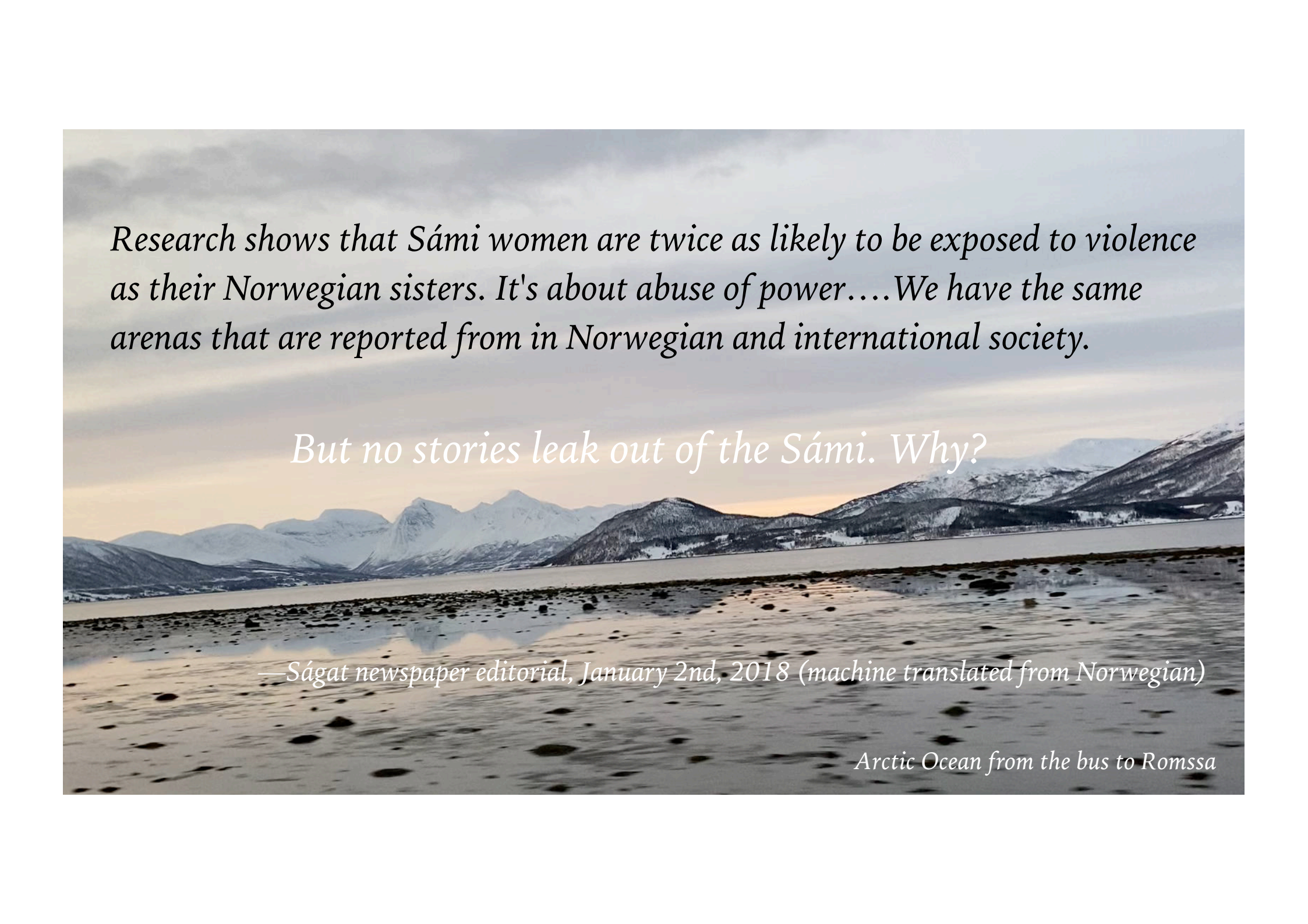




HE GAVE UP EVENTUALLY

*(but I didn't): Sámi journalists on sexual violence
and Sámi media on protecting the most vulnerable*



Research shows that Sámi women are twice as likely to be exposed to violence as their Norwegian sisters. It's about abuse of power.... We have the same arenas that are reported from in Norwegian and international society.

But no stories leak out of the Sámi. Why?

—Ságat newspaper editorial, January 2nd, 2018 (machine translated from Norwegian)

Arctic Ocean from the bus to Romssa



Volunteer-maintained ski path, Guovdageaidnu

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS/DEDICATION

I am grateful for the attentive guidance of my advisors, Roy Krøvel and Torkel Rasmussen. Roy was particularly generous with deadlines and that's the kind of grace we need more of in this world.

I would also like to thank my dear friend and cultural advisor, Sara Beate Eira Persson, who tolerates stupid questions about the Kárášjohka gákti, reindeer herding, school schedules, and who is related to whom. Ollu giitu, mu oabbá.

And I am most deeply indebted to my husband, Edward Boyda, for his kindness, dedication, and culinary achievements. A friend once asked, in amazement over the home-cooked meal on our table, "Do you eat like this all the time?!" Yes. I eat like this all the time.

*This research is dedicated to the journalists
who shared their experiences with me.*

Thank you for your courage, and thank you for your trust.



