On the other hand, some informants probably purposely answered some of these questions in a way that instead of giving a straight answer, they added some "edge" to it, as one informant says. According to this informant, this kind of behavior is one way to spice up the situation, and perhaps to disturb the "ready-made template" that the journalist or researcher may have in mind. All in all, it is also a question of gaining trust. Probably I did not have enough time to build as much trust and confidence that would have provided me with yet more profound answers. But as mentioned in the beginning of the thesis, I hope this to be a beginning of a process to improve communication and Sámi-related journalism.

7.2 Conclusions

My research brings new insights to the communication between mainstream journalists and indigenous (and minority) groups, in this case with the Sámi. Informants' comments shed light onto journalistic practices, and furthermore, the foundations of journalism. I have collected some essential themes in figures 5 and 6. After presenting these figures I aim to take my conclusions to a more theoretical level.

Figure 5. Sámi perspective based on empirical material

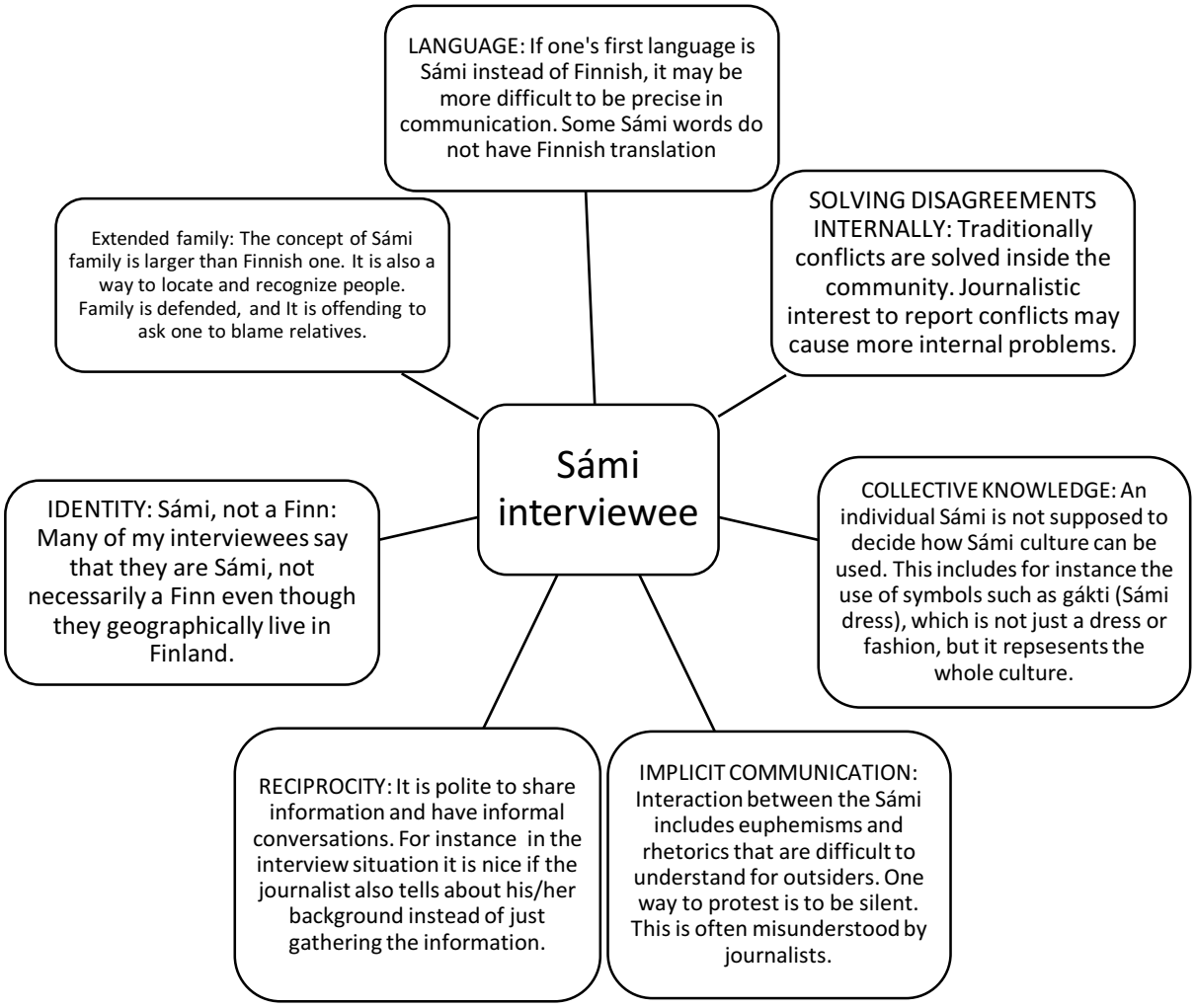
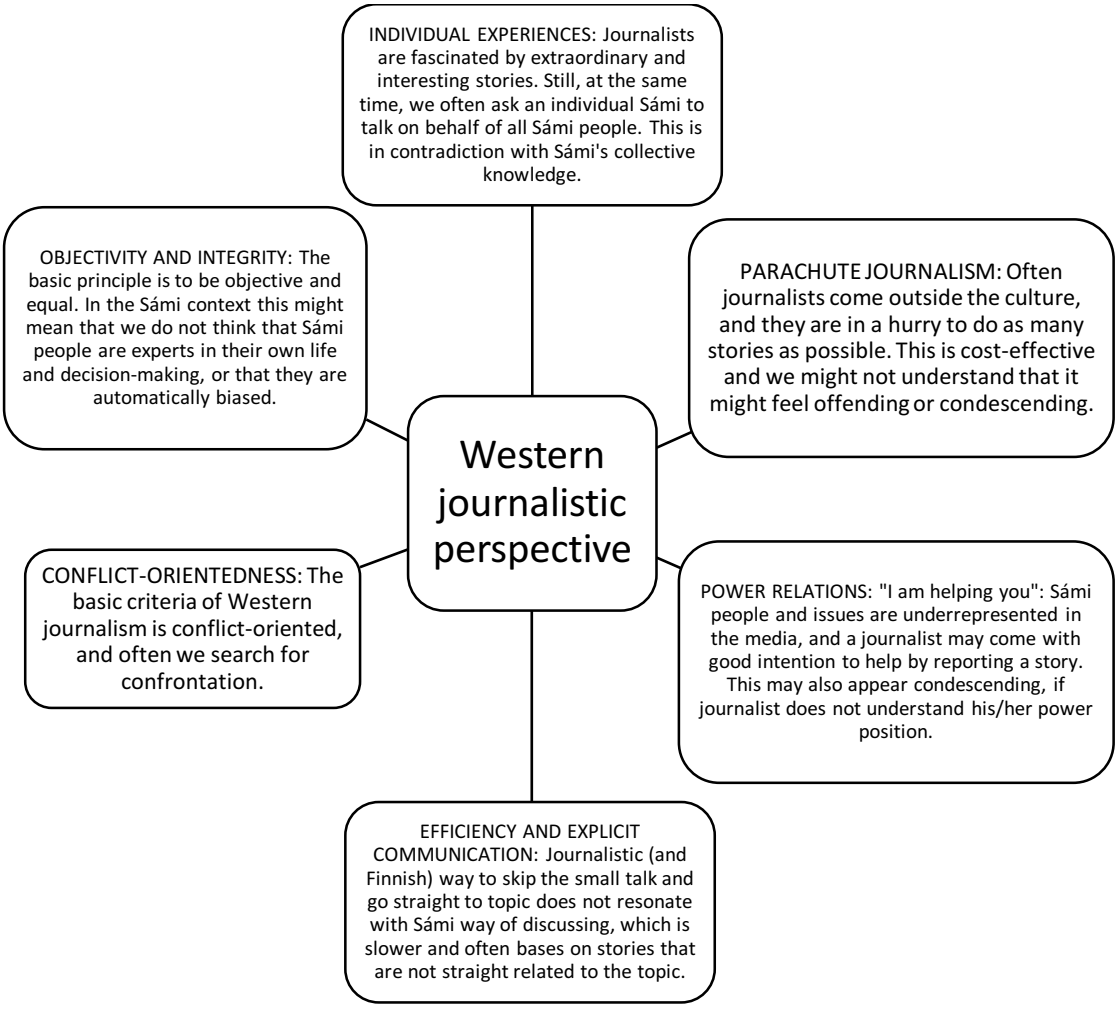


