

UiT

THE ARCTIC
UNIVERSITY
OF NORWAY

Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education

From “Lapp” to “Margrete”

Representation of Sámi People in Photographic Postcards from Norwegian Sápmi

Eli-Anita Øivand Schøning

*Thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Indigenous Studies
May 2018*



From “Lapp” to “Margrete”

Representation of Sámi People in Photographic Postcards from Norwegian Sápmi

A thesis submitted by:

Eli-Anita Øivand Schøning

Master of Philosophy in Indigenous Studies

Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education

The Arctic University of Norway

May 2018

In the cover page: Karin (b. Siiri) and Anders O. Hetta,¹ 1940-1950.

Könkämä Sámi, Gárasavu gákti, Ivgu.

¹ Source: Relatives of Karin and Anders Hetta, Facebook page “Gamla foton – Karesuando samer.”

Acknowledgements

Trude, my supervisor. Thank you for your patience, your time, your knowledge, and the valuable guidance during the writing process. Thank you for helping me back on track when I got lost. I would not have managed to complete this project without you.

Sofie. Thank you for sharing your stories from “Fjellfinnbakken” with me. You opened a door to a history I would not had access to if it was not for you.

Erik and Maren. You invited me, a stranger, to your home, introduced me to Sofie, showed me “Fjellfinnbakken,” and shared your knowledge about places with me. Thank you!

Berit Åse. Thank you for spending a whole day with me at RidduDuottarMuseat, for sharing your knowledge, and for showing me RDM’s postcard collection with Sámi motifs.

Ola, Karoline, Hakon and Per Ivar, thank you for giving me approval to use your photographs/postcards in the thesis, and/or for sharing names and stories.

Torjer, Else Grete, and Rachel at the Center for Sámi studies. Thank you for always keeping the door open, for your guidance, challenging questions, and feedback during the past two years.

Thanks to ALL of you, wonderful people who so willingly prioritized to answer my questions, who shared literature, links, and perspectives with me (on email or in person).

Classmates at the Indigenous Studies. Thank you for your perspectives and all the fun moments.

Shanley. Your proofreading was conducted with excellence. Thank you.

Nils Runar. Thank you for the proficient translation of the Abstract into Sámi.

Center for Sámi studies. I am grateful for the grants to travel to Kárášjohka and Ivgu.

Lyngen Kommune. Thank you for making it easy for me to explore your archives.

The kids’ grandparents. Thank you for stepping in when assistance was needed.

And finally; Lasse, Magnus and Matilde, my dear family. Thank you for your patience and love. A special thanks to Lasse for your support during the writing process.

Eli-Anita

Romsa, Miessemánnu 2018

Abstract

This master's thesis examines how Sámi people were represented in postcards from Norwegian Sápmi during the late 19th century to present day. The study explores how postcards can unveil both grand narratives and personal and local stories. Portraying Sámi people and culture as exotic and different, is a commonality in touristic representations of the Sámi. Postcards with Sámi motifs are no exception. I argue that the postcards depict the Sámi in an “emblematic” way, through a focus on nature, reindeer herding and traditional clothing. This kind of representation is not only conducted by outsiders, and I maintain that emblems are likely to be utilized as a strategy to satisfy the demands in the tourism market. Postcards trigger memories, and can therefore be used to bring personal and local stories to the forefront. As such they serve to individualize rather than objectify, reconstruct stories of the past, and shed light on Sámi agency. Further, postcards can be instruments for the Sámi themselves. When they produce their own postcards, or repatriate old postcards through artistic work, the postcards become powerful tools in revitalization processes and contribute in shaping Sámi identities.

Abstrákta

Dán váldofágabarggus iskojuvvo movt sámi álbmot ovddastahttojuvvui boastagoarttain norggabeale sámis 1800-logu loahpas gitta dálá áigái. Dutkkus čájeha movt boastagoartat sáhttet almmustahttit sihke mearkkašahti muitalusaid ja persovnnalaš ja báikkálaš mitalusaid. Ahte govvidit sápmelaččaid ja sámi kultuvrra eksotalažžan ja earálágánin lea dábálaš go turisttaide galgá čájehit Sámi. Boastagoarttain mas leat sámi motiivat lea dáhkkon dan seamma. Mun oaivvildan ahte boastagoartat ovddastahttet sámiid “emblemáhtalaččan” go lea nu garrá fokus bidjon lundui, boazodollui ja árbevirolaš biktasiidda. Eai leat dušše olggobealde beroštumit mat dán dahket, ja mun ákkastalan ahte lea jáhkehahti ahte dát “emblemáhtalaš” vuohki lea leamaš oassin strategiijas movt mátkeealáhusa gáibádusaid duhtadit. Boastagoarttat dagahit ahte muittut čuožžilit, ja sáhttet maid čalmmustahttit persovnnalaš ja báikkálaš mitalusaid. Dieinna lágiin sáhttet rekonstrueret mitalusaid ovddežis, ja ná individualiseret ovdalii go objektifiseret sámiid ja maid čalmmustahttit ahte sámit ieža jođihit dáid doaimmaid. Boastagoartat sáhttet leahkit sámiide gaskaoapmin. Go sámit ieža ráhkadit boastagoarttaid, dahje máhcahit dološ boastagoarttaid sámi servvodahkii dáiddalaš bargguid bokte, de šaddet fámolaš reaidut ealáskahttinproseassas ja váikkuhit dasa ahte hábmet sámi identitehtaid.

Translated to Northern Sámi by Nils Runar Hætta

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Abstract	ii
Abstrákta	iii
Table of Contents	iv
Figures	vi
Tables and maps	vii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Topic and research question	2
1.2 Literature review	3
1.3 Topic relevance	5
1.4 Methods	6
1.5 Indigenous methodology, reflexivity and ethics	10
1.6 Data	12
1.7 Theoretical perspectives	13
1.8 Thesis structure	15
2 Background	16
2.1 Postcards and photography technology	16
2.2 Tourism	17
2.3 Norwegian nation narratives	19
2.4 Grazing rights and cross-country reindeer herding	20
2.5 The Indigenous movement and revitalization	23
2.6 Ethno-political and ethno-cultural background in Ivgu	25
3 Representation of Sámi people in photographic postcards from Norwegian Sápmi.....	26
3.1 Postcard publishers, photographers, and the collector	26
3.2 A description of the findings	28

3.3	Encounters between Sámi people and photographers/publishers	32
3.3.1	Continuity in Sámi representation.....	32
3.3.2	Changed patterns from period 1 to period 2.....	41
4	Representation of Sámi people in photographic postcards from Ivgu	47
4.1	Ivgu, tourism and the Kõnkämä Sámi.....	47
4.2	A description of the findings	49
4.3	Histories of the Kõnkämä Sámi at “Fjellfinnbakken”	51
5	Building bridges between past and present	62
	Appendix 1 – Interview guide	69
	Appendix 2 – Additional tables.....	70
	Appendix 3 – How to search in the online photo portal.....	71
	Appendix 4 – Map of Sápmi	72
	Interview and email correspondence.....	73
	Unpublished sources	73
	Other sources.....	73
	References	75

Figures

Figure 1 "Lapp wife." 1920.....	1
Figure 2 "Lapp girl." 1900-20?	22
Figure 3 "Lapps visiting the city." 1920-40?	32
Figure 4 "Hammerfest. From the harbor area. M/S Bergensfjord at the dock." 1960-80?	33
Figure 5 "Fam. Somby. The world's northernmost reindeer herding family." 1970-90?	35
Figure 6 "A Lappish home Kautokeino." 1927.....	36
Figure 7 "Grotlid." 1900-20?	37
Figure 8 "Lapp family at turf hut, Tromsödalen." 1900?.....	38
Figure 9 "Lapp. Nordland." 1900-20?.....	39
Figure 10 "Lapp, Norway." 1900-20?.....	39
Figure 11 "The Sámi flag." 1993.	40
Figure 12 "Happiness of a young father. Sápmi." 1990?	42
Figure 13 "Norway. Reindeer in rutting season." 1990-2000?	43
Figure 14 "Tromsø. City view from fjellheisen." 1970-90?	44
Figure 15 "Karasjok-Sámi selling souvenirs." 1960-80?	45
Figure 16 "Norway. Lapp turf hut in Lyngseidet." 1920-40?	51
Figure 17 "Lapp camp at Lyngseidet." 1900-20?	52
Figure 18 "Lapp camp, Lyngseidet." 1910-30?	53
Figure 19 "Lyngen a Lapp family." 1910-30?	54
Figure 20 "Tromsø, From Lyngseidet." 1880-1900?	56
Figure 21 "From the Lapp camp in Lyngseidet." 1900-20?.....	57
Figure 22 Mikkel Josefsen Näkkälä. 1883.	63
Figure 23 Mikkel Josefsen Näkkälä. 2017.	63
Figure 24 Anna Aslaksdatter Gaup and Anna Johnsdatter Somby. 1883.	63
Figure 25 Anna Aslaksdatter Gaup and Anna Johnsdatter Somby. 2017.	63
Figure 26 "Coastal Sámi youth in Lyngen gákti." (On a boat).	65
Figure 27 Same text as Figure 26. (On a moped).....	65
Figure 28 Same text as Figure 26. (Red sports car).	66
Figure 29 Same text as Figure 26. (In a cage).....	66

Tables and maps

Table 1 Landscape, buildings and transportation.....	28
Table 2 People, animals, objects and activities	30
Table 3 People, animals, landscape, buildings, transportation, and objects	49
Table 4 Co-occurrences women, men and children	70
Table 5 Postcards per County.....	70
Map 1 Map of Ittonjárga: Muotki and “Fjellfinnbakken.”	48
Map 2 Map of Sápmi.....	72

1 Introduction



Figure 1 "Lapp wife."² 1920.
Copyright: T.Hoegh/Tromsø University Museum.³

Halfway up the hill "Arnttuva" on Sállir (Kvaløya), there is a small and unpainted, wooden house. Here, the Kitty family live as reindeer herders. In the 1980s, a new residential area, Slettaelva, was established, and from the mid-1980s and onwards new homes were built. I grew up in one of these homes. In the neighborhood, the "Kitti house" stood out, because it differed from the "Block Watne"-houses constituting the rest of the area. For us kids, this house, and Margrete Kitty herself—even though she died before most of us were born—was legendary, and came to figure in the supernatural narratives we told each other. Margrete, known as "Máhtte Márge,"⁴ was respected among the population in Romsa (Tromsø), and she often frequented

² The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: "Lappekone." In the postcard: Margrete Kitty (b. Lango), 1884-1974. The connection between the name and the postcard is found at Digitalmuseum (n.d.): <https://digitalmuseum.no/011014238297/same>. The year of her birth and death is found at Geni (n.d.): <https://www.geni.com/people/Margrethe-Kitti/6000000068074312821>

³ Search for tslp12279 at <http://www.unimus.no/foto/#/> to find the postcard online.

⁴ The nick name is found in the Facebook group "Gamla foton – Karesuando samer."

the many cafés in the town, especially “Arbeideren” (Minde, 2005, p. 1). A road has been named after her, namely “Kittistien,” which is located near the “Kitti house” at Slettaelva. Margrete moved permanently to Norwegian Sápmi in 1911, but was born in Gárasavu (Karesuando) (Lenvik Bygdemuseum, 1995), as revealed by the clothing she wears in the postcard image.

1.1 Topic and research question

The introduction illustrates how a postcard with Sámi motifs can trigger memories of the past. Hence, a postcard can bring forward personal and local stories. In research context, grand narratives have prevailed, and in indigenous research, a focus on inter-ethnic relations has been common (Lehtola, 2018).⁵ However, by exploring only this side of the context, stories from Sámi everyday life becomes invisible. The postcard with Margrete Kitti in Figure 1, carries the text: “Lapp wife.”⁶ Using labels like this to “identify” or “categorize” a postcard with Sámi motifs, was prevalent in the period this postcard was photographed. However, it is likely to shift the focus away from the individual, as in the case of Margrete Kitti, to an anonymous, constructed “folk type.”

By taking the postcard collection⁷ with Sámi motifs at Tromsø University Museum as a starting point, the overarching question in the master’s thesis is: “How are Sámi people represented in photographic postcards from Norwegian Sápmi through 150 years?” I wish to explore the research question through Sámi cultural researcher Veli-Pekka Lehtola’s three suggested ways to work with photographs (2018). One approach is to use old photographs as evidence of encounters between Sámi and outsiders. This, he argues, can create an understanding of how outsiders see the Sámi and, thus, can document colonial experiences (2018, p. 4). In this thesis, I explore encounters between Sámi and postcard photographers/publishers, who in most cases are outsiders. A second approach, is the concept “our histories,” which provides an intra-ethnic

⁵ For instance, histories of oppression (Lehtola, 2018, p. 2).

⁶ In the 16th century the term “Lapper” (Lapps) was the usual term describing the inland Sámi who resided in the administrative units known as “lappmarker” (Hansen & Evjen, 2008, p. 19). Through the 19th century, the term was used to classify the ethnicity of people in the Norwegian census (Hansen & Evjen, 2008, p. 33-34). After the 1920s the term was no longer in use, and in the 1930s “lapp” (and finn) was replaced with the term “same” (Hansen & Evjen, 2008, p. 39).

⁷ The postcard collection is referred to as the “Kierulf-collection” (Kjerulf-samlingen) in Baglo, 2017.

perspective in the interpretations of the postcards. “Our histories” are concerned with the personal and local stories about people, kinship, and Sámi communities (2018, p. 4-5). The third way, seeks to “build a bridge between the past and modern Sámi identity,” by returning old photographs to the Sámi community through artistic work, or by representing Sámi in photographs in ways that confronts assumptions (Lehtola, 2018, p. 4). The three approaches are useful as a model for this master’s thesis because they allow me to delve into the postcards from a variety of viewpoints, and explore both “grand” as well as local narratives.

1.2 Literature review

Visual- and historical anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards is one of the most prominent researchers in the field of visual anthropology. She has, for almost three decades, explored relationships between photography, anthropology and history, and studied the materiality of photographs and its social practices. In *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920* (1992), Edwards examines photography as evidence of the past. A few years later, she published “Postcards - Greetings from Another World” (1996), which explores modern ethnographic postcards in the broader range of tourism theories. Edwards argues that postcards represents cultures, and thus must be included in considerations of the politics of representation. Nearly a decade after her first book, Edwards publishes *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (2001), where she discusses commercial versus non-commercial photographs. She confronts common views of anthropological photography as solely documentations of Western agendas. She demonstrates how photographs can have multiple layers and alternative stories, and she is particularly eager to explore what people want pictures to be *for them*, which, she contends, is vested in what photographs are.⁸ The idea that people want photographs to do something for them, inspired the approach I have in this project.

Based on fifteen years of experience, and interviews with Sámi people in Sámi communities, Lehtola has emphasized views on how to work with photographs from a Sámi perspective. In the article “‘Our histories’ in the photographs of the others,” he argues: “The Sámi themselves approach the archival photographs often from the community perspectives, revealing “small

⁸ Elisabeth Edwards in her closing keynote lecture “The same everywhere? Local practices and the reshaping of boundaries” on the conference “Indigenous Photography Studies: Current Development and Challenges, September 8th, 2017.

stories” of us and our ancestors rather than “big histories” of colonial circumstances and contradictions with outsiders’ societies” (2018, p. 1). By analyzing postcards from the perspective of “our histories,” a gate to study Sámi agency⁹ is opened.

Cultural researcher Cathrine Baglo advocates some of the same perspectives as Lehtola. In the articles “Visualisations of ‘the Lappish race’: On photos and exhibitions of Sámi in Europe in the period 1875-1910” (2008), “Fotografiers materialitet: Bilders betydning for forestillinger om samisk kulturell fremmedhet” (2012), “Sameleire i Tromsø som turistmål, fotomotiv og møteplass” (2015a), “Reconstruction as a trope of cultural display. Rethinking the role of ‘living exhibitions’” (2015b), and in the book *På Ville Veger? Levende Ustillinger av Samer i Europa og Amerika* (2017), Baglo explores Sámi agency. Baglo has aimed at reconstructing stories of the past, and thus, challenged the readers to rethink the role of living exhibitions. Baglo contributes to the conversation by drawing a more nuanced picture of Sámi presence and agency. Baglo has also examined how postcards can serve as historical sources in her work.

In the research project “Negotiating history: Photography in Sámi Culture,” art and photography historian Sigrid Lien, Sámi art historian Kjellaug Isaksen, and anthropologist Hilde Nielssen investigate photographs with Sámi motifs in exhibitions, publications, digital media, and contemporary art, as well as new uses of historical images depicting Sámi. In the article: “Absence and Presence: The Work of Photographs in the Sámi Museum, RiddoDuottarMuseat-Sámiid Vuorká-Dávvirat (RDM-SVD) in Karasjok, Norway” (2012), Lien and Nielssen discusses repatriation of photographs, and how to transform photographs from nameless representatives of a “folk type” to individuals with stories. In Liens article: “Not ‘just another boring tree’ – landskapet som identitetsmarkør i norsk og samisk fotografi” (2014), she presents in what way postcards have been used in the Norwegian and Sámi nation building processes. This perspective is relevant in my exploration of how the postcards are influenced by the nationalization and revitalization processes.

⁹ “Agency is the condition of activity rather than passivity. It refers to the experience of acting, doing things, making things happen, exerting power, being a subject of events, or controlling things” (Mills, Durepos, & Wiebe, 2013, p. 2010).

1.3 Topic relevance

Postcards are mass produced, cheap, and accessible, and therefore reach a broad audience. Hence, postcards can be a powerful medium for representation. By shedding light on how Sámi people are represented in postcards, this master's thesis contributes to the work of bringing Sámi history to the forefront. Historical knowledge is important to comprehend the present, and research that adds such knowledge, can contribute to reduce the "nation silence"¹⁰ about Sámi people (Ledman, 2012, p. 12). Exactly because postcards are a media that reaches the masses, it is important to increase the awareness on how postcards can reinforce particular images of people, places and cultures.

Albeit there are several studies on Sámi tourism (see Olsen, 2003, Viken, 2000, Viken & Müeller, 2017), there are only a few studies about postcards with Sámi motifs (see Baglo, 2015a). The lack of studies using postcards as a source, indicate that postcards are underutilized as a source of information (Croatt, 2013, p. 1). There are no studies about postcards with Sámi motifs with a focus on Norwegian Sápmi spanning from 1867 to 2010. And there are, as far as I have found, no studies analyzing postcards from the Sámi camp in Ivgu (Lyngen). The broad focus in Chapter 3 in this master's thesis, allows for an exploration of trends, changes and continuity on how Sámi are represented in postcards. The narrow focus in Chapter 4 brings personal and local stories to the forefront, and shows how postcards can be utilized to trigger memories. Although postcards capture (arranged) glimpses of people's lives, and thus do not mirror the "reality" (Reiakvam, 1997), they depict individuals who were there at a time and place, what they looked like, and what they wore. This study illustrate how postcards can document people, places and cultures. Using postcards as a historical source, I hope can be an inspiration for others who engage with postcards in research in the future.

¹⁰ "The nation silence is very vast in this country" (my translation), historian Anna-Lill Ledman wrote in her doctoral thesis about representations of Sámi women in Swedish Press (2012, p. 12). The statement points to what she argues is a lack of knowledge in the majority population about the Sámi, which is transferable to the Norwegian context.

1.4 Methods

The postcards I study in this master's thesis, are viewed as a cultural phenomenon. The overarching framework for my project is cultural analysis. In her thesis "Det opne – nære – og naturlige," cultural researcher Trude Fonneland describes culture analysis as a method to grasp how meaning is constructed and reconstructed, and to understand and interpret what is meaningful in a culture. From this perspective, culture is perceived as changeable, and created by human beings (2002, p. 20). In cultural analysis, the sources can be almost "everything," and the empirical data is used to create a pattern or model of the human being's cultural line of thought (Ehn & Löfgren, 1982, p. 117-118). As such, cultural analysis can provide the researcher with different viewpoints, and both "hard" and "soft" data is viewed as equally important (Ehn & Löfgren, 1982, p. 118). In this master's thesis, I have applied theories and methods from indigenous studies, history, visual anthropology, cultural science, political science, and tourism studies to answer the research question.

To analyze is to ask questions and to search for answers. I have used quantitative methods, and a combination of several qualitative methods¹¹ to answer the research question: "How are Sámi people represented in photographic postcards from Norwegian Sápmi through 150 years?" Where quantitative methods in this study were useful in the work of identifying recurring topics and symbols in the postcards through two periods, qualitative methods are more of an overarching framework. As Fonneland contends in her thesis, it is through qualitative methods the researcher aims to gain insight into people's thoughts, attitudes, knowledge, feelings and experiences (2002, p. 23).

Document/image analysis

Quantitative content analysis is a useful method when engaging with a large number of images (Rose, 2012, p. 101), and has been helpful in the work of identifying symbols on the approximately 727 postcards in this study. Content analysis can be understood as "a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data (in this case, the postcards) through a systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). In this thesis, a summative approach to content analysis is used, which is both qualitative and quantitative (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This approach involves an

¹¹ Image analysis, interviews, historical archives and Internet.

identification and quantification of the symbols in the postcards, followed by an interpretation of underlying contexts (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1283-4). I started the analysis by counting symbols in the postcards. Then I sorted the most recurring symbols in period 1 and period 2 in a coding schema. Further, I organized the symbols within categories based on what I interpreted as the most prominent topics in the postcards.¹² The symbols were then visually presented in tables.¹³ Due to the time frame and scope of this master's thesis, I did not include symbols represented less than five times in postcards in both periods. Neither did I go into detail when I counted the symbols. For example, I counted *gákti* (Sámi national clothing), but not the Sámi belt or kerchiefs. In addition, I counted women, men, and children, but not elders and youths. Youths are thus found within the category "children," and elders in respectively "woman/women" or "man/men." I followed the same routine for the postcards from Ivgu in Chapter 4. I have chosen to use Sámi place names where I have found it. This is due to the battle some Sámi areas have had in the process of recognizing Sámi place names within the larger culture (see for instance Chapter 5 about the sign shooting in Gáivuotna (Kåfjord)). I use Sámi terminology *gákti*, *lávvu* (traditional Sámi dwellings/tent), *gietkka* (Sámi baby cradle) and *duodji* (Sámi handicraft), but I use English terms describing generic symbols, such as knife, city, and mountain. A summative approach can be used to unveil the symbols in postcards, and how the symbols occur, but it does not pay attention to the broader meanings (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1285). Therefore, to explore potential meanings, I use additional methods.