SVEA VIKANDER

- **Not** Indigenous.
- Swedish-Canadian, grew up on unceded Coast Salish territory.
- Moved from California to Guovdageaidnu with husband and kids in Sept. 2019.
- Hons. B.A. **Psychology** (University of Toronto), M.A. Clinical Mental Health **Counselling** (Goddard College), M.A. Sámi **Journalism** from an Indigenous Perspective (Sámi Allaskuvla, in progress).

RESEARCH INTERESTS

- People who struggle for **bodily autonomy** and **self-determination**; their daily experiences and survival tactics.
- Meta: Power, visual and linguistic **rhetoric**. Micro: Identity, self-defining **narratives**.
- Postmodern paradigm: All of my research begins with **self-reflection**. I bring myself and my experiences into my research and I know it.
 - **Limitations:** Could blind me to issues I haven't experienced, or lead me to mould data to match my own experiences (especially if I have trauma around them).
 - **Mitigations:** Work through trauma; public and community accountability (publish widely, not just academically); form relationships with other researchers; seek and accept feedback, calling out, etc.; document the heck out of everything.



Fishing village, Finnmarkku

RQ1:

How is sexual violation covered in Sámi media?

RQ2:

What is the experience of Sámi journalists covering sexual assault in Sámi media?

What competing worlds within the Sami media landscape must they navigate and how do they do it?



Sápmi flag, preschool playground Guovdageaidnu

MATERIALS

- ▶ 30 translated **news articles** from the past decade addressing sexual violence from *Sáogat*, *Ávvir*, and *NRK Sápmi*.
 - ▶ Sámi articles: machine translated to Norwegian, then machine translated to English, line-by-line reconstructed in English prose, and verified by Torkel Rasmussen. Norwegian articles: machine translated to English, verified by Roy Krøvel.
 - ▶ This analysis will not tell us anything definitive about the way that Sámi media covers the topic.
 - ▶ It can tell us what the general themes and frames are, and in which social worlds and arenas they are active.
- ▶ **Interviews with nine Sámi journalists** who have covered sexual violence in their reporting. Questions include:
 - ▶ What do you think are the general attitudes toward sexual abuse in Sámi societies? What about the attitudes toward talking about sexual abuse?
 - ▶ As a journalist, you write and publish stories on these topics. Has that ever felt uncomfortable for you?
 - ▶ Did you experience harassment in the workplace, as a journalist?

A wide-angle photograph of a winter landscape. The ground is covered in a thick layer of snow, and several bare, dark trees are scattered across the scene. The sky is a pale, clear blue, suggesting a bright but cool day. The overall mood is serene and quiet.

SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

*Children at baptism ceremony;
woman in handmade Sámi
gákti.*



.....
Clarke, A.E., Friese, C., Washburn, R., 2018. *Situational Analysis: Grounded Theory After the Interpretive Turn*, Second Edition. ed. SAGE Publications, Los Angeles.

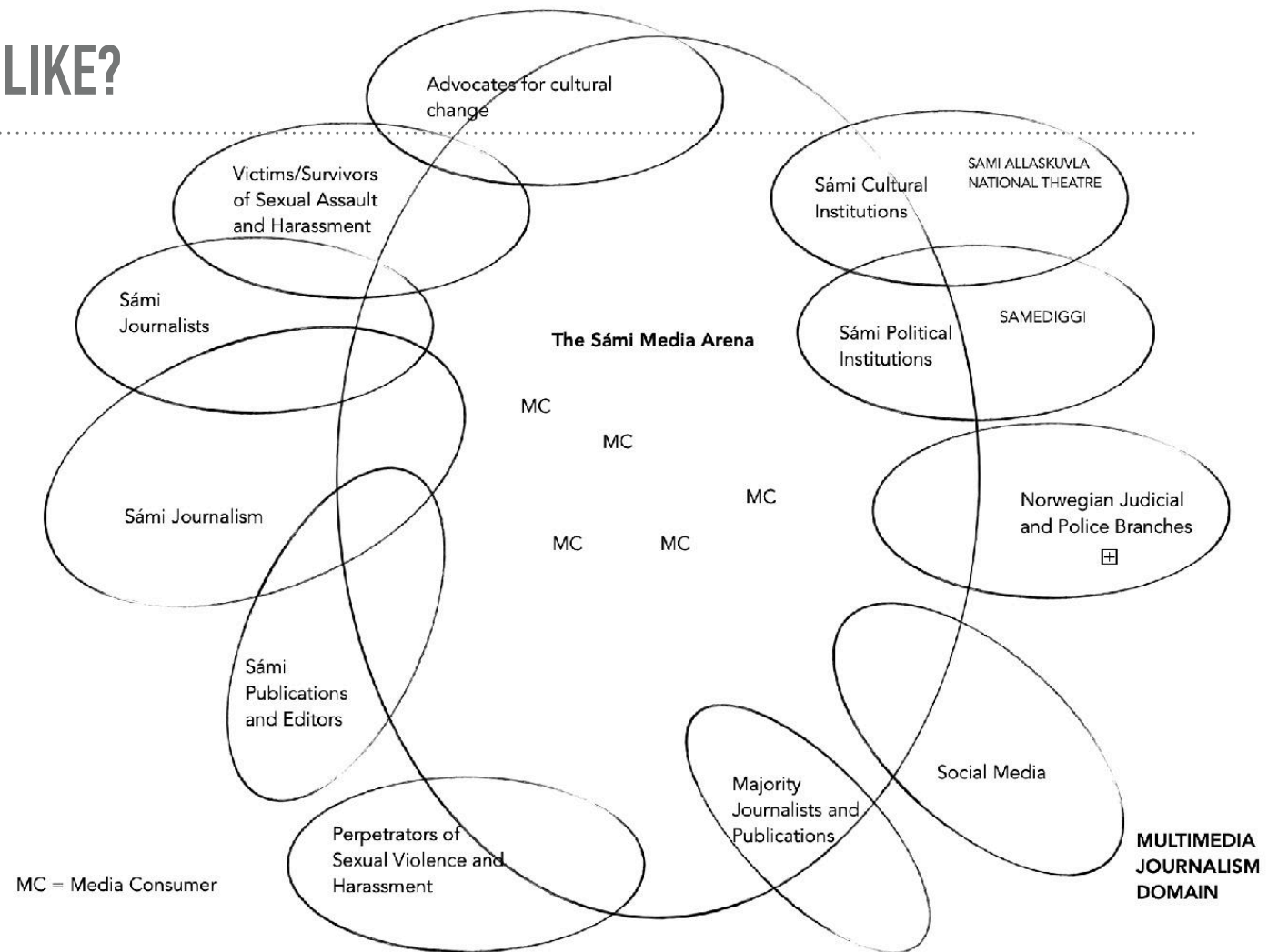
Within each **situation**, there are **social worlds** (groups of actors with relatively aligned goals and perspectives) and **arenas**—the physical and institutional spaces in which these groups interact.

