



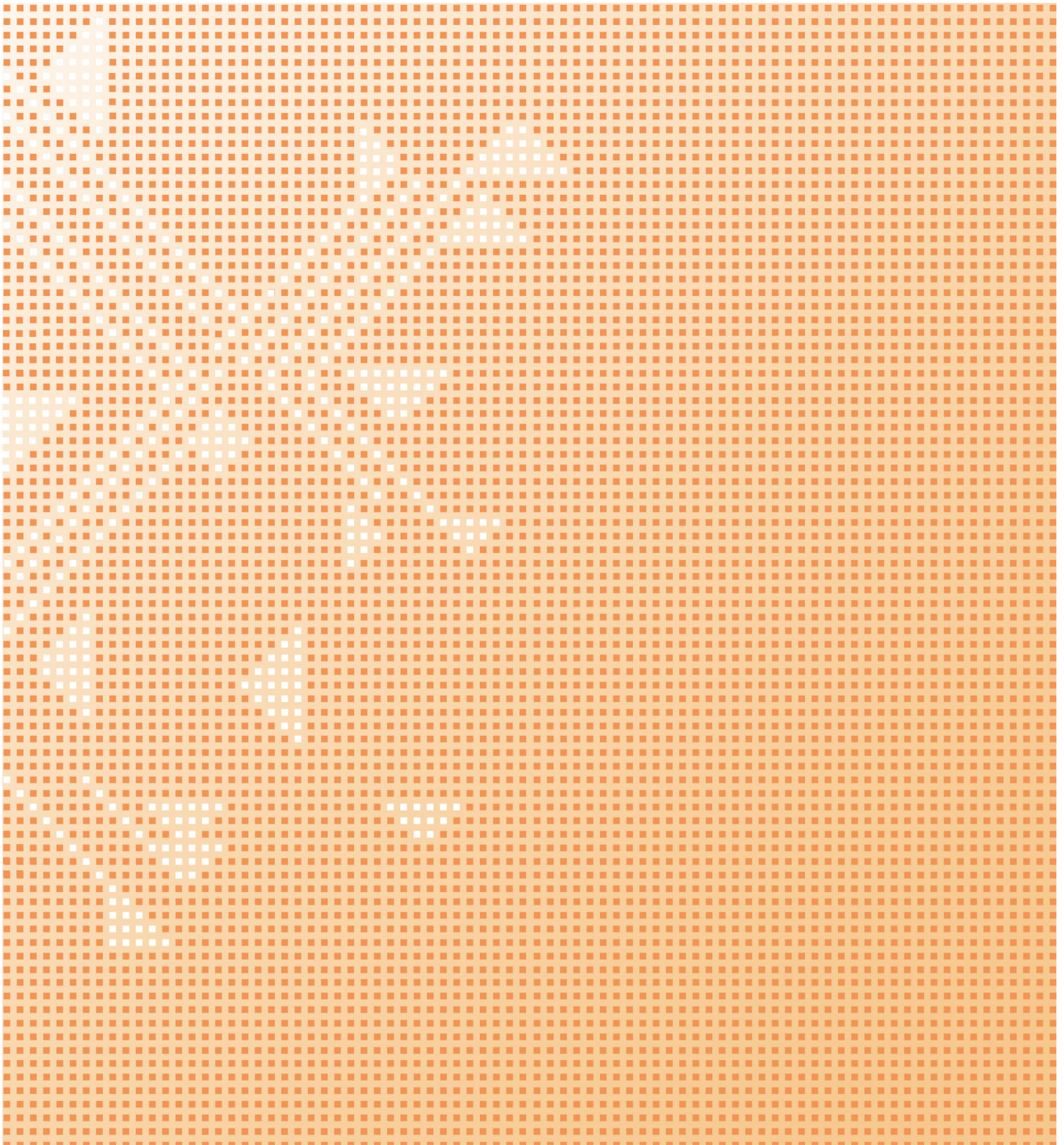
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Negative discourse in social medias

An analysis of hate speech in the Saami context

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Abstract

There has been a growth of hate speech on social media in general, and this issue requires further research. This paper aims to deconstruct some of the hate speech mechanisms on social media in the context of Norway and the Saami people.

There is insufficient research about negative discourse and dehumanizing attitudes in the online media sphere, this paper aims to fill some of that gap. Using social science, socio-historical perspectives and critical discourse analysis, this paper seeks to reveal some possible causes for anti-Saami discourse.

With this thesis I aim to identify some of the aspects of racial prejudice and negative discourse that is occurring in the social media. I wish to give some insight into how historical events and national ideology can be the trigger for the majority population regarding Saami autonomy and self-determination.

Čoahkkáigeassu

Vaššás giella leat lassánan sosiála mediain, ja dán fáttás lea dárbu guorahallamii. Dat čáluš áiggoše čilget muhtun mekanismmaid vaššás gielas sosiála mediain, Norgga ja Sámiid konteavsttas.

Dat lea unnán dutkamuš negatiiva ja olmmošmeahtun láhttenvugiid birra neahtas ja dán čálloša mihttu lea gokčat muhtun osiid váilevašvuodas. Dán dutkanbáhpiris lea geavahuvvon sosiála dieđa, sosio-historjjálaš geahčastagat ja kritihkalaš gulahallananalyša čoavddidettiin man dihte anti-sápmelaš cealkámušat gevvet.

Dáinna dutkosiin mun áiggošin identifiseret muhtun aspeavttaid vealaheamis, ovdagáttuin ja negatiiva gulahallamis mii lea sosiála mediain. Mun áiggošin addit ipmárdusa movt historjjálaš dáhpáhusat ja nationála ideologiija sáhtta dagahit majoritehta álbmoga reakšuvnnaid, go lea hupmu Sámi iešmearrideami birra.

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This process would not possible without you, Charlie! Your knowledge, your wisdom, your tolerance and understanding is special! I am with my heart in my throat and tears in my eyes writing this part, knowing that our job together is coming to an end! You are a fantastic person and teacher!

The first time you had a lecture for our class, I realized what level we operate in, and that I really had to read and prepare for classes...but that «lesson» I have kept with me for the two years of study, and that it definitively has helped me!

JOUMAS, you all know who belong to this group! Our class was a special combo, and that combo was meant to be! The students from Hawaii, Finland, Ecuador, Greenland and Sápmi, became a group, and you all know what I mean, when I say «in-group» ... Thanks for two lovely, funny and unforgettable years.

And of course, our dearest teachers that we have shared two years with; Torkel, thanks for you wise, calm and funny way of handling things. Livis, turbo charged women, thanks for the conversations, help and cheering's. Tom Moring, thanks for your positive and good lectures, you really are a special man. And of course, our dear Lia, thank you for your think tank skills, and saving us students many times in lectures... you clear things up..I really get you!

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Introduction

As a Saami¹ and a member of the Saami community, I have experienced many incidents of harassment over the years. From verbal assaults in real life encounters, to online hatred. What was not visible before is becoming visible, online platforms have given people all over the world a new way to communicate.

Social media have given people a new discourse platform: this «new» discourse platform gives voice to almost everybody. This voice I have witnessed being increasingly expressed, as the number of members on social platforms rise. The discourses online vary very much; as do the themes that are discussed. But what has become a problem on these new communication platforms, is online hatred and hurtful language. This is becoming a major problem in societies all over the world, and the Saami people are victims of these kinds of behaviours. After I started to work with this master's research project, the Saami people have made a Facebook group. «Dokumenter Samehets», translated to English, «Document harassment against the Saami's». There are currently 862 members.

The screen from the Facebook group:



The group describes its aim to be: «It may be time to start documenting and collecting the constant outcomes against our people. The idea is that you share links, taking screenshots of discussion fields where this is taking place. I have allowed myself to add some people here, but I understand if someone does not appreciate it. Invite more if you want to. What should we use this for? Well, say it may be important to collect and document this in itself, but it may also be

¹ The Saami are a Finno-Ugric people inhabiting Sápmi, which today encompasses large parts of Norway and Sweden, northern parts of Finland, and the Murmansk Oblast of Russia. There is no census for the Saami, but the population is estimated at between 80,000 and 100,000 people, spread over four countries with 20,000–40,000 in Sweden, 50,000–65,000 in Norway, 8,000 in Finland and 2,000 in Russia.(Link)

helpful to showcase the large extent eventually, in recorded editions, to open the eyes of people who think that it is only within our paranoid and narrow view.»²

This Facebook page gives me as a researcher a confirmation about this as a problem in Sápmi society. It was created by people who see this as a problem for the Saami society, and it confirms my feeling that this is a theme that should be researched. It also comes at a time when there is a ground-swell of concern internationally about the role of social media in the dissemination of antidemocratic and socially divisive content. Thus, this project addresses a specific issue within this wider concern about the unregulated expression of discriminatory content and disinformation across the multiple outlets of the new media.

It is also argued that there is currently little research about negative discourse on social media about Saami, and in generally about hate speech.

«There is very little research on hate speech in commercial social media platforms and next to none examining how the migration of newspapers online, for example, has created new opportunities for comment threads on migration or multiculturalism related news stories to be linked into racist networks»³

From time to time I see harassment, discrimination and covert discrimination. So, my research question arises from these online experiences. The ambition of this project is to illustrate the nature of this challenge in relation to hostility toward the Saami in these media; and to seek to explore what are the mechanisms behind the hate speech on Saami news cases?

Research question:

- 1: to identify the modes of expression of hostile comment and hate speech against Saami people; and to explore its discursive properties.
- 2: to examine the potential mechanisms behind this kind of behaviour utilizing relevant social science theory and research.

Theoretical context

Discourse is a focus of study in most of the humanities and social sciences, and discourse analysis is practiced in one way or another by anthropologists, communications scholars, linguists and sociologists, as well as rhetoricians. Discourse analysts set out to answer a variety of qu-

² Source: Print screen about the group written in Norwegian

³ Two reports about 'digital populism' <http://www.demos.co.uk/publications>

estions about language, about writers and speakers, and about sociocultural processes that surround and give rise to discourse, but all approach their tasks by paying close and systematic attention to particular texts and their contexts.

In the process I will also discuss methodological issues involved in collecting texts and systematically describing their contexts.

The use of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and discourse analysis will reveal the nature of the hate discourse that is found in the social media under investigation. Fairclough (2003, p.2) argues that in CDA there is two directions, a linguistic approach and a social science tradition. I will focus on the latter, this will provide a descriptive account of the dominant themes that emerge across this material and the specific issues which provide the focus for these tropes. It will also reveal something of the discursive styles which enable these hostile communicative acts.

Doing research on online hate speech can be challenging. The definition «hate speech» itself is not universal and has had changing meaning from place to place. Hate speech can permeate online spaces in many forms even if our society is trying to stop this. Even if hate speech is in many instances identifiable in ways in which it targets individuals, it is very difficult to define, and that can make this research topic challenging. Most of the earlier researchers in hate speech address the necessity of more research on this topic. Evidence-based academic research can provide a way to better understand what the real and perceived threats posed by hate speech are. This kind of research can also provide warning systems that allows governments to identify and detect potentially harmful trends earlier than before; and to set bench-mark methods that will facilitate a continuing programme of monitoring of this behaviour over time.

The debates on hateful speech can be seen as problematic, when looking at its frequent juxtaposition to debates on freedom of speech and other's right to expression. But these limitations in my opinion help the researcher addressing the problem, because the freedom of expression laws also specify that it must not be misused.

In framing the mediascape for hate speech, 2004 was the breakthrough year for what has become called web 2.0; that people can collaborate and share information online (Corneil 2007, p.252). YouTube, Facebook, MySpace and Twitter are part of Web 2.0 technology (Foxman and Wolf 2013, p.11). The development has created new possibilities for spreading knowledge and

information (Levold, Spilker and Sørensen 2007, p.268). At the same time, there has been a debate about regulation, which was sparked out of a fear of a loss of privacy, the facilitation of personal attacks, the extensive proliferation of pornography, and an extensive growth of personal defamation (Corneil 2007, p.255)

After the release of web 2.0, hate speech on social media started to become a significant problem. According to a survey report summary⁴ (2017) from the Norwegian equality and discrimination ministry, it says every 10th Facebook comment on Norwegian national broadcasters NRK and TV2 are considered hateful. Social media pages, such as Facebook and Twitter give everybody a voice. That voice can either be used positively or it can be misused.

In this thesis I will discuss theory that will frame the context of my research: namely, what is the mechanism when hate speech occurs on Facebook. In the following chapter I will try to exam how hate speech is defined; what does the literature say about the definition of hate speech. I will also touch upon the legislation of hate speech, where does hate speech exist in the law, how does national and international legislation interpret hate speech. Further I will address what social scientists have found about hate speech, what challenges they reveal and the theories they have developed.

The role of the social scientist

Since there are problems with addressing hate speech, with no universally acknowledged definition, how do social scientists approach their research? According to «understanding harmful speech online», there are two possibilities when it comes to researching hate speech (Farris, Ashar, Gasser, Joo, 2016 p. 8)

Researchers have a valuable role in better understanding the efficacy of different policies and approaches to address harmful speech. While there are many possible points of intervention, success stories are still few and far between. Options for addressing harmful speech can be divided into two strategies: those that aim to reduce the incidence of such speech and those meant to mitigate the impact where it does occur.⁵

In the study it is also mentioned that racist speech online is a part of a bigger problem, «*as it is embedded in a broader context and long history of discrimination.*» (Farris, Ashar, Gasser, Joo,

⁴ <http://www.ldo.no/nyheiter-og-fag/nyheiter/nyheiter-2017/hat-pa-nettskremmer-folk-fra-debatt/>

⁵ Farris, Robert, Ashar, Amar, Gasser, Urs, and Joo, Daisy. Understanding Harmful Speech Online (December 8, 2016). Networked Policy Series, Berkman

2016, p.11). This is certainly the case in Sápmi and in the chapter below on the social science of racial hatred the long heavy hand of history will be seen to be a significant element in the formation of the racisms that are expressed in the texts examined in this thesis.

In order to respond to the challenge of empirically addressing the analysis of hate speech in the social media in the light of the discussion of the problem of its definition, addressed in chapter two, it will be necessary to explicitly develop a sophisticated understanding of the nature of racisms and the dynamics underpinning their expression. Consequently, chapter three will provide a purposive review of the relevant literature. This will be essential in providing a theoretically informed analysis of the textual material that will be descriptively reviewed in chapter five; and then critically interpreted in chapter six.

Chapter two: Hate speech: defined and problematized

Definition(s) of hate speech

As noted above hate speech is a communicative act that may be experienced as unambiguously hostile and detrimental to your identity and self-regard; but it is at the same time somewhat elusive to define. It can be problematic to give an exact answer of what constitutes hate speech. The tolerance level of an individual's right to expression may vary much from country to country.

The dictionary defines it as:

«Speech that attacks, threatens, or insults a person or group on the basis of national origin, ethnicity, color, religion, gender, genderidentity, sexual orientation, or disability.»⁶

Some literature⁷ defines hate speech as a phenomenon that relies on tensions, which again seek to re-produce and increase hate. Such speech unites and divides at the same time. It creates «us» and «them».

Hate speech has no particular definition in international human rights either, «it is a term used to describe broad discourse that is extremely negative and constitutes a threat to social peace. Along with the development of new forms of media, online hate speech has been brought about.

Hate speech in the online space requires further reflection and action on the regulation and new ways for combating it.»⁸

There would seem to be a general consensus in earlier research, which defines hate speech in the same way as the Council of Europe, who defines it to cover all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin.

Expression that are motivated by, demonstrate or encourage hostility towards a group – or a person because of their membership of that group – are commonly referred to as «hate speech» (Preventing and responding to hate crimes, p.17)⁹

⁶ www.Dictionary.com/browse/hate-speech

⁷ <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/publications-and-communication-materials/publications/full-list/countering-online-hate-speech>

⁸ <https://www.coe.int/en/web/freedom-expression/hate-speech>

⁹ <http://www.osce.org/odihr>

It is easily demonstrable that the Council of Europe definition provided above is plausible; but remains widely open to interpretation. The extensive academic literature of racial discourse is itself a testimony to the necessity to go beyond the surface of spoken or written statements in order to reveal the sub-texts that they carry. Anti-Semitism for example is no easy thing to definitively demonstrate; as the arguments around whether critiques of the state of Israel are in themselves anti-Semitic illustrate. Note the current furore in the United Kingdom in relation to the Labour Party's attempt to formulate an agreed definition of anti-Semitism. Equally we may demonstrate how one person's legitimate nationalism may be someone else's xenophobia. The literature on the nature of racism that we shall discuss further below provides a cautionary body of evidence and argument for anyone who naively assumes that the key constructs in the Council of Europe definition, (racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance), are capable of unproblematic application across national and regional contexts. The experience of race awareness training and moves to promote diversity awareness in corporate and institutional life over the past four decades offers ample examples of the mismatch of experience of those who subjectively have perceived a statement to be hostile and those who feel aggrieved that their 'innocent' comment could have been so cruelly misconceived.

The literature on whiteness and the recent literature on aversive racism [see below] provide strong reason to believe that a significant proportion of race hate statements may not be intended to have that effect. Billig's (1995) 'banal nationalism' and Essed's (1991) 'understanding everyday racism' point the normative basis of many racist beliefs and utterances. Consequently, in developing my own analytic framework I will need to be alert to the potential existence of differing dynamics underlying apparently similar utterances; and may require a deliberate identification of differing political and attitudinal identities associated with specific social positions.

Policing social media against hate speech

Thus, it is no surprise that defining «hate speech» online is an imperfect art, as argued in the headline of a wired website, when reporting about hate speech struggles in social media. In that report they have some examples of how social media, such as Facebook and YouTube prevent hate speech, but have struggles.

«Shortly after a rally by white supremacists in Charlottesville, Virginia, led to the death of a counter-protestor, YouTube removed a video of U.S. soldiers blowing up a Nazi swastika in 1945. In place of the video, users saw a message saying it had been «removed for violating YouTube's policy on hate speech.»

