

Routledge Research in Sport, Culture and Society

INDIGENOUS SPORT AND NATION-BUILDING

INTERROGATING SÁMI SPORT AND BEYOND

Eivind Å. Skille



Indigenous Sport and Nation-Building

This book investigates the social, political, and cultural dimensions of Indigenous sport and nation-building. Focusing on the Indigenous Sámi of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia, it addresses how colonization variously impacts organizational arrangements and everyday sporting life in a modern world.

Through detailed case data from the Norwegian side of Sápmi (the land of the Sámi), this book provides a critical and contemporary perspective of post-colonial influences and their impacts on sport. The study uses concepts of conventions, citizenship, and communities, to examine the tenuous roles of Indigenous-based sport organizations and clubs towards the building of an Indigenous nation. The book further draws together international, national, and local Sámi experiences to address the communal and assimilative influences that sport brings for people in the North Calotte. Taken together, the book signals the importance of sport in future community development and the (re)emergence of Indigenous culture.

Appealing to policymakers and scholars alike, the book will be of particular interest to researchers in sport sociology, Indigenous studies, and post colonialism. It also provides essential insight for public officials and administrators of sport and/or Indigenous issues at various levels of public office.

Eivind Å. Skille is Professor of Sport Sociology at Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences, Norway.

Routledge Research in Sport, Culture and Society

Social Capital and Sport Organisations

Richard Tacon

Community Sport and Social Inclusion

Enhancing Strategies for Promoting Personal Development,
Health and Social Cohesion

*Edited by Marc Theeboom, Hebe Schailée, Rudi Roose, Sara Willems,
Lieve Bradt and Emelien Lauwerier*

Cricket and Contemporary Society in Britain

Crisis and Continuity

Russell Holden

Athlete Activism

Contemporary Perspectives

Edited by Rory Magrath

Training the Body

Perspectives from Religion, Physical Culture and Sport

Edited by David Torevell, Clive Palmer and Paul Rowan

Indigenous Sport and Nation-Building

Interrogating Sámi Sport and Beyond

Eivind Å. Skille

Sport, Identity and Inclusion in Europe

The Experiences of LGBTQ People in Sport

Ilse Hartmann-Tews

For more information about this series, please visit: <https://www.routledge.com/sport/series/RRSCS>

Indigenous Sport and Nation-Building

Interrogating Sámi Sport and Beyond

Eivind Å. Skille

First published 2022
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2022 Eivind Å. Skille

The right of Eivind Å. Skille to be identified as author of this work has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

The Open Access version of this book, available at www.taylorfrancis.com, has been made available under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial-No Derivatives 4.0 license. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Skille, Eivind Å., 1971- author.

Title: Indigenous sport and nation building : interrogating Sámi sport and beyond / Eivind Å. Skille.

Description: Abingdon, Oxon ; New York City : Routledge, 2022. |

Series: Routledge research in sport, culture and society |

Includes bibliographical references and index. | Identifiers:
LCCN 2021060622 | ISBN 9780367685942 (hardback) | ISBN
9780367685959 (paperback) | ISBN 9781003138228 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Sami (European people)—Ethnic identity. | Sami (European people)—Sports. | Nationalism and sports—Lapland. | Sports—Social aspects—Lapland.

Classification: LCC DL42.L36 S57 2022 | DDC

948.0049457—dc23/eng/20220328

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2021060622>

ISBN: 978-0-367-68594-2 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-367-68595-9 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-13822-8 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003138228

Typeset in Goudy
by codeMantra

To my mother and my father, for the childhood in Tana.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Contents

<i>Preface with Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xi
1 Indigenous Sport and Nation-Building: Setting the Scene	1
2 Nation-Building and Indigenous Sport: A Global Phenomenon	18
3 Contextualization of Research Field and Positioning of the Researcher	39
4 Indigenous Sport Clubs in Core Indigenous Areas	62
5 Indigenous Sport Clubs Outside Core Areas	81
6 States, Nations, and Indigenous Sport	101
7 Communities and Conventions in Indigenous Sport	124
8 Nation-Building and Indigenous Sport: Lessons Learned	144
<i>Index</i>	165



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Preface with Acknowledgements

In 2007, the head of office at the *Sámiid Valáštallanlihttu – Norga*, SVL-N (the Sámi sport organization in Norway), Torill Wigelius, invited me to an SVL-N weekend seminar. While the topics of the seminar were rather ordinary sport organization issues (e.g. administrative matters and adolescents' drop out), a specific research spark was lit. Thank you, Torill, for initiating the journey that eventually led to this book and for always being supportive when I have needed information from and about SVL-N.

After smaller detours into Sámi sport research, the main data generation took place 10–12 years after the mentioned seminar. When I visited sport clubs in their respective communities, I met with, observed, and interviewed sport club representatives. I am forever grateful to all grass root volunteers who have shared their experiences with me. Their unfiltered voices are the unquestioned and priceless basis for the empirical contribution of this piece. The same counts for officials of the Sámi parliament in Norway, who have always met me with a positive attitude and shared of their knowledge when I have needed it.

Being a Norwegian academic is a privileged position, which sometimes enables the combination of business and pleasure. The particular project that ended in this book started in July 2016, when my family landed in Dunedin, New Zealand, for a sabbatical at Otago University. We were met by – then good colleagues and now close friends – Steve and Mike. Boys! Thank you for the total experience of personal joy and professional support all the way. I really miss our Wednesday meetings at Staff Club, with coffee and scones.

It requires much facilitation to complete a book. In that respect, I owe many thanks to my leaders at the Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences, for generous research conditions; to the former dean Sven Inge for the sabbatical that made the Otago experience possible; to section leaders Trine and Per Øystein for time and money throughout the last five years or so; as well as to the research dean Anne Stine and the dean Ingrid for publishing support and encouraging e-mails. Thank you so much.

The specific creation of the manuscript has undergone several phases. In that respect, getting a contract with Routledge was inspiring and motivating. I am grateful to Simon for being supportive and encouraging from the start and to

Rebecca for following me through the process. You are both swift and service minded, which made my work so much easier.

I owe Charles Petterson for kindly allowing me to use the photos taken in real-life situations of Sámi sport. Although the pictures say more than thousand words, I'll add two: Thank you!

And I owe my Dad one for the drawings, Thank you! Moreover, thank you for reading drafts, for checking details regarding the context of Sápmi and the North Calotte, and for language references. After almost 50 years, I finally benefitted from your 'language nerd' side.

During the write up of the manuscript, I have – as always – leaned on my academic Dream Team: C4, the Cactus Club Café Community. Anna-Maria, Cissi, and Josef, thank you for commenting on each and every chapter through my writing process. You are sharp analysts and elegant communicators. I love working with you guys and plan to do it forever. Josef, can you believe how that meeting in an Irish pub in Belgium two decades ago was such a lucky strike? Thank you for co-authorships into Sámi sport and for reading one more time ...

'Last but not least' ... (the quotation indicates being in the Clarence Clemons league). I am never speechless when I am with Mike, but I struggled to find the right words for this paragraph. Mike, I cannot tell how much I appreciate your time and effort spent on supporting me in both ends of this project, from the proposal to the final reads of the manuscript. You are observant, interpretative, and able to sharpen my – often vague – ideas in ways that I have hardly experienced elsewhere. Thank you! I'll purchase you a pile of cheese scones.

Although I am generally happy with my job and specifically happy to finish this book, I actually know a trick that guarantees happiness anyway: my family! Thank you Rønnaug for being the best wife I have ever had, to my sons Tarjei and Torjus – aspiring and inspiring academics, and to Madonna for doing your homework – and most of all for just being the Pri.

Elverum, November 2021

Abbreviations

AWG	Arctic Winter Games
ILO	International Labour Organization (a United Nations agency)
NIF	Norges idrettsforbund = The Norwegian Confederation of Sports
RF	Riksidrottsförbundet = The Swedish confederation of sports
SVL	Sámiid Valášttallanlihttu = The Sámi sports association
SVL-F	Sámiid Valášttallanlihttu – Finland = The Sámi sports association – Finland
SVL-N	Sámiid Valášttallanlihttu – Norga = The Sámi sports association – Norway
SVL-S	Sámiid Valášttallanlihttu – Sweden = The Sámi sports association – Sweden



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Indigenous Sport and Nation-Building

Setting the Scene

Sport has been extensively leveraged as an instrument for nation-building all over the world and throughout history. Ancient Greece utilized some sport games that can be interpreted as tools for nation-building (Gren, 1957; Wilcken, 1962). According to Wilcken (1962), four ancient events (Olympic, Pythic, Isthmic, and Nemeic games) became panhellenic national festivals and contributed to the revival of national consciousness. In modern times, international elite sport success is prioritized in government policies; this can be traced back to the interwar period and the East European bloc exemplified by East Germany between 1970 and 1990 (Skille & Chroni, 2018; Skille et al., 2017), among others. For example, during the interwar era, the fascists in Italy utilized sport in the promotion of their regime (Beacom, 1998). Colonizers have likewise imported their sports to the colonies to integrate the local population into the new regime's culture; by contrast, former colonies have employed sport in their liberation process to create an identity, either by developing their own disciplines (see, for example, Aung-Thwin, 2012) or by keeping the colonizer's activities (see, for example, Anderson, 2006; Chiu et al., 2014). In these examples, we observe attempts to match cultural boundaries with political boundaries towards the creation of a nation state. A nation state is an ideal in which cultural boundaries match political boundaries, often referred to as a country – that is, a geographical area with both a sense of nation (a cultural entity) *and* state (a political entity).

The point here is that the relationship between sport and nation is challenging because the latter is often confused with related concepts such as state or country (Seton-Watson, 1977):

A state can exist without a nation, or with several nations among their subjects; and a nation can be coterminous with the population of one state or be included together with other nations within one state, or be divided between several states.

(p. 1)

The concept of nation is disputed (Eriksen, 2004, 2010; Jenkins, 2004; Smith, 1991). We often think of nation and state as the same entity, particularly by the

2 Indigenous Sport and Nation-Building

common use of the concept nation state. Hence, we regularly use the terms interchangeably and imprecisely (Aarebrot & Evjen, 2014; Kuokkonen, 2019). Smith (1991) defined nation as a '*named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members*' (p. 43, original italics). A nation state is a construct wherein the regime aims at merging the state as 'a legal and political organization, with the power to require obedience and loyalty from its citizens' with a nation that is 'a community of people, whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity, a common culture, a national consciousness' (Seton-Watson, 1977, p. 1). Modern sport and nation states developed at the same time and under similar circumstances; this is often referred to as modernity (see, for example, Goksøyr, 1998). Consequently,

...there is a taken-for-granted association between sport and nation and between nation and state to the extent that much of academic discussion of sport and nation either conflates them as if they are synonyms, otherwise fails to make the distinction between nation and state or accepts that in hegemonic or other dominant discourses the state is the proper political vessel for the nation and, however, problematically in other spheres, represents or stands in for it in discussions of the sport-nation nexus.

(MacLean & Field, 2014, p. 284)

This study aims to challenge the historically developed and taken-for-granted nation state–sport nexus by investigating sport for Indigenous peoples without their own state. More than one nation can exist within a single state. For example, Wales, England, and Scotland are nations within the British state, and Indigenous peoples such as the First Nations in Canada and the Aboriginals in Australia are nations without their own states (Marjoribanks & Farquharson, 2012). This is akin to the Māori in New Zealand, the people in Catalonia in Spain, Brittany in France, and the Taiwanese people and their relationship with China (Jarvie, 2003). Moreover, some Indigenous peoples have nations that cross state borders, such as the American Indians of Canada and the United States (Coates, 2004), Uighurs, Kurds, and Berbers, and the Sámi people. As a particular case of a border-crossing nation, the Sámi are one people and one nation residing in several states of North Calotte (Andresen et al., 2021; Minde, 2002).

This is a sociological study of Indigenous sports and nation-building or, more precisely, it is about sport and nation-building for Indigenous peoples without their own state. It shows how the complex history of colonization provides various impacts in the everyday activity of sport and how this variation in sport participation and organization impacts nation-building. As an empirical case, I focus on the Sámi people and sport in Sápmi. The Sámi is the Indigenous people of the North Calotte, while Sápmi refers to the Sámi nation crossing several nation states, including the north-western part of Russia and large parts of Finland, Sweden, and Norway. Through this case, I propose that an explanation of

Indigenous sport can contribute to a more sophisticated understanding of both sport and Indigenous nations, as well as nation states more generally. Thus, I explore specific peoples and their Indigenous nations through the lens of sport. I also discuss the meaning of sport through the lens of nation-building. In so doing, I contribute to sports sociological enquiry by advancing the argument that an understanding of sport as solely mirroring society is an oversimplification, as is the view of sport as an instrument for state authorities. The empirical case that follows instead outlines a discussion of how everyday activity sports are influenced by and affect the global issues of peoples without states, including Indigenous peoples crossing state borders, and Indigenous emancipation.

Throughout the rest of this introductory chapter, I will frame the study into global changes influencing our understanding of nation and nation states; provide definitions of ethnicity, indigeneity, and nation-building; and highlight the importance of culture, society, and organizations. This chapter will then conclude with the study's research questions and some notes on the contributions in and of this book.

Indigenous Sport and Nation-Building in a Changing World

While increased globalization is purported to lead to homogeneity, where national uniqueness and sovereignty all but disappear, the sport social scientist Grant Jarvie (2003) criticized this view and adopted the concept of 'glocalization' (from Bairner, 2001), noting that national identity is the flagship in international sport. This 'has been an extensive debate about the role of sport in the making of nations' (Jarvie, 2003, p. 539). Jarvie argued that sport and nation-building are intertwined. For example, sport can function in national identity building.¹ However, Jarvie was aware of and pinpointed that the formulation (and each formulation in footnote 1) includes a 'can'. In that respect, he called for 'caution against any rigid universal form of thinking that perpetually links a particular sport to a particular nation in the sense that the relationship between sport *x* and nation *y* becomes fixed in content, time, and space' (Jarvie, 2003, p. 541, original italics). The phenomenon is more complex. With reference to Hargreaves (2000), Jarvie (2003) pinpointed how, for example, Australian Aboriginal women 'are part of two worlds of sport and two forms of nation-building' (p. 542): the Australian mainstream sport built on the empire's culture *and* the Indigenous people's sporting culture as part of the Aboriginal nation.

For some, nation states are no longer the individuals' primary reference point because identity construction is individualized and personalized compared to a few generations ago (Giddens, 1990, 1991). Giddens (1999) claimed that nation states have become 'shell institutions'; the external features remain while the content may have disappeared. Individuals relate to the local domain as they have always done and simultaneously increasingly relate to the global domain via processes of de-nationalization (Sassen, 2003). Regarding sport, such processes are already

standard. While international sport is typically based on the representation of nation states,² some international competitions mobilize other representation logics. Bicycling competitions (for example, Tour de France) and motor sport (for example, Formula 1) are usually based on representing commercial teams, as are newer lifestyle sports such as skateboarding and snowboarding. Athletes' loyalty lies with sponsors instead of with national sport federations,³ a trend also evident in traditional sports such as cross-country skiing (generally organized in national teams of national federations and participation at FIS⁴ events). Moreover, they are organized in private teams, similar to professional cycling (Hansen, 2014).

Another element that challenges the sport-nation state nexus is the migration of athletes (Agergaard & Engh, 2017). Some athletes have several citizenships and can choose which country to represent in international competitions. This is relatively unproblematic, as the athlete usually has legal and emotional roots in each country from where he or she has a passport. However, what if the athlete changes citizenship to represent a country from which the athlete has no roots? Poli (2007) referred to such processes as 'de-ethnicization', which is defined as 'the progressive disconnection between the geographical origin of sportsmen and the nation states they are supposed to represent according to the traditional conception of the nation as a homogenous ethnic and cultural entity' (p. 654). This perspective dislocates the understandings of the relationships among nation, state, and citizen. In addition, international issues impact a country's internal negotiation and decision-making. The foregoing text has provided many hints of how to understand Indigenous sport and nation-building. I will now proceed with contrasting the possible de-ethnicization process posed by Poli (2007) and claim that double ethnicization is another possibility. The point is that Indigenous peoples in modern states live modern lives and often possess dual citizenships and identities. These formal arrangements and individual perceptions are complex and influence sport and the understanding of nations interdependently. In generalized terms:

The contemporary situation for Indigenous peoples around the world is complex, to say the least. In the outback of Australia, young Aborigines wear 'Air Jordan' t-shirts, Inuit in northern Canada watch 'Sex in the City' on televisions connected to the 100-channel universe, Māori in New Zealand attend the best business schools in the country (Coates, 2004, p. 15).

While change is complex and continuous, some concepts offer an analytically coherent means to discuss such complexity. For the purpose of this book, these crucial concepts are ethnicity, indigeneity, and, of course, nation-building.

Ethnicity, Indigeneity, and Nation-Building

Ethnicity contributes to the contest of the nation concept (Brubaker, 2004; Eriksen, 2010; Jenkins 2008). Thus, there is disagreement about whether one can talk about nations premised on ethnic definitions that are not founded on state borders. One way to understand nations is to consider them as imagined communities

(Anderson, 1983); a community of shared cognitions and emotions connected to a nation creates a national community. 'Nations are what their citizens imagine them to be, and nation-building occurs not only through political and economic processes, but also in cultural and symbolic contexts, such as through sport' (Marjoribanks & Farquharson, 2012, p. 78). This view of nation-building touches the core of this study, namely, whether we can claim that sport contributes to the development of the collective Sámi identity and the imagined community of Sápmi. Does sport nurture the nation-building of Sápmi? Or, how does sport contribute? Since the nation of Sápmi overlaps with several states that contain other nations, this raises important questions regarding whom (which organization or what nation) representatives of Sámi sport (athletes, coaches, sport leaders, sport politicians) imbue their loyalty, identity, and feelings of collectivity. To this end, I employ an understanding of ethnicity in line with Barth's (1969) definition, focusing on subjective preferences among individuals and perceptions of belonging to a group that is distinctive from other groups.

Despite the lack of a consensus on the definition of Indigenous people (Andresen et al., 2021; Berg-Nordlie et al., 2015; Coates, 2004; Dahl, 2012), a common characteristic refers to ethnic groups on colonized lands who were on the land before state borders were drawn. Nevertheless, despite common challenges and joint global organization (Coates, 2004; Dahl, 2012), the definition of Indigenous peoples varies across nation states (de Costa, 2015). Even within Sápmi, where Nordic countries acknowledge Sámi as an Indigenous people, the rights provided differ (Berg-Nordlie, 2015; de Costa, 2015). As Finland and Sweden do not appear on the list of countries that ratified the ILO Convention 169 into tribal and Indigenous peoples (ILO, n.d.; see also Kuokkanen, 2019, pp. 83–90), only the Sámis in Norway have had 'great success in using the Convention to promote land rights and cultural rights' (Dahl, 2012, p. 222), including triggering the establishment of subsidies to Sámi sport (Skille, 2012; see more context in Chapters 2 and 3).

The latter was a minor example of more significant issues. Norway is a nation and a state. The state of Norway refers to its political and bureaucratic systems, including the Parliament (Stortinget), the Government (with the Prime Minister in power as a recognizable name and face), and ministries with specific responsibilities at the state – usually referred to as the *national* – level. I have rights and duties as a citizen. I am a Norwegian. I have a Norwegian passport. I vote at elections. I served my national service in the Norwegian state's army when I was young. My national identity fits with the state borders and state institutions. I even work for a typical state institution as a researcher and teacher at a public university. The Norwegian nation is the collective imagination about Norwegians' shared history and identity, common tradition, and culture. State and nation tightly intertwine; the flag, the anthem, and the national day represent Norway as a nation and a state – as a nation state. I am one of the many Norwegians who celebrate the national day with flag and anthem, formally and ideologically. In so doing, I experience a strong sense of community with millions whom I do not know personally (cf. Anderson, 1983).

When the definition of a nation does not align with state borders, one can discuss whether a state that comprises several nations is responsible for nations other than 'its own' and whether the state has the responsibility and willingness to facilitate the 'other' nations' cultures. In short, can (or should) a state be responsible for building and sustaining multiple nations? Nation-building leans on the ideas of imagined communities and collective identity. Nation-building is the process in which a nation's identity develops and reinforces itself (Aarebrot & Evjen, 2014; Seton-Watson, 1977; Smith, 1991). What then is the problem? Well, one problem is whether the building of 'the nation' needs to equal the building of *one* nation. Let me elucidate by using a more personal example. My cousin from back home also has a Norwegian passport and served in the Norwegian army. He celebrates the Norwegian national day, obeys Norwegian law, and pays taxes to Norway just like I do. He is a Sámi. For him, for me, and for our relationship, that is not a problem. However, with regards to the above concepts, a challenge emerges because Sápmi is a more complicated idea than Norway to accept, given that a perfect overlap between nation and state is the key definitional criterion. Indeed, one people embodies or characterizes a perfect overlap between inhabitation and borders, while the other does not. There is no Sámi state with a complete political and bureaucratic entity, including a passport and legal violence forces (police and military) to symbolize citizenship and sovereignty. However, following the above conceptualizations, there exists a Sámi nation. Sápmi has a collective history and identity, shared tradition, and culture. Eidheim wrote:

Although the Sámi were scattered throughout the North Calotte and the peninsula of Kola, they were historically and culturally to understand as *one unique people* who had lived in this area and used it as theirs since long before the current states in colonial ways draw their borders and divided the area between them.

(2000, pp. 4–5, original italics)⁵

The quotation contains several points supporting my understanding of Sápmi. The Sámis were and are a geographically scattered people. Yet, they have a relatively united history and culture. Sámi and Sápmi are, like Norway and Norwegians, geographically widespread *and* simultaneously united with a shared history and culture. Consequently, the Sámi is one people. As political scientist Broderstad (2011) asserted: 'the Sámi consider themselves to be one people, one nation' (pp. 895–896, note 5). Thus, the Sámi people have lived in the North Calotte region and the peninsula of Kola for a long time (Hansen & Olsen, 2004); they have lived there for so long that the new states drew their borders by dividing what until then had been a cohesive Sápmi. Thus, the Sámi people ended up in different countries. Moreover, as this division of land was carried out against the Sámi people's will, it took place through what Eidheim called colonial ways. This refers to harsh assimilation, which is elaborated upon in the Context section in Chapter 3.

Society, Culture, and Sport Organizations

Culture put into a structure is society, which comprises formal institutions and organizations. Some typical examples are parliaments and governments with ministries as well as departments with professions working on behalf of and representing the society. We refer to such as societal institutions. Those who work there represent society and have as their profession the management of its culture. Some examples of the latter are judges and police officers in the justice system, teachers in schools, and doctors and nurses in the healthcare services. Thus, the police manage the laws, nurses and doctors manage health (physically and mentally), and teachers disseminate values and knowledge about what is normal and right. The culture disseminated through educational systems and managed by other public sector departments is not necessarily the only existing one, but it is the dominant culture. In Norway, schools teach the Norwegian language, Norwegian culture, and Norwegian societal arrangements. The police implement Norwegian law, which is created by the representatives in the parliament on the basis of Norwegian values. Although there are versions and opinions about what Norwegian culture is and should be, a consequence of this relatively perfect overlap of society and culture or state and nation is that other cultures are overlooked (Olsen & Adreassen, 2018) or at least less prioritized.

Thus far in this chapter, culture bearers have only comprised public sector actors. That is at best biased because culture is also created and shared through informal communication. Culture is based on shared values and is expressed via mutually interpretable symbols and appropriate practices. If practices ‘matter’, it is as relevant to speak of culture in the civil sphere (Alexander, 2006), for example, in voluntary organizations such as sport clubs and sport associations. That is the case, for example, in relation to the Māori (Indigenous people of New Zealand) and Pakeha (white New Zealanders with European heritage), the First Nations in the United States and Canada, as well as the Sámi and Norwegians in Norway (Coates, 2004).

Consequently, nation-building leans on the civil sphere and voluntary organizations as much as on the public sector and societal institutions (state administration, counties, and municipalities). There is no public sector entity for sport provision in Norway or in Sápmi (Seippel & Skille, 2019). In Norway and Sápmi, sport belongs to the civil society, which applies to Norwegian and Sámi sport organizations. Moreover, the strong civil sectors in the Scandinavian countries – characterized by bottom-up grassroots initiatives and voluntary work – are tightly intertwined with solid and rich welfare states. This explanation of the role of sport organizations in the Nordic countries (Green et al., 2019) includes the arrangement of policy organizations for the Indigenous people – the Sámi Parliament – which will be elaborated on in the Context section in Chapter 3.

Given the importance of civil society in Scandinavia, it is timely to ask: what roles can a voluntary organization such as the Sámi sport organization in Norway – *Sámiid Valaštallanlihttu – Norga* (SVL-N) – play in Sápmi

nation-building? Can Norwegian sport contribute to Sámi nation-building? A common origin for the analysis of these questions lies with the Norwegian sport organization: *Norges idrettsforbund*, NIF (Norwegian abbreviation in everyday use), which is historically understood as a contributor to the nation-building of Norway (Goksøyr, 1992, 1998, 2000). I return to similar points in the review of international literature in Chapter 2 and empirically illustrate a more nuanced and multidimensional perspective in Chapters 4–6. What I am about to tackle is a conceptualization of this book's main aim: to analyze and understand Indigenous sport and nation-building – with sport in Sápmi as the empirical contribution. I will analyze Indigenous sport and nation-building, more specifically, sport and the building of Indigenous nations without their own state – all within the conceptual and contextual framework of nation states. Thus, a significant aspect of this work revolves around the formal relationships between Sámi and Norwegians (including those aiming to serve Sámi rights and interests) and how these relations take place within the unitary state of Norway (Broderstad, 2008; Falch et al., 2015; Selle & Strømsnes, 2015).

I will investigate a specific empirical world through the concepts of Indigenous sport and nation-building and relate them to sport, culture, and society. There are other available and appropriate concepts. I could focus on Indigenous, rural, or periphery regionalization (Niemi, 2009) on Sámi nation-building more generally (Otnes, 1970; Ottar, 2000), on the more abstract term Sámi culture, or on the commonly used term Sámi society. In this study, I employ the concept of Sápmi as a nation, which enables the integration and discussion of other ideas and would still provide a relatively clear conceptual focus and an internationally recognizable concept. Indeed, the very use of the word Sápmi comprises an identity component. Identity issues are always at stake because they consider who we are and who we want to be. In that respect, Sámi is only label that can be used to describe yourself (Pedersen & Høgmo, 2012). With regards to sports, the most commonly used label to connect yourself is with the name of your club and, usually, the club borrows its name from the village, city, or suburb in which it is located (Hjelseth, 2016). These are points to which I return in Chapters 4 and 5.

While the above identity convention seems relatively straightforward, let me turn personal again to illustrate its nuance. I grew up in Deanu/Teno/Tana,⁶ a multicultural community with Sámi, Finnish, and Norwegian (the Tana River divides Finland and Norway). Deanu is the north Sámi name of the river and the municipality (local authority), covering various geographical and cultural districts: inland, valley/river, sea/fjord. If I played football, I would join the Tana football club and represent the place of origin without any explicit ethnic connotations. Having said that, to state that a sport club's name is without ethnic connotations because it refers to the name of the village is nevertheless disputable. All of our competitors would know that the community of Tana is multicultural, and many on our team spoke Sámi during matches and trainings. If I skied, I could join the mainstream ski club. However, if I skied, I could also join Deanu Searat,⁷ the Sámi sport club in Tana. That opens various options for me as an individual skier: do

I join the mainstream ski club or the Sámi sport club? Moreover, if I join Deanu Searat, is it because it is from Tana or because it is Sámi? The answers depend on context (Bjørklund, 2016), and the opportunity for an individual to connect with ‘the Sámi’ varies across state borders in Sápmi. The point is that I am interested in sport in relatively ordinary clubs and that sport clubs may have different affiliations. To bring these realities to light, I define sport, including my understanding of Indigenous sport, in the next section. I elaborate on Sámi sports in the second half of Chapter 2 and then present the Norwegian side of Sápmi more thoroughly in the first half of Chapter 3.

A Definition of Sport

I apply a common sport sociological understanding of sport as ‘institutionalized competitive activities that involve rigorous physical exertion or the use of relatively complex physical skills by participants motivated by personal enjoyment and external rewards’ (Coakley, 2001, p. 20). Let me investigate the definition’s constitutive elements. First, it is competition oriented. Second, it includes an element of bodily exercise, and achievement depends on physical activity and physical skills. Third, sport is institutionalized with standardized rules governed by organizations, applying to all levels of competition and achievement. Invariably, the acquisition of technical and tactical skills takes place in formalized contexts – typically through training sessions organized by sport clubs. Fourth, people take part in sport for various reasons, referred to as intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. It should be emphasized that for a phenomenon to be defined as a sport, all four of the constitutive elements need to be present simultaneously. Coakley’s (2001) definition fits with everyday talk about sport and my operationalization of Indigenous sport as applied in the empirical chapters below.

However, it can be contested whether a classical definition leaning on modern sport is apt for the analysis of Indigenous sport, which could also include traditional activities. For example, how do we define cross-country skiing outside sport clubs or sport competitions? Is it sport when skiing is conducted as transportation, as play for kids, or as recreation? Here, the answer is no. Regarding specific Sámi examples, how do we define informal competitions in river boat poling⁸ (Rønbeck, 1982, 1985), reindeer racing at festivals (Hætta, 2016), or skiing at polar expeditions (Karlsen, 2016)? What about lassoing when conducted within a reindeer herding context? Following Coakley’s definition, both skiing and lassoing are activities that could be defined as both sport and non-sport. It is sport if and when the activities are organized in sport clubs and sport associations. The same applies to, for example, the Dene and Inuit games of Indigenous peoples of North America (Heine, 2013). They developed from industrial or instrumental activities into modern sports through sportification processes (Goksøyr, 1988; Guttmann, 1978). In that respect, the example of river boat poling is easier to exclude because it never developed into a modern sport discipline in the same vein as did skiing and lassoing. Thus, it fails to satisfy Coakley’s four criteria for the definition of sport.

Following Coakley, I consider skiing and lassoing as sports because they satisfy all four criteria, including being institutionalized by the Sámi sport organization in Norway (SVL-N). Consequently, this includes football and skiing, as they are also organized in ordinary sport clubs. I simply define Sámi sports as activities conducted in sport clubs affiliated with SVL-N. These also include reindeer racing, but as long as I am interested in the double affiliation and the relationship between Sámi sport and Norwegian sport, reindeer racing is not studied in the empirical chapters. I justify the rationale for this choice in the Context section in Chapter 3. The drawings of the specific activities are presented in Figures 1.1 and 1.2.

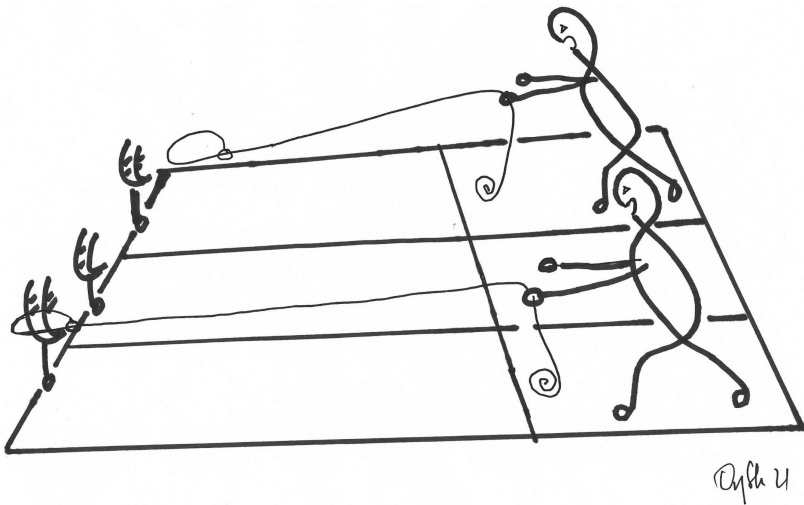


Figure 1.1 Lassoing (drawing by Øystein Skille).

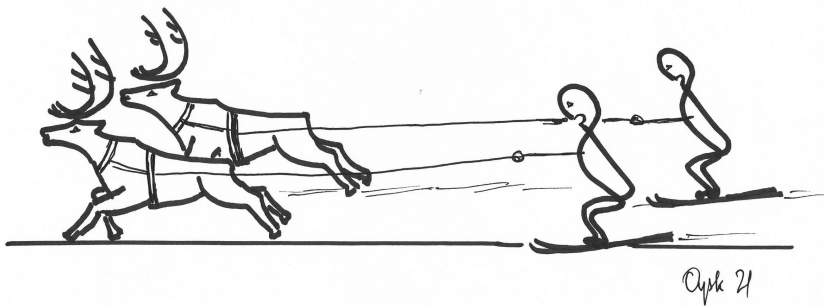


Figure 1.2 Reindeer racing (drawing by Øystein Skille).

Aim and Structure of the Book

The concept of nation remains vital for the understanding of sport. Inspired by Jarvie (2003) and others (outlined in Chapter 2), I believe that research on Indigenous sport and nation-building is essential because it challenges the sovereignty of territorially defined nation states with country-oriented sport organizations. International sport is founded on national sport; thus, it is dependent on nations. However, that is not to say that nations and states are perfectly overlapped; rather, 'the homogenous view of the viable nation state is over, if it ever existed' (Jarvie, 2003, p. 544). While the present study offers no definitive judgement on this level, Jarvie's observation reinforces this study's relevance in international sport sociology because Sápmi covers several nation states, as well as within each of the states, and because Sápmi is more prominent in some regions than in others.

My aim with this study is to shed light on the relationship between Indigenous sport and nation-building in nations without states, including nations crossing state borders. I will challenge the historical, common, and taken-for-granted understanding of the relationships among nation, state (or nation state), and sport by investigating Indigenous sport within and across state borders. I admit that actors relate more to global trends and arrangements today than in earlier periods. I will neither deny that we do so in new ways, more directly with individual access to information from other corners of the world. However, I doubt the value of overlooking nations and states in a sociological study of (Indigenous) sport. For example, I consider the Sámi people's position in Norway in relation to international policies about Indigenous peoples. Consequently, those general considerations influence Sámi sport on the level of grassroots sports clubs. Moreover, one feature of Nordic countries is the merger of a strong welfare state with the development of a vivid civil sector, including sport organizations (see Context section in Chapter 3). Taken together and despite a book like this necessarily touching many topics, I adhere to these two research questions as my guide all throughout: (1) What roles do Indigenous sport organizations, including sport clubs, play (and how do they vary)? (2) What might contemporary conventions within Indigenous sport signal in terms of future community development and the (re)emergence of Indigenous culture and 'nation'?

