

Torkel Rasmussen

# Sámi Media for Children and Youth

## *Minority Audiences as an Underrepresented and Problematic Research Field*

As a Sámi myself, as a former journalist and as father to four children, aged 7–18, I have followed Sámi media outlets for children and youths closely for many years. Nevertheless, when in 2016 I aimed to present quantitative results on this subject – the amount of productions, hours on air, users' numbers, circulation of printed media etc. – it was the first time I looked into this world with a researcher's eyes. The lack of statistical data turned out to be a challenge.

Results presented in this article are extracted from a research project titled "Sámi media for children and youth" that I carried out in 2016<sup>1</sup> for a national Norwegian Expert group of Sámi statistics.<sup>2</sup> The research showed an extensive production of Sámi media outlets for children and youths, both in traditional media and in new digital media, taking into account the low number of Sámi speakers. The number of media registered entirely or partly as reaching out to Sámi children and youth in 2016 was 15. Still, media outlets for these groups are somewhat arbitrary, and young Sámi children's access to these media are dependent on their country of residence and knowledge of their Sámi language.

This article will describe the media output available for Sámi children and youth, based on numbers available in 2016. The biggest challenge for getting information about the

minority media is that it is not systematically monitored and recorded by any authority, nor is it included in national-level statistics. Furthermore, the Sámi culture is spread across three different Nordic countries, and such a transnational perspective poses a challenge for the collection of data. Therefore, most of the information has been retrieved through personal mail correspondence and phone calls. This is an important point: the objectives of this descriptive overview are thus to capture structures that otherwise remain invisible, not least to the non-Sámi people, and to make suggestions concerning a better organization of the data collection in future.

In the following, I will first present a definition of the object of inquiry, Sámi media. Thereafter, I will discuss the producers of media for Sámi children and youth and describe the media outputs that are available in the market for Sámi children and youth. The media landscape is explored with regard to TV and radio, Sámi children and youth magazines, Sámi newspapers and magazines, local and regional newspapers and Internet outlets. To complement this picture of this specific minority media landscape, I will also

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**Torkel Rasmussen**, Associate Professor of Journalism at Sámi University of Applied Sciences in Guovdageaidnu, Norway. He is Sámi, speaks North Sámi and is currently coordinating an international Master's programme in Sámi journalism with an indigenous perspective.

### Sámi people and languages

- Sámi people are indigenous people in Northern Norway, Sweden and Finland, in the inland of middle Sweden, middle Norway and Northwest Russia.
- There are not exact numbers available for people belonging to this group. Estimates show that there may be more than 100 000 Sámi and approximately 30 000 speakers of Sámi languages.
- The gap between numbers of speakers of Sámi languages and persons belonging to the group is interpreted as evidence of an extensive language shift from Sámi to majority languages.
- The majority of speakers, 85-90 percent, speak North Sámi, which is the most frequently used language in Sámi media in Norway, Sweden and Finland.
- Other languages used in media, and mentioned in this article, have less than a thousand speakers: Inari and Skolt Sámi in Finland, and Lule and South Sámi in Norway and Sweden.

inquire into the uses of the media by Sámi children and youth. Lastly, I will address some central challenges and problems in collecting data about Sámi media for Sámi children and youth, as well as some recommendations for further research.

### What is Sámi media?

The aim of this research was twofold: first, to give recommendations for Norwegian and Sámi authorities and Sámi media on improving media outlets for Sámi children and youths, and second, to give advice on how to obtain better statistical material and analysis in this field.

To resolve these issues, the research project first aimed to identify Sámi media for children and youths and to identify their producers. I collected material in 2016 from the media outlet's home pages on the Internet, by interviewing Sámi media leaders and through document analysis. For magazines and newspapers, I read and analysed their printed editions.

A more difficult task was to find statistics on the use of these forms of media. I assumed this would be a difficult, as I, a teacher of Sámi journalism, have previously only been able to collect viewer numbers for TV programmes and circulation numbers for a few printed media outlets. Therefore, I set up an additional goal: to reveal fields where the material is insufficient. Information on use of media is mostly collected from media houses themselves during and after interviews with leading persons in the media.

A common approach to the topic children, youth and the media is to ask what impact media has on its consumers.<sup>3</sup> Some interesting approaches could consider the impact Sámi media have on children and youth's language skills, their language use and their indigenous identity. This is not done in this project because of a lack of available material to use for such a purpose. This overall lack of material will be discussed in the closing chapter.

To help me decide what *Sámi media for children and youths* is, I lean on Professor Eli Skogerbø's<sup>4</sup> definition of Sámi media: "A medium is perceived as Sámi if it goes forward by name and/or audience that the media is made for and by the Sámi"<sup>5</sup> According to this definition, Sámi media is: 1) all media published in the Sámi language; and 2) some media outlets that define themselves as Sámi media even if the Sámi language is not the outlet's main language, or used in the media at all. Skogerbø<sup>6</sup> points out that there is a significant degree of disagreement in the Sámi population around what language Sámi media should use. I do not discuss this here. I choose to follow Skogerbø's definition of Sámi media and have selected the media forms I examine regardless of language used in the media outlets.