Around the same time, an article from the neo-Nazi website Daily Stormer attacking Heather Heyer, the 32-year-old woman killed during the Charlottesville protest, was shared 65,000 times on Facebook before Facebook started deleting links to the post one day later for violating its community standards on hate speech. After that point, Facebook would only allow links to the post that included a caption denouncing the article or the publication, the company said»¹⁰

The importance and power of the social media as vehicles for the transmission and reproduction of race hatred is underscored by the arguments of Anat Ben-David and Ariadna Matamoros-Fernández.¹¹

«At the same time, the technological shaping of sociability can also be studied from a critical perspective, by which objects and their technological affordances have equal agency as human actors (Latour, 2005). For example, Facebook's features encourage people to «like» and «share» content, but its algorithms play an important role in the construction of sociability. Previous research has demonstrated that algorithms are far from being neutral and can discriminate (Datta, Tschantz, & Datta, 2015), support toxic cultures (Massanari, 2015), and enact a form of disciplinary power (Bucher, 2012).»

Facebook's uses an algorithm system called, EdgeRank, which tracks what users like and the links they click on, recommends similar information based on the user's prior interests. Such algorithmic logic creates what Pariser (2011) describes as a «filter bubble» to refer to the increasing personalization of the Web. One consequence of such algorithmic logic is that a user's racist behaviour on Facebook triggers recommendations of similar content from the platform.¹² Thus, we have every reason to see the relevance of research such as this, when it is apparent that social media may be closely involved in a social dynamic of providing a positive feed-back loop of communication that reinforces both the normative nature of racist utterances, and the social identities that they sustain.

Even if the social media companies have software programs that can detect hate speech, people have the ability to avoid them, and the task of defining hate speech and preventing it can be

10 <https://www.wired.com/story/defining-hate-speech-online-is-imperfect-art-asmuch-as-science/>

11 International Journal of Communication 10(2016), 1167–1193 1932– 8036/20160005 Hate Speech and Covert Discrimination on Social Media: Monitoring the Facebook Pages of Extreme-Right Political Parties in Spain (p.4)

12 Ben-David, Anat & Matamoros-Fernandez, Ariadna (2016) Hate speech and covert discrimination on social media. (eprints.qut.edu.au/101369/)

problematic with the use of automatic software. But if the social media companies don't fix the hate speech problem, they will be fined according to the EU. Last year (2016) Facebook, Twitter, Microsoft and Google, promised that they will do more, and they will try to review and remove hate speech content, flagged by users, within 24 hours.

Facebook, Twitter and other social media companies have been given an ultimatum by the European Union: rid your platforms of hate speech or face legal consequences.¹³

«The situation is not sustainable: in more than 28% of cases, it takes more than one week for online platforms to take down illegal content,» said Mariya Gabriel, the EU's top official in charge of the digital economy and society. The Commission said it will consider implementing new laws to tackle the problem if the online platforms fail to «take swift action over the coming months.»¹⁴

With some online platforms having argued that they are not publishers, but merely facilitators of discourse there has been an attempt to distant themselves from editorial responsibility: and hence legal liability. But this position has become increasingly subject to hash criticism.

Hate speech jurisdiction

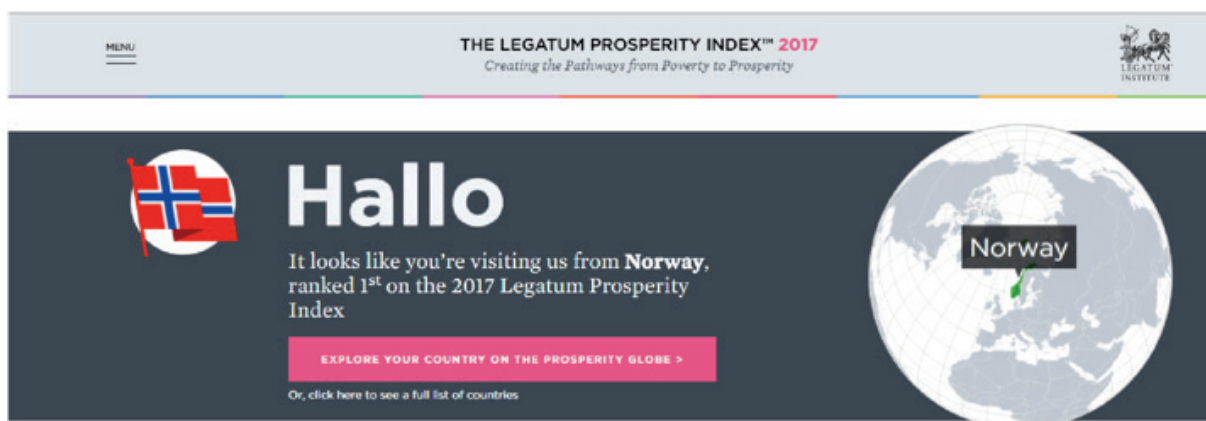


Fig. 1. Link: <https://www.prosperity.com/globe#NOR>

Norway is ranked as nr.1 in the Legatum prosperity index¹⁵ for 2017. The index ranks how much freedom individuals have within a country. The index measures freedom with factors such as; have people freedom to move, privately own property, security, freedom of expressing opinions and the right to a fair trial.

¹³ <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/google-facebook-twittereu-fines-extremist-material-jean-claude-juncker-a8534021.html>

¹⁴ www.money.cnn.com/2017/09/28/technology/hate-speech-facebook-twittereurope/index.html

¹⁵ www.prosperity.com/

As we have seen the term, hate speech, is not enshrined or defined in any international law, but there are laws that should prevent offensive and ugly language, even if people have freedom of expression: these would include the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) article 19 and 20, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination article 4 and 5.¹⁶

Also, the European Convention on Human Rights, freedom of expression, article 10, paragraph two, states;

*«The exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary.»*¹⁷

Most speech is permissible in Norway, and freedom of expression is a vital principle in Norwegian legislation. But this is not absolute. It is punishable to come with gross hateful or discriminatory statements against individuals. This is enshrined in section 185 of the Criminal Code, which thus limits absolute freedom of expression (Section 100 of the Norwegian Constitution)¹⁸.

In the Norwegian Penal Code, Chapter 20. Protecting public peace, order and security, section 185, a proscription against Hateful expressions is enshrined in the law, and one can risk up to three years in prison.¹⁹

«With a fine or imprisonment for up to 3 years, the person who is intentionally or grossly negligent publicly imposes a discriminatory or hateful speech. As an expression, use of symbols is also considered. Anyone who, in the presence of others intentionally or grossly negligently, imposes such an offense against anyone affected by it, cf. the second paragraph, shall be punished with a fine or imprisonment for up to 1 year. By discriminatory or hateful expression, it is meant to threaten or forgive someone, or promote hatred, per-

¹⁶ www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CERD.aspx

¹⁷ www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf

¹⁸ https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/1814-05-17-nn/KAPITTEL_5#§100

¹⁹ https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/2005-05-20-28/KAPITTEL_2-5#§186

secution or harmony with someone because of their; a) Skin-color or national or ethnic origin, b) religion or belief, c) gay orientation, or disability.

Even if there are laws that should prohibit hate speech, it does not stop people from doing it. The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) have different methodological approaches from place to place, and thus the empirical basis of the statements can vary. So, the statements don't necessarily have to be definitive answers, so one should have this in mind when reading reports from ECRI. The ECRI²⁰ report of Norway from 2009 states that there are harassment and hate speech against the Sami population. In their 2009 report, they state;

«ECRI noted some reported incidents of harassment of members of the Sami communities, although the situation seemed to be globally improving. Since then, cases of harassment of members of the Sami communities and hate speech targeting Sami on the Internet, have continued to be reported.»

The newest ECRI report on Norway from 2015, point out that the Saami people still struggle with hate speech and discrimination.

«ECRI has been informed that the Sami continue to suffer from stereotypes: e.g. jokes implying that they are primitive persons, not able to speak proper Norwegian. ECRI encourages the Norwegian authorities to continue promoting equality for and combat discrimination against «national minorities» and indigenous people. Moreover, the LDO should actively involve these groups representatives in the efforts s/he in making to achieve these goals.»²¹

Finland prohibits discrimination, and if the hate speech is taken to mean an ethnic agitation, then it is illegal, and it is defined in the section 11 of the Finnish penal code.²² Denmark also forbids hate speech with the Penal Code (straffeloven) 266 b, section 27, also called racism paragraph in Denmark.^{23 24}

20 ECRI examines the situation concerning manifestations of racism and intolerance in each of the Council of Europe member states. ECRI's findings, along with recommendations as to how each country might deal with the problems identified, are published in country reports. (www.coe.int)

21 <https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/Country-by-country/Norway/NOR->

22 <https://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/kaannokset/1889/en18890039.pdf>

23 www.retsinformation.dk/forms/R0710.aspx?id=192080#idf6fe7c63-2eeb-

24 da-9f31-74a40da805be

In Sweden they have legislation under criminal code, which state the following: «*Chapter 24 Section 2: In assessing penal value and circumstances tending to aggravate the offence, in addition to the provisions prescribed for each individual type of offence, special consideration shall be given to whether:*

(7) a motive of the offence was to insult a person, an ethnic group or another such group of people by reason of their race, skin colour, national or ethnic origin, creed, sexual orientation or other circumstance»²⁵

It can be seen from the review above that whilst there may be some intrinsic difficulties in establishing a universal and unproblematic definition of hate speech, particularly because of the contextual and dialogic nature of discourse, there is nevertheless a broad consensus that there is no absolute right to freedom of expression. Indeed on the contrary the Nordic States have extant legislation which explicitly outlaws hate speech. Thus it is within this context that this research will begin to address the current challenge of hate speech against the Saami in social media.

²⁵ <https://www.legislationline.org/documents/id/15766>

Chapter three: Prejudice, racism and discourse

In this section I will discuss the theoretical framework and concepts that the social sciences have to offer in order to inform our understanding of prejudice, racism and discourse. I want to lay down the aspects of social media, that I consider important when researching the topic of social media and discourse. To understand why something is happening, one must use social science concepts and theories in order to go beyond mere description of a phenomenon.

Social scientific accounts of prejudice

To understand the mechanism of social media comments on the Saami, I consider it to be important to develop a discussion about social science theories and concepts around the theme of prejudice and how this occurs in our daily lives.

Prejudice is defined as negative attitudes that some people hold against others. Stereotypes are also considered as connected to prejudice. With stereotypes we have beliefs about other people, e.g. the Saami people are drunk, lazy and hustling the Norwegian government. Therefore, I shall seek to sketch out what social science has to say about the nature of prejudice.

«When we reduce racism and racial discrimination against ethnic minorities to prejudice we are inevitably led to the analysis of the prejudiced person, since they are the 'problem'. Hence the policies which flow from this approach peripheralise the role of the institutions of the state and the routine discriminatory practices which are to be found in professions and other social institutions. Where the racism is extreme then these manifestations of this abnormal prejudice are likely on past evidence to be seen as the being part of the «unlovely 10 per cent» of extremely prejudiced individuals that are to be found in virtually all attitude studies. As extremists they are by definition a minority and are consequently often regarded as the inevitable emotional casualties of contemporary society. The policy implications of this analysis is that they should be contained and isolated as attitudinally rabid.» Husband (1991, pp.50-51)

A fruitful place to start an enquiry into the basis of prejudice is with the social identity theory of Henri Tajfel (1979). A person's sense of group membership is considered to be their social identity. For Tajfel social categorisation provides the basis providing the criterial attributes that distinguish in-group from out-group. On the basis of inter-group comparison, a social group

gives a feeling of belonging to a person; that again gives that person an identity in the world, which is an essential factor for self-esteem and satisfaction in personal life.

Tajfel proposed that to increase self-esteem and satisfaction, we tend to emphasise the virtues of the group we belong to. Eg. Saami`s are the best to survive in the nature, or Norwegians are the fastest on skis. What also may happen is that you can start to have prejudiced thoughts and discriminate against the «other» group. When this mechanism is happening, we divide the society or groups into «us» and «them». With intergroup comparison there is a tendency to emphasise the difference between members of the in-group from members of the out-group on the critical variables that mark the boundary between the two, the contrast effect: and to emphasise the similarity of in-group members; the assimilation effect.

Social identity theory hypothesises that member of the «us» group try to find unfavourable differences that is beneficial for own self-esteem and selfimage. Since its original conception the extensive body of research on social identity theory has done much to illuminate our understanding of the conditions under which such cognitive group enhancement may take place (Abrams and Hogg,1999). One variable relates to the saliency of group identity at any specific moment. Clearly if one`s group identity has a sensitive status in social relations then there is likely to be heightened concern about the conformity of in-group peers and the exclusion of ‘alien’ non-members. The contemporary situation in Western Europe and elsewhere where the social consequence of neo-liberal policies has created major strains in the internal relations of national identity, and a consequent populist hostility to immigrants, has developed a widespread concern with policing national identity and national borders. The growth of the far right across Europe and in North America marks a very particular context for the current climate in which anti-Saami sentiments are expressed. Social identity theory provides a body of insight into the social conditions under which hate speech may develop. As Reicher (2004) pointed out; although social identity theory pivots around social psychological processes, it remains a social theory in its concern with the societal conditions under which particular psychological processes may be activated and find legitimacy.

A complementary body of work has focused upon studies about prejudice and characteristics of individual personalities which may correlate with strong prejudice. (see Dovidio et al, 2005) And therefore, I consider it worth discussing the potential role of individual personality as a variable in the analysis of hate comments against the Saami on Facebook. Gordon Allport (1954) outlined a model of the prejudiced personality which he called the authoritarian person-

ality. This is a person who cannot deal with their own inner conflicts, insecurity, and fearfulness, or with uncertainty, threat and change in the external world. Allport argues that these inner conflicts resulted in seven traits of the authoritarian personality. These seven are:

- 1 Emotional ambivalence
- 2 Moralism and rigid conventionality that was accompanied by a punitive attitude toward anything deviant or unconventional
- 3 Dichotomization, a tendency to categorize the world into rigid and simplistic dichotomies of good /bad, right /wrong/us /them.
- 4 A need for definiteness, structure and order and an intolerance of ambiguity.
- 5 Externalisation_ a preference for explaining behaviour in terms of external forces rather than subjective, psychological processes
- 6 Institutionalization – a tendency to seek order and security through commitment to organized and institutional structures and groups; which provide a basis for clear roles, and norms. E.g. the nation.
- 7 Authoritarianism – a need for strong authority and leaders who would impose order and discipline. (Duckitt, 2005, Personality and Prejudice p.403)

These authoritarian traits provide pointers to how individual aspects of a person's psychology may predispose them toward adopting prejudiced beliefs and behaviours. The precise targets and the nature of these outgroup sentiments would themselves have to be accounted for in terms of the social context within which this individual found themselves. (see Duckitt, 2005 for a useful review) However we must note that people who are not authoritarian are perfectly capable of holding prejudiced views.

Adorno et al (1950) again argued that: «experience of punitive authority in early childhood becomes the source for inner conflict and the necessary emergence of defence mechanism.»

This theory is though disconfirmed by Altmeyer and other scholars (Duckitt, 2005, Personality and prejudice), and it is agreed by many researchers that social influence in one's life is more crucial than harsh parenting in childhood.

Allport in his seminal text on prejudice also pointed to the central role of stereotypes in the formation of prejudiced belief and behaviour. As a socially constructed taken for granted knowledge stereotypes are always deeply embedded in a specific historical and current context.

«With respect to individual differences, there is consistent evidence that people higher in prejudice are more likely to apply stereotypes in their judgments of others.» (Kawakami, 2002, *Disinhibition of stereotyping: context, prejudice, and target characteristics* p.518)

It is also argued (Kawakami, 2002, p.518) that if individuals have been exposed to normative racial condemnation within their social environment, they were more likely to express negative racial attitudes. Thus, in the context of this research it seems reasonable to consider that the people who express hate on social media may themselves have been exposed to much hatred and negative speech against the Saami population; which would point us back to the long history of negative stereotyping and discrimination against the Saami within the Nordic States; which we address more fully below.

When someone racially categorizes people into distinct groups based on physical features, like face type, skin, body, hair or how the eyes look, then it is reflecting on the ease with which people can racially categorize groups or individuals. This can also be called *race thinking*. (Barzun, 1965). The literature on the incorporation of racial categorization into everyday thought and expression is consistent in emphasising the long historical trajectory of inter-group relations that have shaped the development of the categories and their associated stereotypes.

The literature on aversive racism (Dovidio, 2005) has demonstrated that some people with racial prejudice know what expressions are appropriate in what contexts, and can hide some of their prejudices and racist behaviour and expressions. This suppressed racism may contribute to the normative acceptance of racist behaviour that can underpin institutional racism.

For example, Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, and Vaughn (1994) found that participants who heard someone condone racism expressed more negative racial attitudes, both publicly and privately, than participants who were not exposed to these comments.²⁶ Additionally, in the study by Monteith et al. (1998) people high or low in prejudice toward gay people were instructed to suppress their stereotypes or were given no specific instructions to control their stereotypes. When the explicit application of stereotypes in a written passage was measured, low prejudiced people showed no significant evidence of stereotyping regardless of instructions. High prejudiced people, in contrast, were more likely to show stereotyped responses, and particularly so when they were not instructed to suppress their stereotypes. These findings suggest that, because highly prejudiced people have personal standards that are discrepant (Con-

²⁶ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/232495315_Condemning_and_Condoning_Racism_A_Social_Context_Approach_to_Interracial_Settings

flicting) with dominant social norms, their expression of stereotyping may be more sensitive to social contexts than those of low prejudiced people. (Kawakami, 2002, Disinhibition of stereotyping: context, prejudice, and target characteristics)

Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan and Stephan, 1996; Stephan et al, 1999) provides a particularly fruitful theory that draws together some of the social and personal dynamics that contribute to out-group hostility and prejudice by drawing on the distinctions between realistic threat, symbolic threat, stereotypes and intergroup anxiety. Inter-group anxiety refers to a personal anticipation of loss of control and of possible personal embarrassment when faced with an inter-cultural exchange. It may then be a reasonable personal anxiety when contemplating unfamiliar ethnic diversity. However, when such personal anxiety results in avoidance of contact because of the anticipated loss of face, it becomes self-perpetuating. The existence of prior stereotypes about the strange 'other' feeds this anxiety, and provides post hoc justification for any avoidance action taken. It is 'their strangeness' which has made this avoidance behaviour both necessary and appropriate. Realistic threat and symbolic threat, however, are experienced as an inter-group phenomenon, where the heightened sensibilities of inter-group competition can play a specific, and amplificatory role (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Abrams and Hogg, 1999). Realistic threat is comparable to Halliday's (1996) 'strategic anti-Muslimism' in being associated with economic, political and physical concerns. Symbolic threat, on the other hand, is comparable to Halliday's 'populist anti-Muslimism', being focused upon a concern with the in-group's cultural and moral integrity. The benefits of employing integrated threat theory, and other social psychological models, is that they can provide invaluable insights into the psychological dynamics that may underpin specific forms of prejudice. This perspective on revealing the underlying dynamics of specific modes of prejudice will be employed in the analysis of the data in Chapter 5 below.