Figure 6. Journalistic perspective based on empirical material



If we look and juxtapose these figures, it seems quite obvious that, for instance, journalists' conflict-orientedness versus the Sámi tendency to avoid conflicts and to handle them internally, are in contradiction. Similarly, differences in communication: direct versus indirect, efficiency versus context-related time, and gaining trust, or reciprocity versus integrity (and detachment). These all create tensions in encounters between Finnish journalists and Sámi interviewees. Journalism's desire to tell conflict-oriented, individual, extraordinary, outspoken stories might be totally contradictory to the Sámi way of communicating. Taking into account that Sámi issues are not considered essentially interesting for consumers of mainstream media, occurrences that reach the public sphere are often escalated. As a whole, this creates a distorted image of the Sámi people, even though there are also stories that are profound, analytical and illuminate the Sámi perspective as well. Regarding conflict-orientedness, I remember an illustrative occurrence some

years back. In August 2013, I was invited to an equality-themed seminar ("*Boahttevuohta* – Moving forward together") in Inari to give a short speech and to discuss Sámi-related journalism in Finland from the point of view of a journalist. In my statement, I said that I personally would prefer more constructive and inclusive journalism that would help to find solutions instead of emphasizing the conflict. A seasoned Finnish journalist walked into the room in the middle of the discussion and claimed that "we journalists do not build anything, we rip apart, and we search for conflicts." She argued that this is the definition of modern-day journalism, and it does not matter what an individual journalist thinks, since this kind of journalism is the desirable one, i.e. the sort that news desk editors want and consumers are willing to pay for. According to my understanding she claimed that these manners and desires are somehow unreachable, beyond our control. This kind of comment, as familiar as it was, triggered me to consider this dilemma back then as well as now in this thesis. Who decides the definition of good journalism? Who or what is this mysterious party or leader that knows how journalism should be done? Recently, journalists and the media have been forced to challenge their very reasons for existence: there is so much information available everywhere, almost anyone can produce information or propaganda, anyone can be a journalist. On the other hand, the necessity of the fact-checking, curating information flow, and reliable journalism has increased.

Power relations and having an understanding of the history of assimilation and its manifestations in current affairs between Finland's nation-state and indigenous people are of utmost importance in understanding the Sámi and Indigenous perspectives (not only in Finland but globally, as the case of Standing Rock in the United States has shown), but it is not taught for Finnish and Western journalists. Rather, taking this perspective in mainstream journalism seems, according to my informants' comments and my own experiences as well, to be considered biased. In order to understand this kind of outcome we need to take a look at some fundamentals in Western journalism: criteria of objectivity, realities of political economy, and our ways of (not) listening. It is interesting to ponder what is missed in our Western way of doing journalism. Have we built hindrances that prevents us from seeing things and gestures that are not in our discursive practices, and in our Western epistemes?

