The Difficult Sami Heritage: 
a study of museum practices

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Abstract

This study focuses on the difficult Sami heritage which is exhibited within local history museums in northern Sweden. The study incorporates theories from cultural science and sociology but it is written within religious history as a philological and text-oriented discipline where discourses and social constructions of the Sami heritage and worldviews are in focus. The overall aim of this study is to increase the understanding of the difficult Sami heritage. This means that the analysis focuses on perspectives and discourses within local museums and Sami organisations.

- The first research question revolves around the significances and meanings of the difficult Sami heritage: What phenomena (artefacts) and dimensions (immateri al culture) of the difficult past in Sapmi are highlighted?
- The second research question revolves around the power to represent the Sami heritage: How is the difficult Sami heritage represented?
- The third research question revolves around perspectives within museum practices: What approaches are the museum practice based upon?

This study focuses on four museums in northern Sweden; Ajtte museum, Samgården, Norrbottens museums and Hägnan museum. They are all local history museums which exhibit the past within a specific region from a rather broad or holistic historical perspective. The student visited each museum and observed the exhibitions then. She read texts, analysed artefacts and watched movies. Facts and interpretations were documented with a pen and the most important phenomena authenticated with a camera.

The difficult phenomena and dimensions within the museums were structured in three groups: living conditions, dark artefacts and colonization. The group living condition refers to poor people, risks, cold climate, hard work, illnesses and social classes. Dark artefacts refer to very old graves and drums which have been lost to the external society. Colonization refers to representations of Sápmi, uses of lands and resources, wounds, lack of local participation within decision-making processes, conflicts and women’s rights.

The analysis of representations highlights reflections about the meanings of the difficult and how subjective this is. Many dimensions within the Sami culture which have appeared as difficult from a colonialist perspective may be bright from an insider perspective. The museum practices follow discourses but there are few expressions within the museums which are associated with ethnocentrism. The external society is not presented as something higher, better or more valuable, but it is obvious that the government did hurt the region in the past.

The museums which were included in this study, based practices on a local separatist/patriotic approach since the unique Sami culture was in focus. It was portrayed as something which stays in contrast to the overall society. The Sami culture was associated with positive characteristics such as traditional, peaceful, original and authentic. The peace and international understanding approach was also embedded since exhibitions were based on ideas expressed within The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) about the rights indigenous people have. The study also concludes that these museums rather based the practice on patriotic thinking, than a cosmopolitan. The museums made use of a bottom-up approach into a varying extent. When the local perceptions were in focus are the following phenomena highlighted: the inner compass (director with wisdom), wounds of colonization, local worldviews and interaction with nature and animals.


**Foreword**

I used to borrow all children books about Sami at the library as a child. This essay was an opportunity for me to reconnect to this interest. I have visited Sápmi several times but it not possible to resign the fact that I am an outsider there. Stories of the past in Sápmi differ between insiders and outsiders.

This research could not have been carried out without open exhibitions and films about Sami history and it was a prevalence to explore these. Thanks to Åke Wiberg Foundation for the financial support, and to my supervisor Johanna Ohlsson for useful comments and the important support.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This study focuses on the difficult Sami heritage in Sweden from a social constructivist approach. Difficult heritage is a concept which is synonymous to heritage that hurt, dark heritage, heritage of atrocity, and places of shame or pain (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 900). It is written within religious history as a philological and text-oriented discipline where discourses and social constructions of the Sami heritage and worldviews are in focus (Uppsala universitet 2019). The study incorporates, however, also theories from cultural science and sociology.

In Sampi different kinds of cultural groups have lived side by side for a long time. The northern parts of Sweden have been regarded as a region which needed modernization, civilization and adoption to the overall society by nationalistic, economic and defence reasons. The central parts of Sampi were attractive among authorities since it involved natural resources such as iron and forest. These natural resources were of importance for the development and the government started promotions with a purpose to expand the ongoing colonization processes of the area. The Swedish government regarded the area as a desolate area which was waiting for colonization and dominance (Forum för levande historia 2017a). The processes have, however, not only affected the right to land but also their culture, worldviews, religion and norms (see section 2.1) (Thorell 2018a: 9-10).

Processes wherein the government increased the control over the Sami people and land is often expressed in terms of colonization. Colonialism is a political and economic phenomenon in the Western world where the dominant cultures in the world expound their rights, control and resources. The modern colonialism was initiated in the 16th century. European nations such as Spain, Portugal, United Kingdom and France explored, settled and occupied larger spaces. The processes were spread within the European culture.

“Colonialism, Western, a political-economic phenomenon whereby various European nations explored, conquered, settled, and exploited large areas of the world. The age of modern colonialism began about 1500 I...I With these events sea power shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and to the emerging nation-states of Portugal, Spain, the Dutch Republic, France, and England By discovery, conquest, and settlement, these nations expanded and colonized throughout the world, spreading European institutions and culture. (Britannica 2017a)"
The Sami population have also experienced discrimination for a long time ago. This has been based on preconceptions, lack of knowledge but also on structures which are belonging to colonization processes. International conventions and national laws make this kind of discrimination illegal today. The Sami people have the same rights as other citizens in Sweden (Forum för levande historia 2017b) but we still much work to undertake.

Local history museums are often political organisations where power may be used. The sources of political power refer among other things to followers, authority, knowledge and control over resources (Sharp 2016: 52-53). From this view, museums may be forums where political organisations use information in order to form followers and spread positive attitudes towards those who are holding political power. The past may also be used for a kind of manipulation were some parts of the history are highlighted while others are hidden (Thorell 2018a: 34; Thorell 2018b: 7-9).

"Insiders" and "outsiders" construct different kinds of representations of cultures which are associated with a variety of subjective qualities. Therefore, overall representations in societies may stay in contrast to the view local actors have of their own culture and the landscape where they live. An approach based on cultural relativism is often favoured within development and preservation, in front of ethnocentrism since all cultures in the world are unique and embedded with special qualities (Thorell 2018a: 33; Thorell 2019: through Knox & Marston 2009; Soydan 2005).

Culture “refers to the system of values, beliefs, and ideas that social groups make use of in experiencing the world in mutually meaningful ways” (Groenfeldt 2003, p 920). The civilized culture in the Western World is dominant and the unique norms, values and ceremonies of smaller ethnic groups are therefore threatened. The dominant characteristic of the culture in the advanced economies is expressed in the literature about the socio-cultural effects of tourism. As one example Page and Connell (2009) write:

“Leaving the debate on one side, the main assumption about socio cultural impacts is that if the tourist generating country has a “stronger” economy and culture than the receiving country, then the sociocultural impact is likely to be higher than if the other way around. The greater difference, the greater impact. This for example, the sociocultural effect of British holiday-makers to France is less than it would be on an undeveloped region such as Tibet.” (p 408)
In Aboriginal art, it is possible to see expressions of how bureaucratic institutions, laws and high demands affect the sense of place with a genuine idyllic life, traditions and heritage. Aboriginal people in different regions around the world are forced to adapt their lives to the constitutions of the overall society. Sometimes they want to be part of the main social codes, sometimes it is a must in order to survive or to become accepted (Thorell 2019: 1).

“While Aboriginal people maintain strong values and principles towards managing their country, and (albeit disrupted) cultural knowledge and governance systems, in many parts of Australia their formal rights to manage their country are limited. The majority of Aboriginal groups remain dispossessed of all or much of their land, although areas of land have been returned to some groups through property purchases, conditional native title rights and land rights legislation.” (Maclean et. al. 2013: 95)

This essay focuses representations of the difficult Sami heritage in the post-colonial era, i.e. the time that follows the colonial era. It is an age when the history written within colonial structures is criticized, modified and rewritten. Power structures that gave dominance to colonial societies became visible. It is also an era when the repressed minority groups receive new rights (Britannica 2017b).

1.2 Research problem

The study is based on social constructivism, i.e. an approach which accepts knowledge which is not a passive portray of the world but a construction. The history and descriptions of the past within museums are thus perceived as stories which museum managers have constructed. They have perhaps chosen some parts to highlight and others to hide (Thorell 2018b:5-15; Wallén 1996: 14-15; 49-52). The social constructivist approach to heritage science accepts thus that the past is constructed within discourses and power structures (Thorell 2018b:5).

Thorell (2018b:2) emphasizes that it is important to increase knowledge about the meanings of the difficult from different perspectives. It is also vital to clarify values around difficult values. From this perspective, it is principal to undertake research about social constructions of heritage and museum practices. It is also focal to create preconditions for a critical discussion about

1 Observation of the exhibition Maadtoe 2015 within World heritage museum in Gothenburg
2 Social constructivism is also the ground for methods used within this study. Therefore, this study is also perceived as a construction of knowledge. The methods I have used are formed within a context of rules and an environment which define the important, true and necessary.
how the main discourses affect opinions, values and worldviews among citizens.

The introduction section described how power influences representations of the history (see Sharp 2016: 52-53; Thorell 2018a: 34; Thorell 2018b: 7-9). Within a Sami context, it is then appropriate to ask questions about the actors who write stories of the past. It is curious to increase the understanding of how the difficult is defined and whether it is described from an insider or outsider perspective based on cultural relativism or ethnocentrism (see Thorell 2018a: 33; Thorell 2019: 1: Vivanco 2018). It is very important to still today clarify into what extent local actors write their own story of the past since they have experienced repressions from organisations which work/worked within colonial structures (see Forum för levande historia 2017a).

1.3 Purpose and research questions
The difficult Sami heritage refers to the holy conflict where Sami had to leave their traditional religion. It is also associated to how colonization processes changed worldviews and religion (Samer 2017d). The overall aim of this study is to increase the understanding of the difficult Sami heritage. This means that the analysis focuses on perspectives and discourses within local museums and Sami organisations.

The first research question revolves around the significances and meanings of the difficult Sami heritage: What phenomena (artefacts) and dimensions (immaterial culture) of the difficult past in Sapmi are highlighted?

The second research question revolves around the power to represent the Sami heritage: How is the difficult Sami heritage represented?

The third research question revolves around perspectives within museum practices: What approaches are the museum practice based upon?

1.4 Concepts and definitions

1.4.1 Dark and difficult heritage
Dark heritage refers to the difficult and traumatic past (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 900). From an analytical perspective may the concept dark heritage be problematic since it leads our mind into a schedule of dichotomies. Dark and light, complicated and uncomplicated, bad and good are presented as
contrasts. Important questions may be hidden and preconditions for new perspectives and knowledge could be difficult. Therefore, dark heritage is not a very common concept in international research, and it may be better to talk about the difficult and problematic heritage. These concepts reflect differences, specifications, analysis and recesses. Within the international research is also difficult heritage, dissonant heritage, negative heritage and undesirable heritage used as a complement (Worldpress 2019). In this study is the term difficult heritage used into a high extent since dark heritage leads our mind into a schedule of dichotomies. The significance of dark is also more depended on discourses and cultural worldviews than the one which is used within this essay.

1.4.2 Museum

Museums are heritage centres that exhibit the past and arrange activities with relevance to a specific theme. The scientific literature identifies different kinds of museums: art museums, music museums, sports museums, war museums, science museums, industrial museums, stamp/coin/postcard museums and local history museums (Boyd & Thimothy 2003: 23-24). This study focuses on local history museums since there are few explicit difficult Sami museum in Sweden.

The museum is divided into various units and common working positions are registrars, conservators and administrators (Macdonald 2006: 81-97). Museum experts are, however, wearing different kinds of hats; artists, scientists, teachers, financial advisors and informers are all there (Barker & Smithen 2006: 85). Issues which all managers have to deal with are referring to authenticity and economic sustainability. All museums and sites need visitors, but authenticity and economic sustainability are not always compatible with attraction (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008: 509).

1.4.3 Exhibition

The literature distinguishes between concept-oriented and object-oriented exhibitions. The concept-oriented approach integrates processes of information and distributions of messages. The aim is to convey ideological and political messages. The object-oriented exhibitions focus collections. The educational mission is limited but aesthetic and classifying dimensions are important (Dean 2002: 1-7). It is mainly within the framework of concept-oriented exhi-
ections power dimensions need to be problematized. This is due to the ideologi-
cal and political focus within these kinds of exhibitions. Perspectives and
complexities are more important than the neutral history within this context.

1.4.4 Museum Education
Museum education involves a set of concepts, values, practices and values
which increase capacities. The process is based on theories and pedagogical
methods:

“Generally speaking, education means the training and development of human beings and
their capacities by implementing the appropriate means to do so. Museum education can be
defined as a set of values, concepts, knowledge, and practices aimed at ensuring the visitor’s
development; it is a process of acculturation which relies on pedagogical methods, develop-
ments, fulfilment, and the acquisition of new knowledge” (Desvalières & Mairesse 2009: 31).

1.4.5 Colony/Colonization/Colonialism
A colony is defined as a collectivity of people. It is, however, a complex concept
which includes specific actions with relevance to demography, labor force and
resources. It refers to the socio-political framework of colonization processes
(Sommer 2001:185). Colonization is defined as “seizure of land” and “inva-
sion”. This process may occur also outside colonies. It is a process of expan-
sion of people, networks, political structures, ideologies and lands. Colonial-
ism refers to a process where people from other cultures become dominant. J.
Osterhammel describes three dimensions of colonialism: (1) society is striving
for control over a foreign area according to colonial rules, (2) there is a cultural
gap between governing processes and the foreign society, (3) based on an ide-
ology which legitimizes colonial structures (ibid. 189).

1.4.6 Religious science
Religious science focused on Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and
other worldviews. Religious studies may be divided into three categories: the-
oretical, methodological and empirical (Arvidsson, 2012: 20). The theoretical
approach focuses on general phenomena which put emphasis on relations and
causal effects. The methodological analyses how methods work in different
contexts. The empirical answers question with relevance to religion within the
society (ibid: 21-22).

Religion may be considered as an analytic framework. It is then about social
constructions within a society (Andersson & Sander 2017: 44). Religious ex-
pressions are a kind of knowledge which has been formed within a specific
historical context and systems of symbols. Cultures are constructing religion and religions are forming cultures. Religion refers thus to power and important questions to ask are thus: Who is holding the authority to interpret God’s will? Who has the authority to interpret, redefine and define religion? (ibid: 54-57).

1.4.7 Religious history
The main subject within this essay is religious history. As a research topic, religious history is traditionally divided into two main categories sometimes overlap: religious history as a philological or text-oriented discipline, and religious history as an anthropological discipline where religious humans rather than the religious texts are in focus (Uppsala universitet 2019). This study focuses on religious history as a philological and text-oriented discipline since it reflects upon discourses and social constructions of the Sami heritage and worldviews. It touches also on how holy conflicts in Sweden since the transformation process when the Sami became Christian is described.

1.5 Specifications
The study focuses on the Sami heritage in Sweden. Sami museums in Norway, Finland and Russia are thus not integrated into the study. The documentary work makes no specifications in time, but it is the exhibitions which are in focus. The periods of time which are included in the museum exhibitions are thus included in the study. This means that it describes dimensions of the past from when the inland ice melted there to modern times.
2. CONTEXT AND MUSEUMS

2.1 Introduction
This chapter explores the context of the Sami culture and describes the museums which are in focus within this study. The first section gives a historical background. In this context are five serious stages within the development in Sápmi defined: (1) trade activities and taxes were introduced, (2) religious shift, (3) the colonist/settlers use the land, (4) The Kautokeino Revolt (Swe: Kautokeinoupproret) and (5) International rights gave support. The second section describes the traditional Sami religion. First, the differences between the Circumpolar religion and Finnish-Ugric religions are explored. Thereafter is Shamanism portrayed as a religion there the shaman holds an important position as the healer of the ill (Nationalencyklopedin 2019a). Thereafter, the distinguishing characteristics of the traditional Sami religion are explained. Finally, the four museums which this study focuses on are introduced.