Racism and discrimination

«As a way of categorizing people, race is based upon a delusion because popular ideas about racial classification lack scientific validity and are moulded by political pressures rather than by the evidence from biology» (Banton and Harwood 1975, p.8)

It is recognized that racism is embedded in the historical processes of oppression. Norwegian, Swedish, Spanish and English history for example, can be seen to provide accurate examples of the historical dehumanization of minority groups. It is one of the tasks of social analysis to reveal how this pattern of historical belief and practice is reflected in contemporary life. There are

many theories about race and how to interpret racism. Essed (1991) formulates a theory of race and racism which requires that one must consider and understand both micro and macro issues; and in the structural practices in governmental agencies and other agencies. On the consideration of the term 'Race', Essed, refers to it as both an ideological and a social construction

There are a lot of different types of racism, but it is commonly acknowledged that racism is embedded in a historical process. So let me sketch out the racism «categories» or practices that would be accurate to mention in the context of this research. One should be aware that within the term racism there may quite different elements.

As for example:

Institutional racism

Symbolic racism

Aversive racism

Even if the emergence of scientific racism did not necessarily create new race categories, in the context of biological racism, it did justify the stereotypes or beliefs currently extant from a new ideological basis.

Institutional racism

In the last decade an alternative conceptualization of racism has received increased analysis in academic life, and has had an impact upon policy formulation. «*The concept of institutional racism is essentially a sociological view of racism which focuses upon social structures and institutional practices, rather than personal psychologies. In particular it focuses not upon the intentional acts of individuals but rather upon systemic outcomes of institutional systems and routine practices. (Williams 1985). This shift from intent to outcomes has very considerable policy implications. Specifically, it leads to the unhappy consequences that nice people can be accused of being culpable of participating in generating racist outcomes. Institutional racism occurs wherever individuals, in carrying out the routine practices of their employment or institution, produce outcomes, which in their effect, discriminate against members of ethnic minority populations. This form of discrimination is much more insidious than that which may be attributable to prejudice, and requires much more extensive initiatives in monitoring, training and institutional change if it is to be countered.*» (Husband, 1991 p.53)

Within the processes of institutional racism:

The nice guy can be racist without knowing he is. He can be racist via the consequence of decisions in the work sphere, that result in a racial outcome.

Power lies in the culture of the institutions where:

the rules and norms of the institution typically express the values and interests of the dominant group:

Where: linguistic style and interpersonal communication routines may betray someone as an outsider.

Where the established routines and managerial structures of a workplace or social grouping may have normalised the deference expected of 'outsiders'.

Thus, the essence of institutional racism is the manner in which discriminatory behaviours are embedded as 'normal' in the everyday context of routine interaction. Of course, existing stereotypes and racist sentiments have a role to play in making this discriminatory situation unremarkable.

Symbolic Racism

«The concept of symbolic racism has evolved over time with accumulated evidence. In recent years, it has been conceptualized and measured in terms of four themes;

- a a denial of discrimination
- b criticism of Blacks' work ethic
- c Resentment of Black's demands
- d Resentment of unfair advantages given to Blacks by the broader society (Henry and Sears, 2002)

Typical items include: «*If Blacks would only try harder, they could be as well off as whites*». These are usually interpreted as sincere beliefs rather than as efforts to cloak underlying prejudice. Empirical evidence confirms that these four themes together form a logically, psychologically, and statistically coherent belief system. (Tarman and Sears). (Although it should be noted that this model is developed in relation to the situation in the United States of America).

Symbolic racism is quite different from old fashioned racism, which now receives far less support than in the past and whose political effects are dwarfed by those of symbolic racism. (Sears, van Lar, Carrillo and Kostermann, 1997).

Symbolic racism is rooted in racial affect and individualistic values, which contribute to it both additively and through perceptions of Blacks that merge the two.» (Sears , 2005, p349) Symbolic racism has a lot in common with the MUD philosophy outlined by Levitas (2005) and with the Anti-Muslimism of Phillips (2006) who argues extensively about the ‘Victim Culture’ of Muslims in Britain. It is clearly a coherent cognitive schema in which the ‘legitimate’ outrage at the perceived inferiority of the American Blacks leaves intact the moral virtue of those who express these views. Their resentment is seen as a ‘legitimate’ expression of the observers outrage at the extent to which the Blacks fail to engage with the normative work ethic; and with the American conception of individualism within the enterprise culture.

For our study here, the concept of symbolic racism is valuable in showing how in a specific society dominant cultural values can be made into salient intergroup criterial attributes, against which outgroups can be found wanting. And importantly there can be a powerful internal logic which fuels this process.

Aversive racism:

«Recent research on implicit social cognition suggests that Whites may be truly unaware of their biased racial feelings, which may be inconsistent with their sincere, conscious, and publicly expressed beliefs. The distinction in cognitive psychology between largely conscious, voluntary deliberate «controlled processing» and largely nonconscious, involuntary, «automatic processing» has been extended to explicit prejudice, measured with traditional direct questions and implicit prejudice., measured indirectly (e.g. using response latency measures.» Sears (2005, p.347).

Importantly in terms of our argument above, it is also the case that aversive racism points out that:

Whereas modern and symbolic racism characterize the attitudes of political conservatives, aversive racism characterizes the biases of those who are politically liberal and openly endorse non-prejudiced views, but whose unconscious negative feelings and beliefs get expressed in subtle, indirect, and often rationalizable ways. (Dovidio and Gaertner, 2004).

Aversive racists are characterized as having egalitarian conscious, or explicit, attitudes but negative unconscious, or implicit, racial attitudes. (Dovidio and Gaertner, 2004). Explicit attitudes operate in a conscious mode and are exemplified by traditional self-report measures. Implicit

attitudes, in contrast, are evaluations or beliefs that are activated by the mere presence (actual or symbolic) of the attitude object and often reside outside of awareness. In terms of our exploration here the implication of aversive racism is that people may be subtly attuned to the norms of tolerance and polite speech; and be able to operate in discursive modes that mask their underlying prejudice and racism. Indeed, they may well perceive themselves as being tolerant and liberal members of society.

In sum, the research literature reviewed above demonstrates something of the complexity and subtlety of racism. Whilst there may be personal biographic factors that predispose a person to finding racist belief meaningful in their lives; it is also clear that there are strong societal factors that must be taken into account in any analysis of racial discrimination. Consequently, in our analysis below we will find it necessary to reflect this complexity.

Chapter Four: The distinctive history and nature of anti-Saami policies in Norway

The Development of the State Recognition of the Distinctive Rights of the Saami

An awareness of the specific history of how the Norwegian nation was built will be an essential tool in understanding where the underlying prejudice against Saami arise from. I want to outline the specific history that might be the grounding for the prejudiced thoughts that are reflected in today's society in Norway against the Saami population. Norwegian nation building in the context of the Saami population I consider to be essential to the analysis of the research questions in this thesis.

We have to look at the history of the Norwegian state to understand how national feeling has developed and on what basis is the nation built. Also, we should note the historical politics in the context of the Saami population, and how they have changed over the time.

In the period of 1631-1751 inner-Finmark was under two countries, Swedish worldly jurisdiction and Danish-Norwegian taxation. Norway was a under Denmark, or what was called Denmark-Norway. The capital at that time was Copenhagen, and the Norwegian and the Saami people payed their taxes to the capital. The Danish government did not make any difference between the Saami's and the Norwegian, they both payed the taxes according to their livelihood.

But the changes in the inter-nation relations had implications for the Saami's position in the society, and made more evident Saami's existence and their legal rights. When the war between Sweden and Danish-Norway ended and the borders as we know today, the boundary treaty²⁷, was signed a section on the Saami people was also taken into consideration. The Lappcodicil²⁸ of 1751, was established to preserve the «Lappish Nation» or Saami nation. That was signed to protect the Saami's right to move over borders with their reindeer-herds, but also to make them decide what state they were supposed to pay taxes to, but at the same time protect the Saami from the negative effects these new borders might have.

One can interpret from this history that Saami peoples' right was taken into consideration when the borders came into being, and the states were clear that the Saami people should have some

²⁷ <https://www.arkivverket.no/utforsk-arkivene/norges-dokumentarv/utvalg-fragreensearkiv-ca.1750>

²⁸ <https://snl.no/Lappekodisillen>

rights; but at the same time the nomadic life of Saami people might have been difficult when placed in the context of western jurisdiction and understanding of the land ownership and usage questions.

To make the history of the Norwegian government's political shift or paradigms in history, I consider it helpful to make it clear with a table of dates and policy events in Norway in relation to the Saami population.

Below I will present political historical happenings in Norway in the context of Saami's experience. This I want to present with two tables. the period from 1751 until 1869. These will include date, government politics, Saami status in Norway and result of the governmental politics.

Tablet 1: 1751–1852

Year	Government politics	Saami's status	Results of politics
1751	Lappcodicil: Finland, Sweden Norway. To preserve the "Lappish nation"	States where taking Saami livelihood seriously. Protection with laws and taken in consideration in land questions.	Scandinavian politics made an agreement about Saami's rights thru Lappcodicil.
1814	Norway became independent from Denmark. Became a part of Sweden-Norway.		
1848	Parliamentary bill states that Finnmark is owned by the king or the state since ancient times. Parliament ask if it was not more appropriate to have Norwegian language in schools.	Education language was Saami and so was the gospel. Sami labelled as nomads whit livelihood that could not constitute ownership of land.	Norwegianization politics starting to emerge. King or State was legal owner of Finnmark.
1852	Convention of 1751, seasonal reindeer crossing of the border between Finland and Norway was abandoned by Norway.	Saami status declining. Splitting reindeer herders' traditional nomadic path with borders.	Saami interest was not taken into consideration and was not important.

Tablet 1: 1859–1889

Year	Government politics	Saami`s status	Results of politics
1859	Norway refused to accept Finnish proposal to assign the northernmost part of Finland to Norway. The Finnish proposal was to ensure the Saami`s more favourable livelihood conditions. (One of the main reasons Norway declined the offer from Finland, was the already gained control over the reindeer herders)	Saami`s right and respect declining. State has more control over the reindeer herders.	Norway gained control over the reindeer herding and that again gave better control over the colonization of Finnmark, and control over lands.
1860	Norway made a legal doctrine of the land owner proclamation from 1848, that the king owned Finnmark. The legal doctrine was made by professor Fredrik Brandt. Fear for Finnish invasion was big part of this political shift.	Dramatic change for Saami`s regarding land rights.	Saami`s officially lost the legal ownership of the inhabited land`s.
1863	The First land sales act for Finnmark was adopted by parliament.	Saami`s land right`s get weaker.	Hard for the Saami people to claim land.
1864	Doctrine was made that expressed clear that the Crown was the legal owner	Banned to buy land in Finnmark.	Sales of land for agricultural reasons was banned in Finnmark, especially Saami areas.
1867	Supreme court of Norway made a formal decision of the 1864 doctrine, and then Norwegian State was the owner of Finnmark	Lost their possibility to claim ownership of the land.	State was the owner of Finnmark.
1869	First of many organised attempts to colonise parts of Finnmark with people from southern part of Norway.	Unfavourable conditions contra the Norwegian people.	Colonisers got subsidies, land and good conditions to settle in Finnmark.
1889	School Instructions called “Wexelsen Decree” came in to action and the process to force Saami children to speak Norwegian.	Norgwegianization process start`s with school policies	Banned to use Saami language, it was forbidden to speak Saami

Note: Tablet 1 and 2 are made from Steinar Pedersen`s article, «Norwegian nationalism and Saami areas as no-man`s land» (2002), and Henry Minde, Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences (2005).

From the 1860's and onwards to beginning of 20`th century, (Minde, 2005) Norway and the parliament further tighten and activated the Norwegianization policies.

«One central instrument was an instruction issued by the Directors of Troms diocese in 1880 to teachers in the transitional districts. The instruction stated that all Sami and Kven children were to learn to speak, read and write Norwegian, while all previous clauses saying that the children were to learn their native tongue were repealed. Teachers who were unable to demonstrate good results in this linguistic decodification process or «change of language», as it was called, were not given a wage increase.» (Minde, p.13)

These instructions also recommended the teachers to control and watch so that the Saami language was not in use during breaks. By the beginning of the 20 century, Norwegianization was again increasing. In 1902 New land sales act came into play; only people who managed to talk Norwegian could buy land. Minority's got a prohibition on buying land, because of language, so the consequence was that the Saami's could not buy land, because they did not manage the Norwegian language, and it was not their daily language. Also, there were Saami who could speak Norwegian, but they had to change to Norwegian names and carry out language shift at home, and many also did this. At the same time, Norway was separating from the Swedish union, so the government had to make plans in a short time, and introduce new ways to get «real» Norwegians from the south to immigrate or colonize the northernmost parts of Norway. Also, at the same time there was a great fear of the Finnish occupation of the north. In 1905, Norway became a state, and was now making the decision by themselves. Now the policy changes dramatically in the context of Saami rights and the strong national policies start to emerge in the north.

Some of the measures (Minde, p.15) that the government made, were:

- Building boarding schools – Isolating the pupils from Saami culture
- Terminating courses in Saami and Finnish at Tromsø seminar
- Students with Saami background' scholarships abolished
- Authorities preferred Norwegian background teachers in Saami areas
- Teaching methods to most efficiently promote assimilation

The state was convinced that the people in the North would benefit from this process and that Norwegianization was a positive thing for the population, and a school county director stated; *«Norwegianization paves the way for development and progress even for these people» (Erik-*

sen and Niemi 1991,p.114) .With this attitude present in the state elites, then it was not a problem to justify and maintain the Norwegianization policies. Also, the Finnefondet²⁹ was increased considerably in this time of period, and had doubled in the years before world war 1. The intent of this budget increase was to promote the Norwegian boarding school initiative, they wanted to get a more efficient assimilation process. What is also notable on behalf the Norwegian government practice; the name changing of Finnefondet in 1921.

«The Ministry followed the advice, and from 1921 Finnefondet was camouflaged as a general tool: «Special grants for elementary schools in Finnmark's rural districts». Bjørg Larsson, who has studied how the money allocated over Finnefondet was spent, concludes that «grants for Finnefondet continued as before» (Minde, 2005, (Larsson 1989:31)

After the first world war, The Versailles peace treaty³⁰ was signed, Norway had only boarder to Finland, and they were still the centre of attention for the Norwegian government. After World War 1 the focus was still on the Norwegianization progress and in 1931 came `The Finnmark board`³¹. The board is argued (Minde, 2005) to mark the culmination of assimilation and Norwegianization policies. Assimilation and Norwegianization policies indeed had consequences for the Saami language and culture.

A chief inspector of the Norwegianization process stated:

«The Lapps have had neither the ability nor the will to use their language as written language. (...) The few individuals who are left of the original Lappish tribe are now so degenerated that there is little hope of any change for the better for them. They are hopeless and belong to Finnmark's most backward and wretched population, and provide the biggest contingent from these areas to our lunatic asylums and schools for the mentally retarded.» (Eriksen and Niemi 1980, p.258)

This was the attitude a high-ranking administrator had towards the population in north, and this statement reflects how the Saami`s situation was at the time, and this was active into the late 1960`s, even after the parliament scrapped the Norwegianization process. Some evidence of these happenings occurring in the late 1960`s is from Tor Edvin Dalh`s book report from 1970;

29 Finnefondet: Was one of the key instruments in the government's Norwegianization policy between 1852 and 1921. The fund was an additional grant on the state budget and financed a number of Norwegianization measures within the school community in Finnmark and Troms.

30 <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000002-0043.pdf>

31 Finnmarksnemden

«Then we had to make sure the children never spoke Sami or Finnish, we had been told by the headmaster that they were not allowed to speak their native language, not even during breaks or after school hours. Norwegian was to be spoken, and no discussion about it.» (Minde, 2005)

From around 1970`s Saami activism starts to emerge and also in the end of the 1970`s the Alta conflict³², caused demonstrations by the river, the parliament, hunger strikes and a lot of attention worldwide. This was not good for the reputation for Norway and the welfare state, but despite massive protests, in 1982 the Norwegian court ruled that the state/government had the right to construct the Alta dam and power station, and the whole project was completed in 1987. Perverse-ly, in 1987 the Saami were officially recognized as a distinct peoplegroup in Norway. This is considered as a beginning of a positive period (Ole Henrik Magga, (2002) *The Sami Parliament, fulfilment of self-determination, in conflict and cooperation in the North*) for the Saami people, but the positive period did not last forever, and already in the 90`s there were some signs of resistance. In 1989 Norway ratified ILO convention 169. Rasmussen (*«Go ealáska, de lea váttis dápmat»*, 2013) and others also states that the period after 1990 is the revitalization period, and there were a lot of positive efforts in favour of Saami language, culture and livelihood.

And the basis for better politics for the Saami`s is considered to develop after this period of time. In 2005 the Finnmark act³³ came into play, and the management and the ownership of the lands were transferred to them. *«The Finnmark act 2005, a land code for Finnmark County, has initiated an ongoing process of surveying and recognizing existing rights of use and ownership in Finnmark on areas previously considered to be state-owned.» (Ravna, Øyvind, 2011)*

These historical events mentioned here, are likely to be a significant element in the explanation of why prejudice towards the Saami people is currently occurring in social media.

The Nature of race and racism; and the historicity of anti-Saami sentiment

«As a way of categorizing people, race is based upon a delusion because popular ideas about racial classification lack scientific validity and are moulded by political pressures rather than by the evidence from biology» (Banton and Harwood (1975)

³² Alta conflict: refers to a series of massive protests in Norway in the late 1970s and early 1980s concerning the construction of a hydroelectric power plant in the Alta river in Northern Norway.

³³ Finnmark Act - The purpose of the Act is to facilitate the management of land and natural resources in the county of Finnmark in a balanced and ecologically sustainable manner for the benefit of the residents of the county and particularly as a basis for Saami culture, reindeer husbandry, use of non-cultivated areas, commercial activity and social life.