The development of Western journalism has been connected to democracy and a realistic conception of modern science, i.e. in the idea that reality exists independently, and that it is possible to achieve more or less truthful information about the world. Truthfulness is difficult to measure and estimate, and thus researchers have concentrated on methods and processes that help to achieve objectivity. (Reunanen and Koljonen 2014, p. 49.) There are two perceptions of objectivity: mechanical and critical objectivity (see Reunanen & Kuokkanen, p. 55). In

mechanical objectivity, the emphasis is in delivering information without interpretation; facts speak for themselves, journalists aim to tell the truth, balance in the story is created by giving voice for both (or all) parties of the conflict, and journalism avoids estimating the truth or relevance of the interviewees' citations. In *critical* objectivity, facts require interpretation and it is of utmost importance to deliver the actual idea of the interviewees' citation instead of just transcribing it word for word. Both a journalist and interviewee have a responsibility to articulate the truth, and different viewpoints need to be put into perspective. Journalism is also seen as an organizer of public discussion, and consequently as a supporter of democracy. I claim that these perceptions of objectivity have a lot in common with Western and Indigenous journalism. This is to say that critical objectivity, which is also called richer objectivity, actually has several similar definitions with Indigenous journalism, and it offers solutions to problems and critical points my informants have shared in this thesis. First, the more active role in organizing public discussion and supporting democracy can be compared to empowerment and counter-narrative, for some part also in the watchdog function in Hanusch's (2013, p. 6-7) dimensions of Indigenous journalism. Second, interpreting quotes and putting them into perspective in relation to each other is what informants urged mainstream journalists to do. This includes providing an adequate context for the story. All in all, being a more interpretative journalist is not an easy task, since it requires a deeper understanding and often more time than just reporting what is happening, and in addition, it makes a journalist a more active participant. As mentioned in Chapters 5 and 6, the intertwining of social and traditional media, and active commentators in social media, make interviewees as well as journalists more vulnerable for the public critique (which at times is justified but unfortunately often also overwhelming and offensive on a very private level).

Reunanen and Koljonen (2014, p. 8) have researched Finnish journalists' professionalism and especially their perceptions and reflections on objectivity and integrity, in other words, their societal and political roles. They noticed that many of their interviewees think that interpretative journalism is considered objective, and even that interpretation is a requirement for the objectivity (ibid, p. 90). Nevertheless, journalists do not live isolated in the world of ethics. There are, for instance, the political economy and our journalistic practices that affect our decisions. On a global scale, journalism is living in a crucial period. Old operating models are losing their efficiency, and also the professional identity of journalists is volatile. Reunanen and Koljonen claim that the development in the media environment and in newsrooms has been twofold. Newspapers' and broadcasters' profitability has diminished, and there is an ongoing search for more cost-effective routines. For journalists, this means (ibid. 2014, p. 8, 45) more multitasking and a need to be prepared to cover many genres and topics, both in social and

traditional media. Stories are strictly conceptualized. On the other hand, the urge for substance expertise is increasing, and interpretative journalism is, in fact, becoming more common. Journalism is becoming more interactive and distinctive. Consumers find short news and basic information for free, and what they are willing to pay for are profound analysis and interpretative stories. Based on Reunanen and Koljonen's study, there seems to be a trend towards greater definitions of Western journalism. Still, considering my research, problems of being in a hurry, conducting parachute journalism i.e. not having enough time to prepare and implement a genuine encounter, are present.

In my research, epistemological backgrounds have played an important role. I have tried to figure out whether Western journalists should take into account epistemological differences, epistemes that differ from journalist's and the journalistic outlet's worldview. If so, how should it be done? What does it mean to acknowledge variety of epistemes? Returning back to Foucault and his ideas of epistemes, Foucault claims that each society has its general politics of truth, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as truth.

I have been talking about adequate knowledge and, on the other hand, curiosity for staying open for the unexpected story that is outside of one's own epistemic boundaries. The openness and a genuine meeting with interviewees was important for my informants as well. But what does this mean in practice? If there is enough knowledge, why do we ask, and how do we remain curious? It is also honest to say that one can never really and profoundly understand other ontological backgrounds – or perhaps after years and decades of collaboration and living together with people from other backgrounds, but very rarely this is the case in journalism – so, what is there to be done? If I am reporting the Sámi community's issues and interviewing a Sámi artist, politician, or reindeer herder, how can I ever be sure that I have paid attention to things that may be outside of my episteme?