I chose to look at traditional mass media, i.e. radio, TV and newspaper. In addition, the survey also investigated cartoons, magazines and Internet pages. I have left out film, music, books and digital applications (apps). Thereby, this paper investigates media forms that have periodic releases (even though there can be a long time between releases).

I chose a Pan-Sámi perspective and investigated all Sámi media for children and youths regardless of the country of production. Media development has also made it less useful to define contemporary media companies according to traditional media types: newspaper, radio and TV. The reason for this is that most Sámi media producers make content for multiple media platforms. Therefore, it is more fruitful to use the concept of Media Houses and look at them as content producers who distribute their content on different platforms.

## Radio and TV

The producers of television and radio programmes and other media outlets for Sámi children and youths are national broadcasting corporations, privately-owned Sámi publishing companies, Sámi newspapers, Norwegian local newspapers and Sámi associations.

There are three Sámi media houses with a significant production output of radio and TV:

- NRK Sápmi, the Norwegian Broadcaster Corporation's Sámi Division, led by Director Mona Solbakk from the main office in Kárášjohka/Karasjok;
- YLE Sápmi, the Finnish Broadcasting Corporation's Sámi Department, led in 2016 by Chief and executive editor, Pirita Näkkäljärvi, from the main office in Anár/Inari; and
- Swedish Sámi radio and SVT Sápmi are the Sámi units of Swedish Radio and Swedish Television. These Sámi units have, since 2009, been co-located and run by a joint channel manager, Ole Isak Mienna, in Giron/Kiruna.

In addition, there is a Sámi media house in Russia, *Kola Peninsula Same radio*, and a local Sámi radio station called *Guovdageainnu lagašradio* in Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino, Norway. *Kola Peninsula Same radio* produced stories only for the Internet in 2016, and *Guovdageainnu lagašradio* broadcasts programmes for children and youths irregularly.

All three big Sámi media houses are multimedial. They produce for radio, TV and the Internet and broadcast radio and TV linear and online in real time. Programmes are also available from archives on the media houses' home pages after broadcasting time. Most of the Sámi radio and TV production is thus available all over the world, apart from some programmes where companies lack rights to broadcast outside their own country.

There was also a private company, *Nuoraj-TV*, which produced television offerings in the Sámi minority language Lule Sámi for youths. It was an innovation in itself when it started running in 2010 as it used only the Internet as a publishing platform. *Nuoraj-TV* went bankrupt by the end of 2015. Nevertheless, they still have a home page with information about their offerings and uploaded movies on YouTube.<sup>7</sup>

## Radio and TV in different Nordic countries

Sámi radio and TV production is not bound to one single country, but is dispersed across different Nordic countries. Next, I will present Sámi radio and TV in the different Nordic countries and make a comparison between them.

*NRK Sápmi – Norway.* TV programmes are the most comprehensive media offerings for Sámi children in Norway, as there is a 15-minute programme every weekday year round. These programmes are broadcast on the NRKs children's channel *NRK Super* with Norwegian subtitles.

Sámi children's TV started as a monthly programme on February 7, 1991. The amount of programmes increased during the 1990s and 2000s. Now, they broadcast five times a week (NRK Sámi history 2016).

As shown in Table 1, there were 76 hours broadcasting for Sámi children in 2015 from NRK Sápmi. The amount of radio broadcasting has decreased since 2011. NRK broadcast 159 hours for Sámi children and youths on the DAB band. In 2015, the amount of hours on air was 12 hours. There is a correlation

Years (?)	Number of hours annually on TV for children	Number of hours annually on radio for children	Number of hours annually on radio for youths
Norway	76	12	0
Finland	7.5	22.5	112.5
Sweden	27	17	52

Source: NRK's annual reports 2015, YLE Sápmi 2016, Näkkäljärvi 2016, Sveriges Radios public service-redovising 2015 and Sveriges Televisions public service-redovising 2015.

Table 1. Sámi Radio and TV programmes for children and young people, number of hours per year in 2015, by country.

between the increase in TV broadcasting for children and the decrease in radio broadcasting, as resources have been re-allocated from radio production to television production.

I gathered information for my research from NRK's annual reports for the period of 2011–15. These annual reports normally do not contain information about languages used in children's programmes made by NRK Sápmi. I have observed that North Sámi is the main language in most programmes on both radio and TV. The annual report for 2012 is thus an exception that mentions that in 2012, NRK made children's programmes using Lule Sámi and South Sámi. Then they produced five television programmes for children in South Sámi and five programmes in Lule Sámi. The programmes contained both animations and humorous sketches.<sup>8</sup> After 2012, NRK produced a South Sámi television drama series for children, *Laara jih Leisa*, which was broadcast for the first time in 2014. Except for these programmes, the North Sámi language has dominated in Sámi children's TV productions.

NRK Sápmi did not offer any TV or radio programmes for youths in 2015. NRK Sápmi has occasionally produced youth programmes for TV, such as *Kakaos TV-šovv*, six programmes in 1995–96, *Iziü*, five programmes in 2008, and a drama series, *Sameland*, in 2012. In addition, "Melkeveien" (The Milky Way), a series of six episodes from 2014–15, also had youths and young adults as the main target audience.<sup>9</sup>

According to programme editor Ole Rune Hætta<sup>10</sup> at NRK Sápmi, they will focus espe-

cially on youths in the years ahead and increase productions for this target group. NRK Sápmi have already gathered programmes from their own radio and TV productions, which can fit with the youth audience, on the website "Nu fal".