The word «raza» first came to use in Spain and Italy in the 12th century, but it was not regularly used before fifteen hundred. (Skorgen, Torgeir 2002, Rasenes Oppfinnelse p.24)

One account of the development of race thinking is drawn from the biblical authority of Christianity and the Old Testament. It is told that Noah`s three sons are the ancestors of all the people on earth. Where Noah`s son Ham and his descendants are cursed with black skin and slavery. This story might be a central part of the justification of racism through Christianity. Black people were justified as slaves according to the Abrahamic biblical text interpretations, and also academics interprets it like this;

«Among the followers of the Abrahamic religions, the Curse of Ham has arguably been the most widespread justification for condemning dark skinned peoples to slavery. Its purported proof-text is Genesis 9:18–27, the story of the responses of the sons of Noah to their father`s nakedness.» (Braude, 2011, p.586)

Slavery and race interpretations of the bible can be seen as one sided, however, if you for example one reads Exodus 21:16, *«Whoever steals a man and sells him, and anyone found in possession of him, shall be put to death.»*³⁴ When reading this verse of the bible, I argue that it is not okay to steal or sell a man, yet in the past the slavery and racism ideology by Christians were supported by biblical interpretations. In a Saami context, the burning of the «witches» in Vardø, northern Norway is the biggest executions of people in Norwegian history.

Finnmark had the worst persecution of «witches», according to historical sources and also Rune Hagen Blix mentions in his article «Forfølgelse av trollfolk i fortid og samtid»³⁵ that the happening in north Norway were one of the worst in Europe in that time period.

«Sources from the very late seventeenth century reveal a total population of approximately 3,200 inhabitants, of which 1,500 were Sami, the native people of northern Europe. Among these, as many as over 138 people were accused of sorcery during the period 1593–1692. At least ninety-two individuals, mostly women, got the death sentence and were burned at the stake.» (Hagen, 2012, p.1)

34 <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Exodus+21%3A16&version=ESV>

35 www.idunn.no/kok/2012/01/forfoelgelse_av_trollfolk_i_fortid_og_samtid

The persecution of witches provides one illustration of the power of Christianity to facilitate the dehumanization of specific members of a community.

At the same time as these prosecutions and burnings took place in Norway, it is argued that there was a large shift in attitudes towards black people. Professor Goldberg presents in his book *Racial State* (p.19) that at the end of the 1500 century there was a large and dramatic shift against black people. He argues it came after Queen Elisabeth required all black people to leave England. In the period of the 16th century it is argued that the modern states where set and borders came, psychically and symbolically, for self-surveillance of the country.

In the Saami context, the lands where Saami people lived (Now Finland, Sweden, Norway and Russia), borders came and the Saami`s traditional territory was divided by boarders, that was set to protect the state land/area. At almost the same time, In *Racist Culture*, Goldberg (p.17) argues that in that period of the sixteenth century racial thinking got increasingly normalized and naturalized in modern societies and their sphere of influence. The power modern states got in the sixteen hundred is said to be crucial. «*The state has the power to categorize differentially and hierarchically, to set aside by setting apart.*» (Goldberg, p.9)

With the modern state powers, the development of science as a legitimate explanatory system was associated with a shift toward systematic categorization and the definition of the peoples of the earth. In science or academia, it is presumed that the explorer and doctor Francois Bernier (1625-88) is the first who classified races in the world. (Skorgen, p.48) Bernier wrote an anonymous article with the name: «Nouvelle division de la terre par les différentes espèces ou races qui l`habitent» (New division of Earth by the different species or races which inhabit it) Skorgen (p.49) argues that Bernier tried to systematically classify people around the world, but the criteria he favoured employed biological assumptions. Bernier classified the world in four groups:

- 1 Europe (without Lapland), South-Asia, North-Africa and America: People who live under the same climatic conditions.
- 2 Africa, south of Sahara: People who have thick lips, flat nose, black skin and sparse beard.
- 3 Central-, East and North-Asia: People who have white skin, broad shoulders, flat face, small eyes and without beard.
- 4 Saami: People who were ugly, Christmas-legged, small and animal-like.

Bernier did not classify the native people of America to be a separate race, but he regarded the Saami people as a distinct race. «Bearfaces» was a term Bernier used for the people who lived closest to the polar circle. The Saami people became ugly and bow – legged by the cold climate, and the prettiest people lived in the warmer climate zones.

Further in seventeen hundred and the beginning of eighteen hundred more alternative race classifications were introduced. The science that directly touched the Saami people, was introduced by Johann Frederic Blumenbach (1752-1840). He is the founder of craniology science and had an enormous collection of craniums. He was also in great love with the female Caucasian skull, and he would dream about the beautiful people in the mountains. And this is argued to be the start of Blumenbach`s philosophy about the superiority of the native European race, namely Caucasian on the top of the scale, then Mongolian, Ethiopian, American and the Malaysian race. (Skorgen, 2002, p.93)

After Blumenbach`s introduction to skull measurement, in the 1850 the skulls of Saami people became popular in Norway, (Schanche, 2002) some parts of Europe and United states: the skulls were dug up between 1850-1940. Mons Aslaksen Somby and Aslak Jakobsen Hætta were, after the rebellion between a group of Sami people and Norwegian authorities in Guovdageaidnu, Finnmark, sentenced to death and beheading in 1854. After execution, the bodies of Somby and Hætta were buried outside the cemetery of Kåfjord church. The skulls were transported to the Anatomical Institute as scientific material. (Sellevold, 2013, pp.139-140))

Around the beginning of the 20th century was a big rise of studies of physical anthropology and race research in Scandinavia. I will argue that this division made by skull interpretations has given rise to much of the discrimination and oppression the Saami`s has met.

Rudolf Kayser (1803-64) is argued to be (Skorgen, 2002, pp.115-117) a central historian in Norway. Kayser argued that the Saami people were the first to inhabit Norway in the stone age: but were replaced by the Kelts (celt in English) in the bronze age, before the real Norwegian people came to Norway and took over the land in the iron age. However, Kayser used linguistic arguments to defend his views about the inferiority of the Saami. About the Saami people he had the typical orientalist thoughts, of the Saami people as living in the outskirts of the north, people without will and power; and who are not able to make statehood/their own state. Kayser`s assumptions are argued to be central in the Norwegian majority societies political practices against the Saami people in Norway. Toward the end of eighteen hundred, the shift

against the Saami population was dramatically changed. Norwegianization policies were introduced and the elimination (Schanche, 2002, p.2) of Saami language and culture started. This process was brutal for the Saami population. A good visual example of this is made by Ivar Bjørklund³⁶ (1985) where he has made a graph of the population in Kvænangen, Northern-Norway. This illustrates the consequences of Norwegianization between 1930-1950, how many reported themselves as Saami and Norwegian in this time frame.

Year	Saami	Kven	Norwegian	Total
1601	116	-	-	116
1631	120	-	6	126
1701	195	-	43	238
1740	179	17	27	223
1801	604	57	24	685
1865	752	542	443	1737
1891	1016	278	459	1753
1930	863	325	783	1973
1950	5	2	2501	2508

(Bjørklund, I, *Fjordfolk i Kvænangen*, p.67, 75, 168, 403)

These numbers can also act as an indicator of the Norwegian government's politics, and the effect it had on the people. In the period from 1930 to 1950, when the Norwegianization was at the highest, one can clearly see the effect it had on the population in Kvænangen. It can be traced from other accounts, that these people did not just move away from Kvænangen, but more likely the Saami population reported themselves as Norwegian after the Norwegianization politics.

This history of the denigration and dispossession of the Saami people was associated with widespread acceptance of a racial ideology in which the Saami were seen as an inferior 'race', and stereotypes, that still have currency today, became widespread in the expression and legitimization of these beliefs.

³⁶ Bjørklund, 1985, *Fjordfolket i Kvænangen: fra samisk samfunn til norsk utkant*, 1550-1980

Racism and discrimination

Racialization as Omi and Winant have said (1986, p.64) is:

«The extension of racial meaning to a previous racially unclassified relationship, social practice or group ... it is an ideological process, an historically specific one».

It is argued that there exists variation in the context of what form and how the racialization is performed.

«Don't think that racialization is the same everywhere, it is articulated with different elements in varying discourses» (Rattansi, 2005, p.272)

But there is difference again in the terms `Racism` and `Racialization`. To understand racialization, the main focus must not be aimed at «the other», «Muslim», «immigrants», or other victims of racism and discrimination, instead one should focus on the how the majority practices serve to maintain inequality and exploitation of minority groups.

The perhaps most important difference in this perspective and theories of classical racism and new racism is that racialization breaks down the distinction between ideology and attitudes on the one hand and actions on the other. In this context the focus is upon the everyday practice and discourses that are perceived as natural by the majority, but which in reality create insurmountable barriers to the inclusion and participation of the minority in society.

Thus, it is important to note that whilst there has been a long history of racist discrimination against the Saami; there is now also a body of law that is intended to protect their identity and interests.

A law on the prohibition of discrimination based on ethnicity, religion and others began to apply from January the 1, 2006 in Norway.³⁷

The new law prohibits discrimination based on ethnicity, national origin, descent, colour, language, religion and philosophy of life. This means that it is not allowed to make a difference to anyone because they belong to a particular ethnic group or clan, have a different language, another belief or another view of life, another culture, come from another country or have another skin-color. There are several other laws in Norway, that say something about this racism and discrimination: The Constitution states that the state must respect and ensure human rights.

³⁷ <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/the-anti-discriminationact/id420606/>

The Penal Code states that we shall not threaten, despise, discourage or condemn others because of their faith, complexion or national or ethnic origin or sexual orientation.

The Working Environment Act states that it is not permitted to treat people differently in the workplace because of gender, religion, philosophy of life, colour of the skin, national or ethnic origin, political view, union membership, sexual orientation, disability or age.³⁸

We need to place this development of anti-discriminatory legislation into the context of the late twentieth century development of Norwegian self-image as a bastion of human rights and virtue. The Alta Dam controversy was not only a trigger for Saami resistance, but it also exposed the shallowness of majority Norwegian images of their tolerance. The development of various forms of multicultural policies across many European countries during the 1980 and 90s also sensitised the Norwegian state to their treatment of the Saami. Thus in the present times we have both the legacy of old racisms given new relevance; and the presence of progressive anti-discriminatory legislation.

Methodology

Should the methodology show how to do a research, or should your empirical process be the director for the research?

The impact of this choosing one of these can be a tension field for some researchers, but I consider that the data must be applied in a way that it answers your research question the most credible way, and I also consider it important that it should give some answers or benefits for the society. I mean, and it can be bald to say that every academic research has some sort of value, but even the old racial research has value, they give information and understanding of why the people were thinking and acting in that time period.

In this thesis I have employed critical discourse analysis alongside social identity theory, and related social psychological research on the nature of prejudice, in order to explore this enquiry into: Hate Speech Against the Saami in Norwegian Social Media.

Critical discourse analysis gives me the possibility to analyse texts in many layers and get a deeper understanding of the whole discourse situation and the relation of the text to the context

³⁸ <https://www.imdi.no/en/>

where it happens. Husband and Downing (2005, p.46) emphasise in their book «Representing Race» that there can be multiple perspectives in one text, and thus it is important to identify these and understand that texts are not unitary, especially in the analysis of racial or ethnic content.

In the context of textual analysis, I consider it to be important to emphasize the importance of the fact that individual ideological perspectives play a role in this research. So negative, sexist or racial attitudes might be seemingly reasonable in someone's ideology, whether it be that of a far right neo-Fascist grouping or the normative racisms of nationalist discourse: but that does not necessarily count for the whole population. This again also has implications for me as a researcher, knowing that my point of departure is as a Saami researcher, I am an insider in relation to the issue I am trying to analyse.

Within this thesis I also have a decolonizing agenda, with an emphasis on the giving of understanding back my Saami community, and to the journalism, and whilst also wishing to contribute knowledge in the academia generally. This is inherent in the Indigenous methodology which provides the conceptual and value framework for this research.

It is argued that giving back to society is an important aspect of Indigenous methodology and science, almost all scholars who use Indigenous methodologies and follow a post-colonial indigenous paradigm, emphasize that 'Giving back' is important. May Britt Öhman (2017)³⁹ argues that giving back only with academic articles on science papers and books, is not enough, and actually not in line with indigenous methodology. Instead Öhman, refers to (Kim TallBear, 2014) whom has the point of view, that giving back is important, but as important is to be visible before, under and after the research, actively participate in discussions online, seminars, conferences and make your research available in a blog. In this context, I have planned to make something more of my research project after the research is completed. This will include a short explanatory YouTube animation movie in the Saami language. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Decolonizing methodologies, 2012, p.16) also emphasizes the importance of giving back, and she also argues that even if you complete your research task, you are not finished with the research question.

«some of my students have presented their work in formal ceremonies to family and tribal councils» (Smith, 2012, p.16)

39 <http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1082648/FULLTEXT01.pdf>

Also, I think for the ethical part of my research in the Saami community it should contain; Respect, Reciprocity and Responsibility, that Wilson (2008, Cora; Weber-Pillwax) argues to be core principles of any healthy relationship, and it is also argued that it must be included in Indigenous methodology. (Research is a ceremony, p.77)

And with healthy relationships, one concern is the ethics of the researched social media commentators. To illustrate my thoughts about ethical concerns regarding the anti-Saami commentators; these individuals must be understood within the context of their reality, and how some factors, such as fear, threat and other components may cause anti-Saami attitudes online. These people have also the right to be understood, and the comments that are analysed, are with an apophatic listening concept, I want to understand why is this an issue for some individuals. Charles Husband (2017) also suggest that within the profession of researcher and academics, one must at all times have an open mind of why things are constructed as they are, and for the legitimacy of the research, one has ethical responsibilities.

«Embracing the right to be understood promotes a fracturing of the complacent over-rehearsed certainties of professional ethics, and demands that we retain a personal moral responsibility for those with whom we interact.» (Husband, 2017)

I see as a researcher the importance of protecting a community and having the possibility to give counter stories to society as being vital: especially when considering the historical stereotyping of indigenous people. Also, Pietikäinen (2006) argues that earlier research might have created prejudice for the Saami population, and the colonial discourse style about the Saami, comes from studies done in the nineteenth and twentieth century, where Saami's are presented with stereotypes, such as the four D's, namely, drumming, dancing, drunk and dead. (McCue)⁴⁰ Even where there is almost a formal acceptance by the majority of people to not use stereotypes in discourses, it happens; *«Although these representations are often disputed, they still circulate in dominant popular media, advertisements, tourism and folklore in Finland, Sweden, Norway and Russia.» (Lehtola, 1999; Pietikäinen and Leppänen 2006: Pietikäinen,» To Breathe Two Air» p.204)*

I also see my research project as part of a decolonizing agenda, I want to give answers and understanding to my community and also generally raise the awareness of this subject. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) emphasizes the process on how to decolonize the society, and she has

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made a figure, where she has four directions for the decolonizing process. They are; Decolonization, healing, Transformation and mobilization.

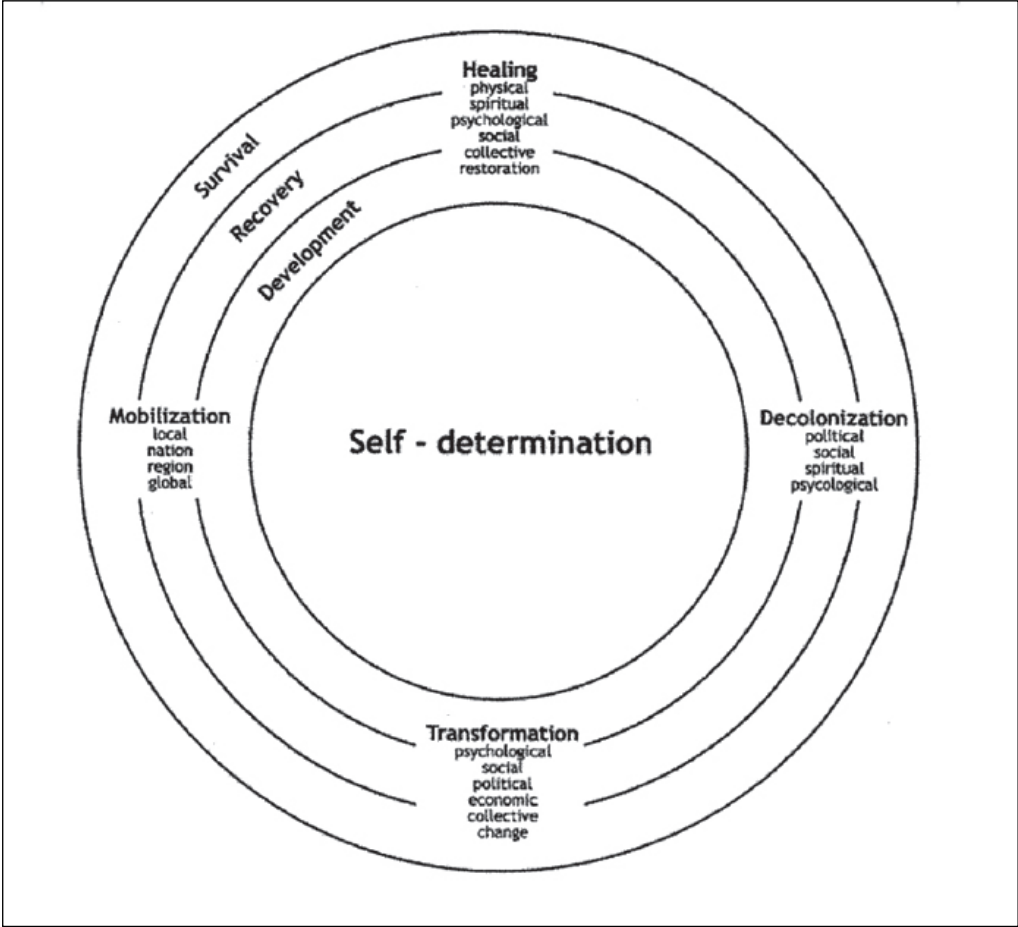


Fig 2: The Indigenous Research Agenda, Smith, (1999) p.117

Smith is with this figure trying to explain the decolonizing process. This figure is not representing goals that must be reached before the decolonization process is complete, but rather it shows the process of how to connect, inform and clarify the stress that might have arisen between, for example the state and the minority.