Social worlds and arenas are emergent. Social worlds are always in flux, "...negotiating, collaborating, struggling with other groups, seeking authority, social legitimacy, and the power to achieve their goals, etc." (p. 150, 2018)

A researcher is not responsible for solving problems in data but for documenting and explaining their **complexity**.

WHAT DOES THIS LOOK LIKE?

- A lot of lists, memos, "maps"
- Looking for what you haven't seen
- Focusing not on individuals but on the groups they participate in



REITERATIVE CODING

- At every stage in the process, I gathered and re-gathered data into new groups, sorting along various dimensions.
- There were some “dead ends”—ways of organising the data that don’t turn out to be productive or interesting. For example, at one point I coded different journalistic challenges as “personal” vs. “situational”. These categories never became more clearly defined, so I abandoned them.
- And sometimes I saw a way in which two things I had not previously considered were tied together. For example, how discussions with other female colleagues about #metoo could change one’s perception of past experiences.
- Either way, I documented the process. This made later research easier and solidified this project. It ensured that codes and categories could be backed up by theory and findings.
- E.g. this memo from January 29, 2021

Name	Codes	Referen...	Created on
Top 25 codes	0	0	31 Jan 202
Time in the Arctic and Sá...	0	0	10 Dec 202
Research on history of th...	0	0	2 Feb 202
Relevant Quotes	0	0	14 Dec 202
On making the Explore m...	0	0	29 Jan 202
Memo about Explore Diag...	0	0	31 Jan 202
Memo about Explore Diag...	0	0	27 Jan 202
Memo about Explore diag...	0	0	27 Jan 202
Memo about Drawing Par...	0	0	15 Nov 202
Memo about coding Svei...	0	0	15 Nov 202
Memo about coding first...	0	0	8 Dec 202
Memo ab Explore diagra...	0	0	27 Jan 202
Comparing Codes (top 2...	0	0	2 Feb 202

Participant ~5 Time in the A... Research on... Relevant Qu... On making t... Memo about...

On making the Explore maps Coding Stripes Highlight Code Annotations Code Panel Edit

The explore maps are handy because they are visual representations of the issues that have been coded into the document. The document stands in the centre, and all the issues are in movable circles attached to it, like a thought map with only one node.

It was easy for me to move the codes around to see how they might cluster together, and also to put some between two areas to show a gradation of facets of the issue.

I think I did not allow enough of my own perspective into the codes -- remnant of psych research -- and so ended up with some areas that were just "kinds of sexual violence", and other neutral-sounding terms like that. Charmaz et al. (2006) recommend using more interpretive lenses in coding.

"Your study fits the empirical world when you have constructed codes and developed them into categories that crystallize participants' experience. It has relevance when you offer an incisive analytic framework that interprets what is happening and makes relationships between implicit processes and structures visible." (p. 54)

- look out for 'in vivo' codes, 3 kinds: general terms everyone 'knows' that indicate "condensed but significant" meanings; participant's own neologism to capture their experience; and insider shorthand (jargon). Take participants' use of such as problematic, don't just replicate it.