2.2 The historical background
Gatherers and hunters migrated and settled in the northern part of Sweden for about 12,000 years ago. When the inland ice melted, this land was found by the human being. Nobody knows exactly where these nomads came from. Archaeologists have found reindeer bones and ceramics from 1,500 BC and written documents from 98 AD where the Sami are mentioned. The Sami people live in Sàpmi and celebrate the national day 6th of February. There are at least 80,000 Sami in the world and about 30,000 of these are living in Sweden (Nordiska museet 2017; Samiskt informationscentrum 2017).

The Sami history in Swedish modern times may be structured in three phases: 1520-1880 (a colonial phase when the government infringed the Sami religion, 1880-1945 (a phase where relations between the Sami and the external society were regulated and defined within laws) and after 1945 (a phase characterized by the demands of the external society such as rationalization based on the norms of the welfare state) (Beach 1990: 31)3.

Important stages in the development of Sàpmbi are:

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3 These are phases which I have identified when the literature review was finished.
Trade activities and taxes were introduced:
For three thousand years ago, people in the north who owned pelts introduced trade with people from the east who had bronze artefacts. In the 13th century, the birkakarlar (officers who belonged to the King) were allowed to arrange trade activities and claim taxes. A couple of hundred years after that made the King instead use of liege lords with a similar function (Kuoljok & Utsi 2000: 23).

Religious shift:
The religious shift refers to processes wherein the natural religion in Sápmi was forbidden and replaced by the Christian faith. These processes lasted for 700 years since the first missionary action took place in the 11 century and lasted until the 18th century. The Sami people had to visit the Christian church and name their children with names which refer to the Bible. In the 19th century had Lars-Levi Læstadius (1800-1861) an important position within the missionary work (Frändén 2016: 797; Lundmark 2016: 222; Marainen 2016: 811; Thorell 2018a: 9).

The colonists/settlers use the land:
In the 16th century, buildings were placed in the landscape and in the 17th century, more and more settlers found a life there. The agrarian activities were characterized by small scale practices, animal husbandry and side activities. The government had then found the rich amount of natural resources and the colonization process continued successively. An important letter was written to Axel Oxenstierna in 1635 and this included information about the silver resources in Sápmi (Tidholm 2013: 49). As time flew by, rational farming, mining and modern energy systems were introduced in the area. The colonization process destroyed many dimensions of the original Sami culture in the area (NE 2018a; Samer 2018a; Thorell 2018a:10).

“Lappkodicillen” is an attachment to The Stromstad Contract (Swe: Strömstadskontrakted) from 1751 about the bound which separate Sweden from Norway. This attachment defines preconditions for land use and citizenship (Thorell 2018a:4).
The Kautokeino Revolt (Swe: Kautokeinoupproret)
This revolt in 1852 symbolizes the frustration over the governmental power. The action was initiated when local people killed the priest, merchant and governor. Two Sami died and five were killed within this action. In addition to this, many Sami people were judged by the court and had to go to prison after that. The revolt is regarded as a crucial step within the history there, since it highlights how the government and laws ruled over the Sami (Thorell 2018a:10).

International rights gave support
The 20th century was initially not a light century for the Sami people since racial biology got influence within science and politics then. These theoretical perspectives did not favour the Sami people. The competition of the land became even more intensive since the industries needed natural resources (Thorell 2018a: 10). The Sami language was threatened (Nationalencyklopedin 2018b) but the second half of the century became in some ways lighter for the Sami people. In 1977, the Sami people were declared as an indigenous folk group by the government and in 1998 the Sami minister apologized for the historical mistakes (Nationalencyklopedin 2018c). In this time international efforts were arranged in order to gain the indigenous people in the world (Nationalencyklopedin 2018d). The Convention of biological diversity from 1992 supported the local knowledge of the Sami people (Sametinget 2010:15) and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which was adopted by the General Assembly in 2007 gave them freedom in return (UN 2019a).

Indigenous peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law. (UN 2019 b: Article 1).

In Sweden, the Sami people are thus known as indigenous people and a national minority (Nordiska museet 2017; Samiskt informationscentrum 2017). They are one of the world’s indigenous peoples with their own language, distinct culture and practice a custom that differs from the overall society (Samiskt informationscentrum 2017).

The organizational history of the Sami people is long. Today is the Sami parliament important for the local politics. The political parliament Sametinget exists in Sweden, Norway and Finland. It is a parliament wherein elected
politicians are holding the power. Every fourth year, an election process is initiated, just as in other political contexts in Sweden. The parliament is also a governmental agency. Nordisk samiskt parlamentariskt råd is holding the overall responsibility for local issues. It is a cross-border democratic cooperation between the Sami Parliaments in the Nordic countries. It was established in 2000 and includes 21 members (Samer 2019a; Samiskt informationscentrum 2017; Sametinget 2019).

The Minority Language Act supports the preservation of minority languages. The Sami language is belonging to the Finno-Ugrian language group. The Sami language is consisted of three different main languages: Southern Sami, Central Sami and Eastern Sami. In Sweden, there are also different kinds of sub-groups such as Lule Sami, Ume Sami, Southern Sami and Pite Sami. Many Sami in Sweden have lost their own language but there is a growing interest in the spoken kind of heritage (Nordiska museet 2017; Samiskt informationscentrum 2017).

The Sami have traditionally got their income from hunting, fishing and reindeer. During the 20th century became also tourism, craft, art and music important businesses. Nowadays, the Sami are living at different places and it has become common to work outside the traditional Sami industries (Nordiska museet 2017).

2.3 Religion and worldview

Circumpolar religion (Swe: circumpolar religion)
The circumpolar folk groups live within the circumpolar area, i.e. the arctic and subarctic area in the northern Eurasia and North America, and on Greenland (NE 2019b). The circumpolar religions existed among these folk groups. They manage a religious heritage from an era which existed long before the agricultural revolutions. A distinguishing characteristic of the circumpolar religion refers to the close connection to the barren nature and extreme climate. Wild animals have an important position within representations and rituals. The worldview includes representations which symbolize the extreme weather conditions there. The circumpolar folk groups have constructed a representation of the holy world which is consisted of three levels; heaven, earth and the underground. Spiritual guards are living in this kind of cosmos. Phenomena like mountains, stones and trees are embedded
with different kinds of spirits. For example, the Sami people have holy stones and “sejtar” on the mountains and next to lakes. Praying and sacrificing next to the holy places have often focused on hunting and fishing success. Furthermore, stars and constellation hold an important position within this mythology (NE 2019c).

Finnish-Ugric religions (Swe: finsk-ugriska religioner)
The Finnish-Ugric language group refers to a geographical region named Tajgan forest belt (boreal forest). Finnish, Estonian, Sami and Hungarian are examples of languages which belong to this group (NE 2018e). The Finnish-Ugric religion represents worldviews among people who talk one of the languages which belong to this group (NE 2019e).

Various cultures, natural conditions, traditions and influences from other religions such as Christianity or Islam gave rise to different kinds of worldviews. Some common features are, however, represented there. Examples of phenomena that are overlapping two or more worldviews are:

- focus on this life,
- rituals with relevance to nature were important, i.e. hunting ceremonies,
- religious ceremonies which took place outdoors,
- animals and flowers had an important position,
- the bear was regarded as holy (ibid.).

Even the role the deceased had for the living people display similarities. The family was consisted of both living and dead members, and the rites under the funeral were important. The funeral was essential since the deceased were transferred to the other side then. Memory rituals were thereafter repeated every year (ibid.).

Shamanism
Shamanism is one dimension of a religion there the shaman holds an important position as healer of the ill. People have also asked him to find phenomena, help them to fulfil desires and lead the dead to the right path. It is common for the shaman to use the drum to come into trans and thus get in touch with the spiritual world (NE 2019a).

“Shamanism, religious phenomenon centred on the shaman, a person believed to achieve various powers through trance or ecstatic religious experience. Although shamans’ repertoires
vary from one culture to the next, they are typically thought to have the ability to heal the sick, to communicate with the otherworld, and often to escort the souls of the dead to that otherworld.(Britannica 2019c)"

The traditional Sami religion
The oldest source of the Sami religion is dated to the 12th century. This text describes how the spiritual leader (Noaid/nâjden) tried to help an ill person when he was in trance. There is also a description of the drum there. It was not until the 17th century detailed descriptions of the religion were written down (Samer 2017a).

The original Sami faith is classified into a nature religion. People believed that the world was divided into three spheres: the heavenly, the earthy and the underground. Every sphere had its own entities and Gods. In the 11th century, the Christian missionary actions were initiated in the area. Within the Arctic region were Catholic monasteries built then. In the 17th century were churches established in the area. A lot of texts have been written down about how the government cooperated with the churches where leaders forced the Sami people to believe in the main religion in society. Nowadays, many Sami people are Christians and only limited parts of the natural religion are left there (Samiskt informationcentrum 2017).

The traditional Sami religion is named Shamanism. Three elements are in focus; animism, shamanism and polytheism. A central idea expresses how physical objects are embedded with spiritual power. The traditional Sami religion is similar to many other kinds of religions which nomad people hold (Samer 2017b).

The faith is within a process of change. In Scandinavia, the Sami religion has been influenced by the pre-Christian faith. The government forced Sami people to belong to the Christian church. In the 17th and 18th century were authoritarian champagnes going on in Sweden. The Sami had to leave their spiritual traditions or hold them as secrets. Their religious phenomena and artefacts had also to stay private. In the 18th century, a larger amount of the Sami people belonged to the Christian church (ibid.).

Earth, water and lakes are important within the worldview of nomad people. The sun, moon and thunder are embedded with myths. They were all regarded as living phenomena with a spiritual dimension. Their worldview involves also an understanding of the world where the dead people exists together with God.
Saajre is the name of the world where the spiritual guards live and exist. The mountain named Saajre-vaerieh holds a special spiritual power according to Sami people (Samer 2017c).

Meanwhile, the Sami people were forced to go to the Christian church in Sweden, many holy places and phenomena belonging to the Sami religion were destroyed. People who did not follow the rules within the overall society were judged. The government used punishments such as fine, prison and death (Samer 2017c) in order to implement policies.

For hundreds of years, the traditional Sami religion existed beside the Christian faith. In the 17th century, the King had plans to colonize the northern parts of Sweden and this process took religious freedom from the Sami people. The aboriginal groups of people experienced discrimination, threats and elimination. Some of the Sami people appreciated the Christian faith as a threat or hindrance for them in their everyday life. They had to leave their reindeer on the mountains and move into the villages when church ceremonies were going on. When all Sami citizens had to go to church they left much of the freedom and connection with their families on the mountains. They had to learn the professional knowledge which the government transferred to the citizen (Samer 2017d).

When the Sami people left their traditional religion behind, they lost practices which supported them in everyday life. They had developed practices in harmony with nature and the spiritual world. The spiritual guards followed them in the mountains and forest. According to them, the Christian God did not put that much attention to their everyday life. They felt hurt when the priests did not allow them to stay in contact with the other side. The Sami people paid much attention to their forefathers since they could gain them and cause trouble. They watched over their children and reindeer. Suddenly, important dimensions of their livelihood strategies disappeared (ibid.).

The traditional Sami religion and the Christian faith existed side by side for a long time. The aboriginal people did not want to leave their religion since it gave them happiness, peace and harmony. Some mean that they lost parts of these dimensions in life when they had to leave their religion. They noted that some became poor when they were not able to live in harmony with spiritual power (ibid.).
The Sami children often got a name after an old relative. The name came within a dream or was decided by the Noaid. The characteristics of the old relative with the same name were transferred to the new-born child. After the colonization process, all Sami people were forced to have Christian names; these were, however, not used very often within everyday life but rather within contact with the Swedish authorities and people. Today the Sami people have different kinds of names (Samer 2017b).

**Spiritual contact:**
The Sami people met spiritual guards on the other side through different kinds of ceremonies. It was also common to sacrifice phenomena and animals. The Noaid had an important position. He acted as a doctor and spiritual leader who supported people in trouble. He increased the links between people and the other side, the living and dead. People came to him/her when they were ill, poor or hungry (Samer 2017e).

The Noaid made use of a special practice, trance, in order to meet the other side. Within that practice he jojkade (sang Sami melodies) and played on the drum until his soul moved to another side. Sometimes he had animals next to him/her (ibid.).

The tasks of the spiritual leader were changing over time. Most of them were men but there are some stories about female spiritual leaders within the historical archives. When a relative was ill, the family came to the spiritual leader (Noaid) who mediated with the queen of the death Jåbbmáhkko. Still today some Sami women and men express how they are holding a capacity to heal and appreciate other dimensions in life (ibid.).

### 2.4 Four museums in focus

#### 2.4.1 Introduction
This study focuses on four museums in Norrland; Ajtte museum, Samgården, Norrbottens museums and Hägnan museum. This section introduces these museums. They are all local history museums which focus the past within a specific region from a rather broad or holistic historical perspective.

#### 2.4.2 Ajtte museum in Jokkmokk
The museum focuses on Sapmi, i.e. the land of the Sami people. It is a land where the human being has been hunting and fishing for thousands of years.
The Sami people were walking on endless paths, followed reindeer and gave names to streams and mountains. Children grew up and the adults sung praises of the land for them (Ajtte museum 2017a).

It is also a museum about Laponia, i.e. a World Heritage Area which covers 9,400 km². The land involves mountain and forest. It has been a home for reindeer herders and nomadic hunters since the immemorial time. Several nature reserves and four national parks are placed within the heritage area. 1996 it was listed as a World Heritage site and the museum exhibit phenomena with relevance to cultural and natural significance for the human being” (Ajtte museum 2017a).

The museum gives a broad description of the Sami heritage and Culture:

“The Ájtte Museum in Jokkmokk – the Sami centre
Jokkmokk, just north of the Arctic Circle, has always been an obvious meeting place for trade, gatherings, festivals and meetings between friends from far and near. This is the site of Ájtte, Swedish Mountain and Sami Museum, a gateway to the high mountains, to Laponia and to the Sami culture. Here, we tell the story of Sápmi, the land and the people, of life and survival in a demanding climate and environment. It is a story set in the wetlands, forests and mountains (Ajtte museum 2017a)“

The museum includes information about the mountains, the museum shop and Jokkmokk’s Alpine Garden which is an outdoor exhibition focusing the flora of the region (Ajtte museum 2017a).

2.4.3 Samegården in Kiruna
The museum is arranged by Kiruna sameförening but receives economic support from the municipality⁴. Samegården opened in 1973 and after a while came the decision to start a museum on the ground floor. Some of the phenomena belong to Kiruna municipality (NSD 2017). The museum is located on the ground floor of Samegården in Kiruna. For a long time, it has been the only museum in the city of Kiruna. Larger changes were carried out at the beginning of the 90s and a couple of years ago. In relevance to this work were even more artefacts from Kiruna municipality and Kiruna sameförening added to the exhibition (NSD 2019).

According to the website of the museum, the exhibition is focusing stories about people in the northern part of Scandinavia. It describes hunters who

⁴ Mail conversation March 2019.
found land in Sápmi and how people interacted with the land. Descriptions about the everyday and spiritual life are included. Attention is also paid to how the Sami culture was developed to modern society. In this context are reindeer production, colonization processes, threats in modern times and visions for the future highlighted (ibid; Samegård 2017).

2.4.4 Norrbottens Museum in Luleå

Norrbottens Museum is the county museum in the region⁵. The museum conducts activities with relevance to cultural heritage preservation, archaeology, ethnology, documentation, archives, libraries, collections, art and pedagogy and exhibition. Norrbottens museum operates within the region and cooperates with the municipalities. The mission of the museum is to gather, convey and develop cultural heritages in Norrbotten. The museum works for diversity, free public conversation and knowledge of today and tomorrow (Norrbottens museum 2019).

Norrbottens Museum Center

Norrbottens Museum Center exhibits the cultural heritage in Norrbotten. It focuses on culture in the present and the past, art and documentary projects. Shows, workshops and lectures are arranged there. The museum café offers coffee, cookies, lunch, sandwiches and free Wi-Fi. In the museum shop it is possible to buy crafts and literature about and from Norrbotten (Norrbottens museum 2019).