There are always ethical concerns when a researcher seeks to identify and selectively acquire research data. Do the people know they are studied or under observation? Do they give their consent? In the context of the research to be carried out here the data is already in the public domain, and the open comment field that provides the locus for my sampling, along with the media houses practices, should give people whose texts I am accessing an understanding that their comments are available for everybody to see and interpret. Thus, in this case the commentators should have an understanding that their texts might be observed by strangers.

In this research I am trying to, in the first instance, reveal in a descriptive sense something of the nature of hate speech against the Saami in contemporary social media. Additionally, I aspire to give a better understanding of the mechanisms that underpin negative discourse about Saami issues in the online sphere. In doing this I wish to give knowledge to the Saami community and also to others who wish to understand these actions. As an indigenous Saami myself, I will conduct the research within an indigenous paradigm. I am aware that I am an insider, but at the same time this would give me the chance to research this in the context of the Saami society, and with the benefits of an insider perspective.

Some of the indigenous theory suggests that indigenous researchers must leave all the western academic models and tools, and use only self-conducted indigenous theories and models. This I cannot agree to: I think we must be openminded as researchers and self-consciously and critically use the tools that would give the most accurate analyses. My opinion is that we have to see the benefits and be open to what we can learn from Western academics, whilst at the same time employing a sustained Indigenous sensibility.

In developing his argument about an indigenous way of thinking (Shawn Wilson, 2001) suggests that objects are not valuable to you, unless you have a relationship to them.⁴¹, In the context of my thesis, then I have to admit that the reason I care to write about this issue, is because I as an insider feel and see that my community want's answers for this «phenomenon» that is happening. In support of this view I can point to the Facebook group «Document Hate speech against Saami» which was started in November 2017: this was also one of the main reasons to research the phenomenon. Giving something back to the Saami community and for the Saami and generally all media personnel, in the form of understanding is a good reason for doing research about a heavy theme such as negative and hateful discourse. I made a choice to analyse social media, rather than other forms and texts, and that is because this issue is not adequately researched in the context of social media and anti-Saami texts.

There are many web and Facebook pages in the online sphere that could be used to gather the empirical base when answering my research question, but the discourse style used in these sites are similar to the sites I have chosen to focus upon, so it is likely that the answers would not vary much if the comments were collected from other web sites. My decision to not interview the commentators is based on the fact that their comment writings already reflect and mirror the issues they worry about.

41 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/234754037_What_Is_an_Indigenous_Research_Methodology

Method

Being aware of the very wide range of statements about the Saami my initial task was to identify media sites that would provide some reflection of this discourse diversity. I collected 50 comments from sites that were connected to Facebook. All the comments were written in Norwegian, so I had to translate these to English. Consequently, given the limited resources I had available I have chosen the following sites;

Facebook discussions from Nord Norskdebatt

This is the debate platform hosted by the biggest newspaper in northern-Norway, and has the main audience in the north, and their own prescription of the site:⁴²

«Nordnorsk debate is Nordlys' debate platform, where we facilitate a broad and open public word change, where our own commentators also contribute comments and analyzes. We welcome all contributions, and our goal is that most of our readers will participate in the debate with perspectives from and about both Tromsø and Northern Norway. Nordlys is a newspaper with a stand in Tromsø, and with heart for the region.»

IFinnmark: A newspaper in Finnmark, it is written in Norwegian, and mainly news for the population in Finnmark.⁴³

Resett.no – This is an online site, and serves a broad spectrum of news and about themselves they state;⁴⁴

«Resett is a politically independent media channel. We are working for democracy and freedom of expression. We must be critical to power and fight for those who do not easily get the word. It also involves criticizing and being an alternative to the established media.»

Facebook group: Stop the special treatment of indigenous peoples- group is now made invisible for others than members, but was open when comments were gathered. The name speaks for itself.

Facebook group: Gjennopprett ytringsfriheten og demokratiet i finnmark⁴⁵ - this is a Facebook group with 1100 members and is used actively to discuss Saami issues. The group info

⁴² <https://nordnorskdebatt.no/hve-vi>

⁴³ <https://www.ifinnmark.no/>

⁴⁴ <https://resett.no/om-oss/> (about)

⁴⁵ Restore freedom of speech and democracy in Finnmark – (see appendix for full description of the group) ⁴⁵
Ethnic democratic equality

states: All main posts will be reviewed by one of several administrators for the purpose of denying access to the following: Racism, inappropriate behaviour and personal attacks. This is absolutely necessary to maintain a good and proper level of the debate.

Facebook group: EDL – Etnisk demokratisk likeverd⁴⁵- Has 132 members and is also used to post comments about Saami issues, with a good variety of members.

The last two (above) Facebook groups discuss daily Saami issues, and the main theme of the sites is Saami issues. The groups are hosted by some Norwegians. When deconstructing the name of the groups, then one can clearly see the choice of the names is a clever strategy, it's aiming at the core Norwegian values, who can object to this? Both names are cleverly set up, so according to (Allport, 1979, *The Nature of Prejudice*) they have moderating tactics and they know how to sound democratic and non-harmful for the people or society. Who doesn't want freedom of speech and democracy? And who would say no to democratic equality?

I am a part of the Saami community and I am a part of the people whom the people I am researching are commenting about. In my collection of comments about the Saami people, I had no intention to look for some specific issue or especially focus on the ugliest comments, instead I wanted to focus on social media news sites and groups, where Saami cases are published, and focus on the discourse style that is used.

The variation of comments in these groups, should give an understanding of how some commentators act in the social media sphere, and also what is the common way to talk about the Saami issues. Whilst extremist statements can be found in the social media if I searched, but then it would not tell the true story of how the discourses are happening. All the sites that the comments are gathered from, are of course open and visible for everybody to read. With this practice of choosing the comments, I also wanted to be as neutral as possible in the selection progress. I was aware that the comments might have passed through moderation, and consequently I contacted the web editors where the comments are collected from, and had an open interview over the telephone about the moderating practises and the amount of hate speech on the comment fields.

For ethical reasons, I have censored the names of the commentators, even if they are available for everybody to see on Facebook and comment sections.

Discourse analysis

In this thesis the research method to be employed when addressing hate speech on Sami news cases, will be discourse analysis. As Van Dijk (2000) mentions in *New (s) Racism*,

«since news reports are a type of text, our approach will be discourse analytical. This means that we do not treat news as transparent messages whose contents may be analyzed in a superficial, quantitative way. Rather, we examine the complex structures and strategies of news reports and their relations to the social context.»

Much of the earlier research and theories about hate speech, is addressed with discourse analysis.

In his paper, *Discourse Studies and Education*, Van Dijk,⁴⁶ says that,

«By discourse studies we refer to the new interdisciplinary field between linguistics, poetics, psychology and the social sciences concerned with the systematic theory and analysis of discourses and their various contexts. This interdisciplinary has developed as an extension from rather similar interests and problems in these respective disciplines»

Further he argues that, in linguistics, the observations show that language or discourse use can't be properly accounted in terms of isolated sentences alone.

«Psychology and artificial intelligence have recently also become interested in the processes underlying discourse production and comprehension. Sociology has made a great contribution to the study of the structures and strategies of conversation in social interaction, whereas anthropology has a long tradition of discourse analysis in the study of myths, folktales, riddles and other ritual or culture-specific discourse types. Mass communication, finally, involves the important analysis of messages of the media and their influence on the public, a topic shared with social psychology, which is crucially paying attention to processes of belief-, opinion- and attitude-formation and change in communicative contexts. These are certainly not all the disciplines involved in the study of discourse: theology, psychotherapy, law studies, etc. also have various kinds of discourses as their objects of inquiry.» (Discourse Studies and Education, p.2)

Earlier research and background theory on hate speech consists mostly of discourse analysis. When reflecting on my project, then critical discourse analysis will be a preferred method when researching the topic. Van Dijk (1995) argues in his paper, *«Aims of Critical Discourse Analy-*

⁴⁶ Discourse Studies and Education, Van Dijk [http://www.discourses.org/OldArticles/Discourse%20studies%20and%20educati on.pdf](http://www.discourses.org/OldArticles/Discourse%20studies%20and%20educati%20on.pdf)

sis» that critical discourse analysis, is not a method, school or direction, rather he indicates it should be approached by text research which is issue orientated.

Following Fairclough's (1992, p.64) assertion that: «discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning.»; there is a clear link between the decolonizing agenda of an Indigenous research methodology and the concern to challenge the hegemonic power of dominant discourse that is at the heart of critical discourse analysis.

Chapter five: Data and Initial Analysis

In this chapter I want to unpack the hate messages revealed through the search of the designated social media, and identify the dominant themes that occur in these texts. The theoretical framework that has been presented above, will be used in developing this analysis.

Social media as discourse arena

Below is a quote from the founder of Facebook, saying what he thinks about the people who use Facebook platform:

«They trust me - dumb fucks»⁴⁷ – Mark Zuckerberg

Earlier employee and boss, Sean Parker, admitted that Facebook is made like a gambling platform, that means it works like a social interaction casino for people.

And it is widely recognized, that gambling sites are built to get people addicted. The best way to «win» in this system is to show negative feelings, and this platform can make you into a scumbag⁴⁸.

Facebook have now 2.2 billion monthly users.

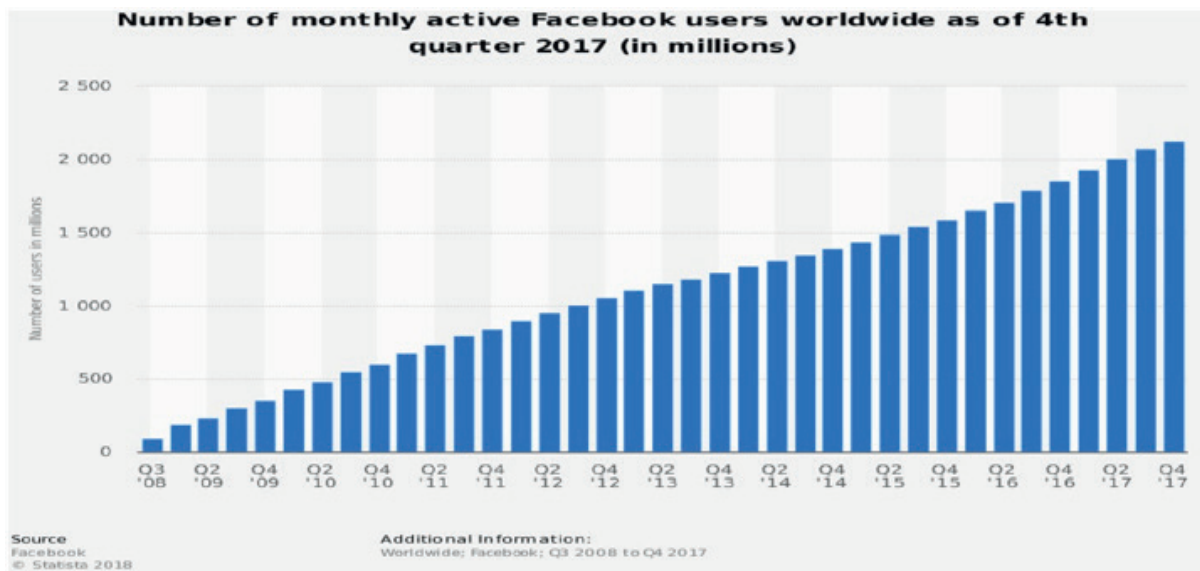


Fig.3: Statista 2018⁴⁹

⁴⁷ <http://gawker.com/5636765/facebook-ceo-admits-to-calling-users-dumb-fucks>

⁴⁸ <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/mar/27/pioneer-deletefacebook-addiction-social-life>

⁴⁹ <https://www.statista.com/statistics/264810/number-of-monthly-activefacebook-users-worldwide/>

The flow of information has increased dramatically compared to the old media sphere. Also, the way people communicate and share information has changed and a more direct spread of personal opinions are available within the social media. Social media platforms give the possibility to reach out with information, and it also gives the possibility to spread negative discourse.

«Several scientists across the world (e.g., Cammaerts, 2009; Domingo et al., 2008; Hermida & Thurman, 2007; Nielsen, 2010; Santana, 2010; Wardle et al., 2009) argue that news websites' comments have become, both in terms of quantity and contents, an important space for spreading hate speech, and they call for analyses of its production, text, and reception.» (Erjavec and Kovačič, 2012, p.901)

It is also argued that there exists little information and research about online hate speech experienced by Saami's in Norway, as the theme is not yet studied employing a qualitative approach. This is also a motivation for me as a researcher to shed light on this specific issue.

«We know from media (TV, radio, newspaper and internet), that many Saami's experience offensive comments, hate speech and prejudice, as well as stereotypical portrayals of Saami culture and identity in comment fields on the internet and on various websites» (Hansen, Ketil Lenert (2012), Sami Statistics Speak, 2017)

Online discrimination and bullying have increased in Norway from 2000 to 2010. (Ibid, p.232) Also younger Saami from age 18-29 report higher incidence s of online discrimination. It is also reported that ethnic discrimination is the most common form of discrimination. *«Figures show that that approximately one in three Sami`s with strong ties to the community has experienced discrimination because of his/her Sami origin, compared under three percent of the majority population»* (Ibid, p.219) It is argued that Saami's are in a special juridical position. Midtbøen states that *«Samis today hold the status of indigenous people with strong legal standing in Norway* (Ibid, p.217) I don't necessarily agree with Midtbøen in this statement. This statement may require us to note Marshal and Bottomore's (1992) the distinction between formal and substantive citizenship: as it may be the case that the Saami enjoy a degree of legal protection in law; but it is equally the case that it is possible to point to their limited capacity to deploy this law in their favour.

To give an illustration, we can list some of the latest court cases of Saami`s against the Norwegian state. This should give an indication of how strong the Saami`s legal rights are;

- Jovsset Ante Sara – Lost in high court against the Norwegian state (State forces reduction of reindeer numbers)⁴⁷
- Nesseby bygdelaag – Lost in high court against FEFO^{48 49} (Finnmark property) over natural resources and land ownership.
- Anders Nils Peder Sokki – Rejected to own Reindeer husbandry share, even if the uncle wants to give him – Lost against state⁵⁰
- Duck hunting prohibition in Guovdageaidnu, state wants to minimize Saami duck hunting tradition⁵³

As we see above, the Saami`s legal status does not necessarily give them better legal rights than the majority and it does not protect them in courts. The latest statement made by the Nordic Institute for Human rights have commented in the IWGIA 2018^{51 52} report about the issues of Saami cultural practice, and it specially mentions Sara`s court case.

«Sámi reindeer herding, hunting and fishing rights. There have been several court cases dealing with the rights of the Sámi in Norway and Sweden in 2017. In December 2017, a majority of judges in the Supreme Court of Norway found that the forcible cull ordered by the Reindeer Husbandry Board of a proportion of the herd of the Sámi reindeer-herder Jovsset Ánte Sara was not a violation of his human rights. Sara manages his family's share of the siida, an administrative and legal local unit within Sámi reindeer husbandry. Sara filed a case against the Norwegian state claiming that an enforced cull of his herd from 116 reindeers to 75, would deny him his right to culture according to Article 27 of the ICCPR, and violate his property rights under Article 1 of Protocol 1 to the European Convention on Human Rights. Sara won the case both in the district and appeals courts, but lost in Supreme Court in a split 4-1 decision.17 One of the five Supreme Court judges found that the decision to forcibly reduce Sara's herd would violate his right to culture according to the ICCPR Article 27. The majority of judges found that the cull was

47 https://www.nrk.no/sapmi/hoyesterettstapet-sjokkerer-i-flere-leire_-_reindriftsloven-kan-kastes-en-viss-plass-1.13836373

48 <https://www.nrk.no/sapmi/fefo-vant-mot-nesseby-bygdelaag-i-hoyesterett-49.13947925>

50 <https://www.nrk.no/sapmi/kjemper-for-retten-til-a-jobbe-med-rein-1.13873461>

53 <https://www.nrk.no/sapmi/ung-mann-tatt-for-ulovlig-andejakt-1.11760920> and law regulation: <https://lovdata.no/dokument/MV/forskrift/2013-06-03-573>

51 The Indigenous World 2018 - <https://www.iwgia.org/images/documents/indigenous-world/indigenous-world-52.pdf>

founded on reasonable and objective criteria, and that it served the interests of the reindeer herding Sámi as a group. All five judges agreed that the decision to reduce his herd was in compliance with the European Convention on Human Rights» (Laila Susanne Vars, Human rights lawyer, 2018, IWGIA)

Framework and comment analysis

I chose to collect and translate 50 Facebook comments about Saami cases from various people from different forums as the textual empirical basis of my analysis. It appears that there are some issues or themes that are more central and heated. Within the wider context of critical discourse analysis, following Eravec and Kovačič (2012, p.904) we can develop a sequential critical analysis of these texts.

First, a textually based critical discourse analysis (see Fairclough, 1995) of the commentary discourse is conducted to reveal the discursive characteristics of hate speech. The textual analysis is carried out on macro- and microlevels, that is, themes and key words. By analysing themes that reveal contents on the highest textual level, we try to establish what kind of hate speech prevails. By analysing key words that reveal contents on the most micro of levels, we try to establish what terms and phrases are used by commentators. In pursuing such an analytic method, we might also usefully keep in mind Fairclough's warning that:

«A useful methodological principle is that the analyst should always ask of any text whether and how it is working ideologically, but expect answers to vary: ideology is more of an issue for some texts than for others.» (Fairclough, 1995, p.14)

I want to illustrate the discursive characteristic's first with a two-layered analysis of the comments gathered in different forums and cases about Saami issues.

The first challenge is try to identify what kind of cases are most generally commented or seen as an issue for the commentators: as the main theme of the comment. And in layer two I want to demonstrate the specific issue for the commentator, what is the individual worrying about.

The wider context of this approach is revealed in Fairclough's diagrammatic representation of this approach. This indicates that whilst the text is the focus of this analysis; its interpretation can only take place with a sensitive appreciation of the context in which they are produced and consumed.