- E.g. "Tysfjord case", "culture of silence"



FINDINGS: EXPERIENCING HARASSMENT

- ▶ Journalists' experiences of harassment:
 - ▶ **Five out of the six** female participants reported having experienced some form of sexual harassment while working as a journalist.
 - ▶ **Two of the three** male participants reported having been exposed to sexual harassment or discrimination of women in their media workplaces.
 - ▶ In comparison, **Idås, Orgeret, and Backholm (2020)** found a much lower percentage of Norwegian journalists reporting harassment: four percent of their respondents reported they had been on the receiving end of sexual harassment in the past six months.
 - ▶ Idås, Orgeret, and Backholm (2020) found it occurred **often in social settings**; this was true for journalists in my research as well, reporting harassment in newsroom-adjacent locations, e.g. the lunch room and hair and makeup room, as well as at staff parties.

Volunteer-maintained ski path, Guovdageaidnu



FINDINGS: EXPERIENCING HARASSMENT

- Contrary to other first-person accounts such as Reestorff (2019), most journalists in my research **did not experience a high degree of online harassment**.
- One reported being sent “**dick pics**” and threatening videos by one man, and another reported being contacted on **FaceBook** by a man she had approached for an interview about sexual assault allegations made against him.
- Sámi people are active on social media and frequently digitally connected (Cocq and Lindgren 2016; Markelin and Husband 2013) and **majority reporters covering sexual violence have experienced coordinated digital attacks** (Orgeret 2020).
- Online Sámi spaces (including Sámi news media) may have practices or behavioural expectations that prove protective to journalists.



Orphaned reindeer cared for in front yard, Guovdageaidnu

FINDINGS: RHETORIC OF CHANGE

- ▶ 30 news articles from Sámi media:
 - ▶ The news articles convey Sápmi as a society in transition.
 - ▶ Interviewees—who range from experts in sexual violence to politicians to everyday people—frame this transition as **increased discussions about and decreased tolerance for sexual violence**. These changes are discussed in past, present, and future tenses, with varying levels of certainty.
 - ▶ I found this interesting but confusing: there seemed to be much agreement in the basic fact of change but also much variation in how much and when.
 - ▶ Positional mapping helped me to clarify the many different tenses being used to describe change—often even within the same interviews—and those perspectives which are not being presented in the literature.



FINDINGS: RHETORIC OF CHANGE

- Positions that were not taken include the ideas that Sámi society should not have changed, must not change, cannot change, and will not change.
- Most people seem to agree that sexual abuse was a taboo subject in the past, and should be discussed more openly in the future; **its status in the present, however, is up for debate.**
- A range of discourses usually reflects processes of social change (Wiebke Eilermann 2018).
- The fact that the articles include different tenses and ideas about change having happened, needing to happen, or being likely to happen, shows that ideas about sexual violence are truly in flux.
- A dominant narrative about the state of Sámi society and its approach to sexual violence has not yet emerged—but **rhetorical commitment** to change is already strong.



Guovdageaidnu

FINDINGS: VULNERABILITY

- ▶ 30 newspaper articles and journalist interviews on the theme of **vulnerability**.
 - ▶ While they are positioned as change-makers, both the articles and interviews show that young people are considered to be especially vulnerable.
 - ▶ Children are most frequently perceived to be exceptionally vulnerable, but the perception extends to adult women; a 26-year-old, for example, is portrayed as having a special right to protection due to her age (Oskal 2018a).



At Madame Bonoo's Inn, Guovdageaidnu (pic from internet)

FINDINGS: VULNERABILITY

- 30 newspaper articles and journalist interviews on the theme of **vulnerability**.
- Reasons for children's vulnerability include:
 - they are in an unequal power relationship with adults around them (Larsson 2017a),
 - children who have not received abuse education are unable to name abuse (Bjørnback 2019),
 - adults in power have failed to protect them (Anti 2017),
 - if they are boys, they may feel ashamed to show pain or weakness (Larsson 2017a).



Kids playing on snow pile (hole is the output of an internal slide), Guovdageaidnu

FINDINGS: VULNERABILITY

- ▶ Journalists agree that children are the most vulnerable to sexual violence:
 - ▶ Participant four: a girl's having reached the age of confirmation in Guovdageaidnu (age 14 or 15) means (or has meant in the past) that she is then seen as a potential sexual partner.
 - ▶ When asked about challenges he faces in doing journalism on sexual violence, participant eight says:

It's a challenge when it's children involved, it's a challenge. Because you have to—some stories are never published because there are children involved. To protect the children.