The annexe at Björksgatan

The annexe includes a collection of documents and literature with relevance to Norrbotten. It includes facts about archaeology, settlement, ethnology, craft, art, cultural environment and industries. It includes also the history of associations within Norrbotten. The picture archive holds more than 2 million images that are reflecting the people and social development in Norrbotten. The annexe includes also a collection with archaeological, cultural, art and historical objects that represent different epochs of the county’s history. There are 11,000 years between the oldest and the youngest item (Norrbottens museum 2019).

⁵ The county is a multicultural environment, characterized by Sami, Tornedals Finnish, Finnish, Swedish and New Swedish culture (Norrbottens museum 2019)
2.4.5 Hägnan in Gammelstad

The museum is a cultural-historical center of knowledge in Gammelstad that conveys the cultural heritage of the Norrbotten coastal country (Luleå kommun 2019a). Gammelstad Church Town is today the world’s largest and finest preserved church town with more than 400 church cottages grouped around Norrland’s largest medieval stone church. In 1996, UNESCO listed Gammelstad’s church town as a World Heritage Sites (Luleå kommun 209b).

The museum includes buildings from the 18th to the 20th century that gives a realistic picture of a row village. Throughout the year, the museum has a rich and varied range of activities and events for all ages (Luleå kommun 2019a).

The outdoor museum Hägnan is open at occasional events when handicraft collections are exhibit and Christmas market or fire parties arranged. During the summer season (the weekend before mid-summer until mid-August) the museum is open every day (ibid.)
3 THEORY AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

3.3 Introduction
This chapter includes the theoretical framework and previous research with relevance to this study. The first section describes the concepts of heritage, dark/difficult heritage and religious heritage. Previous research about difficult heritage within Swedish museum practice is also presented. The second section expounds the human links to the difficult heritage. Previous research about how museum managers perceive difficult heritage is included in this section. There is also a description of factors with an influence on how we perceive and understand heritage sites. The third section revolves around museum management and heritage preservation. I focus on approaches within museum practices.

3.2 Heritage in the Northern region

3.2.1 The immovable and movable heritage
Immovable heritage refers to artefacts, archaeological sites and monuments while movable heritage contains paintings, sculptures, coins and manuscripts. Cultural heritage underwater is associated to water ruins, cities and shipwreck on the seabed. It is also common to make a distinction between material and intangible cultural heritage. The material heritage includes buildings, monuments, historical sites and phenomena that are important for future generations UNESCO 2016a). This refers to phenomena that are of importance within archaeology, architecture, science and technology (UNESCO 2016b) Intangible cultural heritage refers to living traditions and expressions that folk groups have earned from the past and transfer to the future (UNESCO 2016c).

The four main motives for the preservation of cultural heritage are: (1) economic (attracting tourists and visitors to the region), (2) political (phenomena are embedded with a symbolism, (3) social (heritage values contribute to cultural identity and sense of place) and (4) scientific (artefacts include knowledge which is important within research) (Thimothy & Boyd 2003: 87-132; Thorell 2018a: 9).

“Cultural heritages play a strong role in both economic and social life even though the majority remain informal, without public protection and without explicit management e as they are the main institutions that connect history, territory and society, defining the cultural context of social life.” (Barrere 2015: 6).
3.2.2 Dark/difficult heritage 6

Heritages are often associated with bright characteristics, but it is eminent to also highlight the negative dimensions. A holistic perspective pays thus attention also to the harmful values (McClelland et al. 2013: 585). Dark heritage is synonymous to heritage that hurt, difficult heritage, heritage of atrocity and places of pain (Magee & Gilmore 2015: 900; Thorell 2018a: 42; Thorell 2018b: 4). Dark heritage sites (DHS) are places and institutions “that stand as legacy to painful periods in history; massacre and genocide sites, places related to former penal institutions, prisoners of war, battlefields and many more.” (Magee & Gilmore 2015: 899; Thorell 2018a: 42; Thorell 2018b: 4). DHS management is a structured process maintaining “a holistic, meaningful experience for visitors within the context of complex and diverse servicescapes.” (Magee & Gilmore 2015: 899).

The dark heritage symbolizes disgusting and repulsive dimensions in the past. It may be about dimensions which are associated with slave trade, annihilation and terrorism. Monuments are sometimes raised in order to put attention on the victims and the pain they experienced. They may also remind us about traumatic accidents which could affect our society and the future. Dark tourism and thanatourism refer to travelling to places which are associated to terrible accidents, death and catastrophes. These activities are associated to commercial business and purposes which could be perceived as impolite, objectionable and inappropriate (Thorell 2018b: 6).

The dark heritage exists rather within the human relationship to the artefacts, than in the physical objects. Such relationships are constructed within storytelling processes and when heritage sites are described (Selberg 2013: 97-99; Thorell 2018a:45; Thorell 2018b: 10). Memories and dark heritage are also bonded to each other. Memory processes are existing within discourses with contours of what visitors should remember from the past and the present. These discourses delineate dimensions of the past that are important to remember. Memories exist within an ever-ongoing process of production and construction. They are bonded to the past and specific spatial places through languages, rituals, songs, artefacts and ceremonies (Persson 2014: 42; Thorell 2018a:45; Thorell 2018b: 10).

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6 The terms dark phenomena and dark dimensions are used within this study. Dark phenomena refer to artefacts such as graves and weapons but also to the immaterial dark heritage (colonization, conflicts, representation). Dimensions refer to the characteristics which make phenomena dark.
A case study in Västra Götaland indicates that museums highlight different kinds of dark dimensions: Västergötland Museum clarified three dimensions of dark heritage: (1) descriptions of funerals and the dead, (2) archaeological tools and findings used within war and conflicts, (3) signs trauma and hard lives. The Museum of Gothenburg highlighted ten dimensions of dark heritage:

1. “graves, runes and rituals for funerals
2. signs of hard lives, such as hurt skeletons
3. artefacts with relevance to conflicts and war,
4. social structures and inequality,
5. signs of threats such as city gates,
6. descriptions of unsanitary circumstances,
7. descriptions of factors which caused emigration.
8. descriptions of epidemics,
9. fires within the city and
10 inhuman treatments” (Thorell 2018b: 40)

Lödöse Museum described also different dimensions of the dark heritage when the past was exhibited: inequality, military building, punishment, epidemics, difficult living conditions, graves and funerals as well as artefacts with relevance to conflicts or death (Thorell 2018b: 40).

Dark heritage highlighted by the three museums thus refers to death, sanitary problems, war, conflicts, crimes, epidemics, unequal treatment of people and hard living conditions (Thorell 2018b: 40). There are, however, few objective answers around the dark history. The meanings of traumatic phenomena are subjective since we all appreciate societal changes in different ways. The movement toward equality was good for many people but hard for those who then held the power. How we appreciate death is very much depended on our religious worldview. It may be appreciated as something dark or a start to a light path on the other side with God (Thorell 2018b: 39-43).

Thorell (2018a: 56-59) carried out a case study about the dark heritage in Visby. Within the fieldwork were texts around the city wall (placed next to ruins and within Gotland museum) analysed. The study shows 10 dimensions of dark heritage within this context: (1) war and anxiety, (2) fires, (3) economic
depression, (4) poverty, (5) illnesses, (6) damaged heritage, (7) Christian martyrs, (8) inhuman crimes and punishment, (9) high mortality and (10) lack of health care.

3.2.3 Religious heritage

The book “Religious object in museums; Private Lives and Public Duties” is written by an author who has worked in museums and exhibition practices. The purpose is to give perspectives on how museums may manage religion and highlight many dimensions of religious artefacts within museums. He also wants to highlight the functions of religious artefacts within museums and the aim is to increase the understanding of how the religious background and context affect exhibition practices (Sullivan 2013: 894-896; Thorell 2018a: 34).

The book highlights how invisible religion is within the secular world and how religion returns as an important dimension within museums and galleries. The author states that secular museums do not problematize religious phenomena into that extent that could be necessary. The book gives a theoretical and practical framework about religious phenomena within museums. In addition to this, it is discussed how museum officials make use of power when they decide which phenomena which could be included in exhibitions. They hold the power of the exhibition practice; what the exhibition includes and how it will be described (Hartney 2016: 179-180).

3.3 The human relation to the dark/difficult heritage

3.3.1 Opinions among heritage managers

Eriksson-Ekström (2014:2) study the permanent exhibition of the Army Museum in Stockholm. She makes use of qualitative methods such as observations interviews with museum employees. The theoretical starting point states that the significances of difficult heritage are influenced by interpretations, time and political values. The results show that war is interpreted as something terrible, especially for soldiers who were involved in the war. The museum exhibits how wars are associated with suffering and death. The exhibition may raise feelings of sympathy for those who were involved in the conflicts. The exhibitions answer questions like: Why did the human being initiate wars? Who were they fighting for? Who has experienced pain? Who has been represented within the context of wars and conflicts?
Thorell (2017b:3) investigated opinions with relevance to dark heritage among museum managers. 100 employees at museums in Västeråsland received a survey which was analysed with qualitative and quantitative techniques. The survey was sent to antiquarians, conservators, project leaders, museum teachers, archaeologists, intendents, technicians, and project managers. The results indicate that the dark heritage is associated with (1) epidemics, plagues and diseases (1) conflict, war, and unrest, (3) suffering, starvation and hard living conditions. Tombstones, cemeteries, burial grounds, and disasters were not that much associated with dark heritage. Dark heritage could, however, be associated with human right crimes, occultism/satanism/witch burning and oppression/marginalization/ exclusion. It could also be linked to gang crimes, poverty, terrorism, personal tragedies and disasters (Thorell 2018b: 11).

According to the employers, the dark cultural heritage is important since it is associated to symbolic, scientific and historical values. It is also of importance since emotional, cultural and recreational values could be associated to the dark cultural heritage. Whether the dark heritage is linked to magic values was more doubtful. The qualitative results show how dark heritage contributes to a holistic and nuanced and knowledge of the past. It supports us to remind the traumatic, unpleasant and terrible (Thorell 2017b: 3; Thorell 2018b:12).

The museum exhibitions are based on reports, texts and scientific literature. Encyclopaedias, oral speeches, interviews, personal statements and recorded stories are also used. Websites of institutions and associations on Internet are also used. In addition, ATA (Antiquarian Topographic Archives), archaeological findings, and artefacts belong to the sources. Landscape analysis and the physical environment are also important when exhibitions are shaped. Texts from authorities have almost no significance within these processes (Thorell 2017b: 3; Thorell 2018b:12).

The communication occurs through exhibitions, stories, films, lectures, reports and writings. Most of the respondents expressed that the past was reproduced in a neutral and objective way (Thorell 2017b:3; Thorell 2018b:12).
3.3.2. Connections to the difficult heritage

Five factors have an influence on our interpretations of the difficult heritage. They have effects on strength and feelings associated with the experience. These factors are: time, distance, experiencing places, the degree abstraction and management.

**Time**
It is common to link time to interpretations. Research on war heritage focuses on links between time and interpretations. Time separates us from an event and sad stories become less depressing after a while.

“As we go back in time we seem to be more willing to ignore suffering and treat events in a more interesting way as if they are from a foreign country” (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008: 504)

Time does not only change how phenomena in the past are emphasised. It also affects whether something is forgotten or rewritten (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008: 504-505). Time is also changing meanings and significances. The story pass countries, cultures and societies. It is filtered within different kinds of worldviews and discourses.

**Emotional connection to places**
This category is linked to time since an event loses its emotional string or strength as time fly by. It is, however, possible to believe that the emotional connection is subjective. It is always difficult to know whether other people share similar feelings and if they interpret things in the same way as you. It is also problematic to specify the atmosphere of a place (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008).

Emotional connection to place may be associated to the atmosphere. A relevant question in this context is: “Where is the atmosphere? It is hardy out there like a magic ingredient which has been added to the oxygen, nitrogen, argon carbon dioxin and water vapour” (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008: 505). It is not out there, then clearly it is some form of projection from ourselves, we impose our feelings and emotions onto the scene. This can be illustrated by a consideration of the atmosphere in London in the week following the death of Diana, Princess of Wales (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008: 505). Many people travelled to London after her death.
People have emotional connections to places and events. As time separates a person from past experiences and events the emotional engagement is reduced. Important questions to reflect upon in this context are: Which period separates the visitor from the event? How is this period affecting the interpretation?

Magee & Gilmore (2015) make use of an in-depth case-based method in order to investigate experience and engagement the visitor had from dark heritage sites. "Many visitors verbalised their understanding of the sites in terms of human sacrifice, loss and tragedy that occurred. However, the overall message that visitors want to take away with them is that empathy, respect and humility are central to their purpose as human beings and are apparent in the socially symbolic meanings invoked at dark heritage sites." (Magee & Gilmore 2015: 915).

**Abstraction**
Time is, however, relevant also in the context of abstraction level. This refers to how theoretical an issue is and how people make associations to phenomena which are relatively unknown. Abstraction is thus needed when it is difficult to associate an event to own experiences, spaces and ways of living. Our emotional “reaction to interpretive experiences concerns the degree of abstraction of the heritage being interpreted” (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008: 507).

**Distance**
Both psychological and physical distances have effects on the emotional involvement. This means that visitors who interpret a war which occurred close her hometown appreciate it in a more detailed way than a visitor from another country. A woman who has lost her husband in the Vietnam war in the 60s have a very short psychosocial distance to the sites in that country. The visit is probably connected to many emotions and hot interpretations. This is illustrated in research of global environmental problems (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008: 507).

**Management**
This issue is about how the stories of the past are described. It is about authenticity and whether we make an objective description of the reality. Are we
hiding parts of the history? Are we adding new dimensions? (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008). These are all questions which affect the human interpretation of the heritage within museums.

3.4 Museum management and heritage preservation

3.4.1 Museum management approaches
Difficult heritage exhibitions are based on different approaches. Every decade is associated to a specific paradigm and ideological perspective. Ashworth (2003:179-183) distinguishes between the following approaches: (1) nationalistic (supports ideas belonging to nationalism), (2) local separatist/patriotic (focusing military heritage preservation from a local perspective), (3) romantic chivalry (portrayed heritage as a sport and it is common within medieval military attractions), (4) socialist (aims which refer to improving social equality in society), (5) peace and international understanding (supports international understandings which may give rise to peace in a long-term perspective) and (6) technological/aesthetic approach (value-neutral management where phenomena are placed far away from their purposes) (Ashworth 2003:179-183; Thimothy & Boyd 2003:27-28; Thorell 2018b: 13-15).

3.4.2 Conservation/preservation/restoration/renovation
Four common concepts within heritage preservation are conservation/preservation/restoration/renovation. Conservation refers to management processes which aim at keeping heritage values from being destroyed or damaged. It is also associated to a kind of careful use of artefact (Educateme 2019). Conservation is based on the idea that old objects may be compared to original phenomena. However, within museum practices it is nowadays accepted that most objects are changing and embedded with very few true values or single originality (Barker & Smithen 2006: 87). Preservation refers to activities which keep heritage values safe from harm, injury or destruction (Educateme 2019).

“Preservation refers to a situation wherein the choice is made to maintain the site in existing state. A great deal of effort and expenditure are involved in this work to maintain the property and impede deterioration (Timothy and Wall 1997). Obviously this is not a hands-off policy, for much work is needed to retain the present situation (Wall 1989)” (Boyd & Timothy 2003:94).

Restoration is sometimes named reconstruction and includes actions wherein artefacts return to previous conditions (Timothy & Boyd 2003:94). Renovation means making changes to a heritage artefacts or place with a historical character (Boyd & Timothy 2003:94).
3.4.3 Cosmopolitan/Patriotic thinking

The Parthenon syndrome highlights questions about power and ownership within a heritage context. Heritage resources are valuable; they could cost sometimes billions of dollars. Therefore, there is an ongoing discussion about ownership. States have sometimes captured heritage resources within wars and there is a disagreement about where aboriginal artefact should be stored and exhibited. An important question refers to where the Sami heritage should be stored (Bring 2015: 11-17). UN Declaration on the rights of indigenous people give indigenous people rights and raise questions about heritage resources (Bring 2015: 210-208).