I discuss these questions, which are formulated in generalized terms, primarily with the application of empirical material from the Norwegian side of Sápmi and Sámi sport in Norway. Given the above conceptualizations, I consider Sápmi as a nation that crosses four nation states; this acknowledges that Sámi individuals bear dual citizenships within each country, for example, Sámi and Norwegian. Consequently, the text below about Sámi sport *also* includes discussions of Sámi sport contributing to Norwegian nation-building. To discuss the research questions, I use Chapters 2 and 3 to frame the study. First, I will need to position Sámi sport in a broader literature into sport and nation-building; I do this in Chapter 2 by tracing how empires have colonized and how colonies have liberated, outlining the development of unique sport and global sports, and by explaining how Indigenous

sport can be organized. In Chapter 3, I contextualize Sámi sport in Sámi history and Norwegian society and acknowledge that Sámi sport has a unique history and organization. In addition, Chapter 3 describes the methodological approaches for the later empirical contributions. Methodologically, I reflect upon my position as a privileged researcher – and present the overarching scientific theoretical idea of interpretative pragmatism – a hermeneutical approach applying available data and sources.

Chapters 4–7 have a progression with a descriptive start via empirical comparisons to more analytical elements. Chapters 4 and 5 represent the main empirical contributions of the book, structured in a thematically similar manner but divided geographically between core Sámi areas (Chapter 4) and outside core areas (Chapter 5).⁹ The structure comprises three subsections: (i) the sport club activities, (ii) the sport clubs' relationship to the Sámi sport organization, and (iii) evidence of local identity and nation-building. Thus, the similarly structured subsections enable the identification of similarities and differences across the Norwegian side of Sápmi. First, sport club representatives from both core Sámi areas and outside describe their local sport club and everyday sport activities in line with other 'ordinary' or mainstream sport in Norway (Seippel & Skille, 2019; Skille, 2010); however, they add the importance of the Sámi activities (lassoing, skiing with lassoing) and the importance of their Sámi identity. Second, which is quite remarkable, sport club representatives from different parts of Sápmi describe the relationships with the Sámi sport organization slightly differently; where the sport clubs in the core Sámi areas describe it as bottom-up (they provide the typical Sámi sport activities and, therefore, are members of the Sámi sport organization), sport club representatives from outside core areas describe the relationship as more top-down (because they are members of the Sámi sport organization, they [have to] provide Sámi sport activities, such as lassoing).

Pinpointing and outlining how Indigenous sport organizations function as links between the local community and the imagined national community, I hopefully overcome Bairner's (2015) criticism: 'Too often, sociologists of sports have seemed happy simply to refer to the term "imagined community" and move on without further scrutiny of the concept itself' (p. 378; I will scrutinize the concept of the community more in depth in Chapter 7). Third, and in line with the differences found in the sections into sport clubs' relationship with the sport organization, the sections on nation-building in Chapters 4 and 5 elaborate on different interpretations, meanings, and importance of Sápmi as a nation among sport club representatives across different areas of Sápmi. The short and coarse-cut version is that living the Sámi life is – in the core Sámi areas – a natural first choice supported by the environment (i.e. taken-for-granted), as opposed to life in the outskirts of Sápmi, where Sámi lifestyle is under more intense pressure from the Norwegian majority. This aligns with the colonization histories and trajectories of Sápmi more generally (Andresen et al., 2021) and will be discussed with other trajectories of colonization and understandings of nations in the international literature in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6 expands the empirical contributions of Chapters 4 and 5 by adding empirical cases to findings from studies that include the Swedish and Finnish sides of Sápmi into Indigenous sport and other corners of the world – hereunder, the Māori in New Zealand and the Indian nations in Canada. More specifically, Chapter 6 again takes up the points presented in Chapter 2 and adds findings from studies conducted with Swedish and Finnish colleagues. Interestingly, the differences found and highlighted in Chapters 4 and 5 are nuanced and partly overshadowed in Chapter 6 because there are even more significant differences across Sápmi (than within Norway). The differences across countries in Sápmi rely on overarching differences in the way each country has treated the Sámi throughout history and treats them today. In that respect, Sámi sport reflects and contributes to an understanding of how post-colonialism strikes differently, even within the relatively limited geographical and assumingly relatively culturally coherent countries of Sápmi and the North Calotte. Although I try to not evaluate good and bad in this book into Indigenous sport (but rather work descriptively), it is tempting to claim that Sámis in Norway face better conditions than their peers in the neighbour countries; it is less emblematic of the rougher edges of colonialism because the Norwegian state formally acknowledges and economically supports Sámi sport much more than Sweden and Finland. On the contrary, the Norwegian side of Sámi sport has perhaps adopted a Norwegian and Western bureaucracy. These statements will be elaborated on empirically.

In Chapter 7, I discuss the empirical findings from Chapters 3 to 6 more analytically by applying two specific theoretical concepts: convention and community. Applying the concepts of community and a convention, I discuss and explain how community refers both to local everyday contexts of sport and national community. The central point is that sport organizations work as facilitators of an imagined community – for Norway, Sápmi, or other nations. Moreover, convention as an analytical concept helps me take a step back and explain how sport comprises shared understandings among people. However, the conventions related to nations and sport or related to different sports organizations may be distinguishable from one another. That tension sets out an interesting and meaningful discussion about the relationships among (i) individual and collective development, (ii) the emergence and revitalization of Indigenous culture(s), (iii) their national identity building, and (iv) the fellowship of Indigenous peoples globally. Leaning on Sámi sport in North Calotte as the empirical case under scrutiny, the analytical concepts foster a more generalized discussion. Chapter 8 concludes the study of Indigenous sport and nation-building, first by aiming to answer the research questions. The answers developed for the research questions have thus generated new ideas for discussing the relationship between individual rights and identity as a people or as an Indigenous nation. The concluding chapter discusses the study's implications for policy, practice, and research. I reflect upon the introduction presented in Chapter 1 and my role as a researcher in Chapter 3.

Notes

- 1 Jarvie lists a number of statements to argue that sport can contribute to nations: sport can function as a replacement for political nationalism; sport can work as both civic and ethnic nationalism; sport can function in national reconciliation; sport can be a valve for frustrated individuals and nations; sport can contribute in building a national identity; nations excluded from ordinary national representation at international sport events can experience national identity through sport clubs (for example, Barcelona is a symbol for the region Catalonia); national support for sport can work as a reaction against the development of global sport; sport can develop national consciousness; and sport can contribute to cultural imperialism and colonization (2003, pp. 540–541).
- 2 To be precise, athletes represent sport organizations that are often monopolistic in the origin country.
- 3 One could argue whether the loyalty is with a sponsor and simultaneously within traditional national teams. The point is that the logic of nation state and sport representation is in flux.
- 4 FIS is the International Ski Federation (see FIS, 2018).
- 5 For all quotations in this book stemming from non-English sources, the translation is mine.
- 6 The name in North Sámi, Finnish, and Norwegian, respectively. Deanu is genitive of the nominative Deatnu, a Fenno-Ugric word corresponding to river names, such as Donau and Don. It is Tana in Norwegian, and the word is mostly used for the benefit of English-speaking tourists.
- 7 Searat means strong or athletic (cf. sport clubs include athletic/athletico as part of the name).
- 8 Moving the river boat forward (upward in the river) by pushing a pole against the bottom.
- 9 The labelling of Sámi areas is difficult and disputable, even contested and potentially offensive. Defining core areas and ‘the rest’ as outside implies a hierarchy between the Sámi districts (see Context section in Chapter 3). The empirical material confirms this (see Chapters 4 and 5, especially in comparison).

References

- Aarebrot, F. and Evjen, K. (2014). *Land, følelser og makt* [Country, emotions and power]. Fagbokforlaget.
- Agergaard, S. and Engh, M. H. (2017). Globalization, migration and race in sport. In J. Nauright and D. K. Wiggins (Eds.): *Routledge handbook of sport, race and ethnicity* (pp. 107–120). Routledge.
- Alexander, J. C. (2006). *The civil sphere*. Oxford University Press.
- Andresen, A., Evjen, B. and Rymiin, T. (Eds.) (2021). *Samenes historie fra 1751 til 2010* [The history of the Sámi 1751–2010]. Cappeen Damm Akademisk.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities. Reflecting on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Sage.
- Anderson, E. (2006). Using the master’s tools: resisting colonization through colonial sports. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23(2), 247–266.
- Aung-Thwin, M. (2012). Towards a national culture: chinlone and the construction of sport in post-colonial Myanmar. *Sport in Society*, 15(10), 1341–1352.

- Bairner, A. (2001). *Sport, nationalism and globalization*. State University of New York Press.
- Bairner, A. (2015). Assessing the sociology of sport: on national identity and nationalism. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 50(4–5), 375–379.
- Barth, F. (1969). Introduction. In F. Barth (Ed.): *Ethnic groups and boundaries. The social organization of culture difference* (pp. 9–38). Universitetsforlaget.
- Beacom, A. (1998). Indigenous sport and the search for belonging. *The Sports Historian*, 18(2), 50–77.
- Berg-Nordlie, M. (2015). Representativitet i Sápmi. Fire stater, fire tilnæringer til inklusjon av urfolk [Representativity in Sápmi. Four states, four approaches to inclusion of Indigenous peoples]. In B. Bjerkli and P. Selle (Eds.): *Samepolitikkenes utvikling* [The Sámi politics' development] (pp. 388–418). Gyldendal akademisk.
- Berg-Nordlie, M., Saglie, J. and Sullivan, A. (Eds.) (2015). *Indigenous politics. Institutions, representation, mobilization*. ECPR Press.
- Bjørklund, I. (2016). 'Er ikke blodet mitt bra nok?' Om etniske konstruksjoner og identitetsforvaltning i Sapmi ['Isn't my blood good enough?' About ethnic constructions and identity management in Sapmi]. *Nytt norsk tidsskrift*, 33(1–2), 8–20.
- Broderstad, E. G. (2008). *The bridge-building role of political procedures. Indigenous rights and citizenship rights within and across the borders of the nation-state*. Tromsø University.
- Broderstad, E. G. (2011). The promises and challenges of indigenous self-determination. The Sami case. *International Journal*, 66(4), 893–907.
- Brubaker, R. (2004). *Ethnicity without groups*. Harvard University Press.
- Chiu, W.-C., Hwang, D.-J. and Bairner, A. (2014). In the shadow of national glory: Taiwan Aboriginal baseball in the politics of identity. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 31(3), 347–362.
- Coakley, J. (2001). *Sport in society. Issues and controversies* (7th ed). McGraw-Hill.
- Coates, K. S. (2004). *A global history of indigenous peoples. Struggle and survival*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dahl, J. (2012). *The indigenous space and marginalized peoples in the United Nations*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- de Costa, R. (2015). States' definitions of indigenous people: a survey of practices. In M. Berg-Nordlie, J. Saglie and A. Sullivan (Eds.): *Indigenous politics. Institutions, representation, mobilization* (pp. 25–60). ECPR Press.
- Eidheim, H. (2000). Ein nasjon veks fram: Sápmi [A nation grows forth: Sápmi]. *Ottar*, 232(4), 3–8. Tromsø museum.
- Eriksen, T. H. (2004). *Røtter og føtter. Identitet i en omskiftelig tid* [Roots and feet. Identity in a changing time]. Aschehoug.
- Eriksen, T. H. (2010). *Ethnicity and nationalism. Anthropological perspectives* (3rd ed). Pluto Press.
- Falch, T., Selle, P. and Strømsnes, K. (2015). The Sami: 25 years of indigenous authority in Norway. *Ethnopolitics*, 15(1), 125–143.
- FIS (2018). *The FIS vision*. Retrieved from: https://fis-cloudinary.corebine.com/image/upload/v1540904592/fis-prod/Vision_and_Mission.pdf.
- Giddens, A. (1990). *The consequences of modernity*. Stanford University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity. Self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1999). *Runaway world. How globalization is reshaping our lives*. Routledge.
- Goksøyr, M. (1988). *Sivilisering, modernisering, sportifisering: fruktbare begreper i idrettshistorisk forskning?* [Civilization, modernization, sportification: fruitful concepts in sports history research]. Norwegian School of Sport Sciences.

- Goksøy, M. (1992). *Staten og idretten* [The state and the sport]. Kulturdepartementet.
- Goksøy, M. (1998). Idretten og det norske: Aktivitet som identitet [Sport in the Norwegian: activity as identity]. In Ø. Sørensen (Ed.): *Jakten på det norske* [In search for the Norwegian] (pp. 158–174). Ad notam Gyldendal.
- Goksøy, M. (2000). Opplevde fellesskap og folkelig nasjonsbygging: Norge og idretten 1905–1940 [Imagined communities and folk nation building: Norway and the sport 1905–1940]. *Historisk Tidsskrift (Norge)*, 80(3), 307–329.
- Green, K., Sigurjonsson, T. and Skille, E. Å. (Eds.) (2019). *Sport in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries*. Routledge.
- Green, E. (1957). *Greklands historia* [Greece's history]. NoK.
- Guttman, A. (1978). *From ritual to record. The nature of modern sport*. Columbia University Press.
- Hansen, L. I. and Olsen, B. (2004). *Samenes historie fram til 1750* [Sámi history until 1750]. Cappelen akademisk forlag.
- Hansen, P. Ø. (2014). *Making the best even better: Fine-tuning development and learning to achieve international success in cross-country skiing*. Norwegian School of Sport Sciences.
- Hargreaves, J. (2000). *Heroines of sport. The Politics of Difference and Identity*. Routledge.
- Heine, M. (2013). Performance indicators. Aboriginal games at the arctic winter games. In J. Forsyth and A. R. Giles (Eds.): *Aboriginal peoples & sport in Canada* (pp. 160–181). UBC Press.
- Hjelseth, A (2016). Idrettslaget som markør for lokalsamfunnsidentitet [The sports club as marker of local community identity]. In M. Villa and M. S. Haugen (Eds.): *Lokalsamfunn* [Local community] (pp. 216–234). Cappelen Damm Akademisk.
- Hætta, O. M. (2016). Reinkappkjøring i 60 år (1954–2013) [Reindeer racing over 60 years (1954–2013)]. In H. C. Pedersen and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Utafor sporet? Idrett, identiteter og regionalisme i nord* [Outside the tracks? Sport, identities and regionalism in the north] (pp. 225–244). Oplandske bokforlag.
- ILO (n.d.). *Ratifications of C169- Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169)*. Retrieved from: https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:11300:0::NO:11300:P11300_INSTRUMENT_ID:312314:NO.
- Jarvie, G. (2003). Internationalism and sport in the making of nations. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture Power*, 10(4), 537–551.
- Jenkins, R. (2004). *Social identity*. Routledge.
- Jenkins, R. (2008). *Rethinking ethnicity* (2nd ed). Sage.
- Karlsen, S. S. (2016). '[...] så skrev jeg til noen velkjente menn i Finnmark med forespørsel om man kunne skaffe meg to fjellapper som var villige til å følge med' – Om polarekspedisjoner, skiløping og etnisitet [... then I wrote to some well known men in Finnmark with a request if they could acquire me two Sámis who were willing to join' – On polar expeditions, skiing and ethnicity]. In H. C. Pedersen and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Utafor sporet? Idrett, identiteter og regionalisme i nord* [Outside the tracks? Sport, identities and regionalism in the north] (pp. 246–270). Oplandske bokforlag.
- Kuokkanen, R. (2019). *Restructuring relations. Indigenous self-determination, governance, and gender*. Oxford University Press.
- MacLean, M. and Field, R. (2014). Performing nations, disrupting states: sporting identities in nations without states. *National Identities*, 16(4), 283–289.
- Marjoribanks, T. and Farquharson, K. (2012). *Sport and society in the global age*. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Minde, H. (2002). Assimilation of the sami – implementation and consequences. *Acta Borealia*, 20(2), 121–146.
- Niemi, E. (2009). Nord-Norge: skapingen av Norges første moderne region [North-Norway: The creation of Norway's first modern region]. In B. Seland (Ed.): *Regionen. Historiske perspektiver, aktuelle utfordringer* [The region. Historical perspectives, current challenges] (pp. 35–53). Høyskoleforlaget.
- Otnes, P. (1970). *Den samiske nasjon: Interesseorganisasjoner i samenes politiske historie* [The Sámi nation: Interest organizations in Sámi political history]. Pax.
- Ottar. (2000). *Ein nasjon blir til* [A nation is created]. Tromsø museum.
- Pedersen, P. and Høgmø, A. (2012). *Sápmi slår tilbake. Samiske revitaliserings- og moderniseringsprosesser i siste generasjon* [Sápmi strikes back. Sámi revitalization and modernization processes in the last generation]. CalliidLagadus.
- Poli, R. (2007). The denationalization of sport: De-ethnicization of the nation and identity deterritorialization. *Sport in Society*, 10(4), 646–661.
- Rønbeck, N.-F. (1982). *Staking i elvebåt: bevegelsene og historien* [Pole pushing of river boat: The movement and the history]. Norwegian School of Sport Sciences.
- Rønbeck, N.-F. (1985). *Elvebåten i Finnmark* [The river boat in Finnmark]. Tromsø museum.
- Sassen, S. (2003). Globalization or denationalization? *Review of International Political Economy*, 10(1), 1–22.
- Seippel, Ø. and Skille, E. Å. (2019). Sports participation in Norway. In K. Green, T. Sigurjonsson and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Sport in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries* (pp. 108–135). Routledge.
- Selle, P. and Strømsnes, K. (2015). Sivilsamfunnet og Sametinget som 'støvsuger' [Civil society and the Sámi parliament as 'vacume cleaner']. In B. Bjerkli and P. Selle (Eds.): *Den samepolitiske utviklingen* [The Sámi political development] (pp. 274–308). Gyldendal Akademisk.
- Seton-Watson, H. (1977 [2019]). *Nations and states. An enquiry into the origins of nations and the politics of nationalism*. Routledge.
- Skille, E. Å. (2010). *Idrettslaget – helseprodusent eller trivselsarena?* [The sports club – health producer or arena for well-being?] Oplanske bokforlag.
- Skille, E. Å. (2012). Ethno-politics and state sport policy – the case of how the Sami sport association – Norway challenged the Norwegian confederation of sport's monopoly for state subsidies to sport. *Scandinavian Sport Studies Forum*, 3, 143–165.
- Skille, E. Å. and Chroni, S. (2018). Norwegian sports federations' organizational culture and national team success. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 10(2), 321–333.
- Skille, E. Å., Stenling, C. and Fahlen, J. (2017). Talent policies. In Baker, J., Cobley, S., Schorer, J. and Wattie, N. (Eds.): *Routledge handbook of talent identification and development in sport* (pp. 453–463). Routledge.
- Smith, A. (1991). *National identity*. University of Nebraska Press.
- Wilcken, U. (1962). *Griechische Geschichte im Rahmen der Altertums-geschichte*. Cambridge University Press.

Nation-Building and Indigenous Sport

A Global Phenomenon

In 2014, the journal *National Identities* published a special issue entitled *Sporting Identities in Nations Without States* (MacLean & Field, 2014) because it was a neglected research field. However, several relevant studies into sport and nation take many forms: for example, sport and national identity (Jackson, 1994, 1998, 2004), sport and nationalism (Bairner, 2001, 2008, 2015), and sport and nation-building. As indicated in Chapter 1, the pivotal point is that modern sport and nation states are children of the same time – often referred to as modernity (Goksøyr, 1998). According to MacLean and Field: ‘This nation state-sport nexus emerged in a growing discursive field of nationhood and modernity that intensified throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century’ (2014, p. 283). Sport concretized the nation because ‘the imagined but abstract community needed a material form’ (MacLean & Field, 2014, p. 283). Indeed, the abstract nation shared by millions of people became more real, with 11 named players on a football pitch or recognizable faces on a ski team (Goksøyr, 1998; Kolstad, 2002; MacLean & Field, 2014). This chapter provides general information about Indigenous sport and nation-building and is divided into two parts. First, I present literature on Indigenous sport and nation-building globally. Second, I link sport and nation-building literature with the empirical context under scrutiny later in this book: namely, nation states that Sápmi crosses, particularly Norwegian and Sámi sport.

Sport, Indigenous Peoples, and Nation-Building

The multifaceted literature on sport and nation-building includes two broad variants of studies. The first focuses on how new states utilize specific sport disciplines to create a national identity (often after liberation from an empire and other occasions to demonstrate independence). The second focuses on how the relationships between nations – and concrete meetings of peoples – occur. In other words, specific sport disciplines generate different meanings in different contexts – among various peoples and nations (Falcous, 2017), even though such activities may look similar for the uninitiated. Falcous (2017) illustrated this with the differences between rugby union and rugby league regarding belonging to ‘Englishness’. In a Sámi context, reindeer racing likewise creates different meanings across countries

of Sápmi, for example, due to different laws regarding ownership of reindeer in Finland and Norway (Ministry of Agriculture & Food, 2016). Thus, this chapter does not provide an exhaustive list but rather provides examples to show the complexity of the phenomenon. It continues with subsections into how specific (and sometimes unique) sport disciplines can work for nation-building, how global sport can achieve this, and why this translates into the challenge some athletes face in choosing a nation to represent. The first part of this chapter ends with a small subsection on Indigenous sport versus mainstream sport.

Unique Sport Disciplines and Nation-Building

As a valuable exception to the then small research field (Hallinan & Judd, 2013), Beacom (1998) wrote about the relationship between Indigenous sport and nation-building over two decades ago. One example was how Italian authorities in the interwar era rewrote the rules of football to create their own game, aiming at utilizing it as a marker for the sovereignty of the regime. The regime intended a process ‘of developing a spirit of patriotism’, hereunder ‘an attempt to direct the use of leisure time and recreational activities in such a way as to enhance support for the regime’ (Beacom, 1998, p. 61). When the organization for Olympic issues came into fascist hands, several attempts were exerted to make a popular sport for the regime; for example, replacing the word ‘soccer’ with ‘the Latin term ‘Calcio’ in an effort to link it to Italian culture and tradition – with little or no effect. Then, the regime invented its own football version, called ‘Volata’. However, ‘a newly “manufactured” game’ without anchoring in the people needed a ‘considerable “top-down” organizational input’ (Beacom, 1998, p. 63) – referring to symbolic and economic support from the government. When Italy simultaneously did very well in international football (ordinary soccer), the underlying problems with Volata came to light; a game only played within Italy could never gain any international success to benefit the global image of the regime. Most specifically, when Italy won the World Cup in 1934, a positive display of the regime was one outcome and: ‘The rationale for promoting an Indigenous form of football which had been conceived of as an activity which could replace soccer ... simply no longer existed’ (Beacom, 1998, p. 64).

A contradictive example is a sport discipline played internally in only one country, which seems to survive. Gaelic football unites the population of Ireland *and* works as external resistance. When it comes to possibilities for internationalization, it is as limited as the Italian Volata, but ‘the number of Gaelic football teams now in existence in Irish communities outside Ireland is noteworthy’ (Beacom, 1998, p. 68; see also Holmes & Storey, 2004; Murray & Hassan, 2018). Moreover, some international games are conducted through compromising the rules of two games and nations; or the ‘integration of two football codes; namely, Australian Rules football and Gaelic football’ (Beacom, 1998, pp. 64–65). Volata and Gaelic football reveal different stories about games with several similarities; it is ‘an attempt to create games ... distinctively different from soccer’, rules that

were supposed to require little equipment, where the ‘focus was on the “ideal” citizen through stress of teamwork’, and with ‘an important link between the terminology of the game and native language’ (Beacom, 1998, p. 65). An important difference is that Volata in Italy was a top-down project initiated by the authorities, while Gaelic football is founded at the grassroots of the population and continues ‘to reflect the primary pre-occupation of Irish identity’ (Beacom, 1998, p. 66).

In another study focusing on specific sport disciplines and nation-building, Petrov (2014) showed how different wrestling styles represent ethnicities and nationalities within the former Soviet Union. Each wrestling style was developed to represent one nation. Focusing on Uzbekistan, Petrov identified a problem because when each nation has its own rules, it limits the possibility for competitions with other nations (to display success and superiority; cf. Becomon, 1998, on Volata). Nevertheless, the development of five national wrestling styles paralleled the development of five nation states.¹ ‘Each one was declared to be a traditional and unique practice of that particular nation’ (Petrov, 2014, p. 406). Petrov, leaning on Jarvie (1991), preferred to call them ‘selected traditions’ because specific wrestling styles were deliberately chosen among a spectre of available local variants; thereafter, the selected style was organized as a sport and underwent typical sportification processes: standardization, bureaucratization, rationalization, and secularization (cf. Guttmann, 1978). Since the selection and development of a wrestling style as a national symbol depends on political and economic priorities, the government of Uzbekistan was a significant supporter and subsidizer. Thus, ‘wrestling style transformations occur as responses to transformations in society’, as ‘select Indigenous local styles were transformed into national styles while undergoing simultaneous sportification’, and they ‘were instrumentalised for the purpose of nation-building’ (Petrov, 2014, p. 416). A fundamental point here is that the chosen sport discipline must provide meaning within the nation and appear meaningful outside the nation.

Another example of a specific discipline for nation-building is chinlone in Burma/Myanmar (Aung-Thwin, 2012). The story follows a classic trajectory. As colonizers, the Brits considered the Burmese underdeveloped and in need of ‘civilization’, which was undertaken through sport, school, and missionizing. After the country’s liberation (in 1948): ‘Establishing a national culture meant identifying elements that could be extended to all citizens of the nation’ (Aung-Thwin, 2012, p. 1347), such as food, clothes, anthem, art – and sport. Chinlone was similar to games played with a football, like ‘no-bounce’ or football tennis; an object similar to a football – the chinlone – is intended to be kept in the air only using the feet (or all body parts except hands). The highest authority within sport, the National Fitness Council (a successor of Burma Athletic Association), commissioned a person to write up the rules for chinlone, resulting in a rule and instruction book with ‘images seemingly taken directly from colonial physical education manuals’ (Aung-Thwin, 2012, pp. 1347–1348). In other words, chinlone was developed as a modern sport discipline and displayed as Ancient Burmese, simultaneously: ‘the

game was Indigenous to ancient Burma and was played exclusively by the Burmans' (p. 1348), and it is this which distinguishes the Burmese chinlone story from other liberated colonies that often choose the colonizer's sport as their national sport. 'The "making" of chinlone into a sport ... borrowed both the notion of sport and its vicissitudes from colonial models' and 'nation-builders wanted to assert their cultural independence by choosing an activity that could be seen as truly Burmese' (p. 1349).

In the above examples, 'the activity will clearly reinforce the feeling of uniqueness and "otherness"' but struggle to 'provide a medium through which national prestige may be promoted on the international stage' (Beacom, 1998, p. 66). A tension, therefore, is that the sport discipline in question should both 'protect and promote ... as symbolic to resist the cultural imperialism' but can never be developed into an 'Olympic sport as a vehicle for demonstrating the progressive and dynamic nature' (p. 66) of the focal culture, ethnicity, or indigeneity. On the contrary, many liberated colonies keep the sport of the colonizers and aim at utilizing it to build a new or revitalized nation. Two typical sports in that regard, one originating in North America and the other on the British Islands and exported to many parts of the world, are baseball and football. For example, regarding baseball in Taiwan, Chiu et al. (2014) analyzed the relationship between Taiwanese and Chinese nationalism and how the Indigenous people of Taiwan are defined as subordinates. The Indigenous people's contribution to nation-building has depended upon, first, Japanese colonialism, then, Chinese nationalism; today, it depends on Taiwanese nationalism that is largely defined by Japanese and Chinese successors. In this manner, 'various dominant groups have appropriated the baseball achievements of Austronesian aborigines' (p. 347); the Indigenous people's subordination is reproduced through politics, economy, and social order – as well as sport (cf. Yu & Bairner, 2010).

Global Sport Disciplines and Nation-Building

On keeping the colonizer's sport, Yu and Bairner (2010) showed how Aboriginal baseball players are used in the debate about national identity in Taiwan and discussed the state's role in schooling the Indigenous players to exploit them in Taiwanese nation-building. Although baseball can be a source of fame and money for individual players, the practice with Aboriginal players might be considered an exploitation of an ethnic minority. Yu and Bairner (2010) identified two camps of perspectives on the tension between individual fame and Indigenous suppression. The oppositional camp focuses on race discrimination and how Western institutions and politics control the Aboriginals (cf. Hallinan & Judd, 2014). On the contrary, the revolutionary side focuses upon Aboriginal agency and that sport can be utilized for resistance, liberation, and as an instrument for independence. Yu and Bairner (2010) nuanced this dichotomization by presenting how Aboriginals in Taiwan play different roles in baseball along imperial stereotypes of Aboriginals' physical features, attitude, and intellect. Although there is a higher

proportion of Aboriginal players within the baseball teams compared to the rest of the population, there are close to no Aboriginal coaches or leaders. This is in line with the stereotype of Aboriginals as physically strong but intellectually weak, which is systematically reproduced and includes stories about Aboriginal players who were excluded from teams because their parents wanted more focus on education than the coach wanted. Moreover, the suppression of Aboriginals has existed throughout various historical eras with different regimes in power (Japan, China, and Taiwanese self-governance); 'Aboriginal players in Taiwan have now played for a variety of "nations", none of them their own' (Yu & Bairner, 2010, p. 79).

Just as Yu and Bairner held that resistance through baseball is possible but difficult – owing to unchanging conditions in the former colonies – Darby (2007) revealed similar patterns regarding African countries and football. With former colonies as his point of departure, Darby discussed Africa's place in international football (Darby, 2000a, 2000b) and African football players' migration to Europe (Darby, 2007). He analyzed how the local sporting legacy in Africa is either removed, undermined, or suppressed. Former colonies will always carry the burden of the colonial impact. European sport transferred by school teachers and Christian missionaries has to large degrees informed and formed African understandings of sport, nation, and self-image. All these are signs of the 'pervasiveness and strength of the cultural imperialism which permeated the colonial period and beyond' (Darby, 2000a, p. 44). Thus, the international football federation (FIFA) can be considered a neo-imperialist organization, where African actors depend on Western organizations of power. In short, 'the relationship between FIFA's metropolis and Africa clearly reflect imperialism, dependency and world system theory' (Darby, 2000a, p. 55). The global relationship is usually unidirectional, with hegemonic power in the north and the west. Nevertheless, there are nuances; African voices have the opportunity to be heard in the international football community through memberships in FIFA.

Within an overarching one-directional and asymmetrical relationship between Europe and Africa, there are huge variations that can be explained by the post-colonized countries' relationships with the post-colonists. Traditionally, sport was applied to implement the empire's culture and replace the 'lower' culture of the Indigenous peoples in the colonies. Eventually, however, it was discovered that football could be applied to resist and protest the colony power. For example, in North Africa, 'many soccer clubs acted as centres of anti-colonial sentiment and the promotion of naturalist tradition' (Darby, 2000b, p. 71). The establishment of an African Football Federation (in 1957) demonstrates how sport relates to broader societal issues, such as suppression, and processes of resistance and liberation. Darby (2000b) concludes that Indigenous peoples do not reintroduce old Indigenous sport activities with decolonization, but the people of a decolonized country continue to play the colonizer's sport football. This observation reveals a 'considerable tension of paradox in the use of Western sport forms for

the articulation of non-Western nationalist expression' (Darby, 2000b, p. 83) and shows how pervasive imperialism functions and confirms what postcolonial theory predicts. The relevant point here is that colonization impacts people long after the definition of an independent state is introduced.

Darby's (2007) study of African football players' migration to Europe (Darby focuses on Portugal) touches on a difficult sociological feature involving an individual level versus a group level of analysis (similar to Yu and Bairner's [2010] point from Taiwanese baseball). Many African football players travel to Europe, gain success, and become famous and wealthy. These achievements are beneficial to them on an individual level; however, it can also be seen as a recolonization because European agents and football clubs trade African players as any other market resource that is cheap in Africa and expensive in Europe. Due to a short-term perspective with immediate economic profit, European actors exploit the African market, including local communities and individuals. Darby even claims that: 'The loss of its football resources to the Portuguese market is one of the greatest challenges confronting football' in several countries that used to be colonies (Darby, 2007, p. 505). Therefore, the concept of a sporting nation can come to resemble a resource-rich nation state suitable for 'mining' rather than an autonomous Indigenous nation. Similar points about the impact or legacy of colonialism are elaborated on in Chapters 4 and 5.

Another related issue is how one nation can be created by several peoples, or – dependent on definition – how one country is created by several nations. For example, Keech (2004) held that: 'The clear attraction of sport as vehicle for nation-building has meant that governments have assumed control of sport, particularly in Africa' (p. 106). Most specifically, Nelson Mandela employed the predominantly white sport of rugby for nation-building during the country's reconciliation process post-apartheid. Nelson wanted to build the rainbow nation with the sport as a symbol of unity that can gain success; it probably helped that South Africa won the Rugby World Cup in 1995 (after Nelson entered office in 1994 as the first black and first post-apartheid president).

Another example of how rugby as a former colonizer's sport unites peoples of a country and actively applies Indigenous elements is found in New Zealand. For one thing, rugby is considered the national sport of New Zealand among the Indigenous people (Māori) and the successors of the colonizers (Pakeha). The national team, the All Blacks, comprises the best players with a New Zealand passport regardless of their ethnicity and creates pride for all with their achievements. For another, the All Blacks always perform a traditional Māori dance *haka* before an international match and, thus, signal a united team – based on Indigenous tradition; though it is also highlighted how global commercial enterprises exploit culture when buying the rights to, for example, the All Blacks (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Scherer & Jackson, 2008). I will return to similar investigations of Sámi athletes in Norwegian national teams in Chapter 5 (see more on New Zealand and All Blacks in Chapter 6).

Being Selected and Choosing to Represent

The term 'national team' implies that being selected for the team requires that someone considers you as an appropriate representative for the nation in question and choosing to partake demands that the athlete himself or herself feels worthy to represent the nation. This two-sided process can take several routes. I will try to establish the point by turning to two historical elements that are difficult to avoid in the review of sport and nation-building: one is the history of Great Britain because many modern and global sports originate there, and the other is the Olympics, as it is the largest global sport event that applies to national participation. Sometimes, they intertwine. The history of Great Britain concerns both the empire, including postcolonial countries (cf. Darby, 2000a, 2000b), and involves the complexity of nations and the internal relationships of the countries on the British Islands. The British sport complex is especially interesting for the analysis of Indigenous sport and nation-building because the criteria for representation and, thus, the understanding of indigeneity vary on different occasions. When participating in the Olympic Games, the British team equals the United Kingdom, gathers athletes from four different countries (England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland), and represents Great Britain under one British flag. In the football World Cup, the same countries represent themselves individually: England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. The Republic of Ireland is autonomous and participates with its team and under its flag both in the Olympic Games and football. In rugby, however, Ireland and Northern Ireland go together into one team and represent the Irish nation. Thus, the complexity has created issues both historically and in more recent times (Holmes & Storey, 2004; Lewellyn, 2011; Murray & Hassan, 2018).