Bubbles in the snow, Guovdageaidnu

FINDINGS: VULNERABILITY

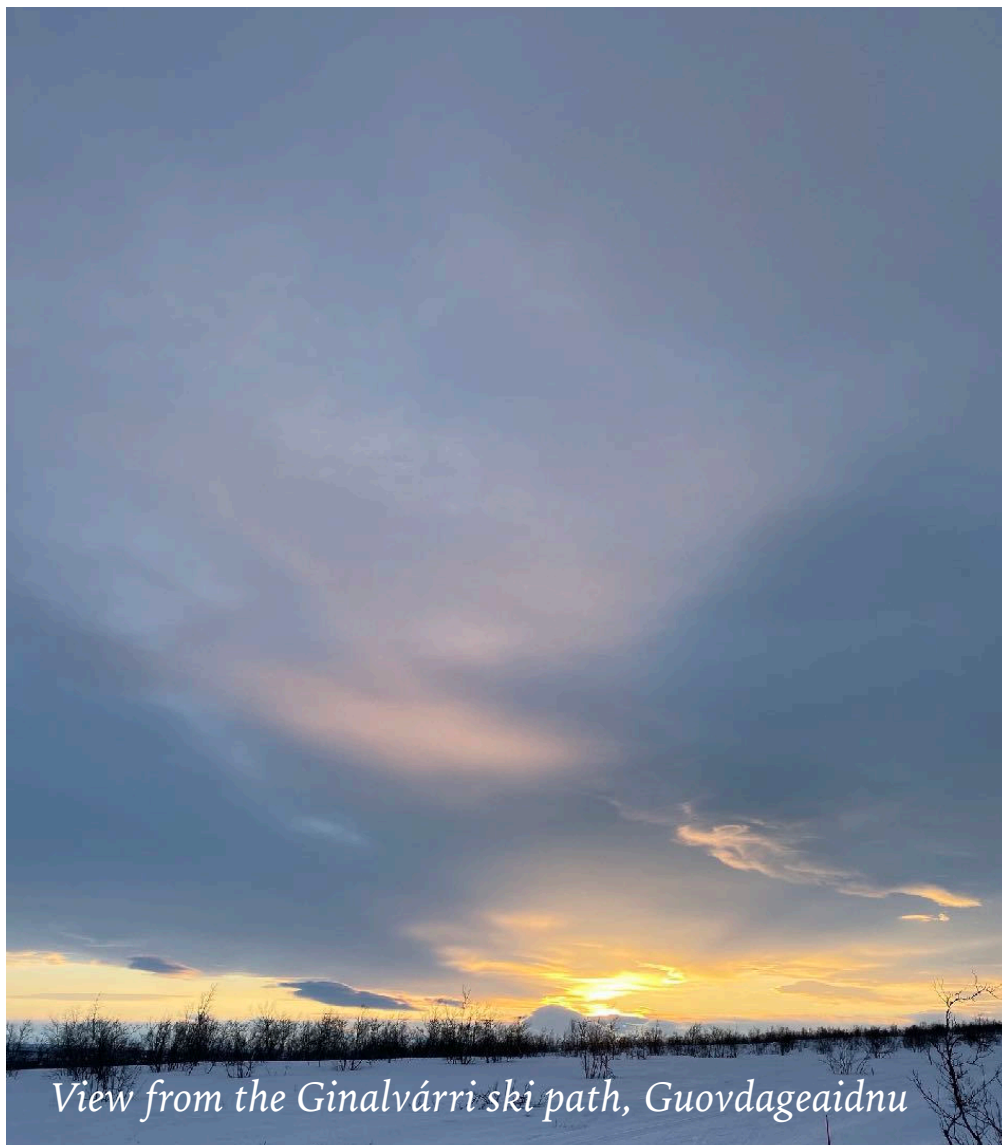
- ▶ Interviewees presented some ways in which they feel young women are protected in Sámi societies. While the articles tended to advise that **institutional power** should be protecting young people, none of the journalists mentioned going to the police or using workplace sexual harassment reporting routines.
- ▶ Instead, they talked about:
 - ▶ **social proscriptions** against women (particularly young women) in drinking;
 - ▶ women going out with friends and family members but **never alone**;
 - ▶ a (supposedly) Guovdageaidnu-specific practice of telling men to “fuck off”.



View from the Ginalvárri ski path, Guovdageaidnu

FINDINGS: VULNERABILITY

- These practices put the onus on the young woman to keep herself safe. They do not address the root causes of abuse, or educate perpetrators about consent. They are ideas that lead to victim blaming.
- But we know that Sámi culture cares deeply about its young women.
- In a context of understanding young women as particularly vulnerable, perhaps these ideas reflect efforts to keep them safe **without causing social upheaval.**



FINDINGS: ATTITUDES TOWARD #METOO

- ▶ Twelve of the 30 articles mention #metoo, but **only four discuss specific allegations of sexual harassment**, two of them about allegations against the same man (Brenli 2018; Boine and Gaup 2018).
- ▶ Almost all references to the movement are positive, for example a politician expresses a need to focus on “victims who need support” (Ann-Elise Finbog in Solaas 2018) and a celebrity says that, “[these incidents] must be made visible” (Elle-Márjá Eira in Larsson 2017b).



FINDINGS: ATTITUDES TOWARD #METOO

- ▶ Even the man accused of sexual harassment in two articles follows the party line, saying, “I have read about such incidents in the newspaper lately in these #MeToo times, and thought that there are many pigs out there. But I have not done anything” (Brenli 2018).
- ▶ But only two women (in two articles) share allegations against men who are still alive and in positions of power. And Sámi media has not received a glowing report on its coverage by journalists in my research.
- ▶ One called it a **catastrophe** for the credibility of the Sámi media.