A review of a hundred stories uploaded to this page in 2016 showed that there was an equal distribution among issues in Sámi languages and issues in Norwegian. Of the stories published in a Sámi language, 45 were written in North Sámi and five in Lule Sámi. Nothing was written in South Sámi.

*YLE Sápmi – Finland.* YLE Sápmi's production for children and youths consists of one radio and one television programme per week for children and one radio programme per week for youths. Table 1, above, shows that the annual amount of radio programmes in YLE Sápmi for children was 22,5 hours and, for youths, 112,5 hours. Television programmes for children made up 7,5 hours.

Children and Youths programmes produced by YLE Sápmi are not broadcast in Norway and Sweden, but they are available in other countries through YLE's webpage, *YLE Arena*. Programmes uploaded to YLE Arena normally expire after 30 days.

Children's radio goes by the name *Binna Báanna* and is broadcast every Tuesday, 45 weeks per year, with a rerun on Fridays. The programme lasts for 30 minutes, and North Sámi is used as the main language. Observations show these programmes often contains some elements of Inari and Skolt Sámi. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to quantify this.

The name of YLE's Sámi TV programme for children is *Unna Junna*. This programme, too, uses North Sámi as the main language, but it has also been hosted by a Skolte Sámi or Inari speaker. Programmes in North Sámi usually contain some elements of the Inari and/or Skolt Sámi. The programmes last for 15 minutes, and YLE broadcasted 30 programmes in 2015. *Unna Junná* is broadcast on channel YLE2 with Finnish subtitles and on YLE's Swedish language channel FST with Finnish and Swedish subtitles available.

YLE Sápmi has, since March 2013, broadcasted a youth programme, *Sohkaršohkka*, once a week. They produced a total of 45 programmes per year. It is a 2.5-hour talk show, where one programme manager speaks North Sámi and the other Inari Sámi. *Sohkaršohkka* is streamed online and available in YLE Arena after broadcasting.

*SVT Sápmi and Swedish Sámi Radio – Sweden*. The number of hours on radio for children and youths in Sweden are 17 and 52, as shown in Table 1, above. There are no programmes for youth on TV, but 27 hours of broadcasting for children.

Sámi Radio broadcasts a children's programme of 5-10 minutes on the radio once a week. This programme is also available after broadcasting on SVT Sápmi and Sámi Radio's shared webpage. On the webpage, there are also Sámi fairytales available under the name *Noaidegiisa*.

SVT Sápmi produces Sámi children's programmes for TV. They last 10-15 minutes and are broadcast once a week on SVT's children's channel "Barnkanalen", with one rerun. They also broadcast these programmes directly on SVT's Web TV, and they are available on the Internet after broadcasting.

In the spring of 2016, Sámi Radio in Sweden produced a youth programme in the South Sámi language named *Søstrene Stenfjell*. This series was also aired on NRK Sápmi and YLE Sápmi. It consists of ten programmes of 25 minutes each.

It has not been possible to find figures for use of North, South and Lule Sámi in chil-

dren's and youth programmes on TV or radio in Sweden. My own observations show that North Sámi is mostly used, and there are sometimes elements of Lule and South Sámi in the programmes. Unfortunately, distribution between languages is not registered.

Channel manager Ole Isak Mienna says in an interview that the goal is to reach out to younger Sámis in regular programmes on radio, and he points to their policy that at least every fourth participant in radio shows should be under 30 years of age.<sup>11</sup>

*Lule Sámi youth TV-Nuoraj TV*. Nuoraj-TV was a web-based media outlet in the Lule Sámi language. They used a homepage and YouTube for distribution. Their YouTube channel had 172 subscribers and their movies are available to users in retrospect. In the spring of 2016, there were 231 movies on Nuoraj-TV's YouTube channel. I watched the last 30 videos uploaded. They have a length between one and seven minutes. Most are viewed between 300 and 500 times. The most viewed is a music video in Sámi, *Ájnná bágoj*, with 1780 hits.<sup>12</sup>

There are some significant differences in radio and TV broadcasting for Sámi children and youths between Norway, Finland and Sweden. One could expect that programmes produced for Sámi children and youth in one country would be broadcast in other countries where Sámi people are living. The outcome in terms of programmes and hours on air should therefore be the same. This is not the case, and differences are visible.

Table 2 shows that all three national radiobroadcasters broadcast one children's programme on the radio per week. The length of the programme is significantly longer in Finland, where the weekly programme is 30 minutes, compared to 5-10 minutes in Sweden and six minutes in Norway. In Finland, Sámi children's programmes are broadcast 45 weeks per year, with one rerun per week, while the shorter programmes in Norway and Sweden are broadcast once a week throughout the year.

	Number of programmes per week	Minutes of programming per week	Weeks of programming per year
YLE Sápmi	1	30	45
NRK Sápmi	1	6	52
Swedish Sámi Radio	1	5-10	52

Source: Näkkäljäjärvi 2016, Mienna 2016 and Hætta 2016.

Table 2. Children's programmes on radio in 2015. The number of programmes, minutes on air per week and number of weeks per year broadcasting.