For example, Lewellyn (2011) revealed that the three Irishmen going to the Athens Games in 1906 were shocked when they – at arrival – understood that they were on the list of the British team. The shock was reasonable since they were sent along with Irish financing. At the time, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) had unclear criteria for independent nations that wanted full representation rights. Some 'relatively independent' nations received representation rights, such as Finland (that was joined to Russia as an autonomous Grand Duchy) and Czechia (today's Czech Republic) that was sorted under Austria, while Ireland did not. Lewellyn explains Ireland's lack of representation rights in the Olympic Games simply by identifying who the IOC members were and especially who the IOC president was friends with at the time (p. 654). If Irishmen, Scots, and Welshmen 'promoted their own distinct national and ethnic heritages' (Llewellyn, 2011, p. 658), with England as the dominating part of Great Britain, it is difficult to imagine a shared nation-building. An opposite and fascinating case in this regard is that Puerto Rico is a member of the IOC but not of the United Nations (Sotomayor, 2016). Participation in the Olympic Games is, thus, for Puerto Rico 'a way to demonstrate that they are in fact a nation' (p. 4).

The example shows how a country can be considered a nation by an international sport organization (IOC) although not being acknowledged by the archetype of an international community (UN). Nevertheless, in sport competitions between Puerto Rico and the United States, it is possible that 'the U.S. team was defeated by other U.S. citizens' (Sotomayor, 2016, p. 3).

More recent examples of the complexity of nations on the British Islands include debates about representation on national football teams, where elite athletes 'are often forced to make a very public "choice" of national identity' (Holmes & Storey, 2004, p. 89). Most specifically, 'the Republic of Ireland's soccer team ... has included a significant number of players born outside Ireland' (p. 89). Holmes and Storey (2004) showed how players display their national declaration differently, from growing up as Irish in Ireland to fitting into the joke that you are Irish if you have been in Dublin or had a pint of Guinness. Many players selected for Ireland and chose to play for Ireland are somewhere between these outliers. Hence, several processes may be at play, such as the 'snowball effect' when 'an increasing number of players "declared" for Ireland, it became easier for others' (p. 95) and 'it seems highly likely that family background may be an issue here' (p. 97). Nevertheless, 'it is difficult not to conclude that there is an element of retrospective justification' (p. 98) in some comments from players who have joined the Irish team and had a 'doubted identity' (a point I touch upon in Chapter 5 and the section 'Sámis for Norway'). Holmes and Storey (2004), as do Murray and Hassan (2018), explicated that there is also a balance exercise: weighing up national identity against the possibility for personal career development.

Leaving Great Britain but returning to the Olympics, most stories treat the desire to participate in the Games; however, Bhimani (2016) discussed a relatively recent case, an ethnically and historically founded protest against the Olympic Games in Sochi, Russia, in 2014. The Sochi Games were organized on the land of Circassians – an Indigenous people of the North Caucasus – whom the Russians tried to ethnically cleanse in 1864. Many people in the region considered the Olympic Games a violation with grotesque historical undertones. Bhimani (2016) employed 'the concept of colonial double backing', which refers to a colonization process with double support: 'practices of abetting in time and space between global forces of empire, such as transnational mega events and nation states, which produce recursive forms of exile and antagonism for Indigenous peoples' (p. 399). In this case, a dominating nation state (Russia) and a dominating global organization (the IOC) mutually support each other against an Indigenous minority. In a world full of terror, the potential critical voices from local actors were dismissed as 'Chechen terrorists' (p. 402) and never taken seriously in the public debate. Moreover, Great Britain and Canada were conceived as accomplices because they (as predecessors as organizers of Olympic Games) facilitated Sochi propaganda and neglected critics. Nevertheless, despite the failure to prevent the Sochi Games, the ethnic revitalization in the region remains and still sheds light on historical suppression and contemporary power relations.

While this last case presented is an example of a web of relations including a powerful international sport organization, a more common relationship exists between mainstream and Indigenous sport organizations within a country.

Indigenous Sport, Mainstream Sport, and Sport Organization

Here, I will discuss the aforementioned relationship between Indigenous people and mainstream sport by focusing on the organization of Indigenous sport. For example, 'the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) has, arguably more than any other sport governing body, fostered the historic dividing line that has been the core of sporting bodies in Ireland' and has an 'overtly nationalist ethos' (Murray & Hassan, 2018, p. 41); thus, 'the organization's origins and ethos are closely linked to Irish national identity' (p. 89). Moreover, as the GAA is a sport organization for all of Ireland (UK's Northern Ireland *and* the Republic of Ireland), 'it effectively ignores the border' (Holmes & Storey, 2004, p. 89). Nevertheless, the GAA is strictly related to countries and differs from sport organizations for minority Indigenous peoples, such as in the Americas, Australia, New Zealand, and the North Calotte. The relationships between people, sport, and organization are complex, and it is not my contention (nor ability) to provide an exhaustive overview of the topic. However, it is fair to say that for individual athletes among minority Indigenous peoples, such as the Dene and Inuit in Canada, Māori in New Zealand, and Sámi in the Nordic countries, sport participation and organization can take two typical ideal routes: participation in mainstream sport organizations and/or participation in specific Indigenous sport organizations.

In New Zealand, as in other former British colonies and on the British Islands themselves, mainstream sport comprises both school sport and club sport. In school, all children are encouraged to (and most children do) play different sports, independent of their ethnic heritage. In the voluntary sport sector (as in school for that matter), disciplines stemming from European colonization dominate the sector. 'Historical understandings of Māori sporting endeavours are complex and arguably incomplete' (Anderson et al., 2014, p. 359), as Māori took up new sports brought in by the Europeans and developed some traditional activities into sports. Among the former are rugby, football, field hockey, and netball; while an example of a traditional and industrial Indigenous activity (e.g. from fishing and whaling) that has developed into a sport discipline is racing with outrigger canoe (*waka ama*) (Anderson et al., 2014).

Although the current formal status of Māori in New Zealand is that of an integrated and acknowledged people, many Māori perceive the New Zealand sport system as lacking cultural competence, referring to its inability to support the unique way in which Māori engage with sport. Thus, sport organizations have been alternately praised for democracy and criticized because there is not necessarily equality when it comes to Māori representation – including the reflection of Māori values and culture – in sport (Hippolite & Bruce, 2013). Māori

can also have their specific and exclusive Māori sport organizations, such as the Aotearoa Māori Tennis Association and the NZ Māori Golf Association. The history of Māori tennis is telling for the development of the relationship between Māori and Pakeha. After playing the game since the 1870s, Māori established a separate tennis association in 1926. In an early phase of the country's history, segregation – rather than integration – was the rule, thus creating a specific Māori sport organization was most likely considered normal to do under these circumstances. Conversely (and lending credence to Anderson's observation about the complexity of Māori sport), the Māori tennis association has been affiliated with the New Zealand tennis association since its very beginning (AMTA, n.d.).

With two ideal types, mainstream sport and Indigenous sport, hybrids are possible. As mentioned, the national sport of New Zealand (as for many other countries) and, therefore, probably the most high-profile example of this organizational separation and simultaneous integration are reserved for the All Blacks and the Māori All Blacks (Mulholland, 2009; Scherer & Jackson, 2013). The separation rests on the difference that while the All Blacks refer to the New Zealand national rugby team, representing everyone and recruiting the best New Zealand players based on citizenship regardless of ethnicity, the Māori All Blacks is a specifically Indigenous team that requires confirmed Indigenous genealogy to take part (All Blacks, n.d.). The integration refers to the fact that Māori All Blacks and All Blacks are teams both representing the same national sport governing body: New Zealand Rugby. In similar but different veins, there exists a Sámi national team; it selects Sámi players; it participates in the World Cup for non-FIFA members (Pedersen, 2013) and a Sámi delegation for skiing for participation in the Arctic Winter Games (AWG). The difference (between Sámi sport and Māori All Blacks) is that Sámi sport is detached from Norwegian sport organizations; I return to that point in Chapter 6.

A double participation approach is also possible in Canada, where the Dene and Inuit peoples can partake in mainstream sport as well as in specific organizations for Indigenous sport. Nevertheless, there is something with the Indigenous sport context that is attractive for Indigenous peoples because they are 'often culturally displaced and economically marginalized, participation in these sports offers an opportunity for meaningful physical activity' (Heine, 2013, p. 160). Sport is not only related to the physical activity element but are thus 'an important *cultural practice*, typically viewed positively in both the dominant culture and marginalized Aboriginal communities' (Heine, 2013, p. 160, italics added). Focusing on sports and games of Indigenous peoples in (Arctic) Canada – Inuit and Dene – they 'are sometimes practiced in ways that express their own inherent "meaningfulness" and cultural significance, even when they are played in the organizational context of sports competition' (p. 161). This description is also valid for the specific Sámi sport disciplines (reindeer racing and lassoing); they originate in reindeer husbandry but are conducted and expressed in the form of modern sport competitions. In that respect, the AWG 'are designed as a sports competition that mirrors the organizational format of the Olympics'

(Heine, 2013, p. 164). The AWG is an event that unites Indigenous peoples from several countries and continents, an element of nation-building that I will return to in Chapter 5 (especially in the section called ‘Sápmi as an international sport actor’) and Chapter 6.

However, within the context of AWG and its promising feature as an Indigenous sport event, Paraschak (2013, p. 106) noted, ‘all games with an Aboriginal origin and where the participants remain primarily Aboriginal [Inuit and Dene games] ... have been located in the cultural program rather than being included in the sporting event’. She further pinpoints that such an approach – devaluing the Indigenous activities to ‘only’ cultural exhibition, may create an assumption that traditional games are not real sport; ‘a position often promoted by mainstream sports officials’ (Paraschak, 2013, p. 106) in the stereotyping of Indigenous peoples and their sports. Moreover, the stereotyping of Indigenous peoples in mainstream sport in Canada, for example, by the presence of Indian mascots, ‘constructed to represent a stereotypical Indian’ (Paraschak, 2013, p. 110) will accordingly reinforce white racial privilege and reinforce the subordination of Indigenous peoples. Continuing with Indigenous sport organization and with reference to state sports policy in Canada, Paraschak held that despite it being formally recognized, ‘the Aboriginal sport system is characterized by being less legitimate than the mainstream sport system’ (2013, p. 113).

Paraschak concluded by stating that sport – understood as within mainstream organizations – conducted by many nationalities ‘is a pattern often used in sport to mask privilege and to reproduce the naturalized understanding of “legitimate” participants’ (2013, p. 113). The naturalization of mainstream sport also includes the ‘othering’ of the Indigenous sport system, by ‘focusing on the exotic otherness of the traditional activities ... seen in the media coverage of the Arctic Winter Games’ (Paraschak, 2013, p. 113). Just as in Norwegian state-sport policy (Skille et al., 2021), Indigenous sport disciplines ‘are thus legitimated only when they reproduce an invariant exotic otherness’ that makes ‘the perception of traditional activities as different from sport’ (Paraschak, 2013, p. 114). However, unlike the Canadian view, in which ‘the implied Aboriginal “problem” is Aboriginal peoples’ inability to integrate into mainstream sport system’ (p. 116), Sámi participation in mainstream sport in Norway equals Norwegian participation (Rafoss & Hines, 2016). The research presented exemplifies various approaches to the study of Indigenous sport and nation-building. The latter, with a focus on organization and affiliation issues and – not at least – the relationship with mainstream sport, are of highest relevance when moving on to the specific context of Norwegian and Sámi sport and nation-building.

Norway and Sápmi

While sport, in general, can facilitate the development of self-confidence and chauvinist nationalism (Goksøyr, 1998), some disciplines are stronger symbols and clearer stereotypes for a nation than others. Regarding sport and Norwegian nation-building, many – perhaps most or all – Norwegians consider cross-country

skiing particularly Norwegian (although probably Swedes, Finns, and Russians do the same and consider skiing to be a Swedish, Finnish, and Russian invention, respectively). The Norwegians' view on skiing as very Norwegian is indicated by the amount of media attention it receives, even in the state-controlled broadcaster (NRK) that operates with a special mandate to reflect Norwegian culture in all its versions (Larsen, 2016; Øistensen, 2009). Bomann-Larsen (2005) claimed that Norway is built on skiing and skiing only. Despite being a bold statement, it illustrates the weight some Norwegians ascribe to skiing for cultural identity and nation-building (Kolstad, 2002). Just as some claim that skiing is purely Norwegian, some claim that skiing is 'particularly Sámi' and that the Sámis were the first skiers; a consequence thereof is the view that the Sámis introduced skiing for Norwegians and others (Birkely, 1994; see also Goksøyr, 2008). As a continuation of the above perspectives from around the globe, this chapter continues with subsections into sport in Norwegian nation-building, some Sámi sport history in general, and Sámi sport history in Norway in particular.

Sport and Norwegian Nation-Building

When modern organized sport developed in Norway throughout the last half of the 19th century, the 'Norwegian elements' immanent in traditional sport disciplines were brought to light. The 'Zeitgeist' was about establishing institutions supporting the building of the Norwegian nation, especially after creating the Norwegian constitution in 1814 and the dissolution from Sweden in 1905. A national umbrella organization for sport (established in 1861) was considered a natural development of an ongoing process of strengthening the perception of the Norwegian nation. Simultaneously, increased standardization of specific disciplines facilitated sport as a national community to be utilized internationally (Goksøyr, 1988, 1998, 2000, 2011; Kolstad, 2002; Øistensen, 2003). 'We' are Norway who compete with other nations; in particular, 'we' like to beat the Swedes – 'them' – because they used to be the big brother in the mentioned union (cf. Tuck, 2003). As Olstad (1987) wrote: 'It was not by random that our first larger Olympic squad went along in 1906. Many wanted to exploit the opportunity to mark our newly acquired political independence' (p. 158); according to Goksøyr (2011): 'especially the year after the dissolution of the union with Sweden it was important to stand up on the international arena and put Norway on the map' (p. 67). It was not random that the Norwegian Olympic Committee was established in 1912 and had the third-largest squad for the summer Olympic Games that year – despite Norway being a winter sports nation – because the event was held in Stockholm, Sweden (Goksøyr, 2011; Olstad, 1987). Elite sport is (still) supported by the state because it creates national pride (Ministry of Culture, 2011; Skille, 2010).

Moreover, Goksøyr (2000) ascribed great nation-building value to the Norwegian polar heroes; hereunder, Nansen, who crossed the glacier in Greenland in 1888 and spent three straight years of the 1890s in the Arctic ice aiming for the North Pole. Again, the historical context – an ongoing development of

Norwegian independence – is important to understand the symbolic value of Nansen's achievements. More precisely, we could speak of a Norwegian nation already, but the achievements reinforced that Norway was a worthy state of its own. Mass media had recently developed, and a polar expedition became popular among politicians, other elites, and ordinary citizens alike. Consequently, Nansen, with his team and other polar expeditions, displayed and advocated the capability of Norwegians: 'we' mastered challenging shipping, skiing under the toughest conditions, and generally living in the ice over long periods of time. When Norwegians defeated empires, the achievement was considered tremendous, such as in the 'race for the South Pole'; Amundsen reached the South Pole (14 December 1911) a month before the British navy officer Scott and his team (on the pole point 17 January 1912). Thus, it was more than an individual or team achievement; it was perceived as a national victory (Goksøyr, 2000).

Bringing in polar history challenges Coakley's (2001) definition of sport due to a lack of formal competition and institutionalization. However, an element that unites Sámis and Norwegians in the history of sport is the closeness to nature (Lidström, 2018; Slagstad, 2008). This idea, advanced by idea historian Slagstad's (2008) analysis of Norwegian history since the middle of the 1800s, centres around how Norwegian sport originates from and still is tightly related to the use of nature; that the activities such as skiing and hiking – while becoming more modern sports – have spread throughout the segments of the population and today permeate popular culture. The development, thus, shows social democratic conjunctures, without denying the class dimensions related to sport – then and today (Olstad, 2017; Slagstad, 2008). For both Nansen and Amundsen, skiing skills were essential for their expeditions and successes,² and their contribution to nation-building.

Equally relevant here is that the polar literature challenges the understanding of the relationship between Sámis and Norwegians, which, at the time, was somewhat asymmetrical and adhered to Social Darwinism. When the Sámi people, in general, were considered culturally underdeveloped, it is arguably a paradox that Nansen invited two Sámi men on his team over Greenland in 1888 – explicitly because they were skilled skiers and had dog sledding expertise, both of which were highly valued skills in Norwegian culture and contributing to Norwegian nation-building. Nevertheless, Nansen was a child of his time (and his social class). Hence, his personal diary reveals some uncharitable descriptions about the Sámi members of his team; it confirmed the typical Norwegians' stereotypes about Sámis as stupid, lazy, and dirty (Karlsen, 2016). These stereotypes about Sámis were established among elites in other countries (than Norway), too, as we will see in the next section, and are a typical script for how elites consider and describe Indigenous peoples (see Chapter 8; Forsyth, 2020).

Sámis in Scandinavian Sport History

The Swedish researcher Lidström (2018) contextualized how Sámis were – by the majority, the authorities, and the popular media – considered as savage and

primitive compared to the 'civilized' Swedes. Between Sámi groups, there was a hierarchy, with reindeer herders on top while Sámis without reindeer were considered neither as Swedes nor as 'real' Sámi (Lidström, 2018, p. 16). The main character in Lidström's book,³ Persson, was a 'fishing Sámi' (p. 22). In addition to the Swedish versus Sámi and the 'high Sámi' versus 'low Sámi' dimensions, there are two additional and intertwined dimensions: centre-periphery and north-south. (The four dimensions are also identifiable in Norway, which I return to in Chapters 4 and 5.) The naturalness of the Sámi life forms was directly transferred to sport; hunting that included frequent and long ski trips made up the basis for the sporting achievements. There was no specialized training or competition preparation in the Sámi skiers' lifeworld, but Sámis still dominated all organized skiing competitions since 1884 (Lidström, 2018). The Association for the Promotion of Skiing organized qualification races for Sámis in the north and sent the best skiers to the 'national' (Swedish that is) ski races in Stockholm – the capital city of Sweden located in the south. 'The capital city's inhabitants should finally get the opportunity to be impressed by how skilfully the Sámis mastered the art of skiing' (p. 26).

The Sámi superiority in long-distance skiing was linked to their 'natural abilities'. While the Sámis' skiing skills were explained genetically, it was considered impossible for representatives of a 'culture people' as the Swedish to become as good as the 'nature people'⁴ in an endurance sport such as cross-country skiing. Like the general relationship between Sámis and Swedes, the relationship between the Sámi skier and the Swedish skier was considered that between the savage and the civilized (Lidström, 2018). Evidently, Sámi domination in skiing was viewed as problematic among the Swedes, especially because the Swedes held power in the ski organizations. The Sámi domination was conceived of as so problematic that the (Swedish, of course) leaders of competition organizers and ski associations made rules to deny athletes to start if they did not speak Swedish properly. In other words, they provided regulations to facilitate increased chances for Swedes to win. When a Swede finally made the podium (in 1899), the Swedes experienced hope and proof that a culture man could beat a nature man. It was, of course, demanded that the inborn talent in the savage was compensated for with 'the Swedish competition attitude and rational thinking as well as a good dose of hard and targeted training' (Lidström, 2018, p. 30).

The Sámi Persson won the long-distance ski race *Vasaloppet* in 1929, an achievement that could qualify for celebrating the individual athlete. However, what characterizes the media narrative of Persson is the stereotypical display of the Sámi (Lidström, 2018). When Persson did not show up for the prize-giving ceremony on time, other participants and organizers mumbled about 'Sámi time' (p. 91); it is a common attitude and expression until today about being late or not caring about time.⁵ The point is that the successful skier is neglected and the tardiness of the individual is highlighted. Moreover, the ethnicity of the Sámi comes into play. Even the achievement was explained in ethnic terms, as Swedish mass media reported that the race conditions had benefitted Persson and his

people. It was called the ‘Lapp conditions’ (Lidström, 2018, p. 92),⁶ without any explanation about the term’s connotation. Again, there was an unexplained relationship between nature and the Sámi. Such were the Swedish rationalizations at the time: ‘A victory for a Swede was an individual victory over nature. If the Sámi won, nature had defeated the Swede. That was the world view that set the tone in the sport media and at meetings in the ski movement’s potentates’ (Lidström, 2018, p. 92).

The public picture of both the internal and external nature functioned pro Sámi and con Swedes: ‘At a Sámi victory, external conditions were called for – weather and wind, snowfall, and temperature. Terrains could be facilitated for Sámi style of skiing because this style was considered constant, inherited, indisputable, and impossible to improve through training’. On the contrary, Lidström continues: ‘At a Swedish victory, inner qualities were called for – determination, sacrifice, specialized training’ (Lidström, 2018, p. 92). The individual skier Persson’s victory in Vasaloppet was broadcasted as: ‘The Lapp won’. In that respect, Pedersen’s sums up his interpretation of Lidström’s work: ‘Persson’s victory in Vasaloppet is thus not simply the history about J-A Persson’s personal triumph, or only the history about Arjeplog people’s triumph, however his victory in Vasaloppet becomes a history about the Sámi people’s triumph’ (Pedersen, 2019).⁷

Sámis in Norwegian Sport and Nation-Building?

From the Norwegian side of Sápmi, Pedersen (2011) showed how Sámi sport faces challenges by being organized across Sápmi and separated from Norwegian sport. The latter disconnects the opportunity for competing with sports clubs in national (Norwegian) sport federations (such as football and skiing; cf. Grensen, 2002). Simultaneously, this segregation has contributed to the building of a unique Sámi sport identity and to being part of an international Indigenous sport community. Sámi identity increases in meetings with other Indigenous peoples with participation in the AWG (a winter sports event for Indigenous peoples in the circumpolar areas) and the Viva World Cup in football (world championships in football for nations without membership in the International Federation of Association Football, FIFA). In this way, the Indigenous sport community represents an opposition to Norwegian sport and Norwegian society, culture, and people. However, Norwegian society, culture, and people are not simple entities. Picking up on the north-south and centre-periphery dimensions (Lidström, 2018; Pedersen & Skille, 2016), it should be noted that North Norwegian sport was for a long time kept outside national (Norwegian) competition schedules due to logistic and economic challenges (Pedersen, 2011). This created a general feeling of exclusion and exception within Norway and reinforced a feeling of regional belonging across borders in the north – to a large degree overlapping with Sápmi (Skille, 2015).

Although specific regions have a high density of Sámi populations and are dominated by Sámi culture and language, sport clubs – for example, in the core

Sámi villages Kautokeino and Karasjok (established in 1927 and 1938, respectively) – were historically considered a Norwegian phenomenon. Sámi youth in Kautokeino did not participate in organized sport before 1961 (Pedersen, 2013) although sport probably was organized in schools earlier (Tonsdad, 2020). That was in football, which appears a bit surprising at first, given the skills Sámi youth must have had in skiing – after practicing it in the reindeer industry, during fishing and hunting, and as transportation (cf. Lidström, 2018). One interpretation is that the Sámis considered skiing and sport competitions as different domains; a ski race as a sport competition may have been viewed as artificial; while football was easier to view as sport – as simply recreational play and joy. The establishment of the mentioned sport clubs took place during the era of assimilation policies. Whilst the ‘school system was the spearhead of the Norwegianization strategy’ (Pedersen, 2013, p. 583), two features connect school into sport: (i) sport facilities were usually located by or integrated in schools and (ii) the same persons who were responsible for assimilation through schools were the organizers of sport, namely, Norwegian teachers who were sojourners residing in Sámi communities. It is, therefore, a timely question whether organizing Norwegian sport was an assimilation instrument, too.

However, sport – Pedersen (2013) claimed – ‘did not feature as a tool in the Norwegian schools’ assimilation toolbox’ (p. 584) but primarily circled the activities and less around ideology. Pedersen’s rejection of sport as an assimilation instrument for the Norwegianization policy continued: ‘There is no evidence that either skiing or sport in general was consciously used in a political strategy to express a sense of Norwegian national unity in inner Finnmark’ (p. 590), neither by sport clubs nor by local or central authorities. Despite repeated rejections, Pedersen (2013) left some doubt of a relationship between sport and assimilation and that sport served as a supplementary leisure time source for dissemination of Norwegian culture in Sámi communities, adding to the daytime school. In his own words: ‘the assimilatory effect of sport was not intended, but a side effect of organized sport activity’ (p. 590) because ‘sport was part of Norwegian culture spreading in the Sami communities’ (p. 585). A reasonable and compromised interpretation is that sport functioned as assimilative, but it was not part of an *intended* and written ‘policy program’ as school education would have been (Ryymin, 2021).

Pedersen (2014) repeated his thesis that sport was not an intended assimilation strategy despite the local sport leaders being literally the same persons who had as their day job to achieve assimilative ends for the Norwegian state (in the health service, the police force, the army, and most of all, the school system). Due to overarching political and societal changes – including the relationship between the Norwegian state and the Sámi people – that I return to in Chapter 3, the postwar era demonstrated more significant Sámi participation rates in sport paralleled with more Sámi sport leaders along with the increased development of Sámi associations. Hence, the number of Sámi leaders in sport clubs increased after the war, and Sámi activities were added to the sport clubs’ repertoire. Taken together

and combined with the establishment of the Sámi sport organization in 1979, it paved the way for the dual affiliation that is scrutinized in Chapters 4 and 5.

Concluding Reflections on Indigenous Sport and Nation-Building

In this chapter, I have taken two overarching approaches to the study of Indigenous sport and nation-building to establish a ground for later empirical descriptions and analytical discussion focusing on Sámi sport and the building of the Sápmi nation. In the first half of this chapter, I have provided a broader approach with various examples from different parts of the world. That provides me with a tool for comparison. In the latter half, I have provided a historical approach to the context under focus. In other words, I have presented some tools for understanding the trajectory of Sámi sport. These approaches of historical and contextual comparison will be elaborated on in Chapter 3. Before moving on, however, I want to emphasize two things. First, it is often not explicated but still possible to read something between the lines: that is the role of sport organizations, including their relationships with other – public sector – organizations. Second, and as the straightforward conclusion of this chapter: the phenomenon put under scrutiny here is complex. Sámi sport is part of Indigenous sport more generally and has its own specific history. Taken together, there is a need for additional background; thus, in the next chapter, I elaborate on the broader context of Sápmi in Norway, including the Sámi history more generally and Sámi public institutions – i.e. the Sámi Parliament in Norway.

Notes

- 1 In addition to Uzbekistan, they are Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kirgizstan, and Tajikistan (Petrov, 2014, p. 407).
- 2 Amundsen's victory over Scott is often explained by the Norwegian team's choice of equipment and techniques; namely sled dogs and skis, over the British motors, horses, and – according to the Norwegian script – lack of skills regarding both dog sledding and skiing (Goksøyr, 2000).
- 3 The book's title is 'Go Persson' (Swedish original: 'Heja Persson').
- 4 The term 'nature people', used about the Sámi, is a direct Swedish translation that means the opposite of 'culture people' (the Swedes). In English, 'civilized' would probably be the preferred term for the latter. However, that term is also used in the Scandinavian text; therefore, to show that both concepts are applied, I kept the term 'nature people' here.
- 5 An informant made a reference to 'the Sámi half-an-hour'; a similar phenomenon is still prevalent today in Canada, as it is common to refer to Innu and Inuit as being on 'northern time' (Mike Sam, personal message).
- 6 Lapp is an old word for Sámi. Nowadays, it is usually considered a derogatory term.
- 7 Arjeplog, the hometown of Persson, is a small village in the north; its mention refers to two other dimensions of power struggle: that of being peripheral compared to the centre and the capital city Stockholm; and that of being northern compared to the south – also associated with the capital city Stockholm (Lidström, 2018).

References

- All Blacks (n.d.). *Māori all blacks*. Retrieved from (15 October 2021): allblacks.com/teams/Māori-all-blacks/
- AMTA (n.d.). *Origins*. Aotearoa Māori Tennis Association. Retrieved from (1 February 2017): <http://amta.co.nz/wordpress/origins>.
- Anderson, A., Binney, J. and Harris, A. (2014). *Tangata Whenua. An illustrated history*. Bridget Williams Books.
- Aung-Thwin, M. (2012). Towards a national culture: Chinlone and the construction of sport in post-colonial Myanmar. *Sport in Society*, 15(10), 1341–1352.
- Bairner, A. (2001). *Sport, nationalism and globalization*. State University of New York Press.
- Bairner, A. (2008). Sports and nationalism. In G. H. Herb and D. H. Kaplan (Eds.): *Nations and nationalism: A global historical overview, 1945–1999* (pp. 991–1004). ABC-CLIO.
- Bairner, A. (2015). Assessing the sociology of sport: On national identity and nationalism. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 50(4–5), 375–379.
- Beacom, A. (1998). Indigenous sport and the search for belonging. *The Sports Historian*, 18(2), 50–77.
- Bhimani, S. (2016). Decolonial practices of the No Sochi Circassian movement: confronting colonial double backing through the Sochi Winter Olympics. *Social Identities*, 22(4), 379–412.
- Birkely, H. (1994). *I Norge har lapperne først indført skierne* [In Norway, the Sámis first introduced the skis]. Idut.
- Bomann-Larsen, T. (2005). *Den evige sne* [The eternal snow]. Oslo: Cappelen Damm.
- Chiu, W.-C., Hwang, D.-J. and Bairner, A. (2014). In the shadow of national glory: Taiwan Aboriginal baseball in the politics of identity. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 31(3), 347–362.
- Coakley, J. (2001). *Sport in society. Issues and controversies* (7th ed). McGraw-Hill.
- Darby, P. (2000a). Africa's place in FIFA's global sport order: A theoretical frame. *Soccer & Society*, 1(2), 36–61.
- Darby, P. (2000b). Football, colonial doctrine and indigenous resistance: Mapping the political persona of FIFA's African constituency. *Culture, Sport, Society*, 3(1), 61–87.
- Darby, P. (2007). African football labour migration to Portugal: Colonial and neo-colonial resource. *Soccer & Society*, 8(4), 495–509.
- Falcous, M. (2017). Rugby league and the negotiation of Englishness. In T. Gibbons and D. Malcolm (Eds.): *Sport and English national identity in a 'Disunited Kingdom'* (pp. 79–92). Routledge.
- Forsyth, J. (2020). *Reclaiming Tom Longboat: indigenous self-determination in Canadian sport*. University of Regina Press.
- Goksøy, M. (1988). *Sivilisering, modernisering, sportifisering: fruktbare begreper i idrettshistorisk forskning?* [Civilization, modernization, sportification: fruitful concepts in sports history research]. Norwegian School of Sport Sciences.
- Goksøy, M. (1998). Idretten og det norske: Aktivitet som identitet [Sport in the Norwegian: Activity as identity]. In Ø. Sørensen (Ed.): *Jakten på det norske* [In search for the Norwegian] (pp. 158–174). Ad notam Gyldendal.
- Goksøy, M. (2000). Opplevde fellesskap og folkelig nasjonsbygging: Norge og idretten 1905–1940 [Imagined communities and folk nation building: Norway and the sport 1905–1940]. *Historisk Tidsskrift (Norge)*, 80(3), 307–329.
- Goksøy, M. (2008). (Født) med ski på beina? Ski og norskhet [(Born) with skis on? Ski and Norwegian-ness]. *Skikulturell konferanse* [Ski cultural conference]. Norwegian School of Sport Sciences.

- Goksøyr, M. (2011). *Idrett for alle: Norges idrettsforbund 150 år* [Sports for all. The Norwegian confederation of sports 150 years]. Aschehoug.
- Greneresen, G. (2002). *Ved forskningens grenser. Historien om et forskningsprosjekt i det samiske Nord-Norge* [On the edge of research. The story of a research project in the Sámi North-Norway]. Spartacus.
- Guttman, A. (1978). *From ritual to record. The nature of modern sport*. Columbia University Press.
- Hallinan, C. and Judd, B. (Eds.) (2013). *Native games. Indigenous peoples and sports in the post-colonial world*. Emerald.
- Hallinan, C. and Judd, B. (Eds.) (2014). *Indigenous people, race relations and Australian sport*. Routledge.
- Heine, M. (2013). Performance indicators. Aboriginal games at the Arctic Winter Games. In J. Forsyth and A. R. Giles (Eds.): *Aboriginal peoples & sport in Canada* (pp. 160–181). UBC Press.
- Hippolite, R. H. and Bruce, T. (2013). Towards cultural competence: How incorporating Māori values could benefit New Zealand sport. In C. Hallinan and B. Judd (Eds.): *Native games: Indigenous peoples and sport in the post-colonial world* (pp. 85–106). Emerald.
- Holmes, M. and Storey, D. (2004). Who are the boys in green? Irish Identify and soccer in the Republic of Ireland. In A. Smith and D. Porter (Eds.): *Sport and national identity in the post-war world* (pp. 88–104). Routledge.
- Jackson, S. J. (1994). Gretzky, crisis and Canadian identity in 1988: Rearticulating the Americanization of culture debate. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 11(4), 428–446.
- Jackson, S. J. (1998). A twist of race: Ben Johnson and the Canadian crisis of racial and national identity. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 15(1), 21–40.
- Jackson, S. J. (2004). Exorcising the ghost: Donovan Bailey, Ben Johnson and the politics of Canadian identity. *Media, Culture and Society*, 26(1), 121–141.
- Jackson, S. J. and Hokowhitu, B. (2002). Sport, tribes, and technology. The New Zealand All Blacks Haka and the politics of identity. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 26(2), 125–139.
- Jarvie, G. (1991). *Highland games. The making of the myth*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Karlsen, S. S. (2016). '[...] så skrev jeg til noen velkjente menn i Finnmark med forespørsel om man kunne skaffe meg to fjellapper som var villige til å følge med' – Om polarekspedisjoner, skiløping og etnisitet [... then I wrote to some well known men in Finnmark with a request if they could acquire me two Sámis who were willing to join' – On polar expeditions, skiing and ethnicity]. In H. C. Pedersen and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Utafor sporet? Idrett, identiteter og regionalisme i nord* [Outside the tracks? Sport, identities and regionalism in the north] (pp. 246–270). Oplandske bokforlag.
- Keech, M. (2004). 'One nation, One Soul, One Dream, One Goal?' Sport and national identity in South Africa. In A. Smith and D. Porter (Eds.): *Sport and national identity in the post-war world* (pp. 105–127). Routledge.
- Kolstad, A. (2002). Når nasjonen vinner – Om underholdningsidrettens betydning for moderne nasjonalisme [When the nation wins – about the entertainment's contribution to modern nationalism]. Norges forskningsråd.
- Larsen, H. (2016). *Performing legitimacy: Studies in high culture and the public sphere*. Springer.
- Lidström, I. (2018). *Heja Persson. Samisk triumf i Vasaloppet* [Og Persson! Sámi success in Vasaloppet]. Arx forlag.
- Llewellyn, M. P. (2011). Lighting the Olympic flame. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 28(5), 648–668.