International court-martials prohibit war and armed conflicts which threat important heritage resources. The cultural and religious heritage should be preserved (Bring 2015: 229). These are applied both on international and national conflicts. Wars in Bosnia and Syria have threatened important heritage values (ibid., p 230). In 2013 ICOM, UNESCO and The Am. State Department listed threatened heritage values in the world. The aim was mainly to prohibit trade with heritage artefacts in especially Syria (ibid., p 231).

Many famous museums in northern Europe such as British museum base the practice on cosmopolitan thinking which emphasis how heritage values are common and belong to all government and inhabitants. They are universal and mutual. Museum in Southern Europe (Roma and Athen) and Kairo base instead the practice on patriotic thinking which emphasised that heritage values are belonging to the nation where it was found. Heritage values should be stored where they are coming from (ibid., p 239).

3.4.4 Top down/Bottom up

Two different kinds of approaches may be used when museum officers want to adopt the practice to the local inhabitants. “Top-down communication” is associated to dialogues from authorities to local actors. Employees within the museums try to assign political goals and measures on the local level through education and information. “The bottom-up approach” refers to dialogues from local actors towards the authority level. Participatory processes and decentralisation are important within this context (Thorell 2005a; 2005b; Thorell 2008: 32).

Top-down museum management is based on professional knowledge which refers to scientific and technical knowledge used by professionals (Hanberger
et al. 2015: 32). Professional knowledge is constructed from repeated observation experiments and theoretical deduction (Sun 2015: 132). It is based on science which makes use of evaluation and monitoring (Hanberger 2015: 119).

Bottom-up museum management is based on local knowledge which is associated to knowledge which is useful within a specific geographical context (Hanberger et al. 2015: 32). During recent decades, different kinds of local knowledge have been highlighted within different contexts (Gajardo et al. 2015: 354). Ordinary knowledge refers in this context to common and thoughtful speculation, casual empiricism and analysis. It is responsive to local needs (Hanberger 2015: 199-120; Lehebel-Peron et al. 2016: 132). Local knowledge is associated to an insight which only is valid within the specific geographical area where it has been produced (Johnston 2000). It is contextually specific, situational (Sun 2015: 132) and transferred to the next generations. It is constructed when the local environment is observed and within the social and cultural processes which belong to the local practises. It includes mental abilities, beliefs, information and practices (Oliveira & Paleo 2016: 544). It integrates understandings of specific characteristics, circumstances, events and relationships which belong to the local area (Hanberger 2015: 119).

Indigenous knowledge denotes insights that have been formed in the interaction between people and the environment. It exists in a historic-geographic context since it has been transferred from one generation to the next generation (Verlinden & Dayof 2005).

Traditional knowledge includes four dimensions: (1) the insights about the natural environment which are important for survival, (2) the insights about resource management, i.e. techniques, tools and praxis which belong to this system (3) insights into social systems, codes, informal rules and norms and (4) the worldviews which are linked to religion, ethics and faiths (Sametinget 2010: 11-12). The traditional Sami knowledge is termed árbevirolaš mahttu, árbevirolaš diehtu och árbediehtu (Sametinget 2010:8-9).

Árbediehtu is a Sami term for the local knowledge which the Sami have constructed within daily practices. It is formed when they interacted with nature and transferred from one generation to another. It includes insights which are needed in the past and present (Sametinget 2010: 8). This local knowledge
includes insight into Sami handicraft, landscape reading and holy places for example. It refers also to insights into landscape management and sustainable living which are linked to a specific region (ibid: 11).

3.5 Summary; the theoretical framework

Within this chapter theory and previous research were presented. The purpose was to contribute with theoretical perceptive and a framework which could support results. Table 3:1 describes how theory and previous research support the analysis of data and make the conclusions more general.

Table 3:1: Descriptions of the links between theory and the analysis of data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical field</th>
<th>Connections to analysis of data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Difficult dimensions</td>
<td>The concept dark/difficult heritage works as a starting point for the analysis of dimensions. The results are compared to previous research about dark dimensions within local history museums and heritage sites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representations</td>
<td>Representations are analysed on basis of social constructivist approaches and discourse theory which are described in the next chapter. The analysis is then based on a framework which accepts that representations are social constructions which are formed within discourses. They are thus not neutral and objective descriptions but stories. Power, norms and languages form representations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approaches</td>
<td>Museum management approaches formed by Ashworth (2003:179-183) are used in order to structure the conclusions about approaches. Brings (2015:239) description about patriotic and cosmopolitan approaches are also incorporated. The results are linked to previous research about top-down and bottom-up approach.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next chapter describes social constructions, discourses, cultural relativism and ethnocentrism which also are important theories for the analysis of data but within a methodological context.
4 METHOD

“Power is in principle everywhere” (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2009: 252).

4.1 Introduction
This chapter concerns methods used in the study. The first sections revolve around the theory of science and qualitative research. Thereafter, the selection process, documentary work and analysis of data within this study are described. Finally, issues with relevance to ethics, validity and reliability are discussed.

4.2 Theory of science
Science is not stable, but a phenomenon which is moving from one paradigm to another over time. Each paradigm involves a collection of approaches, methods and theories which are acceptable and able to use. It also includes a guideline of research problems which are motivated to focus and do research upon (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2009: 20-35, 91-104; Jorgensen & Phillips 2002:1; Wallén 1996: 21). Thomas Kuhn emphasized that knowledge is about the findings colleagues at the universities accepts. These processes of acceptance occur when texts for journals are edited and when job positions are selected (Wallen 1996: 21).

This study is based on the social constructivist approach which is common within qualitative research (Bryman & Bell 2015: 392). This is a heterogeneous phenomenon within the scientific world, from the beginning based in French poststructuralist theory (Patal & Davidsson 2011: 36; Thorell 2018b: 5). This approach accepts that historical and cultural circumstances determine the knowledge of the world. This means that our understandings are shaped and maintained within social processes (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002: 5; Thorell 2018b: 5, 18).

The social constructivist theory emphasis that objects, methods, theories, reports and criteria for editing research are about human constructions. It is associated with a kind of knowledge realism which states that the true and good are due to the context, researcher and reader. This approach increases the understanding of the meanings of the objects and wrong interpretations

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7 A paradigm could also include a set of ideas, worldviews, scientific approaches and views on researchers’ roles and ethics (Wallén 1996: 21)
(Wallen 1996: 49-52). What researchers observe are thus depended on methods and traditions. Interpretations of contexts, phenomenon and theories are shaped by preunderstandings and the cultural ways of seeing (Wallén 1996: 14-15). I make use of this approach since the study is based on the idea of history as a social construction. The human being is constructing the past. We also select important parts and interpret phenomena from a specific cultural perspective.

4.3 Qualitative research

Quantitative research is interdigitated, distanced, outside, affirmative, structured, static and reliant. Qualitative research is instead interpretive, intimate, unstructured, ideographic and process oriented. The knowledge grows within a process of change and it provides a rich holistic knowledge (Bryman 1997:113).

Both quantitative and qualitative techniques have their function in the social analysis (White 2002: 519). Qualitative methods focus words rather than statistics and numbers. The research is mainly based on induction and aims at increasing the understanding of the social world. It is used when the researcher wants to achieve deeper understandings and knowledge which will be presented as images and/or texts. It is also important to use when he/she wants to capture the sense, mental images and perceptions. It contributes to knowledge about unique phenomena, but lack when it comes to building insights into the general, i.e. relevant within a broader geographical and social context (Bryman & Bell 2015:392; Thorell 2018b:19).

Alvesson & Sköldberg (2009:7) emphasis that qualitative research is starting from the perspective of the subjects who are involved in the research. It has often focused meanings which people give the external world. Critiques also highlight that qualitative research is embedded with a lack of transparency and it is difficult to replicate. It is often problematic to draw generalizations from data (Bryman & Bell 2015:413-414). I will undertake a qualitative method which is sometimes regarded as too subjective and complicated to replicate. It is associated with a lack of transparency and give rise to results which are difficult to generalize (Classroom 2016; Thorell 2018b: 19). The qualitative approach is, however, in this context beneficial since I am searching for a unique knowledge which is valid within the case study areas.
Qualitative research holds an important position since it may contribute to a deeper understanding of phenomena. It makes it possible to understand context, interpretations and human thoughts (Bryman 1997:113). Qualitative research makes it thus possible to explore subjects in a more holistic way. It is also often a cost-effective and flexible method (Idoexist 2019).

4.4 Selection
The empirical data was collected between 2017 and 2018 when I visited museums in Sápmi and Luleå. I put much attention on Ájtte museum which is the largest Sami museum in Sweden. Samegården was important to integrate since this is a local museum about the Sami culture. It is based on a bottom-up approach and established on the initiatives of local people. Norrbottens museum is the region museum of the county and Gammelstad with Hägnan museum is a World Heritage Site. The selection integrates thus a range of museums with different focus and grounds. Websites of the museums and brochures worked as a complement.

The study focused on local history museums since there are no explicit difficult Sami museums. Northern Sweden contains war museums, but they are not Sami museum. I did a non-probability sample (Social Research Methods 2019) where variation, complexity and information are in focus. I wanted to integrate museums with different kinds of size, organisation, focus and approach.

4.5 Documentary work
Documentary work is often a reflexive research process (Coles, 1997:6) which focuses on the real word. The documentary work process involves an interaction between the objective and subjective world, facts and fictions, images and texts, science and art (ibid). I made use of a documentary work because it is important with a fieldwork where the researcher visits museums (Coles 1997:6; Thorell 2018a:46; Thorell 2018b:19).

I visited each museum one time and observed the exhibitions. I read texts, analysed artefacts and watched movies. I noted facts and interpretation with
a pen and documented the most important phenomena with a camera. I visited each museum for 2-10 hours. I spent the longest time at Attje museum (1.5 day) since this is a large museum. The museums included so many dimensions that it is impossible to cover all. I have therefore described an overall interpretation of the most important dimensions for this study.

Table 4:1: Short descriptions of the museums.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ajtte Museum</td>
<td>Ajtte is a foundation with financial support from the government, Norrbottens läns landsting, Jokkmokk municipality, Svenska samernas Riksförbund and Same Ätnam.</td>
<td>Ajtte is the main museum for the Sami culture. It is also a museum for nature and culture of the mountains and an information centre for the tourists in the northern region. The museum describes the human relationship to the environment from a holistic perspective. The main tasks are to: (1) exhibit the nature and culture of the mountain region, (2) describe the Sami culture and (3) give mountain information for tourists (Ajtte museum 2019a).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samegården</td>
<td>Kiruna Sameförening (Kiruna Sami Association) with financial support from Kiruna Municipality.</td>
<td>Samegården is a local museum arranged by Sami associations. According to the website of the museum, the exhibition is focusing stories about people in the northern part of Scandinavia. It describes hunters who found land in Sápmi and how people interacted with the land. Descriptions about the everyday and spiritual life are also included. Attention is paid to how the Sami culture was developed to a modern society. In this context are reindeer production, colonization processes, threats in modern times and visions for the future highlighted (Samegården 2017).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norrbottens museum</td>
<td>Region Norrbotten</td>
<td>Norrbottens Museum is the county museum in the region. The museum conducts activities with relevance to cultural heritage preservation, archaeology, ethnology, documentation, archives, libraries, collections, art, pedagogy and exhibition. Norrbottens museum operates within the region and cooperates with the municipalities. The mission of the museum is to gather, convey and develop cultural heritages in Norrbotten. The museum works for diversity, free public conversation and knowledge of today and tomorrow (Norrbotterrns museum 2019).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hägnan museum</td>
<td>Luleå municipality</td>
<td>The museum is a cultural-historical centre in the World heritage Gammelstad. It exhibits the cultural heritage of the coastal area in Norrbotten. The museum includes buildings from the 18th to the 20th century which all together give a realistic picture of villages then (Luleå kommun 2019a).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I did a documentary work at the museums and included all exhibitions which were of relevance for this study. I focused all exhibitions within Attje museum, Samegården and Hägnan museum but I did not put much attention to the

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8 I took photos of artifices which needed reflection and text which I did not write down in the notebook.
9 The difference in time is due to museums sizes. Samegården is a very little museum with only one room while Samegården covers a much larger space.
10 E-mail conversation with Ajtte museum (190322)
11 E-mail conversation with Kiruna municipality (190321)
12 E-mail conversation with Luleå municipality (190423)
children sections. The documentary work within Norrbottens museum focused on a movie named Interruption within an exhibition about women:

“Interruptions portrays several generations of women from Swedish Sápmi. Stretching over the northern parts of Sweden, Norway, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia, Sápmi occupies an area almost the size of Sweden. The manner in which the Sámi people of Sweden have been treated since the 16th century when the Swedish state began colonising the north is a dark chapter in the country's history. Colonisation does not only affect geographic areas – fundamental characteristics of a people such as its culture, language and traditions are also dismantled and eradicated (Coopergorfer 2019)”

The movie Interruption lasts for 21:45 minutes. It is produced by Konstmuseet i Norr and Cooper & Gorfer. It is directed by Cooper & Gorfer and Conny Fridh was responsible for the filming and editing process. I watched it three times there and as many times again on the website in 2019. This movie was important for this study since it gave a rich description of the colonization process from a local perspective. I selected this movie since it was important within the museum as it gave a broad view of the Sami culture from a local perspective. To mix analysis of exhibitions and movies enrich the data.

4.6 Analysis of data

4.6.1 Discourse analysis
Research focusing on the political dimension of museum practices is often based on a kind of discourse analysis. A discourse assigns a system of meanings and the understanding of a world which have been formed within socio-historical processes (Howarth 2007; Jorgensen & Phillips 2002; Thorell 2018b: 20). The concept involves, however, numerous theoretical and scientific dimensions (Andersson 2011; Thorell 2015). Hegemony and antagonism are two vital concepts in this context. Hegemony refers to processes where a discourse wins confidence and resolution of conflicts. Antagonism is associated to open conflicts between discourses within a specific set worldview (Jørgensen & Philips 2002: 56).

The discourse analysis visible how power influences our worldviews and understandings of phenomena. Discourses are transformed and maintained within formal and informal practices. It is used in order to receive deeper insights into how humans are constructing reality. It clarifies how understandings of the world are constructed within a specific historical and cultural context (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002:12).
Discourse analysis is a method for data analysis, and a theoretical and methodological context. It is as a package which integrates different philosophical and theoretical perspectives. It is a methodological guide which provides deeper insights into languages and construction of the social reality (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002: 4). Jorgensen & Phillips (2002:2) describe when discourse analysis is a useful tool. It is a useful framework to use when a researcher wants to analyse national identities and how phenomena are understood in the society.

Michel Foucault (1926-1984) refined discourse analysis as a theoretical and empirical field. It is principal that discourses involve a collection of positions which form views and understandings. Knowledge is thus not just an observation of the reality, but also a formation of various knowledge regimes which make a difference between the false and true (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002: 12-13; Thorell 2018b:21). Foucault analysed the structure of knowledge regimes and was interested in how power and norms influenced interpretations of the true and false insights. He has developed theories about how power is forming our knowledge and describes how power is developed within different social practices. Power is productive since it constructs knowledge, discourses and realities (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002: 13).

This study makes use of discourse analysis since it is accepted that languages are patterned and structured into discourses. It is also based on the understanding that discourses with different outlines and basic assumptions are existing within a society. Discourses are transformed and maintained within ordinary and formal practices (ibid: 12). The analysis within this study focused thus not just the content but put also attention to representations, worldviews and broader understandings of the past. It is also based on the understanding that history is about social constructions. We formulate the past within discourses and therefore is power important in the construction of the difficult heritage.

4.6.2 Qualitative analysis
The data within this study are photos of phenomena and texts within museum, notes from a documentary work, websites and brochures. The analysis is based upon principles for qualitative data analyses. This means that the researcher goes through a process which involves four phases:
1. The researcher forms an overall impression of the data.
2. The researcher identifies categories, codes and concepts.
3. The researcher structures the material and identifies deeper meanings and contents within it.
4. The researcher summarizes and transforms data into descriptions which are communicated to other people (Johannesson & Tufte 2002; Thorell 2018b:22).