Remnants of unused lávvu floor, Guovdageaidnu



Sámi Allaskuvla (pic from internet)

FINDINGS: REPORTING CHALLENGES

- Interviewees discussed the challenges they have faced in reporting on sexual violence:
 - Social Norms of Non-Disclosure
 - Small Communities
 - Too Close to Home
 - Rumours
 - Conflicts of Interest



Sculpture at Lake Ontario, Kara Springer

FINDINGS: REPORTING CHALLENGES

- ▶ Social norms of non-disclosure (AKA “Culture of Silence”):
 - ▶ prevent people from speaking openly about sexual abuse, which makes it harder to find willing interviewees.
 - ▶ prevent people from speaking out about abusive situations to others so that they can be reported on at all.
 - ▶ due to the avoidance of discussing sexual abuse, “Maybe people don't even realise that they have been abused. Maybe they don't even realise that it's not ok that this happens in your workplace” (participant four).
 - ▶ difficult for the journalist as a Sámi person without prior experience in talking about such issues to ask about sexual abuse, or to find adequate training or supervision in covering these tricky cases.



Lávvu (pic from internet)

FINDINGS: REPORTING CHALLENGES

- Small Communities
- The reporting challenge of a "small community" came up 11 times in interviews with six participants.
- Participant seven: Sami society is so small, that if one person is raped but when she was younger she used to be kind of a wild girl who partied a lot and hooked up with a lot of boys, people would know about it and would always think about that when they hear about the person.
Svea: A long memory
Participant seven: Yeah, the collective memory is infinity, [sic] even things that happened generations back, people will still talk about it to this day.

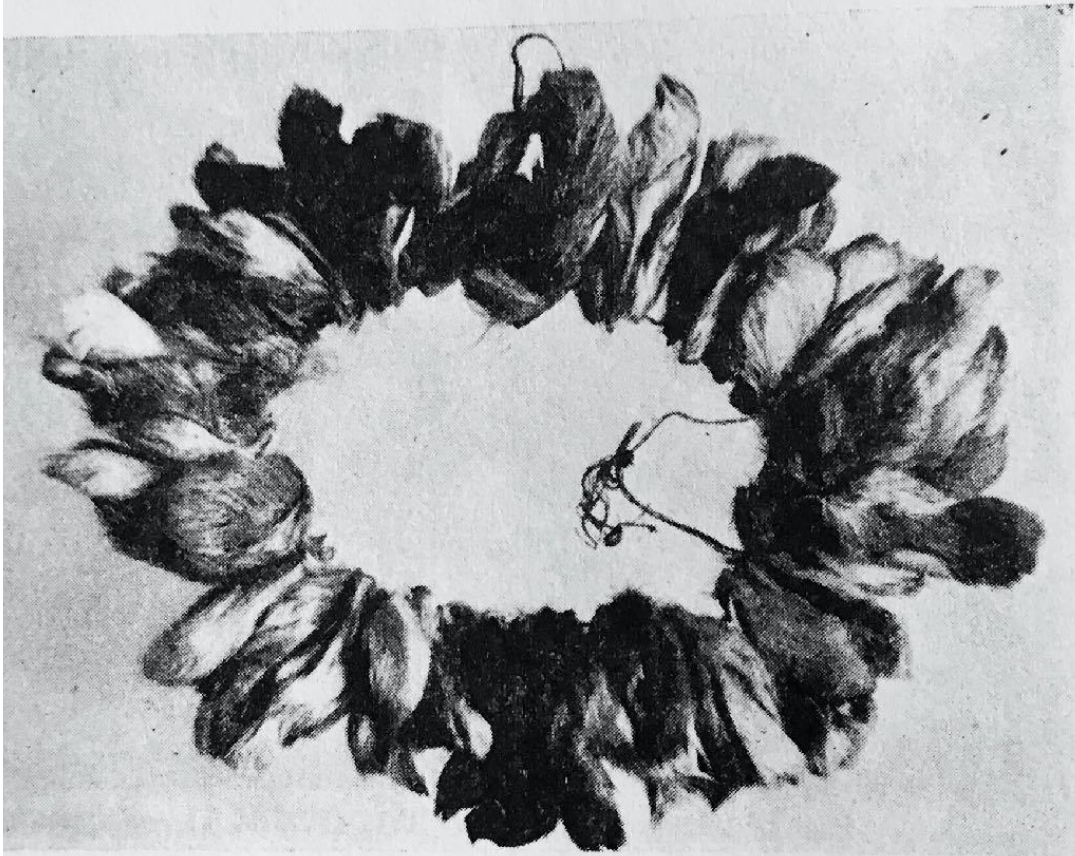


Sámi flag outside Diehtosiida, Guovdageaidnu

FINDINGS: REPORTING CHALLENGES

- Too Close to Home
 - None of the participants could express concrete concerns for what might happen if they reported on something "too close to home." They describe feeling uncomfortable, not wanting to run into someone they have reported on (or the relative of someone they had reported on) in the grocery store or at weddings.

Traditional (no longer in use) method of record keeping



*av øret på hver kalv tas vare på, og viser antallet merkede
ear of each calf is kept, showing how many calves have been*

FINDINGS: REPORTING CHALLENGES

- ▶ Too Close to Home
 - ▶ As I struggled to understand exactly what the participants were afraid of, I was missing the point entirely.
 - ▶ Collectivist cultures tend to instill strict moral values that community members deeply internalise (Miller, Goyal, and Wice 2017).
 - ▶ The fear is not of an anticipated consequence, the fear is the consequence.