Interview

An interview can be defined as a purposeful conversation, usually between two people (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982 in Chilisa, 2012, p. 204). An interview is a qualitative method I found valuable because it gave me the possibility to illuminate the content of the postcards from different viewpoints. I conducted two interviews, one that was semi-structured, and one that was unstructured. A semi-structured interview focuses on questions in an interview guide, but is not strictly bound to the sequence of these questions. Instead the guide is an "insurance" that the topics of interest are covered in the interview (Chilisa, 2012, p. 205). This was the kind of interview I had with Museum manager Berit Åse Johnsen at RidduDuottarMuseat (RDM) in Kárášjohka (Karasjok), on August 15th, 2017. Before the meeting with her, I emailed her the

¹² Reindeer and dog were categorized as *animals*. City, mountain and water were categorized as *landscape*. Man, woman and children were categorized as *peoples*, and so on.

¹³ The numbers in the tables are presented in percentages to make period 1 and 2 comparable.

interview guide,¹⁴ which we discussed upon my arrival. In this meeting, I got to see RDM's own collection of postcards with Sámi motifs. The meeting with Berit Åse contributed to frame my understanding about the postcard's contexts from a Sámi perspective.¹⁵

An unstructured interview is flexible, as it does not follow an interview guide. The flexibility allows the interviewer to freely follow the thoughts and interest of the interviewees (Chilisa, 2012, p. 205). This was the kind of interview I had with Sofie Marthinsen in Ivgu. It was through the Facebook group: "Gamle Vest-Lyngen,"¹⁶ I announced that I needed help to identify Sámi people who had summer pasture in Ivgu. It was one of her relatives who contacted me and invited me to their home on September 22nd, 2017, and introduced Sofie to me. Sofie was born in 1926, grew up in Ivgu, and from a young age, Sofie frequently visited "Fjellfinnbakken,"¹⁷ which was the camp where the nomadic reindeer herder Sámi from Swedish Sápmi had summer pasture. The basis for the interview consisted of showing her the postcards,¹⁸ and the postcards triggered specific memories or thoughts for Sofie, which I documented as she shared. Her detailed memory of the place, and the people she knew at the Sámi camp, supplied with Sofie's relative's local knowledge, framed my understanding of "Fjellfinnbakken" and Ivgu. Sofie also helped me in the process of identifying some of the Sámi individuals in the postcards. A distance in time between the period of focus and the interview, may change perceptions and thoughts (Ledman, 2012, p. 63), and in the interview with Sofie, there was 75-85 years between the time the postcards were photographed, and the interview. Some of the comments, where Sofie herself expressed uncertainty, has thus been double checked with other sources.

I started the interviews by providing the participants with information about myself and why I am interested in the research topic. Unfortunately, Sofie died in February 2018, in the age of 92, but her daughter has given me permission to use her name in the thesis. Using the name can contribute to give the interviewee credit for her help and knowledge (Chilisa, 2012, p. 221), which is my purpose by using her name. Sofie's relatives received Chapter 4 a couple of weeks before submission of the thesis, so they could give feedback about the sections where I have

¹⁴ See the interview guide in Appendix 1.

¹⁵ The interview is not referred to through direct quotes in the master's thesis, but it is still part of my analysis.

¹⁶ My translation in English: "Old West-Lyngen."

¹⁷ This term is used about the Sámi camp at Eidebakken in Ivgu, both by the sedentary residents and the Sámi themselves.

¹⁸ I brought printed versions in A4 format of the postcards to the interview.

referred to Sofie. I have not stored personal information about any of the participants, as the goal for conducting the interviews was to broaden my knowledge about the Kõnkämä Sámi in Ivgu, about “Fjellfinnbakken,” and about postcards with Sámi motifs in general. Still, Norsk senter for forskningsdata¹⁹ (NSD) was informed about my project, and Sofie and her relatives in Ivgu have signed the “Free Prior Informed Consent” (FPIC). Berit Åse, and Sofie’s relatives will be offered a copy of the master’s thesis after submission.

I emailed collector Hakon Kierulf to obtain an understanding for his interest in collecting postcards with Sámi motifs. I also emailed photographer Ola Røe about Figure 11 in Chapter 3, and the Riddu Riddu administration to get access to names of the people who were depicted on a series of postcards from Gáivuotna, presented in Chapter 5. Others have also been contacted in person or on email, with an aim of broadening my general knowledge about postcards.

Archive

The Section for Cultural Affairs in Lyngen Kommune have physical archives related to plans in the late 1990s of recreating the tourist destination “Fjellfinnbakken” in the project “Fotefar mot Nord.” November 3rd, 2017, I visited Lyngen Kommune and examined the documents in this archive.

Internet

Since the mid-1990s, indigenous presence on the Internet has been common (Dyson, 2011, p. 251), and there is huge variety of websites about indigenous peoples owned by both indigenous- and non-indigenous peoples. The advantage of the Internet is that the field of research is available on an everyday basis, and can be accessed from everywhere (Magliocco, 2004, in Fonneland, 2017, p. 17). However, because there are websites about indigenous peoples produced by non-indigenous people, the Internet can also be a tool for colonization and misrepresentation (Dyson, 2011, p. 252). As such, it is important for a researcher to consider the ownership of the webpage, and whose purpose it serves, when using it as a source in research (Dyson, 2011, p. 253). I have utilized the Facebook group: “Gamla foton – Karesuando samer”²⁰ as a source to find names, relations, and dates about the individuals in the postcards.

¹⁹ Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

²⁰ My translation in English: “Old photographs – Karesuando Sámi.”

The Facebook group is run by Sámi individuals, and I interpret it to be especially beneficial for descendants of Gárasavu Sámi.

1.5 Indigenous methodology, reflexivity and ethics

Methodology frames the reflections the scholar has ahead of, during, and after the research project is finished, and thus represents the choices of the researcher (Chilisa, 2012). Methodology frames the research, and I am inspired by indigenous methodology. According to Smith, indigenous methodology combines different methodological approaches and indigenous practices (Smith, 2012, p. 144). Using indigenous methodology means that the researcher aims to decolonize her research (Chilisa, 2012; Smith, 2012).

In her book *Decolonizing Methodologies*, indigenous studies scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith challenge Western research methodologies, and contends that there is a need for scholars to critically view their role as researchers (2012, p. 5) because, for indigenous peoples, research often is associated with colonialism (Smith, 2012, p. 1). To critically evaluate the role of research, means that the scholar reflects on concepts such as: “who the research benefits,” “whose research it is,” and “who has designed the research questions” (Smith, p. 10). These questions can be summed up in four virtues, referred to as the “4R’s:” respect, reciprocity, relationality and responsibility (Olsen, 2016). The 4R’s should function as a guideline throughout the research, and as a foundation for the reflections a researcher makes about her role in research. Respect means treating the researched peoples with decency not only in the meeting with them, but also when writing about them. Reciprocity refers to how the research benefits the researched peoples and communities (Kuokkanen, 2008, p. 49). Relationality refers to building relationships with the people and communities where research is conducted, before and during research, and after the research project is finalized. Responsibility refers to being liable and accountable for the people and communities that are researched, such as taking necessary ethical considerations into account throughout the project (Smith, 2012). The 4R’s sums up what research ethics is about: “establishing new, more respectful and responsible relationships, discourses and practices with indigenous communities and addressing and transforming the previous colonial, exploitative and asymmetrical relations of research. [...]taking control of own affairs and knowledge” (Kuokkanen, 2008, p. 55). My position, and research ethics have been valuated throughout the whole process of writing this thesis.

I am Norwegian and Sámi, brought up in a Norwegian culture and education system. Many of the postcards I analyze are photographed before I was born, but the people on the old postcards depicting Kōnkämä Sámi, could very well have been my own ancestors. Nevertheless, I am an outsider to the Sámi cultures I study, to most of the places where the postcards are photographed, and the time these postcards were photographed. Being an outsider has been challenging, especially recognizing the assumptions I carried with me, understanding how these assumptions colored my interpretations, and how they influenced my writing about the findings. Thus, the feedback I have received during the writing process from my supervisor, my fellow students and teachers at the Indigenous Studies program, and from other scholars within my field of research, have been crucial.

Working with photographs calls for special ethics. Analyzing visual data, without interviewing the people in the postcards or their descendants, means that I work with a material that is “silent.” Consequently, I have not had access to the intentions neither from the people who were photographed, the photographers, nor the publishers. What complicates the analysis further is the several layers²¹ between me and the postcards, which contributes to disconnecting me from the postcards’ origin.²² This, combined with being an outsider to the Sámi cultures in focus in this thesis, means that I am likely to have overlooked symbols and contexts that could have strengthened this study if included.

²¹ Layers between me and the postcard: photographer, producer, technology (hand-coloring, Photoshop), scanning, metadata (interpretation made by others).

²² According to the Copyright Act §45c, photographs depicting someone can be publicly displayed 15 years after this person’s death. Postcards are also already published material.

1.6 Data

In 2011, collector Hakon Kierulf lent his postcard collection with Sámi motifs to Tromsø University Museum. The collection was digitalized and published at the University museum photo portal,²³ located in FotoArkivet. Today the collection contains 4.097 postcards, including 150-200 duplicates, and more than 300 illustrated postcards. There are approximately 727 postcards, plus 70-80 duplicates from Norwegian Sápmi. Out of the 727 postcards, I have identified 30 photographic postcards (plus duplicates) from the Ivgu area. The 727 postcards constitute the scope of this study.²⁴

The postcards are tagged with metadata.²⁵ This information is tagged to each postcard, and made available to the public by Cathrine Baglo. Most postcards from Norwegian Sápmi are photographed in the two northernmost counties of Norway: Finnmark and Troms²⁶. Most of the dated postcards have estimated date intervals between 20 and 30 years. The uncertainty of the intervals makes it difficult to compare postcards from one decade to another. However, to identify trends, I have chosen to divide the postcards into two periods spanning from 1867 to 1959 (period 1), and 1960 to 2010 (period 2). Separating the postcards into two periods with 1960 as the split, are due to several factors. First, postcards from 1960 and onwards are in color. Second, the number of postcards that are dated with an uncertain date interval spanning from 1930/40/50 to 1960 are few, compared to setting the split in another decade. In addition, a split in 1960 produces an almost equal number of postcards in each period. Of the 727 postcards surveyed in this study, period 1 contain 380 postcards, and period 2 contains 347.²⁷

²³ The portal is found at: <http://www.unimus.no/foto/#/>

²⁴ Postcards from Finnish, Russian, and Swedish Sápmi, painted or illustrated postcards, and images of petroglyphs, are not included in the scope.

²⁵ Information about symbols, place, and time.

²⁶ See Table 5, Appendix 2 for a list of Counties represented.

²⁷ For information on how to search for postcards, see Appendix 3.

1.7 Theoretical perspectives

Representation, types and stereotypes

This master's thesis is about visual representation of Sámi people, inspired by a constructionist approach. According to cultural theorist and sociologist Stuart Hall, a constructionist approach depends on two systems of representation. One, is the use of signs and categories to make sense about what we see. These signs and categories stand for, symbolize or refer to objects, people and events, and the meaning of the signs is produced through language (2013a, p. 14). Further, he argues that to express meaning and concepts, the language depends on codes others can understand. As such, the codes are part of the culture, and constitute "maps of meanings" (Hall, 2013a, p. 14). Interpreting visual images from another culture, in this case Sámi culture, is thus not straightforward, because the codes can be unfamiliar too or difficult to grasp for a person who stands outside the culture.

To understand the world, *typing* is necessary (Hall, 2013b, p. 247). Typing refers to classification of people, objects and events into categories and schemas, such as gender, class, age group, "race," nationality, or roles like parent, child, a worker, and so on (Dyer, 1977, in Hall, 2013b, p. 247). While typing appoints people "memberships" in a group, *stereotyping* is different. In stereotyping, people are reduced to a few characteristics that are exaggerated or simplified (Hall, 2013b, p. 247). The construction of "otherness" and difference may be a goal for those who use stereotyping as a strategy (Hall, 2013b, p. 247). As such, postcards can shape or confirm stereotyped versions of a group of people, by for example, making Sámi people appear "savage."

Semiology and semiotics

Linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) created the term *semiology*. A sign consists of material expressions (such as dots and lines) and intangible expressions (like ideas) (Gripsrud, 2011, p. 117). Literary- and art researcher Roland Barthes explored Saussure's semiology in the 1960s, and contributed to broadening the theories within this field. He saw that the comprehension of the signs changed through time, and that the signs also have different meanings in different cultures (Gripsrud, 2011, p. 120). Scholars like Saussure and Barthes, contended that an interpretation of photographs is conducted at two levels, where the denotative level is the first, direct meaning, followed by an interpretation of the underlying meanings (the connotative level). Philosopher, physician and mathematician Charles Saunders Pierce (1839-

1914) used the term *semiotics*, which is the more common term today. For him, signs were everything that mean something for someone. What is a sign for one person, may not be a sign for another person (Gripsrud, 2011, p. 124). In this master's thesis, a distinction between the denotative and connotative level is applied, however not on the level of single postcard images, but on the collection as whole. The first, direct meaning, is presented in tables in Chapters 3.2 and 4.2. In the following sub-chapters, I take the interpretations to a connotative level. The notion that a sign has different meanings in different contexts, have also inspired my approach. Following this line of thought, I assume that not only people from different cultures interpret postcards differently, but also that Sámi themselves may have contrasting perceptions.

“Emblematic Sámi” and key symbols

Tourism is designed to present difference (Viken, 2000, p. 26), and one of the main narratives in tourism is dichotomizing the “modern” and the “traditional” (Olsen 2006, p. 38; Viken 2000, p. 29). Furthermore, tourism requires symbols that are recognizable, and as such, tourism tend to rely on stereotypes (Olsen, 2003, p. 3). The symbols that social anthropologist Kjell Olsen found in a study of Sámi tourist brochures, include nature, reindeer, *lávvus*, turf huts, bonfires, old people and children, people dressed in *gákti* (2003, p. 9). According to Olsen, these symbols constitutes “an ‘emblematic’ form that promotes an idea of the Sámi as traditional and radically different from modern Norwegian culture” (Olsen, 2003, p. 3). The concept “emblematic Sámi,” combined with the term key symbols, are useful analytical tools in exploration of how Sámi people are represented in postcards. In this master's thesis, I apply social anthropologist Sherry Ortner's concept of key symbols as used in indigenous studies scholar Torjer Olsens article “The Exclusive Nature. Sámi Christianity in the Age of Eco-Indigenism” (2014). The term *key symbol* is understood as an image that has a public manifestation in the culture, is available for the spectator, and according to Olsen, has “a strong, dominant and popular position within a particular cultural setting” (2014, p. 195).

1.8 Thesis structure

In Chapter 1, I present the project, and position it within the field of research. The theoretical concepts and methods used in the interpretations and analysis of postcards are highlighted, together with ethical reflections.

In Chapter 2, I present the technological development that enabled the commercialization of photographs, and important contexts for the periods of the postcards are highlighted. The line of thoughts that arose in the mid-19th century, when race and ethnicity became defining factors in society are featured. Further, I provide a background about the “Joint Lapp Act” and the “Reindeer Herding Convention” and the impacts on the cross-country reindeer herding industry. Then, I outline prominent events and achievements during the era of revitalization, before describing the ethno-political and ethno-cultural background in Ivgu area.

Chapter 3 is devoted to an analysis of the photographic postcards from Norwegian Sápmi. The research question is explored through Lehtola’s first approach, as noted in Chapter 1.1., namely encounters between Sámi people and postcard photographers/publishers. The periods of investigation are divided in two; period 1 covers postcards from 1867 to 1959. Period 2 spans from 1960 to 2010. I argue that the tourism genre emphasizes difference, and that the representations of Sámi people in postcards are linked to the demands from the tourism market.

Chapter 4 is devoted to an analysis of the photographic postcards from Ivgu area from 1880 to approximately 1950. The research question is discussed through Lehtola’s second approach, as noted in Chapter 1.1. By utilizing the concept “our histories,” I explore how postcards can trigger memories, and be used as historical sources to document people and places.

In Chapter 5, I discuss how postcards can function as instruments to build bridges between past and present, which is Lehtola’s third approach. I explore two old postcards from the late 19th century which has been colored by photo artist Per Ivar Somby in 2017, and a series of postcards made by the Riddu Ridđu administration in 1999/2000. Through these examples, I reflect on how postcards can be utilized as instruments in processes of revitalization.

2 Background

2.1 Postcards and photography technology

Postcards

Postcards have value as documentation and instruments. They provide evidence about places and landscape, people, lived lives, and cultures. They can document who photographed and published them, and in some cases what their intentions were, while other times they just convey an atmosphere and a time (Ulvestad, 2005). As instruments, they can be used as souvenirs, collection items, and as tools for communication (Ulvestad, 2005). However, they can also be utilized as tools for suppression, to establish an identity, or contribute in nation building processes. What separates postcards from many other types of photographs, is the commercial aspect and their availability for the masses.

The first postcard was sold in Austria-Hungary in 1869, after professor in economics Emanuel Hermans convinced the Austrian government to price the postcard at half the cost of a letter (Boretsky, 2003, p. 3). More than a decade later, the Norwegian Government allowed pre-stamped cards, and in 1883 the first illustrated postcard was sold in Norway (Ulvestad, 2005). The first photographic postcard in Norway was registered in 1887 (Ulvestad, 1988, p. 9).

Photography technology

The year 1839 was a milestone in the photo history. This was the year when the artist Louis Daguerre discovered a way to develop photographs through exposing light on chemical prepared metal plates (Larsen & Lien, 2007, p. 14). Daguerreotypes won the market, despite the introduction of the much cheaper salt paper copies a year later. The latter were grainy and blurry, while the daguerreotypes were detailed and glossy (Larsen & Lien, 2007, p. 17-18). After the 1850s it became possible to make several copies of each photo, giving common people the opportunity to visit a photographer and have portraits of themselves taken. The wet plate technique was introduced in the 1860s. Now positive photographs could be transferred to paper through a chemical solution in a dark room. Although wet plate enabled unlimited copies, it generated a lot of work and trouble for the photographer. The equipment had to be transported and the chemical processes had to be prepared (Larsen & Lien, 2007, p. 41). Dry plate technique, which came about in 1871, made it easier to be a photographer. Dry plate consisted of pre-produced glass plates covered in silver gelatin. Kodak cameras launched in 1888, and

now glass plates were replaced with rolls of film. Kodak paved the way for amateur photographers into the market (Larsen & Lien, 2007, p. 177), and a doorway to commercializing photographs was opened.

The copy technique was as important for the making of postcards as the photo equipment, and in the early 20th century, technological development had come so far that it was possible to make a living as a photographer because they could make mass copies and sell photographs in large scale (Ulvestad, 2005, p. 57). Light print was the most common technique in the production of postcards until the 1920s. The next milestone was the 10.5x15 format, which was introduced between 1935 and 1940 by postcard photographer and publisher Carl Normann. This format still is the standard today (Ulvestad, 1988, p. 43). Hand-coloring was the technique used to add color to a photograph before the 1950s, whereas from the 1950s and onwards colors could be printed on the paper (Larsen & Lien, 2007). In the postcard collection I study, the technological development is seen, first and foremost because the postcard images from 1960 and onwards are colored, while postcards before 1960 are black and white, brown and white (sepia), or hand-colored.

2.2 Tourism

The postcards I study in this master's thesis are mostly tourism postcards. As such, it is important to include some of the main theories about tourism and tourist motivations as a background for the thesis. Considerable research has been conducted on tourism. Some scholars contend that tourists are seen as intruders of local communities (Cole, 2007). Others illuminate tourism as an industry that empowers the communities who act as hosts (Scheyvens, 2002), and claim that the hosts have agency (Oakes, 2005). Still others see encounters in tourism as “a space that the (perhaps stereotypically restless) tourists and the (perhaps authentic) community co-construct, resulting in mutually fruitful relationships” (Dolezal, 2015, p. 182). In a Sámi context, tourism is for some families the main option for alternative business in a pressured reindeer husbandry economy (Viken & Müeller, 2006, p. 1-2). Families that encounter tourism, may thus do it to be able to continue traditional²⁸ businesses such as reindeer herding. Before

²⁸ When I use the term “traditional,” I refer to social anthropologist Bjørn Bjerkli's way to conceptualize tradition “as constituted in customs that attach people and land (resources) together over time. If we remove people's

World War II, tourism in Sámi areas was limited to the nomadic reindeer herder summer pasture camps. However, after the war, Sámi tourism also became more common in Sámi core areas like Kárášjohka (Karasjok) and Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) (Viken & Müller, 2006, p. 2).

Researchers point to different reasons that people seek new cultures and places. Elizabeth Edwards links tourists' motivation to a "desire to know" (1996, p. 199). Professor in educational leadership & organizations Kathleen J. Martin, contends that images have been used in colonial practices to document people who are about to vanish, and that these images tend to represent indigenous peoples as "unchangeable and backward." Martin refers to a "desire to *be* the other" (2013, p. 5) as a driving force behind tourist motivation. Some researchers connect tourism to a longing for the "exotic" and primitive (MacCannell, 1992), and thus a chase for the authentic (MacCannell, 1989 in Viken, 2000, p. 43), however, what is authentic is heavily debated within research. While some claim that authenticity is lost when something gains attention from the tourists (MacCannell, 1989 in Viken 2000, p. 43), others contend that something loses authenticity when it is called authentic (Bendix, 1997 in Viken, 2000, p. 43). Still others argue that tourist motivations are vested in a search for experiences that are different from the experiences we encounter in our daily lives (Viken & Müller, 2017, p. 17; Urry, 1990). This overview about tourism and tourist motivation shows that research on tourism are multi-faceted, spanning from perspectives that tourism is viewed as bad for the local community, to views that tourism has a positive impact on the society. According to Baglo, cultural representations and self-representations cannot unambiguously be classified in positive or negative categories (Baglo, 2017, p. 292). This is a perspective I lean on in this master's thesis, together with the notions that tourism is designed to present difference.

opportunities to exploit the resources, the relationship changes and the understanding of the use is dissolved" (1999, p. 203, my translation).