There is not one right or solid answer, and as mentioned, the gap between different worldviews remains. Still, there are chances to improve current situation. First, it is in order to define what I mean when I talk about knowledge. Naturally, it includes gathering basic information, in this case information about the Sámi: history, culture, external symbols, and so forth. Furthermore, knowledge includes attempts to see a situation from another person's perspective. It could also be called a sort of reverse know-how, unlearning what has been taught. In the Sámi and larger Indigenous contexts, this means going back to school teachings and realizing that a lot has been left unsaid (for instance, of assimilative practices by the nation-state and church) and things that have been said, are usually not from an Indigenous perspective. This is one way to answer to my informants' demand for capability to know one's own culture in

order to understand another's. As was mentioned by my informants, it is still common that Sámi issues are discussed in society and in the media without hearing and acknowledging the Sámi perspective. To find balance between knowledge and curiosity (openness to differences and boundaries) it is important to prevent arrogance. Knowing a lot does not mean that you know more about the culture or group than a person that was born and living in it. As I see it, journalists enter people's lives, and when this encounter includes fundamental cultural or epistemological differences, journalists should show respect and accept that their worldview is not the only one to exist. This is not to say that all criticism ought to be thrown away. Rather, it means acknowledging differences, being transparent, and respecting other ways of thinking and being. I believe that this kind of genuine encounter builds mutual confidence. It is possible to gain a sufficient amount of literature and everyday information, and still be open to different ways of perceiving the world. If journalists are able to recognize their own background and to a certain level "let it go," it would give more space for both parties. In journalistic practices this can be approached in at least two dimensions: on the societal level by rethinking the role of journalism and "ideological cores" of society, and on the practical level of everyday journalism by paying attention to listening, for instance.

Couldry (2003, p. 40) argues that "if we could see media representations differently, as the production of just one limited sector of society merely claiming to be the voice of us all, the media's status in society would be very different." Couldry challenges us, journalists and citizens, to recognize these power structures, even though it is difficult to see something as naturalized as this:

> "Once we drop the assumption that society has a core of 'true' social values waiting to be 'expressed', then we are free to reread contemporary processes of social and cultural definition for the open-ended conflicts that they really are. […] Because society's symbolic resources are very unequally distributed (with media institutions being the main beneficiaries of that inequality), these ongoing debates of definition are marked by symbolic violence: certain definitions have enough weight and authority to *close off* [author's emphasis] most other alternatives from view, although such closure can never be total and is always, in principle, open to challenge." (Couldry 2003, p. 42.)

Reunanen and Koljonen (2014, p. 91) note that journalists tend to trust in current policies and truths in the journalism and newsrooms, and that in the fear of critique from colleagues, individual journalists may restrain themselves from questioning existing viewpoints. As I mentioned in Chapter 5, both journalists and the Sámi interviewees have a strong sense of invisible audiences, and for journalists, colleagues play a big role in building our professional identity. It is also of utmost importance to write clearly and with emphasis that it is the duty of

journalism to critically approach Indigenous people too. Part of our aim to objectivity is to suspect everything and everybody. So-called pedestalization, the putting of someone up on a pedestal, is one way of producing Otherness, and it serves no one. As I mentioned in Chapter 6, it was mentioned by several informants that overly positive attitudes towards the Sámi does not necessarily mean that the story is of a high quality. Crucial for the interviewees was that they are treated with respect, that the cultural distinctiveness and colonial history of the Sámi is recognized, and that the person is seen and perceived as a whole, not solely because of ethnicity.