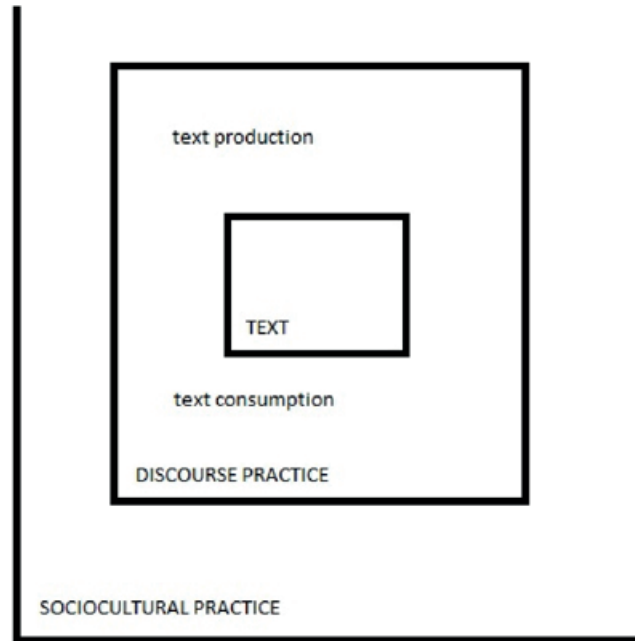


Fig.4: A framework for critical discourse analysis of communicative event (Fairclough, 1995, p.59)

In the context of this analysis a text may be written, spoken and a visual representation. For example, comments on Facebook or pictures on Instagram can be assumed as text. The discourse practice is the production or making of the text and how it is understood or consumed.

As a social cultural practice, the meaning of the text is always situated within a context in which the discourse is happening. Both the producer and consumer of the text are culturally and socially situated in a specific context; and the themes and the modes of expression will also be contextually framed. (Ibid, p.57)

As a result of reading and collecting comments, it appears that there are some issues more central than others. In textually based critical discourse analysis, one part of the analysis is to reveal the themes that are central in discourses. And in my first analysis it indicates that the central themes that occur in the comments are; **Indigeneity/ethnicity, Reindeer Husbandry, Language, Special treatment, Land and water rights**. Listed above are the themes that occur most in the 50 comments collected; with a short analysis and example`s to demonstrate how different issues are presented. «*It is common in critical discourse analysis to demonstrate with and example, how central discourse characteristic take place.*» (Fairclough, 2005; van Dijk, 1988; Wodak, 2003, Erjavec and Kovačič, 2012, p.904)

Ethnicity (as of who is the real indigenous in Norway, DNA, Sami Parliament etc.)

This issue seems to be one of the central themes in the Facebook discussion forums. Saami Parliament is one of the main things that commentators want to terminate. Facebook comment examples:

-> *«The Saami Parliament is based on the storytelling-story of the descendant's history presentation. Therefore, all power should be deprived of these descent opportunists. It all is based on bluff and forgery. Of people who claim they deviate from the rest of the population. With their reality, the Norwegian health care system should have even fuller hands than before, with «Sappmi».*

-> *«Since we came to Norway 1000 years before to Norway than the Saami, are we south's the real indigenous people in Norway? Should I have the status of indigenous peoples because of my ancestors. I do not understand why we should have our own Saami policy. Peoples constitution is that Saami is an indigenous people, but they are not. They are a tribal people. Should you have a lie to become facts? Get some lobbyists and throw yourself over Norwegian politicians. They do not care about the facts but about what others think one should think. This is how lobbyists help.»*

-> *«Privileges based on ethnicity are apartheid and must be abolished.»*

Reindeer husbandry

People who comment on reindeer husbandry often mention the issue about them taking big parts of the land and water, they stop the development in Northern-Norway, and they are responsible for the fact that people can't use the nature as non-Saami wanted.

Reindeer husbandry seems to be a big issue for some commentators. Facebook comment examples:

-> *«I read that reindeer husbandry get big subsidies from the state. About 500 kr. pr. kg. reindeer meat Is that right ??? what are they complaining about!!!»*

-> *«Saami in general does not have so much special rights, it is the reindeer Saami who has power over land and waters throughout northern Norway! One industry with power, can anyone understand ??These are the obstacles to the development here, they have managed to stop hydropower builders, several road projects, dozens of wind*

farms, camping sites, industry, cottage plots, etc. Cannot drive a crowbar in the soil without having to pay for compensation for reindeer husbandry! The road to Nervei has been stopped by the reindeer industry for 50 years. Worst of all, the industry has public support, that is, the reindeer is taken more into account than the people.»

Land and water rights

This is also an issue that is often mentioned, and in this theme, they seem to mix, Saami parliament, reindeer husbandry and general Saami people for owning the land and water in Northern-Norway. Facebook comment examples:

-> The political work in vain? What in Satan have you been expecting? Did you really think in the low-sculled heads of yours, that it was just to stroll in Norwegian politics and start to rule? You got 130 million to build a playroom in Karasjok, with real furniture and books in Saami, but that's not good enough? Must have land too - as big as Denmark. Much want more. Demand, demand demand! Fucksaik, I puke. Had it been up to me, then you should have got the stuff you're looking for: A ten-meter high, high-voltage fence around Kautokeino, Karasjok, Porsanger and Upper Tana. Cut all state aid, stop all social goods. Inside you could be lords in own country, and could drink, in-breed, cut off each other heads, make Saami prison, Saami money, Saami clown costume, Saami joik-GrandPrix, and eat reindeer meat until it grows out claws and horns.

-> «Think they have had enough(money) long time ago. They take private properties from people. What kind of indigenous people have a lawyer with them all over the place to tell them they are entitled to age's use, but they cannot document it. They have great snowmobiles, four-wheelers with big trailers, reindeer police who dismiss all things, they even report us if we chase the reindeer away from our gardens and fields. The reindeer grazes from April to autumn. The left lady must get together.»

Special treatment (school, other offers, etc.)

Some commentators have focus on the special treatment the Saami people get, as for education and other benefits that is only for Saami people. This is also an issue that is mixed up in almost every discourse about Saami people.

Comment examples:

→ *«It is against to the Constitution to grant individuals or groups of special benefits based on ethnicity. The fact that Nazi-Saami people want to advance ethnicity and earn it is also contrary to unprecedented morality and to all democratic interests. If not everyone soon understands that we are all within the borders of the Norwegians, and under Norwegian law and the moral is that everyone is part of a community that works to ensure everyone's welfare, yes, then we must accept that racism against democracy and The Norwegian people carry wrong way.»*

→ *«Recruitment of Saami-speaking doctors to Finnmark.*

The Health Committee proposes:

Economic incentives to municipalities with Saami settlement, earmarked to recruit Saami-speaking doctors. Upon admission to medical studies, the study period is reserved for the Saami core area students who are awarded a place for ethnic and democratic neutrality.»

→ *«This has been an arrangement for almost 50 years. East and West Norway is filled up with doctors from this arrangement.»*

→ *«They speak and understand Norwegian all together. The elders who had problems with languages other than their own Saami dialect, I think have passed away. So, I do not understand this unfair division for a group in 2018.»*

→ *«Send more money.*

Send more money.

Send more money.

Send more money.

Send more money.

Send»

→ *«The term «indigenous people» is a business idea from Saami business area.»*

→ *«The Sami poison Norway with its special requirements, greed and rudeness. Construction projects stop and neighbors argue about Saami's special rights, which are on the way to stop development for both municipal, local and private projects. Half Norway is divided because of conflicts with ScoltSaami, LuleSaami, FjellSaami, SørSaami (southsaami) and God knows what. Yes and most live in Oslo, with a branch office in New York (UN).»*

Language

This is also a central issue that is often mentioned and discussed and is also an element that is used in all kind of discussions. Language is mixed up with the most cases and is often a factor that is used in many different ways. For example, some commentators have the opinion that Norwegianization was a positive thing for the Saami population. And they also question if the process was negative at all. Also, Saami language money, education, scholars and other issues concerning Saami language is questioned hard by some commentators. Facebook comment examples:

The comments below are from a reader-post on IFinnmark⁵³, where professor emeritus in Informatics, Knut Skog: He ends the readers post like this: *«Norwegianization, in the sense that Saami and Kven people have learned to understand, speak, read and write Norwegian in a good way, the best thing that has happened the Saami and the Kven population in Norway»*

→ *«NORWEGIANIZATION-WHAT IS IT?»*

→ *«Knut Skog has some very interesting thoughts I think.»*

→ *«This demonstrates to the fullest that required integration works. Even if the lucky ones do not understand the scope and opportunities that lie in the integration.»*

That parents do not even manage to teach culture and language to their children. Witness the necessity of giving all the same opportunities.»

→ *Totally share Skog's analysis.*

The extreme, claim and have claimed that if you learn Norwegian, for example, your culture understanding Norwegian- your own understanding of who you are is taken from you- one is then Norwegianized. A bigger lie is hardly served Norwegian people and now will be served to the Truth Commission. It exists in our group people who have learned language-we will not be for that reason another person.

53 <https://www.ifinnmark.no/debatt/samisk/finnmark/fornorskning-hva-er-det/o/5-81-707856>

-> The so-called «Norwegianization» was Norwegian education, participation in elementary education in the same way that immigrants receive training in

Norwegian in our time. It is a statutory (by law) right and a duty to learn Norwegian. This is necessary to participate in the school career, to be able to take an education, to participate in work life, and necessary to understand and participate in democracy. What had the options been if Saami and other immigrants had not been taught Norwegian?»

It appears in my analysis that the commentators have strong opinions about special rights for the Saami people. It is argued that the Saami people are getting more special rights than the Norwegian, and it creates more division between the Norwegian population and the Saami population.

The categories that are found in the first section of the analysis, will be used in the second part of the analysis where a further level of analysis drawing upon social science theory will be employed.

Chapter Six: Secondary Analysis – The underlying dynamics

In this section I will employ analytic categories that are derived from recent social science research on group relations and which are consistent with the understanding of prejudice developed within the theoretical analysis. It is apparent from the initial analysis above that strong inter-group sentiments are expressed around a relatively few dominant themes. But it is possible to explore the sentiments that may underlie these assertions of in-group outrage employing relevant social science theory and research.

Intergroup threat theory is one such valuable analytic tool. Fear or threat is experienced when members of one group, in this context some Norwegian individuals, perceive that the Saami are in a position to cause them harm. Given our understanding of the historic construction of the stereotypes of the Sami then it is apparent that in this context it is the Saami who are the out-group. The first level of analysis of the dominant themes that are occurring in these texts, now are open to further analysis and I will seek to unpack the issues in terms of symbolic/cultural threat or realistic treat.

Further in this second part of analysis I want to use the concept of ‘the victimisation of the majority’ (Wodak and Matouscheck, 1993) in order to look at the same data from a different analytic perspective; that places the Saami experience into a wider European context.

The last section of this secondary analysis part will be looking at the possible effects of these kind of attitudes expressed through social media. What can the social effects such online attitudes cause, what can be the outcome of such attitudes?

Saami`s as a cultural threat

In this section of the analysis I want to explore the nature of the intergroup threats some seem to be experiencing and why some individuals feel threatened by the Saami. I will try, in a related way, to utilize or explore whether this fruitful ideological ploy has any relevance to the understanding of the views expressed in these comment texts.

There can be different and many types of threats that can cause conflict between groups, but my focus will be on realistic threats, and symbolic/cultural threats. Realistic and cultural threats both deal with the same issue, namely, if the interest of an in-group are threatened.

«intergroup discrimination is often driven by «in-group favouritism» rather than «out-group derogation» (Brewer, 1979)

However, it has been proven to be empirically possible to distinguish between ‘realistic’ and ‘symbolic’ threat, even though they may be expressed simultaneously against the same out group. And it has certainly proved to be heuristically valuable in distinguishing between these two modes of out-group representation, since it points to different forces at play in the focus of inter-group hostility and the different policy implications that may follow.

It may be useful to restate the definition of these two terms here:

Realistic threat - Perceptions held by the in-group, that the out-group ‘poses a risk to their economy, politics, health or safety’.⁵⁴

Symbolic threat – Beliefs and values of the in-group at risk. They primarily involve ‘perceived group differences in values, beliefs, standards, morals and attitudes’⁵⁵.

Intergroup threat has traditionally been interpreted as competition for the same resources or some kind of status which is made salient under conditions of social comparison (Brown, 1978; Shipley, 2008) Social identity theory (Tajfel etc) has shown that this mechanism of comparison between groups can provide powerful psychological dynamics to the development of inter-group relations. Nature is seen as very Norwegian, and the use of nature is well rooted in Scandinavian history, let it be forest work, fishing, hunting or just enjoying nature at its best. Access to nature and a profound appreciation of nature; and local terrain is deeply embedded in the Norwegian national culture. Thus, the perceived hubris of the Saami in laying claim to territory in Sápmi can be seen as either a cultural assault on powerful shared sentiments about nature; or as a realistic threat in usurping natural resources. In this context the Saami are depicted as the people who can freely use and drive all over the tundra, while some commentators suggest they, the majority, don’t have the same possibilities or freedom.

In the context of natural assets, the threat of Saami owning and wanting «too much» is definitively a big cultural threat, and in Norway there is a strong cultural norm for modesty, and not to hoard, and take whatever fits your hat. This cultural threat against Norwegian values can also be reflected by some individual’s, the example below demonstrates the cultural threat:

54 <https://www.nmsu.edu/~ucomm/Releases/1998/Nov98/stephan2.html>

55 Oskamp, S. (Ed.). (2000). «The Claremont Symposium on Applied Social Psychology» Reducing prejudice and discrimination. Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers

FACEBOOK COMMENT:

«Can` t you tell me what you have done for the Norwegian people, except for just claiming and claiming. Apply for compensation after compensation.

It is something that most Norwegians first think about when they think of Saami.

And why? Yes, dear . Put your finger in the ground and think about what comes in all newspapers and other media when you Saami`s express their frustration that you cannot rule over everything and everyone.»

The commentator is worried that the Saami people will just claim for assets, and it clearly distresses the commentator; and really clashes with the Norwegian cultural understanding of modesty, equality and their way of understanding the world. Expressions like this, indicates how sensitive cultural threat can be.

The Saami as a threat to homogenous Norwegian identity

The primary reason I see perceived intergroup threats as important to be employed in this analysis, is because of their effects on intergroup relations; and the experience of minority rights in diverse Norway. Threats do not come out of the blue; socially constructed core stereotypes are always deeply embedded in a specific historical and the current context of the social sphere. Therefore, I want to analyse the core stereotypes (see chap.4) of the Saami in context of negative Facebook comments.

The repetition of stereotypes can be traced in many levels of online discourse forums and comments sections. And because these stereotypes aren` t floating in a vacuum – they have a distinct social context; the comments are not just nasty and rude ideas that were created or made up from nowhere. For example, the Western science and research about the Saami in the past; as being low sculled and without the possibility to think for themselves, and the white as the superior race: with long skull, being smart and the people who «knows» what is right and best for everybody has a long history. This way of thinking and predicating the world, is still very relevant for some individuals. Below there is an example of rhetoric`s used to mention old science stereotypes.

FACEBOOK COMMENT:

«Did you really think in the low-sculled heads of yours, that it was just to stroll into Norwegian politics and start to rule?»

Indeed, the historical and current social political practice in Norway towards the Saami, has to be considered as one of the main factors of prejudice that some Facebook commentators tend to mirror. Also, the Norwegianization process I consider ultimately to be an important component for the prejudiced attitudes that reflects on the commentary fields.

The process or the history of Norwegianization is used by the anti-Saami commentators as a positive thing; namely that the Saami people became enlightened by the Norwegian government, and the process helped the Saami population rather than damaged it. This form of argumentation cleverly maintains the stereotype of the inferior Saami whilst at the same time arguing that their salvation is to be found in the erasure of their culture and identity. This comment below demonstrates something of rhetoric applied in discussing Norwegianization:

FACEBOOK COMMENT:

«So positive that somebody dares to go out of the victim role. More should do so. Look up and forth. Saami is not a marginalized people. The so-called «Norwegianization» of Saami (and other immigrants), learning them Norwegian, shows that it leads to something positive. Inclusion and focus on equality as humans, is the key»

The author uses words with a very positive attitude in contemporary Norwegian policy discourse: **Inclusion, equality**. Thus, **Norwegianization is learning Norwegian**. This rhetoric makes the Norwegianization process as non-harmful and a positive thing.

FACEBOOK COMMENT:

«Notice what is happening in Denmark. Here the Prime Minister goes out with the following questions: What do you do with groups of people who do not want to adapt to the native culture of the country? The answer is for sure: All immigrant women are going to work, all children under school age are in kindergartens, all schoolchildren are going to the school desk and mingle with the native. No ghetto now has to burden. The Danish minister has decided and he has cures if he does not get his will. This is brilliant and must come in Norway before it's too late. Now Listhaug has free hands, and they need to follow the Danish instructions. And no one dares to mingle, because the consequences will come soon.

Notice what must happen first in Norway: The Reindeer Act and the Saami Parliament must be removed immediately. It is no longer levelled with a group of people who do not want to adapt to the native culture, which strives to create a parallel society in our society. These initiatives, as the Danish minister now prepares for Denmark, should have been long gone in the in system in Norway for the Saami people. But it's not too late. Here the parliament and the minister must take place in the other hand, and follow what Denmark is doing. Otherwise it may be too late.»

This example above, provides a fruitful example of how some individuals tend to stereotype the Saami as outsiders who are a challenge to the proper homogeneity of the Norwegian society: and in this case underline the threat by identifying the Saami with another currently dominant out-group; the immigrant. Discrediting with old stereotypes is commonly used by commentators.

These degenerating anti-Saami comments are not just nasty ideas created from the commentators by themselves, they are historically grounded in western science about the Saami and also the Norwegian state-building history and antiSaami policies.

The history of state-building and the suspicion that Saami might have the own agenda, still exist within some commentators, the example below clearly mirror this prejudice of sneaky Saami`s:

FACEBOOK COMMENT:

«These fooleries from the Saami Parliament will never be accepted by the majority in Finnmark, nor elsewhere. It oozes of dishonesty that cannot tolerate daylight. Municipalities must on the track in this case, to set the agenda with a powerful protest »

The example above, especially reflects the suspicion of the Saami having their own intentions, and of resisting being subsumed into a dominant, 'normative' Norwegian identity.

Saami`s as a realistic Threat

Within the anti-Saami texts there can be found instances of perceived threat and concern about Saami taking over land assets and owning too much. There are angry statements that the Saami have protected and privileged areas of employment, they have all the good benefits, and only they have the possibility to own lands. These are assertions of realistic threat, they see Saami as an economic and professional threat for the majority ingroup.

For example, the Saami parliament, is often used to provoke suspicion towards the Saami people on comment sections, and the accusations are often on the edge of conspiracy theories. The example provided below, show how some indicate that the Saami`s is trying to influence the economic growth.