	The number of programmes per week	The number of minutes per week	The number of weeks per year
YLE Sápmi	2	15	30
NRK Sápmi	5	15	52
SVT Sápmi	2	10-15	52

Source: YLE Sámi 2016, Hætta 2016 and SVT Sápmi 2016.

Table 3. Sámi children's programmes on TV in 2015. The number of programmes, minutes per programme and weeks per year broadcasting.

Table 3 shows that Sámi children's programmes on TV are broadcast in Norway, Sweden and Finland. The total offering is largest in Norway, with five programmes per week year round. In Sweden, there are also Sámi children's TV programmes all year, around two times per week. However, two times per week does include to one ordinary broadcast and one rerun. The offering is the worst in Finland, where they broadcast the same programme on two different channels once a week, 30 weeks per year.

I have not conducted research on the reasons for these differences. It is obvious that more cooperation between the national broadcaster corporations, NRK, YLE and SVT, could have resulted in more radio and TV programmes for Sámi children and youths.

## Children and youth magazines

I have registered a total of six publications for Sámi children and youths. They are published by a Sámi Youth organization, private companies, a newspaper or Sámi publishing houses.

The youth magazine *Nuorat* (1975-) is the oldest of these publications. It is a youth magazine which is owned by a Sámi

NGO, *Nuorat*, in Sweden, with Pia Sjögren as its editor. The magazine used the name *Sáminuorat* until 2006 and has since then been editorially independent from the NGO.

*Nuorat* had an A-4 format in 2015, with 40-44 pages per number. In 2016, it appeared in a somewhat smaller format, and the page number is 44-56 pages per issue (Sjögren 2016). The entire content of the magazine is aimed at Sámi youths, with Swedish as the main language. The magazine still has a significant presence of Sámi languages. My estimate is that Sámi language content comprised between 25-50 percent of the total content in 2015-2016. One issue was released exclusively in Sámi. Sámi language content consisted of approximately equal parts of North, Lule and South Sámi. Most of the content in *Nuorat* is from Sweden and about Swedish Sámis, but a good part of the editorial content is of a Pan-Sámi character.

Š *Nuoraidmagasiidna* (1993-) is published by Sámi publishing house Idut. Niels Ovlá Oskal Dunfjell is editor as of 2016. The Sámi youth magazine Š *Nuoraidmagasiidna* is published five times per year and has North Sámi as its main language and Sámi youths as its main target group. A regular release of the

magazine consists of 36 A-4 pages. In addition to North Sámi, Š Nuoraidmagasiidna has articles and news reports in Lule and South Sámi. Releases in 2015-16 were reviewed, and they contained about 20 percent Lule and South Sámi texts, and content that is definitively aimed at youth.

*Mánáidbláđđi* (1983-93), a children's magazine, was published by private publishing company Sámi Áigečála. When they stopped publishing, the Sámi language newspaper Min Áigi launched a similar magazine for children, *Leavedolgi*. This magazine was published from 1994-99 and 2004-05. When this magazine closed down in 2005, written media outlets to the North Sámi-speaking school-age children ceased to exist.

During 1987-88, a total of 33 issues of Donald Duck, with the Sámi name *Vulle Vuojas*, were published in North Sámi. The Sámi publishing company ČálliidLágádus has since released those issues in hardcover format.<sup>13</sup>

*Bamse* (2013-) is a cartoon magazine for younger children published by private company ABC -Company E-skuvla AS, where Kirsi Paltto was the manager as of 2016. *Bamse* is a cartoon magazine designed for children in preschool and early-school age, and has been published since May 2013, with 18 issues per year. For 2016, the plan is for 20 releases. The cartoon magazine is published exclusively in North Sámi.<sup>14</sup>

## Newspapers and magazines

Three Sámi newspapers and four Sámi magazines for adults have content that directly caters to children and young people as part of the paper as a whole.

*Ávvir* (2007-) is a daily newspaper published five times per week in North Sámi. Kari Lisbeth Hermansen was the editor as of 2016. *Ávvir* is the result of the merging of the two newspapers Min Áigi and Áššu, who teamed up in 2007. Once a week, the paper publishes two pages specifically designed for children.

Once a week, *Ávvir* publishes two pages in North Sámi specifically designed for children. Children's pages are part of the heritage

from the merged newspaper Áššu. Skogerbø<sup>15</sup> described these children's pages in 2000 as "the most frequent publications for Sámi children". This is a description that is still valid. In addition, the paper covers many events within culture and social life where children and youths play an active role. News and featured stories from such events are probably of interest for children and youths, too.

It is apparent that a part of the newspaper's featured stories are about Sámi children and youths, which could mean that they are interesting to read for these age groups, too.<sup>16</sup>

*Ságat* (1957-) is a Sámi daily newspaper published five times a week in the Norwegian language. Geir Wulff was the editor in chief as of 2016. The newspaper does not have special pages for children and youths. In an interview with me, the editor-in-chief stressed that they put an emphasis on covering events, including cultural events, where children and youths are present.<sup>17</sup>

There is also a Christian newspaper, *Nuorttanaste* (1898-). Since 2000, it has been organized as a foundation created by the Norwegian Sámi Mission, Inner Finnmark deanery and Sámi Church Council. Ann Solveig Nystad was the editor in chief. *Nuorttanaste* has a Christian mission statement and is published in North Sámi. Eleven issues were published in 2015. Two pages of every issue is intended to reach children and youths in particular.<sup>18</sup> That is obvious both on the basis of the content of the pages and the name of the pages, "Nuorraide/Mánáide" (for youth and children). In addition, the paper, to some extent, produces other stories suitable for children and youths.<sup>19</sup>

*Samefolket* (1919-) is a monthly magazine published mainly in Swedish, with a Sámi language share of about 10-25 percent. Åsa Lindstrand was temporary editor as of 2016. Children and youths are not the main target group for this magazine, but nevertheless, a significant part of the content is suitable for youths.