In practice created the student an overall of representations within museum as the documentary work was accomplished. Thereafter were notes analysed; I read the notes and structured data into themes which formed the structure of the empirical chapter. Thereafter were contents specified and data summarized. Finally, the data was described in a way which could be placed within an empirical chapter.

4.7 Ethics

Research ethics is a complex area since it is depended on value systems and doctrines. It is focal to undertake research which gives rise to positive consequences for the environment, human being and animals. It may, however, be more motivated to do research which gives rise to some negative effects when the findings are very important for the human being. Ethics should be incorporated within all stages of the research process; planning, networking, collecting data, analysing and reporting.

It is essential not to undertake research which gives rise to negative consequences for the human being, environment and animals (Kronlid 1995; Brytting 2005). Ethical research pay attention to three principles: the respect for persons, minimizing risks and support justice (CCS 2016:9). Coles (1997) describes the moral dimensions and processes of fieldwork, documentation and interpretation. An ethical dilemma within this kind of research concerns the power to represent and reproduce the reality and other people. To represent the surroundings with texts and images means making use of power.

The work reflected within this study raises several ethical questions which need to be answered:
How is the subjective world described?
During postmodernity, the great stories fell and most worldviews were regarded as social constructions. The reality became contextual and subjective. The museums had to manage complexity, diversity and several different perspectives of the preservation value (NE 2017a; Thorell 2008; Thorell 2018b). I describe museum representations as a subjective world of representation and give them therefore not a higher value than what they have in the postmodern society).

How should other communities and cultures be represented?
Cultural relativism is an approach within anthropology which emphasises that cultures should not be evaluated and understood on outsider or universal standards. Instead should every culture be known on their own terms. The term is associated to American anthropology and has often been opposed to universalism and rationalism (Vivanco 2018 Cultural relativism).

Ethnocentrism is an approach within anthropology which states that the own culture is the natural, correct, necessary and obvious one. The own cultural ways of doing things is also regarded as the correct way. Other cultures are instead appreciated as the ignorant, wrong and backward. Anthropologists criticise this approach since it is based on a narrow intellectual and moral ground. It makes it difficult to make cross-cultural understanding and holistic judgements about other cultures (Vivanco 2018 Cultural relativism).

The Sami culture should thus not be described from ethnocentrism but cultural relativism. The study does not, however, represent the Sami culture but analyse how it is represented within museum practice.

4.8 Validity and reliability
This study made us of qualitative method which are important within the following contexts: (1) increase the understanding of symbols, (2) favour interpretation within a theoretical context, (3) initiative research processes where the data is limited and fragmented (4) do research about the subjective, complex and vague external world and (5) enhance understandings of experiences, feeling and phenomena which are difficult to express in numerical forms (Wallén 1996: 73)
Validity and reliability are measures of quality within research\(^\text{13}\) (Bryman & Bell 2015: 399). These measures are determined by theory of science and kind of research. Positivism states that research should be based on empirical observation and the aim is often to describe the objective truth (Thorell 2008: 96). This research is based on social constructivism theory which emphasizes that knowledge is formed within historical and cultural contexts. How we describe the world is therefore dependent on how we interpret it (Thorell 2018b: 18).

There is an ongoing discussion about the relevance of validity and reliability within qualitative research (Bryaman & Bell 2015: 399). Qualitative and quantitative research should not be evaluated in similar ways. Qualitative research does not focus on amount and numerical terms, but contents and meanings. In this context, trustworthiness refers to confirmability, dependability, transferability and credibility (ibid: 400).

Qualitative research should be estimated from the following criteria:
- Interpretation (Whether the researcher has interpreted the meanings in an objective and truthful way)
- Quality (Whether established principles have been used)
- Affirmation (Whether the results are supported by previous research)
- Transferability - (Whether the results could be transferred to another context) (Thorell 2008:96 through Fangen 2005).

Qualitative data should thus be evaluated in another way that the quantitative and it is then important to use preferences such as whether the stories correspond to reality, the interpretations are true, the interpretations involve a high quality and whether the results are supported by theories (Fangen 2005).

Bryman & Bell (2015: 402-403) highlight how important authenticity is within qualitative research. This includes the following dimensions. (1) fairness (different kinds of viewpoints are represented), (2) ontological authenticity (whether the research give rise to an increased knowledge and understanding), (3) educative authenticity (whether the research gives better understandings of the people’s view) and (4) tactical authenticity (whether empowerment and

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\(^{13}\) Generalization is also an indicator with relevance to the quality of research but it is more important within quantitative research than qualitative (Bryman & Bell 2015: 400)
social changes occurred). This study fulfill the fairness criteria since different kinds of museums were included in this study and the ontological criteria since it supports new knowledge. It may also fulfill the educative criteria since the study gives better understandings of worldviews.

The data is consisted of notes and photos from documentary work within museums. An important question to ask in this context is whether preunderstanding, values and norms affected how the exhibitions were interpreted. I tried to encounter the data in a neutral and objective way where the real content was more important than normative expressions. Whether the researcher is able to interpret an external view in an objective way is a question which refers to epistemology. This study is based on a social constructivist approach where it is important to uncover power structures within texts.

Interpretation and generalization are important dimensions within qualitative research (Bryman 1997: 170-172). Quality in interpretations has increased as I documented exhibitions in detail with a pencil and camera. The analysis followed scientific principles of codes, categorization and concepts. The generalization of results has improved as they were linked to previous research. It is also important with awareness (Wallen 1996:94) and therefore are theory of science and qualitative methods discussed. In order to improve transparency is the research process described in detail. In addition to this are quotes used within the empirical section which make it possible to reach contact to the data.
5 RESULTS: THE DIFFICULT SAMI HERITAGE

5.1 Introduction
This chapter presents the results of the documentary work within the museums. Exhibitions within Ájtte museum in Jokkmokk, Samegården, Norrbottens museum and Hägnan museum are described since these give insights into what parts of the past which are in focus. The presentation of the exhibitions gives insight into selection and power dimension when the history was constructed. In additions to this, difficult phenomena are classified. There are different versions of the Sami history and the meanings of the bright and difficult are subjective. How history is written and how we perceive different dimensions and phenomena are depended on discourses. This chapter presents data which all together contribute to material which is crucial for discourse analysis.

5.2 Ájtte museum

5.2.1 Exhibitions
The museum includes the following exhibitions: (1) The ice is melting (Swe: Isen smälter) focusing findings in snow and ice, (2) Time passes by (Swe: Tidens gång) focusing on the history of Sápmi, (3) On the move (Swe: På väg) focusing on how people have adapted to a landscape with no roads, (4) Life of the settlers (Swe: Nybyggarna) focusing on how they started new lives in the Northern region, (5) Getting by (Swe: Att reda sig) focusing on ways of living from nomadic time to modern eras, (6) Costume and Silver (Swe: Dräkt och silver) focusing on silver, design and clothes with a character of Sami tradition, (7) Laponia focusing on a World heritage site with natural and cultural phenomena with relevance for the humanity. (8) The cold walk (Swe: Isande vandring) focusing on the white cold landscape, (9) Drum time (Swe: Trumtid) focusing on the traditional Sami religion, (9) Laponia Mania including quizzes and tests\(^\text{14}\) and (10) Laponiakollen focusing on expeditions\(^\text{15}\). Beyond the exhibition, the museum involves archives, study room and library (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

\(^{14}\) Laponia Mania invites the visitor to take part in different kind of activities. Examples of such activities are quiz and knowledge test (Ájtte museum 2017h).

\(^{15}\) Take part in people life, get deeper insights into flora and fauna and study a model of the World Heritage Site. Follow an expedition to Greenland, meet skiers from the Sami region and get insight into Axel Hamberg’s work (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).
The ice is melting (Swe: Isarna smälter)
The exhibition involves descriptions of findings in snow and ice. The exhibition describes also the global warming; the temperature on earth has been rising 1.5 degrees C during the last 20 years. The warmer climate has both positive and negative effects on the reindeer practice. Longer summer seasons may gain vegetation on the pastures and shorter periods with snow means longer grazing periods, but thin ice is dangerous for the reindeer. Some species of lichens may disappear, the forest becomes denser and the competition from other types of plants increases. If the mountain flora change in a dramatic way may it be necessary to feed the reindeer in stations where new parasites are spread (Text in the exhibition - The ice is melting).

Time passes by – (Swe: Tidens gång)

“This land seems good, maybe we can stay here”. (Text in the exhibition Time passes by).

The visitors meet some of the people who have lived in the region since the ice melted in the land. The stories include information of reindeer, hunters, fishermen and other kinds of local people who have been depended of the natural resources (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

The exhibition describes also how Sápmi evolved from the era when the people found the land to modern times. For 11,000 years ago the human being found the new land. They often followed the animals and made tools of stone: For 6,000 years ago, were moose walking in the forest and salmon swimming in the rivers. People were fishing, hunting and gathered food in the forest. For 1,000 years ago, the Sami people walked from the deepest forests to the highest mountains. They were often skiing on the snow. Trade was introduced in the region during this era. In the 17th century was a tax system introduced by the King of Sweden and the local people paid them in pelts, leather, meat and fish. In the 18th century was food imported from other countries and regions. The table became more interesting since new methods for making cheese were introduced. The settlers found the land and started farming activities in the region. Cattle were common there and a lot of house building projects were started up (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

It became important to establish a better infrastructure in Sápmi as new people moved to the region and natural resources were found there. The
railway was built in the 19th century and the men who moved to the region in order to take part in the building project were named “rallare”: they were always moving and always on their way (Doc. work Äjtte museum 170625-170626).

“Far away from the family I built the railroads. Mile after mile in the wilderness. I do not get any richer....”. (Exhibition text about the railroad builder in Lapland).

The section about forestry describes processes where this activity has become more and more intensive. Before the industrial revolution could the lumberjack cut down about 70 trees each day. With modern technique a lumberjack is able to cut down about 1000 trees each day (Doc. work Äjtte museum 170625-170626).

The section about the reindeer herders expresses the importance of paying respect to their background within development processes. The modern society should not remove old tradition or the strong connection between the Sami and the reindeer (Doc. work Äjtte museum 170625-170626).

“I want to evolve with my roots”. (Exhibition text about reindeer herders)

**On the move (Swe: På väg)**
The exhibition shows how local people always are on the way to something – for heating, water and protection. The visitor follows Kristina and Nils-Anti Pirtsi who were on a long trip in the 40s. The skis and the boat were necessary for this trip over the cold landscape. The exhibition gives also an insight into how technology such as the engine changed the distances. There is also information about how the snow was removed from the winter ways and how the railway crossed the landscape. In addition to this, animal paths over the landscape are described. Yarn and laugh pass the region and birds move to warmer places when the winter is entering the landscape (Ajtte museum 2017b).

**Life of the settlers (Swe: Nybyggarliv)**
The exhibition involves information about the life of the settlers and how their houses were built. Artefacts from their life are exhibited and these give insights into the everyday activities; hunting, farming and food production in small scales. The exhibition describes phenomena with relevance to the following themes: catching birds, winter washing, building logs, cows & milk, fishing &
gathering eggs, haymaking, picking cloudbERRies, harvesting potatoes, chopping wood and farming. It includes also information about nomads who arrived and exchanging of products started. In addition to this, facts about ice fishing, winter evenings in the cottage and crochet are included. It is also highlighted that every old artefact may include a story about human life (Doc. work Äjtte museum 170625-170626).

The people were for a long time dependent on fishing, hunting and cows that gave them milk. Within the region, it has been rather common to grow potatoes and other kinds of cultivations were uncommon there in older times. The local people involved then not only the Sami but also inhabitants from Sweden, Finland, Norway and Russia. The explicit life of the settlers disappeared in the 40s in this region (Ajtte museum 2017c).

The exhibition tells that people have lived in Lapland since the ice melted there. In the beginning, only reindeer herders, fishermen and hunters lived there but the settlers introduced farming activities. They did not have to pay taxes the first 15-20 years of their new life there, but the governmental control was strict. After a while, it was concluded that it was difficult to build effective agricultural practices in this region. The climate was a hindrance for effective food production. During the 20th century was, however, the modern technique introduced but it was not enough for a competitive agriculture (Doc. work Äjtte museum 170625-170626).

The exhibition was probably not based on a discourse where the external society and settlers were uplifted. They were perceived as settlers who cultivated the land Sami already knew much about. They were into some extent described as immigrants who had to learn about how to cultivate the land under these circumstances and handle the cold climate. They had some difficulties to create good living conditions there.

Getting by (Swe: Att reda sig)
The exhibition shows how the Sami people have handled life without larger economic resources. To survive without much money was a way of living and a creativity which belong to the local knowledge. This kind of local knowledge was very important in the past and an insight which many people in the region make use of still in modern times. It is important for the survival. Moss has been used as diapers for small children, the birch tree and reindeer material
for clothes etc. The exhibitions give signs of that the Sami were poor and had to make use of all resources they had. Leather from the reindeer was made for clothes; jackets, gloves, shoes, bags etc. The exhibition focuses on the era before the 1950s when people into a higher extent lived by only local resources, than today Ajtte museum (Ajtte museum 2017h)\textsuperscript{16}.

An exhibition of medical species and herbs gives signs of that illnesses existed. It focused on the brighter dimension of how flora was used in order to heal and cure people. The Sami lived in groups which may be a sign of hard living conditions where people needed each other or just a sign of the human nature; we are social beings. The texts within the exhibition describe how the language, stories, religion and rules gave strengths. Most Sami groups had also a dog which protected them (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

The exhibition was not primarily written from the “outsider discourse” where poor living conditions are perceived as negative. To handle life without larger economic resources was described as something innovative, wise and sustainable but how a visitor interprets exhibitions is depended on preconception and cultural views. Discourses form exhibitions and determine how we interpret and talk about them.

Costume and silver (Swe Dräkt och silver till skydd och prydnad)
Sami costumes from 1997 are shown within the exhibition. The Sami costume is designed in a similar way year after year, but some details are changing. The costume gives signs of which folk group the man/woman belongs to. It may also give signs of which area someone belongs to and whether it is a married/unmarried man/woman. Traditionally, the costume belonged to the everyday life but today it is more of a dress for special occasions (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

Silver has for a long time ago been of importance for the Sami people. The metal gave signs of richness and hope of protection. The exhibition involves different kinds of artefacts made by jewellers from the region (Ajtte museum 2017d).

The exhibition involves different kinds of dresses. On the wall are quotes about what Sami think of the dresses placed. Many of them indicate that Sami like
them. They feel proud of their roots and are therefore honoured when they are wearing the adorable clothes (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

The exhibition about artefact and silver shows what archaeologists have found in old graves. The grave in Storholmen was made for a dead man with good quality clothes who was buried on an inch next to the lake Vaijkijaur. Workers who were building a street in the 20s found the grave. For 1000 years ago, the man was buried there with a frock, belt and details made of bronze. He was prepared for the life on the other side with necklaces, arm ring in silver and an axe. All were phenomena which were needed on the other side (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

The grave next to Aravuobma is belonging to a woman who was buried there 1000 years ago. The grave is located next to a lake south of Torneträsk. Her incisors were worn. These were signs of how she had used the teeth when she made clothes to the family. She used the teeth to form the trade. The woman was buried with necklaces, buckles, chain and kettle in bronze. Next to her was also an axe made of iron and a woodstick placed. She was wrapped in birch bark (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

Laponia – mitt och världens arv (eng: Laponia – the center and world heritage) A young woman with a dog is meeting the visitor in the forest. They guide the visitor through 8000 years and four seasons. You meet people who are living there today and in the past. Archaeological findings, natural objects, and texts about the Sami culture belong to the phenomena there. You get also insights into how bark was used in food (Ajtte 2017e).