FINDINGS: REPORTING CHALLENGES

- Rumours
 - Some feel that their editors have either believed rumours and been ready to put them into print too readily, or that their editors were unaware of the social consequences of their reporting and rumours that could result from it.
 - Participant four recounts her reporting on a sexual assault case of more than a decade ago. She regrets that, in light of the smallness of the community, she was not encouraged to follow even more stringent ethical guidelines. Rumours are still being passed around about the subject of her reporting. As a reporter she was "young in age but also young in my experiences of journalism."



Government building, Kárašjohka

FINDINGS: REPORTING CHALLENGES

- Conflicts of Interest
 - Sámi societies are interrelated.
 - Sámi journalists are deeply aware of the challenges this presents.
 - Ideally, even extended family connections are questioned in the newsroom, and journalists will be reassigned a case if they have a personal connection to any of the subjects.
 - Not all newsrooms have this luxury.



Unknown artist (pic from the internet)

DISCUSSION

- I expand on these issues in my discussion:
- Sámi **communication norms** and how they can **conflict with majority journalistic norms** and expectations.
- Identity: Sámi journalists who are breaking taboos **do not see themselves as badass taboo-breakers**. Instead, they identify strongly with their role as a professional journalist.

DISCUSSION: COMMUNICATION NORMS

- Sámi society has specific ideas about **what can be said, to whom it can be said**, and **when**. These norms can facilitate the work of Sámi journalists: the **norm of privacy** (Dagsvold et al. 2015) allows journalists in my study to decompress outside of work, where few people ask them about or comment on their stories. But standard Norwegian journalistic ethics clash with some Sámi communication norms.
- **Circling: the social norm of slow disclosure**—Sámi journalists need to allow for **slow-unfolding stories** and **reciprocity**, Particularly with elder Sámi interviewees (Somby 2016). Slow stories can be difficult on a deadline. Most journalistic ethics codes frown upon reciprocity.
- **The Realm of Respectability?**—Extended eye contact and brief, fact-finding conversations are considered aggressive and inappropriate in Sámi interactions (Boine 2007; Dagsvold 2019). When one follows these majority journalistic norms of information-gathering, one is **acting like an outsider**.
- **Vuorjatheapmi (Not Pestering)**—Vuorjat (pestering) is inappropriate in Sámi societies; traditionally, children learning a new task are expected **to quietly observe instead of asking many questions** (Helander and Kailo 1998). It can be uncomfortable for journalists to cold call and/or ask repeated questions.
- **Lineage**—When meeting new people, a Sámi person is expected to identify herself with not only her name but also her **parents' and grandparents' names, clans, and regional origins** (Balto 1997 in Somby 2016). But in journalism school, reporters are taught to keep themselves private, to avoid making the story “about yourself”.

A glowing, golden-yellow orb with a bright, fiery center sits on a dark, textured stone floor. The orb has a small, dark, pointed object protruding from its top. The floor is composed of large, irregular stone tiles in shades of grey and brown. The lighting is dramatic, with the orb being the primary light source, casting a warm glow on the surrounding floor.

“200 years...of change makers and rule breakers”
—Advertisement for The Guardian, May 5th 2021

DISCUSSION: IDENTITY

- Journalists are portrayed as **renegades** in Western popular culture. Films such as *Spotlight* (2015) and *All the President's Men* (1976) encourage the American public to see journalists as truth-seeking risk takers. Eldridge (2019): journalists have a vested interest in portraying themselves as **anti-heroes** balancing “noble societal purpose, alongside a gritty ‘rat up the drainpipe’ investigative fervor” (p. 892).
- This is the expectation I brought to my research. Breaking social norms of non-disclosure to ask about sexual violence, exposing Sámi men, families, and institutions to the critiques of the majority population; and writing publicly about difficult topics—all seemed to me **acts of bravery** from which a journalist would develop a rebel identity and, perhaps, a protective sheen of arrogance.
- **I was wrong.**



- ▶ Participants were uncomfortable with the possibility of something special about them making them capable of writing about taboo subjects.
- ▶ There is a saying in Northern Sámi that, “iežas rápmi hakso,” **self-praise stinks**. It is considered impolite to self-aggrandise in ways that are par for the course in American, or even other Scandinavian cultures (Warner-Søderholm 2012).
- ▶ Instead, they all spoke about the prominence of professional norms or identity in navigating the challenges of reporting on sexual violence.