I argue that in order to genuinely broaden our thinking, and our concepts of objectivity and journalism, especially regarding groups that are not in the majority and mainstream, we need to learn to listen. Our societies, democracies and politics are usually built around the importance of speaking and speeches, but for instance Dobson (2014, p. 20-21) emphasizes the importance of listening. He claims that listening is a tool for wielding power, and it is also an important agent for the creation of difference or recognition (Dobson 2014, p. 80). Speakers are dependent on listeners for communicative success:

> "Receptivity is […] an *activity* that brings previously unheard voices to our attention in the manner of disclosure rather than discovery. This is to say that the voices were already there, and it is simply a question of being open to the possibility of hearing them. Once the voices are present, listening still has an active role to play: 'it is *doing* [author's emphasis] something about a problem of misunderstanding or non-communication, creating a space for potential "hearing" across difference'. (Dobson 2014, p. 20-21, emphasis by Dobson, the last sentence cited from Bickmore and Kovalchuk 2012 by Dobson.)

Listening and hearing means recognition. As Dobson (2014, p. 25) argues, the politics of recognition is an important source of theoretical reflection on making visible the invisible. Listening has been in an important role in the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions in Canada, or for instance in Rwanda after the genocide or in South Africa after the Apartheid policy. Also in Sápmi there have been requests for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) that could heal the wounds of the residential schools and other assimilation polities. Already this – and the fact that many of my informants emphasized hopes for TRC in Sápmi – reveals the importance of the feeling of genuinely being heard.

Listening can be done in different ways, which of three are presented here. The first one is called 'compassionate listening' which can benefit both parties in a therapeutic way. The problem of this kind of listening, Dobson (2014, p. 64) claims, is that "the compassionate listener is in danger of undermining the preconditions for a meaningful dialogue." This is to say that dialogue presupposes two points of view, but this type of listener might turn two points of

view into one – that of the person to whom one is listening. In this case, dialogue is diminished to a monologue. The other problem is that listening implies nothing regarding taking an action as a consequence of what is heard. As Dobson notes, this might be a very good form in a therapeutic context, but in journalism this is not the ideal. Cataphatic listening is in on the other end of the scale. According to Dobson (2014, p. 67), "the cataphatic listener is not listening attentively to the speaker but is organizing what is said through categories imposed by the listener." This is to say that the listener is not listening properly, in the sense of allowing the speaker to speak for her / himself. Dobson cites Garrison who claims that "rigid cataphatic listening and thinking controlled by fixed categories, concepts and principles of identity lies at the core of all kinds of colonialism." Cataphatic listening is a tool of colonial domination in that the colonizing power can offer the appearance of listening, but in such a way as to reproduce relations of power rather than have them challenged.

In apopathic listening, the listener lays aside these aforementioned categories and is "still." Dobson (2014, p. 68, citing Michel and Wortham 2007, p. 89) points out that "if a listener reacts to another by immediately categorizing the experience and the information using pre-existing categories, it is impossible to learn something genuinely new." Apopathic listening also involves a temporary suspension of categories in order to make room for the speaker's authentic voice:

> "The listener then processes what has been heard, making sense of it in her / his own terms, perhaps corroborating her / his understanding through asking questions for clarification – and all this before making her / his own interventions. […] We might refer to this as the 'co-creation' of meaning. The point is not to 'reproduce the other's meaning' […]; instead the listener is open to the meaning that are being developed between oneself and one's partner'. Through dialogue, meaning is always in the process of being developed, and listening is vital to the development of meaning. (Dobson 2014, p. 69.)

I claim that journalistic interviews are more often than not based on cataphatic listening, and this is due to several factors: journalistic genres and practices, expectations on behalf of the superior, consumers, and so forth. Reproducing relations of power, rather than having them challenged, is often the result of being in a hurry and not having time to scrutinize the task at hand. Problems of being in a hurry were present in my empirical material as well, and I know from my own experiences the feeling that often there is not enough time to really, genuinely meet and see the person you are interviewing. You already have a template for the story in your head, and you are waiting for the catchy quotes. I believe that most journalists do not enjoy these situations but, on the contrary, feel insufficiency and wish they could do their work better. I argue that apophatic listening would improve journalism, and I claim that as well as rethinking

objectivity and the whole concept of journalism, we are able to rethink and reconstruct our ways of listening.