- MacLean, M. and Field, R. (2014). Performing nations, disrupting states: Sporting identities in nations without states. *National Identities*, 16(4), 283–289.
- Ministry of Culture (2011). *Den norske idrettsmodellen* [The Norwegian sports model] (Meld St. 26, 2011–2012 [White Paper]). Kulturdepartementet.
- Ministry of Agriculture and Food (2016). *Reindrift – Lang tradisjon – unike muligheter* [Reindeer herding – Long traditions – unique opportunities] (Meld. St. 32, 2016–2017 [White Paper]). Landbruks- og matdepartementet.
- Mulholland, M. (2009). *Beneath the Māori moon. An illustrated history of Māori rugby*. Huia.
- Murray, C. and Hassan, D. (2018). The good Friday disagreement: Sport and contested identities in Northern Ireland since 1998. In D. Hassan and C. Acton (Eds.): *Sport and contested identities. Contemporary issues and debates* (pp. 30–48). Routledge.
- Øistensen, G. (2009). *NRK og nasjonal identitet. En sosiologisk studie av NRKs programtilbud, dramaserier og langrennssendinger* [The nation state broadcaster and national identity. A sociological study of NRK's program portfolio, dramas and cross-country ski broadcasts]. Universitetet i Oslo.
- Olstad, F. (1987). *Norsk idretts historie 1861–1939. Forsvar, sport og klassekamp* [Norwegian sports history 1861–1939. Defence, sports and class struggles]. Aschehoug.
- Olstad, F. (2017). *Den lange oppturen. Norsk historie 1945–2015* [The long upswing. Norwegian history 1945–2015]. Dreyer.
- Paraschak, V. (2013). Aboriginal peoples and the construction of Canadian Sport Policy. In J. Forsyth and A. R. Giles (Eds.): *Aboriginal peoples & sport in Canada* (pp. 95–123). UBC Press.
- Pedersen, H. C. (2011). Sport, ethno-politics and Sámi identity in Northern Norway. The organizing of the Sámi sports Movement. *Scandinavian Sport Studies Forum*, 2, 45–73.
- Pedersen, H. C. (2013). Skiing and sport in the core Sami area of Norway, 1927 to 1964: Organisation, modernisation and minority policy. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 30(6), 580–597.
- Pedersen, H. C. (2014). Skiing and divergent ethnic identities in the multiethnic Northern Norway. *National Identities*, 16(4), 365–376.
- Pedersen, H. C. (2019). Høy litterær og historiefaglig kvalitet [High literate and historical quality]. *Idrottsforum*. Retrieved from: https://idrottsforum.org/pedhel_lidstrom190124/.
- Pedersen, H. C. and Skille, E. (2016). *Utafor sporet? Idrett, identiteter og regionalisme i nord* [Outside the tracks? Sport, identities and regionalism in the north]. Oplandske bokforlag.
- Petrov, P. (2014). National styles of wrestling in the Soviet Union and the Post-Soviet states: Political and sociocultural aspects of their development and use. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 31(4), 405–422.
- Rafoss, K. and Hines, K. (2016). Ung i Finnmark – En studie av bruk av fritidsarenaer og deltakelse i fritidsaktiviteter [Young in Finnmark – A study of use of leisure time arenas and participation in leisure time activities]. In H. C. Pedersen and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Utafor sporet? Idrett, identiteter og regionalisme i nord* [Outside the tracks? Sport, identities and regionalism in the north] (pp. 169–192). Oplandske Bokforlag.
- Ryymin, T. (2021). Sivilisering, modernisering, fornorskning, kolonialisme, kulturelt folkemord: ulike måter å forstå den samme fortiden på [Civilization, modernization, Norwegianization, colonialism, cultural genocide: Different approaches to understand the same past]. In A. Andresen, B. Evjen and T. Ryymin (Eds.): *Samenes historie from 1751 to 2010* [Sámi history from 1751 to 2010] (pp. 175–179). Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

- Scherer, J. and Jackson, S. (2008). Cultural studies and the circuit of culture: Advertising, promotional culture and the New Zealand All Blacks. *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies*, 8(4), 507–526.
- Scherer, J. and Jackson, S. (2013). *Contested terrain of the New Zealand All Blacks: Rugby, commerce, and cultural politics in the age of globalization*. Peter Lang.
- Skille, E. Å. (2010). Competitiveness and health: the work of sport clubs as seen by sport clubs representatives – a Norwegian case study. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 45(1), 73–85.
- Skille, E. Å. (2015). Community and sport in Norway: Between state sport policy and local sport clubs. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 7(4), 505–518.
- Skille, E. Å., Fahlén, J., Stenling, C. and Strittmatter, A. M. (2021). (Lack of) Government policy for indigenous (Sámi) sport – a chain of legitimating and de-legitimating acts. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690220988650>.
- Slagstad, R. (2008). *(Sporten). En idéhistorisk studie* [(Sport). An idea historical study]. Pax.
- Sotomayor, A. (2016). *The Sovereign colony. Olympic Sport, national identity and international politics in Puerto Rico*. University of Nebraska Press.
- Tonsdad, P. L. (2020). *Ole Henrik Magga. Kamp og kompromiss* [Ole Henrik Magga. Fight and compromise]. Pax.
- Tuck, J. (2003). Making sense of Emerald commotion: Rugby union, national identity and Ireland. *Identities: Global Studies in Power and Culture*, 10(4), 495–515.
- Yu, J. and Bairner, A. (2010). Schooling Taiwan's aboriginal baseball players for the nation. *Sport, Education and Society*, 15(1), 63–82.

Contextualization of Research Field and Positioning of the Researcher

In this chapter, I outline two crucial sets of information needed to understand the empirical research presented in the following chapters: a research field and a researcher. Thus far, I have set the scene for the book in Chapter 1 and presented existing research into sport and nation-building in Chapter 2. I concluded the previous chapter by positioning Sámi sport into the Scandinavian sport context and Norwegian nation-building. In some respect, I continue – in the first half of this chapter – where Chapter 2 ended and expand the description of the context of Sápmi. However, there is also a crucial distinction: the rationale for the division; while the above presented Sámi as part of the Scandinavian and Norwegian context, I here spell out the Sámi context *per se* and position Sámi sport into the latter.

As a continuation of that, the second half of this chapter comprises some elaboration of points indicated in Chapter 1, namely, the position of the researcher. In so doing, I provide a background within an overarching social constructivist paradigm that will be evident throughout the empirical Chapters 4–6 and explicated again when theoretical perspectives are applied in the analysis in Chapter 7.

Context of the Study: Sápmi

The history of the Sámi people is thousands of years old. According to historian Hansen and archaeologist Olsen (2004), it is appropriate to speak about Sámi ethnicity as a separate category since ‘the last millennium before Christ’ (Hansen & Olsen, 2004, p. 41). From approximately 2,000–3,000 years ago, there are findings of a clear symbolic language, conscious ethnic signalling, and material culture expressions – that we today call Sámi. The same logic applies to other peoples: Norwegians, Swedes, Finns, and Russians. While the Sámis have lived on the land of the North Calotte since long before nation states were created, the status of being Indigenous is indisputable for me.

Nevertheless, to frame the subsequent empirical analysis, a more thorough contextualization of the relationships of Sámis and Norwegians is crucial. Sámi history is old and intertwined with the history of other peoples on the North Calotte and – on the Norwegian side – with the Norwegian welfare state. On the Norwegian

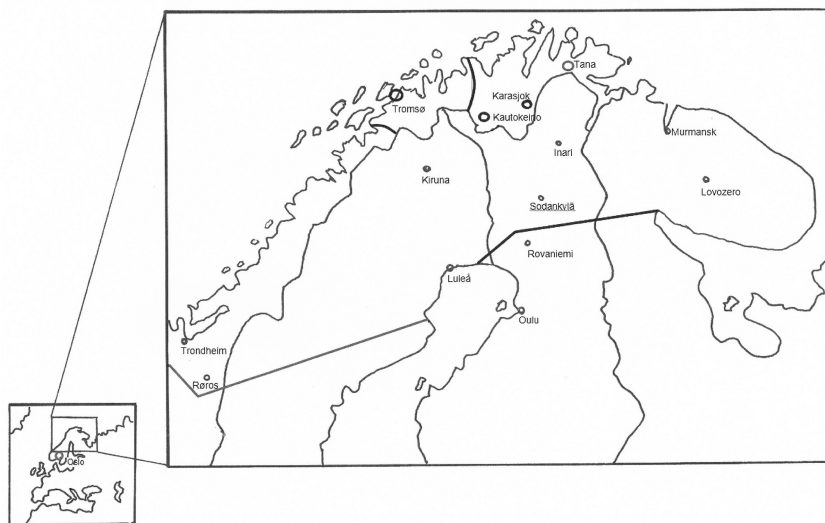


Figure 3.1 Northern parts of (from left) Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. Sápmi above the relatively horizontal straight lines (drawing by Øystein Skille).

side of Sápmi (Figure 3.1), Sámis and Norwegians are all citizens of Norway, with associated rights and duties. Rights include universal human rights, rule of law for all, and a number of arrangements for social security. Most prominent for a Scandinavian welfare state like Norway is the right to free healthcare, free schools, free higher education, and – of course – voting at elections. Duties include high taxes, national service, and compulsory schooling. Despite a universalistic approach to its citizens, the state of Norway has not always treated the Indigenous people fittingly.

Assimilation, Resistance, and Revitalization¹

The Sámi people's relationship with the state of Norway is complex and continuously changing. 'Sámi nationhood was recognized in the 1751 Lapp Codicil', which was a legal addendum to the treaty that regulated 'the border between Norway (then under Denmark) and Sweden (which included Finland); it recognized the right of the reindeer herding Sámis to continue their annual migration across the newly established state boundary' (Kuokkanen, 2019, p. 78; see also Pedersen, 2006, 2021a). However, since about a century later – although the Sámi people were not colonized by forceful relocating in the same way as Indigenous peoples in other parts of the world (Berg-Nordlie et al., 2015; Coates, 2004; Dahl, 2012) – they were exposed to severe wrongdoings by the Norwegian state, including the

prohibition of the Sámi language in schools, the coercive conversion into Christianity, the sterilization of Sámi women, land/water rights and tax exemptions to settlers willing to move to Sámi areas, and laws limiting the size of houses that the Sámi people were allowed to build (Åhrén, 2014). These interventions and intrusions were, thus, conducted as a cultural and social invasion. The assimilation process was an official state policy and the dominating relationship between Sámis and Norwegians from the middle of the 19th century until past the Second World War (Andresen et al., 2021; Minde, 2003; Selle et al., 2015).

The background for the assimilation process is variable, so are the terms used to describe it. Earlier, words like civilization and cultivation were applied, taking as the point of departure that Sámi were on a lower cultural development level than Norwegians. While civilization primarily refers to the historical actors' self-understanding (as civilized), modernization refers to general societal and economic change – most specifically to industries and how people make their living – that also influenced cultures and inter-cultural exchange. Paralleled with this modernization, it was often considered a benefit to speak and write Norwegian to obtain a job or purchase land (Eriksen & Niemi, 1981; Ryymin, 2021). In that respect, the concept of Norwegianization can refer to both the targeted policy that intended to make people Norwegian and the general modernization process that – partially unintended – led to making people more Norwegian. The terms imperialism and colonialism are not often used among researchers in Sámi issues (Ryymin, 2021; see Gjessing, 1973; Otnes, 1970 for exceptions), but they offer meaning in an international context. In his book on the Sámi nation, Otnes (1970) referred to the several centuries-long challenges for Sámi rights as a fight against colonialism with reference to how different kings and states have taken their liberty on Sámi land. Moreover, he calls it imperialism when Norwegian interests introduced mining and regulated fisheries and agriculture since the middle of the 19th century.

As shown in the stories of the polar expeditions in Chapter 2, Norwegian nation-building was a crucial political program for the nation state after the creation of the constitution in 1814 – strengthened by the liberation from the union with Sweden in 1905. It aimed at uniting the inhabitants of Norway by shared belonging to Norwegian culture and worked aggressively to exclude those who were defined out of the Norwegian community (Andresen et al., 2021; Minde, 2002; Olstad, 2017). Calling it 'the history of shame' and 'the Norwegian state's dark sides', Vestgård and Aas (2014) explained how the dominating idea was that one people should belong to one nation state where everybody shared the language, culture, and lifestyle. Sámi and Kven² simply did not fit into the frames of the new Norwegian 'we', which was the criterion of a perfect nation state (Andresen et al., 2021; Olstad, 2017; Vestgård & Aas, 2014). Thus, the Norwegian elite conducted a kind of national brainwashing and created a 'life lie' that literally comprised writing the Sámis out of the history (Pedersen, 2021b, p. 137). However, Sámi agency existed and resistance 'was never completely still' (Andresen et al., 2021, pp. 219–260); there was an increasing Sámi public and organizational

life since approximately 1900 (although not very powerful before after the Second World War).³ This resistance notwithstanding, formal assimilation lasted until the middle of the 20th century (the law prohibiting Sámi language in schools lasted until 1959). Andresen et al. (2021) claimed that Norwegianization was harshest approximately in 1900–1950 but had a long before and after influence. Minde (2002) held that the assimilation policy worked – in practical terms for several decades; for example, although Sámi language was permitted in schools since 1959, Norwegian was still the primary language (because it took time to find and educate teachers that could use Sámi language).

The fact that Sámis generally resisted the Nazi occupant regimes (Andresen et al., 2021; Otnes, 1970, p. 156; Sejersted, 2005, p. 108) probably contributed to the more agreeable Norwegian attitude towards the Sámi people after the war. Eventually, an increased understanding of Sámis developed during the postwar era. Several intertwined domestic explanations surround the increased consciousness about Sámi identity and a growing organizational life in Norway (see below). An additional explanation was the growth of organizing interests of an international Indigenous movement (Andresen et al., 2021; Coates, 2004; Dahl, 2012). Although it is difficult to define an exact time when the Sámi self-understanding started changing from suppression to pride (Selle et al., 2015), Minde (1996) pinpointed that an article in the journal ‘The Sámi People’ referred to the Sámis as ‘Sweden’s Indians’ in 1963. Then, representatives of the Nordic Sámi Council established contact with an American Indian chief in 1972 and had a Nordic meeting in 1973, and some Sámis started calling themselves Indigenous people in 1974. Instead of referring to themselves as an ethnic minority, ‘they were now putting themselves forward as an Indigenous people’ (Minde, 1996, p. 237). With increased Norwegian and international recognition, an ‘Aboriginalization’ process (Eidheim, 2000) enabled Sámi self-understanding and ethnopolitics throughout the 1970s (Andresen et al., 2021; Minde, 1996, 2003).

However, the idea that the Sámi in Norway were an Indigenous people according to international law was a relatively remote concept for both Norwegian authorities and most Sámis until the time of the Alta case (Selle et al., 2015) or ‘the Alta controversy’ (Minde, 2002, p. 122) when ‘a large-scale hydroelectric development ... which runs through the core Sámi areas, offered a clear target for Sámi mobilization’ (Falch et al., 2015, p. 129). The first plans of the hydro-power project comprised damming large areas of land used by reindeer herders and other Sámi traditional industries; it included flooding over villages that would lead to the forced relocation of many – mostly Sámi. Thus, the Alta case sparked mobilization and ‘became a symbol of the Sami fight against cultural discrimination and for collective respect, for political autonomy and for material rights’ (Minde, 2002, p. 122). It stood out as a symbol and an expression of the awakening of a new Sámi self-consciousness and influenced Sámi and Norwegian politics. In the end, a plant was built, but relocations were cancelled.⁴ The event also stands out as a tremendous paradox of the social democratic welfare state because equality

regarding the growth and wealth (that electricity symbolizes and materializes) provides no room concerning minority interests (Olstad, 2017).

In many ways, it was the lost battle in a war that was subsequently won. Pursuant to the Alta conflict, both sides saw the need for a coordinating organ between the Sámi people and the Norwegian state. Thus, a Sámi Rights Committee commissioned by the state proposed ‘the creation of a directly elected representative body for the Sámi in Norway’ (Falch et al., 2015, p. 130). From dealing with the state as an opponent following the revitalization of the late 1970s, the Sáms played important parts in negotiating with the state throughout the 1980s. The conflicts of the 1970s and the efforts to create a new Sámi policy in the 1980s provided early Norwegian experiences with multiculturalism (Olstad, 2017; Skille, 2015). The Norwegian Parliament passed a Sámi Act in 1987, included Sámi rights in the Norwegian constitution in 1988, and established the Sámi Parliament in 1989. In 1990, Norway ratified the UN convention relating to Indigenous and tribal peoples (ILO convention 169).⁵

The Sámi Parliament – For Sápmi and Norway

The establishment of the Sámi Parliament was not only important for the Sámi; it was ‘a special day for the Norwegian society’ (Olstad, 2017, p. 311). King Harald V has acknowledged that Norway is a state built on two peoples’ land: Sámi and Norwegian (The Royal House of Norway, 1997). It is a unitary state, with one power regime and one set of laws, which apply to all (Norwegians, Indigenous Sámi, national minorities⁶, and immigrants). In that respect, a new constitutional principle was introduced, namely, representation for an ethnic group (Olstad, 2017). As per Chapter 6, the unitary states differ regarding the Sámi as an Indigenous people. Nevertheless, the Sámi Parliament provided the Sámi with some degree of self-determination (Berg-Nordlie, 2015; Dahl, 2012; Josefsen et al., 2015) although limited by being only an advisory organ for the Norwegian government and affiliated to the Ministry of Local Government and Modernization (Ministry of Local Government and Modernization, 2020, n.d.).⁷

The Sámi Parliament met ‘three simultaneous and partially overlapping challenges’ (Falch et al., 2015, p. 130). First, it recognized Sámi as a separate and historical ethnicity. Second, it was a counterweight or payback from the state of Norway after a long-lasting assimilation policy. Third, it was a way ‘to channel a potential disruptive form of ethno-political mobilization into conventional activity within the Norwegian political system’ (Falch et al., 2015, p. 130). Indeed, Sámi empowerment was established within the frames of Norway as a unitary state (Bjerkli & Selle, 2015; Broderstad, 2011; Falch et al., 2015); thus, change has evolved. While the Sámi Parliament was an advisory organ for the Norwegian parliamentary system during the 2000s, ‘the Norwegian Sami Parliament is expanding its authority’ (Broderstad, 2011, p. 902). For example, the management

of subsidies programs has been delegated from the state to the Sámi Parliament. Moreover, influence through dialogue directly with the state has been strengthened with a consultation agreement in 2005. In addition, the Sámi Parliament has gained increased influence related to rights of land and water, which is a foundation for an Indigenous people (Selle et al., 2020; Spitzer & Selle, 2020). The Sámi Parliament has ‘contributed to *the institutionalization of the Sámi nation* and in that respect contributed to a *broader Sámi identity development* or nation-building’ (Pedersen & Høgmo, 2012, p. 277, original italics). Within this landscape of increased formal power to the Sámi people, combined with being a highly integrated people in terms of civic participation (Rafoss & Hiness, 2016; Selle et al., 2015), Indigenous sport should be contextualized. This is because sport functions alongside other elements of a Sámi civil society of arts, culture, festivals, and organizational life, where such activities have been initiated bottom-up, driven by voluntary efforts.

Indeed, civic institutions are ‘today’s *living local markers* of Sámi identity and culture across the entire Sámi settlement areas’ (Pedersen & Høgmo, 2012, p. 288, original italics). Sámis on the Norwegian side of Sápmi are citizens of Norway and participants in the nation state’s elections on various levels. ‘Individual Sami thus belong to two overlapping public spheres and civil societies within the same nation state, in a form of multicultural citizenship’ (Falch et al., 2015, p. 127). Multicultural citizenship includes duties and rights following the Norwegian passport (and residency regulations), but to be electable and to vote at the Sámi Parliament in Norway, one needs to enrol in the Sámi register. Registration requires fulfilling one objective and one subjective criterion: (objectively) one’s self, one of one’s parents, grandparents, or great grandparents should have (had) Sámi language as the home language; and (subjectively) one needs to ‘feel Sami’. The criteria for registering are contested and considered an ethnic confirmation more than a democratic resource (Bjørklund, 2016; Dahl, 2004; Selle et al., 2015). It should be noted that the rules differ across the three Sámi parliaments in the various countries (Andresen et al., 2021; Berg-Nordlie, 2015).

Regarding the recruitment policy for the electoral rolls, the situations in Finland and Norway appear as opposites. Where the Sámi Parliament in Norway seems to encourage a wider electoral base to gain democratic legitimacy, the Sámi Parliament in Finland seems to be more protectionist in its attitude towards Sámi culture and cultural autonomy (Nyssönen, 2021). Since they were established, the number of registered Sámi in the electoral rolls has increased steadily in all three countries (Berg-Nordlie, 2015; Nyssönen, 2021).⁸ However, the electoral rolls are only one way to estimate the Sámi population.

Sápmi – A Nation Crossing and within State Borders

Regarding the number of Sámi, various measures are applied (Pettersen & Brustad, 2015), such as counting registered individuals in electoral rolls (Young & Bjerregaard, 2019). In Norway, the census has not measured ethnicity in the

last half-century, but aggregated estimates suggest that there are approximately 55,000 Sámi in Norway, 20,000 in Sweden, 7,000 in Finland, and 2,000 in Russia (Andresen et al., 2021, p. 49). For example, this comparative information that Norway has the most Sámi individuals contribute to subsequent interpretations. Nevertheless, I concentrate on the qualitative elements and focus on the Norwegian side of Sápmi; the historical background – or ‘historical legacy of oppression’ (Pedersen & Høgmo, 2012, p. 297) – works differently across Sámi milieus. For example, the coastal Sámis were assimilated more coercively than their peers in the inland, *and* there are differentiations within the coastal Sámis. Some (voluntarily) changed to Norwegians and, more often than not, they denied their Sámi heritage, while others became (more unintended) Norwegians in the sense that they never learned the Sámi language, but some have returned to their Sámi identity during the mentioned revitalization process. These processes and differentiations have impacted the current relationship between Sámis and Norwegians, and among the Sámis internally (Andresen et al., 2021; Broch & Skille, 2019).

Inner and partly eastern parts of Finnmark (the northernmost county of Norway) and Northern Norway more generally were less accessible from the Norwegian power centres and retained their unique Sámi industry (reindeer herding) with less multicultural exchange (such as fishing and farming, which were also conducted by Norwegians). Therefore, Sámi culture and language have survived in more natural and original forms in that region compared to other Sámi areas (Andresen et al., 2021). Selle et al. (2013) refer to core Sámi areas as where

the vast majority of the Sámi institutions are located – including the Sámi Parliament [Karasjok], the Sámi University College [Kautokeino], the Sámi unit with the state Norwegian Broadcasting System (NRK Sápmi) [Karasjok] and the Court of Inner Finnmark [Tana], where the individuals have the right to use the Sámi language in legal proceedings. Most schools in these municipalities base their teaching on the Sámi curriculum and not the national [sic, Norwegian] one.

(p. 716)

In some parts, the continuation of Sámi culture has led to what Andresen and colleagues (2021) refer to as a ‘Finnmark fetishism’ (p. 466) among researchers into Sámi issues. In that respect, it is important to note that many Sámis (and others originating in the rural parts of Norway) live in cities today. Both the main city of Northern Norway, Tromsø, and the capital city of Norway, Oslo, are popular destinations for Sámis. The so-called city Sámis perceive themselves as Sámi and conduct their Sámi identity and culture (Gjerpe, 2013). The division into core Sámi areas versus outside core areas (including cities) is coarsely cut⁹; thus, I admit the risk of losing nuances and complexity with this approach. Nevertheless, this choice provides an opportunity to present the empirical chapters according to a relatively organized structure; when choosing the same internal structure in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively, it provides an opportunity to compare

across different areas of Sápmi, and with a relatively structured treatment of the complexity of Indigenous sport and nation-building.

The reader may, at this point, ask: why all these local and historical details? I think it is vital that sociologists acknowledge our discipline's metropolitan position as a child of modernity and *Enlightenment*, the same background as has the nation state, which enforced the wrongdoings on Indigenous peoples as sketched above. In the Sámi-Norwegian history, the two most prominent issues are the Alta case and its main consequence (Andresen et al., 2021; Broderstad, 2008; Minde, 2003): the Sámi Parliament. Therefore, I have briefly elaborated on this to provide some contextual background information. Thus, a Sámi national feeling exists, given a shared history and traditions, shared culture and language, as well as a Sámi national political advocacy (Bjørklund, 2000; Ottar, 2000) and national institutions.

The current situation of the Sámi in Norway is that of a relatively acknowledged people. Sámi can – and do – go to schools and play sports like everybody else. Thus, the Sámi take part in the public and voluntary sectors, in line with other citizens. However, Sámi also have their own organizations, in sport for example. There is a Sámi sports organization, *Sámiid Valáštallanlihttu – Norga* (SVL-N).

(Skille, 2021, p. 3)

The Norway–Sámi relationship is an ongoing process of negotiations, reconciliation,¹⁰ and institutionalization (Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2018). That includes sport.

Organizing Sámi Sport

Sport is the largest civil society institution in Sápmi and Norway – as in many other countries (Green et al., 2019), whether measured in the number of memberships in sport organizations (Seippel & Skille, 2019) or by estimating volunteer working hours (Fladmoe et al., 2018). On the Swedish side of Sápmi, organized Sámi sport competitions go back to 1948 (Kuorak, 2015; Lidström, 2019). The competition schedules are customized with Sámi everyday activities; for example, the organizers always scheduled the cross-country ski races to fit with the plans of the reindeer herders' spring movements (Kuorak, 2015, p. 10). From there, the 'idea of a distinctive Sámi sport association emerged, and the Swedish Sámi Sport Association was established in 1948' (SVL-N, 2007). At the first Sámi ski championship in 1948, a committee was established (the predecessor of the Swedish Sámi Ski Association), which later became the Swedish Sámi Sport Association (Kuorak, 2015; Lidström, 2019). Whilst the revitalization processes of Sámi identity involved the establishment of many civil organizations during the 1960s (Hovland, 1996; Minde, 2003), a (Nordic) 'all-Sámi'¹¹ sport organization was established in 1979 and the Sámi sport organization in Norway (SVL-N) saw

daylight in 1990 (Pedersen & Rafoss, 1989; Rafoss, 1993; Skille, 2012a; see also Selle et al., 2015). These organizations were established to support specific Sámi culture activities and protect the particularity of Sámi sport (Skille, 2013). Let me give some details.

Throughout the 1970s, Sámis on the Swedish side discussed ‘the question of whether Sámi sports should be organized according to the division of the Sámi by state borders or through a transnational Sámi sport organization’ (Lidström, 2019, p. 1015). Thus, ‘Sámi sport was now clearly divided into two factions [that] represented two divergent views of how Sámi sport should be developed’ (p. 1023). One camp wanted to develop Sámi sport into an all-Sámi direction independent of state borders. The other ‘organizational line was based on the state borders and laid the greatest emphasis on the Sámi Championships being a Swedish event’ (p. 1023). During the 1980s, the Swedish Sámi Sport Association and the new Sámiid Valástallanlihttu (SVL) functioned in parallel (Lidström, 2019). ‘With the creation of this new organization in 1981, Sámi sport now involved two separate sports organizations. One of these (the Swedish Sámi Sports Federation) organized the annual Swedish Sámi Championship, while the other (Samiid Valástallanlihttu) organized the annual Nordic Sámi Championship’ (p. 1025).

Reporting from 1980, Kuorak holds: ‘Norwegian and Finnish Sámi have not yet held their own championships. On the other hand, they have made a Nordic (Sámi) sport association together with some from the Swedish side’ (Kuorak, 2015, p. 112). It seems that these ‘some from the Swedish side’ were relatively independent of the established Swedish Sámi sport organization. According to general assembly minutes from 1981, ‘the Swedish Sámi Sports Association has not taken part in any decision to establish the Nordic Sámi sports association [SVL]. The lack of cooperation between Sámis across state borders of Sápmi, thus, limited the potential success of an all-Sámi sport organization (SVL). In SVL, Swedish, Finnish, and Norwegian associations were members who should implement their own sports for the Sámis. However, it did not turn out according to intention. ‘It was both cumbersome and difficult to organize the work for the Sámis in three countries’ (SVL-N, 2007).

Whilst Kuorak and SVL-N both observe a cumbersome functioning of SVL, there are differences in how they communicate it from each side of the Sweden–Norway border. Whilst SVL-N formulates expressions of one organization for one people in three different countries, Kuorak consistently refers to Swedish Sámis and Norwegian Sámis. For example,

When our neighbour country’s Sámi youth in the west started showing interest in our competitions, and when the SVL was established, they wanted to play and create rules aiming to compete with the big boys and girls in the Olympics and the World Championships for our Sápmi. I have the feeling they aimed too high. Those interested in competitions outside the Sami have the opportunity to be selected on behalf of their respective countries.

Among us, some were blinded by that idea and started supporting such visions. They did not foresee the devastating consequences that affected the Sámi competitions.

(Kuorak, 2015, p. 211)

In 1990, the organizational structure was changed, and a new Nordic level Sámi sport association was established: SVL. Simultaneously, three 'district associations' were established: the Swedish (SVL-R), the Finnish (SVL-S), and the Norwegian (SVL-N) (SVL-N, 2007).¹² Approximately 4,000 members in 23 sport clubs are affiliated to the organization (SVL-N, 2020) comprising three broad types: (1) general Sámi clubs; (2) specific Sámi sport clubs exclusively affiliated to the SVL-N; and (3) sport clubs also affiliated to one or several Norwegian Sport Federations and NIF (Skille, 2012a).

SVL-N sport clubs usually federate in the Norwegian sports organization, too, and provide activities such as football and cross-country skiing. The distinct Sámi sports disciplines are reindeer racing and lassoing (with variations: only lassoing, cross-country running with lassoing, and running with lassoing). How explicitly the sport clubs display their indigeneity in their local profiling, especially regarding use of language varies.

(Skille, 2021, p. 3)

The study focuses on the ordinary Sámi sports clubs affiliated with SVL-N (Figure 3.2). With such an inclusion criterion, Sámi associations and reindeer racing clubs, as well as Norwegian (only) sports clubs, are excluded from the direct empirical investigations presented in Chapters 4 and 5. Before moving there, some elements of this research are crucial to clarify: the researcher and his approach.

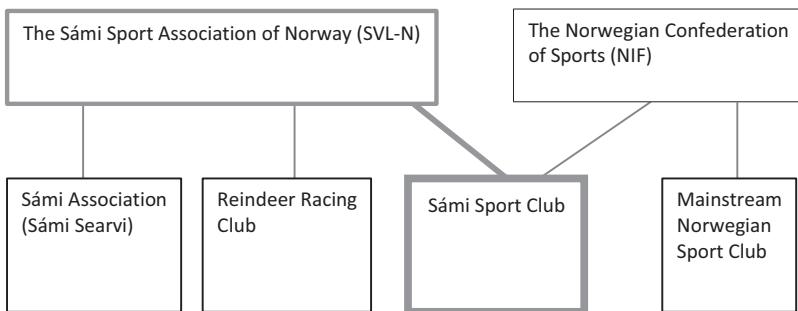


Figure 3.2 The focus of study: ordinary sport clubs affiliated with the Sámi sport organization.

Positioning of the Researcher

Whilst the meaning dimensions of social life inherent in sociology depend on who is studying whom, I will position myself as a researcher by leaning on Indigenous methodologies: I apply interpretative pragmatism (Skille, 2010, 2012b), which refers to an interpretation as an intermediate between an input of all available and appropriate data on one side and an output of telling the overall narrative on the other.

Although ethics ‘in research related to Indigenous peoples has been increasingly discussed in a global context’ (Drugge, 2016, p. 9) and ‘discussions on ethical issues in relation to Sámi research have predominantly been present on the Norwegian sides of Sápmi’ (p. 9), no specific guidelines exist (NESH, 2016; Sametinget, 2018).¹³ Conducting research into Sámi sport in Norway while representing the dominant culture – by literally being a Norwegian academic (cf. Brannely & Boulton, 2017; Carpenter and McMurphy-Pilkington, 2008) and being inspired by seminal titles such as *Decolonizing methodologies* (Smith, 2012), *Indigenous methodologies* (Chilisa, 2013), and *Research is Ceremony. Indigenous Research Methods* (Wilson, 2009) – I emphasize three elements in my approach: Reflection, Reciprocity, and Heterogeneity.¹⁴ While the first two of these are standard practice for qualitative researchers, accepting heterogeneity ‘refers to understanding Indigenous peoples (and others) as subgroups and unique individuals, where speaking of Sámi as one entity is reductionistic’. It is, thus, important to acknowledge ‘the complexity of heterogeneity in Indigenous research’ (Skille, 2021, p. 2). In the sections below, I pick up on these elements and link them to my background – as a Norwegian in a multicultural community of Sápmi. I then conclude by elaborating on the possibilities and limitations I face when researching Indigenous sport and nation-building.

Reflection

Studying a historically suppressed Indigenous people as a researcher, who represents the historically suppressing majority, provides me with some specific sets of possibilities and limitations. My youth as a Norwegian in a multicultural context resulted in interest for and partial understanding of Indigenous sport and nation-building, while education in sport sociology gave me theoretical knowledge, methodological insights, and interpretation skills. Thus, an epistemological point of departure is that I consider myself a mix of insider and outsider, in line with a social construction paradigm through the socialization of a culture that is taken for granted and partially reproduced by myself (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).¹⁵ Hence, reflection requires movement between the taken-for-granted inside and outside observation, and – hopefully – it enables a critical and informed insider view. Following Māori scholar Hokowhitu, I claim that the study of Indigenous people and sport must be ‘cognizant of “local knowledges” and place, the dispossessing nature of colonialism, the role sport played in assimilating the

Indigenous population within the national state, ... [and] the relationship between sport and Indigenous post-colonial corporeality' (2013, p. xvii; see also Hallinan, 2015).

A major step of reflection is acknowledging my immediate social context and myself as a bearer of history. As a qualitative researcher, I am intentional during all phases of the research process and have augmented an awareness when entering Indigenous research (see Olsen, 2017 for similar and seminal reflections). Let me specify. Growing up in Sápmi during the 1970s and 1980s, my Norwegian parents, who also grew up in mixed ethnic communities in the same area, worked in the public sector. My father studied Sámi language to improve his service to the local community with Sámi, Norwegian, and Finnish citizens. I have friends and relatives with Sámi and mixed backgrounds and participated in Sámi activities myself: 'I realize that Sámi sport was part of my childhood and adolescence, and I acknowledge that Sámi football is part of an overarching revitalization process' (Skille, 2021, p. 4) that has continued and continues. Some of my friends took back their Sámi identity, explicating it on social media and acquiring Sámi clothes upon reaching adulthood.