The ice cold walk (Swe: Isande vandring) Experience how cold it is in Jokkmokk in winter times. In the middle of the colder months of the year have people lived for more than 400 years. Gods made of material from the forest and mountains have been transported to other parts of the world. Meanwhile have gods from the south been imported to the region. Coffee, tobacco and flour were for a long time regarded as modern phenomena. The white winter landscape has also been an arena for marriage, meetings and shopping. Inhabitants have paid taxes and listened to authorities. They have talked about the news and bought local food. The exhibition pays also attention to the local history and the famous market in Jokkmokk (Ajtte 2017f).
Drum time (Swe: Trumtid)
The museum Ajtte in Jokkmokk includes an exhibition of the Sami religion and faith named Drum time. The Sami religion is a pre-Christian faith where no priests, books or buildings belong to the core. People believed that the spiritual world was consisted of Gods, strange animals, and dead guards who always lived next to the living people. Some places like mountains, lakes and valleys were holy. Most of these places are valued among the people also in modern times. Local people owned drums which supported them to see new dimensions of life. The exhibition involves drums for the 17th century, a reproduction of a place for sacrifice and a unique “nåjdbälte” (Ajtte museum 2017g).

The exhibition describes that it was common to sacrifice things within the traditional Sami lifestyle. Special places for such ceremonies have been found next to mountains, lakes and paths. Some are visible also today. People sacrificed phenomena as they prayed for a milder winter, better weather and growing preconditions etc. They also did this as a hope of getting many claves next season as well as enhanced hunting and fishing (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

It was not a seldom phenomenon to sacrifice reindeer. Wire in the ear gave signs of the God this animal belonged to. The dead animal was then slaughtered and eaten for a special meal. According to their beliefs, the meal was shared with God. Meanwhile, happiness and reverence were expressed within the jojk. Afterwards, a stone block was marked with the blood of the animal (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

According to this exhibition, it was also common to give gifts to the Gods. The Sami landscape is full of holy places for the local people. These places are sometimes a secret; you do not tell anyone where they are located. The Sami people have some places inside themselves. However, at least 500 holy places have been found within Sápmi. Phenomena which have been left there are for example tree, bones, horns, pieces of jewellery, coins and pearls. All these phenomena belong to the era around 1,000 DC (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

The Noaid had deep knowledge of the religious world. He was called by his forefathers and was permitted by the “sitan”. He wanted to support people in
times of crises and he their bore anxiety on his shoulders. He was responsible for a lot of tasks. Myths, traditions and healing were important, and every man held his own unique capacities (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

Belt, knife, axe, scissors and drum he used to get help and answers to his questions. The drum gave power and entered a stage of trance when he played magical tunes. He was able to use his knowledge in order to support good and bad phenomena (Text within the exhibition Trumtid, Ajjte museum, Jokkmokk 2017).

There is a doll of Latjttak within the exhibition which according to the stories is a dangerous and bad essence of the world. She takes the life of the human being and stories after stories talk about her (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

5.2.2 Difficult dimensions

Table 5:1 shows difficult dimensions within the exhibitions Getting by (Swe: Att reda sig). The first dimensions refer to illnesses among the Sami before the medical revolution. Exhibition of medical species and herbs give signs of illnesses in the past. Little attention is, however, paid to how these hurt people with pain and made them weak. It focused on the brighter dimension of how flora was used in order to heal and cure people. The second dimension includes descriptions of the poor living conditions among Sami. The exhibitions give signs that the Sami were poor and made use of all resources they had. Leather from the reindeer was for one example made for clothes; jackets, gloves, shoes and bags. The third dimension includes descriptions of the unsafe environment in Sapmi. People needed each other; language, stories, religion and rules gave them strengths. Most Sami groups had also a dog which protected them (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Explanation/analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Illnesses among the Sami before the medical revolution</td>
<td>An exhibition of medical species and herbs give signs of that illnesses existed. Little attention is paid to how these illnesses hurt people with pain and made them weak. It focused on the brighter dimension of how flora was used in order to heal and cure people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living conditions</td>
<td>The Sami people were poor</td>
<td>The exhibitions give signs that the Sami were poor and had to make use of all resources they had. Leather from</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The reindeer was made for clothes; jackets, gloves, shoes and bags. The Sami lived in groups which may be a sign of hard living conditions where people needed each other or just a sign of human nature; we are social beings. The text within the exhibition describes that the language, stories, religion and rules gave strengths. Most Sami groups had also a dog which protected them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Explanation/analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living conditions</td>
<td>Unsafe environment</td>
<td>The Sami lived in groups which may be a sign of hard living conditions where people needed each other or just a sign of human nature; we are social beings. The text within the exhibition describes that the language, stories, religion and rules gave strengths. Most Sami groups had also a dog which protected them.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5:2 shows difficult dimension within the exhibition Life of the settlers (Swe: Nybyggarliv). The first dimension includes descriptions of how hard house holding was in the cold climate. Women put the clothes in boiling water at home and then the children took them to the ice. They rinsed the clothes in the cold water while their fingers became cold and freezing. The second dimension refers to hard work. Settlers without a horse had to draw the wood home themselves (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

Table 5:2. Difficult dimension within the exhibition Life of the settler (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Explanation/analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living conditions</td>
<td>House holding in cold climate</td>
<td>Women put the clothes in boiling water at home and then the children took them to the ice. They rinsed the clothes in the cold water while their fingers became cold and freezing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living conditions</td>
<td>Hard work</td>
<td>Settlers without a horse had to draw the wood home themselves.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5:3 shows difficult phenomena within the exhibition Custom and Silver (Swe: Dräkt and silver). The first phenomenon refers to artefacts in a grave at Storholmen. A man was buried there 1,000 years ago. He was buried with a frock, belt and details made of bronze and prepared for the life on the other side with necklaces, arm ring in silver and an axe. The second phenomenon refers to artefacts in a grave at Aravuobma. The grave is belonging to a woman who was buried there 1,000 years ago. The grave is located next to a lake south of Torneträsk and the woman was buried with necklaces, buckles, chains and kettles in bronze. Next to her was also an axe made of iron and a woodstick placed. She was wrapped in birch bark (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).

Tabel 5:3. Difficult phenomena within the exhibition Custom and Silver (Swe: Dräkt and silver) (Doc. work Ájtte museum 170625-170626).
### Table 5.4: Difficult phenomena and dimensions within Drum time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Dimension/Phenomena</th>
<th>Explanation/analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living condition</td>
<td>Cold climate</td>
<td>People prayed for milder winters; a sign of that they were hard to handle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artefacts</td>
<td>Lost drums to external organisations.</td>
<td>This exhibition put light on how the Sami people lost phenomena to the external world. As one example there is a description of how that groups now are searching for the drums. They should be where they belong to.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3 Samegården in Kiruna

5.3.1 Exhibitions

The exhibition is structured around the following themes: (1) Sápmi – our mother, (2) the everyday life, (3) the winterland, (4) hunter and fisher, (5) Siidan- the Sami community, (6) reindeer – the Sami lifestyle and (7) their needs have no limit. There is also a longer description of the Noaidi (Doc. work Samegården 170628).

Sápmi- our mother

Our history is interesting and enigmatic. When the ice just had melted (10,000 years ago) was the land full of grazing animals, fish, herbs and berries. The human being followed the melting process. They settled down in small groups where the ice had melted, often next to the coast. The groups included often not more than 20-30 people. They moved from place to place and followed the seasons (Doc. work Samegården 170628).

The first signs of the Sami population are 2,000-3,000 years old. Then started the development of a new language, a stronger social network, traditions and community associations (Doc. work Samegården 170628).

The last wilderness for tourists is an old cultural landscape for the Sami people. “Our ancestors have left their traces along the whole of the Swedish mountain ranges. Traces which one of them, tell us a lot about the Sami history” (photo of museum text “Cultural landscape). The text describes also how Sami people sacrificed phenomena in the landscape (for example Ravttasjavri 40 kilometres west of Kiruna). These holy places include metal object like coins, arrow points, charms, chains, buckles and beads (Photo of the exhibition text: Cultural Landscape).

This exhibition is written from the local Sami discourse there the northern land is termed as a mother. It is also mentioned that the external society names their old cultural landscape for wilderness. The information about the very old history may, however, be based on the professional archaeological or historical discourse.
**Everyday life**
This exhibition involves few texts but focuses on phenomena and artefact which are belonging to Sami people. There are artefacts made of tree and leather from the reindeer. Examples of such things are: figures made of tree, bags, porcelain, bucket, sledge, horn and knives (Doc. work Samegården 170628.)

**The winter land**
The lives of the people have always been adapted to the extreme weather condition; from the coldest winter to the sunniest summer. The reindeer move from one grazing area to another. They are in the mountains during the summer season and in the lower forest areas during the colder seasons. The Sami culture has been formed by the habit reindeer have; they have followed the animals in their rhythm and moving pattern. This gave rise to a mobile lifestyle. The culture has, however, developed in different ways. Therefore, the Sami culture is not a homogeneous phenomenon but something which change contours from place to place. The cultural pattern that has been developed followed the ecology of the land and natural preconditions. The Sami culture in the forested land has been characterized by not that mobile lifestyle. Next to larger lakes and on the Norwegian coast have the Sami settled down. These people have not moved from place to place in the same way as the nomads did (Doc. work Samegården 170628).

**Hunter and fisher**
The Sami have been hunters and the exhibition shows catching pits. This exhibition shows a Sami man on skis. A fishing net was also placed in the exhibition (Doc. work Samegården 170628).

Hunting groups were a simple arrangement for elk and wild reindeer hunting. About 100 hunting groups are documented in the Swedish Sàpmi. They were often placed where the animals walked. The group was covered by snow, twigs and moss. Most of them are 1000-2000 years old and the method has been used since medieval times. The last wild reindeer was shot in the 19th century (Photo of the text Hunting groups).

**Siidan- the Sami community**
This exhibition shows a model over a Sami community. It is also expressed that Siida is a pre-community that existed before the Sami villages were
established. These pre communities were early characterized by a democracy system (Doc. work Samegården 170628).

A text box describes that the Siida is “a social and economic community” and “a well developed kind of democracy adapted to the need of the hunting society”. The information describes also how social networks were built:

"The social network of the early trapping society was built around small groups of families who lived and stayed together. In course of time new needs appeared when the population of Sápmi grew, and there were higher demands on international organization and distribution of resources such as hunting grounds and fishing water." (Text within the information box The Siida).

The text describes that siida is an economic and social community:

“The social network of the early trapping society was built around small groups of families who lived and stayed together. In course of time new needs appeared when the population of Sápmi grew, and there were higher demands on international organization and distribution of resources such as hunting grounds and fishing water.” (photo of museum text "The Siida").

Siida is thus a Sami village and a democratic system. Groups came namely together in order to solve problems there. Hunting grounds and fishing water were distributed there. The siida included also a court. In the summer they were in the mountains but met again in the siida when the winter season was entering (Photo of exhibition text - Siida)

Reindeer – the Sami lifestyle
This section describes how important the reindeer are for the Sami. It is their basic income. Hunting techniques were already developed in the 9th century (Swe: 800-talet). At this stage, the reindeer were also used as pack animals. The amount of wild reindeer decreased in the 15th century. The nomad life was developed and the hunting society disappeared to some extent. Sami villages were established. This exhibition shows different kinds of equipment which are used for reindeer care and hunting (Doc. work Samegården 170628).

“As long as we have water where fish live. As long as we have land where the reindeer graze and wander. As long as we have lands where the wild animals can hide we have comfort on this earth” (P. Utsi)

The text describes that old written texts tell us how the Sami developed hunting techniques on wild reindeer. These involve processes where domestic reindeer are used as a lure. This occurred from the 9th century. The reindeer has been important for many reasons. It has not only been an animal which
provided the Sami with food and material from handicraft. It has also been important as a pack animal (photo of the exhibition – We know).

The context and preconditions for reindeer management have changed. Intensified hunting, increased demand on fur and higher taxes gave rise to new livelihood strategies (photo of the exhibition – We know).

The supply of reindeer decreased in the 16th century. Thereafter domestic management and nomadism occurred. Reindeer nomadism was common after that age (photo of the exhibition – We know).

Their needs have no limit

On the wall, there is a chainsaw which is splitting Sápmi. The texts include facts about Axel Oxenstierna who saw the land in the north as an unfailing raw material source. They write that ‘Big Sweden’ probably took the offensive against the northern region seriously. Mines were opened and lands were cultivated. Colonized. Civilized. Built. People were forced to move, and the regions went through colonization, civilisation and building processes. The results of the Swedish colonialism are visible also in present times (Doc. work Samegården 170628).

The colonialists understood how to make use of the natural resources in Sápmi; water, mineral, forest etc. The results are open wounds which were visible for a long time. They are signs in the nature of the consequences of the welfare building project. The desires and needs of the industrial society had almost no limit (Doc. work Samegården 170628).

“In the North, within our own boundaries we have our own India, if only we understand how to use it”. This quote refers to Axel Oxenstierna (president of the court of Appeal Division and Chancellor of Sweden). He may have expressed this in the 17th century, i.e. during the Swedish Era of Greatness. He knew Gustav II Adolf well and regarded the Northern land as an unfailing raw material source. He was positive towards the colonialist policies (Doc. work Samegården 170628).

Processes of colonization, civilisation and overuse occurred. Today we notice the results of the colonization politics. These refer to wounds and overuses. Sami is impoverished and used. Years after years of ruthless exploration. The
colonists understood how to use the forest, water and mineral. Dimensions of the colonization process which are described within the museums are:

“Mine after mine was opened.
The land was cultivated.
Buildings were placed on the land.
People moved.
Wounds are visible in the nature” (museum text)

Sami people have thus experienced the negative effects of industrialisation and establishment of the welfare state (Photo of the exhibition- Their needs have no limit).

The information box ends with a quote written by the Sami poet Paulus Utsi:

“In my ancestors, I see a tough but lacerated generation. Let’s look around. We suffer harsh deeds, strangers violate us. Their needs have no limit…” (ibid.)

The museum text is written from an “insider discourse” where the Sami view of the occupation is in focus. From this view were the colonialist the people who occupied lands with power and authority. They were also portrayed as people with no limit and they are therefore responsible for wounds among Sami and on the land. The descriptions are thus rather local and authentic than politically correct.

The Noaid (Swe: Nåjden) – the spiritual leader
The Sami pre-Christian faith represents their relationship to nature, animals and weather. The faith acted as a part of the social order. The Noaidi was a Sami medicine man. He had also important social and religious functions. He was able to link the spiritual world with this world. In the everyday life he lived a simple life. He was called when Sami needed special support; when they were hungry, ill or needed better health. The position as Noadi was transferred from one relative to another. It was not possible for everyone to become a Naoide, but special psychological capacities were needed. In modern time, the traditional Sami religion was forbidden by the overall society (photo of the exhibition- pre-Christian religion).

Kings and representants for the church have done efforts in order to transform Sami to Christians. Sami who did not follow the faith have experienced sanctions (photo of the exhibition – pre-Christian religion).

In the 17th century was Lars Nilsson from Arjeplog killed to death since he believed in “idols”. In spring 1693 he was forced to the executions

60
“galgbacken” in Arjeplog. First his tree Gods were burned and thereafter he had to go a similar way (Photo of the exhibition – pre-Christian religion).

5.3.2 Difficult phenomena and dimensions

It is mainly the exhibition “Their needs have no limit” which focuses on difficult phenomena. On the wall is a chainsaw placed on a map of Sápmi. The government was initiating colonization processes where the northern land was regarded as a resource for development. Mines were opened and closed. Lands were cultivated and utilized by the settlers. Houses were built from place to place and people were moving (Doc. work Samegården 170628).

Today we know the results of the colonization processes. According to the exhibition was Sápmi used and consumed. The external society has continued to make use of minerals, water forest and other kinds of natural resources in the area. Sámpi involves many open wounds of the colonization processes. They are long lasting wounds of the welfare building processes in Sweden. The wounds of the needs within the industrialized society are visible in nature still today.