Based on this empirical material, it is shown that there are shortcomings in Western journalism. Even if Western journalists and researchers aim to develop journalism, they still remain inside categories that should be redefined. This is to say that the very basics of journalism and journalistic practices should be scrutinized. As mentioned in Chapter 3.1, Schudson (2011, p. 7-26) defines journalism as "information and commentary on contemporary affairs taken to be publicly important" or "the sense making practice of modernity." I claim that this aforementioned "sense making practice" is still a restraint on Western modernity and on Western perspectives. My research implies that Western journalism is still incapable of acknowledging that people have different ontological backgrounds and these disparities have an impact on thinking, communication, and representations. Sense and modernity are defined and built by journalistic practices and principles, such as searching for conflicts and negativity, comparing extremities, emphasizing dualism, rationality and detachment. It excludes holistic worldviews, communities' internal traditions, norms and context-dependent collective knowledge. Even if it does not explicitly exclude these, it gives the impression of something Other, which usually means something strange and less valuable. The concept of objectivity and equality in journalism does not create equity: this is to say that treating everyone equally (see for instance Pietikäinen 2000b, p. 31), regardless of societal positions and ontological backgrounds, is maintaining inequity rather than creating equity. Journalistic criteria give publicity to people with status – and to people who share the same background with the journalists. This is what, for instance, feminist standpoint theory aims to question and to make visible: whose objectivity and equality are we talking about? For ethnic minorities and other vulnerable groups, criteria mean frequent negative publicity. Pietikäinen (2000b) alongside other researchers have already noticed this result, but what I am claiming here is that communication – encounters between journalists and interviewees – is of utmost importance in the change and renewal of journalism because in these encounters journalistic practices and hegemony are implemented. During this thesis process, I have given some presentations and I have had a chance to discuss my topic with journalist colleagues and academic teachers of journalism. I have learned that in Finnish university journalism programs, cultural diversity and majority and minority topics in general, have not been included in curricula. The consequence of this deficiency is that greater understanding does not get implemented into your journalistic practices. It is understandable that not everything can be taught in a short time of studying, but nevertheless it would be important to realize that there is not only one way to perceive the world and to practice journalism. All in

all, it is difficult, if not impossible, to see something that you do not already know exists. Western journalism's inability to understand issues more widely is part of the problem of creating Otherness.

Hanusch (see 2013, p. 2, 6-7) is pursuing the possibility to widen the principles of journalism in his definitions of Indigenous journalism, as he counts on empowerment, counter-narrative, language revitalization, a culturally appropriate environment and the watchdog function. Hanusch defines Indigenous journalism as the production and dissemination of information about contemporary affairs of general public interest and importance, by Indigenous peoples for the benefit of Indigenous people, but also for non-Indigenous communities. This definition acknowledges the differences in Indigenous communities, and that Indigenous journalism will likely differ depending on political, economic, and cultural circumstances. This is a step in the right direction, but still does not reach the core questions. As long as journalists decline to acknowledge other epistemes, they are doing their work partially. By forcing interviewees to represent their opinions and lifestyles according to someone else's "lens," on a stage that is set up for defending and explaining, we are narrowing down journalism. Interview situations are easily considered just a phase of collecting data before doing the story, when in fact they might be a reason for misunderstandings. Journalists have a power position, and when it is combined with journalistic practices and scarcity of time, it becomes arrogance. Regarding interviewees, especially interviewees from minorities or otherwise vulnerable groups, journalists should aim to widen perspectives of both the interaction and the journalistic story. In practice, this could mean being more open-minded, (apophatic) listening, and rethinking of the interview situations, also remembering the dominance of journalism and the journalist, and acknowledging journalistic practices' consequences, and asking: Am I really trying to understand from where this perspective or opinion evolves? Mutual respect creates better journalism.