Another point of reflection is to acknowledge how colonization includes definition rights – both morally and legally – regarding interaction and the creation of knowledge. The history between Sámis and Norwegians comprised an assimilation rationalized by 'research'.¹⁶ According to Māori scholar Smith: 'The word itself, "research", is one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world's vocabulary' (2012, p. 1) because 'knowledge about Indigenous people was collected, classified and then presented' (p. 1) 'alongside the flora and fauna' (p. 62). The so-called universal understandings of reality, time, and space lean on the dominant Western culture's science, which 'emerged from the period of European history known as *the Enlightenment*' (Smith, 2012, p. 6). The denomination *Enlightenment* arrogantly provided Western scientists with the belief that we conduct rational actions by applying scientific methods, including objective analyses, and simply believe we possessed 'the truth'. In the relationship to others, we employ a language and a hierarchy where we are on top because we have the definition rights. Despite changes in official policy, the historical relationships between Indigenous peoples and dominant cultures and nation states are still at work (Olsen & Andreassen, 2018).

Consequently, my position as a non-Indigenous researcher studying Indigenous sport can be contested: 'Despite good will and academic skills', non-Indigenous researchers themselves can be considered 'as symptoms of the colonial aftermath [and] remain colonizers' (Olsen, 2018, p. 21). I must admit that I have run the normative risk of comparing the goods of Western lifestyle with 'the other' as savage on several occasions. Spending much of my work studying Norwegian sport organizations, it was the benchmark for my interpretation when I observed Indigenous sport (Skille, 2021). Reflecting in retrospect, I conducted 'whiteness' as a 'hidden normative way of life by which all cultural ways of being are measured' (Evans et al., 2009, p. 898; for reflection on whiteness in a Sámi context, see Dankertsen, 2019). To avoid 'whiteness' and thus 'othering' that both imply

one-directional relationships, a dialogue between research field and researcher is better. Even better are mutual benefits. For that, I employ the term reciprocity.

Reciprocity

'Boundaries are not fixed between knowledge systems' (Gaudet, 2014, p. 83); thus, more collaboration is needed – and may take time. Researchers and Indigenous peoples 'simply need to remain open to ways of being with one another' (p. 84). For me, the key was to have a relatively close relationship with the Sámi sport organization in Norway, and my first entry to Indigenous sport was an invitation from SVL-N to a weekend seminar in 2007. Thus, 'research with and about Indigenous peoples must be founded on a process of meaningful engagement and reciprocity between the researcher and the Indigenous people' (Hornung, 2013, p. 140). I try to lean on ideals of consultation and mutual understanding, respect for people and culture, and that the research should enhance positive outcomes and benefits for the Indigenous people; I pose to myself questions like 'What is the purpose?' and 'Am I the right researcher to do it?' Paraphrasing Carpenter and McMurphy-Pilkington (2008), 'any research involving Māori people should benefit Māori' (p. 184), and from this, Māori could be replaced by Sámi or 'Indigenous people'.

With my research into Indigenous sport, I believe I give voice to an under-privileged group in several respects. One approach is to put the research on the agenda; another is to create knowledge that can be utilized by the Indigenous people and increase understanding among decision-makers regarding various scopes related to Indigenous sport and nation-building. While I can never be, become, or replace an Indigenous researcher, 'there have been some shifts in the way non-Indigenous researchers and academics have positioned themselves and their work in relation to the people for whom the research still counts' (Smith, 2012, pp. 17–18). As mentioned, one strategy is to consult representatives of Indigenous people (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Smith, 2012), which requires a minimum of insider knowledge (Porsanger, 2004; Smith, 2012). I participated in Sámi football tournaments, and in retrospect, I understand that I was part of the Sámi sport organization and revitalization process. However, I am only one, and I am unique; so are all the interviewees. Thus, the way research subjects interact with or, otherwise, experience 'me' varies.

Heterogeneity

There is 'no single Indigenous epistemology, as each person and/or community expresses knowledge uniquely based on stories, personal experiences, and ways of knowing and being' (Gaudet, 2014, p. 74). Consequently, by giving voice to an Indigenous people, I facilitate the voice of different actors of Indigenous sport (Skille, 2021).¹⁷ Conversely, researchers also represent heterogeneity. I represent not only the academic community but also the heritage I described above. Given

the heterogeneity of both the research contexts and the researcher community, I want to emphasize the significance of the interface; ‘indigeneity and non-indigeneity are not binaries. There is space in between – in the cultural interface’ (Olsen, 2018, p. 211). Thus, I have experienced various reactions to my research and myself. On one side, Indigenous scholars have excluded me because I do not speak the Sámi language and, therefore, not considered sufficiently culturally skilled; I was being judged as lacking the competence needed to be an insider. On the contrary, I have received much appreciation among the representatives of Indigenous sport clubs, the Sámi sport organization, and the Sámi Parliament – as well as from representatives of the Norwegian government dealing with Sámi politics in earlier studies into Indigenous sport (e.g. Fahlén & Skille, 2016, 2017). ‘The point is that different Sámi individuals have different views and people who know me are most positive’ (Skille, 2021, p. 10) and ‘there is no singular Indigenous knowledge, and Indigenous knowledge is always in flux’ (Olsen, 2018, p. 219).

The point is that the interface between the researched and the researcher is heterogeneous. To ‘test’ the interface between the researcher and the research subjects, I often end my interviews with questions on whether it would have influenced the conversation if I had presented myself as a Sámi before the interview. There was a spectrum of answers. Some were indifferent: ‘It would not make any difference’ or ‘I say what I think anyway’. Some were inclusive and supportive: ‘You are from Tana. You know the Sámi. ... It made it easier that you presented yourself being from Tana. ... Then it is not interesting whether [you] are Sámi or Norwegian, you know the Sámi anyway’, or: ‘It feels easier for me that we have the same dialect ... it is good that someone does [Sámi research]. ... I think it is positive that people are positive and want to [undertake] research [Sámi sport]’. Taken together, the heterogeneous views on a non-Indigenous researcher create different interfaces for the researcher to work in, and the researcher must position himself or herself in the accessible zones (Skille, 2021). The two latter interviewees quoted concisely sum up some of my points: the actors representing Indigenous sports during my research have been optimistic and supportive because someone scrutinizes their actions and it helps that I speak the north Norwegian dialect (similar to what most Sámi also speak). Due to these mutual connecting points, I consider the trustworthiness of this study to be high.

Interpretative Pragmatism

Combinations of the three (Reflexivity, Reciprocity, and Heterogeneity) provide various positions for me as a non-Indigenous researcher into Indigenous sport and nation-building. Through this research, I have also developed an attitude of ‘being careful about taking a stand’ (Olsen, 2018, p. 220); I want to shed light on Sámi sport and Sápmi to provide Indigenous benefits and give Indigenous people privilege. I hope that focusing on Sámi sport will advance the Sámi community within the Norwegian state, in Sápmi, other Nordic nation states, and in a global Indigenous context. The approach to do so is a qualitative enquiry and

to provide an empirical contribution. Within a social constructivist paradigm, I employ an interpretative sociological pragmatism (Skille, 2010, 2012b), which encourages the application of available data and feasible methods, aiming at generating thick descriptions to present a trustworthy narrative (Alexander, 2003; Kjeldstadli, 1999; Knutsen, 2002; Schaanning, 2000a, 2000b). Regarding thick descriptions, Geertz (1973) viewed culture as rich and complex, structuring social life as a network of meaningful elements that influence human behaviour. While culture is 'everything and therefore nothing', I believe that culture is simultaneously 'something' with an explanatory value (Alexander, 2003), which is crucial to understanding Indigenous sport and nation-building because both phenomena are influenced by cultural understandings (and each other).

To generate generalized, theoretical, and analytical points, I apply Ricoeur's (1976, 1991) framework to knowledge creation with two interdependent processes: one from understanding to explanation and one from explanation to understanding. While these concepts are often viewed as dichotomies due to different scientific traditions, Ricoeur considered the concepts as complementary. Ricoeur (1976) exemplifies by an analogy from everyday life; if one person tells a story to another, the narrator elaborates the story by explaining it chronologically and in detail. The listener must understand the story and is then able to express it further (to others). Ricoeur employs both concepts because they contend with different qualities. Explanation is oriented towards the analytical structure of a phenomenon, while understanding is oriented towards the phenomenon's intentional whole (Ricoeur, 1976, 1991). The interpretations are based on objectified meanings, which refer to the text: research literature; documents from state organizations, Indigenous parliaments, and sport organizations; media articles; and field notes and interview transcripts. Based on written and printed sources, I enter the first phase (i.e. understanding to explanation) and 'guess' what the phenomenon of Indigenous sport and nation-building is; to call it 'guessing' (cf. Ricoeur, 1976, 1991) acknowledges that a narrative will never be fully comprehensible. However, I aim to understand and explain through writing, and validate the guesswork by moving back and forth between constantly updated explanations of the phenomenon and validation by reading new sources. Thus, the process includes invalidating (which is not necessarily a rejection of interpretations but refers to showing contradictory or competing interpretations), considering different opinions and presenting a more comprehensive narrative (Knutsen, 2002).

To close the circle and employ thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973), I aim to follow some ideals for a narration's typical characteristics (Knutsen, 2002). First, it has identifiable individuals who play sport, organize sport, and conduct sport politics to build a nation. Second, a narrative comprises a chronology with events that can be ordered by time, for example, the establishment of SVL-N and the subsequent reorganizations. Third, a narrative relates to other narratives, for example, the narrative of Sámi sport relates to the narrative of Sámi revitalization more generally, hereunder the establishment of the Sámi Parliament, and it relates to the narrative of Norwegian sport. In that respect, I analyze Indigenous sport and

nation-building along the lines of trajectory and comparison; through a trajectory analysis, I explain the present by acknowledging multiple historical origins (Schaanning, 2000a, 2000b) and that some origins have more impact on contemporary Indigenous sport and nation-building than others.

Moreover (while trajectory is the historical comparison), Indigenous sport and nation-building as phenomena are compared internally. Throughout the research process, especially during the primary data collection, dividing territories into core Sámi areas and outside of the core areas proved fruitful; the research participants and I understood each other because we used an established division of Sámi areas as reference points during our dialogue. The phenomena were also compared to other contemporary phenomena (see Chapter 2). Moreover, a proper narrative presents a model of explanation based on the mentioned chronology, builds on facts interpreted hermeneutically, and deals with the fundamental historical question of continuity versus change (Knutsen, 2002); these are utilized during the empirical investigations below and applied in Chapter 7, where the empirical material is discussed along theoretical lines of convention and community.

The Interface between Context and Researcher – A Note on Empirical Presentations

In the next chapters, I present empirical considerations based on a division of Sámi contexts and cultures: (i) core Sámi areas and (ii) more peripheral areas including Sámi in cities (Gjerpe, 2013; Pedersen and Høggmo, 2012). In Chapters 4 and 5, I conduct an empirical bottom-up approach primarily based on interviews with representatives of Sámi sport clubs (as per Figure 3.2). The sport clubs are crucial members of a civil society – or rather several civil societies – that relate to the formal institutions of the Sámi Parliament and the Norwegian state. In addition, there is a public debate represented in the media, as presented on the right in Figure 3.3. Due to the risks of identifying interviewees and clubs, I will apply rather generalized and ideal typical formulations throughout the following chapters. Two critical criteria to that decision are: first, that the analytical points remain and second, that the claims will, of course, be supported by empirical material. The double affiliation of most Sámi sport clubs has implications for the analysis of Indigenous and nation-building in Sápmi. Not only must a discussion of Sámi sport and nation-building of Sápmi include the organization SVL-N and its affiliates, but the question is also whether the analysis can comprise *only* the Sámi sport organization. The answer is no. As we will see in the empirical chapters below, the relationship to the Norwegian sport system is unavoidable in discussions about the Norwegian side of Sápmi. A major point in this regard points to how concrete the sport clubs' affiliations are in terms of the multicultural citizenship of Sámis in Norway. All the ordinary sport clubs affiliated with SVL-N are also affiliated with NIF, with limited exceptions, which I treat specifically in Chapter 4. Under scrutiny in Chapters 4 and 5 are members of the Norwegian branch of the Sámi sport organization as established in 1990.

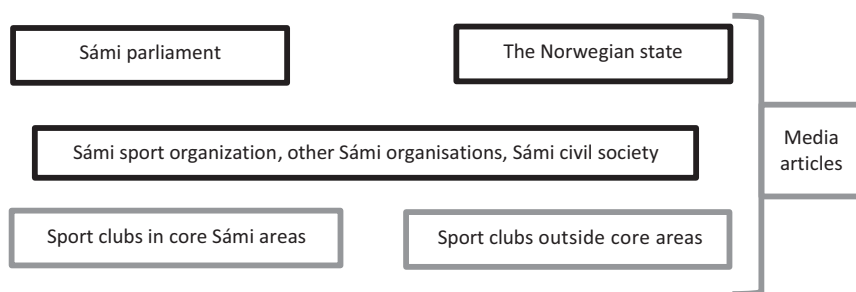


Figure 3.3 Operationalization of relationships between various institutions with a focus on Sámi sport clubs. The two lower boxes indicate the primary empirical sources for the following chapters.

Notes

- 1 The following is primarily the generalized story of the Norwegian side. On the Swedish side, segregation was the state's Sámi policy. Both approaches leaned on a Social Darwinist belief that Sámi culture would die out anyway; in Sweden, a 'natural death', in Norway, assisted by an active assimilation. In Finland, there was a more integrating (into state institutions) approach (Andresen et al., 2021; Solheim, 2011).
- 2 Kven refers to Finnish settlers in Northern Norway, commencing in the late Middle Ages and as a regular migration since the 18th century (Minde, 1996). Kven are a people known in written sources since the Viking and saga era (Niemi, 1977; Schøyen, 1918; Stockfleth, 1848). Another reason for streamlining everyone into good Norwegians was the minorities' relationship to the East (Sámi across Sápmi and Kven with Finland) during the Cold War; it was simply an element of global defence and security policy (Eriksen & Niemi, 1981).
- 3 For example, a Sámi meeting in Tråante/Trondheim took place on 6 February 1917. February 6th has later been defined as the Sámi national day (Andresen et al., 2021).
- 4 On the Russian side, however, plans including forced relocation have been implemented (Andresen et al., 2021); that indicates differences in how states treat minorities and Indigenous peoples across Sápmi.
- 5 ILO stands for International Labour Organization and is a United Nations organ. See (ILO, n.d.).
- 6 National minorities are 'groups with a long-standing attachment to Norway': Kvens/Norwegian Finns (people of Finnish descent in Northern Norway), Jews, Forest Finns, Roma, and Romani people/Tater' (Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2020).
- 7 Sámi policy is institutionalized in the Norwegian state with the Department of Sami and Minority Affairs in the Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation (Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2020, n.d.).
- 8 In Sweden, there are indications of stagnation, explained by youth considering the registration procedure cumbersome (NRK, 2021).
- 9 The term *core Sámi area* has been contested since it was used by the Sámi committee of 1956 and its proposition of 1959 (Andresen et al., 2021); hence, other ways to

- categorize the Sámi and Sám̄mi exist. For example, Vorren and Manker (1958) categorize them into the nomadic Sámi, sea Sámi, forest Sámi, and Scolt Sámi; while Pedersen and Høgmo (2012) focus upon how revitalization processes have played out differently across geographical areas, cultures and contexts, and generations. In Bjerkli and Selle's (2015) edited work, several chapters touch on variations across Sám̄mi: regarding reindeer herding (Ulvefadet, 2015), coast fishing (Andersen & Eythórsson, 2015), and the administration area of the Sámi language (Todal, 2015).
- 10 As this book goes to print, there is ongoing work regarding the wrongdoings the state undertook against Sámi and Kven. The Norwegian Parliament established 'The commission to investigate the Norwegianisation policy and injustice against the Sámi and Kven/Norwegian Finnish peoples (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission)' (TRC, n.d.). See Chapter 8.
 - 11 'All-Sámi' seems to be an expression increasingly used about issues considering Sám̄mi on several sides of state borders, especially among Sámi Parliament bureaucrats and some sport organization leaders.
 - 12 R, S, and N refer to the initials of each country, in north Sámi language: Ruotta = Sweden, Suomi = Finland, Norgga = Norway. The Swedish Sámi sport association agreed to be the Swedish representative and thus the Swedish district sports organization. Moreover, the name changed from 'the Swedish Sámi's Sport Federation' to 'the Sámi's Swedish Sport Federation'. The former name emphasizes the word 'Swedish', whereas the focus in the latter is on the word 'Sámi'. 'Thereby, the change of the sequence of the words constitutes an ideological shift of the federation from Sweden to Sám̄mi' (Lidström, 2019, p. 1028).
 - 13 The project is of course assessed and cleared by the Norwegian center for research data (project number 57,455). However, the ethical considerations in this chapter goes beyond such formal arrangements.
 - 14 Examples of other possibilities are discussed in Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991), Olsen (2016), Pidgeon (2019).
 - 15 Berger and Luckmann (1966) refer to reproduction as a result eternal round in the processes of objectivization (the surroundings appear as God-given or natural despite being human creations), internalization (the socialization process), and externalization (when internalized, the individual herself reproduces by explicating the culture through language, appropriate behaviour and expressions of values).
 - 16 The Norwegian government exploited science to 'prove' Sámi sub-ordination, for example, by physical anthropology's skull measurements (Aas & Vestgården, 2014).
 - 17 In a draft for research guidelines from the Sámi Parliament in Norway, it reads: 'The term "free and informed collective consent" (henceforth "collective consent") refers to a consent given without coercion or pressure by a local community or an Indigenous group that is directly or indirectly impacted by the proposed research. Such consent will also require free, informed individual consent' (Sámi Parliament-N, 2018, p. 30). This is a version of the general 'Indigenous people's right to self-determination' (p. 31) made explicitly for researchers.

References

- Åhren, M. (2014). The proposed Nordic Saami convention: National and international dimensions of indigenous property rights. *Nordic Journal of Human Rights*, 32(3), 283–286.
- Alexander, J. C. (2003). *The meaning of social life. A cultural sociology*. Oxford university press.

- Alexander, J. C. (2006). *The civil sphere*. Oxford University Press.
- Andersen, S. and Eythórsson, E. (2015). Kystfiskeutvalget – drømmen som brast [The coastal fishing council – the broken dream]. In B. Bjerkli and P. Selle (Eds.): *Samepolitikkenes utvikling* [The Sámi politics' development] (pp. 148–170). Gyldendal akademisk.
- Andresen, A., Evjen, B. and Rymiin, T. (Eds.) (2021). *Samenes historie fra 1751 til 2010* [The history of the Sámi 1751–2010]. Cappeen Damm Akademisk.
- Berg-Nordlie, M. (2015). Representativitet i Sápmi. Fire stater, fire tilnærminger til inklusjon av urfolk [Representativity in Sápmi. Four states, four approaches to inclusion of Indigenous peoples]. In B. Bjerkli and P. Selle (Eds.): *Samepolitikkenes utvikling* [The Sámi politics' development] (pp. 388–418). Gyldendal akademisk.
- Berg-Nordlie, M., Saglie, J. and Sullivan, A. (Eds.) (2015). *Indigenous politics. Institutions, representation, mobilization*. ECPR Press.
- Berger, P. and Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality*. London: Penguin Books.
- Bjerkli, B. and Selle, P. (Eds.) (2015). *Samepolitikkenes utvikling* [The Sámi politics' development]. Gyldendal.
- Bjørklund, I. (2000). *Sápmi – en nasjon blir til* [Sápmi – a nation arises]. Tromsø Museum.
- Bjørklund, I. (2016). 'Er ikke blodet mitt bra nok?' Om etniske konstruksjoner og identitetsforvaltning i Sapmi [Isn't my blood good enough?' About ethnic constructions and identity management in Sapmi]. *Nytt norsk tidsskrift*, 33(1–2), 8–20.
- Brannely, T. and Boulton, A. (2017). The ethics of care and transformational research in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Qualitative Research*, 17(3), 340–350.
- Broch, T. B. and Skille, E. Å. (2019). Performing sport political legitimacy: A cultural sociology perspective on sport politics. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 36(2), 171–178.
- Broderstad, E. G. (2008). *The bridge-building role of political procedures. Indigenous rights and citizenship rights within and across the borders of the nation-state*. Tromsø University.
- Broderstad, E. G. (2011). The promises and challenges of indigenous self-determination. The Sami case. *International Journal*, 66(4), 893–907.
- Carpenter, V. M. and McMurphy-Pilkington, C. (2008). Cross-cultural researching: Māori and Pakeha in Te Whakapakari. *Qualitative Research*, 8(2), 179–196.
- Chilisa, B. (2013). *Indigenous research methodologies*. Sage.
- Coates, K. S. (2004). *A global history of indigenous peoples. Struggle and survival*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dahl, J. (2012). *The indigenous space and marginalized peoples in the United Nations*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dankertsen, A. (2019). I felt so white: Sámi racialization, indigeneity, and shades of whiteness. *NAIS Journal of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association*, 6(2), 110–137.
- Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2008). Introduction. In N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln, and L. T. Smith (Eds.): *Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies* (pp. 1–20). Sage.
- Drugge, A.-L. (2016). Introduction. In A.-L. Drugge (Ed.): *Ethics in indigenous research. Past experiences – future challenges* (pp. 9–17). University of Umeå.
- Eidheim, H. (2000). Ein nasjon veks fram: Sápmi [A nation grows forth: Sápmi]. *Ottar*, 232(4), 3–8. Tromsø museum.
- Eriksen, K. E. and Niemi, E. (1981). *Den finske fare. Sikkerhetsproblemer og minoritetspolitikk i nord 1860–1940* [The Finnish threat. Security problems and minority policy in the north 1860–1940]. Universitetsforlaget.
- Evans, M., Hole, R., Berg, L. D., Hutchinson, P. and Sookraj, D. (2009). Common insights, differing methodologies. Toward a fusion of indigenous methodologies, participatory

- action research, and white studies in an aboriginal research agenda. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 15(5), 893–910.
- Falch, T., Selle, P. and Strømsnes, K. (2015). The Sami: 25 years of indigenous authority in Norway. *Ethnopolitics*, 15(1), 125–143.
- Fahlén, J. and Skille, E. Å. (2016). Samisk idrett og statlig politikk i Sverige og Norge [Sami sport and state policy in Sweden and Norway]. In H. C. Pedersen and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Utafor sporet? Idrett, identiteter og regionalisme i nord* [Outside the tracks? Sport, identities and regionalism in the north] (pp. 138–167). Oplandske Bokforlag.
- Fahlén, J. and Skille, E. Å. (2017). State sport policy for indigenous sport: Inclusive ambitions and exclusive coalitions. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 9(1), 173–187.
- Fladmoe, A., Sivesind, K. H. and Arnesen, D. (2018). *Oppdaterte tall om frivillig innsats i Norge, 1998–2017* [Updated numbers on voluntary work in Norway, 1998–2017]. Institute for social research.
- Gaudet, J. C. (2014). Rethinking participatory research with indigenous peoples. *Native American and Indigenous Studies*, 1(23): 69–88.
- Geertz, C. (1973). Thick description: Towards an interpretive theory of culture. In C. Geertz (Ed.): *The interpretation of cultures. Selected essays* (pp. 3–39). Basic Books.
- Gjerpe, K. K. (2013). 'The best of both worlds'. *Conceptualising an urban Sámi identity*. Universitetet i Tromsø.
- Green, K., Sigurjonsson, T. and Skille, E. Å. (Eds.) (2019). *Sport in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries*. Routledge.
- Hallinan, C. (2015). Addressing sociology of sport: On indigeneity, politics of identity and Australian sports. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 50(4–5), 448–453.
- Hansen, L. I. and Olsen, B. (2004). *Samenes historie fram til 1750* [Sámi history until 1750]. Cappelen akademisk forlag.
- Hokowhitu, B. and Scherer, J. (2008). The Māori All Blacks and the decentring of the white subject: Hyperrace, sport, and the cultural logic of late capitalism. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 25(2), 243–262.
- Hornung, F. (2013). Indigenous research with a cultural context. In D. M. Mertens, F. Cram and B. Chilisa (Eds.): *Indigenous pathways into social research. Voices of a new generation* (pp. 133–152). Left Coast Press.
- Hovland, A. (1996). *Moderne urfolk* [Modern indigenous people]. Cappelen Damm.
- Josefsen, E., Mörkenstram, U. and Saglie, J. (2015). Different institutions within similar states. The Norwegian and Swedish Sámediggis. *Ethnopolitics*, 14(1), 32–51.
- Kirkness, V. J. and Barnhardt, R. (1991). First nations and higher education: The four R's – respect, relevance, reciprocity, responsibility. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 30(3), 1–15.
- Kjeldstadli, K. (1999). *Fortida er ikkje kva den en gang var: en innføring i histriefaget* [The past is not what it used to be. An introduction to history]. Universitetsforlaget.
- Knutsen, P. (2002). *Analytisk narrasjon: en innføring i historiefagets vitenskapsfilosofi* [Analytical narration: An introduction to history's philosophy of science]. Fagbokforlaget.
- Kuokkanen, R. (2019). *Restructuring relations. Indigenous self-determination, governance, and gender*. Oxford University Press.
- Kuorak, I. (2015). *60 år på samemästerskapsspåret* [60 years of the Sámi championships in skiing]. Lumio.
- Lidström, I. (2019). The development of Sámi Sport, 1970–1990: A concern for Sweden or for Sápmi? *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 19(11), 1013–1034.

- Minde, H. (1996). The making of an international movement of indigenous peoples. *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 21(3), 221–246.
- Minde, H. (2002). Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and consequences. *Acta Borealia*, 20(2), 121–146.
- Minde, H. (2003). The challenge of indigenism: The struggle for Sami land rights and self-government in Norway 1960–1990. In S. Jentoft, H. Minde and R. Nilsen (Eds.): *Indigenous peoples: Resource management and global rights* (pp. 75–106). Eburon Academic Publishers.
- Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation (2018). *Consultation duty in Sami matters*. Kommunal og moderniseringsdepartementet.
- Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation (2020). *Grunnlaget for politikken overfor nasjonale minoriteter* [The foundation for the policy for national minorities]. Kommunal og moderniseringsdepartementet.
- Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation (n.d.). *The department of Sami and minority affairs*. Retrieved from: <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/kmd/organisation/departments/the-department-of-sami-and-minority-affa/id589401/>.
- NESH (2016). *Guidelines for research ethics in the social sciences, humanities, law and theology*. The National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities.
- Niemi, E. (1977). *Oppbrudd og tilpassing: den finske flyttingen til Vadsø 1845–1885* [Breakup and adaption: Finnish migration to Vadsø 185–1885]. Vadsø kommune.
- NRK (2021). *Oddasat* (Sámi radio program, 19 March 2021). Retrieved from: <https://tv.nrk.no/serie/oddasat-tv/202103/SANY70031921/avspiller>.
- Nyüssönen, J. (2021). Valgmannstallregistrering i Finland, Norge og Sverige [Electoral rolls registration in Finland, Norway and Sweden]. In A. Andresen, B. Evjen and T. Ryymin (Eds.): *Samenes historie 1751–2010* [Sámi history 1751–2010] (pp. 412–416). Cappelen Damm Akademisk.
- Olsen, T. A. (2016). Responsibility, reciprocity and respect. In A.-L. Drugge (Ed.): *Ethics in indigenous research. Past experiences – future challenges* (pp. 25–44). Umeå University.
- Olsen, T. A. (2017). Gender and/in Indigenous methodologies: On trouble and harmony in Indigenous studies. *Ethnicities*, 17(4), 509–525.
- Olsen, T. A. (2018). Privilege, decentring and the challenge of being (Non-) indigenous in the study of indigenous issues. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 47(2), 206–215.
- Olsen, T. A. and Andreassen, B.-O. (2018). ‘Urfolk’ og ‘mangfold’ i skolens læreplaner [‘Indigenous peoples’ and ‘diversity’ in school’s curriculum]. *FLEKS – Scandinavian Journal of Intercultural Theory and Practice*, 5(1), 1–17.
- Otnes, P. (1970). *Den samiske nasjon: Interesseorganisasjoner i samenes politiske historie* [The Sámi nation: Interest organizations in Sámi political history]. Pax.
- Ottar. (2000). *Ein nasjon blir til* [A nation is created]. Tromsø museum.
- Pedersen, S. (2006). *Lappkodusillen i nord 1751–1859: fra grenseavtale og sikring av samenes rettigheter til grensesperring og samisk ulykke* [The lap codicil in the north 1751–1859: From border treaties and securing of Sámi rights to closed borders and Sámi disaster]. Universitetet i Tromsø.
- Pedersen, S. (2021a). Folk med gamle rettigheter på kolonisert jord [People with old right son colonized land]. In A. Andresen, B. Evjen and T. Ryymin (Eds.): *Samenes historie fra 1751 til 2010* [Sámi history from 1751 to 2010] (pp. 79–116). Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

- Pedersen, S. (2021b). Inn i den norske nasjonalstaten [Into the Norwegian nation state]. In A. Andresen, B. Evjen and T. Ryymin (Eds.): *Samenes historie fra 1751 til 2010* [Sámi history from 1751 to 2010] (pp. 117–156). Cappelen Damm Akademisk.
- Pedersen, P. and Høgmo, A. (2012). *Sápmi slår tilbake. Samiske revitaliserings- og moderniseringsprosesser i siste generasjon* [Sápmi strikes back. Sámi revitalization and modernization processes in the last generation]. CalliidLagadus.
- Pedersen, K. and Rafoss, K. (1989). Sport in Finnmark and Saami districts. *Scandinavian Journal of Sports Science*, 11(1), 35–42.
- Pettersen, T. and Brustad, M. (2015). Same Sámi? A comparison of self-reported Sámi ethnicity measures in 1970 and 2003 in selected rural areas in Northern Norway. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(12), 2071–2089.
- Pidgeon, M. (2019). Moving between theory and practice within an Indigenous research paradigm. *Qualitative Research*, 19(4), 418–43.
- Porsanger, J. (2004). An essay about Indigenous methodology. *NORDLIT*, 15, 105–120.
- Rafoss, K. (1993). Sport and cultural identity: Organization among the Saami people. In L. Laine (Ed.): *On the fringes of sport* (pp. 197–205). Akademia Verlag.
- Rafoss, K. and Hines, K. (2016). Ung i Finnmark – En studie av bruk av fritidsarenaer og deltakelse i fritidsaktiviteter [Young in Finnmark – A study of use of leisure time arenas and participation in leisure time activities]. In H. C. Pedersen and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Utafor sporet? Idrett, identiteter og regionalisme i nord* [Outside the tracks? Sport, identities and regionalism in the north]. (pp. 169–192). Oplandske Bokforlag.
- Ricoeur, P. (1976). *Interpretation theory. Discourse and the surplus of meaning*. TCU Press.
- Ricoeur, P. (1991). *From text to action*. Northwestern University Press.
- Ryymin, T. (2021). Sivilisering, modernisering, fornorskning, kolonialisme, kulturelt folkemord: ulike måter å forstå den samme fortiden på [Civilization, modernization, norwegianization, colonialism, cultural genocide: Different approaches to understand the same past]. In A. Andresen, B. Evjen and T. Ryymin (Eds.): *Samenes historie fra 1751 til 2010* [Sámi history from 1751 to 2010] (pp. 175–179). Cappelen Damm Akademisk.
- Sámi Parliament-N (2018). *Proposal for ethical guidelines for Sámi health research and research on Sámi human biological material*. Sametinget.
- Schaanning, E. (2000a). *Fortiden i våre hender. Foucault som vitenshåndtør* (vol. 1) [The past in our hands. Foucault as knowledge craftsman]. Unipub.
- Schaanning, E. (2000b). *Fortiden i våre hender. Foucault som vitenshåndtør* (vol. 2) [The past in our hands. Foucault as knowledge craftsman]. Unipub.
- Schøyen, C. (1918). *Tre stammers møte* [Three tribes' meeting]. Gyldendalske boghandel.
- Seippel, Ø. and Skille, E. Å. (2019). Sports participation in Norway. In K. Green, T. Sigurjonsson and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Sport in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries* (pp. 108–135). Routledge.
- Sejersted, F. (2005). *Sosialdemokratiets tidsalder. Norge og Sverige i det 20. århundre* [The social democratic age. Norway and Sweden in the 20th century]. Pax.
- Selle, P., Semb, A. and Strømsnes, K. (2013). Citizenship identity among Norwegian Sami in core Sami areas. *Citizenship Studies*, 17(6–7), 712–727.
- Selle, P., Semb, A. and Strømsnes, K. (2020). Urbanisering av det samiske elektoratet: En fremvoksende skillelinje i den moderne samepolitikken? [Urbanization of the Sámi electorate: An increasing division in modern Sámi politics]. *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*, 61(2), 101–123.
- Selle, P., Semb, A. J., Strømsnes, K. and Nordø, A. (2015). *Den samiske medborgeren* [The Sami co-citizen]. Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

- Skille, E. Å. (2010). *Idrettslaget – helseprodusent eller trivselsarena?* [The sports club – health producer or arena for well-being?] Oplandske bokforlag.
- Skille, E. Å. (2012a). Ethno-politics and state sport policy – The case of how the Sami sport association – Norway challenged the Norwegian confederation of sport's monopoly for state subsidies to sport. *Scandinavian Sport Studies Forum*, 3, 143–165.
- Skille, E. Å. (2012b). Galdhøpiggenet: fra borgerlig samlingssted til 'folkelig' vorspiel [The Galdhøpiggen ski race: from bourgeois gathering to 'popular' vorspiel]. Oplandske Bokforlag.
- Skille, E. Å. (2013). Lassoing and reindeer racing versus 'universal' sports: Various routes to Sami ethnic identity through sports. In C. Halinan and B. Judd. (Eds.): *Native games – Indigenous peoples and sports in the post-colonial world* (pp. 21–41). Emerald.
- Skille, E. Å. (2015). Community and sport in Norway: Between state sport policy and local sport clubs. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 7(4), 505–518.
- Skille, E. Å. (2021). Doing research into Indigenous issues being non-Indigenous. *Qualitative Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14687941211005947>.
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies* (2nd ed). Dunedin: Otago University Press.
- Solheim, M. N. (2011). Remembrance of Soviet Prisoners of War in Northern and Central Europe. In S. Bardgett, D. Cesarani, J. Reinisch and J.-D. Steinert (Eds.): *Justice, politics and memory in Europe after the Second World War: landscapes after battle* (pp. 303–319). Vallentine Mitchell.
- Spitzer, A. J. and Selle, P. (2020). Is nonterritorial autonomy wrong for indigenous rights? Examining the 'Territorialisation' of Sami Power in Norway. *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, 28(3), 544–567.
- Stockfleth, N. V. (1848). *Bidrag til Kundskab om Qvæernerne i Kongeriget Norge* [A contribution to knowledge about Kvens in the Kingdom of Norway]. Dybwad.
- SVL-N (2007). *Historie. Sámiid Valáštallanlihttu – Norga*.
- SVL-N (2020) *Årsrapport 2019* [Annual report 2019]. Sámiid Valáštallanlihttu – Norga.
- The Royal House of Norway (1997). *Sametinget 1997: Åpningstale*. Retrieved from: <https://www.kongehuset.no/tale.html?tid=171065&sek=26947&scope=0>.
- Todal, J. (2015). Forvaltningsområdet for samisk språk i tjué år [The administration area for Sámi language in twenty years]. In B. Bjerkli and P. Selle (Eds.): *Samepolitikken utvikling* [Sámi political development] (pp. 198–224.) Gyldendal akademisk.
- TRC (n.d.). *The commission to investigate the Norwegianisation policy and injustice against the Sámi and Kvens/Norwegian Finns* (https://uit.no/kommisjonen_en).
- Ulvefadet, B. (2015). En reindriftsnæring i endring [A reindeer husbandry industry achange]. In B. Bjerkli and P. Selle (Eds.): *Samepolitikken utvikling* [Sámi political development] (pp. 122–147). Gyldendal akademisk.
- Vestgården, T. and Aas, S. (2014). *Skammens historie. Den norske stats mørke sider 1814–2014* [The history of shame. The norwegian state's dark sides 1814–2014]. Cappelen Damm.
- Vorren, Ø. and Manker, E. (1958). *Samekulturen en oversikt* [The Sámi culture an overview]. Tromsø museum.
- Wilson S. (2009) *Research is ceremony. Indigenous research methods*. Fernwood Publishing.
- Young, T. K. and Bjerregaard, P. (2019) Towards estimating the Indigenous population in circumpolar regions. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 78(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/22423982.2019.1653749>.