FACEBOOK COMMENT:

«The Saami Parliament had in its time secret negotiations with the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy about the oil discovery on the Goliat field outside Sørøya. Then they demanded "indigenous tax" for the Saami Parliament from the upcoming business. When they didn`t get the demand, they went against oil extraction there.»

The rhetoric`s used above are indeed reflecting the realistic threats the commentator has of the Saami taking money from the society or trying to stop development. The fear for loss of assets, or the Saami taking what belongs to the majority or the whole society. Key terms used are «secret negotiations», «demand», «indigenous tax`s», «against oil extraction»

FACEBOOK COMMENT:

«I've read a little around now, different newspaper posts, online forums and discussion pages. There are many who are against the Saami parliament. There are many who are pissed off for what happens, the Saami Parliament is going to claim oil and fish. Soon it would be SAMEOIL to AKER SAMEFISH FOODS. I get pissed off»

The commentator is worried that the Saami parliament and people will own oil and fish assets, and it clearly outrages the writer: these demands really clash with the Norwegian cultural understanding of modesty, and «their way of understanding» the world. Expressions like this, indicates how sensitive perceived threat can be.

It is clear that the dominant themes revealed in the first level of analysis are capable of being energised as foci of a range of hostile sentiments; with quite distinct underlying historical and current dynamics. That the Saami, who for decades had been subject to brutal systemic marginalisation by the Norwegian state; and who were the target of negative stereotypes developed over centuries, should in the latter part of the twentieth century emerge as a distinct people with unique rights clearly distresses many non-Saami. It is important to locate the sentiments revealed above in a concrete social and policy context. The Saami have experienced a significant change in their legal and cultural status in Norway. There has been a significant commitment of resources to the development of Saami agendas in terms of identity politics and relative autonomy in Sápmi. Thus, we should not see the hostility reflected in the texts above as simple expressions of free-floating prejudice. They are regrettable instances of anti-social acts of inter-group hostility arising from a prejudiced conception of past and current realities.

Victimisation of the majority and the Limits of Tolerance

Elsewhere in the social science literature there are other contributions which shed a light on the processes involved in this inter-group hostility. Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) introduced the concept of the 'limits of tolerance' which identified the majority perception of themselves as part of a liberal and tolerant society. They are proud of their tolerant credentials and see the 'uncontrolled' influx of immigrants and the 'unreasonable' demands of minorities as threat to their capacity to sustain this tolerance. Hence action against these unreasonable demands are legitimate in seeking to protect culture of tolerance

Woudak and Matouschek (1993) in their introduction of the concept of 'the victimisation of the

majority' point to the occurrence across Europe of a sentiment held by members of majority ethnic groups that it is the minority communities that have special rights; and they, the majority, are the disadvantaged victims of multicultural political correctness gone mad (see eg Husband). Both of these understandings of the threat experienced by the majority can be seen in the texts studied here.

The Wider Context for the Operation of These Threats and the Implications of Differentiated Rights

Following on from the previous analysis above, then another way of looking at the same data is to place the Saami experience into a wider European context. In this section I will provide an analysis of how the success of human rights ideology and the development of forms of differentiated citizenship has produced a loud backlash (reactions) from the majority.

The state operates as the law; thus, it is the state who recognize, define and have the power. So, in other words, the state is the one who sets the overall agenda in a society. The policies in Norway was to assimilate the Saami, this went on into the 70 and 80 as mentioned above. In the context of this thesis, the Saami's in Norway got self-government rights in 1989. This shift towards positive recognition of Saami as a people was not only from good minded Norwegian politicians at that era, but the shift towards better human right conditions and «pro-indigenous»⁵⁶ was a wider European trend from 1950`s until 2000`s (Kymlicka, 2007). So, it seems appropriate to analyse the process of human right development and the recognition of indigenous people in a wider European context, it should give a fruitful understanding of why Norwegian state policies towards the Saami`s shifted towards the positive, and what backlash these politics of recognition or differentiation have created, and some of that backlash we might see on social medias today.

From mid-1900`s European organizations proceeded to improve the treatment of minorities with different approaches. Of course, both world wars had an impact on the understanding and importance of preventing extreme ideologies to thrive again⁵⁷. In 1948, first generation human rights where enshrined in international law, and the overall protection of people got stronger. The following shift to more positive humanitarian politics had of course an impact on Norwegian society, multicultural societies where more accepted than before, and off course this was also positive for the Saami people. In the 1970`s the politics of Norwegianization process came to an end, and the Norwegian state then shifted to a more positive direction in Saami matters.

⁵⁶ Note: Politics that benefit the minority or the indigenous people.

⁵⁷ Note: NAZI

It is argued (Kymlicka, 2007) that the shift in Europe to «pro-indigenous» in the 80`s had a number of reasons, and one factor was humanitarian reasons, but that alone is rarely enough to gather and mobilize western countries to shift politics. But a more convenient thought is argued to be governments` self-interest: the fear of unstable countries where minorities suffer, can increase the chances of a bigger refugee movement to the western countries, as happened with Kosovo and Bosnia. Also, the fear of unstable societies that can create civil wars or lawless and criminal havens, was a reason for the shift. It is also argued that another diffuse reason for this effort existed, namely the need to check the political maturity of western governments with multiple ethnic groups. In short, this was a test if the government was ready and if it could join the «new liberal Europe». These factors must of course also be considered a part of the Norwegian States` positive shift towards Saami.

The negative discourse we see in social media today can be fruitfully also be set in the context of Will Kymlicka`s (1995 model of group differentiated rights. Here Kymlicka has made a differentiated-rights model with three forms which a state can operate in, namely: Self-government, Special representation rights and Polyethnic rights.

The first element in this model is, Self-government, the example in Europe or the west, was a trend to give some forms of territorial autonomy to minorities, and some sorts of self-determination, as a way of granting the minorities wishes. The European policies of giving autonomy over the territories was evaluated as best practice approach. In the context of Saami`s in Norway, this was in 1989 accommodated with first of all the Saami parliament, that has authority over some areas, and it practices to promote Saami language, culture and make sure that Saami people have their rights and possibilities to own and practice their culture. This recognition of the `best practices` policies regarding the Saami in Norway, was seen as a «successful». This degree of self-determination then, regarding Saami hate comments on social media, must be considered as valuable asset in understanding why the negative speech is occurring., It is argued (Hylland, 2013) that the Norwegian states dealings with law and legislation has been fast and effective, but at the same time, the government have failed or have been less skilled dealing with the multi-ethnic diversity in the state.

Special representation is argued (Downing, Husband, 2005) to be essential, as this allows minority voices to be heard when in important state bodies make decisions. This form of differentiated rights is also often commented, the example below shows some of the discourse forms that occur regarding the special representation rights;

FACEBOOK COMMENT:

«It is quite shocking that our politicians violate the UN Convention Guidelines in this Saami case to those degrees. All ethical norms and rules are also overlooked. The Saami ethnic register is also a violation of Norwegian law and is prohibited, and by the United Nations Convention as Norway has ratified. On top of that, the Parliament politicians have given the Saami political power over the rest of the population without the people having the opportunity to influence the issues, either by election or other ways. This is also a violation of Norwegian law. Here I have to ask for justice in this country. Where do they hide? Now they have to come out of their shackles and come up with their considerations about this madness that takes place. Why are they so quiet?»

The comment above is a good example of how some individuals discredit the Saami representation and the Saami parliament, even if the commentator is total wrong, because the reality is quite different. The Deanu⁵⁸ river case⁵⁹ is a good example of how the special representation rights are practically used, and how the decision processes are done. The Deanu river case can be used as a counter example or information for the comment above.; where the established rights of the Sami have been overridden by the state.

According to Aslak Holmberg`s⁶⁰ research on the negation and consultation process, when the The Deanu river agreement⁶¹ was renewed in 2017, the process of this decision making is rather odd in context of special representation. In the process Saami representatives were allowed to participate, in some meetings, but was clearly excluded when the final decision was made. This is on high political level of two democratic and respectful countries in Scandinavia, and the threat of Saami influence, they are left out, literally... In Finland, the Saami representatives had to wait outside in the hall, when meetings about the new regulations took place.

61 https://nordnorskdebatt.no/article/gratulerer-fn-dagenutrolig?fb_action_ids=10155711882401825&fb_action_types=og.comments&fbclid=IwAR3ezdaezUSMCh86PAVdvgi7PDYZP61x6Voe_BjUZiaE49FgOweFo5GVWDo

58 Deatnu: Situated along the lower river basin of the Tana River, which borders Finland along most of its course. There are smaller settlements along the river. Most inhabitants are Saami people, and the Saami language and culture are today promoted by the municipality and the schools.

59 [Nrk.no/finnmark](https://nrk.no/finnmark) - The battle for Salomon fishing

60 Bivdit Luosa – To Ask for Salmon Saami Traditional Knowledge on Salmon and the River Deatnu: In Research and Decision-making

61 Agreement between Norway and Finland regarding fishing regulations for the fishing area of the Tana river. <https://treaties.un.org>

«Saami representatives were invited to the meetings of the negotiating group, but in some meetings, they were not allowed to participate in the negotiations. Instead they waited in the hallway while the state representatives were negotiating». (Ihmisoikeusliitto:2017, Holmberg, 2018) The new agreement was passed by voting in Finland.

On the Norwegian side the decision making of the new river agreement process was rather different from the Finnish. The Norwegian states process and decision making can be on the ethical and juridical boarder line. The Saami`s had three representatives through the consulting process, but when the final decision was made about the new agreement, the Saami representatives was not invited. Thus, the special representation rights were not fulfilled, and this example is fruitful to understand how essential special representation in important state boards are. In the context of negative comments about Saami decision making, this should give an understanding that the fear the commentators express on social medias, are not necessarily rooted in reality.

Polyethnic rights is on the other hand defined as financial support and legal protection of practices with some ethnic or religious groups, and these rights are enshrined in national and international law`s. All levels of group differentiated rights interact dynamically together but the special representation rights is argued (Downing, Husband, 2005) to be most essential for the ethnic-minorities to get to the political agenda of a state.

In sum these group-differentiated rights can be part of the explanation of the negative backlash towards the Saami on social media.

To create a credible multicultural sphere, a state must recognize pluralism in society. It is argued that the central part of Taylor`s politics of difference (Downing, Husband, 2005) is the willingness to follow the credo:

«If you want to treat me equally, then you have to be prepared to treat me differently»

But this credo it is argued (Hylland, 2012) is be hard to follow in Norway, where it is normal to claim equality; and differentiation is more difficult to handle ideologically.⁶² Thus, the human rights and the legislation of the Saami population can be hard to practice when an equality ideology is practiced, and this reflects on many of the comments regarding Saami issues. The

⁶² Partly because of Norwegian Nationalism history and partly indirect outcome of the labour-led construction of the welfare state, where equality has always been associated with cultural homogeneity. (Thomas Hylland Eriksen – Immigration and National identity in Norway)

negative comments on social media are not seen as extreme, the Norwegian equality ideology is the norm, so the discourse tolerance level is set and practiced thereafter.

In sum, Kymlica's, concept of differentiated citizenship points directly to the fact that the state sets the framework for society, It is argued (Downing, Husband, 2005) that it is doubtfully possible for a multi-ethnic sphere to exist if the state does not practice and recognize human rights. In the context of hate speech in social media, it is argued when politics of difference is expressed, in this example, by the Saami, then it creates reactions or some sorts of backlash from the majority, because they feel their privileges are challenged and they feel the minority are greedy and arrogant who want 'special' rights. These prejudiced thoughts of Saami greediness, are often used by commentators, as the examples above show.

Dehumanization

When you see comments on social media, where the authors use terms like «lowscull», «idiot», they are clearly using de-humanizing language. People use nasty de-humanizing language to justify their «truth». Even if it seems that the dehumanizing language of outgroups are often linked to far-right groups, but it is indeed also used by others.

Half of the Saami (50%) with significant Saami association reported to have been discriminated, 34.3% report that the violation has occurred before and 16.5% say that this has happened over the past two years. (Hansen, Ketil Lenert, 2016, *Selvopplevd diskriminering av samer i Norge*) That is a significant number, and to demonstrate how this de-humanizing discourse may happen, and how some individuals tend to use « own research» and discredit the Saami as a whole population, I have found an example that uses many aspects of the most occurred phrases that is used about the Saami, and maybe some of the most hurtful to hear or see.

FACEBOOK COMMENT:

«The most unconscious is that those who promote this cannot substantiate their claims. Sappmi is a political / historical creation. I believed in this bullshit until I began to go on the sources of the claims. The majority of "Sami" were few generations ago belonging to other people. Which cultural markers do these possess? This sappmi is increasingly starting to appear as a diagnosis in which all claims can be freely and without historical evidence. What separates these self-defined indigenous peoples from everybody else in our society, after several years of search, is still a true mystery. Build an ethnicity with perceived affiliation and 1/8 of right blood. Yeah, Apartheid lives in the best of its kind, supported by fooled politicians who through decades have been processed by the ancestry movement lobbyists. The tool has been infiltration in all (political) parties and larger organizations, history rewriting and suffering history?»

Saami people do not attract the same moral concern as the majority population in Norway, hence they are not fitting their ideology of equality. The discourse style we see above de-humanizes the Saami people by calling the whole Sápmi a 'diagnosis'.

It may be argued that since the extreme forms of racist statement have been eliminated then we should not be too troubled by the remaining presence of these modified statements of hostility. This is not a view that can be allowed to be accepted and disseminated. The very fact that these statements have an air of acceptability, given that similar statements are readily found within mainstream political discourse, gives them a particular power to be accepted as 'reasonable concerns.' The analysis by Tileaga (2007) of the mechanisms of dehumanisation and deligitimation of outgroups underlines the power of representing an outgroup as 'not us'; as being outside of the taken for granted range of moral inclusion.

Tileaga (ibid, p.720) argues that:

«According to Opatow, 'moral exclusion occurs when individuals are perceived as outside the boundary in which moral values, rules, and considerations of fairness apply' (Opatow,1990, p.1). The term 'deligitimization' has been introduced as a very important social psychological process that permits moral exclusion.»

It is clear that a common strand in the ‘moderate’ anti-Saami sentiments expressed in these texts is that the Saami are not to be seen as occupying the same moral ground as ‘true’ Norwegians; and that consequently their claims to equality are unfounded.

The effect of anti-Saami discourse

In the above chapters I have discussed the underlying dynamics of discourse, but what are the social effects when this kind of discourse style is in circulation?

It is argued (Downing, Husband, 2005) that when positive movement of human rights globally recognized the need to condemn racism, then so too has the language of racial discourse become more sophisticated.

The commentators reviewed above have found a discursive style that goes past the moderators, hence they manage to get the text into public circulation, and possibly influence audiences and create more separation. Whilst some media companies have taken the step to close the comment sections because of the level of nasty discourse (Ságat news editor, 2018)⁶³ to be found in their sites, it remains the case that anti-Saami sentiments are easily found in these sites.

Conclusion

With this thesis I offered a brief review of the anti-Saami text and attitudes on social media with critical discourse analysis, mixed with social science theories. The direction of the analysis in this thesis is communication on social media, the attitudes people reflect and what are the triggers for these anti-Saami comments.

The findings of the analysis demonstrate that there are racial attitudes existing in the social media sphere towards Saami people, and that there is a dangerous amount that get through the media moderation filter. At the same time people adopt the discourse tolerance level on social media sites, thus making their racial, de-humanizing language pass to the public social sphere and that again creates a more divisive and hostile society between the Norwegian and the Saami people. This practice can be very destructive in the long run, and possibilities for physical reactions are present.

As for the research questions: the first was: *to identify the modes of expression of hostile comment and hate speech against Saami people; and to explore its discursive properties.*

⁶³ Interview, News editor Ságat.

The first question I consider got answered in the sense that the central categories of what the anti-Saami commentators «care» most about, namely, *Ethnicity, Reindeer Husbandry, Language, Special treatment, Land and water rights*, was revealed and identified. The elements from these findings indicate that a strong equality ideology and nationalism are present in Norway, and that news articles with these themes are more commented. These categories in the context of the secondary analysis, revealed the stress some individuals tend to have, and showed the implications government politics can have for the society.

The second research question was; *to examine the potential mechanisms behind this kind of behaviour utilizing relevant social science theory and research*. One of the initial observations that emerged from this data was the relative moderation in discursive style that was found in these anti-Saami texts. It is apparent that this is a space where the anti-Saami have moderated their communicative forms: they have adapted and learned the discourse of tolerance of the media companies and moderators, and seek to get their opinions into print by using language that is seen as appropriate.

There are issues about the autonomy of the Saami. The strong Norwegian equality ideology can be a vital factor in understanding the issues about Saami legal rights, and the discussion about the territorial and land asset question seem to be the «hot bed» of realistic threat. The Nordic Institute for Human Rights lawyer, Laila Susanne Vars, comments on the situation in Norway between the Saami and the Norwegian government, and argues about the complex situation in Norway:

«The colonial relationship between the state and the Sámi is a complex issue, and one of the main issues is land rights, and how state assimilation policy has deprived the Sámi of their rights to manage their own lands and resources. The State promoted large-scale exploitation of forests, minerals, rivers and other resources, which has effectively displaced the Sámi with very little influence over the developments and use of their lands. Whether the reconciliation processes will include land rights issues, is still an open question.» Laila Susanne Vars, Guovdageaidnu (2018)⁶⁴

The land right issues are still an open question, and this might be the hardest part to deal with for a government. There will continue to be inherent contradictions when there are discussions about Saami territorial autonomy. The legal status of the Saami is not matched in substantive terms by a dominant political culture that can realise their formal legal rights.