2.3 Norwegian nation narratives

When Norway became an independent nation state in 1814, a search for a national identity started. Mapping the Norwegian landscape was one of the practices carried out as part of this search. Postcard photographers like Anders B. Wilse and Knud Knudsen, among others, contributed in this mapping through visual representations of romantic national landscapes in postcards (Lien, 2014; Ulvestad, 2005). The photographers who put Norwegian landscape on display, also photographed Sámi people in this period, and thus it is interesting in a study of postcards to explore how nation building is reflected in the postcards with Sámi motifs.

What I have defined as “period 1” in this study of postcards, is within the heyday of nationalism in Norway. Parallel with the broader social Darwinist²⁹ ideology in the country, anthropologists used photographs as a tool documenting the physical measurements that was carried out on the Sámi (Baglo, 2012, p. 46). The photographers were likely to manipulate the images of indigenous peoples to make them appear “idle” and “passive” (Baglo, 2012, p. 50). According to Lien, ideas of the Sámi being sub-ordinate to Norwegians were accentuated in postcards as well (2014, p. 153). She explores a postcard version of a photograph, where the woman in the postcard was retouched to appear “savage.” The woman’s eyes were drawn obliquely, and her hair appeared unruly in the postcard version, which gave her characteristics of “Sámi wildness” (Lien, 2014, p. 153). It was not only the “exotic” that was emphasized in the era of nationalism. It also became important to represent Norway as a civilized country with a “pure race.”

“The tiny inhabitants are not Norwegians, they are Finns or Lapps in the northern parts of Norway; they are not many, and it is said they soon will disappear... We only need to mention them in the passing. They are not to be found on the regular tourist path” (Reiakvam, 1997, p. 73, my translation).³⁰

The text from the magazine “Norway Illustrated” from 1888, perpetuates another common idea of the period, namely that indigenous peoples were “vanishing.” As such, many images might have been taken to memorize and document people before they disappeared (Martin, 2013, p.

²⁹ This line of thought emphasized the “white, European man” as a superior “race,” while minorities and other cultures that did not fall within the category of being white and European, were looked upon as less “developed” (Evjen & Beck, 2015).

³⁰ ”Dei ørsmå innbyggjarane er ikkje nordmenn, men finnar eller lappar i det aller nordlegaste Noreg; dei er ikkje talrike og det seiest at dei snart døyr ut...her må vi gå forbi dei utan meir enn å nemne dei. Dei kryssar ikkje den vanlege turistens veg” (Reiakvam, 1997, p. 73).

4-5). This can be linked to what Martin argues is a “cultural cannibalism,” “the desire to be ‘the other’,” which is a feature of tourist motivation as noted above.

The voting day for the Union resolution between Norway and Sweden, August 13th, 1905, and the anniversary of the Independence Day in 1914, were two prominent events in Norwegian national history influencing the postcard industry (Lien, 2014; Ulvestad, 2005). Nationalism reached a peak, and the Norwegian postcards flourished with images of Vikings, heroes, the Norwegian flag, and the successes in business, culture, and communication (Ulvestad, 2005, p. 84). In her article “Not ‘just another boring tree’ – landskapet som identitetsmarkør i norsk og samisk fotografi,” Lien explores nationalistic postcards with Sámi motifs, and discusses postcards made by photographer Solveig Lund where a woman dressed in gákti and skis, is represented with a Norwegian flag (2014, p. 156).³¹ Lien contends that this postcard illustrates that the Sámi were included in the Norwegian nation narratives in postcards. According to Lien, the postcard with the gákti-dressed woman demonstrates the successes of the assimilation processes (2014, p. 154). The postcards in the “Kierulf-collection” unveil another story, as discussed later in the thesis.

2.4 Grazing rights and cross-country reindeer herding

Cross-country reindeer herding has been a topic and an issue between Norway and Sweden for a long time. The laws and conventions that were negotiated during these encounters, had impact on the Sámi cross-country reindeer herding families. The “Join Lapp Act” (Felleslappeloven) of 1883, decided that the counties in Norway where reindeer herding was an industry, had to be divided into grazing areas, which in turn were divided into districts. Areas both farmers and reindeer herders used were restricted for the Sámi from Swedish Sápmi, whose reindeer now were allowed to graze in Norway only between May and September (Storm, 2009, 26-27).

The Sámi right to cross the border with the reindeer was an issue again in the Karlstad negotiations³² between Sweden and Norway in 1905. The Norwegian Government wished to

³¹ In the conversation: “Med postkort på plakaten” (“With postcards on the poster,” my translation) between Cathrine Baglo and journalist Elin M. Wersland at Perspektivet Museum April 19th, 2018, Cathrine Baglo noted that Solveig Lund had an atelier where women could come, dress up in national clothing such as bunad or gákti, and be photographed. Thus, the women dressed in gákti in Lund’s postcards could as likely be Norwegian. The conversation was streamed at: <https://www.facebook.com/perspektivet.museum/videos/1818684561526051/>

³² Negotiations about the Union resolution between Norway and Sweden.

terminate the “Lapp Codicil,”³³ while the Swedish government wanted to secure the Sámi from Swedish Sápmi’s legal right to continue with grazing in Norway (Lae, 2007, p. 59). It was a goal for the Norwegian Government to increase the agricultural population in Troms County (Broderstad, 2013, p. 161), and they used a social Darwinist argument to strengthen their stance, such as claiming that nomadism had no place in a “modern” culture (Lae, 2007, p. 67). The “Lapp Codicil” could not be terminated (Broderstad, 2013, p. 161), and many negotiations back and forth resulted in the 1919 “Reindeer Grazing Convention” (Reinbeitekonvensjonen). Inter alia, the convention reaffirmed May 1st to be the date when the Sámi from Swedish Sápmi could cross the border to Norway (Lae, 2007, p. 67), and decided to divide the grazing areas into 37 districts (Storm, 2009, p. 33). Consequently, the families who migrated to Sállir and Ranes (Ringvassøya) on summer pastures lost access to these areas, and had to migrate south to Lule Sámi areas instead. The “Reindeer Grazing Convention” was modified in 1949, and now access to the rest of the areas in Stuoranjárga (Romsa mainland) were lost (Storm, 2009, p. 35). In the new “Reindeer Grazing Convention” of 1972, grazing areas in Nordland and Troms County, were reduced by respectively 67 percent and 70 percent (Broderstad, 2013, p. 164). In Ittonjárga (Lyngen peninsula) the summer migration continued until the 1960s. The last migration to Ivgu was in 1962, while some groups migrated to Rendalen until the end of the 1960s (Storm, 2009, p. 35-36).

The “Reindeer Grazing Convention” are indirectly reflected in the postcards. First, people are photographed in certain places they later not appear. Second, when summer camps were closed, postcards from these camps were no longer produced. Third, the right to graze between May and September in Norwegian Sápmi, delimit the postcards with Sámi from Swedish Sápmi in Norway to these summer months. Lastly, families were divided due to the convention, and today the term “bággojohtimat” (forced relocation) is used to describe the relocations (Storm, 2009, p. 34). In postcards, some family members can be linked to one district, while other members of the same family can appear on postcards from other districts, as illustrated through Figure 2. Ella Andersdotter Kuhmunen (b. Wasara in 1883) is found on several postcards from the 9th district Stuoranjárga in the “Kierulf-collection.”³⁴ She was married to Tomas Kuhmunen

³³ When the border between Denmark/Norway and Sweden/Finland was drawn in 1751, the border treaty came with an appendix called the “Lapp Codicil.” The codicil secured the Sámi, and particularly the reindeer herding Sámi families, the right to continue crossing the borders to areas they used before 1751 (Storm, 2009, p. 20). The Norwegian Government have been particularly eager to terminate the “Lapp Codicil” (Broderstad, 2013; Lae, 2007).

³⁴ Search for tslp10556, tslp10545, tslp10544, and tslp10543 to see some of the postcards with Ella.

(b. 1875), who's family migrated to Lønnsdal in Nordland County. What Ella was doing in Sálašvággi, when other Wasara's were in the 5th and 7th district, and the Kuhmunen's were in 6th district and Sámi areas further south (Walkeapää, 2009), is interesting. In the case of Ella, who's story I do not know, this may have a natural explanation. However, the postcards with her illustrates that postcards can open for questions and contribute to unveil new histories.



Figure 2 "Lapp girl."³⁵ 1900-20?

Photo: Anders B. Wilse. Copyright: B.M. Schönbergs Kunstforlag/Tromsø University Museum.³⁶

³⁵ The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: "Lapp pige." In the postcard: Ella Andersdotter Kuhmunen (b. Wasara).

³⁶ Search for tslp10620 at Unimus.no/foto to find the postcard online.

2.5 The Indigenous movement and revitalization

What I have defined as “period 2” in this study of postcards, is within the era of Sámi revitalization in Norway. During this period, the Sámi aimed at gaining a right to self-determination. In the work of reviving Sámi identities, the Sámi used symbols to distinguish themselves from the majority population. It is, thus, interesting to explore how this is reflected in the postcards. To comprehend what revitalization means in a Sámi context, it is necessary also to look abroad.

The first Sámi institutions was established in the 1950s, but the ethno-political impact was limited until the 1960s and 1970s.³⁷ The National Association of Norwegian Sámi (NSR) was established in 1968, and only Sámi people could be granted membership (Evjen and Beck, 2015, p. 40). The Sámi movement reflects trends coinciding with the international indigenous movement. The latter started in the late 1960s, and gained an increased political influence in the 1970s (Minde, Gaski, Jentoft & Midré, 2008, p. 4). During the following years, a growing number of non-governmental organizations (NGO) were established with the aim not only to bring indigenous issues to the United Nations (UN) (Minde et al., 2008, p. 5), but also with an aim to improve the relationship between indigenous peoples and the State (Dahre, 2008, p. 153). The Sámi movement in the 1970s and 1980s was concerned with building a Sámi nation, and with that; a platform to express the Sámi identity. The period has been referred to as ČSV³⁸, which has become a symbol of Sámi activism. In the end of the 1970s, the planned damming of Alta-Kautokeino River System was met with protests and hunger strikes from the Sámi population. This has later been referred to as “the Alta controversy” (Evjen and Beck, 2015, p. 47). This event became a turning point in Sámi history, and received attention in the UN system (Minde, 2008, p. 67). The leader of the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB), George Manuel established the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) in 1975, with a vision that indigenous peoples were given a right to self-determination (Minde, 2008, p. 59-60), and in 1978 the UN acknowledged that indigenous rights were part of the human rights (Minde, 2008, p. 65). The Working Group of Indigenous Peoples (WGIP) was founded in 1982, with a Sámi,

³⁷ The first attempts to organize Sámi’ interests occurred as early as in the 20th century, but these attempts did not have an impact (Evjen and Beck, 2015, p. 40).

³⁸ ČSV can have several meanings: It is letters in the Sámi alphabet. It can mean: “Čájjet Sámi Vuoiŋŋa” – Show Sámi spirit, “Čohkke Sámiid Vuoitui” – Gather the Sámi for victory, and “Čielga Sámi Varra” – Pure Sámi blood (Gælok & Larsson, 2013).

Asbjørn Eide, as Chairperson. The group started working on the “Draft UN Declaration on Indigenous rights.”³⁹

Sámediggi (the Sámi Parliament) was established in 1989 (Evjen and Beck, 2015, p. 44), and in 1990 the “International Labour Organization Convention 169” (ILO169) was signed by the Norwegian Government, a convention that “grants indigenous peoples the right to their traditional lands or territories and to the natural resources of the land” (Weigård, 2008, p. 178). The ratification implied that the Norwegian Government recognized the Sámi as indigenous peoples. The Permanent Forum was established in 2002, and gave indigenous peoples a broader arena to meet with UN bodies. When the “United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples” (UNDRIP) was adopted in 2007, indigenous peoples were acknowledged as a distinct group (Minde, 2008, p. 77) with a right to self-determination. The right to self-determination included indigenous peoples’ rights to decide issues regarding land and water (Minde, 2008, p. 75), and in topics considering their financial, social and cultural development (Sametinget, 2016). The revitalization processes have led to a collective Sámi self-understanding. New symbols, such as a Sámi map and flag, were created to represent the Sámi nation (Gaski, 2008), with an aim to distinguish themselves from the majority culture (Gjerpe, 2013, p. 34). In Chapter 5, I delve into the ethno-cultural side of the Sámi movement, and explore postcards that use symbols in new ways to express Sámi identity and culture.

³⁹ In the work with the Draft Declaration, a definition of who is indigenous peoples emerged. The working definition that has been used in UN is the following: “Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are (1) those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, (2) consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing those territories, or part of them. (3) They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and (4) are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identity, as the basis with their own cultural pattern, social institutions and legal systems” (Martinez Cobo, 1987, in Minde, 2008, p. 80). To be indigenous, the individual must self-identity as one, and be recognized and accepted by the group as one of its members (Minde, 2008, p. 81).

2.6 Ethno-political and ethno-cultural background in Ivgu

Ivgu suohkan (Lyngen municipality) today covers the municipalities of Omasvuotna (Storfjord), Gáivuotna and Ivguvuotna (Lyngenfjord). Up until 1902, Moskavuotna (Sørfjord) was part of the municipality too. Ivgu belongs to the 7th reindeer grazing district, Ittonjárga, and was the summer pasture area for the Kõnkämä Sámi, from Swedish Sápmi. Ivgu shares border with Finland and Sweden, and has historically been a center for trading, warfare, and religious influx.⁴⁰ The municipality has a history with both coastal Sámi stationary culture and nomadic reindeer herding. Sedentary fishery-farming is probably one of the oldest Sámi industries in the area, while Sámi reindeer herding developed later here (Olsen, 1995). A “Lapp Fund,” which was a post on the national budget, was formed in 1851, aimed at assimilating the Sámi children through the educational system. The assimilation policy was first and foremost aimed at the transitional districts (Minde, 2003), and in Ivgu the coastal Sámi culture was a target (Olsen, 1995).⁴¹ In World War II, the Germans burned the houses along the coast of Finnmark and Troms County. In this process, Sámi homes, tools and other physical symbols from the Sámi culture were lost, and when the Sámi returned to Ivgu suohkan after the war, their homes were rebuilt in a “Norwegian” style. “It is a paradox that the few months where the people of Lyngen lived as refugees in the south, had a much larger effect on Norwegianization than 70-80 years of harsh Norwegianization policies opposed by the Nation State” (Olsen, 1995, p. 8, my translation). The gákti was one of the Sámi symbols that did not survive.

In the 1970s, the revitalization movement came to the municipality, and in 1976, Gáivuona Sámiid Searvi (Kåfjord Sameforening) was established. In the 1980s and 1990s several other Sámi institutions were established. Their aim was to be political active, to collect and register Sámi place names, facilitate Sámi language training, and to take back the coastal Sámi gákti (Olsen, 1995). As a result, and with the help of historical sources, the gákti was reconstructed in the 1990s (Isaksen, 2013, p. 29). Riddu Riđđu was initiated in 1991 in Gáivuona. This festival has led to changes for the coastal Sámi identities, as explored in Chapter 5.

⁴⁰ The Lutheran church revival movement, Laestadianism was strong in this area, and contributed to safeguard some of the cultural characteristics with the Sámi culture. However, it did not have a significant impact for the gákti (Olsen, 1995, p. 7).

⁴¹ The assimilation policies were also directed towards the Kven people. See for instance Eriksen and Niemi, 1981 for more about the Kvens’ history related to this topic.

3 Representation of Sámi people in photographic postcards from Norwegian Sápmi

The postcards in focus in this chapter are spanning from 1867 to 2010, and the analysis is conducted through an exploration of encounters between Sámi and postcard photographers/publishers. The first section provides a presentation of photographers, publishers, and the collector, followed by a presentation and an analysis of the findings.

3.1 Postcard publishers, photographers, and the collector

Publishers

About 88 percent of the postcards are marked with a copyright or a company name. Most of the postcards in this study have Norwegian publishers. Some of the postcards are published by companies in Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Germany. In addition, a few Sámi names are found.⁴² The most frequently occurring publishers in this study are Knut Aunes Kunstforlag (Trondheim) and Mittet & Co (Kristiania/Oslo).

Copyright does not necessarily indicate the original ownership of a postcard. Publisher companies are rarely documented, their photographic material is spread everywhere today, and on some of the postcards it is not clear whether the copyright owner is the seller company or the publisher (Ulvestad, 2005, p. 125).

Photographers

Around 30 percent of the photographic postcards have the photographer's name printed on them. The most recurring photographers in this study are Helge Anton Amundsen (Hammerfest), Giovanni Trimboli (Italy), and Carl Normann (Trondheim, Hamar, Kristiania/Oslo). However, because the photographer is not known in the rest of the material, there might be others who have photographed more postcard images. Finding the photographer

⁴² It is not clear whether the Sámi names in the postcards refer to Sámi photographers or copyright owners.

in the additional postcards which are not tagged with photographer constitutes a whole master's thesis work alone, and is not part of the scope.

A postcard constitutes both the image and the printed text. In period 1, the photographers were often responsible for the whole production of postcards, and thus the photographers most likely wrote the texts in the postcards.⁴³ This means that the printed text can indicate how the photographer saw the Sámi.

The collector

Hakon Kierulf is from Drammen. It was during his work as a lawyer in Alta in the late 1960s and 1970s he encountered Sámi reindeer herders. He obtained his first postcards with Sámi motifs during the time he spent in Finnmark County, and started to collect postcards from all over Sápmi after he moved to Oslo.⁴⁴

Summing up, most of the publishers and photographers, and the collector are non-Sámi. Hence, an analysis of the postcards can provide insights on how Sámi people are depicted from the “outside.” Being outsiders means that they offer secondhand narratives about Sámi people and cultures.

⁴³ Information based on email communication with Publishing Director in Normanns Kunstforlag.

⁴⁴ Information based on email communication with Hakon Kierulf.

3.2 A description of the findings

I have separated the findings into two tables: *Landscape, buildings and transportation*, and *People, animals, objects and activities*. The first table covers the surroundings, or the “background” scenery, while the second covers symbols within this scenery.⁴⁵

Landscape, buildings and transportation

The table below shows landscape, buildings and means of transportation that are on display in the postcards in both periods. The symbols in the table are the ones that was repeated most frequently in the postcards.

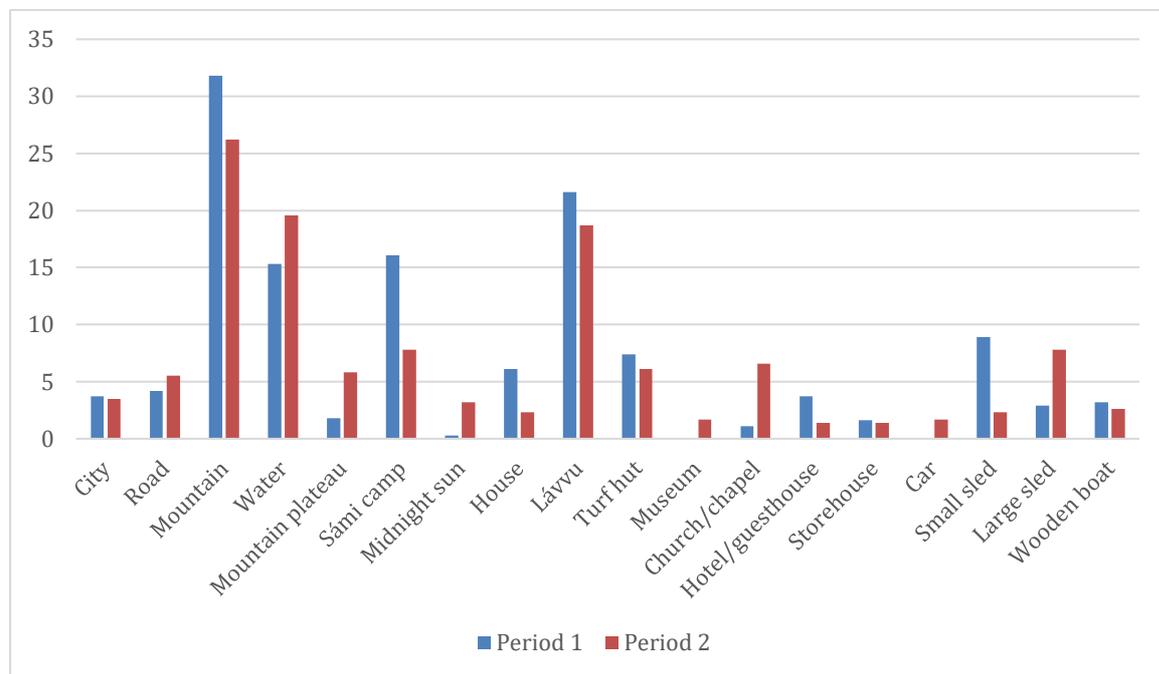


Table 1 Landscape, buildings and transportation

Mountains are the most recurring landscape scenery in the postcards, followed by water (which include fjords, rivers and so on). Cities and roads are represented evenly in both periods, but occurs rarely. Sámi camps refers to the summer pastures of reindeer herding Sámi, which was open for tourists to visit. Most of the postcard images with Sámi camps are taken in Troms and

⁴⁵ As noted previously, period 1 (1867 to 1959) includes 380 postcards, and period 2 (1960 to 2010) includes 347 postcards, and the numbers in the tables are given in percentages.

Finnmark County. However, around 50 out of 380 postcard images in period 1 are photographed in counties further south in Norway, such as Grotli Høyfjellshotell in Oppland, Hotell Finse in Hordaland, and Djupvasshytta hotel in Møre og Romsdalen.