Indigenous Sport Clubs in Core Indigenous Areas

In Chapter 2, I showed various routes to Indigenous sport and nation-building in the international literature, including sport in the nation-building of Sápmi and Norway. In Chapter 3, I outlined the context of Sápmi and sport in Norway. Somewhat combining the two approaches in this chapter, I elaborate empirically on Indigenous sport and nation-building within specific contexts. I aim to construct and condense a narrative, from relatively simple descriptions via increasingly detailed descriptions to a more complex and abstract understanding of sport's relationship with and contribution to nation-building. Seen together, this and the following three chapters aim to draw lessons from this complexity by adding a comparison with other areas (Chapter 5), adding a comparison with Sámi sport in other countries and Indigenous sport more generally (Chapter 6), and synthesizing a theoretically driven analysis of Indigenous sport and nation-building (Chapter 7). More specifically, in this chapter (and the next), I utilize a bottom-up approach in discussing Indigenous sport and nation-building (Seippel & Skille, 2015; Skille, 2005, 2010b). I begin with sport clubs and work my way upwards via the organizational hierarchy and from local ethnic identity to the perception of an Indigenous nation.

The empirical basis is interviews of representatives of Sámi sport clubs in core Sámi areas supplemented by some media analysis. Despite relative homogeneity and stability regarding Indigenous culture in the core area (at least compared to outside, see Chapters 5 and 6), there are, indeed, differences within the culture and ongoing changes to it (Andresen et al., 2021; Eidheim, 1969). There are also interrelationships and interdependencies among various elements of the narrative of Indigenous sport in core Sámi areas; for example, the sport clubs' purpose and everyday operations, as well as their relationship with the Indigenous sport organization and local identity, are building blocks for a narrative about Indigenous sport and nation-building. Although there are overlapping and somewhat permeating aspects throughout the main narrative, I structure the chapter in four sections. First, I present data on how sport clubs operate and why. Second, I supply information on the relationship between sport clubs and the Indigenous sport organization SVL-N. Third, I present data on local identity, and fourth, on the nation-building of Sápmi more specifically, with the sport club representatives' expressions of Indigenous identity as the constant point of departure.

There are mainly two ideal types of sport clubs in core areas (Skille, 2013). The dominant types are ordinary sport clubs both affiliated with the Sámi sport organization SVL-N and mainstream Norwegian sport organization NIF. The other ideal type is solely affiliated with SVL-N. Despite being few in number, this type makes some relevant points about Indigenous sport throughout this chapter.

Indigenous Sport Clubs' Purpose and Operations

For sport clubs in core Sámi areas, their meaning and purposes are shaped through tasks to foster physical activity for local youth, function as a community association, and provide local identity. In these respects, Sámi sport clubs align with conventional understandings of sport clubs as community organizations providing local belonging and identity to hometowns (Hjelseth, 2016) and – for some sport clubs – to foster the use of the Indigenous language. In any respect, the most common Sámi sport activity is lassoing (Figure 4.1).

Physical Activity for Local Youth

Indigenous sport clubs in core Sámi areas appear to be ordinary sport clubs with a focus on activity and social goods in line with a rather conventional understanding of sport (Breuer et al., 2015; Skille, 2008, 2010a, 2011; Skille &



Figure 4.1 Skiing with lassoing (photo by Charles Petterson).

Stenling, 2018). The typical reasoning for why sport clubs exist is related to the local community's need and its benefits from organized physical activity. As one official observed, 'It is important to have a supply: without the sport clubs, there is not much supply for activities, or shared happenings and experiences' (Sport club representative B3). The main activities of the clubs are around providing sport for children and youth. For adults in the sport clubs, who volunteer as coaches and board members, the rationale is somewhat similar: 'The only thing we think of is to provide activities for the children ... our focus is to provide activities, really' (Sport club representative B3). The reasons to organize sport for children and youth, where the physical activity argument is prominent, apply to sport clubs around the country – and elsewhere (Breuer et al., 2015; Green et al., 2019; Skille, 2010b).

In other words, these rationales are not unique to Indigenous sport clubs. Along general lines, physical activity is related to public health, and sport clubs are considered contributors to prevent health issues stemming from a sedentary lifestyle. Echoing this typical contemporary concern, a sport club representative noted, 'Because ... the youth sit still a lot', it is important 'to have a supply, both for those who want to compete to become very good, and for those who are less concerned with competitions but who benefit from physical activity... It is simply public health' (Sport club representative A1). The sport club representatives' statements reflect an apparently omnipresent consideration of sport as an instrument for public health (see Goksøy, 2011; Goksøy et al., 1996; Olstad, 1987; Skille, 2010a, 2011); health has been an argument for state policy and subsidies into sport in all parliamentary reports where sport is included (Skille, 2009, 2010a). In addition, the common discussion about the relationship between serious competitive sport and recreational sport – or elite and mass if you want – is evident in the sport clubs studied here (cf. Green & Houlihan, 2005; Green et al., 2019; Skille, 2010b).

Community Association

Organized sport provides an association between the local inhabitants and between the people and the place. The local version or wording of this is that the sport clubs are 'something more' – in social terms – than just physical activity and competitions. Despite the distinctive target groups for sport activities, namely, the children and youth, a sport club breaks the barriers across generations and social groups; as it 'is a kind of community club' (Sport club representative A2). Some sport club leaders emphasize the loyalty parents and grandparents show, including those who have moved from the village; thus, former members often support their hometown sport club financially because it meant a lot to them when they were younger. Resources are primarily spent on activities for the children and youth members, with some funds allocated explicitly to individual needs. To include as many local children as possible, some sport club boards subsidize membership fees and other expenditures for children from low-income families. This is done

‘under the radar’ of the local public to avoid stigma (Skille, 2015) – a concrete empirical example behind the idea of calling sport – and voluntary activities more generally – the ‘glue of society’.

Sport clubs in core Sámi areas function similar to other sport clubs in Norway when it comes to local identity as well. Sport clubs represent their hometown (Hjelseth, 2016) and typically carry the place’s name. Regarding the capacity for a club to build community, ‘the historical dimension, such as the natural environment and the local cultural history, is important in the sport club’ (Sport club representative A2). For example, along a local trail used for running and skiing, one sport club ‘put up signs in Sámi language and exhibits Sámi cultural memories’ (Sport club representative A2). Moreover, when sport clubs create belonging for inhabitants and identity with their hometown, including ethnic and Indigenous features, this creates a ‘sense of belonging’ for a Sámi community, a point to which I return below.

The Issue of Indigenous Language

The ethnic dimension of sport clubs is usually a silent and non-articulated topic because sport belongs to a taken-for-granted and everyday activity (Skille & Stenling, 2018). This point makes some very few Sámi sport club particularly interesting. Focusing empirically on one in particular, being only affiliated with SVL-N, the sport club has a special standing in the local community. In line with the above, this sport club creates and maintains activity and belonging; it ‘assembles people, and we get such a feeling of unitedness’ (Sport club representative C5). However, it also contrasts with the other sport clubs in core Sámi areas. While most sport clubs in these areas are bi-cultural – especially regarding language – in their everyday activities, Sámi culture is intentionally and actively promoted in this sport club. During activities such as lassoing and skiing, an aim is ‘that everything is conducted in Sámi language’ (Sport club representative C5). It is an explicit and written intention of using the Sámi language in all contexts: training sessions, competitions, meetings, and other events. According to SVL-N statutes, in SVL-N and its member clubs, Sámi language and Sámi sport activities should be associated – and considered a coherence (SVL-N, 2018, §3).

Such intentional use of Sámi language stems from an overarching demographic change with local and inter-ethnic implications. In this region, industries and employment followed a general modern societal move of a decreased primary industry workforce and an increase in secondary and tertiary industries. One consequence was ‘local urbanization’, with people moving from the rural countryside to local town centres, resulting in a dilution of the number and density of Sámi lingual people in some districts. While the focal sport clubs’ membership base used to be a village ‘with most Sámi speaking individuals, many of these people have now moved, and the [sport club’s] recruitment area is the municipality centre’ (Sport club representative C5). The change of the club’s main area from a village with close to 100% Sámi language to a hybrid township, where

Norwegian is often the dominant everyday language, has influenced the sport club. One consequence of the sport club's lingual dilution is that 'more and more Norwegian speaking people want to partake' in the sport club's activities (Sport club representative C5). This trend leads to new divisions; 'Sámi speaking parents with Sámi speaking children, who are resistant to becoming members, because there is not as much Sámi language [in the sport club] as there used to be' (Sport club representative C5) versus others who want to become members – or rather want their children to partake – to learn the Sámi language. From both sides, parents 'approach the sport club because they consider it as an arena for Sámi language ... It is the language part that attracts them, not the sport part' (Sport club representative C5).

First, the primary concern for sport clubs in core Sámi areas is to provide sport activities for children and youth. In that respect, Sámi sport clubs correspond to conventional understandings of sport clubs in Norway and internationally (Breuer et al., 2015; Skille, 2008; Skille & Stenling, 2018). Second, membership in sport clubs can be anchors of identity for children and youth as participants and parents as coaches and leaders. Again, Sámi sport clubs align with conventional understandings of sport clubs as community organizations providing local belonging and identity to hometowns (Breuer et al., 2015; Skille, 2008; Skille & Stenling, 2018). In this case, belonging and identity partly relate to language and partly relate to organizational affiliation.

Sport Clubs' Relationship with the Indigenous Sport Organization, SVL-N

A definition criterion for Indigenous sport and an inclusion criterion for this study are that the sport clubs should be affiliated with the Indigenous sport organization, SVL-N. Nearly every single sport club affiliated with the Indigenous sport organization is also affiliated with the mainstream Norwegian sport organization. Nevertheless, the sport club officials' reflections about the Indigenous sport affiliation vary. In this section, we will first see that some sport club officials view the dual affiliation – in Sámi and Norwegian sport organizations – as a bureaucratic burden. Second, sport club officials have a relatively pragmatic grasp on the affiliation with the Indigenous sport organization and connect it to specific sport disciplines. Third, and complementary to the pragmatic attitude towards sport disciplines, some sport club officials highlight the ethnopolitics of membership in an Indigenous sport organization.

Double Bureaucracy

The dual affiliation of Sámi sport clubs with the Indigenous Sámi sport organization (SVL-N) and the mainstream Norwegian sport organization (NIF) reflects much of the politics and everyday life in core Sámi areas (Fahlén & Skille, 2016, 2017; Skille et al., 2021). However, the relationship between sport clubs and

SVL-N varies and depends on the sport club's context, history, and individual representatives' attitude towards Indigenous politics. With the limited voluntary workforce of a local sport club as the point of departure, the dual affiliation is an extra bureaucratic burden; Sámi sport clubs correspond with two organizations rather than a single umbrella organization. While it is perhaps intuitive that a double affiliation might yield a double administrative burden, the salient point here (in addition to the fact that it is supported empirically) is that it interplays with broader discussions of Sámi and Norwegian sport. I return to that later in this chapter (see especially the section 'Merging Sámi and Norwegian sport').

The Specific Indigenous Sport Disciplines

Sport clubs are members of specific sport organizations and compete with others who share interests in similar sport disciplines. Sport clubs are members of the national football association in order to play football with teams, belonging to a league, following a schedule, and being allocated a competition arena at a given time slot and a referee for each game. For sport clubs affiliated with the Indigenous sport organization, there are continuous tensions regarding the priorities of disciplines (e.g. football versus skiing). Indeed, for a sport club solely affiliated with SVL-N, there is a dilemma for participants when they cannot partake in mainstream sport competitions (because the sport club is not affiliated with the mainstream sport organizations and their competition schedules). The dilemma stems from the understanding of clubs as 'meaning-making' processes. In this view, some representatives spend much effort on being members of an organization with an outspoken ethnic identity and see their membership in the Indigenous sport organization as essential.

The strong relationship between the club and the Indigenous sport organization, thus, follows two intertwined logics: the first is caused by the unique sport disciplines solely provided by the SVL-N. The second logic comprises an ethnopolitical element in the organization and affiliation. Despite the 'binary' explanation presented thus far, the empirical material revealed a spectrum of reasons for involvement in the Indigenous sport organization. While sport clubs first and foremost exist to provide activity, sport clubs' membership in sport organizations rests on attachment to specific disciplines. 'The Sámi sport organization provides some activities that we would like to participate in, while the Norwegian sport organization offers other types of activities in which we also partake' (Sport club representative A1). Sámi sport clubs are members of SVL-N and meet and compete with others who share an interest in Sámi sport. The sport clubs' membership in SVL-N is, thus, 'to partake in the special activities' (Sport club representative B4); lassoing with variations: cross-country skiing with lassoing in the winter season and cross-country running with lassoing in the summer season. Membership in SVL-N has the sport discipline of lassoing as the main activity, which, for its member is 'no big deal'; 'It is just like being member of the ski association, the table tennis association, or something like that' (Sport club representative B4).

The mentioned sport club with sole affiliation in SVL-N only organizes skiing and lassoing. While the other Sámi sport clubs are members of SVL-N to do the 'special activities' (disciplines not provided by mainstream sport organizations), these sport clubs emphasize skiing as a Sámi sport discipline. Skiing is the national sport for both Sámi and Norwegians (see the section 'Skiing – a double-edged sword'). The sole affiliation with SVL-N is, sometimes, considered a constraint because it limits the number of potential competitors. Without membership in the mainstream ski organization (the Norwegian Ski Association, which is federated with the Norwegian umbrella sport organization NIF), the focal sport club is excluded from competitions with all other ski clubs in the region. Consequently, there has been discussion in the sport clubs about 'whether we should become members of the Norwegian sport organization in order to represent [the Sámi sport club] in ordinary competitions organized by the Norwegian Ski Association'. A board member shared: 'We concluded that we must spend the resources on the activities that we had originally [established] and that are ours' (Sport club representative C5). As noted above, that included the use of the Sámi language – especially by children and youth.

The practical solution for the athletes is to be members of two ski clubs: the Sámi club and a nearby Norwegian club. However, the participation of skiers in two competition systems creates some challenges. The Indigenous sport system is small, and the schedules are not coordinated: SVL-N must coordinate its plans with the Norwegian Ski Association's schedules. When all competitors are also members of the Norwegian Ski Association, the problem is omnipresent. 'One of the reasons for giving up the idea to become members in NIF' was that within the Norwegian sport system, one can only represent a single club in one discipline. As a result, 'the athlete ends up in a dilemma' (Sport club representative C5), which could result in people leaving the Sámi sport club because they are already a member of a specific Norwegian ski club.

Ethnopolitics or 'Just Sport'?

The Indigenous culture aspect of sport clubs is ambivalent; for some, it appears natural 'because we are surrounded by it', while for others, the sport club is a channel for conducting organized ethnopolitics. In addition to complying with the bylaws and regulations, Sámi sport clubs communicate with the Indigenous sport organization by having representatives at SVL-N meetings and athletes and coaches at Indigenous sport events. One sport club board member holds that they 'only focus on sport activities' and adds: 'The political aspect in SVL-N into issues of Indigenous peoples, is not anything we focus on in the club. At least not now, but it was earlier' (Sport club representative B4). Participation at SVL-N meetings, therefore, depends on the personal interests of sport club representatives. While 'the former leader used to be ... representing our club at the SVL-N meetings' (Sport club representative B4), on the contemporary board of the sport club (at the time of data generation), there was 'no representative who are explicitly

preoccupied with Sámi culture' (Sport club representative B4). While the points of ambivalence, overlaps, and contradictions will be analyzed more theoretically in Chapter 7, let me elaborate on the empirical basis for the analysis here.

One reason for the apparent lack of explicit interest in the ethnopolitical dimension of the Indigenous sport organization might be that it appears as an objective reality – 'it is just here'. However, the same club leader admits a sense of consciousness because she consistently publishes all information in the sport club bilingually, in print or online. Again, the ethnopolitical element is most articulated in the sport clubs that are only affiliated with the Indigenous sport organization. When it is 'only member of the SVL-N' (Sport club representative C5), the sport club reinforces the original mission: to provide Sámi sport activities within a Sámi context – basically defined by intentionally using the Sámi language. The point is that there is ethnopolitics in the very affiliation, as this affiliation operates as a proxy for the language issue. By extension, another and intertwined argument for not becoming a member [in NIF] was that 'we will lose the language'. For this interviewee, sport 'is supposed to be a language arena where Sámi language is in the centre'. A risk with a membership in NIF is, thus, that language 'would be diluted because participation in competitions and courses and whatever they organize in the Norwegian Ski Association, there will not be any Sámi language. They do not emphasize language, at least not Sámi language'. Many of the sport club's members fear that an NIF affiliation 'would be to the cost of the lingual element that we try to work for' (Sport club representative C5).

From this perspective, Indigenous sport includes belonging to 'something greater' than the social goods related to the local community. Belonging to an Indigenous organization is perhaps one step to 'something even greater': the building of an Indigenous nation (see the section into 'local identity and nation-building' and Chapter 7). However, there are also challenges when a small organization, such as a sport club, aims at 'riding two horses at once' (Sport club representative A1), satisfying and complying with the Indigenous Sámi and the mainstream Norwegian sport affiliations. In that respect, some sport club representatives make an appeal for uniting the systems. I return to that below. Let us here investigate whether Sámi sport in core Sámi areas can also contribute to nation-building.

Local Identity and Nation-Building

Whilst the overarching topic of this book is Indigenous sport and nation-building, the above sections into sport clubs in core Sámi areas and their functions and affiliations were bottom-up detours before approaching nation-building more specifically. So far, I have identified a hint of something that could be interpreted as contributing to nation-building. The sport clubs represent local communities, which are Sámi communities. Sport clubs' local place identity is elaborated in the following section because it creates a connection with the nation. Tightly related to the local element is that the sport clubs, to various

degrees, comprise Indigenous identity. Taken together, these are building blocks for nation-building – and potentially for more than one nation. In that respect, I will occasionally take one step back throughout the last part of the chapter and ask: Which nation is at stake? Moreover, what are the building blocks?

Local Identity

Picking up on the point that sport clubs foster identity and belonging, it is understood that these community functions are always relative to others and work on several layers. Sport club officials aim to present the sport club as locally precise as possible (see Hjelseth, 2016). A sport club in a village is the innermost layer, where face-to-face interactions take place daily. Often, these villages are so small and sparsely populated that there is only one school class per age group. Likewise, athletes attend the same class at school and are participants in the same sport team. The next layer is a community that may include several sport clubs. Usually, representatives of sport clubs refer to their village because the sport club bears the village's name. 'I represent [club name] from [village] when making a comparison with other sport clubs in [community]'. Outside the community, representatives usually refer to the level of local authorities (municipality). The next interview extract illustrates the point of relative place identity. When presenting herself, one sport club official 'says the name of municipality. If I say the name of the village, I become too local, so if I say I am from [municipality], people understand. ... However, for me it is important that I am from [village]' (Sport club representative B4).

Indigenous identity follows a similar logic. One's own identity seems to be developed from comparison in layers, where you start as local as possible. For locals, some village names appear as more Sámi than others, while for outsiders, the name of the municipality may sound Indigenous despite internal variations (Skille, 2019): 'the other sport club in the municipality probably has a stronger Sámi identity, because it has a larger proportion speaking Sámi as their first language and are more [ethnopolitically] active than we are here' (Sport club representative B4). A statement from a representative from a sport club on the border to a municipality with another mixture of ethnicities illustrates the point: 'In [neighbour village] they think the lassoing in [my village] is exotic'. The neighbour village is in another municipality, approximately 12–15 miles away, which is considered a short distance in this region. 'The [neighbour village] and the [neighbour municipality] is more Norwegian and Kven, while [village A] and [municipality X] is more Sámi' (Sport club representative A2). This reflects the multi-ethnic demography of some parts of core areas, which includes both integrated and distinguished relationships between villages within and across municipality borders.

Indigenous Identity

As indicated, the sport clubs' local identity is attached to and intertwined with Indigenous identity, which is also relative to other and neighbouring sport clubs,

villages, and communities. The sport clubs ‘function as an adhesive in the local community’ and ‘create local belonging’ (Sport club representative B3). Moreover, it ‘creates pride to come from [Village A] and you feel that you belong ... [Club A] is also clear about the Sámi dimension of the identity’ (Sport club representative A1). Sport clubs signify the identity of both place and indigeneity, which together make up local culture. Moreover, sport clubs’ representatives connect local culture to other positive features. Thus, sport club officials seem to genuinely believe that their sport club is special and consider their own sport club and village as superior to others. ‘One thing that distinguishes [village A] from many other local communities ... is that there is more openness ... you are welcomed when you come from the outside. ... People are open-minded, and things are more accepted’ (Sport club representative A1). The open mind and acceptance attitude explicitly refer to the Indigenous part of local culture. For example, ‘when people move here, it is accepted that they acquire their own *gákti* [Sámi folk costume] although they do not have an Indigenous heritage themselves’ (Sport club representative A1).¹

The open mindset claimed by Sámi sport club officials can be partially explained by the history of North Norway ‘all the way back to when many Finnish immigrants arrived here, [and] that actually became Sámi instead’ (Sport club representative A1).² Thus, the region is conceived as a cultural melting pot, where local people and settlers have always related and adapted to new peoples and cultures throughout hundreds – probably thousands of years (Andresen et al., 2021; Hansen & Olsen, 2004). Migration and integration are, indeed, common for this region. Independent of whether open-mindedness is actually a unique feature of the culture of this area, the point is that an existing local narrative about it applies (cf. Hjelseth, 2016). Whilst the idea of being distinctive is shared among village inhabitants in the core area, it creates an identity and belonging for the local populations. In the particular contexts studied, an important self-defining feature for the local populations is that most of them are of Sámi background and that the villages’ culture is the Sámi culture. Thus, Sámi culture dominates the everyday activities and fellowships in the sport clubs. Given the local situation described above, the activity in the sport clubs ‘is much about identity and history’ (Sport club representative A2). As stated earlier, sport clubs are ‘something more’ than physical activity; they are also community associations that create local identity; thus, the local identity in these contexts is Indigenous (equals Sámi here).

Moreover, the strong local identity sets footprints on the regional level. A (Norwegian state) government-driven process regarding amalgamations of local authorities has reinforced the public’s consciousness about local identity. This is perhaps because both industry and culture are affected by and influence each other mutually. As one sport club official noted, ‘I think it [fusing] would have influenced well-being harshly in a way, if we were not the municipality anymore. It is a sea Sámi community, in contrast to the neighbour municipality, which also is Sámi’ (Sport club representative B3). Here, we approach an important detail of identity creation in Sámi sport clubs, namely, that being ‘a sea Sámi community

is an important part of the identity' (Sport club representative B3). In this view, the neighbours are perceived as being Sámi in a different way because they are more of a consolidation with other Sámi industries and several ethnicities, including Finnish and Norwegian. With reference to the neighbour community, he continues: 'Some of the places were very strong Sámi communities' while within the borders of the municipality: 'there are many who fight against Sámi rights and culture ... thus there are strong polarizations between the Sámi and the Norwegian power' (Sport club representative B3). Indigenous identity is, thus, (re) created and tempered by geography, community, industry, and the sport clubs that bring this complexity to the fore.

To sum up so far, there are variations between close-by villages and between communities when it comes to Indigenous identity. The role of the sport clubs seems, however, to be relatively similar across contexts insofar as the sport club represents the village and the municipality. How strongly each sport club conducts its affairs indigenously or ethnopolitically depends on the strength of the Indigenous element in the local culture and community more generally, plus according to personal interest and engagement of sport club representatives. The significance of this point is that Sámi communities on the local level are a necessary foundation for referring to Sápmi on a national level. This foundation, in turn, is theoretically linked with the concept of community, which is both concrete and abstract, and contains various elements – from physical sport activity to a nation as an imagined community (in Chapter 7, I elaborate this point more analytically and theoretically).

Sámi Sport in Core Sámi Areas and Sápmi Nation-Building

The above building blocks are detours for analyzing how Indigenous sport clubs make and remake nation(s) in core Sámi areas. Moving on to treating nation-building more specifically leads to three intertwined patterns that emerged from the interviews. First, the notion of Sápmi as a nation is disputed because the content of the word relates to issues of 'population' and visibility. For many of the interviewees, there are simply too few Sámi sport participants to speak of a nation. 'I would prefer that more people took part [in Sámi sport], so I don't think we can say that it is a nation. I think there are too few active [athletes]' (Sport club representative A1). Due to the low number, there is the perception that athletes are not visible enough to contribute to creating a feeling of a nation among the masses of the population.

Everybody watches TV. There you see Norway; you are not used to watching TV for Sápmi. Well, you have Sámi football, but it is not visible, so it is probably because it lacks visibility in the media that you don't think of Sápmi as a sporting nation.

(Sport club representative A2)

From these extracts, an empirical point to elaborate on is, thus, that one understanding of a nation is based on masses and visibility. These are interrelated and will be coupled with some analytical points. First, an imagined community needs to have a substantial basis (Anderson, 1983); in this case, there is a perceived expectation for a (sufficient) number of individuals that make up this community. Sámi athletes are apparently too few to make this basis. Moreover, the sport activity that is supposed to create a community must unify, and to be unifying, it needs to be visible.

Second, in Norway, as indicated in Chapter 2, the Sámi nation is always compared to the Norwegian nation. To all interviewees, Norway is undoubtedly a nation built by sport because there are many participants, and it receives much media attention. As a continuation of some points made in the second half of Chapter 2, one interviewee elaborates on how we can consider Norway a nation (partially) built via sport: 'It is because many persons are occupied with sport. And I see, there are so many children involved in sport, I think there is a huge difference compared to Sámi sport' (Sport club representative A2), and that regarding Norwegian sport, 'there is an extreme interest in the media. They really hype it up' (Sport club representative A2). Having said that, as per the end of Chapter 3, the media coverage of Sámi sport has increased.

Third, some representatives of sport clubs in core areas *are* willing to speak about a Sámi nation and sport as one of its building blocks. They do so with reference to the unique Sámi sport disciplines of lassoing and reindeer racing, or with reference to Sámi history and skiing as a historical Sámi sport discipline. One sport club representative 'immediately thinks particularly of the unique Sámi sport' (Sport club representative A1). Many of the interviewees have similar views, while this sport club official reflects upon the topic by putting it into a wider national context. An Indigenous nation here refers to 'the Sámi identity and the Sámi community' and that 'one feels a shared ancestry', including the role of sport. 'First of all, sport has Sámi roots. If you consider skiing, it is probably within Sámi culture one man first developed skiing... Then you have those special disciplines such as lassoing' (Sport club representative A1). Following these reflections, sport is one – perhaps small – but still an important element in Indigenous nation-building.

The analysis of Indigenous sport and nation-building can – as indicated above – be split into two questions: Which nation is at stake? What are the building blocks? Based on those questions, there are several possible connections and combinations. Two possibilities that I will treat in the following sections are how one building block (skiing) can contribute to the building of both the Sámi and the Norwegian nations and how the aforementioned bureaucratic burden combined with a focus on Finnmark exceptionalism leads to the proposal of a merged Sámi–Norwegian sport system in core Sámi areas (see section 'Merging Sámi and Norwegian sport')

Skiing – A Double-Edged Sword

The narrative that skiing originated in Sámi culture is strong (see Birkely, 1994), and strong narratives can contribute to nation-building (Anderson, 1983).

Applying the term narrative, I acknowledge the value of the story told. An unintended consequence of such might be that the narrative may neglect some historical details. For example, a common reference to prove that Sámi skiing is older than Norwegian is rock carvings in traditional Sámi areas. These rock carvings are 6,000–8,000 years old (Allen, 2007; Birkely, 1994; Huntford, 2009). Two notions of nuance should be made to this claim. First, skiing may well have originated in other places on the globe, such as China and Siberia (Allen, 2007; Huntford, 2009). Second, Sámi ethnicity is estimated to be 2,000–3,000 years old (Andresen et al., 2021; Hansen & Olsen, 2004); thus, it is much younger than the rock carvings. Hence, we can probably ascribe skiing on the North Calotte to the predecessors of Sámi that are probably also the predecessors of what is today referred to as Norwegian, Nordic, Norse, and/or Germanic ethnicity. Nevertheless, skiing is strongly rooted in Sámi culture, and originally, skiing was something other than sport, if sport is considered in modern terms – as an organized and competitive phenomenon (Coakley, 2001; Goksøyr, 1988). Skiing, as well as lassoing and reindeer racing, all stem from traditional industries of gathering, fishing, hunting, and reindeer herding. Nevertheless, as we saw in Chapter 2, skiing also stands strong in Norwegian nation-building. In that respect, skiing is a typical example of how the same building block contributes to building more than one nation.

Another double narrative revolves around the fact that Sámi athletes can represent Norwegian national teams (or Swedish, Finnish, and Russian national teams). Two frequently used examples during the recent decades are the Nordic combined athlete Håvard Klemetsen and the cross-country skier Finn Hågen Krogh. Addressing the two athletes, the president of the Sámi Parliament in Norway held in 2015: ‘Sápmi is proud of you’ (*Newspaper X*, February 2015) and emphasized how Sámi athletes contribute to Norwegian national pride through their participation in the Norwegian national teams. She underscored the pride she feels when Sámi athletes, together with Norwegian athletes, compete as a team, especially in relays. The Indigenous leader describes the two named athletes as ‘splendid Sámi ambassadors ... in the international elite of the country’s national sport’ (see also Skille, 2018). Similar considerations are reflected upon by representatives of sport clubs. For example, one interviewee explains how the children are preoccupied with Finn Hågen Krogh and that they are Sámi themselves. ‘It is fascinating, and somewhat ambiguous ... that they are Sámi athletes. As they compete for the Norwegian national team, they contribute to building the Norwegian nation. So, we can say that Sámi–Norwegian unitedly builds Norway’ (Sport club representative A2). This is a point I return to in Chapter 5, and especially in the section ‘Sámis for Norway’ where these names come up again in discussions about different ethnicities and representation on Norwegian national teams. Here, I continue with discussions originating from and taking place in core Sámi areas but which nevertheless impact the relationships across areas in Sápmi and are influenced by colonization and assimilation processes.

Merging Sámi and Norwegian Sport

Combining the burden sport club officials experienced by being affiliated with two sport organizations with the idea that the same building block can contribute to both Sápmi and Norway, a spokesman for both Norwegian sport and Sámi sport had some proposals. This person from a village in inland Finnmark in the core area published virtually a series of newspaper articles on sport in Finnmark. For him, 'Sámi sport is also Norwegian sport, at least in Finnmark' (*Newspaper X*, May 2010; *Newspaper Z*, May 2010) and 'Norwegian sport is also Sámi sport, at least in Finnmark' (*Newspaper Z*, June 2010). Accordingly, the Norwegian sport organization is not constructed to consider the special conditions of the multi-ethnic Finnmark, while 'sport in Finnmark must have special conditions to carry out' its mission (*Newspaper X*, May 2010; *Newspaper Z*, May 2010). He points out that the two sport organizations (SVL-N and NIF)³ share interests and are concerned with common matters such as increasing competence, providing facilities and equipment, and acquiring activity funding. He claimed that shared challenges should have joint solutions because, geographically, sport clubs and even persons to a high degree are the same across the Indigenous and mainstream sport systems.

In the newspaper articles, sport in Finnmark is presented as the loser within Norwegian sport. The reason is, stated briefly, that we are located far from the central political and sport-political authorities and that we are few. Therefore, at least for some, the future is foreseen in a cooperation and a coordination of the total resources between Norwegian and Sámi sport; although it is realized that the organizational framework and the political and economic support for (Norwegian mainstream) sport must be modified to some extent. SVL-N and NIF are considered to be in the unique position of being able to develop a special arrangement for sport in Finnmark.⁴

The above thoughts, published in 2010, re-emerged with new vitality in 2013. Meanwhile, a new white paper on sport emerged: 'The Norwegian Sport Model'. The author of the newspaper articles plays on this, referring to 'the Sámi sport model' (*Newspaper X*, March 2013) and 'Finnmark Sport Model' (*Newspaper X*, March 2013). The point of contention is the overlapping of the two sport systems, the Sámi and the Norwegian. The white paper itself contains only a short paragraph on Sámi sport. Here, it is stated that state subsidies to Sámi sport are based on the Constitution §110a, which commits the state to facilitate 'the maintenance and further development of the particular Sámi sport activities which are a part of traditional Sámi culture' (Ministry of Culture, 2011, p. 96). Leaning on the white paper and demographic development where the immigration in subsequent years has resulted in a multicultural Norway – including increased tolerance for the Sámi population – it has taken a rather pragmatic approach: the Norwegian sport model largely contributes to maintaining the daily facilities in Sámi sport; Sámi sport makes up a substantial share (an estimated quarter) of Finnmark sport; many sport clubs are jointly managed such that members are administered twice

(as we know); the profile is cultural and social in character and portrays and disseminates Sámi culture, tradition, society, and practice.