The Skolt Sámi magazine *Tuõddri Pee'rel*<sup>20</sup> is an annual publication published by *Nuõrttsää'mkultturfondd* (East Sámi Culture Foundation). Tanja Sanila was editor as of 2016. The content of the magazine

has mainly been in Finnish, with a Skolt Sámi language share of 15-20 percent. A good significant of the stories, both the Finnish and Sámi ones, are admittedly suitable both for children and youths.

*Samefolket* has A-4 format, and they published nine issues, of which two were double issues, in 2015. I examined all issues from 2015 and two issues from 2016. Those issues contained of 36-44 pages. Children and youths are not the main target group for this magazine, but nevertheless, a good part of the content is suitable for youths. The magazine publishes mainly in Swedish, and has a Sámi language share of about 10-25 percent. This section consists both of North, Lule and South Sámi language stories.

The Inari Sámi magazine *Anaráš* (1988-) is published four times per year by the Inari Sámi Language Association. All stories are in Inari Sámi, a Sámi language spoken in Finland around Lake Inari. All four issues released in 2015 were reviewed. Those issues had a smaller portion, about 20 percent of the stories, which can be characterized as appropriate for children and youths.

*Daerpies Dierie*<sup>21</sup> is a South Sámi parish magazine published four times per year. The publication is financed by Härnösand diocesan council and Nidaros diocesan council in Sweden and Norway, respectively, as well as the Sami Parliament in Norway and the Swedish Church. The editor and responsible publisher in 2016 was Einar Bondevik.<sup>22</sup>

## Further newspapers and magazines

There are also local and regional newspapers providing relevant content. Two local newspapers in Norway, *Nordsalten Lokalavis* and *Snåsinggen*, regularly publish some pages in Sámi languages. The Sámi offerings in *NordSalten Lokalavis* are in the Lule Sámi language, and in South Sámi in *Snåsinggen*. These pages also contained parts suitable for children and youths.

The newspaper *Snåsinggen* is published once a week in the municipality of Snåsa in

the South Sámi area. Each issue has a page in South Sámi under the heading “Sørsamisk” (South Sámi). Eight newspaper issues have been reviewed (nos. 12-18 in 2016). All had a column for youth under the name *No-ere Snåasnesne* (Young in Snåsa). This section took up between a third and half of a newspaper page, and always contained an interview with youths.

*Lokalavisa NordSalten* is published once a week with in the Lule Sámi area. Each issue has a page in Lule Sámi under the heading *Bá-jkkeavijssa NuorttaSállto* (The local newspaper of North Salten). Eight newspaper issues have been reviewed (nos. 10-17 in 2016). In six of the newspapers, there were bilingual pages with Lule Sámi and Norwegian text. In two of the papers, there were exclusive stories written only in Lule Sámi without an accompanying translation into Norwegian. None of the stories were intended especially for youth, but a part of the stories could be suitable for youth as well. It is difficult to quantify this more accurately.

There is also a Skolt Sámi magazine “*Tuõd-dri Pee ‘rel’*”. The content of this magazine, which is 52-60 A4 pages, has mainly been in Finnish with a Skolt Sámi language share of 15-20 percent. A good part of the stories, both the Finnish and Sámi, are suitable both for children and youths. It is not possible to quantify this further.

For the Inari Sámi-speaking population, there is a magazine called *Anaráš*, published four times per year. I reviewed all issues released in 2015. Those issues had a smaller proportion, about 20 percent of the stories, which could be characterized as appropriate for children and youths.

*Daerpies Dierie* - South Sámi parish publishes four issues a year. I have examined six issues from 2015 and 2016 for this paper. The content consists approximately equally of ecclesiastical stories on one side and news and culture stories from the South Sámi area on the other. 10-20 percent of the content of each issue is in South Sámi, and 80-90 percent is in Norwegian or Swedish. An estimated 25 percent of the stories is intended for children and

youths. These stories are split approximately equally between South Sámi and Scandinavian languages.

## Online media

Most media examined for this paper have available Internet pages. There is, however, a very large variation between media outlet's efforts to use the Internet as a publishing platform. Some media outlets have only a home page with information about the company and the product. Some media outlets use Internet-based programmes only to advocate for their traditional product and to keep in contact with their audience. Examples of this include *Š Nuoraidmagasiidna* and *Bamse*.

*Samefolket* and *Nuorttanaste* feature some stories and some news updates between releases of issues in paper format. Other media outlets offers all of their products on the Internet. This applies, for example, to the Sámi newspapers *Sáogat* and *Ávvir*, where you have free access to a part of their content and can subscribe to the entire newspaper online for a fee.