Images of *lávvus* are the most recurring *buildings*, followed by turf huts. As listed in the table, postcard images of houses exist, but rarely. Houses are usually represented from a distance, or only parts of it is seen with a Sámi sitting outside on the house's stairs. None of the postcards depict houses or turf huts from the inside, in contrast to *lávvus* which may be photographed from within. There is an increase in postcard images with museums and churches/chapels in period 2, while postcards with hotels/guesthouses decrease in the same period.

Lastly, the table presents an overview of the means of transportation found. Small sleds⁴⁶ are the most frequently occurring vehicle in period 1, while large sleds⁴⁷ are the most repeated vehicle in period 2. Wooden boats (includes wooden rowing boats and river boats) are rare. The snowmobile, which was the most common vehicle for reindeer herders in period 2 (Viken, 2000, p. 33), is almost invisible in the postcard collection. Some motorized ships are also found in the postcards, but those are infrequent. *Lávvus*, turf huts, and churches/chapels can be represented alone (without Sámi people or other Sámi symbols) in the postcards, while the other symbols noted in this section, occurs with Sámi people.

⁴⁶ By small sled, I refer to a sled that is pulled by reindeer to transport people, supplies and food. The body of the sled is directly in contact with the snow. In postcards, it tends to occur with a reindeer whom pulls it.

⁴⁷ By large sled, I refer to a carrier with narrow, longitudinal runners underneath the body of the sled. It can also be used to transport people. However, in the postcards it is not represented "in action," but as an object in the background.

People, animals, objects and activities

The following table shows representations of people, animals, objects and activities in the postcards. The categories children, woman/women and man/men constitutes *people*. The columns include every time they appear, independent of whether they are alone or together with others. Reindeer and dogs constitutes *animals*. Gákti (Sámi national clothing), pelts, knife, pipe, gietkka (Sámi baby cradle), and lasso constitutes the most recurring *objects*. Souvenir sales, duodji (Sámi handicraft) making, and weddings constitutes the most repeated activities in postcards.

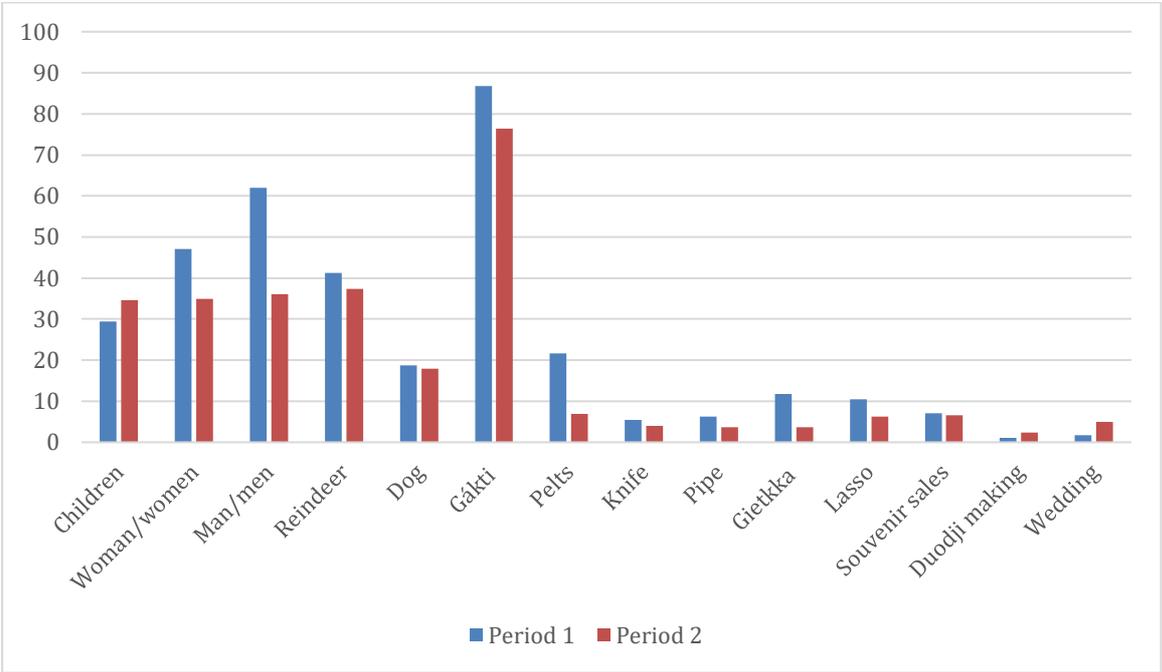


Table 2 People, animals, objects and activities

In period 1, men are presented more often in postcards than woman, but in period 2 the representation of children, women, and men is more even. Men alone (without the presence of women or children) are photographed four times more than women alone (without children or men) in period 1. In period 2, men alone are photographed twice as often as women alone. Children and women co-occur more often than men and children in both periods.⁴⁸ In addition,

⁴⁸ See a more detailed overview of co-occurrences in Table 4 in Appendix 2.

there is a tendency towards more representations of large groups of people in period 1 compared to period 2, where smaller groups of people are more common.

Reindeer and dogs are found frequently in the postcards. Reindeer and men co-occur nine times more often than reindeer and women. Dogs and men are depicted together four times more than dogs and women in period 1, a difference that increases to five times more in period 2. Children and dogs appear together more often than children and reindeer. While the dog occurs with Sámi people in the postcards, the reindeer can be represented without people.

The *gákti* is the most recurring symbol found in the postcards. There is a change from period 1 to period 2 regarding the diversity of *gáktis*. In period 2, the emphasis is on *gáktis* from Finnmark County, and especially Kárášjohka (Karasjok) and Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino), while in period 1 *gáktis* from other parts of Sápmi are displayed as well. Postcard images of men with a lasso, knife or pipe is more common in both periods than women with these symbols. Conversely, women may occur with *gietkka*, while men rarely do. There are not many postcards depicting activities, which explains why only *duodji* making, souvenir sales, and weddings are included in the table. Souvenir sales are usually shown with two or more people. Other activities found are men fishing, seasonal migration, reindeer slaughtering, reindeer separation, food preparation, animal feeding, reindeer milking, and children in play. However, all these activities appear infrequently in the postcards.

Summing up, the symbols that have a strong, dominant and popular position in the postcards, and thus constitutes the key symbols, are people⁴⁹ dressed in *gákti*, reindeer and nature. The term nature, is used as a large concept to cover mountains, forests, water, the location of Sámi camps, and mountain plateaus. The key symbols remain the same in both periods. What changes, is that the postcards from period 2 are more varied; representation of men and women evens out, and large groups of people and reindeer herds are less emphasized. What is absent or occurs rarely are cities, explicitly modern housing facilities, symbols related to art and music, political statements or propaganda, motorized transportation, other industries (besides reindeer herding and souvenir sales), organizational labor, “everyday” clothing (other clothing besides *gáktis* and pelts), other animals (besides reindeer and dogs), and sports.

⁴⁹ With an emphasis on men in period 1.

3.3 Encounters between Sámi people and photographers/publishers

3.3.1 Continuity in Sámi representation

As I described in the previous section, people dressed in gákti, reindeer herding, and nature have prominent positions in both periods, and can be interpreted as key symbols in the postcards. An estimated 7-10 percent of all the postcards in this study depict reindeer without people. Still, both Kierulf and Tromsø University Museum have interpreted and categorized these postcards motifs as Sámi motifs. That reindeer can appear alone in postcard images, indicates that the reindeer is recognized as a Sámi motif, and as described in Chapter 1.7, recognizability is one of the features with tourism. The key symbols found in this analysis, coincide with what Olsen contends is an “emblematic” way of representing Sámi people. Through the following two postcards, I discuss another one of Olsen’s notions, namely how this type of representation can be interpreted as a counter-concept to a “modern” culture (2003, p. 13). In this discussion, it is necessary to include the postcard text. When a postcard text is included in the analysis, particular readings of a postcard image can be emphasized (Reiakvam 1997, p. 61). Through the text, the spectators get access to glimpses of what the photographers’ intentions might have been.



Figure 3 "Lapps visiting the city."⁵⁰ 1920-40?
Copyright: C. Hagens Forlag/Tromsø University Museum.⁵¹

⁵⁰ The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: “Lapper på besök i byen.”

⁵¹ Search for tslp10706 at Unimus.no/foto to find the postcard online. I do not have the names of the people in the postcard.



Figure 4 "Hammerfest. From the harbor area. M/S Bergensfjord at the dock."⁵² 1960-80?
Photo: Helge Amundsen. Copyright: Aune Forlag AS/Tromsø University Museum.⁵³

Figure 3 is photographed in Hammerfest in period 1, on what can be interpreted as the entrance of a city street. The two men are facing each other, with the bodies turned partly towards the photographer. Behind them there is a mountain, a church-tower, and buildings. The postcard image also depicts women, men and children dressed in “everyday” clothing, a carrier with wheels, street lights, a bench, and the shadows on the right reveal it is a sunny day. Figure 4 is also photographed in Hammerfest, although in period 2. This postcard shows three Sámi boys sitting on a mountain hill. Below them, the city of Hammerfest is seen. The red colors from their clothing, together with the red buildings in the lower left corner, is a contrast to the rest of the postcard image which consists of nature colors.

In both postcards, the Sámi and the city appear together, but with the Sámi some distance from the city center. In Figure 3, the city is seen in the background, and in Figure 4, the city is below. The text in Figure 3 is: “Lapps visiting the city,” which can be interpreted as the photographer seeing the Sámi as visitors to the city. A text like: “Lapps on summer pasturing” would, for example, have given quite a different reading of the postcard, this because Hammerfest historically have been a summer pasture area for Guovdageaidnu Sámi (Hætta, Sara &

⁵² The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: “Hammerfest. Fra havneområdet. M/S Bergensfjord ved kaia.”

⁵³ Tslp11592. I do not have the names of the people in the postcard.

Rushfeldt, 1994, p. 81), and the text “Lapps visiting the city” positions Sámi people as outsiders more than insiders.

Olsen’s argument about Sámi people being represented as a counter-concept to what is explicitly modern, can be linked to other representations of Sámi as peoples with a close relationship to nature. Notions about Sámi as nature people is found not only in tourism, but in written materials such as travel diaries, fiction stories, research articles, newspaper articles, and so on (Mathisen, 2001, p. 85). Also in contemporary environmental debates, indigenous peoples and nature are linked, which is referred to as; *eco-indigenism* (Olsen, 2014, p. 177). A potential problem with this kind of representation is that it essentialises the Sámi culture, and thus contributes to canonize the Sámi identity (Olsen, 2014, p. 177). As a result, Sámi who live close to nature are perceived as “authentic” while Sámi who live in cities, or who drives a car, or utilizes technological devices are viewed as “un-authentic” (Mathisen, 2001, p. 92). Sámi who do not live in harmony with nature can even be categorized as “Norwegianized” (Mathisen, 2001, p. 96), and the Sámi themselves may feel “out of place,” (Gjerpe, 2013, p. 1) or in other words, an experienced deficiency of Sámi identity.

Figure 3 and 4 were photographed and published by non-Sámi, and thus from an outsider perspective, a secondhand “narrative.” Figure 5 is an example of a postcard image published by a Sámi family. The publishers are the Somby family, who label themselves as the “the world’s northernmost reindeer herding family.”⁵⁴ The postcard image depicts a family dressed in Kárášjohka gákti, a bonfire, Davvenjárga (the Nordkapp plateau), the midnight sun, and the Arctic Ocean. Accordingly, they self-represent through the same key symbols as non-Sámi photographers and publishers. While this is true, these postcards differ from the rest of the material in one way, in that the postcards have the name “Somby” printed on them. As such, they have individualized the postcards, rather than using “folk types.” Nevertheless, the Somby postcard illustrate that they too rely on recognizability, and may thus, have used the “emblematic” way of representing themselves as a strategy to meet the demands of the tourism market, which in turn embody Sámi agency.

⁵⁴ The text is written on the backside of the postcard.

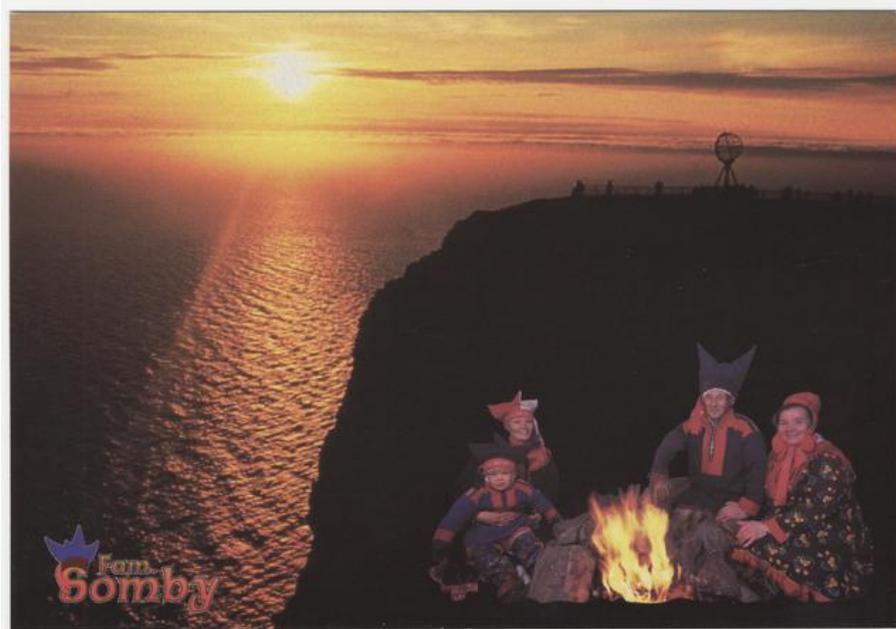


Figure 5 "Fam. Somby. The world's northernmost reindeer herding family."⁵⁵ 1970-90?
Copyright: Familien Somby/Tromsø University Museum.⁵⁶

Metonymizing and anomaly

Less than ten percent of the Sámi population have lived as nomadic reindeer herders (Bjørklund, Brantenberg, Eidheim, Kalstad & Storm et al., 2000). The coastal Sámi were sedentary fisher-farmers, and the "marka Sámi" combined several industries (Evjen, 2009). Other industries Sámi historically have encountered are smallholdings, and smelters in the mining industry (Evjen, 2015, p. 103-104). Today, most Sámi's everyday life is quite alike Norwegians everyday life (Bjørklund et al., 2000). In postcards, reindeer herding and nomadism are represented as *the* Sámi culture, while other parts of the Sámi cultures are almost invisible. With regards to clothing, the *gákti* is emphasized, but the scooter suit for instance, which has been the common winter working clothing for reindeer herders in most part of period 2 (Viken, 2000, p. 33), is almost not presented at all. The term *metonymizing* refers to how single signs can be used to reflect a whole culture (Viken, 2000, p. 37). The *gákti* can from the postcards be interpreted as "everyday" clothing for the Sámi, and therefore becomes a metonym. Through the metonyms, expectations about a distinct Sámi culture is created (Viken, 2000, p. 38). In his book *Indians in unexpected places*, historian Philip J. Deloria sheds light on how expectations

⁵⁵ The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: "Fam. Somby. Verdens nordligste reindriftsfamilie."

⁵⁶ Tslp11721. I do not have the names of the individuals in the postcard, only their family name.

can lead to interpretations of anomalies (2004). While metonyms can lead to establishment of categories and markers that are taken for granted to represent a culture (Viken, 2000, p. 40), anomalies are the irregularities that deviates from these categories and markers (Deloria, 2004, p. 5). As such, a postcard that do not fit within the expectations may be interpreted as an anomaly.

In Delorias book, a Red Cloud Woman is prescribed as alien to categories like white, modern, beauty, and technology; not by Deloria himself, but by non-Natives who expect her to fit into counter categories (2004, p. 5). Figure 6 depicts a wooden house, which is against “normal” in the “Kierulf-collection.” The postcard text: “Lappish home” also points towards an understanding of the house in this postcard image as a Sámi home. Using a house as a symbol for a home, stands in contrast to the rest of the postcards I have studied in this master’s thesis. Figure 6, can from this point of view, be interpreted as an anomaly, or as an encounter between “tradition” and “modernity” (Lehtola, 2018; Deloria, 2004). However, following Deloria’s book (2004), another perspective is to see the postcard as a historical source of evidence illuminating that Sámi lived in houses, rather than interpreting this symbol as an exception.



Figure 6 "A Lappish home Kautokeino."⁵⁷ 1927.
Copyright: G. Hagens Forlag/Tromsø University Museum.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: “Et lappernes hjem Kautokeino.”

⁵⁸ Tslp10566. I do not have the names of the people in the postcard.



Figure 7 "Grotlid." 1900-20?
 Photo/Copyright: K.Knudsen & Co/Tromsø University Museum.⁵⁹

Another example that can be interpreted as an anomaly is Figure 7, which was photographed in Grotli. Sápmi do not have physical borders, but it is common to include the counties of Finnmark, Troms, Nordland, and Trøndelag in the definition on what constitutes Norwegian Sápmi.⁶⁰ Therefore, postcards, like Figure 7 from Oppland County, may be interpreted as an anomaly. However, for some Sámi families the camps south in Norway was a common practice. Mountain hotel owners used to hire Sámi to their mountain hotels with a goal of attracting tourists (Baglo, 2015a). Baglo argues that Sámi families may have seen the Sámi camps as an income (2015a). As such, and again following Deloria (2004), this postcard can be interpreted not only as documentation for such arrangements, but also as an indication for Sámi agency.

Recognizability

Figure 8 is the postcard with most duplicates in the collection I study, and are published by more than one publishing companies, using different techniques; some of the postcards are black and white, while others are hand-colored. The following postcard represents a group of Sámi dressed in gákti, reindeer, gietkka, nahppi (milk bowl), lasso, and a turf hut. Several key symbols, in addition to other symbols associated with reindeer herding are present. Consequently, there is a high grade of recognizability in this postcard, which in turn may

⁵⁹ Tslp10705. I do not have the names of the people in the postcard.

⁶⁰ See Appendix 4 for a map of Sápmi.

explain why this particular postcard has become popular.⁶¹ As I have argued earlier in the thesis, many of the postcards in the “Kierulf-collection” have a commercial purpose, and duplicates can confirm which postcards are sought in the market.

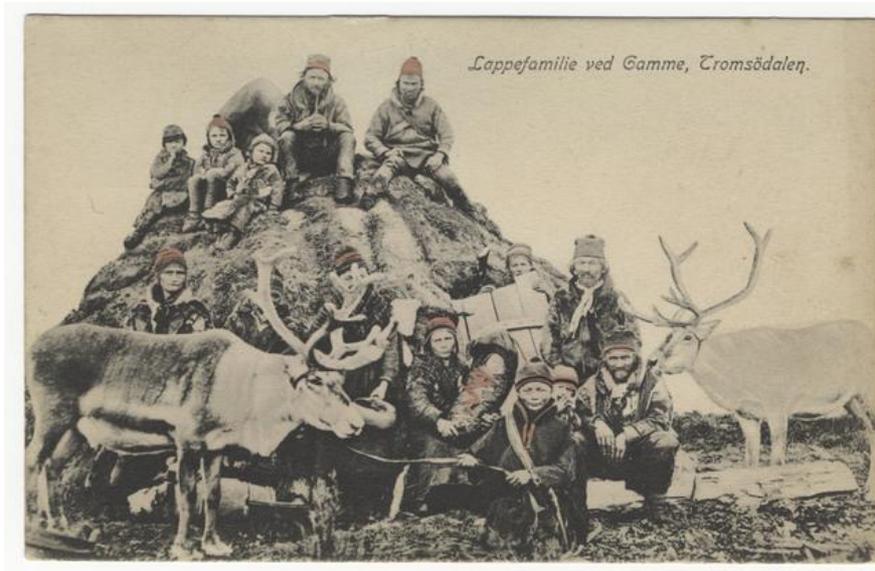


Figure 8 "Lapp family at turf hut, Tromsödalen."⁶² 1900?
Copyright: Schönbergs Kunstforlag/Tromsø University Museum.⁶³

There are several duplicates of Figure 9 and 10 below. These postcards represent not only Sámi in an “emblematic” way, but also how little importance the place seems to have had for the photographer/publishers. Figure 9 and 10 is photographed in Ivgu in Troms County. However, is the first postcard titled *Nordland*, while the latter is titled *Norge* (Norway). In addition, there are postcard images in the collection with the same person in the same place, texted *Lyngseidet*⁶⁴ or *Finnmark*. The random labeling of place names was not uncommon (Baglo, 2015a, p. 33),⁶⁵ and is likely to indicate that the photographers were more focused on emphasizing the “emblematic Sámi,” than locating the postcard to a place. It is also worth noting that Figure 10 is quite roughly hand colored, which is especially visible on the red gákti collar and the headgear. The inaccuracy in the presentation of the colors may indicate that the photographers wanted to highlight that the gáktis were colorful, whereas mirroring the real

⁶¹ One of my fellow students noted; “it is a powerful postcard image because it shows gáktis from my area.” In period 2 almost exclusively gáktis from Guovdageaidnu and Kárášjohka are depicted. As such, Figure 8 is powerful because it illuminates gáktis that have been almost invisible in postcards the last four to six decades.

⁶² The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: “Lappefamilie ved Gamme, Tromsödalen.”

⁶³ Tslp10051. I do not have the names of the people in the postcard.

⁶⁴ Lyngseidet is in Troms County.

⁶⁵ Baglo writes about the use of Tromsdalen as place name in a postcard from Håkøybotn.

colors, and thus showing which area the gákti came from, was less important. However, there are also examples of postcard images in the “Kierulf-collection” that have been colored with more effort and accuracy.



Figure 9 "Lapp. Nordland." 1900-20?
Copyright: Mittet & Co/Tromsø University Museum.⁶⁶



Figure 10 "Lapp, Norway."⁶⁷ 1900-20?
Copyright: Tromsø University Museum.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Tslp10715. In the postcard: Anders Andersson Vasara-Hammare, photographed in Ivgu.

⁶⁷ The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: “Lapp, Norge.”

⁶⁸ Tslp10712.

To conclude, the notions about recognizability are supported in this master's thesis, and it can be illuminated first and foremost by exploring duplicates. Postcards with several duplicates carries the characteristics of the “emblematic Sámi,” which in turn may explain why they sold.