“In my ancestors, I see a sickly, broken family.
Let’s look around.
We endure gross deeds, strangers violate us.
Their needs have no limit” (Google translation of exhibition text)

Table 5:5 shows the difficult dimensions within Samegården. All of them refer to the colonization process. The first dimension refers to the external society’s representation of Sápmi; the northern land was regarded as a resource for development. The second dimension refers to how the natural resources were used; the government continued to make use of minerals, water forest and other kinds of natural resources in the area. The third describes how lands were occupied and the fourth the wounds of the colonization process (Doc. work Samegården 170628).

Table 5:5. Difficult dimensions within Samegården (Doc. work Samegården 170628).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Explanation/Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colonization</td>
<td>The external society’s view of Sápmi.</td>
<td>The government initiated colonization processes where the northern land was regarded as a resource for development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonization</td>
<td>Natural resources</td>
<td>Mines were opened and closed. The external society has continued to make use of minerals, water forest and other kinds of natural resources in the area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonization</td>
<td>Lands were occupied</td>
<td>Lands were cultivated by the settlers. Houses were built from place to place and people had to move.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Colonization Wounds Sámpi involves many open wounds of the colonization processes. They are long lasting wounds of the welfare building processes in Sweden. The wounds of the needs within the industrialized society are visible in nature.

5.4 Norrbottens museum– an analysis of a movie

5.4.1 Difficult dimensions and phenomena within the exhibitions
Norrbottens museum contains many kinds of museums under one single roof. It is a local history museum, art museum and photo museum with modern exhibitions and video rooms. The museum touches upon difficult dimensions with relevance to the cold climate, conflicts (among people and about natural resources) and excesses. The museum revolves also around representations of cultures, the biography of the mountains and how the Sami are divided into reindeer managers and not reindeer managers. The colonization processes took many values from the Sami people and important places have disappeared.

The local people have experienced governmental abuse in different forms. Attention is paid to the colonization process when all Sami people had to go to the public schools. These schools constructed the Sami people to Swedish citizens. They had to read Swedish book and were not allowed to read Sami books. They had to learn worldviews which gave the overall society a higher status than the Sami. These made also the Sami people to something different. The museum gives also an insight into risks within the environment and how a bear attacked the human being. It tells also about the uniquely human relationship to animals and how a Sami man could make an agreement to the bear. He looked into the bear’s eyes and made a promise: I will not touch you, ever, if you leave me now. The museum explains also that Swedish citizens know too little about the Sami culture. It highlights that the history book pupils are reading in the schools includes limited facts about the Sami history (Doc. work Norrbottens museum 180822).

The analysis of difficult dimensions within the museum focused on movies within the museum which the next section emphases.

5.4.2 Interruption
Norrbottens museum includes a movie with a bottom-up perspective. The Sami are important actors within this movie and local perspectives are in
focus. The colonization process is described from an insider perspective. How colonization processes were threatening and hurting Sami are also explained (Doc. work Norrbottens museum 180822).

“The vulnerability is due to the fact that the Sami culture has been exposed to abuse.” (Interruption 190430 5:04)

The movie Interruption gives a brilliant view of local perspectives of the Sami people and it expresses how misunderstood the Sami are. The movie describes the Sami culture as a plait with many straws where every single unit represents a thought and an idea. It is thus a complex and mixed culture with many nuances.

It is important to create a society which is based on positive values. It expresses the unique relationship the Sami people hold to the environment and animals. They have learned to live a sustainable life in agreement to the nature and make invisible contracts with animals. They know that they only borrow the nature and have to leave it back again in a similar condition.

“The nature is very important within the Sami culture. That it exists.” (Interruption 190430 15:30)

They have been led by an inner compass and it is important that the Sami find this again. It is necessary to look at the past in order to find the right position again. Already as child, they were taught to pay respect to the older people and they were not allowed to pick berries close to the villages (Interruption).

When I as young man and not allowed to pick berries near the villages. They should be saved to the old Sami who were not able to walk so far (Interruption 190430 16:40).

It touches upon the negative effects of colonization and how the access to land has changed. The colonization processes have broken places, times and identities. Local people talk about places and how these are transferring knowledge. They are asking how they could be able to transfer knowledge to their children when these disappear (Interruption).

\[\text{17 Original text: "Utsattheten beror på att den samiska kulturen varit utsatt för övergrepp."}
\]

\[\text{18 Original text: "I den samiska kulturen är naturen jätteviktig. Att den finns."}
\]

\[\text{19 När jag som ung inte fick plocka båren närmast husen. De skulle sparas till de äldre som inte orkade gå så långt.}
\]
The movie is thus based on a Sami discourse, but this conclusion is not entirely clear. One question refers to whether the people who are included in the film speak within the traditional Sami discourse or if they are shaped by the external society’s descriptions of their history and life.

Table 5:6 shows difficult dimensions within the movie Interruption. The first dimension refers to representations of Sampi and how the overall society constructed an oppressive view of Sapmi. Worldviews of Sápmi and the local people are construction within processes where knowledge often is lacking. It was considered as something negative to be different from the overall cultural groups in Sweden. A few Sami have also formed a base for constructing a view of the Sami people.

“Many times when they portrayed the Sami one single person represented the entire population” (Interruption 190430 3:50)

The second dimension describes how local people have been treated within decision-making processes. The third dimension refers to clashes due to lack of knowledge. The Sami have not been understood and conflicts existed between different actors and organisations within the Nordic region. Unnecessary conflicts are raised as citizens from the external society have a lack of insights into the Sami culture. They are often more aware of the indigenous people in the USA than in Sweden.

“Swedes actually know more about the American indigenous people” (Interruption 190430 14:40)

The fourth dimension describes wounds from the colonization processes. The wounds were raised when the government forbid Sami to read texts in their local language. They are afraid of meeting new processes where their values in life disappear. They fear that they will lose lands and are vulnerable since they have experienced many traumas in the past. Have we not gotten enough of traumas now? Have we not experienced too many traumas now which have to be healed? These are two of the questions which are asked within the movie.

---

20 Många gånger när man porträtterat samer har man låtit en person representera hela befolkningen.
21 ”Svenskar vet faktiskt mer om det amerikanska urfolket”
"Have we not experienced enough of inherited wounds to heal? Open wounds of oppression from a time when we were stolen on everything that was important for living. And new laws created fragmentation and reduced pride among people"\(^{22}\) (Interruption 190430 17:30)

The fifth dimension refers to equality and highlight that Sami always paid respect to both women and men. In modern times was Sami expected to adopt the family structure within the overall society where women were oppressed. The sixth dimension describes hard living conditions within the cold climate (Interruption).

Table 5:6. Dark dimensions within the movie Interruption.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Explanation/description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colonization</td>
<td>Oppressive view</td>
<td>Representations of the Sami culture is constructed outside the local community. These are made by citizens who don’t have enough knowledge about the Sami people. To be different from the overall cultural groups in Sweden appeared as something negative. When local people are heard may one man or women represent a whole cultural group. A representation may, however, be false in about 10 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonization</td>
<td>Decision processes</td>
<td>Sami have not had enough power within decision-making processes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonization</td>
<td>Clashes due to lack of knowledge</td>
<td>The Sami are not understood. Conflicts exist between different actors and organisations within the Nordic region. Unnecessary conflicts are raised as citizens from the external society have a lack of insight into the Sami culture. They are often more aware of the indigenous people in the USA than in Sweden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonization</td>
<td>Wounds from oppression</td>
<td>Excesses have occurred both on individual and group levels. The Sami people were not allowed to read texts in their local language. The Sami have now reached a high level of wounds and are still afraid that everything they value will disappear. Sami have to handle many traumas during life. They fear that they lose lands. They are vulnerable since they have experienced many traumas. Have we not gotten enough of traumas now? Have we not experienced too many traumas now which have to be healed? These are two of the questions which are asked within the movie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonization</td>
<td>Women’s rights</td>
<td>The Sami have always paid respect to both women and men. Women were, however, often oppressed within the external society and settlers. Married women had to follow their husband strictly. In modern time the Sami woman was expected to have a similar position as within the culture of the settlers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living conditions</td>
<td>Climate</td>
<td>The cold climate is hurting.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The movie describes also conflicts on different levels but emphasis while it is human to hold different opinions.

\(^{22}\) Har vi inte fått nog av ärvda sår vi måste hela? Öppna sår av förtryck från en tid då vi blev stulna på allt som var viktigt för att leva. Och nya lagar skapade splittring och minskad stolthet bland folk.
5.5 Gammelstaden: Hägnan museum

Gammelstad’s church town is today the world's largest and best-preserved church town with more than 400 church cottages grouped around Norrland’s largest medieval stone church. In 1996, UNESCO listed Gammelstad’s church town as a world heritage sites (Luleå kommun 2019b).

“The World Heritage site comprises the historically valuable buildings, a total of 520 protected buildings, roads, archaeological ground and the centuries-old practice of staying overnight during weekends in the church cottages. Below are the characteristics that give the world heritage site its outstanding universal value.” (Luleå kommun 2019c)

The unique environment is consisted of the stone church from the 15th century and a surrounding with church cottage, a medieval street network and 424 buildings. From the 14th century, Gammelstad was a marketplace and the center of a parish. At the beginning of the 17th century, the town developed into a church town and gained trade privileges then. The church cottages were used until the 1950s. Today, it is a living society where the cottages are used in connection with the confirmation ceremony at Midsummer (RAÄ 2019).

UNESCO’s motivation:

“Gammelstad Church Town is an outstanding example of a traditional church town of northern Scandinavia. It illustrates in an outstanding way the adaptation of traditional town planning to the special geographic and climatic conditions prevailing in a difficult natural environment.” (Luleå kommun 2019d)

The museum Hägnan is a cultural-historical centre in the world heritage Gammelstad. It exhibits the cultural heritage of the coastal area in Norrbotten. The museum includes buildings from the 18th to the 20th century that give a realistic picture of villages then (Luleå kommun 2019a).

This museum includes few descriptions of the Sami people. Therefore, refer the dark dimensions into a high extent to the settler. The first dimension describes risks within the environment and how local people feared attacks from Russia/SSSR. The second dimension includes a description of the poor and crowded living conditions. The third dimension refers to demanding house building processes. Troubles which refer to the cold climate and social classes were also described (Doc. work Hägnan 180821).
Table 5:7: Difficult dimension within Hägnan museum (Doc. work Hägnan 180821).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Description/explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living conditions</td>
<td>Risks within the environment</td>
<td>People were afraid of military actions from Russia/SSSR. Fire risks. Burglary occurred.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living conditions</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Crowded within houses. Crowding environments in the village. All had not enough money for a horse which could support agricultural practices. Lack of raw materials during the Second World War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living conditions</td>
<td>Hard work</td>
<td>Demanding house building processes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living conditions</td>
<td>Cold climate</td>
<td>A lot of wood was needed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living conditions</td>
<td>Social classes</td>
<td>The social status differed between people living in red and yellow houses.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hägnan museum is not into a high extent based on the traditional Sami discourse. This museum focuses on the life of the settler from their discourses and perspectives.
6. ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction
The scientific literature identifies different kinds of museums: art museums, music museums, sports museums, war museums, science museums, industrial museums, stamp/coin/postcard museums and local history museums (Boyd & Thimothy 2003: 23-24). This study focused on local history museums which were not specific dark or difficult heritage museums. This chapter answers the research questions (which were presented at the beginning of the essay) on the basis of the data. The results are also discussed in glare of previous research and theory.

6.2 Phenomena and dimensions of the difficult past in Sapmi

6.2.1 The three categories
The difficult phenomena and dimensions within the museums were structured in three groups: living conditions, dark artefacts and colonization. The group living condition refers to poor people, risks, cold climate, hard work, illnesses and social classes. Dark artefacts refer to very old graves and drums which have been lost to the external society. Colonization refers to representations of Sápmi, use of lands and resources, wounds, lack of local participation within decision-making processes, conflicts and women rights.

Living conditions

The Sami people were poor
The exhibitions give signs poor Sami people who had to make use of all resources they had access to. Leather from the reindeer was made for clothes such as jackets, gloves, shoes and bags (Ájtte – Geeting by). The exhibition tells also about how crowded it was within the houses and village. All had not enough money for a horse which could support agricultural practices which gave rise to hard working conditions. Lack of raw materials during the 2 World war was also highlighted (Hågnan).

Risks in the environment
The Sami lived in groups which may be a sign of hard living conditions where people needed each other or just a sign of the human nature; we are social beings. The text within the exhibition describes how the language, stories, religion and rules gave strengths. Most Sami groups had also a dog which
protected them (Äjtte– Getting by). Inhabitants in Luleå were afraid of military actions from Russia/SSSR. The museum Hägnan expresses also how fire and burglaries occurred (Hägnan).

**Householding in cold climate**
Women put the clothes in boiling water at home and then the children took them to the ice. They rinsed the clothes in the cold water while their fingers became cold and freezing (Äjtte – Life of the settlers). People prayed for milder winters which may indicate that they were hard to handle (Äjtte – Drum time). The cold climate was hurting (Interruption). The museum Hägnan expressed that a lot of wood was needed in the cold climate (Hägnan).

**Hard work**
Two of the museums highlight hard working conditions among the settlers. Those settlers who did not own a horse had to draw the wood home themselves (Äjtte – Life of the settlers). Hägnan museum describes the demanding house building processes where the village was built (Hägnan).

**Illnesses**
An exhibition of medical species and herbs give signs of that illnesses existed. Little attention is, however, paid to how these illnesses hurt people with pain and made them weak. It focused the brighter dimension of how flora was used in order to heal and cure people (Äjtte - Getting by).

**Social classes**
Hägnan museum was the only one which in a distinct way described difficult dimensions with relevance to social classes. It was described that the social status differed between people living in red and yellow houses (Hägnan).

**Dark artefacts**

**A grave at Storholmen**
The grave at Storholmen was made for a dead man with good quality clothes who was buried on an inch next to the lake Vaijkijaur. Workers who were building a street in the 20s found the grave. The man was buried there 1,000 years ago. He was buried with a frock, belt and details made of bronze. He was prepared for the life on the other side with necklaces, arm ring in silver and
an axe. All were phenomena which were needed on the other side (Åjtte - Costume and Silver).

**A grave next to Aravuobma**
The grave next to Aravuobma is belonging to a woman who was buried there 1,000 years ago. The grave is located next to a lake south of Torneträsk. Her incisors were worn. These were signs of how she had used the teeth when sewing clothes to the family. She used the teeth to form the trade. The woman was buried with necklaces, buckles, chains and kettles in bronze. Next to her was also an axe made of iron and a woodstick placed. She was wrapped in birch bark (Åjtte - Costume and Silver).

**Drums**
An exhibition within Ajtte museum put light on how the Sami lost phenomena to the external world. As one example there is a description of how local people now are searching for the drums. They should be where they belong to according to the text (Åjtte – Drum time).

**Colonization processes**

**Representations of Sapmi**
The government was initiating colonization processes where the northern land was regarded as a resource for development (Samegården). Representations of the Sami culture is constructed outside the local community. These are made by citizens who don’t have enough knowledge about the Sami culture and history. To be different from the overall cultural groups in Sweden appeared as something negative. When local people are heard may one man or women represent a whole cultural group. A representation may, however, be false in about 10 years (Interruption).

**Lands and natural resources were used**
One dimension of the colonization process refers to landscape use. Lands were cultivated by the settlers. Houses were built from place to place and people had to move. In additions to this, mines were opened and closed. The external society has continued to make use of minerals, water forest and other kinds of natural resources in the area (Samegården).
**Wounds**
Sámi involves many open wounds of the colonization processes. They are long lasting wounds of the welfare building processes in Sweden. The wounds of the needs within the industrialized society are visible in nature (Samegården) and within the culture (the Sami were for example not allowed to read texts in their local language). Excesses have occurred both on individual and group levels. The Sami people have now reached a high level of wounds and are still afraid that everything they value will disappear. Sami have to handle many traumas during life. They fear that they will lose lands. They are vulnerable since they have experienced many traumas. Have we not suffered from enough of traumas now? Have we not experienced too many traumas now which have to be healed? These are two of the questions which are asked within the movie Interruption (Interruption).