National broadcasters in Norway, Sweden and Finland broadcast their *Sámi* radio and television programmes directly on the Internet. They also publish special news stories online with text and images.

The broadcasting corporations have also created online archives where you can watch or listen to programmes after broadcasting. *YLE Sápmi* make TV programmes available for 30 days, while *NRK Sápmi* and *Sápmi SVT in Sweden* make TV programmes available without any date of expiry. National broadcasters have digitized a large number of older Sámi programmes, too. They are freely available to interested parties. This also applies to older Sámi television programmes for children and youth.

In interviews with Sámi broadcasting media leaders, they emphasized that they urge to reach children and youths on online platforms. *YLE Sápmi*'s head Pirita Näkkäljärvi said a lot of their web news is written for youths, and they have offerings for youths on

social media. They use Facebook, Twitter, Vimeo, Instagram and Snapchat to spread their content. When interviewed, she believed that they reach young Sámi very well with Instagram, especially the age group of between 15-20 years. In the summer of 2016, they had a pilot project for social media where they developed their Snapchat production and produced videos for social media in this format. *YLE Sápmi* has, on average, 20 000 users on their websites per week. It has not been possible to split this user group up according to their age, and I cannot say anything about how many of the users are children and youths. At the same time, SVT, Swedish television, planned to launch a special Sámi children's page on their webpage in 2016.<sup>23</sup>

Also, *NRK Sápmi* pointed to an innovative project to reach Sámi children. *NRK*'s annual report from 2015 especially mentions *NRK Jodi*. This is a mobile application which gives children access to storytelling in both Norwegian and Sámi from the place they are located. In its first week, it had 4000 downloads. The application uses your phone's location service to link the stories of geographical origin. By the end of 2015, there were more than 100 stories in the *NRK Jodi*, and there were more than 200 new stories to be published in 2016.<sup>24</sup>

Despite good efforts, it might be very challenging to find Sámi radio and TV programmes for children and youths on the media companies' webpages. This is especially difficult for smaller children. I will mention two examples. To find *YLE*'s TV programme for Sámi children, you must know either exactly what to search for, or you have to look for these programmes under the Swedish-language children's programme page, "Buu".

Sámi TV programmes were previously placed in the section for Finnish language children's programmes on channel *YLE2* and had about 5000 views on the Internet. After moving them, they have usually less than two thousand views of each programme.<sup>25</sup>

*NRK Sápmi*'s radio programme for children is broadcast during a morning programme, *Radio Sápmi*, once a week. To find

the children's programme online, one must know the day it was broadcast on Radio Sápmi and search through this programme to find it. This is, of course, not easy, and makes it very difficult for the target group, smaller children, to find the programmes themselves.

## Use of Sámi media by children and young people

In this section, I present some statistics on the use of Sámi media outlets for children and youths. The findings may be characterized as quite limited. I discuss reasons for this in the closing chapter. Still, it has been possible to put together some statistical figures related to the audience for Sámi children's TV programmes from the national television broadcasters. I present and comment on them below.

In addition, it has been possible to get circulation numbers for some Sámi newspaper magazines, and for some publications specifically intended for Sámi children and youths, as well as some information on their geographical diffusion. These figures are also presented in this section alongside descriptions of sources used to obtain the information.

Table 4 shows the average viewing figures for Sámi children's programmes on TV in Finland, Sweden and Norway for the period 2011-2015. Figures are collected via personal contact in the national broadcasters' media houses. The annual, average viewing figures are between 9 100 and 45 300 per programme.

For YLE Sápmi in Finland, the table shows the total number of viewers on channels YLE2 and FST. The figures for 2015 are based on the 15 programmes YLE broadcast in the spring

of 2015. Viewer figures for 2011-14 are based on all Sámi children's programmes broadcast on YLE Sápmi in those years. The background material shows that the lowest ratings in the five-year period were 9 000 and the highest were 66 000.

The figures from SVT in Sweden show that they have about the same ratings as YLE in Finland for the programme *Hejolojla*, which is designed for younger children. They have slightly lower viewing figures, 16-17 000, for the programme *Det stora uppdraget*, which aims to reach school-age children.

The figures for NRK in Norway show that figures for Sámi children's programmes on TV are down by 33 percent in the period. It is not possible to say anything about the reason for this, but it may be that some viewers have started to watch these programmes on the Internet.

A problematic aspect of these figures is that it is not possible to say anything certain about the proportion of Sámi children and non-Sámi children who watch these programmes. However, the relatively high viewing figures of Sámi children's programmes in all countries lead to two possible outcomes. It is likely that the programmes reach a large part of the target audience, Sámi children, even if it is not possible to determine this with certainty. The viewing figures do also show that many non-Sámi children watch Sámi children's programmes, as there are often more viewers than Sámi children in the respective countries.

An interesting aspect is that media habits among children and youths have changed rapidly in the third millennium.<sup>26</sup> As TV programmes are available online, we could also expect children and youths to watch them

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
<b>YLE Sápmi:</b> Children's programme	33,700	34,600	28,300	26,000	36,800
<b>SVT Sápmi:</b> Hejolojla	28,000	45,300	27,700	22,900	22,600
<b>SVT Sápmi:</b> The stora uppdraget (The big task)		17,800	16,100	9,100	17,900
<b>NRK Sápmi:</b> Childrens programme	24,000	23,000	20,000	16,000	16,000

Source: YLE Sápmi 2016, NRK Sápmi 2016 and SVT Sápmi 2016.