The absence of nation narratives in postcards

Out of 380 postcards in period 1, there are no photographic postcards from Norwegian Sápmi representing Sámi people in the way that was described in Chapter 2.3, with the woman dressed in gákti holding a Norwegian flag. Nor does the portrayal of Sámi people change through 1905 or 1914, which is interesting because postcards with Norwegian motifs becomes more nationalistic these years. As I noted in Chapter 2.4., Sámi reindeer husbandry was a prominent and difficult topic during the Karlstad negotiations in 1905 (Lae, 2007), and as such, Sámi issues were a bone of contention. However, this did not affect the postcards in the collection I have studied, and the representation of Sámi people remain the same despite these events.



Figure 11 "The Sámi flag."⁶⁹ 1993.

Photo: Ola Røe. Copyright: Aune Forlag AS/Tromsø University Museum.⁷⁰

Out of 347 postcards in period 2, one postcard can be interpreted as an expression of Sámi nation building, the postcard image taken by photographer Ola Røe, Figure 11. According to

⁶⁹ The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: “Det samiske flagg.”

⁷⁰ Tslp11596. In the postcard: Martin Rimpí (previously Urheim).

Lien, this postcard can be interpreted intertextually with postcards from the early 20th century, such as a postcard image from 1905 depicting a young man dressed in bunad (Norwegian national clothing) with a sizable Norwegian flag in his hands, and trees and ocean behind (Lien, 2014, p. 152). According to Lien, the Sámi flag on Figure 11 symbolizes that Sámi people are spread over four countries. Further she contends that the image marks the differences between the Sámi and the Norwegians, while at the same time depicting Norwegian landscape in a way that is typical in postcards with Norwegian motifs (Lien, 2014, p. 152). From this viewpoint, the postcard can be interpreted as an ethno-political expression linked to the revitalization processes. Conversely, the rest of the postcards in period 2 do not contain such direct “messages,” and a reason for this is likely to be the low number of Sámi photographers in the “Kierulf-collection.”

The absence of postcards that can be understood as explicitly “nationalistic” or “revitalizing” in the postcard collection I study, supports the previous argument that it is the key symbols, and the “emblematic” way of representing the Sámi that are the photographers’/publishers’ focus. Hence, this study indicates that postcards with retouched versions of Sámi people, Sámi people with Norwegian flags, or postcards like Figure 11, are less common than postcards depicting the “emblematic Sámi.”

3.3.2 Changed patterns from period 1 to period 2

Variations in postcards

The postcards from period 2 have more variation compared to those from period 1. What is new, or have increased in period 2, are postcard images with midnight sun, northern lights, motorized vehicles, churches, museums and weddings. In addition, there is a change in places the Sámi are represented. In period 1, it was more common to photograph the Sámi in camps, near roads, hotels or the ocean, places where the photographers easily could access. In period 2, the Sámi are photographed also in places that seems to be less accessible by transportation. This may be related to the technological development; a more light-weight photo equipment that was easier to carry. Moreover, images of the midnight sun and northern lights became more interesting after the introduction of color cameras. Variations can also indicate an increased awareness among photographers and an “out of the box” thinking about how to represent Sámi people, like Figure 12 depicting Niko-Mihkal Valkeapää. This postcard is the only postcard in

the “Kierulf-collection,” where a man holds a gietkka, and the postcard text “happiness of a young father” may indicate that the photographer intended to emphasize the bond between a father and a child, rather than emphasizing a Sámi person in an “emblematic” way.

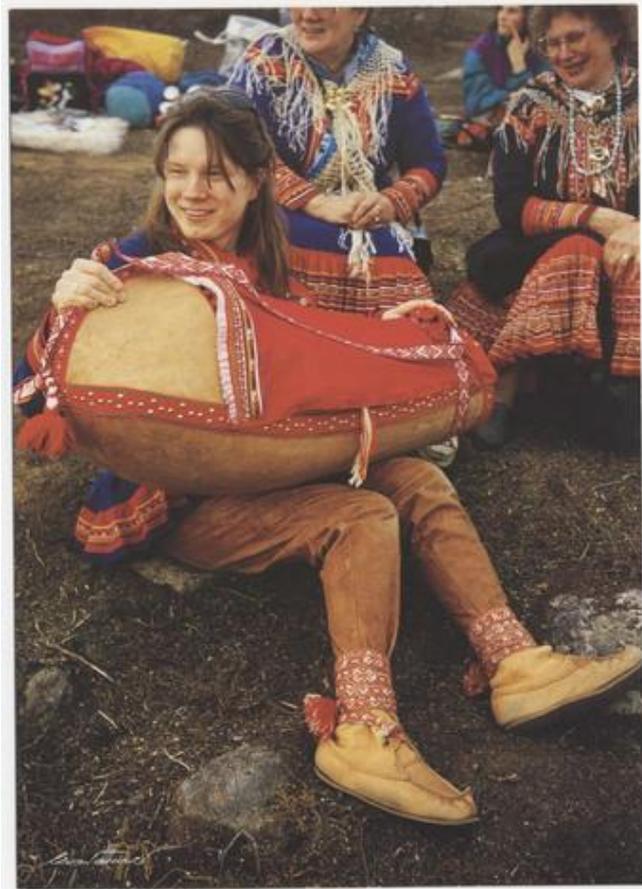


Figure 12 "Happiness of a young father. Sápmi."⁷¹ 1990?
Photo/Copyright: Marianne Stelander/Tromsø University Museum.⁷²

Figure 13 depicts reindeer performing an activity that is not seen elsewhere in the postcard collection in this study. Figure 12 and 13 are recognized as postcards with Sámi motifs because they contain some of the key symbols, but the photographers represents the symbols in new circumstances. Other variations can be directly inscribed to an individual photographer. For instance, photographer Bjørnar Johansen has photographed most of the postcard images with museums, while the photographers Olav Berg Lyngmo and Ole P. Rørvik have several postcards with churches. In such cases, the variations can reflect the individual photographers’ interest, rather than general trends.

⁷¹ The postcard was texted in English, Finnish and Sámi. Depicted in the postcard: Niko-Mihkal Valkeapää.

⁷² Tslp11755.



Figure 13 "Norway. Reindeer in rutting season."⁷³ 1990-2000?
 Photo: Jon Østeng Hov. Copyright: Aune Forlag AS/Tromsø University Museum.⁷⁴

From a diversity of gáktis to Guovdageaidnu and Kárášjohka gákti

Figure 14 depicts Sámi people dressed in a Guovdageaidnu gákti. They are photographed at Fjellheisen in Tromsø. This is an example of a postcard that convey a change in which gáktis are represented in the postcards in the respective periods. The emphasis on Guovdageaidnu and Kárášjohka gáktis in period 2 can be related to both the Norwegianization and the revitalization processes. As noted in Chapter 2.6, the gákti almost disappeared due to the harsh assimilation of the Sámi in transitional districts, and in Ivgu the gákti was gone until in the 1990s. While in other areas, such as Kárášjohka, the gákti changed from being an ethnical marker with negative meaning in the 1960s, to become a positive symbol from the 1970s and onwards (Helander & Johnsen, 2007). One of the reasons for the latter may be due to the construction of Kárášjohka and Guovdageaidnu as Sámi centers. “The Executive Committee for Northern Norway” (Landsdelsutalget) defined these places as core Sámi areas, with the semi-nomadic reindeer herders as the backbone of the Sámi culture (Olsen, 2003, p. 8). Institutions that would protect Sámi culture and language was established, and as a result, Kárášjohka and Guovdageaidnu came farther in the revitalizing process compared to places outside the core areas (Gjerpe, 2013,

⁷³ The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: “Norge. Reinsdyr i brunst.”

⁷⁴ Tslp12861.

p. 47). In other words, there is a change in the understanding of *who* constitutes the “emblematic Sámi” in period 2. Where postcard images in period 1 includes gákti from all over Sápmi, period 2 mainly emphasizes gáktis from Kárášjohka and Guovdageaidnu. As such, the “emblematic Sámi” in period 2 has changed to a Sámi from the core Sámi areas.

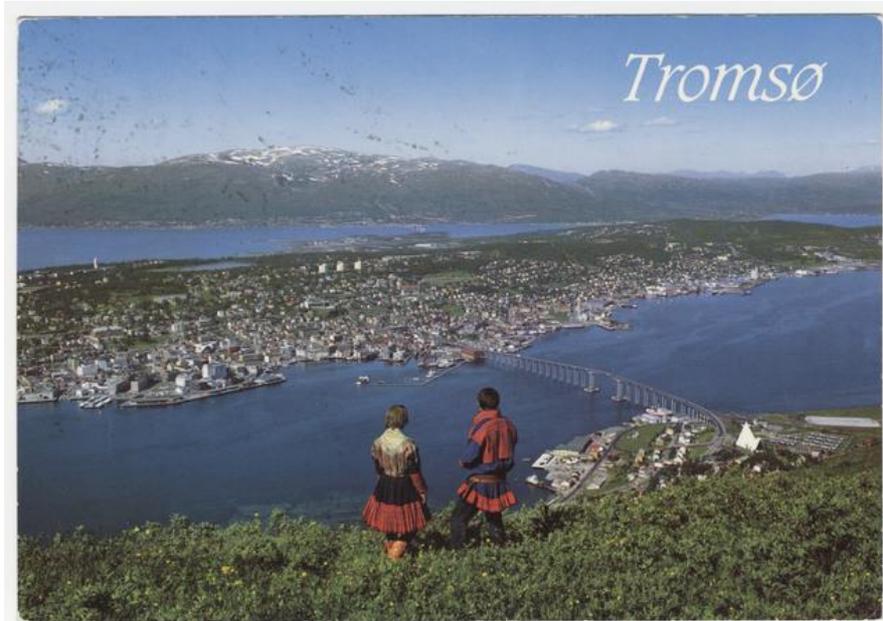


Figure 14 "Tromsø. City view from fjellheisen."⁷⁵ 1970-90?
Copyright: Aune Forlag AS/Tromsø University Museum.⁷⁶

From many to a few– perspectives on postcards and gender

There was a shift from period 1 to period 2 in terms of gender, where the latter provides a more equal representation of women and men. Still there is a weight in representations of men *alone* in period 2, but the difference is halved compared to period 1. In period 2, a women’s movement was going on internationally (Ledman, 2012, p. 82), which also took part in Norway where the Equality Act was passed in 1978 (Buljo, 2003, p. 14). An increased awareness about women’s visibility may have come in the aftermath of this movement and accordingly influenced the photographers. However, what is more relevant, is to discuss the focus on men through the perspective of *Androcentrism*: “gazing from ‘human’ eyes at ‘human’ subjects but the ‘human’ in both instances is always male and masculine” (Juschka, 2001, p. 2). In other words, men define the culture, and hence, it may not be a coincident that men are portrayed more. The

⁷⁵ The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: “Tromsø. Utsikt over byen fra fjellheisen.”

⁷⁶ Tslp11533. I do not have the names of the people in the postcard.

postcard texts support this argument. In period 1, the texts can refer to women as “Lapp wife” or “Lapp woman,” but they do not refer to men through terms like “Lapp husband” or “Lapp man.” When men are given a “label,” the postcard text is “Lapp.” This is also true for postcard texts from period 2, where women can be labeled “Sámi women,” while postcards depicting men are inscribed with the term “Sámi.”



Figure 15 "Karasjok-Sámi selling souvenirs."⁷⁷ 1960-80?
Copyright: Knut Aune Kunstforlag/Tromsø University Museum.⁷⁸

Large groups of people, and herds of reindeer are less emphasized in period 2 than in period 1. Figure 15 depicts a smaller group of people, which were a common group representation in period 2. Figure 8, showing a large assemblage, was on the other hand more likely to be seen in period 1. The decrease in postcard images with reindeer herds in period 2, may be due to the closing of the traditional Sámi camps. In the documentary “Svensksamenes vandringer i Nordre Nordland og Troms,”⁷⁹ reindeer herder Nils Henrik Wasara, who was in the last generation of Könkämä Sámi in Muotki, noted that they used to bring down 100-150 reindeer from the mountains upon the arrival of tourist ships (Stormo, 2017). The absence of postcards with herds from tourist camps in period 2, may indicate that this practice was not as common anymore.

⁷⁷ The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: “Karasjok-samer selger souvenirer.”

⁷⁸ Tslp11677.

⁷⁹ My translation in English: “The Swedish Sámi migrations in Northern Nordland and Troms.”

To summarize, this chapter has been devoted to an exploration of how Sámi people are represented in photographic postcards from Norwegian Sápmi. A content analysis of the postcards has shown that people dressed in gákti, reindeer herding, and nature are the key symbols, and that this continues during both periods. These key symbols make the Sámi appear in an “emblematic” way, where reindeer herding becomes the highlighted industry, while other parts of the Sámi cultures are invisible. In addition, it seems not to matter if the photographers or publishers are from the south or north, whether they are Sámi or non-Sámi when it comes to “emblematic” representations. This indicates the commercial aspect: to create a product that is recognizable and sought in the tourism market, is the priority. In period 2, the postcard images become more varied, and there is a pattern of new ways to depict Sámi people. Although, the “emblematic Sámi” still prevail, what constitutes the concept “emblematic Sámi” changes. The main finding regarding changes from period 1 to period 2, is that the representations of the gákti narrows to specific areas.

As an entrance to the following chapter, where I analyze postcards from the perspective of “our histories,” I wish to return to the postcard image taken by photographer Ola Røe, Figure 11. This postcard depicts a young Martin Rimpi dressed in Divdasvuotna (Tysfjord) gákti. It was the Section for Cultural Affairs for Lillehammer Olympics who contacted Røe with a request to take photographs for a presentation of the Sámi people in an Olympics magazine. July 22nd, 1993, Røe and a larger group of people who were depicted to represent Sáminess, travelled to Brensholmen on the outer coast of Sállir for the photoshoot. They wanted a location where they could take photographs of both the inlands and the sea the same day. Interestingly, Røe took the same photo footage with a Sámi women, although she was dressed in “everyday” clothing.⁸⁰ What this story tells us is that one image can contain many layers and meanings. It also indicates that an image can be interpreted differently if the context changes. As an image in an Olympics magazine, the intentions may be more stated, while reproduced as a postcard, possible interpretations are broadened. This means that neither a photographer, a magazine or postcard publisher, nor a spectator can control how a postcard is read. The interpretations depend not only on who’s perspective it is viewed from, but also the context the image is connected to.

⁸⁰ The information about the postcard was given me in an email conversation with Ola Røe. The comments are rendered with approval from Røe.

4 Representation of Sámi people in photographic postcards from Ivgu

The postcards in focus in this chapter are spanning from 1880 to approximately 1950. The analysis is conducted through an exploration of how postcards can trigger personal and local stories. The first section provides a presentation of Ivgu and the Kõnkämä Sámi who had summer pastures in Ivgu, then follows a presentation and an analysis of the findings.

4.1 Ivgu, tourism and the Kõnkämä Sámi

In the late 1880s, tourist ships began visiting Muotki (Lyngseidet) at Ittonjárga, and to meet the growing tourism industry in the area, trader Anton Giæver established a concept called “Alps and lapps”⁸¹ (Hauge, Solheim, Sivertsen & Hauglid, 1986, p. 207, my translation). Giæver made an agreement with the Kõnkämä Sámi to establish a camp on his private land at Eidebakken, commonly known as “Fjellfinnbakken.” The agreement was that the Sámi could have a place close to the reindeer which grazed farther in on the peninsula. Here they could sell souvenirs, and cut the birch they needed in their daily practices. In return, the Sámi had to accept tourist visits, and keep a corral where the tourists could meet some of their reindeer (Walkeapää, 2009, p. 237). Ittonjárga attracted not only leisure tourists, but also mountain climbers, some of who have later received a legendary status, like William C. Slingsby and Elisabeth le Blond (Richter-Hanssen, 2004, p. 346). The concept “Alps and the lapps,” thus, attracted tourists with different motivations, and constituted the tourist traffic from the 1880s until the 1950s in Ivgu (Richter-Hanssen, 2004, p. 343).

Even though the 7th district, Ittonjárga, covers the whole peninsula west of Muotki, most of the postcards are photographed at “Fjellfinnbakken.” The four postcards that are not from “Fjellfinnbakken” are photographed at Muotki, but depicts Kõnkämä Sámi. I thus refer to Ivgu rather than Ittonjárga when the whole area is referred to. The map below points out the location

⁸¹ The original name in Norwegian was “Alpene og lapene” (Hauge, Solheim, Sivertsen & Hauglid, 1986, p. 207).

of “Fjellfinnbakken” (blue arrow). The blue circle is the village Muotki, where the tourist ships came to dock.



Map 1 Map of Itonjårga: Muotki and “Fjellfinnbakken.”
Source: Norgeskart (n.d.).

There are four official groups of Sámi in Norway: Northern, Lule, Southern, and East/Skolt Sámi (Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2000, p. 5). Moreover, there are several other terms used to describe the different groups of Sámi, such as reindeer herding Sámi, coastal Sámi, and marka Sámi (Evjen, 2009, p. 176). The Sámi who are in focus in the postcards in Chapter 4 are cross-country nomadic reindeer herders with winter pasture in Gárasavu, Sweden, and summer pasture in Romsa County, more precisely the *Könkämä* Sámi groups who migrated to “Fjellfinnbakken” in Ivgu. The term *Könkämä*, comes from the border river between Finland and Sweden (Sjöholm, 2017, p. 69). The families migrating from Gárasavu to Ivgu area were Hurri, Valkepää, Utsi and Unga. The family Vasara migrated to the 5th district, Márcos-Mállá⁸² between 1920 and 1940 (Walkepää, 2009, 230-231), but was in Ivgu before and after these years. During World War II, the Sámi did not migrate to Muotki. However, after the war, Inga and Anders Valkepää returned, and so did three other families; Mikkil and Margit Vasara, Thekla and Nils Vasara, Jon and Lars Hurri (Giæver, 1993, p. 30).

⁸² Markus mountain.

4.2 A description of the findings

The findings are presented in percentages in tables, followed by a description. There are 30 postcards from Ivgu. 26 of them is photographed in a Sámi camp. The table is an assembly of the most repeated symbols in the postcards from Ivgu, juxtaposed with the findings from period 1 in Chapter 3.

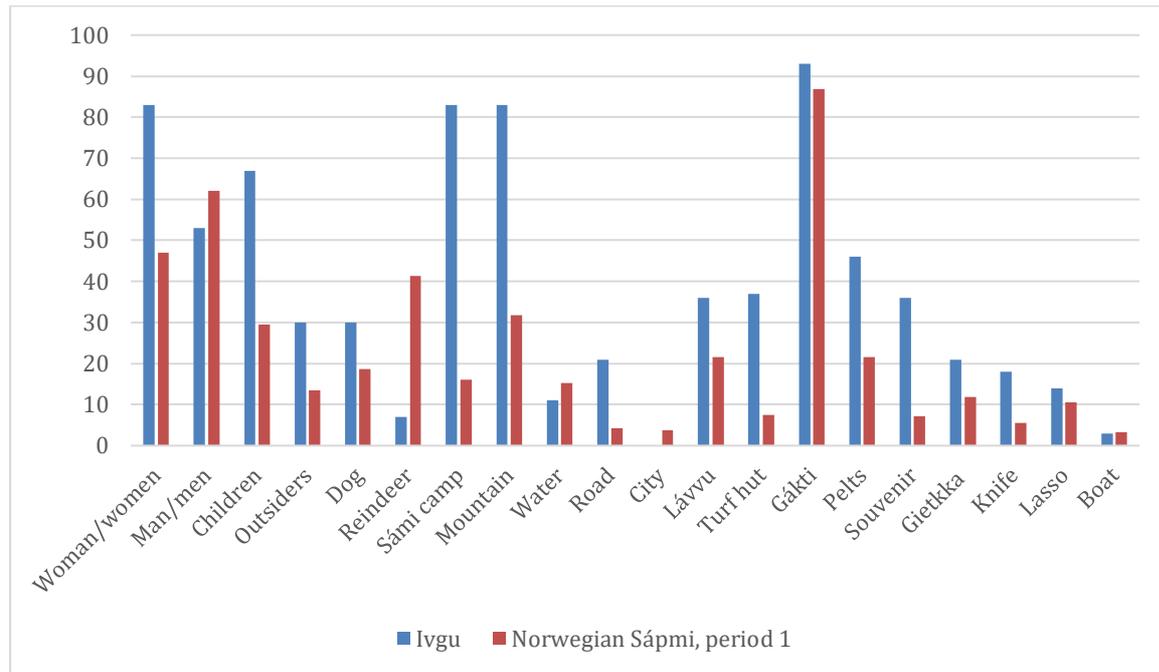


Table 3 People, animals, landscape, buildings, transportation, and objects

In Ivgu, gákti and pelts constitute the most occurring *objects*, and the Könkämä Sámi in the postcards wear Gárasavu gákti or pelts. “Fjellfinnbakken” and mountains constitutes *landscape*. Kjostindan is represented in 43 percent of the postcards with mountains in Ivgu. Women are the most repeated *people*, followed by children, and then men. Outsiders include tourists and sedentary residents. The most frequent *animal* is the dog, while the reindeer is almost absent in the material from Ivgu. Turf huts are depicted slightly more often than lávvus, and constitute *buildings*. In addition, souvenirs are frequent symbols in the postcards.

Reflections

The symbols that have a strong, dominant and popular position in the postcards from Ivgu are gákti, women, Sámi camp, and mountains. Or more specifically; Kõnkämä Sámi women dressed in Gárasavu gákti, “Fjellfinnbakken,” and Kjostindan. Even though the reindeer is nearly absent in the postcards, symbols like lassos, reindeer antlers and reindeer skins are present, which contributes to locate the Kõnkämä group as reindeer herders. The “emblematic” way of representing Sámi people, is thus also found in the postcards from Ivgu. What is unique with the material in Chapter 4, is that the postcards are photographed in a tourist camp, which makes the representation more concentrated and the variations in motifs less apparent. Because the camp is part of the tourism concept in Ivgu, and designed to attract tourists, it may likely be that the “emblematic” way of portraying Sámi people are selected for commercial purposes.