All in all, it is claimed that a new Sámi sport policy is required and that the Sámi Parliament should, therefore, conduct an evaluation of Sámi sport.⁵ According to the author of these newspaper articles, elevating the status of Sámi championships, especially in skiing, increasing Finnish and Swedish Sámi activity to approximately the same level as that in Norway, and including Russian Sámis are probably the most important future-oriented measures for Sámi sport. The last article in the series was called ‘the Finnmark sport model’ (*Newspaper X*, March 2013); the core argument is that Sámi and Norwegian sport models must be viewed together to improve sport in Finnmark. In this manner, sport is to be placed on an equal footing as the rest of societal elements (such as health and education), where its special characteristics are to be neglected by Norwegian politicians and Norwegian sport. It was claimed that a joint organizational and administrative alliance for all physical activity and recreation in Finnmark should be the aim, and small resources should be united (*Newspaper X*, March 2013).

The promotion of a special solution for Finnmark merging Sámi and Norwegian sport can be interpreted in various directions. It is apparently a noble idea to reduce the bureaucratic burden, increase economic efficiency, and coordinate competition schedules; it is simply appropriate to suggest a better organized multiculturalism instead of competing systems. Picking up on the double bureaucracy perceived by representatives of sport clubs with dual affiliations, the proposal has some support in the local sport clubs in core areas: ‘For us, it would be much better if there was a joint system where the organizations could access all they needed’ (Sport club representative B4) and that the sport club only reported things once. However, the proposal risks leveraging some unintended consequences. First, if building Sápmi is at least part of the aim for Sámi sport, the focus on Finnmark represents a reductionist understanding of Sápmi (as a nation). As Andresen and colleagues (2021) suggest, it may represent ‘Finnmark fetishism’, a historical – and I would add sociological – trend in research to equate Finnmark with Sápmi. Thus, through such reductionism, an unintended consequence is that other areas of Sápmi would be neglected. (The perception of inferiority is real for some representatives outside core areas, which I return to in Chapter 5.)

Second, if Indigenous sport is at stake, SVL-N began receiving its own grants from the state’s gambling revenues in 2005, after years of fighting to be acknowledged as an autonomous sport organization (Skille, 2012). Thus, another unintended consequence of a merger could be that Sámi sport ‘went down the drain’ in the mainstream system – which SVL-N and the Sámi Parliament deliberately fought against in the early 2000s when the state suggested Sámi sport to be incorporated into the Norwegian sport organization (see Chapter 8). Whilst SVL-N at that time emphasized the major differences between Sámi and Norwegian sport (Skille, 2012), it is placed in the same boat here. Perhaps an optimistic

interpretation would be that, through merging these building blocks – the different sport organizations – Sápmi as a nation could be strengthened.⁶

Conclusion

Like other sport clubs in Norway, the Nordic countries, and elsewhere (Breuer et al., 2015; Green et al., 2019; Seippel & Skille, 2019), Indigenous sport clubs in core Sámi areas serve as organizers of competitive physical activity for children and youth as well as providers of social goods for the local inhabitants. The latter comprises an understanding of sport clubs as community associations with extended benefits beyond the physical aspects of the activity, such as belonging and identity. Moreover, the local community element is somewhat culturally specific, and in this case, the specific culture is Indigenous; this is most visible in the case where Sámi language is an explicit policy concern underpinning the sport club. Hence, there are differences between sport clubs within the core areas, and – as we will see in Chapter 5 – there are differences outside core areas and not least between across core areas and outside core areas. The affiliation to the Indigenous sport organization is both a burden due to the double paperwork facing volunteers and the link to an Indigenous identity and the building of a nation. However, some interviewees will not claim that Sápmi is a nation and, in that respect, have – as per the introduction – a common lay persons' or conventional understanding of nation as overlapping with a state. Nevertheless, sport clubs and sport organizations create communities on several levels: from local to national. In that respect, we can speak of levels of communities, a point that I will return to in Chapter 7.

An important detail – which is difficult to establish empirically – is the 'naturalness' inherent in the Indigenous element in core areas. As will be easier empirically identifiable when compared with the other areas in Chapter 5, a striking finding is how Finnmark is conventionally understood as the core Sámi area. This is indicated in the last part with the media sources and will be more evident as we move on and see how sport clubs outside core areas relate to the Indigenous sport organization and their counterparts in core areas. All in all, there are multiple complexities: there are internal variations between sport clubs in core Sámi areas, and – when considering core area as a whole – sport clubs in core Sámi area distinguish in some elements from sport clubs outside the core areas. Each sport club and the local context to which it belongs, both geographically and culturally, are relatively unique; it is part of the Indigenous sport organization representing Sápmi as an Indigenous nation within and across nation states, and – simultaneously – it is part of the sport movement that is omnipresent and considered to be a Norwegian phenomenon (Seippel & Skille, 2019) and a Nordic phenomenon (Green et al., 2019). In that respect, sport clubs in core Sámi areas follow conventional understandings of what sport and sport clubs are and are good for. I will discuss that more analytically in Chapter 7, including in comparison with sport clubs' outside core areas.

Notes

- 1 An important note of context information here is that cultural and ethnic artifacts – and in Norway regarding the folk costumes in particular – are under strong social control and contested with moral imperatives (Eriksen, 2004). It is contested who should have the right to tailor the clothes, whether new inventions could be added to the traditional recipes, etc. The ‘folk costume police’ is often associated with grandmothers on the countryside who consider the handicraft local and exclusive (Eriksen, 2004).
- 2 There might be several versions of this story, and it may have changed over time. Nevertheless, this is what sport club representatives told me.
- 3 The author of the newspaper articles refers to the regional unit of NIF in Finnmark. For convenience and because the level of comparison here is Norwegian versus Sámi sport organizations, I use NIF.
- 4 Moreover, sport politics is linked to more prominent political themes; being a curiosity, the attraction and exclusivity of the entire Barents region where four countries are involved. According to author, a ‘Barents Sport association will encompass a region virtually identical to that applying to Sámi sport’ (*Newspaper Z*, June 2010). Focusing on Sápmi, I do not follow the Barents discussion further here.
- 5 In 2015, the Sámi Parliament in Norway delivered an evaluation report on Sámi sport, initiating a reorganization across Sápmi (Sámi Parliament-N, 2015). See Chapter 6.
- 6 A merger never took place and is, to my knowledge, never discussed among representatives of the respective sport organizations since the 1900s (Skille, 2012).

References

- Allen, E. J. B. (2007). *The culture and sport of skiing. From antiquity to World War II*. University of Massachusetts Press.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities. Reflecting on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Sage.
- Andresen, A., Evjen, B. and Rymiin, T. (2021) (Eds.). *Samenes historie fra 1751 til 2010* [The history of the Sámi 1751–2010]. Cappeen Damm Akademisk.
- Birkely, H. (1994). *I Norge har lapperne først indført skierne* [In Norway, the Sámis first introduced the skis]. Idut.
- Breuer, C., Hoekman, R., Nagel, S. and van der Werff, H. (2015) (Eds.): *Sport clubs in Europe. A cross-national comparative perspective*. Springer Verlag.
- Coakley, J. (2001). *Sport in society. Issues and controversies* (7th ed). McGraw-Hill.
- Eidheim, H. (1969). When ethnic identity is a social stigma. In F. Barth (Ed.): *Ethnic groups and boundaries* (pp. 39–57). Universitetsforlaget.
- Eriksen, T. H. (2004). Keeping the recipe. Norwegian folk costumes and cultural capital. *Focaal*, 2004(44), 20–34.
- Fahlén, J. and Skille, E. Å. (2016). Samisk idrett og statlig politikk i Sverige og Norge [Sami sport and state policy in Sweden and Norway]. In H. C. Pedersen and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Utafor sporet? Idrett, identiteter og regionalisme i nord* [Outside the tracks? Sport, identities and regionalism in the north] (pp. 138–167). Oplandske Bokforlag.
- Fahlén, J. and Skille, E. Å. (2017). State sport policy for Indigenous sport: Inclusive ambitions and exclusive coalitions. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 9(1), 173–187.

- Goksøy, M. (1988). *Sivilisering, modernisering, sportifisering: fruktbare begreper i idrettshistorisk forskning?* [Civilization, modernization, sportification: Fruitful concepts in sports history research]. Norwegian School of Sport Sciences.
- Goksøy, M. (2011). *Idrett for alle: Norges idrettsforbund 150 år* [Sports for all. The Norwegian confederation of sports 150 years]. Aschehoug.
- Goksøy, M. (Ed.), Andersen, E. and Asdal, K. (1996). *Kropp, kultur og tippkamp. Statens idrettskontor, STUI og Idrettsavdelingen* [Body, culture and TV-football. The State's sports office, the department for youth and sport and the department of sport policy 1946–1996]. Universitetsforlaget.
- Green, M. and Houlihan, B. (2005). *Elite sport development. Policy learning and political priorities*. Routledge.
- Green, K., Sigurjonsson, T. and Skille, E. Å. (2019) (Eds.). *Sport in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries*. Routledge.
- Hansen, L. I. and Olsen, B. (2004). *Samenes historie fram til 1750* [Sami history until 1750]. Cappelen akademisk forlag.
- Hjelseth, A. (2016). Idrettslaget som markør for lokalsamfunnsidentitet [The sports club as marker of local community identity]. In M. Villa and M. S. Haugen (Eds.): *Lokalsamfunn* [Local community] (pp. 216–234). Cappelen Damm Akademisk.
- Huntford, R. (2009). *Two planks and a passion. The dramatic history of skiing*. Continuum.
- Ministry of Culture (2011). *Den norske idrettsmodellen* [The Norwegian sports model] (Meld St. 26, 2011–2012 [White Paper]). Kulturdepartementet.
- Olstad, F. (1987). *Norsk idretts historie 1861–1939. Forsvar, sport og klassekamp* [Norwegian sports history 1861–1939. Defence, sports and class struggle]. Aschehoug.
- Sámi Parliament-N (2015). *Sametingsrådets redegjørelse om samisk idrett* [The Sami parliament's council's statement about Sami sport]. Sametinget.
- Seippel, Ø. & Skille, E. Å. (2015). Sport clubs in Norway. In C. Breuer, R. Hoekman, S. Nagel and H. van der Werff, H. (Eds.): *Sport clubs in Europe. A cross-national comparative perspective* (pp. 309–324). Springer verlag.
- Seippel, Ø. and Skille, E. Å. (2019). Sports participation in Norway. In K. Green, T. Sigurjonsson and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Sport in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries* (pp. 108–135). Routledge.
- Skille, E. Å. (2005). *Sport policy and adolescent sport. The sports city program* (Storbyprosjektet). Norwegian School of Sport Sciences.
- Skille, E. Å. (2008). Understanding sport clubs as sport policy implementers: A theoretical framework for the analysis of the implementation of central sport policy through local and voluntary sport organizations. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 43(2), 181–200.
- Skille, E. Å. (2009). State sport policy and the voluntary sport clubs: The case of the Norwegian Sports City Program as social policy. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 9(1), 63–79.
- Skille, E. Å. (2010a). Competitiveness and health: The work of sport clubs as seen by sport clubs representatives – a Norwegian case study. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 45(1), 73–85.
- Skille, E. Å. (2010b). *Idrettslaget – helseprodusent eller trivselsarena?* [The sports club – health producer or arena for well-being?] Oplanske bokforlag.
- Skille, E. Å. (2011). The conventions of sport clubs: Enabling and constraining the implementation of social goods through sport. *Sport, Education and Society*, 16(2), 241–253.

- Skille, E. Å. (2012). Ethno-politics and state sport policy – The case of how the Sami sport association – Norway challenged the Norwegian confederation of sport's monopoly for state subsidies to sport. *Scandinavian Sport Studies Forum*, 3, 143–165.
- Skille, E. Å. (2013). Lassoing and reindeer racing versus 'universal' sports: Various routes to Sami ethnic identity through sports. In C. Halinan and B. Judd (Eds.): *Native games – indigenous peoples and sports in the post-colonial world* (pp. 21–41). Emerald.
- Skille, E. Å. (2015). Community and sport in Norway: between state sport policy and local sport clubs. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 7(4), 505–518.
- Skille, E. Å. (2019). The Nordic Model and multiculturalism: the case of Sámi sport. *Sport in Society*, 22(4), 589–605.
- Skille, E. Å., Fahlén, J., Stenling, C. and Strittmatter, A. M. (2021). (Lack of) Government policy for indigenous (Sámi) sport – a chain of legitimating and de-legitimating acts. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690220988650>.
- Skille, E. Å. and Stenling, C. (2018). Inside-out and outside-in: Applying the concept of conventions in the analysis of policy implementation through sport clubs. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 53(7), 837–853.
- SVL-N (2018). *Vedtekter* [Statutes]. Sámiid Valáštallanlihttu – Norga.

Indigenous Sport Clubs Outside Core Areas

The presentation of sport clubs outside core areas follows the same overarching chronology as the presentation of sport clubs in core areas in Chapter 4: a description of the sport clubs' purpose and operations, the sport clubs' relationship with the Indigenous sport organization SVL-N, local identity, and nation-building. Again, the empirical findings are based on interviews with sport club representatives and media analysis. In this chapter, I frequently make comparisons with Chapter 4 to explicate similarities and differences within the Norwegian side of Sápmi. Therefore, I continue with some overall comparative reflections.

Inside and Outside Core Areas

As with other sport clubs (Breuer et al., 2015; Green et al., 2019; Hjelseth, 2016; Seippel & Skille, 2015), Sámi sport clubs are local voluntary organizations dependent on individual initiatives to provide activities. Voluntary work sometimes leads to personal and interpersonal tensions, which 'has nothing to do with the Sámi element' (Sport club representative D7). Nevertheless, the sensitivity to criticism – a common human feature – may comprise elements of indigeneity that could stem from a feeling of inferiority along the intertwined centre periphery and south-north dimension (Lidström, 2018). Living in the peripheral north can be an explanation for perceptions of inferiority and reinforce the divisions between Indigenous and mainstream. For example, if people from cities in the south move to rural villages in the north and suggest new procedures for local sport clubs, this could be perceived as condescension. Thus, an outsider in an Indigenous environment 'needs to put in some effort to be accepted by the Sámi' because 'it is crucial that you are humble when you enter the Sámi culture, because it is vulnerable' (Sport club representative D7). Indigenous elements, which are not necessarily originally at stake during everyday operations in a sport club, come to light during negotiations of other issues. Deliberating over indigeneity has been suggested to be more explicit outside core areas (cf. Barth, 1969; Eidheim, 1969, 1971), and sport club representatives in these contexts are often confronted with it; indeed, it is encountered in meetings with representatives of sport clubs from core Sámi areas, the 'real Sámi' or 'Sámi Sámi' as some interviewees expressed it (and which I return to).

It should be noted that there are variations within different areas and that local ethnopolitics is in constant flux. Almost certainly, it is easier to talk about the subject of indigeneity today compared to – say – one generation ago. One reason for a more explicit ethnopolitical deliberation outside core areas stems from a feeling of marginalization through generations combined with a relatively recent awakening of Indigenous identity. There are arguably two significances of this combination. The first is that an important bearer of culture is missing among most individuals outside core areas: namely, the Sámi language (cf. Andresen et al., 2021), and second, that other symbols and organizational affiliation become relatively more important. Given contextual differences (as per Chapter 3), sport clubs outside core areas operate amongst more dispersed Sámi populations compared with sport clubs in core areas and often recruit participants from a wider geographical area. In general, ethnic identity is more disputed outside than within core areas; however, there are processes going on to normalize Sámi indigeneity. The sport clubs outside core areas apparently have more intentional or purposeful ethnopolitics features compared to core areas. They eagerly contribute with participants to Indigenous sport events, athletes to the national teams, and representatives in the Indigenous sport organization. Although this also applies to clubs in core areas, this observation, combined with a more mixed demographic, generates discussions about ‘Being Indigenous enough’ to represent Sápmi, which I discuss in a separate section below.

The varied demography outside core areas is also reflected in the four ideal typical sport clubs presented in this chapter. First, Sámi sport clubs with dual affiliation and ethnopolitical objectives are – as it was in the core areas in Chapter 4 – the category that dominates outside core areas. Moreover, three other types are mentioned to show the variation outside core areas: the Sámi sport club in a village where many other organizations play the ethnopolitical role, leaving the sport club with only sport, and two types of Sámi sport clubs in urban areas. Although these are few, they distinguish themselves from each other: as a sport club representing a city in Sápmi and a sport club in the capital city of Norway far outside traditional Sámi areas.

Indigenous Sport Clubs’ Purpose and Operations

In this section, we will see how the primary concern for Indigenous sport clubs outside core areas is to provide sport for as many as possible. In that respect, Sámi sport clubs align with conventional understandings as providers of physical activity for local youth (Breuer et al., 2015; Green et al., 2019; Seippel & Skille, 2015, 2019; Skille, 2008, 2011; Skille & Stenling, 2018). Moreover, everyday activities in Sámi sport clubs outside core areas concern disputes about language; thus, language skills – or fluency – seem to have a rather different function outside core areas (than inside, see Chapter 4) because relatively few individuals speak the Indigenous language.

As Many as Possible and a Wider Social Role

As with core Sámi areas in Chapter 4, sport clubs exist 'in order to provide a sport supply for youth' (Sport club representative D9). A sport supply covers the opportunity to be physically active and includes programme provision for competition and achievement. Sport club officials connect mass participation with the Indigenous because the attitude is considered more inclusive than the mainstream Norwegian sport system (which is viewed as more achievement-oriented and thus exclusive). With reference to the specific sport disciplines, a board member shared: 'We do that', pursue Indigenous-based, mass participation,

deliberately because we participate at the SVL-N events and aim at sending athletes to the AWG.¹ Simultaneously, we organize lassoing races and other sport, according to SVL-N's decisions in order to be part of [Sámi sport]. The broader policy is about mass participation; you see, we don't have only good athletes ... It is about joy for sport, among the Sámi.

(Sport club representative D6)

Sport is a socialization arena for youth regarding the relationship between effort and achievement, and other social issues. Along well-known lines, sport clubs are good for activity provision and 'something more' (cf. Chapter 4; Coalter, 2007). A story about a (vulnerable) local boy exemplifies how sport club leaders deliberately facilitated inclusion by constantly working to overcome challenges in other parts of his life and responsibility for a wider social role. According to a Sámi sport club representative outside core areas,

He came from a family that did not have most resources. We have managed to keep him [in the club], gave him much positivity, and a feeling that we in the sport club were there to help him ... I believe sport is of enormous importance, not only for those with resourceful parents but for those without.

(Sport club representative D7)

According to sport club representatives and the literature, sport has the potential to provide opportunities for vulnerable youth, which seems to be an increasing challenge in Norway (Bakke et al., 2016; Strandbu et al., 2017). 'We had some kind of voluntary system for it; we fixed transportation and provided equipment. Not only for this one family, but the entire sport club built this boy' (Sport club representative D7). Although vulnerability is a complex phenomenon, economic deprivation explains much because it can be described rather specifically compared to other elements of the expression 'vulnerable youth'.

To keep costs low, we try to make people join, whether you earn little or much. I think it is important, because many other sport clubs have more sponsors; they can subsidize their athletes more ... I hope we will continue

this way in the sport club. We need to maintain the opportunity for those who do not come from rich families to become involved in sport.

(Sport club representative D6)

The critical reader may wonder what vulnerable youth has to do with Indigenous sport and nation-building. For one thing, the focal sport club operates as ‘good Samaritans’ – as do many sport clubs (Coalter, 2007; Skille, 2010). For another, the low-cost focus includes solutions for travel and accommodation at competitions when participating in the mainstream (Norwegian) sport system as well. In that regard, peculiar solutions to commonplace issues consequently provide the Indigenous sport club with an outsider status in the mainstream sport system. The background for the alien standing is that the sport club sends as many as possible to events instead of selecting and paying for few. The result is that the sport club cannot afford the most expensive travel and accommodation for its athletes and leaders and that representatives of the Norwegian sport organization ‘have not accepted our arrangement’ (Sport club representative D7). The outsider status is quickly linked to the Indigenous image of the sport club. While the Sámi sport club representatives internally consider facilitating participation as positive, peer sport leaders, neighbour clubs, and other organizations in the mainstream sport system apparently consider it negative. Although ethnicity is not originally an explanatory factor here, the Indigenous image is impossible to escape. Given a more dispersed Indigenous population outside core areas, the sport clubs stand rather alone as an Indigenous sport club in their immediate contexts. In other words, the Indigenous label is there although not necessarily intentionally articulated. (Thus, this is another hence related outcome of the double affiliation than the double administrative burden reported in Chapter 4.)

Language Issues and Relationships with Core Areas

Although not often, *when* the issue of Sámi language comes up, sovereignty is deliberately at stake, a point that is more explicitly articulated outside core areas (Broch & Skille, 2019; Hermansen & Olsen, 2020). Sport clubs outside core areas are not as much an arena for lingual development or maintenance compared to sport clubs in core areas. Through an apparently omnipresent comparison with Indigenous sport clubs from core areas, the lack of language skills is perceived as a sign of inferiority. ‘Many of them [from core areas] speak Sámi. Some of our athletes speak Sámi, too ... but most of them do not’ (Sport club representative D6). This lack of language skills leads to some representatives ‘in SVL-N who pose questions’ (Sport club representative D9) regarding the Indigenous status of athletes from outside core areas. This factor touches on a sensitive element of the discussion pertaining to Indigenous sport and nation-building because it raises concerns around whether participants outside core areas are qualified to participate in Indigenous sport events, and literally if they are ‘Sámi enough’ to

become Sámi champions and be on Sápmi national teams. The sensitivity originates from the feeling that Sámis outside core areas are less privileged through no fault of their own but because many lost the language in the assimilation process (Andresen et al., 2021; Olsen & Andreassen, 2018). I return to these issues in the section ‘Being Indigenous enough?’.

Sometimes, sport club representatives outside core areas view the use of the Indigenous language by the core area representatives as a divisive act – proving authenticity and superiority. (It should be noted that there were no similar reflections in the data from core areas.) During Indigenous sport events, representatives from sport clubs outside core areas sometimes wonder whether those from the core area speak the language to intentionally distinguish themselves from Sámis without fluency. Nevertheless, there are indications of change, and the language ‘power-game’ was more evident some decades ago. ‘I believe somebody wanted to make a distinction in the beginning, but I also think that, for participants from Finnmark, it felt so natural to speak Sámi because that is what they usually do’ (Sport club representative D7). Moreover, the picture is nuanced; some sport club representatives outside core areas do speak Sámi, and officials in sport clubs in core areas do not only use Sámi language. Nevertheless, overarchingly, there is a feeling of inferiority among representatives of Indigenous sport clubs in outer areas. While language is one symbol of indigeneity, there are others. I return to the use of other symbols in the section ‘Local identity and nation-building’. Now, I turn to what unites the Indigenous sport clubs across areas of Sápmi: the Indigenous sport organization.

Sport Clubs’ Relationship with the Indigenous Sport Organization – SVL-N

As mentioned, one main finding in the comparison between the sport clubs within and outside core areas relates to the explicated importance of being affiliated with the Indigenous sport organization. The empirical support to substantiate that statement consists of two parts. First, there are variations regarding how the organizations are connected and how they interact and correspond, and some sport club representatives have various experiences with participation in the Indigenous sport organization. Second, for sport clubs, the practical and activity-based rationale for the affiliation is the specific Indigenous sport disciplines – here, lassoing. Unlike findings from core areas, Indigenous sport clubs outside core areas have partly been questioned and contested, a point that will develop into broader discussions about Indigenous sport and nation-building below.

Variation and Ambivalence

Sport clubs outside core areas have various rationales for their connections to the Indigenous sport organization. For a mainstream sport club in a typical revitalized area in the north, it was a deliberate choice to be an Indigenous sport

club, which is operationalized by the membership in SVL-N. The values behind this choice permeate the sport club and are promoted by its leaders, including sojourners without Sámi background. The eagerness to promote Indigenous sport and the affiliation with SVL-N is confirmed by high numbers of athletes participating at SVL-N events and sport club leaders partaking in SVL-N's organizational work. All in all, while the relationship to the Indigenous culture in general and to the language in particular seems to arise more effortlessly in core areas, the relationship with the Indigenous sport organization seems to be very strong outside core areas.

Nevertheless, sport club representatives with experience from the mainstream sport system often use that as a benchmark for interpreting the Indigenous sport organization; they often experience the Indigenous sport organization as unstructured, especially in meetings with sport clubs from core areas. In 'Finmark, there is another mentality ... it is simply more laid-back', one representative from outside core areas commented and gave an example: 'When they organize championships, or training camps, you experience that things were not very well planned'. Moreover, he had observed 'internal issues on the SVL-N board and the last general assembly was chaotic: it took several hours to agree on the agenda' (Sport club representative D9). It is hard to conclude that organizational challenges, which all organizations encounter, have Indigenous-based explanations.² However, the point is that 'another culture' (Sport club representative D7) is perceived by representatives with a more mainstream organizational background and that the Indigenous sport organization is partly perceived as somewhat chaotic.

Nevertheless, affiliation with the Indigenous sport organization was important for sport clubs outside core areas. Moreover, where sport clubs in core areas considered the double bureaucracy of a dual affiliation as a burden, the (self-chosen) burden for some sport clubs outside core areas is the requirement conceived of for organizing the typical Indigenous sport disciplines.

The Indigenous Disciplines as a Requirement

For representatives of ordinary Sámi sport clubs, lassoing – combined with cross-country skiing in the winter season and cross-country running in the summer – is what makes them Indigenous. Thus, lassoing distinguishes the focal sport clubs from all other sport clubs in Norway. However, there are various views on the reason for providing this specific activity in sport clubs. One sport club official claimed that 'it is a requirement' (Sport club representative D7), executed on the club by SVL-N. Others mentioned economic incentives: 'We run lasso races and competitions and receive subsidies for each event' (Sport club representative D9). As was the case also in core areas, a consequence of dual affiliation is that competitions in Indigenous activities require time during an already packed season schedule: 'We squeeze in lassoing if there is a vacant weekend' (Sport club representative D9). Expectedly, a packed competition schedule overlaps across mainstream and Indigenous events, creates tensions, and causes a conflict on

priorities. In a local newspaper, for example, one may read that the race organizer of the Sámi Skiing Championship was disappointed over the number of participants; 'we note the collision with the Norwegian Skiing Championship, which has a certain effect' (*Newspaper Z*, March 2011).

Another issue is that participation in lassoing is open for all members, including those without Sámi background and little knowledge about Sámi culture. 'When we recruit new athletes, lassoing is somewhat new and unfamiliar for some. [They can say:] "What is this? Are we supposed to have a lassoing competition?"' (Sport club representative D9). Since there is often only one Indigenous sport club in a broader region, Sámi sport clubs outside core areas have many members (and potential members) who are not Sámis themselves. All in all, for many participants, 'it is still rather exotic to lasso [because] it is anchored in [the club's] membership and is part of the activity we conduct in SVL-N' (Sport club representative D9). Thus, various building blocks of an Indigenous nation (language, clothes, anthem, unique sport disciplines, and Indigenous sport organization, for that matter) work differently across sport clubs and contexts within Sápmi; hereunder, there are different explanations of the sport clubs' affiliation with the Indigenous sport organization.

Regarding the unique Indigenous sport disciplines, sport clubs seem to have 'opposite causalities' across contexts; while sport clubs in core areas are members of the Indigenous sport organization because they undertake the unique disciplines, sport clubs outside the core practice the unique disciplines because they are members of the Indigenous sport organization. Sport club representatives outside core areas generally perceive the demand for organizing lassoing as unproblematic, 'probably because it has become one of the things people associate with the Sámi culture. It is reindeer and lasso, isn't it' (Sport club representative D8)? The last part of the quotation adds an element to the affiliation issues that regard ethnic identity. Sport club representatives outside core areas are both in opposition to and simultaneously adapt to forces from core areas. Lassoing, thus, serves a double mission. It reinforces the stereotype that Sámi culture equals reindeer and that Sápmi equals Finnmark.

On the contrary, it unites different Sámi areas because they all conduct lassoing as a sport discipline.³ Thus, tensions within and between areas are observed. Whilst many members of a sport club are not Sámi themselves, the formal policy of the sport club 'has been crystal clear; the sport club is a member in SVL-N, [and that] there is no personal memberships' (Sport club representative D9). Given this affiliative approach to the definition of membership in the Indigenous sport organization and hence for participation in Indigenous sport, indigeneity is contested. I return to such discussions in the section 'Being Indigenous enough?'. In sum, there is a complexity of individual members, sport clubs, the Indigenous sport organization, and Indigenous culture insofar as many individual members are not Sámi and partake in Sámi competitions, the tension increases. Hence, there is no ethnicity certification demand to participate at SVL-N events. The point here is that affiliation with SVL-N was considered as needed 'in order to

promote the Sámi’, which ‘would not have been taken care of by the Norwegian sport organization’ (Sport club representative D7). That closes this section on affiliation and moves us on to the section on local identity and nation-building.

Local Identity and Nation-Building

Local identity and Indigenous identity intertwine and vary with context. While many sport clubs are at places ‘with a strong Sámi identity’ (Sport club representative D7), Sámi sport clubs outside core areas face compound demographic patterns. The most visible is the promotion of Sámi in revitalized areas in the rural north. Revitalized areas refer to places where the assimilation process struck hard and the Indigenous language more or less died out, but where people now aim to take back the Sámi culture. Moreover, there was a Sámi sport club in a township in Sápmi and one in the capital city, Oslo, outside Sámi areas. Despite less use of Sámi language, other Indigenous symbols are at play; material features such as the Sápmi national team kit and more abstract ideas of indigeneity all contribute to nation-building. In line with previous research (e.g. Coalter, 2007; Hjelseth, 2016) and findings from core areas (Chapter 4), sport clubs outside core areas reflect the place in which they are located (cf. Breuer et al., 2015; Hjelseth, 2016; Seippel & Skille, 2015; Skille, 2011). Although Sápmi is a diverse entity, Indigenous sport club generally ‘play a great role and mean much for the unity of the villages, and inhabitants prioritize to put some effort into it’ (Sport club representative D9). The section proceeds with subsections revealing variation: how there may be local resistance against the establishment of a sport club with Indigenous objectives; how sport clubs in local contexts can do ‘just sport’ because there is a division of labour between sport clubs and (other, non-sport) organizations with Indigenous objectives; and how there are various purposes for Indigenous sport clubs in urban areas.

Local Hesitancy and Occasional Ambivalence

Establishing a Sámi sport club in an area that was Norwegianized can create tensions. Regarding a specific sport club in a revitalized area, the inhabitants generally applauded the new sport club in their local environment; but the population disagreed on the sport club’s Indigenous image and purpose – operationalized in the bylaws and the affiliation with the Indigenous sport organization. This post-colonial attitude can be explained by the large proportions of the local population that had been assimilated. Many Sámis complied with the assimilation policy and hid their Indigenous background (Eidheim, 1969, 1971). During the revitalization process, which peaked some decades ago (but which has been ongoing for half a century and still is), you either stayed assimilated and continued ‘living Norwegian’, or you took back your Sámi identity. Consequently, local populations – even within families and among siblings⁴ – became divided in this question. Hence, such overarching trends influence sport and resistance against

the indigeneity of the sport club stem from local history: before the establishment of the sport club, Sámi sport used to be organized by a local Sámi association (a non-sport organization). Therefore, Indigenous sport was already comprising potent political characteristics and purposes. As one interviewee shared: ‘There was resistance against becoming members’ of the sport club when it was new because

nobody liked to be identified as Sámi. But they were Sámi! ... It was never a problem among sporting youth, but [it was for] the parents. Youth have accepted it, and they are among the most supportive of Sámi sport. ... Youth even skipped events in Norwegian sport to take part in the Sámi sport events because we had a much better social milieu.

(Sport club representative D8)

This refers to a situation some decades ago, and the development is towards the better for Indigenous sport clubs. The challenges related to individuals who do not want to be recognized as Sámis have declined and the Indigenous element of the sport club has normalized. The normalization process followed general revitalization patterns covering voluntary organizations locally and civil society more widely, plus patterns from schools and other public institutions (Andresen et al., 2021).

However, two nuances should be noted. First, the normalization of the sport club’s Indigenous objectives has created new challenges; what was considered as solely positive (creation of Indigenous sport clubs) in core areas can spark tensions in revitalized areas. Second, despite the focal sport club’s uniting aim for Indigenous identity among a scattered population, the sport club’s main facility has a specific physical location. ‘You can go to [place D] and participate in sport. In that respect, [sport club D] is definitely connected to a place’ (Sport club representative D9). Although aiming at providing Indigenous sport for the population of a wider geographical area, the specific location reinforces some of the mentioned tensions because it is considered Sámi ground. In most Sámi sport clubs today, the Indigenous element is normalized and associated with pride; representatives of sport clubs in mixed ethnic or predominantly Sámi villages, both Sámi natives and Norwegian sojourners, all consider the Sámi sport clubs’ mandate as ‘to promote the Sámi’. Despite a generally normalizing development in recent decades, there will always be different groupings composed of individuals promoting indigeneity, others being reluctant or resistant, while many are relatively passive.

A Division of Labour between Local Organizations

The second category of Sámi sport clubs is in villages where other organizations play the ethnopolitical role; that leaves the sport club with only sport. This type of sport club typically exists in local contexts in which Sámi ethnicity and indigeneity stand relatively strong, and where the revitalization process has a power base. In that respect, since the Indigenous revitalization process accelerated

several decades ago, there has been a recurring debate in some of the sport club boards regarding the necessity of being a member of the Indigenous sport organization. This is because the sport clubs primarily – or anyway – relate to the Norwegian sport system, and the affiliation with the Indigenous sport organization is conceived of as a supplement (and administrative burdens). In that respect, and contrary to the typical sport club presented above, there is a local division of labour: Indigenous associations conduct ethnopolitics and sport clubs organize sport activities.

Nevertheless, the sport club ‘offers activities, and offers a community where everyone contributes to create pride for the village’ and is considered a community association in which ‘the entire village is united’ (Sport club representative E10). Adding that it is a Sámi village, the sport club is taken for granted as a Sámi sport club. Despite the local division of labour between the sport club and Indigenous associations with more ethnopolitical objectives, the sport club is ‘indeed, something we need because it is very identity creating, it has a Sámi touch in the sport disciplines’ (Sport club representative E10). Regarding the debate about membership in the Indigenous sport organization (SVL-N), this has been tabled due to other – more overarching – local conflicts related to Sámi issues. Albeit short, this section shows, first, that local sport clubs stand in an ambiguous position between solely providing sport and taking a more active and deliberate ethnopolitical stand, and second, that the position chosen is influenced by ethnopolitical negotiations and positions taken by other organizations in their immediate surroundings.