**Decision processes**
The movie Interruption which was able to watch within Norrbottens museum describes lack of transparency within political decision-making processes. Sami people have not had enough power within these decision making processes, but have experienced how local actors were neglected (Interruption).

**Clashes**
The Sami were not understood and are not always understood. Conflicts exist between different actors and organisations within the Nordic region. Unnecessary conflicts are raised as citizens from the external society have a lack of insights into the Sami culture. They are often more aware of the indigenous people in the USA than in Sweden (Interruption).

**Women’s right**
The Sami have always paid respect to both women and men. Women were, however, often oppressed within the external society and settlers. The married women had to follow their husband strictly. In modern time, the Sami women were expected to have a similar position as within the culture of the settlers. This did not gain equality (Interruption).
6.2.2 Theoretical discussion

Different focus within the museums
The difficult heritage differed between the museums. Samegården and the movie Interruption at Norrbottens museum focused into a high extent difficult dimensions with relevance to the colonization process. Hägnan museum highlighted instead difficult dimensions which refer to bad living conditions among the settlers. Ajtte museum integrated difficult dimensions which describe bad living conditions and difficult phenomena from previous times.

Museums and movies with a clear bottom-up perspective highlighted difficult dimensions with relevance to the colonization process into a higher extent than other museums. Samegården and the movie Interruption expressed thus wounds around the colonization process in a more distinct way than the other museums.

A case study in Västra Götaland indicates that museums describe different kinds of dark dimensions which refers to unequal treatment of people, death, crimes, sanitary problems, war, conflicts, epidemics and hard living conditions (Thorell 2018b: 40). The dark is, however, something different within the Sami context. This study indicates that many dimensions are the same such as the focus on bad living conditions, death, conflicts, illnesses and dark artefacts. The dark heritage in Sampi includes also wounds from the colonization process. A distinguishing characteristic of the dark Sami heritage refers thus to memories from the colonization processes. Different worldviews between insiders and outsiders raise questions about representations of the dark.

Time and distance
Time does not only change how phenomena in the past are emphasised. It also affects whether something is forgotten or rewritten (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008: 504-505). One conclusion from this study is that the difficult is difficult as long as wounds are not healed. Very old dark phenomena are not that difficult since the wounds have healed. Old graves are for example not that difficult since time separates us from that death. The colonization process was difficult since people still have memories and live within the effects of it.

Time is changing meanings and significances. The story passes countries, cultures and societies. It is filtered within different kinds of worldviews and
discourses. Who is filtering the Sami history? How was the Sami story rewritten as time flew by? This study shows that public museums into a high extent make use of a scientific approach which focuses on neutral and objective descriptions of the past. The approach is also based on facts which have been proved and hypotheses which have been verified. It could, however, be identified that exhibitions/movies arranged by local Sami associations describe the past in another way than museums arranged by public organisations. Local Sami associations include a more forceful approach and use museum practice as a kind of action; through information may changes which gain local actors occur.

The past is written in an even more neutral and politically acceptable way of public museums than those arranged by local associations. Texts within the public museums are written without too many subjective values and feelings there. Texts within Samegården were instead, to some extent, based on normative values and argumentations. This museum gives thus, in some ways, a broader view of colonization processes where any kind of wound is not hidden.

Both psychological and physical distances have effects on the human connection to the difficult heritage (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008: 507). Distance gives rise to different understandings of the past, especially among insiders and outsider. Sami live within the area and have therefore another distance than actors from other parts of the world. Samegården is constructed by Sami with a close connection to Sápmi. The exhibition integrates local knowledge and dimensions which are of importance for people who live there. Short distances gain museum practice in many ways.

6.3 Representations of the difficult Sami heritage

From an analytical perspective, the concept dark heritage could be problematic since it refers to a schedule of dichotomies. Dark and light, bad and good, complicated and uncomplicated, are presented as contrasts (Worldpress 2019).

Is anything just dark? Is anything just light? The answers could be no since almost everything is embedded in many dimensions. The colonization process damaged Sápmi in many ways but contributed some with working positions and welfare.
The Sami heritage is rather difficult, but it is important to ask the following questions: What is difficult? Are the phenomena people from the external society define as dark also dark for the Sami? I reflected upon these questions when I did my fieldwork in Gällivare. In this town, the Swedish church had a café named Laphārbārget. The term expresses how the church had to take care of Sami after the colonization process. It was, however, the external society which then defined Sami as different, poor and less developed. It is not obvious that Sami needed a “hārbārge” (hospice) since they hold local knowledge which makes it possible to survive outside the industrialized society.

Many dimensions within the Sami culture have appeared as difficult from a colonialist perspective. The overall society has often defined dimensions which stay in contrast to their society as something difficult. It has been dark to not be included in the economic development, to live under poor living conditions, to believe in “phenomena” on the other side and so on. But it is not obvious that these dimensions are difficult from a local perspective. These could instead be values which Sami wanted to preserve. To live outside the transformation processes is an important dimension of the Sami culture and they have not been poor until the overall society classified people on the basis of their income.

Other cultures could be represented from a cultural relativism and/or ethnocentrism approach (Vivanco 2018). The documentary work shows how the perceptions of Sápmi have changed. Today we are aware of the western development model and how it could be criticized since it is associated to over-consumption, environmental crisis and overuse of natural resources. Ideas within social science which state that the external society should pay respect to local cultures have affected our views. There are few expressions within the museums which are associated with ethnocentrism. The external society is not presented as something higher, better or more valuable, but it is obvious that the government did hurt the region in the past.

The difficult heritage exists rather within the human relationship to the artefacts, than in the physical objects. Such relationships are constructed when heritage sites are described and within storytelling processes (Selberg 2013: 97-99; Thorell 2018a:45; Thorell 2018b: 10). An important dimension refers to differences in the representation of the difficulties between insiders
and outsider. The difficult Sami heritage differs from culture to culture and individual to individual. People from the overall Swedish society may view this in another way than the local Sami people. Tourists may have another view than Swedish citizens and so on. How the meanings of the difficult differ between people from Sampi and other regions could be expounded in another kind of research.

Discourses determine how we perceive and talk about the past. One issue refers to how the stories of the past are described. Are museum managers searching for authenticity and objective description of the reality? Are new dimensions added? Are any parts of the past forgotten? (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008). These are all questions which refer to the human construction of the heritage within museums and they are important to ask within the Sami heritage management context as well.

It is often complicated to tell the truth if this exists beside the accepted discourses. It is not possible to express phenomena in the world until it exists within a discourse which wan hegemony. If the museum practice is characterized by antagonism may conflicts about the experienced worldview appear (see Jörgensen & Philips 2002, p 56). What we perceive within museums are values and views which into some extent are possible to express. Phenomena which are too shameful, or hurting may have been forgotten. The same might appear with phenomena which are threatening important values, norms and understandings within the western world.

Memory processes are existing within discourses with contours of what we should remember from the past and the present. These discourses delineate dimensions of the past that are important to remember. The theoretical chapter explained how memories exist within an ever-ongoing process of production and construction. They are bonded to the past and specific spatial places through languages, songs, artefacts, rituals, and ceremonies (Persson 2014: 42; Thorell 2018a:45; Thorell 2018b: 10). It is thus important that local people take part in museum practices since their memory processes are important. It is not mainly memories which people from the external society hold which are of importance, but the memories local actors hold.
6.4 Museum practice approaches

The difficult heritage management is based on different approaches. Every decade is associated to a specific paradigm and ideological perspective. The theory distinguishes between the following approaches: (1) nationalistic (2) local separatist/patriotic (3) romantic chivalry, (4) socialist, (5) peace and international understanding and (6) technological/aesthetic approach (Ashworth 2003, p 179-183; Thimothy & Boyd 2003, p 27-28; Thorell 2018b: 13-15). The museums which were included in this study contained a local separatist/patriotic view since the unique Sami culture was in focus. It was portrayed as something which stays in contrast to the overall society. The Sami culture was associated with positive characteristics such as traditional, peaceful, original and authentic. The peace and international understanding approach was also embedded since exhibitions were based on ideas expressed within The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (see UN 2019c) about the rights indigenous people have.

The postcolonial approach highlights questions about ownership (Bring 2015: 11-17, 247; Thorell 2018a: 35). Museum practices are based on different approaches. Many famous museums in northern Europe such as British museum base the practice on the cosmopolitan thinking which emphasis how heritage values are common and belong to all governments and inhabitants since they are universal and mutual. Museums in Southern Europe (Roma and Athen) and Kairo base instead the practice on the patriotic thinking which emphasised that heritage values are belonging to the nation where they were found. Heritage values should be stored where they are from (ibid., p 239). The question is thus nowadays not only if the Sami heritage belongs to local people or the government, but also if the phenomena should be owned by all living people on earth. The museums which were included in this study are rather based on a patriotic thinking than a cosmopolitan. Ájtte museum mentions UNESCO and The World Heritage Site Laponia but writes also about how local people lost drums to the external society. Local actors do not accept that these now into a high extent belong to the government or international organisations but want them back.

Top-down museum management is based on professional knowledge, i.e. scientific and technical knowledge (Hanberger et al. 2015: 32, 119; Sun 2015: 132). It is based on science which makes use of evaluation and monitoring. This study resulted not in enough knowledge about museum management processes for answering questions about whether they were based on top-
down or bottom-up approaches. It could, however, be concluded that Samegården and the local movie Interruption at Norrbottens museum are based on local perceptions and knowledge into a high extent. When the local perceptions are in focus, the following phenomena are highlighted: the inner compass (director with a pearl of wisdom), wounds of colonization, local worldviews and interaction with nature and animals.

A top-town approach may describe the traditional Sami religion in a repressive way. The traditional Sami religion is often portrayed as an unwise story which belongs to undeveloped cultures. Humans who accept that this world includes a spiritual dimension with guards and angels may, however, perceive it in another way. People who are able to see the spiritual dimension of the world may construct such stories. It is very difficult to describe the spiritual world since it does not fit into any discourse. Therefore, we should never repress religious worldviews or just talk about them in terms of stories which belong to the undeveloped society. Local actors became aware of a spiritual world and tried to describe it with words. Who is able to differ stories from the real truth?

The difficult Sami heritage is, however, in many ways represented from an insider perspective based on local knowledge. It is though very difficult to represent the difficult Sami heritage without the worldviews and values which belong to the external society. Difficult dimensions which refer to poor living conditions may belong to the worldview which became dominant in the Western World within the modernist era.

The difficult heritage was into a higher extent described from a bottom-up approach based on local knowledge within Samegården and the movie Interruption than in other contexts this study touched upon.

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23 Most of the museums which were included in this study were based on both professional and local knowledge. The scientific and neutral approach is associated with professional knowledge. The unique Sami stories which were included refer to local knowledge. Samegården and interruption are into a higher extent pervaded by local knowledge than Ájtte museum. Hägnan may integrate local knowledge which exists within hembygdsgårdar.
7. DISCUSSION

Museums educate the public, keep values, (Macdonald 2006: 92-95) and collect important phenomena (ibid: 81-82). Museums develop knowledge, classify phenomena and sort artefacts after scientific principles (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 9). The most important tasks refer to exhibiting, collecting and researching (Dean 2002: 1-8). The museums which were included in this study hold all these functions. They were also constructing the Sami culture and identity. This was more visible at Attje museum that within the other. Samegården and the movie Interruption did not pay that much attention to forming and identity; instead education and information about local perceptions were in focus.

Michel Foucault (1926-1984) describes that knowledge is not just an observation of the reality, but also a formation of various knowledge regimes which make a difference between the false and true (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002: 12-13; Thorell 2018b:21). He has developed theories about how power is forming our knowledge and describes how power is developed within different social practices. Power is productive since it constructs knowledge, discourses and realities (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002: 13). From this view are museum exhibitions formed within specific knowledge regimes and this study indicates that both the local and professional knowledge are integrated into the museum practice. It seems as local knowledge is even more important within museums arranged by Sami associations than when the public sector is responsible for the content. Foucault’s theories give also insights into how important it is to not classify descriptions which are based on local knowledge as false. To differ the true from the false is namely about power.

The discourse theory makes the power dimension of the Sami history visible. Descriptions are formed in different contexts and it seems as outsiders today into a rather high extent are constructing the knowledge of the past. These descriptions pay, however, respect to local actors and they are involved in the construction when descriptions are enriched with their own experiences. It seems as the Sami history thus is portrayed in the interaction between the professional and local knowledge. Local actors who earned professional knowledge through universities may have an important position within the museum practice.
The documentary work showed that the exhibitions were not based on a discourse where the external society is uplifted and the local repressed. Settlers were instead portrayed as the immigrants who occupied the land within most of the museums. The discourse which highlight the importance of economic growth and wealth was not either important within the museum context. To handle life without larger economic resources was described as something innovative, wise and sustainable but how visitors interpret exhibitions is depended on their preunderstandings and cultural views. Discourses form exhibitions and determine how we interpret and talk about them.

The museums were based on different discourses and it was more clear that Samegården and the movie Interruption excluded perceptions where economic growth is important and the developed world more advanced. Some texts within Samegården were in a distinct way written from the local Sami discourse there the northern land is termed as a mother. It is also mentioned that the external society names their old cultural landscape wilderness. The colonialists were portrayed as people with no limit who today are responsible for the wound among Sami and on the land. The descriptions are thus rather local and authentic than politically correct. The museum which focuses on the settlers is, however, not into a high extent based on the traditional Sami discourse.

The museums involved descriptions of the traditional Sami religion. Is this a story or a religion? Is it outrageous or just as vital as other stories? Have we stopped perceiving worldviews of minority groups as something which belong to low developed understandings or have we still much to learn?

This study put a critical light on representations of the Sami people. It is, however, important to reflect upon how this study portrayed these local actors. They have into some extent been classified as a homogenous group with a common history, tradition and land. Meanwhile, there are different kinds of actors within this cultural group. Some own reindeer while others are working within business and industries. There are Sami who still live a traditional Sami life while other have incorporated into the Swedish folk traditions.

Emotional connection to place may be associated with the atmosphere. It is however, possible to believe that the emotional connection is subjective. It is
always difficult to know whether other people share similar feelings and if they interpret things in the same way as you. It is also problematic to specify the atmosphere of a place (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008). The Sami have an emotional connection to Sapmi. It would be interesting to increase the knowledge of how different kinds of actors connect to the landscape. This is, however, an issue, for forthcoming research.

The colonization process is not just about making use of lands and natural resources. It is also about worldviews and representations. Sami were poor from the perceptions of the external society, but they hold knowledge about handicraft, reindeer management and householding with the resources on the mountain. This local knowledge supported them to live a sustainable life without over-consumption.

The meeting with the external society was not positive for the Sami. The external society represented Sami in a negative way. There is silent knowledge which tells stories about how Sami lost their compass and grace which they needed in the mountains. It became even worse when they were not allowed to believe in the spiritual guards who protected them. Then was the harmony between human, mountain and the spiritual world damaged. A harmony which gave preconditions for survival on the mountains in an extreme climate.

The Sami hold their unique capacities, and these are not always visible for people from the external society. When I read books about the Sami relative bounds at Kiruna library, I noticed that Stenmark and Salming are Sami sir names. Ingemar Stenmark and Börje Salming hold some of the unique capacitates among Sami: skiing and skating. Of course, it was difficult for anyone in this world to be better at skiing and skating than the Sami. Local people who go from mountain to mountain by skis and skate over lake from lake in their everyday life.

The museum practice portrays minority cultures as idyllic, light and unique. It is expressed that public organisations pay respect to minority groups today. It is important to do more research about museum management from a

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24 Sami information support the fact that Inger Stenmark has a Sami background: http://www.samer.se/2063?template=print_artikel (190412)
25 News supports that Börje Salming is Sami: https://www.aftonbladet.se/sportbladet/hockey/a/kae2Bv/salming-ifragasatts-att-vara-same (190412)
postcolonial perspective. Deep analyses are needed in order to uncover the colonial and postcolonial structures within these practices.
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