There are several differences between the postcards from Ivgu and the findings in period 1 in Chapter 3. The postcards in Chapter 4 emphasizes the tourism industry, which is clearly expressed through the postcard images depicting tourists, souvenirs and sales situations. Another difference is that women are represented more than men in the postcards from Ivgu. The focus on women may reflect the time the postcards were taken, a time characterized by a working labor division, where the man was away from home to work, while the woman stayed close to home (see Richter-Hanssen, 2004, p. 303). This may be interpreted as “Western” gender categories being transferred to the Sámi by the photographers, but it may also reflect the actual labor division at “Fjellfinnbakken.” Although Sámi women have a role in reindeer herding practices and are likely to look after reindeer in the mountains (Buljo, 2003, p. 15), the emphasis on women in postcards from Ivgu may indicate that in “Fjellfinnbakken” more of the men travelled to the inlands, while more of the women stayed at the camps and hosted the tourists.

4.3 Histories of the Könkämä Sámi at “Fjellfinnbakken”

Relations and local narratives



Figure 16 "Norway. Lapp turf hut in Lyngseidet."⁸³ 1920-40?
Copyright: Mittet & Co/Tromsø University Museum.⁸⁴

Ingrid (Inga) Persdotter Valkeapää (b. Hurri), was born in 1909⁸⁵, and was part of the Könkämä Sámi group who migrated to “Fjellfinnbakken” each summer (Walkeapää, 2009, p. 230-231). On this postcard, Inga and her dog are standing in the doorway of what my informant Sofie referred to as “Anders-gammen” (Anders-turf hut). Inga was married to Anders Nilsson Valkeapää, who was born in 1883 (Walkeapää, 2009, p. 231).⁸⁶ Inga are represented on several postcards from Ivgu, and is thus a quite famous person at “Fjellfinnbakken.” When I showed Sofie Figure 16, she said: “Anders’ door used to be open like this” (my translation).⁸⁷ Sofie’s comment may open for several interpretations. An open door may say something about Inga’s and Anders’ person, a symbol of an open home, like; “come to us, the door is always open,” or it may indicate something about the turf hut itself, such as, it was humid and needed to be aired. The postcard also documents a common practice among the Sámi at “Fjellfinnbakken.” The

⁸³ The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: “Norge. Lappegamme i Lyngseidet.”

⁸⁴ Search for tslp10649 at Unimus.no/foto to find the postcard online. Depicted in the postcard: Inga Valkeapää.

⁸⁵ She was known as “Inga Valkeapää,” and died in 1968/69. The year of death is found at the Facebook group “Gamla foton – Karesuando sameer.”

⁸⁶ Anders died approximately 1964. The year of death is found at the Facebook group “Gamla foton – Karesuando sameer.”

⁸⁷ Sofie’s words in Norwegian: “Sånn brukte døra til Anders å stå åpen.”

birch that was placed up against the wall hindered the goats from climbing (Walkeapää, 2009, p. 230), and according to Sofie, the Sámi used to cut birch crowns from the forest, and let them dry against the turf hut walls.



Figure 17 "Lapp camp at Lyngseidet."⁸⁸ 1900-20?
Photo/Copyright: Anton Giæver/Tromsø University Museum.⁸⁹

Figure 17 is photographed by Anton Giæver, the local trader and land owner. The postcard depicts Inga Bål (in the background to the right), and Inga Valkeapää (b. Siiri) who is smoking a pipe. Tomas A. Bål (b. 1878) lies next to the dog, and Aslak Bål has his arms around his father. Behind, on the left, sits Anna Maria Persdotter Päiviö (b. 1885), who was married to Tomas.⁹⁰ They are sitting in the grass outside Giævers house. Parts of the mountain Rundtind is seen behind, and the postcard also reveal a cluster of trees that still are there today.⁹¹ Sofie did not recognize the people in the postcard, but said “there are someone with those hats” (my translation),⁹² referring to the characteristic hats with tassels and laces. The Sámi hats were used as a reference many times in Sofie’s reflections about the postcards. The hats where, for her, a signifier for the Sámi from Swedish Sápmi, or “Svensksamene” (Swedish-Sámi) as they were

⁸⁸ The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: “Lappeleir ved Lyngseidet.”

⁸⁹ Tslp10000.

⁹⁰ All the names and dates are found in the Facebook group “Gamla foton – Karesuando samer.” I do not have the names of the other people in the postcard.

⁹¹ From my interview with Sofie.

⁹² Sofie’s words in Norwegian: “Det er noen med de luene.”

called in Ivgu. If a Sámi did not wear these hats in the postcard images, Sofie would remark on that.

There were other examples where Sofie looked at the postcard images and made comments about clothing, like when she saw Figure 18, and recognized how they used to tuck the “pants” in the shoes.⁹³ This postcard also triggered other associations in Sofie’s memories. First, she pointed out that this was not “Anders-gammen,” and then she explained that the turf hut on the below postcard is flat on the top, while the Sámi from Swedish Sápmi used to build the turf huts more pointed. Sofie said that sedentary residents also built turf huts, but they built them more rounded. According to Sofie, there was no forest there in her time, which means that someone, perhaps the landowner himself, cut the forest before the 1930s.



Figure 18 "Lapp camp, Lyngseidet."⁹⁴ 1910-30?
Photo/Copyright: O. Skarbö/Tromsø University Museum.⁹⁵

Figure 19 shows Inga Katarina Nilsson Päiviö (b. Valkeapää), who is the second woman from the right in the postcard image. She was born in 1895⁹⁶ and was Anders Nilsson Valkeapää’s sister, and Inga Valkeapää’s (b. Hurri) sister in law. Inga Katarina was married to Petter Persson Päiviö (Biera Biethar), who was born in 1882.⁹⁷ The girl in the gietkka, holding

⁹³ Sofie called this type of leather “pants” for “Skinnbellinga.” I have not found an English term for this.

⁹⁴ The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: “Lappeleir, Lyngseidet.”

⁹⁵ Tslp10579. I do not have the names of the people in the postcard.

⁹⁶ She died in 1939. Names, relations and years found at the Facebook group “Gamla foton – Karesuando samer.”

⁹⁷ He died in 1957. Names, relations and years found at the Facebook group “Gamla foton – Karesuando samer.”

a ball, was their daughter Anni Persdotter Päivio, who was born in 1924.⁹⁸ Considering the age of Anni, the postcard was probably photographed in 1925. Inga Päiviö migrated with her family to the 4th district, Skibotn/Nordneset (Walkeapää, 2009, p. 198), which is on the other side of Ivguvuotna from “Fjellfinnbakken.” Figure 19 depicts Inga at “Fjellfinnbakken,” and thus documents that they visited each other. The postcard may also be a reminder that families were divided into different reindeer grazing districts, as noted in Chapter 2.4.



Figure 19 "Lyngen a Lapp family." 1910-30?
Copyright: Tromsø University Museum.⁹⁹

Figures 9 and 10 in Chapter 3 depicts Anders Andersson Vasara-Hammare¹⁰⁰, who was born in 1879. He was called “Itto-Ánte” and “Rásaha-Ánte.” Itto refers to his parents, who migrated to Ittonjárga. Rásaha refers to the district Márkos-Mállá, where he later migrated to. He was married to Maria Kristina (b. Juuso) who was born in 1889 (Walkeapää, 2009, p. 211-212). They had 210 reindeer when they migrated to the 7th district, Ittonjárga. In genealogist August Ljungs family register from Gárasavu, where the number of reindeer is found, Anders and Maria were noted with the daughter Sigrid. The other children are not mentioned in the register, so the number of reindeer at Ittonjárga, must have been counted between 1913 and 1918¹⁰¹ (see

⁹⁸ She died in 2005. Name, relations and years found at the Facebook group “Gamla foton – Karesuando samer.” I do not have the names on the other people in the postcard.

⁹⁹ Tslp10573.

¹⁰⁰ Source: The link between the person in the postcard and the name was confirmed by one of Anders’ descendants, who I contacted through the Facebook group “Gamla foton – Karesuando samer.” Anders died in 1966 (Walkeapää, 2009, p. 212).

¹⁰¹ According to Ljungs register, Sigrid was born in 1913. The next child, Ella was born in 1918.

Ljungs family register at Lenvik Bygdemuseum, 1995). Figures 9 and 10 reveal the road between Muotki and Muotkevuotna (Kjosen), and for Sofie, who grew up in the area, a gate/port is recognized in the postcard image. The woman who walks on the road in the postcard image wears a white kerchief, which, according to Sofie, was a common head covering when the local women wanted to dress up. The photograph is taken from the east (Muotki is behind the photographer) facing west, on the other side of the road from where “Fjellfinnbakken” was located. According to Sofie, the K nk m  S mi used to camp on this side before they moved to “Fjellfinnbakken.”

These local stories can inform us about kinship and relations among the K nk m  S mi at “Fjellfinnbakken,” and tell us something about who lived there then. Some of the stories also share glimpses of the people’s daily life, such as the practice of cutting birch from the forest. “Anders-gammen” must have had a prominent position in Sofie’s memories, because during the interview, “Anders-gammen” was a reference in nearly all the postcards I showed her. Either she would state: “That is Anders” (my translation)¹⁰² or “that is not Anders” (my translation).¹⁰³ In addition, the postcards triggered memories that can be used as sources about clothing, topography, vegetation, and construction of turf huts. Inga Valkeap   (b. Hurri) is found on several postcards from “Fjellfinnbakken,” through different years of her life, which must be valuable for her descendants.

Tourism and agency

Figure 20 is photographed at Gi verkaia. When I presented this postcard to Sofie, she made a comment that the people in the image wear leather clothing (pelts). She also noted the man behind on the left and pointed out he must be rich. Sofie’s family and the other people in Muotki were notified when a tourist ship was expected; “on the stairs and the pier. There we stood glued into the wall while waiting for the tourists” (my translation).¹⁰⁴ In “Fjellfinnbakken,” the S mi waited for the tourists, ready with their duodji for sale (Richter-Hanssen, 2004, p.68). According to Sofie, the K nk m  S mi also sold puppies and postcards to the tourists. In the documentary film, Wasara shares his thoughts about the tourists in Ivgu. He describes the arrival of tourist ships like “Stella Polaris,” “Gripsholm” and “Kungsholm,” which according

¹⁰² Sofie’s words in Norwegian: “Det er Anders sin.”

¹⁰³ Sofie’s words in Norwegian: “Det er ikke Anders sin.”

¹⁰⁴ Sofie’s words in Norwegian: “P  trappa og brygga. Der sto vi klint inntil veggen mens vi ventet p  turistene.”

to him was a “great event” for the Sámi. When the tourists came, the Sámi sold dolls in which the women had sewn, and paperknives the men had made from reindeer antlers (Stormo, 2017).



Figure 20 "Tromsø, From Lyngseidet."¹⁰⁵ 1880-1900?
Photo/Copyright: Anders B. Wilse/Tromsø University Museum.¹⁰⁶

Perhaps it was like Figure 20 it looked like for the people who had gathered outside the new main building Giævergården on a summer day in 1903. They were waiting for King Oscar II's arrival with the tourist ship “Prins Olav” (Hauge et al., 1986, p. 213). Among the people who waited were Anders Vasara¹⁰⁷ and Nikolas Hurri.

“Anders Vaasari was the chief in the camp, and one could see that he was a respected man. On his chest, he wore a sort of medallion, a police brand, which must have given him respect on the other side of the border, where he spent the winters. It was his reindeer herd we saw – maybe a couple of hundred. How many more he had in the mountains, he did not want to say. When we asked, he looked at us in a way that said: ‘Aah no, you do not fool me!’”¹⁰⁸ (Contra Admiral Jacob Børresen words, Hauge et al., 1986, p. 219, my translation).

¹⁰⁵ The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: “Tromsø, Fra Lyngseidet.”

¹⁰⁶ Tslp10635. I do not have the names of the people in the postcard.

¹⁰⁷ I have not been able to find out whether it was Anders on Figure 9 and 10, or his father who met the King.

¹⁰⁸ Original text: “Anders Vasaari hedte høvdingen i leiren, og man kunde se paa ham, at han var en stor mand. Paa brystet bar han en slags medaljon, et politimærke, som nok gav ham en viss myndighet paa den anden side af grænsen, hvor han tilbragte vintrene. Det var hans renhord, vi saa – kanskje et par hundrede ren. Hvor mange han havde igjen oppe i fjeldet, vilde han ikke ud med. Da vi spurgte ham, saa han paa os med et blik, som sagde: Aa nei, I lurer ikke mig!” (Hauge et al., 1986, p. 219)



Figure 21 "From the Lapp camp in Lyngseidet."¹⁰⁹ 1900-20?
 Photo/Copyright: K.Knudsen & Co/Tromsø University Museum.¹¹⁰

Figure 21 captures a tourist day at “Fjellfinnbakken.” It represents a mix of Sámi, tourists, and sedentary residents in the camp. This postcard is photographed towards Muotki in east, which is a less common angle for photographers, who usually take the picture towards west and Kjøstindan. The road, where the locals transported the tourists by horse and carrier from Muotki to “Fjellfinnbakken” (and back), is seen in the background. When the tourist ships came, the sedentary residents who had a horse and carrier stood in line near the harbor. It was important to position the horse and carriage as close to the tourist ships as possible, and to have a fast horse, so they could bring several groups of tourists to “Fjellfinnbakken.” “Pony-car, only one dollar!” was a common proclamation heard at the harbor (Richter-Hanssen, 2004, 345). Sofie recalls that the American women had glasses and blue hair, and describes them as people from an “unfamiliar” culture.

Cathrine Baglo has explored the Sámi camp in Sálašvággi (Tromsdalen), which is in the 9th district, Stuoranjárga. This camp was summer pasture for three-four families from the larger Könkämä group from the 1870s to World War II (Baglo, 2015a, p. 30-31). From the 1880s, tourists could purchase tours to the camp through international travel agencies like Thomas Cook & Son (Baglo, 2015b, p. 60). Although this camp was associated with “several difficulties” due to the arduous terrain, and the expensive boat transportation and payment not

¹⁰⁹ The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcard: “Fra Lappeleiren i Lyngseidet.”

¹¹⁰ Tslp10735. I do not have the names of the people in the postcard.

only to the guide, but also to the Sámi who had to bring down reindeer from the mountains, it was a popular area to visit for both domestic and foreign people (Baglo, 2015a, p. 30). Baglo refers to the reindeer herder Ola Omma¹¹¹ who noted that the Sámi earned money from tourists who wanted to see reindeer in the corral,¹¹² and from the souvenir sales. According to Omma, the kids also earned money by allowing the tourists to photograph them (2015a, p. 33). Wasara shared a similar story from Ivgu, about how the children in “Fjellfinnbakken” were paid in dimes and nickels by the American tourists who came to visit. The children ran to the bank to exchange the money, so they could buy soda and ice cream from the store (Stormo, 2017). The Sámi in Sálašvággi used to travel by boat across the strait to Romsa Island, to conduct sales at Prestvannet and Prostneset (Baglo, 2015a, p. 33).¹¹³ Baglo has in her work pointed out that the Kõnkämä Sámi in Sálašvággi had agency, as they took the opportunity to gain income from the tourism industry. Writer and ethnographer Emilie Demant-Hatt accompanied reindeer herder Johan Turi and his family on their migration to Romsa in 1908, and according to her descriptions, the Sámi did not earn much, as they had to pay “some Dáža”¹¹⁴ for the rent of the corral. In addition, she complained about the tourists’ lack of common decency; as for instance, the tourists could demand that the Sámi, the dogs, and the reindeer participated in the group photographs (Mathisen, 1989, p. 29). Hence, it is useful to explore a definition that opens for a dialogue about agency in indigenous tourism.

“Indigenous tourism refers to tourism activities in which indigenous peoples are directly involved, either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction” (Hinch & Butler, 2009, p. 17).

In the case of the Kõnkämä Sámi in Sálašvággi as well as Ivgu, they were directly involved in tourism, and their culture served as the essence for the tourist’s experiences in the camps. Encounters, such as the ones Demant-Hatt described, can be interpreted as an absence of Sámi agency. While, Baglo’s studies on the other hand, combined with the narratives which was presented above through Wasara, Omma and Sofie, document agency. Another example regarding agency, is the King’s visit at “Fjellfinnbakken.” Here Anders is represented as a Chief

¹¹¹ He was born in 1922, and migrated with his family to Sálašvággi (Baglo, 2015a, p. 33)

¹¹² A fence where the reindeer were gathered for the tourists to see (Baglo, 2015a, p. 33).

¹¹³ Prestvannet is Romsa city water and recreational area, located on the top of Romsa Island. Prostneset today is the local bus station and marina for public boat transport.

¹¹⁴ Dáža is a Sámi term for a person who is Norwegian.

and a respected man, who did not reveal how many reindeer he had, despite that it was a representative for the King who asked. In Ivgu, I have not found anything indicating that the Sámi had to pay rent for the corral, so it is likely that the corral was part of the agreement with the landowner. The point is, the reality where multi-faceted, and what may have been true for one Sámi family or individual, may have been experienced differently for another. While some may have seen tourism as something “forced” upon them, others may have welcomed it.

Another type of agency the postcards unveil is an adaptiveness to an international industry. The Kõnkämä Sámi were hosts for Americans and people from other parts of the world. In addition to tourists, they also had sedentary residents, traders, and Sámi from other areas and districts as visitors in the camp. I can only imagine how this must have provided them with information and news from near and far away. The multicultural influx must have influenced their cultural understanding and communication skills. Their experiences as hosts may also have increased their sales and marketing competence, and given them the opportunity to share firsthand narratives about their own culture. In times when radio¹¹⁵, TV and Internet were not invented and information were not as accessible as it is today, the Kõnkämä Sámi may have been well informed compared to others who did not encounter the diversity of cultures and people to the same degree. Lastly, as Lehtola points out, the postcards may also document racial studies ironically (2018, p. 5), which Sofie’s reflections is an example on. In her comments about the American tourists; it was not the Sámi who were “othered,” but the Americans, whom she referred to as people with a “foreign culture.”

Verdde, disagreements and friendship

In 1906, there was a meeting between Kõnkämä Sámi and the Swedish Lap commission in Muotki. The topic of the meeting was the location of the Sámi camp, and to discuss the number of people who could stay in the district of Ivgu during the summers. The background for the meeting was that there had been complains about damage caused by reindeer. Some of the sedentary residents argued that the Sámi were more occupied with tourists than looking after the reindeer. These conflicts arose when the reindeer searched grazing along the sea, on cultivated lands (Giæver, 1993, p. 30). On the meeting, where “17 full-grown men and 10

¹¹⁵ The first radio broadcast in Northern-Norway was in December 15th, 1926 (Skeie, 2004).

women” (my translation)¹¹⁶ participated, Anders Persson Vasara-Hammare¹¹⁷ and Guttorm Andersson Valkeapää¹¹⁸ were present (Giæver, 1993, p. 29). Anders Persson was Anders A. Vasara’s (Figure 9 and 10) father, and Guttorm was a cousin of Inga Katarina (Figure 19) and Anders A. Valkeapää.

Back in Sálašvággi, Demant-Hatt described the fears the Sámi had when they approached Romsa on their way to the summer pasture. According to her, some of the local farmers mocked the Sámi and poisoned their dogs (Mathisen, 1989, p. 27-28). Compared to the picture Demant-Hatt painted, the meeting in Ivgu seems like a far more constructive way to engage with the disagreements. Besides some conflicts about grazing in Ivgu, the relationship between the Sámi and the sedentary residents is described as “very good” (Giæver, 1993, p. 30). In the documentary film, Wasara describes their arrival to Furufalten each spring: “They had heard we were on our way. People met with coffee, cakes, lefser, and everything. We felt very welcome [...] I have good friends at Lyngseidet. They always said: ‘Now the summer can begin, for now the reindeer crosses the road to Kjosén’” (Stormo, 2017, my translation).¹¹⁹ Sofie told me that her family and “everyone” in Muotki used to go to Polleidet to see the reindeer upon the arrival of the Sámi. “Here, the Sámi came to the houses, and there was friendship. It was not a difference between people” (my translation),¹²⁰ was one of the reflections she had around this topic. *Verddevuotha* or *verdde*, which can mean *friend*, or *guestfriend* refers to a cooperation between reindeer herders and sedentary residents (NOU 2008:5, p. 180). Such friendships were a common practice between the Kõnkämä Sámi and the sedentary residents in Ivgu. The Sámi were interested in milk and fish, which they exchanged for reindeer meat (Giæver, 1993, p. 30). Sofie recalls that the Sámi used to visit her family in her home, and exchange reindeer meat for butter. On Sunday forenoons, Sofie’s family visited “Fjellfinnbakken,” where they were served coffee and dried meat. Sofie’s father and uncle helped the Sámi in the reindeer slaughtering, and in return they could drain a bucket of blood.

¹¹⁶ Original text: “17 fullvuxna män och 10 kvinnor” (Giæver, 1993, p. 29).

¹¹⁷ b. 1841- d. 1908.

¹¹⁸ Called “Márgge-Guhtur,” b. 1871

¹¹⁹ “De hadde hørt at vi var på tur. Folk var der med kaffe, kaker, lefser og alt mulig. Så vi følte oss veldig velkommen dit [...] Jeg har gode venner i Lyngseidet. De sa alltid: “Nå kan sommeren begynne, for nå kommer reinen over vegen til Kjosén” (Stormo, 2017).

¹²⁰ Sofie’s words in Norwegian: “Her rekte samene i husene, og det var vennskap. Det var ikke skille mellom folk.”

Out of the silence

I have maintained how a documentary film, books, articles, Internet, and archive can be utilized to explore agency. In the case of the Kõnkämä Sámi, the sources document that they actively participated in the local community; they attended meetings, developed friendships and verdde-arrangements, and ran businesses. As such, there is a connection between postcards and written and filmed sources. I have also noted that there is a connection between postcards and memories, as I have illustrated through Sofie's reflections. Finally, this chapter has illuminated how postcards can be used with genealogical records and Facebook to find information about people's names, dates and kinship.