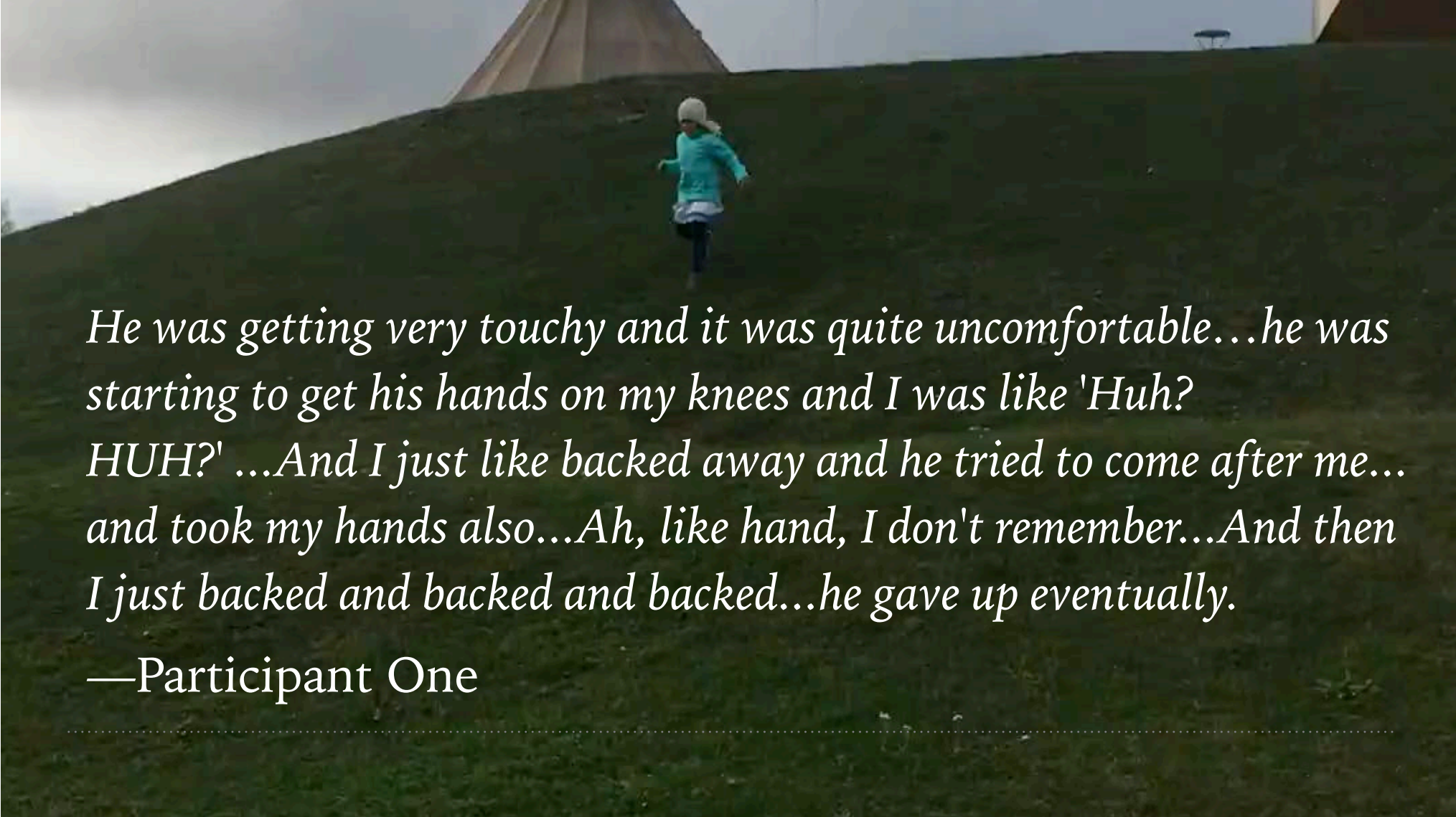


*It's a role, as a journalist. It's a professional role that makes things easier.
You can put yourself away a bit....I've chosen in my life...this is my, like, area, the way I operate...*

—Participant One

DISCUSSION: IDENTITY

- The journalist identity guides some Sámi journalists in performing tasks that are uncomfortable, dangerous, or conflict with Sámi norms.
- It also conforms to Sámi values of diligence, doing careful work, and what I suppose to be a modern Sámi value of building Sámi society through professionalisation.
- Identifying as a **professional** helps Sámi journalists to preserve their sense of cultural adherence while reporting on stories that break Sámi social norms of non-disclosure.
- By identifying with the journalistic profession, journalists investigate problems within their communities without being seen (or experiencing themselves) as destroyers of worlds.

A photograph of a person wearing a teal jacket and a white beanie running on a grassy hill. In the background, there is a large, light-colored tent-like structure and a small blue umbrella. The sky is overcast.

He was getting very touchy and it was quite uncomfortable...he was starting to get his hands on my knees and I was like 'Huh? HUH?' ...And I just like backed away and he tried to come after me... and took my hands also...Ah, like hand, I don't remember...And then I just backed and backed and backed...he gave up eventually.

—Participant One

IN SUM: TYING IT TOGETHER

- Sámi journalists work hard in challenging contexts to create truthful, culturally relevant journalism.
- Their work is heavy, and publishing allegations of sexual violence is a particularly great responsibility because rumours will spread and they will be preserved in a collective memory. Journalists are also deeply aware of possible conflicts of interest.
- To navigate these challenges, Sámi journalists rely on their professional identity, training, and journalistic norms to guide their work. Sometimes these norms conflict with Sámi cultural norms, particularly around communication.
- The profession nonetheless provides a socially acceptable role within which they can be both a well-respected community member and a bringer of change.

A photograph of a winter landscape. The foreground is covered in a thick layer of snow. Several bare, dark trees are scattered across the middle ground. In the background, a sunset or sunrise is visible, with a bright orange and yellow glow on the horizon. The sky is a deep blue with some light clouds. The text "THANK YOU/MERCI/GIITU" is overlaid in the center of the image.

THANK YOU/MERCI/GIITU