7.3 Recommendations

In this research project, Finnish journalists have been given both compliments and accusations. One reason for the resentment among Sámi interviewees is their lack of knowledge. This could be improved relatively easily by sharing information. This could be implemented as visits to the media houses (for instance in a similar manner, such as the Sámi Pathfinders / Ofelaš program in comprehensive schools in Norway and Finland, link is provided in my sources) or as journalists' visits to the Sámi Parliament in Inari, Finland. This kind of informal encounter would probably raise general interest in Sámi issues, and thus add variety to Sámi related

journalism. On my own behalf, I will write about this research to our labor union's magazine (*Journalist*) and tell about my findings for journalists in media houses.

There is also a need for ethical guidelines regarding Sámi journalism. For instance, the humanitarian organization Red Cross (of Finland) has published a booklet that offers advice, vocabulary, and ethical principles regarding ethnic minorities, asylum seekers, the Roma, and so forth. Still, there is need for more profound guidance. As one of my informants said:

> "There could actually be some kind of ethical guidelines for journalism as well, that when one reports about ethnic and threatened minorities – because you don't have to speak specifically of Sámi people but other minorities as well, there are many who face very similar, very onesided communication. There could be a discussion and then some ethical guidelines and self-regulation without compromising objectivity and journalistic integrity. It would be more like a possibility to point out that, just a moment, did you remember this principle of hearing both sides? The rules cannot suddenly be different." (Informant 3)
>
> *"Vois oikeasti journalismissakin olla jotkin eettiset menettelyohjeet, että kun puhutaan etnisestä ja uhanalaisesta vähemmistöstä, ei tarvi puhua ees suoraan saamelaisista vaan on muitakin jotka kohtaa hyvin samanlaista, hyvin yksipuolista viestintää. Voitais puhua siitä ja luoda ohjenuoria tai itsesääntelynä myöskin, että mitkä on tämmösiä, että ilman että tarvii sitä objektiivisuutta ja journalistista rehellisyyttään mitenkään uhrata, mutta että huomauttaa että hetkinen, ootko muistanu tämän samanaikaisen kuulemisen periaatteen? Että tää koskee myös saamelaisia, tää koskee myös mustalaisia. Että niinku yhtäkkiä ne säännöt ei voi olla erit." (Informant 3)*

There has been a lot of discussion about using the Sámi culture in tourism and in the film industry, and as a result there are now ethical guidelines for the tourism industry (by Sámi Parliament and the marketing and communication company House of Lapland.) In addition, in Norway's Sámi Parliament there is starting a project to create ethical guidelines for filmmakers. These kinds of guidelines have been produced for instance in Australia, where the Federal Government Agency *Screen Australia* has published a guide for all filmmakers working with Indigenous content and communities. Journalists also already have some ethical and practical guidelines regarding Indigenous issues. A Canadian reporter and a teacher of journalism Duncan McCue has founded a webportal *Reporting in Indigenous Communities* (riic.ca) for journalists working in the Indigenous communities in Canada, but a lot of advice is applicable for many Indigenous groups. Webpage guides from the desk work and planning the field work, and publishing. Nevertheless, I claim that there is a need for a distinct guide for Finnish journalists.

In the field of academic research, this research could offer a foundation for the survey directed for Finnish journalists about their thoughts on the Sámi and Sámi related journalism. Later, integrating these two research projects could give coherent tools to improve communication and Sámi related journalism. It might also be interesting to compare Sámi

interviewees' experiences with other Indigenous groups, for instance Maori in Aotearoa (New Zealand), First Nations in the North America or Aboriginals in Australia.

It is not just Sámi issues that need our attention and scrutinizing of our practices. All minorities and all Indigenous groups around the world need to be on Western journalists' agenda, and we should let them teach us ways to perceive, see, and hear about their lives. Journalists want to make sense of reality, and in order to do that, it is our duty to familiarize ourselves with these multiple and changing realities.

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