Although the "emblematic" way of representing Sámi people are present in the postcards from Ivgu, the representation becomes personified when explored from the perspectives of "our histories." A "Lapp woman" becomes Inga Valkeapää who had a family, reindeer and a dog. A "Lapp turf hut" becomes "Anders-gammen" with the door open and birch stacked up against the wall. A *gákti*, becomes Gárasavu gákti, *nature* becomes Kjostindan, and a *Sámi camp* becomes "Fjellfinnbakken." Hence, the symbols that have a "strong, dominant and popular position within a specific cultural setting" (Olsen, 2014, p. 195) are personified. When postcards are utilized like this they become instruments for discussions about the past, and instruments for repatriation. By enhancing the personal and local stories, the postcards are lifted out of a silenced context. As such, they become "our histories."

5 Building bridges between past and present

A driving force behind the Sámi movement, noted in Chapter 2.5, was to insure the rights to preserve Sámi language and culture (Gaski, 1997). The cultural revival was expressed through arts, music, popular culture (Gaski, 2008), duodji, theatre and literature (Bjørklund et al., 2000, p. 29). Still today, post-colonial artists address the right to self-determination. The aim in this chapter is to explore how revitalization can be expressed through Sámi self-representation in postcards. One way of self-representing is through visual repatriation, which can be understood as a process where photographs shifts from belonging to an official and public memory (determined by outsiders' concerns), to becoming local and indigenous (determined by the insider) (Edwards, 2003, p. 85). This means that through visual repatriation, counter-narratives to colonial histories can be created (Bell, 2003, p. 111). Artist Per Ivar Somby's work of coloring old photographs is a form of visual repatriation. He colored nine photographs taken by the northern light researcher Sophus Tromholt in the late 19th century, and some of the original photographs is found in the "Kierulf-collection." These postcards were put on display in the exhibition "Colored Past,"¹²¹ which was arranged by the company Govvagiisá in Guovdageaidnu. The exhibition has moved from place to place during 2017 and 2018 (Larsen, 2017), and here is how Somby himself describes his work: "The human beings disappear in the old black/white-images, and when I give them colors, it is like they come forward in the light. I make old photographs come to life" (Karijord, 2017, my translation).¹²² For Somby, who is coloring the photos in Photoshop, it is important to represent the people in the postcards correctly, and he spends a lot of time trying to understand not only the Sámi context the people in the images were part of, but also their customs, their clothing, and the colors (Karijord, 2017). Figure 22 and 24 are from the postcard collection I study in this master's thesis, while Figure 23 and 25 are colored by Somby. The pairs of photographs may be interpreted as a meeting between a colonial past and an empowering present (Dobbin, 2013, p. 129), or as Lehtola expresses it, they "builds bridges between past and modern Sámi identity" (2018, p. 4). Through Sombys work, the photographs are returned to home, and becomes familiar and local.

¹²¹ My translation. The original name in Sámi is: "Ivdnejuvvon vássánaigi."

¹²² Somby's words in Norwegian: "Menneskene forsvinner inn i de gamle svart/hvitt-bildene, og når jeg gir dem farger er det som om de kommer fram i lyset. Jeg levendegjør gamle bilder" (Karijord, 2017).



Figure 22 Mikkel Josefsen Näkkälä. 1883.
Photo: Sophus Tromholt. Copyright: Universitetsbiblioteket i Bergen/Tromsø University Museum.¹²³



Figure 23 Mikkel Josefsen Näkkälä. 2017.
Colored by: Per Ivar Somby. 2017. Source: High North News.¹²⁴



Figure 24 Anna Aslaksdatter Gaup and Anna Johnsdatter Somby. 1883.
Photo: Sophus Tromholt. Copyright: Universitetsbiblioteket i Bergen/Tromsø University Museum.¹²⁵



Figure 25 Anna Aslaksdatter Gaup and Anna Johnsdatter Somby. 2017.
Colored by: Per Ivar Somby. 2017. Source: High North News.

¹²³ Search for tslp11331 at Unimus.no/foto to find the postcard online.

¹²⁴ Figure 23 and 25 is rendered with an approval from the artist Per Ivar Somby.

¹²⁵ Tslp 11330.

Representation has in the previous chapters mainly delved around *representation and depiction of others*. According to duodji scholar Gunvor Guttorm, representation of others refers to someone who represents people from other cultures, while depiction means that “others tell the world what cultures are like” (2009, p. 52-53). Applied to this thesis, the photographers and publishers do not only speak for the Sámi, they also offer secondhand stories about Sámi people and cultures through the postcards. Self-representation, on the other hand, is the opposite (Guttorm, 2009, p. 53), and conducted by the Sámi themselves. Through art, post-colonial photographers have confronted stereotypical images to give a more accurate presentation of their own culture. One photographer who has succeeded with his artistic work, is photo artist Jeff Thomas, who surprises the viewers by challenging their expectations about Native Americans. What he, and artists like him does, is to add a disturbing factor to the photographs, which forces the viewer to stop, look again and re-interpret (Martin, 2013, p. 13-15). When indigenous peoples, in this case the Sámi, portray themselves in photographs and postcards, it is the firsthand narratives that are shared.

Returning to Ivgu, there has been a change in how the Sámi identity has been expressed, from a lost or hidden Sámi identity and culture, to a more outspoken one. Olmmáiváagi (Manndalen) in Gáivuotna municipality, is located on the other side of the fjord to Muotki. Olmmáiváagi is today a center for costal Sámi culture, and includes a Sámi language center, a Sámi festival office, a Sámi museum, a school offering subjects in Sámi, among other Sámi institutions and organizations (Leonenko, 2008, p. 38). As I have articulated earlier in the master’s thesis, the costal Sámi people in Ivgu area lost or hid their symbols after the 1940s. Because of this, Sámi movements, like ČSV, which aimed for visualizing the Sámi identity through Sámi symbols, were not possible in Gáivuotna (Leonenko, 2008, p. 95). A group of young Sámi began discussing how to take the coastal Sámi identity back, and decided to form a union, known as the “Saami Youth Union” (Leonenko, 2008, p. 95). The union started a small local event, Riddu Riđđu, which means “little storm on the coast.” The meaning of the term came to be descriptive for the period that followed. The event was met with dismay in the community, the youth were mocked, Sámi road signs were shot at, and families became divided. Despite this, the event grew to a prominent festival, and in 2009, it got a post in the national budget when it received the status as a hub festival in the national context (Riddu Riđđu, n.d.). In 1999/2000, the Riddu Riđđu festival produced its own postcards. Eleven of these were given

me when I visited the Riddu Riđđu administration on a field trip with Indigenous Studies in March 2017, and four of them are shared below.¹²⁶



Figure 26 "Coastal Sámi youth in Lyngen gákti."¹²⁷ (On a boat). 1999/2000. Photo/Copyright: Riddu Riđđu.



Figure 27 Same text as Figure 26.¹²⁸ (On a moped).

¹²⁶ Figure 26-29 is rendered with approval from the Riddu Riđđu festival manager Karoline Trollvik.
¹²⁷ The text is my translation in English. Original text in the postcards: "Mearrasámenuorat Ivgogávttin." Depicted in the postcard: Karoline Trollvik, Cecilie Lindvall Wendelboe, Marthe Skogheim, Silje Solberg, Lisa Pedersen, Eirik Cock.
¹²⁸ Depicted in the postcard: Cecilie Lindvall Wendelboe, Eirik Cock.

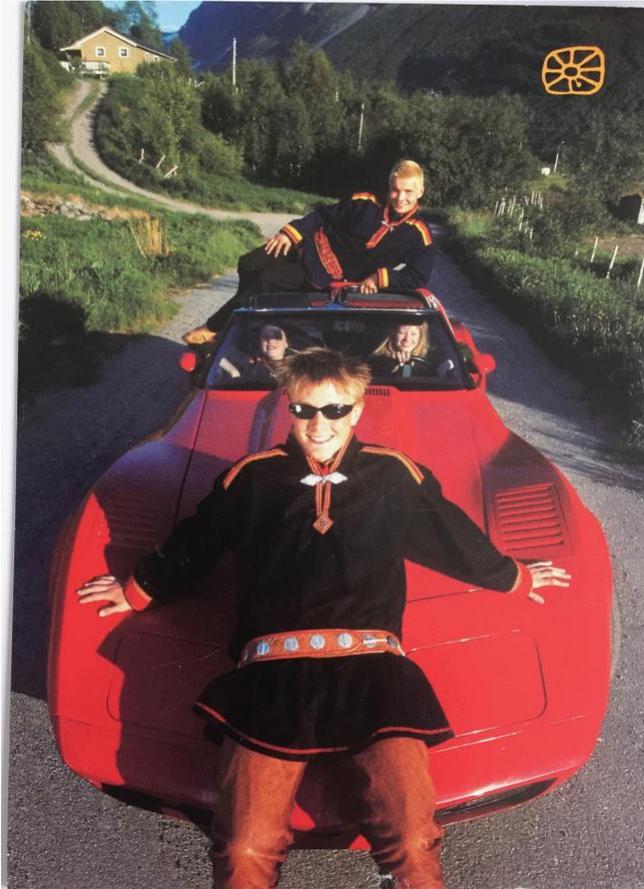


Figure 28 Same text as Figure 26.¹²⁹ (Red sports car).



Figure 29 Same text as Figure 26.¹³⁰ (In a cage).

¹²⁹ Depicted in the postcard: Eirik Cock, Karoline Trollvik, Marita Myrvoll, Matias Isaksen.

¹³⁰ Depicted in the postcard: Matias Isaksen, Eirik Cock, Cecilie Lindvall Wendelboe, Marita Myrvoll, Karoline Trollvik.

These postcards challenge the notion of the “emblematic Sámi.” Seen in context with the loss of the *gákti* before the 1990s, the postcards become a powerful expression of the return of the *gákti*. The postcards depict staged and selected activities played out by coastal Sámi youth. Even though the symbols *gákti* and *nature* are emphasized, the way they are represented have changed if compared to the findings discussed in Chapter 3 and 4. Here, the individuals are using motorized vehicles (Figure 27). The postcard with the young men sitting on the bonnet on the red sports car and one of the women behind the steering wheel (Figure 28), leads ones’ thoughts to the more stereotypical images where a scantily dressed woman poses on a sports car. As such, the postcard can be interpreted as a confrontation of traditional gender stereotypes, in addition to Sámi stereotypes. The postcard with the people in the cage (Figure 29), may lead the thoughts to the colonial past, where their coastal Sámi identity was strangled and the *gákti*s hidden or lost. What these postcards tell me is that some Sámi symbols, like the *gákti*, and the connection to nature, are important for the Sámi identity in contemporary times, and thus is an emblem that the Sámi themselves choose to preserve. The postcards from Olmmáivággi demonstrate a clear agency, in that the Riddu Ridđu administration uses the postcards as instruments to highlight a power to action, and contemporary Sámi identities.

Summarizing reflections

In this master’s thesis, I have aimed at answering the question “How are Sámi people represented in photographic postcards from Norwegian Sápmi through 150 years?” The postcards in this study were delimited to the around 727 photographic postcards with Sámi motifs from Norwegian Sápmi. I have maintained that commercialization of photographs was linked to the technological development, and that the tourism market was designed to show difference, which is a context the postcards fit into. It is through the eyes of the photographers and publishers, most of whom came from the majority culture, that we in Chapter 3 get a glance of how Sámi have been represented in the postcards in the “Kierulf-collection.” By comparing two periods, I have in Chapter 3 accounted for trends, changes, and continuity in how Sámi people are represented in the postcards from Norwegian Sápmi.

In Chapter 4, I change focus to the postcards from Ivgu. What is special with this selection of postcards, is that they were taken in a Sámi camp designed for tourism. Here, I have shown how the postcards can act as documentation of people, places, topography, clothing, encounters, construction of turf huts, and how postcards enable memory. My aim in this chapter has been to show that even though the “emblematic” way of representing Sámi people prevail, and the

postcards where produced with commercial intentions, they as much convey personal and local stories.

Chapter 5 sheds light on Sámi self-representation, and illustrates how Sámi artists and institutions can revert emblematic representations and contribute in the work of achieving self-determination and visibility. Photographs colored by artists like Somby, and postcards made by institutions like Riddu Ridđu, may contribute to heal wounds from the past. In this context, the postcards can be seen as instruments that builds a bridge between the past and present.

The postcard image with Margrete Kitti and the story from my own neighborhood was a starting point and an inspiration to experiencing that a postcard has many layers. A postcard can be used as a source to document grand narratives, but it can also be used to repatriate the personal and local perspectives, – “our histories.”

Appendix 1 – Interview guide¹³¹

RDM's postcard collection:

- Which symbols, places, industries are exhibited in the postcards in the Samiske Samlinger?
- Is there anything of the Sámi that are not present in the postcards?
- How is/was the exhibition received?
- What does the postcard exhibition convey?
- How do you see/interpret the postcards?
- Do you see a development in postcards over time considering places, symbols and industries represented in the postcards?
- Do you know if the actors (photograph/publisher) behind the postcards in your exhibition are Sámi/Norwegian?
 - o If yes, are there differences in representations if the actor is Sámi/Norwegian?

General about postcards with Sámi motifs:

- Do you have thoughts about the motifs/intentions Sámi had to participate as postcard motifs?
- How do you see the genre postcards with Sámi motifs?
- What can a postcard tell/not tell about Sámi history?
- What can a postcard tell about how other see the Sámi?
- Some researchers today believe that Sámi participated as “postcard motifs” for their own gain (economy, possibility to travel and so on). Do you think we can see it this way? Why/why not?
- What kind of postcards with Sámi motifs are sought by tourists at your museum?
 - o Is there a change in what tourists demand today, compared with a few years back? If yes: What has changed?

¹³¹ I sent the interview guide to Berit Åse Johnsen in Norwegian language, and has translated it here.

Appendix 2 – Additional tables

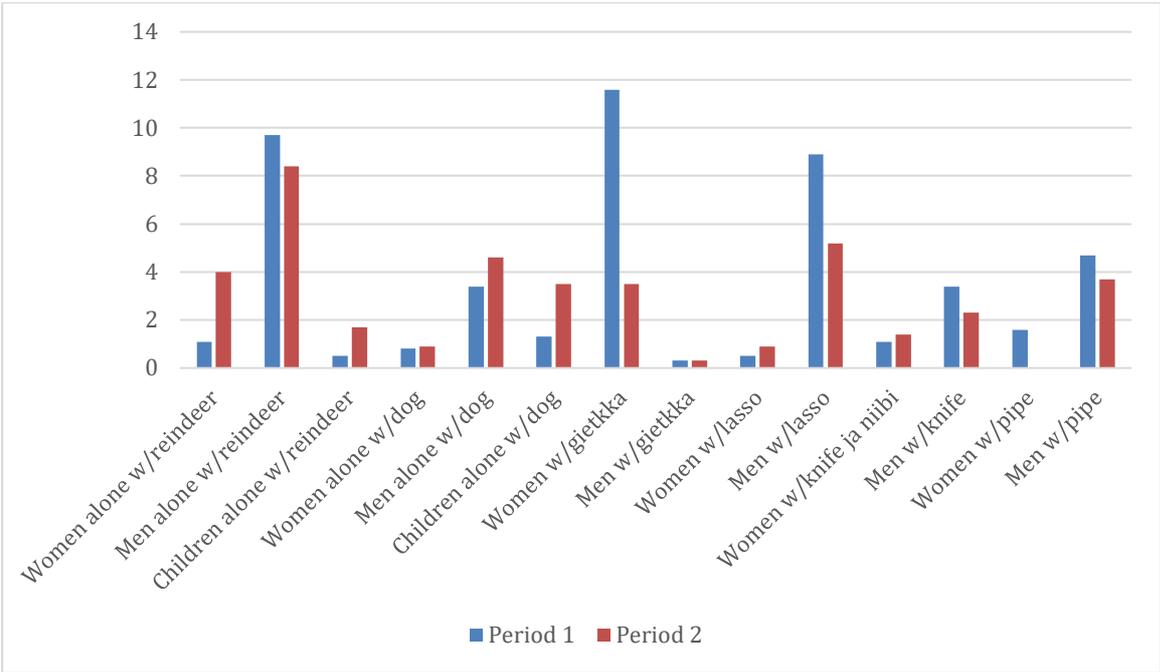


Table 4 Co-occurrences women, men and children

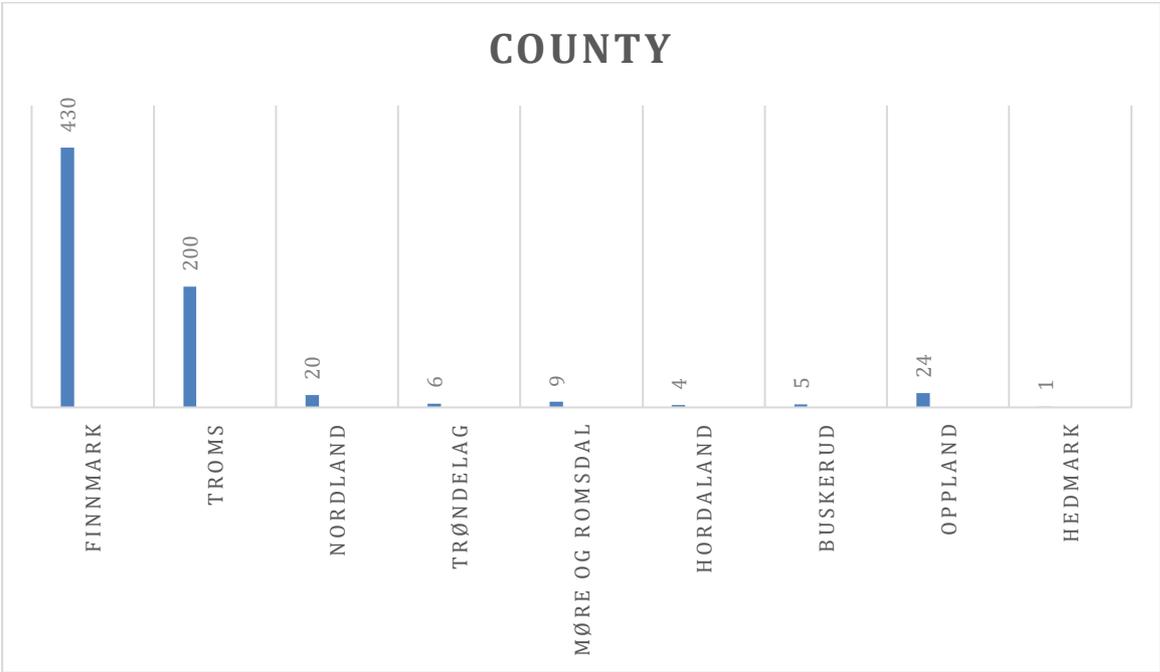


Table 5 Postcards per County¹³²

¹³² The numbers are not exact, but the table still draws a correct picture of the distribution per County.

Appendix 3 – How to search in the online photo portal

Go to www.Unimus.no/foto and write: tslp*¹³³ in the search field to access the postcard collection.

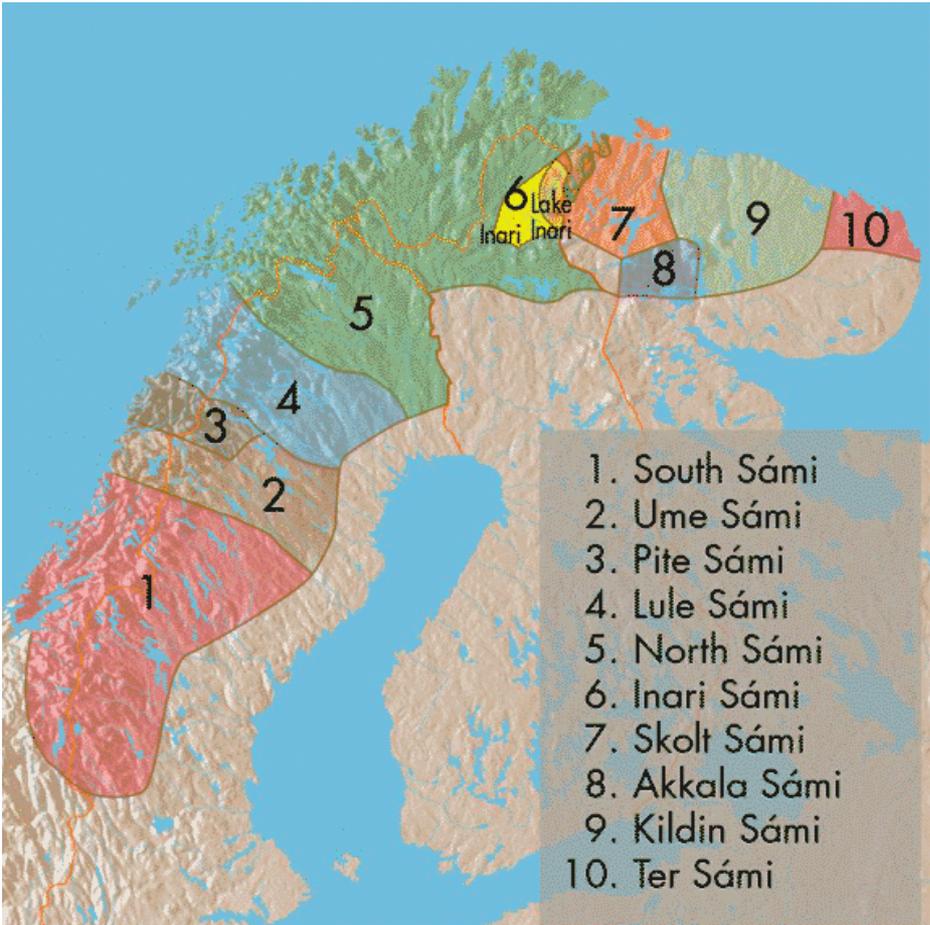
For photographic postcards from Norwegian Sápmi, search: tslp* Norge* -helleristning* -helleristing* -tresnitt* -plakat* -malte* -illustrasjon* -noter* -frimerke* -invitasjon* -duplikat* -nyttårskort* -julekort* -litografi* -maleri* -tegning*

For photographi postcards from Lyngen/Ivngu area, search: tslp* Norge* Lyng* -helleristning* -helleristing* -tresnitt* -plakat* -malte* -illustrasjon* -noter* -frimerke* -invitasjon* -duplikat* -nyttårskort* -julekort* -litografi* -maleri* -tegning*

These searches provide a broad selection of postcards, and excludes postcards not in scope, such as illustrated ones. However, if there are postcards in the “Kierulf-collection” that are not tagged with metadata, they are not included. In addition, there might be too much data included. Therefore, a manual job is required after the search.