64 IWGIA – The Indigenous World – 2018 - <https://www.iwgia.org/en/resources/yearbook>

We have seen in the review chapter above the historical depth of the processes of exclusion of the Saami and of the negative stereotypes that developed in conjunction with this racist exclusion. The continuity of these stereotypes in the contemporary social media should not be taken lightly. In an extensive metaanalysis of intergroup threat and outgroup attitudes Riek et al (2006, p.339) demonstrated that: «*Negative stereotypes generate threat by creating negative expectations concerning the behaviour of outgroup members*». They also reported that (Ibid, p.339): «*group threat led to stronger devaluation of low status relative to high status outgroups.*» Thus, in our data here we see the recycling of stereotypes of the Saami as not only different, but inferior. Their perceived low status is thus likely to enhance the consequences of the perceived threat that they represent to majority interests and facilitate stronger sentiments of delegitimation and dehumanization. Riek et al also (Ibid, p.345) indicate that the relationship between stereotypes and threat may not only be unidirectional in as much as «*negative stereotypes may also be a consequence of intergroup threat.*»

Thus, again we have reason to be concerned about the easy circulation of discourses that represent the Saami as a threat to majority Norwegian interests. We have the possibility here of a positive feedback loop between negative stereotypes and threat that will amplify the marginalisation of the Saami from inclusion within Norwegian life. This is all the more troubling given the apparent ‘reasonableness’ of this discourse that has been passed through a critical media filter. One implication of this research is that we cannot afford to be preoccupied by the discourse of the radical far right and neo-Fascist racists in our society. It is the ease with which ‘low-level’ derogation of the Saami circulates that demands equal concern.

As was noted above there may also be individual psychological mechanisms which for some individuals exacerbate their prejudice. Allport discussed the aspects of a personal fearfulness of something or somebody, or incompetence and anxiety, as the core of prejudice. Overall research⁶⁵ support Allport’s view that fear, insecurity and threat seem to be the core of Authoritarianism. Additionally, Altemeyer proposes that the threat orientations of authoritarian personalities, stems from socially learning; and the perceptions of others and the social world that is present in their socialisation. Whilst we are not able to infer personal dynamics from the data presented here; it is clear from the analysis of the texts that the discursive style of the material reviewed is entirely consistent with a social psychological understanding of their impact.

At a personal level, working with a topic such as hate speech, I think it is important to have a solid environment of persons that you can discuss issues with, and lean on in hard times. Be-

65 Personality and Prejudice, John Duckitt (The nature of prejudice, Dovidio et al. (2006)

cause this is a topic that can be tough some days. Whilst it is important to digest the literature of racism and prejudice, because this is necessary to the analysis of hate comments in a professional way: the relevance of this material for your personal identity cannot be denied. In the beginning when you start to see and understand what kind of discursive styles exist, and how covert racial discourse happens on social media, it can sometimes be overwhelming to see the amount of prejudiced, dehumanizing and evil attitudes.

As for language, I worked with three languages simultaneously. I am thinking in Saami, writing in English and the comments are in Norwegian. This can create some fuzz, both in the head and the papers, so my advice will be to keep clean and good documents, then this problem can hopefully be avoided.

In the end, we must be mature enough, that we have to have the strength and willingness to analyse anti-Saami commentators' behaviours without calling them crazy «psychopaths.» The commentator's actions can be seen as hateful, prejudiced or dehumanizing, but we must keep in mind that these comments come from humans, not computers or artificial intelligence. The commentators may be victims themselves, some may have been taught to hate the Saami by their families, or they are infected by strong nationalism, or by post Norwegian anti Saami politics: but overall, we must show maturity and recognize the commentator's humanity, because this is essential if we want to reduce dehumanization in society.

Final thanks

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Áhčči, giitu go leat čájehan beroštumi, ipmárdusa ja dorjon mu.

My lovely three sisters, thanks for the support and for believing in me.

Kamilla, I dedicate this paper for you, I cannot thank you enough for your love, support and guidance in my life.

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Appendix

Facebook group: Restore freedom of speech and democracy in Finnmark The group describe about them:

Finnmark, Troms and Nordland are victims of introducing an ethnic policy with NSR at the head of the Sámi Parliament, next to this, this will concern Trøndelag and Hedemark. Finnmark's law is in place, now the Hålogalandsalmenningen for Troms and Nordland, Trøndelag tom Hedemark will be the continuation.

Ethnic politics make the Saami oppressed and that the Sami must have protection against the remaining population and greater rights on ethnopolitical basis than the rest of the population in order for the Sami to survive.

Why is not the population of the three northernmost counties advised, why should there be secret footholds between the Sami Parliament and Oslo without the rest of the people involved. The Sami national romance is total and the rest of the population is omitted.

This page is meant to create an open debate about what's happening.

The group is party politically independent - We are for equal rights and democratic processes.

The problem today is that if you want to discuss Sami ethnic policy, the «Race Card» comes very quickly.

Everyone should have the right to debate, criticize, ask questions and have opinions on how the political landscape should look without being labeled as «BRUN» - «RASIST» because one does not agree with what is happening.

Freedom of expression and democracy must be re-implemented. »NORWEGIANIZATION-WHAT IS IT?»

- This demonstrates to the fullest that required integration works. Even if the lucky ones do not understand the scope and opportunities that lie in the integration. That parents do not even manage to teach culture and language to their children. Witness the necessity of giving all the same opportunities

- The extreme, claim and have claimed that if you learn Norwegian, for example, your culture understanding Norwegian- your own understanding of who you are is taken from you- one is then Norwegianized. A bigger lie is hardly served Norwegian people and now will be served to the truth commission. It exists in our group people who have learned language-we will not be for that reason another person.
- The so-called «Norwegianization» was Norwegian education, participation in elementary education in the same way that immigrants receive training in Norwegian in our time. It is a statutory (by law) right and a duty to learn Norwegian. This is necessary to participate in the school career, to be able to take an education, to participate in work life, and necessary to understand and participate in democracy. What had the options been if Saami and other immigrants had not been taught Norwegian?
- Time is ripe to lay down the Saami parliament. Responsibility for Saami language and culture can be placed under the Ministry of Culture, and Troms and Finnmark can still remain as separate, independent counties. This will save bureaucracy, and at the same time it will be economically profitable.
- The Sami Parliament is based on the storytelling-story of the descendant's history presentation. Therefore, all power should be deprived of these descent opportunists. It all is based on bluff and forgery. Of people who claim they deviate from the rest of the population. With their reality, the Norwegian health care system should have even fuller hands than before, with «Sappmi».
- What is it that «separates indigenous peoples» according to the rest of the population? We meet the same terms and conditions. The difference lies in the fact that you belong to an almost equal fundamental religion, in the common cold Samish. No wonder young Saami people struggle with such insane indoctrination and brass of suppression and colonization. You live on and in an illusion. It obviously does something with one.
- The Saami Parliament was, in its time, established to preserve Saami language and culture. But they have mixed themselves up in everything else too, so agree that it should be closed down.
- One step in the right direction with this judgment of the Supreme Court. But still not is Finnmark Act and Finnmark property (note: FEFO) ethnic and democratic neutral.

- Recruitment of Saami-speaking doctors to Finnmark.

The Health Committee proposes:

Economic incentives to municipalities with Saami settlement, earmarked to recruit Saami-speaking doctors. Upon admission to medical studies, the study period is reserved for the Saami core area students who are awarded a place for ethnic and democratic neutrality.

- This has been an arrangement for almost 50 years. East and West Norway is filled up with doctors from this arrangement.
- They speak and understand Norwegian all together. The elders who had problems with languages other than their own Sami dialect, I think have passed away. So, I do not understand this unfair division for a group in 2018.

FACEBOOK GROUP: Stop the special treatment of indigenous peoples

Group description: (Note: Their own description)

Nobody wants anybody to own blueberries on the mountain or mullet bearings. All Finnmarkings must be treated equally under the Finnmark Act, and according to Norwegian law, no discrimination is allowed. Finnmarkings must be treated equally, no-one has greater rights than other citizens in Finnmark county or elsewhere in Norway, if you live in the county and tax to the county, you must have equal rights to the natural resources in our dear Finnmark So away with the Saami Parliament and their requirements and separate ownership in Finnmark.

We must stop the special treatment of indigenous peoples in northern Norway, for and avoid the divisions of Finnmark and the rest of the country ... We have to put down the Saami Parliament. The Saami Parliament is a not decision capable, it is only a money drain and a Saami-policy organ that will protect the Saami's rights. The Saami Parliament creates division among people groups due to special rights and attempts at special treatment of the Saami people.

We do not want a North-Norwegian Gaza ...

- I read that reindeer husbandry get big subsidies from the state. About 500 kr. pr. kg. reindeer meat Is that right ??? what are they complaining about!!!
- Do not believe you need to be FRP voter to put down the Saami parliament, think it's enough being a citizen in your own county, Finnmark county ...

- Saami in general does not have so much special rights, it is the reindeer Saami who has power over land and waters throughout northern Norway! One industry with power, can anyone understand ?? These are the obstacles to the development here, they have managed to stop hydropower builders, several road projects, dozens of wind farms, camping sites, industry, cottage plots, etc. Cannot drive a crowbar in the soil without having to pay for compensation for reindeer husbandry! The road to Nervei has been stopped by the reindeer industry for 50 years. Worst of all, the industry has public support, that is, the reindeer is taken more into account than the people.
- I've read a little around now. different newspaper posts, online forums and discussion pages. There are many who are against the Saami parliament. There are many who are cursed for what happens that the Saami Parliament is going to claim oil and fish. Soon it would be SA-MEOIL to AKER SAMEFISH FOODS. I get pissed off
- Yes, people have begun to see the power of madness! it's just to get abolished the Sami parliament before it really takes of...
- We have now obtained 86 registered signatures at <http://www.stoppSAMetinget.tk> which is the signing campaign for this group ... So I recommend those who have not yet signed up to do it so we can collect as many signatures as possible

We will bring the matter further when we get signatures to members of this group :)

- Treason against Sami? Excuse me, Magga, but you have insanity mongoloid satan kind of commitment, has the Norwegian state ever had to give you special treatment!? Are you «fette»/total idiot? You're go crazy up on Finnmarksvidda (tundra) like some damn cowboys and have been raging around drunk, undisturbed all the years ever since you got COMPENSATION enough to buy your first snowmobile, quad bike and helicopter. There has been no fucking Saamis in Båtsfjord since the Middle Ages, and still you have to own the blueberry in my garden? You will not be so kind and pick up speed and ride straight into hell? mis expresses their frustration that you cannot rule over everything and everyone.
- The political work in vain? What in Satan have you been expecting? Did you really think in the low-sculled heads of yours, that it was just to stroll in Norwegian politics and start to rule? You got 130 million to build a playroom in Karasjok, with real furniture and books in

Saami, but that's not good enough? Must have land too - as big as Denmark. Much want more. Demand, demand demand! Fucksaik, I puke.

- Had it been up to me, then you should have got the stuff you're looking for: A ten-meter high high-voltage fence around Kautokeino, Karasjok, Porsanger and Upper Tana. Cut all state aid, stop all social goods. Inside you could be lords in own country, and could drink, in-breed, cut off each other heads, make Saami prison, Saami money, Saami clown costume, Saami joik-GrandPrix, and eat reindeer meat until it grows out claws and horns.
- But there is also a good sense of truth in what came.
Not that it's he who first wrote it. But anyway.
Cannot you tell me what you have done for the Norwegian people, except for just claiming and claiming.
Apply for compensation after compensation.
It is something that most Norwegians first think about when they think of Sami. And why? Yes, dear Maia. Put your finger in the ground and think about what comes in all newspapers and other media when you Saami's express their frustration that you cannot rule over everything and everyone.

Comments from:

<http://nordnorskdebatt.no/article/500-samiske-stedsnavn-skansen>

- I'm easy to be a Finnish convert in Norway ... (Answer to (above) Johan Vasara (Mayor in Guovdageaindu, municipality, who wants him to come and experience the Saami culture)
- Stand on Sami you are Norwegian and we encounter you when you want to keep the Sami culture with reindeer husbandry and whatever else is needed to make your life good for you in the north! (Irony? Later comments he wants to know what is the Saami culture, ironically)
- Think they have had enough(money) long time ago. They take private properties from people. What kind of indigenous people have a lawyer with them all over the place to tell them they are entitled to age's use, but they cannot document it. They have great snowmobiles, four-wheelers with big trailers, reindeer police who dismiss all things, they even report us if we chase the reindeer away from our gardens and fields. The reindeer grazes from April to autumn. The left lady must get together.
- It is against to the Constitution to grant individuals or groups of special benefits based on ethnicity. The fact that Nazi-Saami people want to advance ethnicity and earn it is also con-

trary to unprecedented morality and to all democratic interests. If not everyone soon understands that we are all within the borders of the Norwegians, and under Norwegian law and the moral is that everyone is part of a community that works to ensure everyone's welfare, yes, then we must accept that racism against democracy and The Norwegian people carry wrong way.

- let us in self-interest do not use imposing strong expressions. We are not threatened with life or culture - and the vast majority are manipulated by other fake who have better knowledge they do not use.
- If you aim for the word Nazisamer, I heard that first time in Kautokeino. It used to be used to denote the extreme racists among Sami who believed everything was theirs and that only their wishes were legitimate. And there were Sami who expressed the word about the ones that matter. I'm not trying to trick anyone on my feet, but to convey my opinions about the fact we really all know from our daily lives.
- It's too bad if we get an aggressive development here. It does not earn any - and especially those least of them - where most people are completely innocent in the historical mistakes made.
- Tundra was known, like the rest of Norway, occupied from 1940 to 1944/1945. A German tundra commander taught Saami language-something they in the Saami parliament do not want or can't, to communicate in the people's own language. Thus they giving(pushing?) on the kids-some kind of «Keskitalo-kids»
- Notice what is happening in Denmark. Here the Prime Minister goes out with the following questions: What do you do with groups of people who do not want to adapt to the native culture of the country? The answer is for sure: All immigrant women are going to work, all children under school age are in kindergartens, all schoolchildren are going to the school desk and mingle with the native. No ghetto now has to burden. The Danish minister has decided and he has cures if he does not get his will. This is brilliant and must come in Norway before it's too late. Now Listhaug has free hands, and they need to follow the Danish instructions. And no one dares to mingle, because the consequences will come soon.
- Notice what must happen first in Norway: The Reindeer Act and the Sami Parliament must

be removed immediately. It is no longer leveled with a group of people who do not want to adapt to the native culture, which strives to create a parallel society in our society. These initiatives, as the Danish minister now prepares for Denmark, should have long gone be set up in system in Norway for the Sami people. But it's not too late. Here the parliament and the minister must take place in the other hand, and follow what Denmark is doing. Otherwise it may be too late.

- Kofta/saami traditional clothing, which is supposed to be a form of national garment for Sami, according to the author, is actually an old Norse garment. These were daily dresses for our ancestors over 1000 years ago and was the most common garment in Europe. So, when the author talks about a Saami clothing, as a kind of national symbol, he carries thousands of years old Norse traditions.
- So positive that somebody dares to go out of the victim role. More should do so.
- Look up and forth. Sami is not a marginalized people. The so-called «Norwegianization» of Saami (and other immigrants), learning them Norwegian, shows that it leads to something positive. Inclusion and focus on equality as humans, is the key.
- Another debate post with bullshit. What is, for example, a «Sami community»?
- Thought apartheid seized in South Africa
- Since we came to Norway 1000 years before to Norway than the Saami, are we south's the real indigenous people in Norway? Should I have the status of indigenous peoples because of my ancestors. I do not understand why we should have our own Saami policy. Norway constitute that Saami is an indigenous people, but they are not. They are a tribal people. Should you have a lie to become facts? Get some lobbyists and throw yourself over Norwegian politicians. They do not care about the facts but about what others think one should think. This is how lobbyists help.
- Very well written. The Saami parliament should be laid down.
- Unnecessary special with arrangements.
- Privileges based on ethnicity are apartheid and must be abolished.
- You are writing bureaucratic. Therefore, and simplified: The Sami poison Norway with its special requirements, greed and rudeness. Construction projects stop and neighbors argue about Sami's special rights, which are on the way to stop development for both municipal, local and private projects. Half Norway is divided because of conflicts with ScoltSaami,

LuleSaami, FjellSaami, SørSaami (southsaami) and God knows what. Yes and most live in Oslo, with a branch office in New York (UN).

- Send more money.
Send more money.
Send more money.
Send more money.
Send more money.
Send
- She is dangerous making two groups against each other. Now must the government and parliament keep an better eye with what happens behind closed doors in the Saami Parliament.
- The term «indigenous people» is a business idea from Saami business area.
- The Sami Parliament has no justification and should be put down. The parliament was undoubtedly leaded behind the light when the Saami Parliament was established and when the ILO-169 was signed by the Norwegian authorities. Norwegian taxpayers' funds must be managed in good faith to the community in the country, not to create ethnic divisions that cause ever-increasing conflicts.
- These Revenge from the Sami Parliament will never be accepted by the majority in Finnmark, nor elsewhere. It oozes dishonesty that does not tolerate daylight.
- The municipalities must put the agenda in this matter with strong protest.
- https://nordnorskdebatt.no/article/gratulerer-fn-dagenutrolig?fb_action_ids=10155711882401825&fb_action_types=og.comments&fbclid=IwAR3ezda-ezUSMCh86PAVdvgi7PDYZP61x6Voe_BjUZiaE49FgOwefO5GVWDo
- It is quite shocking that our politicians violate the UN Convention Guidelines in this joint cause to those degrees. All ethical norms and rules are also overlooked. The Saami Ethnic Register is also a violation of Norwegian law and is prohibited, and by the United Nations Convention as Norway has ratified. On top of that, the parliament politicians have given the Saami political power over the rest of the population without the people having the opportunity to influence the issues, either by election or otherwise. This is also a breach of Norwe-

gian law. Here I have to call for justice in this country. Where do they hide now, they have to come out of their shackles and come up with their considerations about this madness that takes place. Why are they so quiet?

- The most unconscious is that those who promote this cannot substantiate their claims. Sappmi is a political / historical creation. I believed in this bullshit until I began to go on the sources of the claims. The majority of «Sami» are too few generations belonging to other people. Which cultural markers do these possess? This sappmi is increasingly starting to appear as a diagnosis in which all claims can be freely and without historical coatings promoted. What separates these self-defined indigenous peoples from everybody else in our society, after several years of search, is still a true mystery. Build a ethnicity with perceived affiliation and 1/8 right blood. Joda, Apartheid lives in the best of its kind, supported by fooled politicians who through decades have been processed by the Lobbyists' lobbyists. The tool has been infiltration in all parties and larger organizations, history transcribing and suffering history.
- https://www.facebook.com/pg/NRKFinmark/posts/?ref=page_internal
- Don't see anything wrong in this reindeer husbandry has been a very big problem in many places so this is a very good question.
- This is a real conflict line in Finnmark and has its right in school books is my opinion. The number of reindeer on Finnmarksvidda creates natural challenges, for example. Do not we want children to reflect on what is wearing out nature when proving challenging to find effective measures? Why take it as criticism? Sure toes?