Table 4. Viewer numbers for Sámi children's programmes on TV, 2011-2015.

online. I tried to investigate this change, but was only able to obtain a few figures from SVT Sápmi in Sweden. Figures on the audience of web TV were not available for NRK Sápmi in Norway. Figures for YLE Sápmi were only available for a short period in 2015.

The figures from Sweden showed that a very small proportion of viewers of the children's programme *Hejolojla* watched the programme on the Internet. This percentage increases from half a percent to one percent from 2012 to 2015. This programme is designed for children of preschool age.

A reality series, *Det stora uppdraget*, designed for school-aged children, showed some development. In 2012, 1.9 percent of viewers watched the programme online, while 98.1 percent watched the programme on TV. By 2015, the proportion of watchers on the Internet increased to 11.4 percent, while 88.6 percent watched the programme on TV. In addition, information from NRK Sápmi and YLE Sápmi suggests that viewing figures for the Sámi children's programmes on the internet increases.<sup>27</sup> This could be the beginning of a trend where it becomes more common for children to watch Sámi children's programme via the Internet.

As for the radio, it has not been possible to get access to listening figures for Sámi children and youth programmes on the radio. None of the media houses have such figures available. I have, however, found figures for listeners on the Internet for two programmes – the children's programme *Binna Banná* and the youth programme *Sohkaršohkka* on the Finnish broadcasting corporations' digital platform *YLE Arena*. 200 people have, on average, listened to *Binna Banná* programmes on YLE Arena, while the figures for *Sohkaršohkka* have been less than 50.

These programmes should be interesting for Sámi children and youths in Norway and Sweden to listen to on Internet, as they cannot listen to them on traditional radio. In that perspective, the listening figures must be considered to be low. Nevertheless, the number of listeners for children's programmes may also indicate that the programme reaches out

to a large part of Sámi-speaking children in Finland, as the total number of Sámi speakers is estimated to be approximately 3000. This could perhaps also indicate that the programme has, at least to some extent, listeners outside of Finland, too.

I have collected circulation numbers for Sámi newspapers, Sámi magazines and newspapers with Sámi language content from Norwegian newspaper control<sup>28</sup> and, if not available, from the editors.<sup>29</sup> Circulation numbers are shown in branches after the name of publication: *Ságat* (2.883), *Ávvir* (1.033), *Nordsalten* (1.618), *Snåsing* (2.872), *Samefolket* (1.200), *Daerpies Dierie* (1.114) and *Nuorttanaste* (600).

The figures may be considered low even in a national Scandinavian context, as they range from 1-3 000. Still, they are relatively high in a Sámi context due to the limited audience. Most surprising in terms of circulation figures for these newspapers was that they are stable during the period 2011-15, as this is a time where circulation of newspapers decreased globally.<sup>30</sup> There is also a clear tendency that publications entirely in the Sámi language, *Ávvir* and *Nuorttanaste*, have the lowest circulation.

Circulation numbers for Sámi youth magazines and the children's cartoon *Bamse* have been collected from the publishers.<sup>31</sup> *Š Nuoraidmagasiidna* has a circulation of 2000, *Nuorat* 5-600 and *Bamse* 500 in the period 2011-2015.

A circulation of 2000 for a Sámi-language youth magazine is admittedly high according to the number of Sámi speakers. An explanation for this is perhaps that the magazine is distributed free of charge to schoolchildren in Norway, from the eighth grade up to end of high school, who take Sámi as a subject at school. The Sámi parliament in Norway finances this distribution. In 2016, the publisher mailed the magazine to 1 366 youths in 87 schools. It is possible to subscribe to the magazine, which has 170 paying subscribers. The magazine is also sold in some shops. The circulation number has been 2000 throughout the period 1993-2016.<sup>32</sup>

I will also argue that a circulation of 500 for a North Sámi cartoon for small children is a high number, as it applies to the age group of 4-10 of a minority language of approximately 25 000 speakers. Both circulation numbers probably show that the publishers have reached significant sections of their target groups.

## Methodological challenges

There are methodological challenges related to research on Sámi media for children and youths. I aimed to find statistic material to analyse for my research project. As expected, the results showed that there is little material to analyse because such statistics are either not collected or they are difficult to obtain. Only one of the media publishers questioned had conducted user surveys in recent years. Because of this unfortunate situation, it is not possible to say much about how children and youths use Sámi media, nor is it possible to say how satisfied they are with the content of those media. To compensate, I have focused on giving as good an overview as possible of existing Sámi media productions for children and youths, and also included media that has existed in recent times, as well as having presented the statistics of production and use that are available.

Part of the problem with collecting data for producers of Sámi media outlets for children and youths is that the media outlets themselves are not able to identify their users. There are not available registers available for research on Sámi people. Electoral roles for the Sámi Parliaments are the only registers, and permission to use them for research is seldom given. The latest audience survey from *NRK Sápmi in Norway* was done in 2009. Then, NRK Sápmi had, for a short period of time, permission from the Norwegian Sámi Parliament to use their electoral roll to obtain informants for audience surveys. Since 2009, the Sámi Parliament has refused to give media permission to use their electoral roll; therefore, user surveys have not been conducted.<sup>33</sup>

Printed media would have an easier task of conducting surveys of their users and, as an

example, examining to what extent Sámi children and youths use Sámi children's and youth magazines, children's pages in newspapers or Sámi pages in local newspapers. Only one of them had done so, and that survey was not designed to investigate use of children's pages.