¹³³ Tslp: ts = Tromsø University Museum, l = ethnographic/lappish department, p = postcards.

Appendix 4 – Map of Sápmi



Map 2 Map of Sápmi
Source: Siida (n.d.).

This map includes Sápmi in all the four countries: Russia, Finland, Sweden and Norway. The map also shows the language areas.

Interview and email correspondence

Interview

Interview with Berit Åse Johnsen, August 15th, 2017

Interview with Sofie Marthinsen, September 22nd, 2017

Email correspondence

Email correspondence with Publishing Director in Normanns Kunstforlag, March 15th, 2018

Email correspondence with Hakon Kierulf, March 16th and 20th, 2018

Email correspondence with Per Ivar Somby, April 17th, 2018

Email correspondence with Karoline Trollvik, April 27th, 2018

Email correspondence with Ola Røe, May 1st to May 7th, 2018

Unpublished sources

Documentary film

Stormo, K. (Director and producer) (2017). *Svensksamenes vandringer i Nordre Nordland og Troms*. Unpublished material, screened at Puls-Lyngen, Lyngseidet April 8th, 2017.

Conference

The Arctic University of Norway (2017, September 7th and 8th). Conference. *Indigenous Photography Studies: Current Development and Challenges*.

Other sources

Social media

Facebook group. *Gamla foton – Karesuando samer*. Retrieved April 10th, 2018 from

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/1038664212851974/>

Facebook group. *Gamle Vest-Lyngen*. Retrieved April 10th, 2018 from

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/211153659015520/>

Private genealogical records on web

Geni (n.d.). [Where I found Margrete Kittis year of death]. Retrieved April 12th, from

<https://www.geni.com/people/Margrethe-Kitti/6000000068074312821>

Digital archives

Digitalmuseum (n.d.). [Where I found Margrete Kittis name linked to Figure 1]. Retrieved April 12th, 2018 from <https://digitalmuseum.no/011014238297/same>

Public conversations

Perspektivet Museum (2018, April 19th). Conversation. *Med postkort på Plakaten*. Streamed at <https://www.facebook.com/perspektivet.museum/videos/1818684561526051/>

References

- Baglo, C. (2008). Visualisations of the "Lappish race": On photos and exhibitions of Sámi in Europe in the period 1875-1910. In H. Hansson & J.E. Lundström (Eds.), *Looking North, Representations of Sámi in Visual Arts and Literature* (pp. 25-49). Umeå: Kungl. skytteanska samfundets handlingar.
- Baglo, C. (2012). Fotografiers materialitet: Bilders betydning for forestillinger om samisk kulturell fremmedhet. *Tidsskrift for kulturforskning*, 11(3), 45-59.
- Baglo, C. (2015a). Sameleire i Tromsø som turistmål, fotomotiv og møteplass. *Ottar*, 306(3), 30-37.
- Baglo, C. (2015b). Reconstruction as a trope of cultural display. Rethinking the role of "living exhibitions." *Nordisk Museologi*, 2, 49-68.
- Baglo, C. (2017). *På ville veger? Levende utstillinger av samer i Europa og Amerika*. Stamsund. Orkana Akademisk.
- Bell, J.A. (2003). Looking to see. Reflections on visual repatriation in the Purari Delta, Gulf Province, Papua New Guinea. In L. Peers & A. Brown (Eds.), *Museums and source communities: A Routledge reader* (pp. 83-99). London and New York: Routledge.
- Bjerkli, B. (1999). Hva er tradisjon? Begrepsbruk, forståelse og rettighetsdebatt. In I. Bjørklund (Ed.), *Norsk ressursforvaltning og samiske rettighetsforhold. Om statlig styring, allmenningens tragedie og lokale sedvaner i Sápmi* (pp. 182-208). Oslo: Ad Notam Gyldendal.
- Bjørklund, I., Brantenberg, T., Eidheim, H., Kalstad J.A., & Storm, Dikka (2000). *Sápmi – en nasjon blir til. Fremveksten av samenes nasjonale fellesskap*. Tromsø: Samisk etnografisk fagenhet, Tromsø Museum Universitetsmuseet.
- Boretsky, J. (2003). *To See is to Know: Postcards from French West Africa and the Presentation of Colonial Progress, 1900-1918*. (Master's thesis), University of Georgia, Athen. Retrieved October 15th, 2017 from https://getd.libs.uga.edu/pdfs/boretsky_julianne_200312_ma.pdf.
- Broderstad, E.G. (2013). Cross-border Reindeer Husbandry: Between Ancient Usage Rights and State Sovereignty. In N. Bankes & T. Koivurova (Eds.), *The Proposed Nordic Saami Convention. National and International Dimensions of Indigenous Property Rights* (pp. 151-174). Oxford: Hart Publishing.
- Buljo, K.M.E. (2003). Den tradisjonelle kvinnerollen - livsstil og arbeidsoppgaver. In M. Sára

- (Ed.). *Seminar om kvinnepolitikk i reindriftsnæringen*. (Report). Tromsø: Reindriftsforvaltningen.
- Chilisa, B. (2012). *Indigenous Research Methodologies*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Cole, S. (2007). Beyond authenticity and commodification. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34(4), 943-960.
- Croatt, S. (2013). "Your Message Here": *An Analysis of the U.S. Navy in Photo Postcards*. (Master's thesis), East Carolina University, Greenville. Retrieved May 9th, 2018 from http://thescholarship.ecu.edu/bitstream/handle/10342/1805/Croatt_ecu_0600M_10874.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.
- Dahre, U.J. (2008): After the Change: The opposition against Indigenous Movements in Hawai'i. In H. Minde (Ed.), *Indigenous Peoples. Self-determination Knowledge Indigeneity* (pp. 141-155). Delft: Eburon Academic Publishers.
- Deloria, P.J. (2004). *Indians in unexpected places*. Kansas: University Press of Kansas.
- Dobbin, K. (2013). "Exposing Yourself a Second Time": Visual Repatriation in Scandinavian Sápmi. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 20(3), 128-143.
- Dolezal, C. (2015). The Tourism Encounter in Community-Based Tourism in Northern Thailand: Empty Meeting Ground or Space for Change? *ASEAS – Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, 8(2), 165-186.
- Dyson, L. (2011). Indigenous Peoples on the Internet. In M. Consalvo & C. Ess (Eds.), *The handbook of internet studies* (pp. 251-269). Chichester: Blackwell.
- Edwards, E. (Ed.) (1992). *Anthropology and Photography, 1860 – 1920*. London: Royal Anthropological Institute.
- Edwards, E. (1996). Postcards - Greetings from Another World. In T. Selwyn (Ed.), *The Tourist Image: Myth Making in Tourism* (pp. 197-222). Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Edwards, E. (2001). *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*. Oxford: Berg.
- Edwards, E. (2003). Talking visual histories: Introduction. In L. Peers & A. Brown (Eds.), *Museums and source communities: A Routledge reader* (pp. 83-99). London and New York: Routledge.
- Ehn, B. & Löfgren, O. (1982). *Kulturanalys. Ett etnologiskt perspektiv*. Malmö: Gleerups Förlag.
- Eriksen, K.E. & Niemi, E. (1981). *Den finske fare: sikkerhetsproblemer og minoritetspolitikk i nord 1860 – 1940*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Evjen, B. (2009). Research on and by 'the Other'. Focusing on the Researcher's Encounter with the Lule Sami in a Historically Changing Context. *Acta Borealia*, 26(2), 175-193.

- Evjen, B. (2015). Møter i fjellene Gruveindustri og reindrift rundt 1900. In B. Evjen & M. Myrvoll (Eds.), *Från kust til kyst. Áhpegátttest áhpegáddáj. Møter, miljø og migrasjon i pitesamisk område* (pp. 83-119). Stamsund: Orkana Akademisk.
- Evjen, B. & Beck, D. (2015). An Historical Approach to Growing Indigenous Influence on Research: Extended perspectives and a New Methodology. In K.W. Shanley & B. Evjen (Eds.), *Mapping Indigenous Presence: North Scandinavian and North American Perspectives* (pp. 27-56). Tuscon: Arizona University Press.
- Fonneland, T. (2002). *Det opne – nære – og naturlige. Eit kulturanalytisk perspektiv på helse og livskvalitet i ein alternative kontekst.* (Master's thesis). Universitetet i Bergen.
- Fonneland, T. (2017). *Contemporary shamanism in Norway. Religion, entrepreneurship, and politics.* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gaski, H. (1997). *Sami Culture in a New Era.* Retrieved April 18th, 2018 from <http://www.laits.utexas.edu/sami/diehtu/newera/gaski-newera.htm>.
- Gaski, L. (2008). Sami Identity as a Discursive Formation: Essentialism and Ambivalence. In H. Minde (Ed), *Indigenous Peoples. Self-determination Knowledge Indigeneity* (pp. 219-236). Delft: Eburon Academic Publishers.
- Giæver, H.P. (1993). *Minoriteter på Nordkalotten. De svenske reindriftssamenes flyttinger, og opphold på Lyngenhavøya. Forholdet til lokalbefolkningen.* Retrieved April 3rd, 2018 from <http://kvenkultur.no/sites/haltikvensenter-sites/Minoriteter+p%C3%A5+Nordkalotten+av+Hans+Petter+Gi%C3%A6ver.pdf>.
- Gjerpe, K.K. (2013). *“The Best of Both Worlds”. Conceptualising an Urban Sámi Identity.* (Master's thesis), The Arctic University of Norway, Tromsø. Retrieved March 28th, 2018 from <https://munin.uit.no/handle/10037/5252>.
- Gripsrud, J. (2011). *Mediekultur, mediesamfunn* (Vol. 4). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Guttorm, G. (2009). Sámi craft, a shadow of art in the art discourse? *Indigenous Voices, Indigenous Symbols.* World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium and Sámi University College, 50-62.
- Gælok, J.I., & Larsson, C.G. (2013, April 12). ČSV-skolering. *NRK.* Retrieved April 15th, 2018 from <https://www.nrk.no/sapmi/laerer-om-samisk-oppvakning-1.10984317>.
- Hall, S. (2013a). The Work of Representations. In S. Hall, J. Evans & S. Nixon (Eds.), *Representation* (pp. 1-47). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Hall, S. (2013b). The Spectacle of the “Other”. In S. Hall, J. Evans & S. Nixon (Eds.), *Representation* (pp. 215-271). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Hansen, L.I., & Evjen, B. (2008). Kjært barn - mange navn. Om forskjellige betegnelser på

- den samiske befolkningen i Nordland gjennom århundrene. In B. Evjen & L.I. Hansen (Eds.), *Nordlands kulturelle mangfold. Etniske relasjoner i historisk perspektiv* (pp. 17-47). Oslo: Pax Forlag A/S.
- Hauge, T., Solheim, F., Sivertsen, B., & Hauglid, A.O. (1986). *Her bor mitt folk. En bildefortelling fra gamle Lyngen*. Lyngen: Lyngen bygdeboknemnd, Nord-Troms-museum.
- Helander, A., & Johnsen, B.Å. (2007). Samisk klesbruk i Karasjok. 1905-2005. In B. Fjellheim & A.S. Hjemdahl (Eds.), *Inn i et nytt årtusen - museene og samtiden* (pp. 191-209). Oslo: Novus Forlag.
- Hinch, T., & Butler, R. (2009). Indigenous tourism. *Tourism Analysis*, 14(1), 15-27.
- Hsieh, H.F., & Shannon, S.E. (2005). Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277-1288.
- Hætta, J.I., Sara, O.K., & Rushfeldt, I., (1994). Reindriften i Finnmark. Lovgivning og distriksinndeling. *Reindriftsadministrasjonen*. Retrieved May 5th, 2018 from <http://www.stormo.de/Reflexen/ReindriftenIFinnmark.pdf>.
- Isaksen, K. (2013). Lyngen-kofta. In B.S.H. Haugen (Ed.), *Bunad. Norsk bunadsleksikon. Alle bunader og samiske folkedrakter* (pp. 951-954). Oslo: Cappelen Damm Faktum.
- Juschka, D.M. (2001). *Feminism in the Study of Religion. A Reader*. London and New York: Continuum.
- Karijord, C. (2017, June 7). Nært, sært og spektakulært – gamle forfedre får nytt liv. *High North News*. Retrieved April 18th, 2018 from <http://www.highnorthnews.com/naert-saert-og-spektakulaert-gamle-forfedre-far-nytt-liv/>.
- Kuokkanen, R. (2008). *From research as colonialism to reclaiming autonomy. Toward a research ethics framework in Sápmi*. In Sámi- ja álgoálbmotdutkaná etihkka. (Seminar report 2008:1). Kautokeino: Sámi instituhtta. Retrieved May 3rd, 2018 from <https://rauna.files.wordpress.com/2007/10/2008-sami-research-ethics.pdf>.
- Lae, E. (2007). Fra Karlstadkonvensjon i 1905 til reinbeitekonvensjonen av 1919. Norsk sosialdarwinisme mot romantisk humanisme. In E.G. Broderstad, E. Niemi & I. Sommerseth (Eds.), *Grenseoverskridende reindrift før og etter 1905* (pp. 59-70) (14). Tromsø: Senter for samiske studier.
- Larsen, D. R. (2017, November 21). Premiere på unik fotoutstilling. *NRK*. Retrieved April 18th, 2018 from <https://www.nrk.no/sapmi/premiere-pa-en-unik-fotoutstilling-1.13787662>.
- Larsen, P., & Lien, S. (2007). *Norsk fotohistorie: frå daguerrotypi til digitalisering*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.

- Ledman, A.L. (2012). *Att representera & representeras. Samiska kvinnor i svensk og samisk press 1966-2006*. (Doctoral thesis). Umeå University, Umeå.
- Lenvik Bygdemuseum (1995). *Dataregistrert utgave av Familjeregister för Karesuando (Enontekis församling) för åren 1720 – 1923. Ur ovannämnda församlings samtliga kyrkoböcker. Sammandragen av August Ljung år 1944. BD. I*. Retrieved April 10th, 2018 from http://lenvik-museum.no/meny5/Samisk%20historie/Familieregister_Karesuando_I_redigert_2007.pdf.
- Leonenko, A. V. (2008). *Riddu Riddu, joik or rock-n-roll?: A study of Riddu Riddu Festivála and its role as a cultural tool for ethnic revitalization*. (Master's thesis). The Arctic University of Norway, Tromsø. Retrieved April 20th, 2018 from <https://munin.uit.no/handle/10037/1579>.
- Lehtola, V.P. (2018). Our histories in the photographs of the others. *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture*, 10(1), 1-13.
- Lien, S. (2014). Not “just another boring tree” – landskapet som identitetsmarkør i norsk og samisk fotografi. *Kunst og Kultur*, 3(97), 148-159.
- Lien, S. & Nielssen, H. (2012). Absence and Presence: The Work of Photographs in the Sámi Museum, RiddoDuottarMuseat-Sámiid Vuorká-Dávvirat (RDM-SVD) in Karasjok, Norway. *Photography & Culture*, 5(3), 295-310.
- MacCannell, D. (1992). *Empty meeting grounds: The tourist papers*. London: Routledge.
- Martin, K.J. (2013). Native footprints: Photographs and stories written on the land. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 2(2), 1-24.
- Mathisen, Hans Ragnar (1989). Samisk reindrift i Tromsø-området. *Ottar*, 178 (5), 16-30.
- Mathisen, S.R. (2001). “Den naturlige samer”: Narrative konstruksjoner av “de andre” i norsk tradisjon. In L.A. Ytrehus (Ed.), *Forestillinger om “den andre”. Images of Otherness* (pp. 84-98). Kristiansand: Høyskoleforlaget AS.
- Mills, A.J., Durepos, G., & Wiebe, E. (2010). Agency. In A.J. Mills, G. Durepos & E. Wiebe (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research* (pp. 13-16). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Minde, G.T. (2005). *Dáza láhkkài – på norsk vis. En kartlegging av helse- og sosialtjenesten i Tromsø kommune – om den styrker eller svekker samiske brukeres forskjellige hjelpebehov*. (HIF-Rapport 2005:12). Retrieved April 12th, 2018 from <https://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/handle/11250/2444876>.

- Minde, H. (2003). Assimilation of the Sami - Implementation and Consequences. *Acta Borealia*, 2, 121-146.
- Minde, H. (2008). The Destination and the Journey: Indigenous Peoples and the United Nations from the 1960s through 1985. In H. Minde (Ed.), *Indigenous Peoples. Self-determination Knowledge Indigeneity* (pp. 49-86). Delft: Eburon Academic Publishers.
- Minde, H., Gaski, H., Jentoft, S., & Midré, G. (2008). Introduction. In H. Minde (Ed.), *Indigenous Peoples. Self-determination Knowledge Indigeneity* (pp. 1-26). Delft: Eburon Academic Publishers.
- Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. (2000). *Om Samepolitikken*. (Meld. St. 55. 2000 - 2001) Retrieved May 3rd, 2018 from <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/stmeld-nr-55-2000-2001-/id195308/>
- Norgeskart (n.d.). [Map of Muotki/Lyngseidet and “Fjellfinnbakken”]. Retrieved March 15th, 2018 from <http://www.norgeskart.no/#!?project=seeiendom&layers=1002,1015&zoom=10.929866919368505&lat=7727228.08&lon=702912.03&sok=Lyngseidet>.
- NOU 2008:5 (2008). *Retten til fiske i havet utenfor Finnmark*. Retrieved April 29th, 2018 from <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/nou-2008-5/id499796/>.
- Oakes, T. (2005). Tourism and the modern subject: Placing the encounter between tourist and other. In C. Cartier & A. A. Lew (Eds.), *Seductions of Place: Geographical Perspectives on Globalization and Touristed Landscapes* (pp. 36-55). Abingdon: Routledge
- Olsen, H. (1995). Grenselandet: En kulturhistorisk innledning. *Sjøsamisk klesdrakt i gamle Lyngen*, 5-11.
- Olsen, K. (2003). The Touristic Construction of the “Emblematic” Sami. *Acta Borealia*, 20(1), 3-20.
- Olsen, K. (2006). Making Differences in a Changing World: The Norwegian Sámi in the Tourist Industry. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 6(1), 37-53.
- Olsen, T. (2014). The Exclusive Nature. Sámi Christianity in the Age of Eco-Indigenism. *Journal of Religion in Europe*, (7), 177-202.
- Olsen, T. (2016). Responsibility, reciprocity and respect. On the ethics of (self-)representation and advocacy in Indigenous studies. In A.L. Drugge (Ed.), *Ethics in Indigenous Research. Past Experiences – Future Challenges* (pp. 25-43). Umeå: Vaartoe – Centre for Sámi Research.
- Reiakvam, O. (1997). *Bilderøyndom. Røyndomsbilde*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
- Richter-Hanssen, E. (2004). *Lyngen Regionshistorie Bind II*. Lyngen: Lyngen bygdebok.

- Riddu Ridđu (n.d.). *Historien om Riddu Ridđu*. Retrieved April 18th, 2018 from <http://riddu.no/en/info/history-riddu-riddu>.
- Rose, G. (2012). *Visual Methodologies. An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*. London: Sage.
- Sametinget (2016). *Sami Self-determination*. Retrieved April 19th, 2018 from <https://www.sametinget.se/10169>.
- Scheyvens, R. (2002). *Tourism for development: Empowering communities*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
- Siida (n.d.). [Map of Sápmi]. Retrieved May 15th, 2018 from <http://www.samimuseum.fi/anaras/english/kieli/kieli.html>.
- Sjoholm, B. (2017). *Black Box. A Life of Emilie Demant Hatt, Artist and Ethnographer*. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Skeie, T. (2004, February 19). NRK i Troms. *NRK*. Retrieved April 28th, 2018 from <https://www.nrk.no/arkiv/artikkel/nrk-i-troms-1.1626405>
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing Methodologies, Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London and New York: Zed Books
- Storm, D. (2009). Könkämävuomasamenes flytninger til sommer-områdene i Troms fylke - en forskningshistorisk oversikt. In L.J. Walkeapää, *Könkämävuoma-samernas renflyttingar till Norge – om sommerbosättningar i Troms fylke på 1900-tallet* (pp. 13-44). Tromsø: Tromsø Museum Universitetsmuseet.
- Ulvestad, I. (Ed.) (1988). *Vennlig hilsen.... Postkortets historie i Norge*. Oslo: Aventura Forlag.
- Ulvestad, I. (2005). *Norske Postkort, Kulturhistorie og samleobjekter*. Oslo: N.W. Damm & Søn.
- Urry, J. (1990). *The tourist gaze: Leisure and travel in contemporary societies*. London: Sage.
- Viken, A. (2000). Turismens essensialiserende effect – samisk kultur i lys av en tiltakende turisme. In S.R. Mathisen (Ed). *Kulturens materialisering: identitet og uttrykk* (pp. 25-52). Kristiansand: Høyskoleforlaget AS.
- Viken, A., & Müeller, D.K. (2006). Introduction: Tourism and the Sámi. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*. Routledge, 6(1), 1-6.
- Viken, A. & Müeller, D.K. (Eds.) (2017). *Tourism and Indigeneity in the Arctic*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.
- Walkeapää, L.J. (2009). *Könkämävuoma-samernas renflyttingar till Norge – om sommerbosättningar i Troms fylke på 1900-tallet*. Tromsø: Tromsø Museum Universitetsmuseet.

Weigård, J. (2008). Is There a Special Justification for Indigenous Rights? In H. Minde (Ed.), *Indigenous Peoples: Self-determination - Knowledge – Indigeneity* (pp. 177-192). Delft: Eburon Academic Publishers.