This lack of data makes it difficult to say anything about how satisfied the target groups are with the outlets that actually are present, or whether they use them. There is neither available material, nor are there user surveys or research reports about how Sámi media affects Sámi children and youths's language and indigenous identity.

TNS-Gallup is the premier provider of statistical material for media use in Norway. They have no information about the use of Sámi media. Sámi media is not included in the surveys of TNS-Gallup's semi-annual reports of media use in Norway. In these reports, they present the coverage level for Norwegian radio and TV stations, Internet pages and newspapers, but not for Sámi media. Nor does TNS-Gallup's report "Official reading figures for journals and magazines" contain information about Sámi magazines. The same is true for a larger survey, *Avislesing 2015: Tilbakegang for papiravisene fortsetter* (Newspaper reading 2015: the decline of paper versions continue). It contains no information about Sámi media.<sup>34</sup>

A very interesting source for this paper could have been *Mediebarn* (Media children). This is a thorough investigation on media use among Norwegian children aged 3-11 years. It was conducted by TNS Gallup in 2016. However, it contains nothing about Sámi children or Sámi media.<sup>35</sup> I have tried to find similar surveys about Sámi children and youths from Sweden or Finland without any success.

During my research, it has emerged that there may be some user data for Internet pages for Sámi children and youths in the Headquarters of NRK, YLE, SVT and Sweden's Radio. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to get access to this information, as it would have been very time-consuming work, because my potential partners are in the National Broadcasting Corporations' analysis departments in

Helsinki, Stockholm and Oslo. In the context of a more extensive research project, it may be possible to gain access to their departments. I was not able to solve these methodological problems working on my research project in 2016. But it is indeed attempting to initiate such a research cooperation.

## Recommendations for future research

My research on Sámi media for children and youths in 2016 resulted in some recommendations aimed at the media themselves, as well as authorities and politicians. One of them was to do more research on the quantitative aspects of Sámi media for children and youths. I pointed out that research should focus on the actual use of media and the effects of this use.

There are also some other interesting questions that remain unanswered on the consumer's side of the Sámi media consumption chain, that is, i.e. questions considering media and quality. Do the audience experience these media outputs as relevant for them? Do they find them on the media platforms they usually use? How satisfied are the users with the existing media outlets? What content would they

like to have in these media outputs? These are also topics suitable for quantitative studies where the results could be presented in the form of statistical figures.

I also recommend that Sámi media houses, which are the main producers of media content, produce more statistics about themselves and their products. Media should facilitate the use of such statistics, make it available for research and even convey their own statistical figures.

My research did reveal that the user-friendliness of the Sámi media outlets for children and youths may be insufficient. This is the situation despite the fact that some of the media houses have invested relatively large sums in digital products. I did advise them to focus on accessibility and usability for those media products that they already have.

I also pointed to some disturbing facts. Some findings indicated that some players in the Sámi media industry hang back in technological development. They should seize the opportunity to apply new technology to reach their audiences on new platforms. Financing bodies should also consider changing allocation regulations for Sámi media outlets to initiate such a development.

### Noter

1. Rasmussen (2016a).
2. Norwegian Expert group of Sámi statistics is appointed by the Minister of Local Government and Modernization in cooperation with the Sámi Parliament and has produced an annual book of Sámi statistics ([www.samilogutmuitalit.no](http://www.samilogutmuitalit.no)) since 2008.
3. Tønnesen (2007, 14-15).
4. Skogerbø's (2003).
5. My translation. Skogerbø (2003, 3).
6. Skogerbø (2003, 77-81).
7. NRK Sápmi (2011); Kintel (2016).
8. NRK's annual report (2012, 67).
9. NRK's digital archive; Hætta (2016); Åbergsjord (2013).
10. Hætta (2016).
11. Mienna (2016).
12. YouTube (2016).
13. Ministry of Children and Family Affairs (2003, 33); Solbakk, J.T. (2016).
14. Paltto (2016).
15. Skogerbø (2000, 64).
16. Wulff (2016). Authors observations.
17. Wulff, (2016).
18. Boine (2016); Nystad (2016); Nuorttanaste (2016).
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20. Tuóddri Pee'rel (2013).
21. Daerpies Dierie (1997).
22. Daerpies Dierie (2016); Bondevik (2016).
23. Mienna (2016).
24. Annual report (2015).
25. YLE Sápmi (2016).
26. Hagen & Vold (2009).
27. Solbakk (2016); Näkkäljärvi (2016); YLE Sámi (2016).
28. Norwegian newspaper control (2016).
29. Lindstrand (2016), Nystad (2016) and Bondevik (2016).
30. TNS Gallup (2016, 3).
31. Persen (2016); Sjøgren (2016); Paltto (2016).
32. Persen (2016).
33. Solbakk (2016).
34. TNS Gallup (2016, 1); (2016, 2); (2016, 3).
35. TNS Gallup (2016, 4); Strømmen (2016).

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