Indigenous Sport Clubs in Urban Areas

Sámi sport clubs in urban areas distinguish themselves from the other Indigenous sport clubs because they are in contexts with an overwhelming Norwegian population, and all other sport clubs in their contexts are solely affiliated with the Norwegian sport organization. They also distinguish themselves from each other because one is in Sápmi and one is outside. Regarding the sport club in the largest township in North Norway, it was established to compensate for a lack of meeting places for Sámi moving to the township and a lack of belonging, identity club feeling, and loyalty to the existing sport clubs. The sport club was also affiliated with mainstream Norwegian sport, but according to the Indigenous sport club, it was ‘intended to only consist of Sámis living in [township]. This criterion is not allowed to be in the statutes, but we intend to make it an unwritten rule, in order to safeguard our Sámi identity’ (Sport club G’s website). While the sport club’s membership base was made up of a mixture of Sámis being in town for temporary periods (primarily due to studies) and more permanent residents, this kind of informal codification is an example of adapting to mainstream systems while focusing on Indigenous identity – simultaneously.

The Indigenous sport club in Oslo – the capital city of Norway located in the south and outside Sámi areas – was solely affiliated with the Indigenous

sport organization; it thus connected – symbolically, organizationally, and pragmatically – with an Indigenous milieu to establish and maintain Indigenous identity through everyday activities. While Indigenous life in the cities is often limited to annual events, such as celebrations of national days, and everyday Indigenous identity is limited to the use of emblems on clothes (Gjerpe, 2013), the founders of the sport club – who were sojourners from Sámi areas in the north – wanted to create a leisure-time Indigenous community on an everyday basis. The purpose of the sport club was ‘to promote the Sámi milieu in the south, to strengthen the Sámi identity in the south’ (Sport club representative F11). The establishment of an urban sport club for Sámis may be considered as a counterpart to the consequences of a general urbanization among Sámi (as well as others from the many country sides in Norway) who ‘move here and live, if not an anonymous existence, but they do not want to acknowledge themselves in that milieu, or do not feel they have sufficient connection or desire to be connected to a Sámi milieu’ (Sport club representative F11). According to the initiative taker for this particular sport club, also when acknowledging and respecting those who desire an anonymous existence, there should be an Indigenous sport supply for those who want it.

Indigenous Sport Outside Core Areas and the Nation-Building of Sápmi

The purposes and everyday activities of local sport clubs, the sport clubs’ affiliation with the Indigenous sport organization, and local identity are necessary building blocks for the discussion of Indigenous sport and nation-building. However, some relationships between building blocks and nations are contested. Therefore, I discuss below how becoming Sámi champions and representing Sámi national teams is connected to issues of ethnicity and indigeneity. The relation is complex, to say the least. These discussions both – hence in different ways – lean on the very fact that Sámi partake in international sport competitions. Therefore, to contextualize some subsequent investigations, I start with a section on Sápmi as an international sport actor.

Sápmi as an International Sport Actor

Considering Sápmi as a nation, a comparison with the nation states in which Sápmi is located is adjacent. Among sport club officials, there were huge variations regarding the definition of Sápmi as a nation and to what degree sport contributes to nation-building. Some find it natural to speak about Sápmi as a nation; others avoid it because it links to negative connotations of nationalism. Yet another understanding relates to the interchanged use of nation and state (cf. Chapter 1); ‘I would say Norway [is a nation]. I cannot see Sápmi as a nation’ (Sport club representative D9). Nevertheless, two interrelated national features were observed outside core Sámi areas in the north during the data collection.

One was the absence of the Sámi language in meetings and activity settings. Another was that some athletes wore the Sápmi national team kit during trainings and local events (e.g. club championships). See Figure 5.1. The Sápmi national team kit shows the Sámi flag's colours: red, blue, yellow and green is earned by those representing Sápmi at the AWG. The AWG is a circumpolar sport competition for northern and Arctic athletes, focusing on culture and social bonds among Indigenous peoples.⁵ Thus, it is specifically adjacent to compare with other AWG participants, who also represent nations without states: 'you have the Northwest Territories, you have other territories in Canada... Sápmi is a unit of three different countries,⁶ a region that crosses state borders' (Sport club representative D9). Going to the AWG, Sápmi as an Indigenous nation becomes operationalized as it 'refers to the Sápmi delegation' (Sport club representative D9). Thus, delegates have a pragmatic take on it, considering Sápmi as 'the team that travels. Just like when we travel for [the sport club], Sápmi is the squad who is uniformed and travel to AWG' (Sport club representative D8). Participation at international sport events includes the application of national symbols, such as the flag, and that the organizers 'actually play the national anthem for Sápmi' (Sport club representative D8).

Participants at the AWG come from all over Sápmi. Sápmi is a national team and the 'collective name for the Sámi sport organization in Norway, Sweden, and Finland' (Sport club representative D8). In some sense, AWG appears to be more important for Indigenous sport clubs outside the core areas because they need the



Figure 5.1 A cross-country skier in Sápmi national team kit (photo by Charles Petterson).

events of the Indigenous sport organization to develop the feeling of an Indigenous community. Hence, participation in international competitions has a reciprocal function. It functions internally in the Sámi sport system because to be selected 'you must participate at the Sámi championship, that is one criterion. The other is to participate at SVL-N gatherings' (Sport club representative D9). Thus, Indigenous sport contributes to a Sámi community-building by organizing gatherings for athletes and leaders. Moreover, there is an interdependence between internal and external functions, as the club provides specific disciplines in their training sessions. One media report clarified: 'Although cross-country skiing with lasso-throwing is not included in the AWG, those wishing to qualify must nevertheless participate in this exercise' (*Newspaper Z*, January 2013). Externally, international Indigenous sport events contribute to a wider Indigenous community and reinforce the Indigenous identity of Sámi individuals and Sápmi as a nation.

Moreover, international sport competitions for Indigenous people unite the Indigenous people of Scandinavia via the formation of a delegation: 'Bonds between human beings are created, between us and the athletes from Finnmark' (Sport club representative D8). The selection to AWG is associated with pride and considered 'a major reward for many [athletes]' (Sport club representative D9). A sport club official elaborated: 'Participation in AWG is perceived as a big reward, and an identity contribution'. Then 'you get special clothes, with "Sápmi" on. You are part of a Sápmi national team and you listen to the Sámi national anthem when you win. For the youth, sport strengthens the Sámi identity' (Sport club representative F11). However, participation at international events is highly valued *and* disputed. One dispute regards economic costs and priorities. In that respect, some actors question the use of resources for participation in AWG, which only benefits the few who travel there; resources that could be used more broadly for the many at home. The 'decline in the number of participants in Sámi sport and a decline in Sámi support for sport in general' (*Newspaper X*, September 2013) stands in contrast to the expensive international participation. A sport leader expressed:

When we see the decline in total participants, I am not so sure that we get [the] most value for money by sending 20 sportsmen to the Arctic Winter Games in Alaska or Canada. There are thousands staying home who do not have the opportunity to participate in this international event, and in my opinion, it is far better to spend the resources on many instead of much upon the few.

(*Newspaper X*, September 2013)

This goes into a never-ending debate about priorities between elite sport and mass sport, widely known in sport policy and sport sociology research (e.g. Green and Houlihan, 2005; Green et al., 2019). This dispute is more distinctive to Indigenous sport regarding who is selectable for a national team and who is worthy of becoming an Indigenous champion (cf. Chapter 2). Part of this is a question about being Indigenous enough.

Being Indigenous Enough?

Following up on AWG, 'Norway has always been well represented in the years during which Sápmi has participated. Among the Norwegians, most cross-country skiers have come from [sport club X]' (*Newspaper Z*, March 2011). Sport club X, which sends most participants to the AWG, comprises a mixture of Sámi and Norwegian athletes (*Newspaper Z*, March 2018). An essential point regarding Indigenous sport and nation-building relates to the criteria for participation in Indigenous championships and representation at national teams. In short, is Sámi ethnicity a criterion for participation in Sámi sport (*Newspaper Z*, March 2011), and who owns the definitions of rights? As of today, SVL-N rules apply such that all members in an affiliated sport club – irrespective of ethnicity – can participate. In practice, a non-Sámi can become a Sámi champion. Member clubs in SVL-N have used AWG as a 'carrot' for recruitment. It is a matter of concern that this 'reward' can contribute to the exclusion of Sámi athletes; athletes with Sámi background and identity have experienced non-selection for AWG due to a non-Sámi being picked instead. While Sámi sport clubs maintain and support participants without Sámi heritage, others question whether they are 'Indigenous enough'.

Again, the relationship between various parts of the Indigenous nation comes up. For example, sport club officials from outside core areas referred to colleagues and athletes from core areas as 'real Sámi' and 'Sámi Sámi'. To specify: 'The athletes from Finnmark, every participant, they are Sámi Sámi. ... I think that some from the other sport clubs wonder why [sport club X] contributes with so many delegates [to AWG], and who do not have Sámi heritage' (Sport club representative D7). As one sport club representative reflected: 'There have been questions and discussions' on whether 'people should be on the Sámi Parliament electoral roll or have Sámi heritage in order to participate in SVL-N and its competitions' (Sport club representative D9). In this club, 'all members of the club have been allowed to take part' (Sport club representative D9). The reference to all members includes non-Indigenous athletes. As one sport club official reflected about the Indigenous element in the club:

We are members of the SVL-N, which no other sport clubs around here are. The sport clubs themselves decide whether they want to be members in SVL-N. We do have some members of Sámi heritage who are also members of other sport clubs, but those clubs are not members of SVL-N.

(Sport club representative D9)

While the above-mentioned issues concern youth in local sport clubs that are members of the Indigenous sport organization, there are corresponding challenges in Sámi football (e.g. *Newspaper S*, May 2014; *Newspaper Z*, October 2006). Regarding the selection process for the 2006 team, the head coach held: 'Here we do not count full, half, quarter, eighth, sixteenth of Sámi. We are a bunch of bastards, all of us ... What counts is that the player is Sámi enough to *want* to

represent Sápmi' (*Newspaper T*, November 2006). Tom Høgli had already played and represented the Norwegian youth national team when he was asked to join FA Sápmi in 2006. Since FA Sápmi is not a member of FIFA (as is the Norwegian Football Association), there was no formal organizational constraint for representing *both* the Sámi *and* Norwegian national teams. The issue was more if he felt it appropriate himself, regarding the expectations (from himself and others) of his ethnic identity. Reflecting in retrospect, Høgli shared:

I really considered if I had anything to do at the team. I concluded with a 'yes' at the time, and I have the same opinion today ... I felt that I had what was needed to take part, in terms of identity.

(interview, Tom Høgli)

The consideration was purely his own; Høgli recalls no discussion about ethnicity and criteria for inclusion among athletes, coaches, or leaders. Høgli – although there is no calculation of bloodline – considered himself 50% Sámi because two grandparents spoke Sámi as their mother tongue. Høgli considered himself to be a representative of the Sámi nation and was humbled to be selected; 'you represent the pride of many others when you put on that logo and that kit. If I have not felt that I should have been there, I do not think I would have joined' (interview, Tom Høgli). This reflects the development of individual perceptions of belonging to the nation, as represented by the team. There is no test regarding language or bloodline. Høgli later played 49 matches for the Norwegian national team.⁷ In terms of representing two different nations, he considered 'it as unproblematic' (interview, Tom Høgli), which I think is a crucial point. To my knowledge, nobody has ever disputed his representation – neither for Norway nor for Sápmi. In that respect, Høgli's sport achievements represent one building block used for two nations: Sápmi and Norway.

For the selection to the 2016 team, several players were asked about their ethnic belonging. One replied that he was from Finnmark 'and if you dig deep enough, we all have that [Sámi] connection some place', while another justified his representation with a grandmother from a Sámi village in Finnmark (*Newspaper U*, April 2016). This is another example of the shortcut between Finnmark and Sápmi mentioned already. The main point here is nevertheless how media coverage reveals a tension between sport achievement and Indigenous identity. Some voices wanted a clear Indigenous profile of the Sámi national football team. The leader of the Sámi People's Party writes: 'I would like the Sámi aspect to be more prominent in everything the national team undertakes. I believe that Sápmi will benefit from a clear Indigenous people's profile' (*Newspaper V*, December 2005). One could possibly discuss whether it would arouse interest in the national team if ethnic criteria would prevent better qualified athletes from participating. While this section has shown a discussion about being 'pure enough' for Indigenous sport, the next section shows how Sámis and Norwegians together build the Norwegian nation.

Sámis for Norway⁸

'The Norwegian state is founded on the territory of two peoples – Norwegians and Sámi' (The Royal House of Norway, 1997). These famous words of the Norwegian king during his speech at the opening ceremony of the Sámi Parliament in 1997 are echoed on the grassroots of sport. Norway is considered 'a strong sporting nation, so whether athletes at Norwegian national teams are Sámi or Norwegian, that makes no difference' (Sport club representative D9). Throughout the interviews with sport clubs' officials, a multicultural context evolved. One specific pattern of multiculturalism is Sámi athletes on Norwegian national teams. While the history of Sámi athletes representing the respective countries' national teams and participating in Norwegian elite sport is long with numerous examples, two names were repeatedly mentioned by sport club representatives: the Nordic combined athlete Håvard Klemetsen, from Kautokeino (a Sámi village in the core Sámi areas in the Finnmark inland); and cross-country skier Finn Hågen Krogh, from Alta (an ethnically mixed and more assimilated township in a fjord of Finnmark). Thus, the understanding of their identity varies. Some interviewees claimed that Krogh and Klemetsen, 'are Norwegians' (Sport club representative D9); others said 'they are very good representatives for North Norway' (Sport club representative D7); yet, the same sport club official added he 'would think that they are Sámi' (Sport club representative D7). It should be noted that these statements are not mutually exclusive; it is possible to be Norwegian, North-Norwegian, and Sámi – simultaneously. Many individuals on the north Calotte probably share that mixed identity.

Picking up on a point from the skiing section in Chapter 4, the Sámis are proud when the Nordic combined athlete Klemetsen and the cross-country skier Krogh won for Norway as members of Norwegian national teams in their respective disciplines. Nevertheless, there are differences between the mentioned athletes. For one thing, Klemetsen 'has expressed Sámi culture with pride', such as by singing the traditional Sámi song (yoik) on live TV, while for another:

Krogh, in his turn, is a splendid role model for the large share of the Sámi population who did not grow up with Sámi language and culture ... Thereby, Krogh has become a role model for many, especially for Sámis who were deprived both language and identity through the Norwegianization process.

(*Newspaper Z*, February 2015; see also *Newspaper X*, March 2011)

During his national team career, Håvard Klemetsen was referred to as the athlete with the Sámi background. Regarding the connection to Sámi culture: 'in an early age, I was not much concerned with that; neither was I concerned with where I came from'. Klemetsen spent many years on the Norwegian national team and matured as an athlete and human being. The maturation paralleled general developments of awareness regarding Indigenous culture and background. 'I became very conscious – say – after the age of 25 about the role of being an

ambassador and the role of Kautokeino's face outwards on the sport arena'. To an increasing degree, Klemetsen 'focused intentionally on my identity and my pride regarding where I come from' (interview, Håvard Klemetsen). Klemetsen emphasized that he used the name of the county (Finnmark) instead of the name of the place (Kautokeino) to cover more of Sápmi when presenting himself or giving autographs. Reflecting in retrospect, he 'played out the Sámi dimension'. More specifically, 'I have been yoiking [traditional Sámi singing] on various occasions, and I cannot yoik, but it was my way to express and thank where I come from and how found I am of that culture and the people'.

This relationship to his hometown and Finnmark links to Klemetsen's career, as he used the holidays at home to 'charge the batteries' between seasons. In particular, he links the Olympic gold medal in Sochi in 2014 to his hometown and Sápmi. Reminding the reader that the winners write the history, let us listen to his experience. Four years before the Sochi Games, a long-term plan was initiated for the Norwegian national team in Nordic combined. Klemetsen invited the team to his hometown to expose teammates, coaches, and leaders to Sámi culture. 'We partook in a Sámi ski race, we drove snowmobiles, we were out on the plateau and moved a reindeer herd and the teammates tried to lasso'. In addition to having a good time, 'it was a kickstart for the journey to the Olympics in Sochi' (interview, Håvard Klemetsen) that ended with Klemetsen yoiking during the medal ceremony in Sochi. For Klemetsen, this was a way to honour his background. He felt he had the complete Sámi community behind him during his career. By paraphrasing his own words, could it be claimed that Klemetsen's achievement symbolizes how a Sámi culture more generally is a building block for the Norwegian nation? Moreover, could an athlete from outside core areas create similar symbolic value? I think so, but I am uncertain. The only empirical basis for speculations is that Tom Høgli, the footballer mentioned above, comes from outside core areas; in that respect, he had the potential to symbolize Sámi for Norway, but he was not portrayed as Sámi when representing Norway in the same way that Klemetsen was presented.

Conclusion

Indigenous sport clubs outside core areas work along conventional lines of being providers of physical activity, local belonging, and societal goods for its members. Recruiting and keeping local youth to and inside sport by facilitating sport participation and enabling low costs are not unique for Indigenous sport clubs. However, because some sport clubs have an Indigenous image, relatively simple solutions to commonplace issues contribute to the sport clubs' outsider status in the local environment. This perception would probably not be the case in core areas because the dual affiliation, including the connection with the Indigenous sports organization, was more commonplace there. In other words, there are different conventions across contexts, which I discuss more analytically in Chapter 7. For one thing, the Indigenous language is less used outside core areas

than within. At the same time, the lingual element is an issue for representatives of Indigenous sport clubs – especially in areas under revitalization – because they compare their lack of fluency with the natural use of language among the athletes and leaders of core area sport clubs that they meet at Indigenous sport events. Moreover, partly due to the lack of one cultural bearer (language), other national symbols, such as the national team kit with the name Sápmi and the Sámi flag's colours imprinted, are relatively more important. In other words, there are somewhat various routes into the national community of Sápmi depending on the local community from where you depart.

In sum, and in line with the conclusion of Chapter 4, Finnmark is – also or especially seen from the outside – conventionally understood as equal to the core Sámi area. This simplifies and reproduces stereotypical understandings (if everybody agrees on what is the core and 'real' Indigenous) but simultaneously complicates – if the aim is to see Sápmi as a whole. Here is a crucial analytical point: the outcome of the analysis depends on the point of departure and what is considered as a whole unit. While Chapter 4 considered Finnmark and especially inland and east of Finnmark as the unit of analysis (and referred to as core Sámi areas), most parts of this chapter focused on Northern Norway as the unit for analysis. In addition, there were a number of other key conceptual points of departure or analytical points in both chapters, such as urban/rural, core/periphery, international/national, and sport-for-all/elite. It is, therefore, important to remind ourselves that the topics highlighted in Chapter 4 (about core areas) exist outside core areas, and the topics highlighted in this chapter (on outside core areas) exist inside core areas; however, the weighing of them vary and are reflected in the text of the two chapters. All in all, I have shown – if the former and this chapter are seen together – variations within and across core and outside core areas. As this study's focus is on Sápmi, the next step is to shed empirical light on more than the Norwegian side. This will be done in Chapter 6, alongside a comparison with other examples of Indigenous sport and nation-building.

Notes

- 1 Arctic Winter Games is a sport competition for Arctic Indigenous peoples. See the subsection on 'Sápmi as an international sport actor'.
- 2 The very approximate concern for time among Indigenous peoples, especially peoples close to nature, is not unique for Sámis nor rural Norway. As mentioned above, in Canada, they refer to this phenomenon as 'being on northern time' (Mike Sam, personal communication).
- 3 Reindeer racing comprises both competency requirements and legal issues – simply the access to reindeer – that excludes the activity from this discussion (Skille, 2019). Thus, reindeer racing includes political issues, such as the Reindeer Husbandry Act. According to the Reindeer Husbandry Act (Lovdata, 2007), the right to own reindeer applies only (§9) to 'persons who have a right to a reindeer earmark and are of Sámi heritage'.

- 4 For example, in my hometown, there were families where the oldest siblings spoke Sámi as their parents did, while the younger siblings spoke Norwegian because the neighbour children spoke only Norwegian. In some families, siblings make different ethnic choices when growing up; some Sámi, others Norwegian. (In turn, the choices can result from different interpretations of and opinions about assimilation and integration.)
- 5 The Arctic Winter Games is the largest northern multi-sport and culture event. The Games include participants from Alaska, Yukon, Northwest Territories, Northern Alberta, Nunavut, Greenland, Nunavik, Quebec, Yamal, Russia, and Sápmi (AWG, 2016).
- 6 This is a quotation, referring to the three countries with Sámi sport organizations, which often leads to a neglect of Russia (NRK, 2016); a point I return to in Chapter 6.
- 7 Høgli has turned down later requests from FA Sápmi due to a tight schedule and club contracts as a professional footballer.
- 8 (Much of) this section could as well as have been presented in Chapter 4 because one of the mentioned athletes originate from core Sámi areas. The two rationales for placing it here, are, first, that it was interviewees from outside core areas (who are the main data source for this chapter) who triggered the creation of it; and second, that – when following the structure of the book with an increased complexity from Chapter 4 to Chapter 5 – it suits better here.

References

- Andresen, A., Evjen, B. and Rymiin, T. (Eds.) (2021). *Samenes historie fra 1751 til 2010* [The history of the Sámi 1751–2010]. Cappelen Damm Akademisk.
- Barth, F. (1969). Introduction. In F. Barth (Ed.): *Ethnic groups and boundaries. The social organization of culture difference* (pp. 9–38). Universitetsforlaget.
- Breuer, C., Hoekman, R., Nagel, S. and van der Werff, H. (Eds.) (2015). *Sport clubs in Europe. A cross-national comparative perspective*. Springer verlag.
- Broch, T. B. and Skille, E. Å. (2019). Performing sport political legitimacy: A cultural sociology perspective on sport politics. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 36(2), 171–178.
- Coalter, F. (2007). *A wider social role for sport. Who is keeping the score?* Routledge.
- Eidheim, H. (1969). When ethnic identity is a social stigma. In F. Barth (Ed.): *Ethnic groups and boundaries* (pp. 39–57). Universitetsforlaget.
- Eidheim, H. (1971). *Aspects of the Lappish minority situation*. Universitetsforlaget.
- Gjerpe, K. K. (2013). 'The best of both worlds'. *Conceptualising an urban Sámi identity*. Universitetet i Tromsø.
- Green, M. and Houlihan, B. (2005). *Elite sport development. Policy learning and political priorities*. Routledge.
- Green, K., Sigurjonsson, T. and Skille, E. Å. (Eds.) (2019). *Sport in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries*. Routledge.
- Hermansen, N. and Olsen, K. (2020). Learning the Sámi language outside of the Sámi core area in Norway. *Acta Borealia*, 37(1–2), 63–77.
- Hjelseth, A. (2016). Idrettslaget som markør for lokalsamfunnsidentitet [The sports club as marker of local community identity]. In M. Villa and M. S. Haugen (Eds.): *Lokalsamfunn* [Local community] (pp. 216–234). Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

- Lovdata (2007). *Lov om reindrift* [The reindeer husbandry act] (Retrieved from https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/2007-06-15-40/KAPITTEL_1#KAPITTEL_1.)
- NRK (2016). Keskitalo savner russisk sameungdom i AWG. [Keskitalo misses russian Sámi youth t AWG]. Retrieved from: <https://www.nrk.no/sapmi/keskitalo-savner-russisk-sameungdom-i-awg-1.12842204>.
- Olsen, T. A. and Andreassen, B.-O. (2018). 'Urfolk' og 'mangfold' i skolens læreplaner ['Indigenous peoples' and 'diversity' in school's curriculum]. *FLEKS – Scandinavian Journal of Intercultural Theory and Practice*, 5(1), 1–17.
- Seippel, Ø. & Skille, E. Å. (2015). Sport clubs in Norway. In C. Breuer, R. Hoekman, S. Nagel and H. van der Werff, H. (Eds.): *Sport clubs in Europe. A cross-national comparative perspective* (pp. 309–324). Springer verlag.
- Seippel, Ø. and Skille, E. Å. (2019). Sports participation in Norway. In K. Green, T. Sigurjonsson and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Sport in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries* (pp. 108–135). Routledge.
- Skille, E. Å. (2008). Understanding sport clubs as sport policy implementers: A theoretical framework for the analysis of the implementation of central sport policy through local and voluntary sport organizations. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 43(2), 181–200.
- Skille, E. Å. (2010). *Idrettslaget – helseprodusent eller trivselsarena?* [The sports club – health producer or arena for well-bing?] Oplanske bokforlag.
- Skille, E. Å. (2011). The conventions of sport clubs: Enabling and constraining the implementation of social goods through sport. *Sport, Education and Society*, 16(2), 241–253.
- Skille, E. Å. (2019). The Nordic model and multiculturalism: The case of Sámi sport. *Sport in Society*, 22(4), 589–605.
- Skille, E. Å. and Stenling, C. (2018). Inside-out and outside-in: Applying the concept of conventions in the analysis of policy implementation through sport clubs. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 53(7), 837–853.
- The Royal House of Norway (1997). *Sametinget 1997: Åpningstale*. Retrieved from: <https://www.kongehuset.no/tale.html?tid=171065&sek=26947&scope=0>.

States, Nations, and Indigenous Sport

Chapters 4 and 5 showed how representatives of sport clubs of a specific Indigenous people viewed their purpose and operations, experienced their relationship with the Indigenous sport organization, and linked their activities to local and national identity – all within the borders of one country. This chapter will expand on that topic by including Sámi sport in other countries of Sápmi and comparing Sámi sport with Indigenous sport in other places around the globe. As underscored in Chapter 1, a nation does not necessarily equal a state although nation states have specific policies related to sport and simultaneously hold constitutional provisions and policies which relate to their Indigenous peoples. Research into sport policy has demonstrated a degree of homogenization regarding the policy rationales and structures (e.g. Green & Houlihan, 2005; Nichilson et al., 2010), suggesting similarities in organizational forms and practices that cut across contexts, histories, and cultures. While Indigenous sport is largely insulated from the demands of global competitive sport and its associated organizations, the previous chapters have also shown otherwise; Indigenous sport is an inherent part of overarching political and societal structures and processes.

More specifically, while the narrative of Indigenous sport and nation-building above is based upon various Indigenous contexts within one unitary state, the narrative here moves beyond the Norwegian side of Sápmi. I, thus, compare state sport policy for Indigenous sport in Sweden and Norway and discuss a reorganization of Sámi sport proposed by the Sámi Parliament in Norway, including reactions to it in Norway and Finland. With a note on Russia, which does not have a Sámi sport organization, I further explain how Indigenous sport and nation-building depend on the unitary states. Finally, I compare this case with sport policy and sport organization for Indigenous peoples in other places in the world. The rationale behind this approach is that Indigenous sport policies evolve from and operate alongside existing sport agencies and structures; thus, there is some cause to look for patterns of similarity and difference across countries. Indigenous peoples across the world live under postcolonial conditions. Consequently, whatever state authorities do with regard Indigenous peoples today, colonial histories and legacies have continuing implications. Some concrete legacies with implications for Indigenous nation-building are the political and organizational

structures. Thus, I discuss similarities and variations regarding Indigenous sport and its relationships with mainstream sport systems (and nation states).

Sámi Sport in Different Countries

The Nordic countries are social democratic welfare states that may appear relatively similar when seen from the outside (Esping-Andersen, 1990, 2002). Compared to many other corners of the world, that is also probably true. For example, provisions of sport activities are influenced by two overarching dimensions. For one thing, sport is a voluntary sector phenomenon (Green et al., 2019), which connotes an ideology and requires an organization at arm's length from public authorities. For another, sport does, indeed, have a relationship with its respective nation state (e.g. economic subsidies). Both features imply variations for Indigenous sport across unitary states, which further suggests that some states may take the lead in specific policy projects. Indeed, the possibility for Indigenous sport organizations to function appropriately depends on the authorities in each nation state; nation states' dealings with Indigenous issues more generally influence Indigenous sport. Furthermore, because Indigenous sport crosses state borders, participants meet from different mainstream sport cultures.

Let me begin, again, with some examples from grassroots sport clubs. The Norwegian sport organization's (NIF) regulations for children's sport – which prohibit rankings of athletes under the age of 12 – is solely a Norwegian phenomenon (Elisassen, 2015; Skirstad, 2011; Skirstad et al., 2012), and this does not apply in Sámi competitions crossing state borders. One sport club official shared:

In Finland, they have completely different rules than we do. In Sweden, they have completely different rules. So, Sámi sport is a compromise between people from Norway, Sweden and Finland. In Finland, they rank athletes from the age of six. You can become a Sámi champion from age 10, [but] you cannot in the Norwegian sport organization.

(Sport club representative A2)

Thus, Sámi athletes compete under different regimes and 'develop awareness for the different rules' from a young age (Sport club representative A2). The sport club official elaborated: 'We talk with [the youth] about Finland and Sweden having other rules'. For example, the Norwegian rule prohibiting mass starts for athletes younger than 12 years old (to avoid someone finishing last) is probably unique. A sport club official from the Norwegian side exemplified this disjuncture with an experience from an event on the Finnish side. Just before the competition started, she

received this message that it is a mass start for everyone aged 12 years and under. It felt wrong. I told a Swede that in Norway this would be prohibited. He did not understand and believed that was weird. The children just laughed;

they had learned that in Norway a mass start is not allowed. They did not care much. My athletes did not care. They are just aware of a difference.

(Sport club representative A2)

Whether the youth athletes truly did not care is out of the scope to judge here, the point is that the sport club's affiliation with the Indigenous sport organization leads to experiences of at least three different cultures: the culture of the home country, the culture of the host country, and a Sámi culture across borders. Sápmi crosses four unitary states, each of which has a sport system dominated by others outside the Indigenous sport organization (Green et al., 2019), and each of them has a state policy for Indigenous people (Berg-Nordlie, 2015). Thus, 'It is a challenge that the Sámi people is divided in four nation states. ... When I think of the Sámi sport organization, I get a strong feeling of many conflicts. It is difficult, due to the state borders' (Sport club representative C5). These reflections from the grassroots set the scene for the following two subsections: next, state policy for Indigenous sport in Sweden and Norway is compared, and then a reorganization of the all-Sámi (Nordic level) sport organization is scrutinized across Finland and Norway.

State Policy for Indigenous Sport in Sweden and Norway

The Nordic countries' focus on equality and equity, including the distribution of resources and possibilities regarding sport participation (Green et al., 2019; Giulianotti, 2019), has implications for sport policy for Indigenous people. Thus, exploring state policies for sport in Sweden and Norway, hereunder the facilities and possibilities for Sámi sport, gains some interesting insights. In short, institutionalized understandings of what sport is define the space for other organizational forms than the mainstream – the Swedish Sport Confederation (RF) and NIF, respectively (Fahlén & Stenling, 2016; Skille & Säfvenbom, 2011). RF and NIF are mainstream sport organizations with close to monopoly when it comes to state subsidies (Bergsgard & Norberg, 2010). There are, nevertheless, differences between Sweden and Norway; the corporatism between mainstream sport and the state is even stronger in Sweden than in Norway: that is because RF has a formal role in administrating state subsidies to sport and thus functions as a government agency (Fahlén & Stenling, 2016). These differences in the relationship between state authorities and mainstream sport organizations (Green et al., 2019) impact Indigenous sport (Fahlén & Skille, 2016, 2017; Skille et al., 2021a; for international examples, see Elder et al. 2006; Hokowhitu & Scherer, 2008; Ridoux, 2006).

Although the situation in Sweden is that of a monopolistic sport organization with delegated state power in sport policy – specifically regarding economic subsidies to sport – there are minor indicators of potential change. Looking into how Indigenous sport is treated in state policy, Sámi sport is never mentioned

explicitly in any of the five Swedish white papers on sport (Fahlén & Skille, 2016, 2017). While neglect can be interpreted as the worst form of discrimination, an alternative interpretation is that Sámi sport is included *implicitly* in the latest white paper: ‘organizations outside RF within the current arrangement cannot receive state support for sport’ (Swedish Ministry of Social Affairs, 2008, p. 41). If you are not a member of the mainstream sport organization, you are denied state support. Although change of the current arrangement is indicated in the white paper, an evaluation of the topic concluded with proposing a continuation; it suggests keeping the ‘principle that sport organizations federated in RF or their member organizations exclusively are acknowledged for subsidies’ (Swedish Ministry of Culture, 2008, p. 30). While ‘sport’ in principle can cover various definitions, RF maintains the definition rights. In both Sweden and Norway, Sámi sport is defined out of mainstream sport, and it is, therefore, politically and organizationally almost outside all sport (Fahlén & Skille, 2016, 2017). However, there is a difference because – since 2005 – the Norwegian government has subsidized SVL-N (Skille, 2012). Subsequently, I seek to explain the underlying mechanisms for the differences between the countries.

Sport policy must be considered in relation to other policies for the Indigenous people in the respective nation states. These policies regard constitutive rules, governing solutions, and the overarching atmosphere towards Indigenous people in official policy and public opinion. The general state policies for Indigenous peoples seem to be more supportive in Norway than in Sweden. In addition to the lack of any Sámi policy documents mentioning Indigenous sport, structural solutions in the sport field contribute to hindering Indigenous sport in Sweden. When the responsibility for Sámi culture in the state bureaucracy was transferred from the Ministry of Rural Affairs to the Ministry of Culture, Sámi issues went ‘from friend to enemy’. As a ‘friend’, The Ministry of Rural Affairs handles Sámi policy issues (such as reindeer husbandry, land rights, hunting, and fishing). Hence, it is a specialized bureaucratic milieu with acknowledgement of and competence for Sámi challenges and affairs. On the contrary, the Ministry of Culture is where Swedish sport policy is managed – a state bureaucracy with a historical and corporatist relationship with mainstream sport. Representatives from the Ministry of Culture in Sweden indicate – at best seen from a Sámi sport perspective – an ambivalence regarding Indigenous sport. According to an official of the Swedish Ministry of Culture: ‘We welcome a Sámi sport federation that protects Sámi solidarity and their cultural expressions’, but ‘the state should not interfere with who organizes whom and how’ (cited in Fahlén & Skille, 2017, p. 181).

While the Swedish state permits RF to define what sport is and decide who earns the rights for state subsidies, it leaves it open for the Sámi Parliament to have the responsibility for supporting Sámi sport. However, the Sámi Parliament in Sweden focuses on the ‘non-sport’ elements of Sámi sport. An official document from the Sámi Parliament in Sweden holds that whilst SVL-S falls outside the system for support to sport in Sweden, ‘it is important to create a specific support structure to promote and develop activities on a participant as well

as on an organizational level' (Sámi parliament-S, 2009, p. 2). Representatives of the Sámi Parliament in Sweden view the system for subsidizing sport as 'directly at odds with the idea of protecting the Sámi cause' (cited in Fahlén & Skille, 2017, p. 181). In short, the required division of labour to facilitate Indigenous sport does not exist between the Sámi Parliament and (other) state institutions in Sweden. Consequently, nobody seems to be responsible for Indigenous sport in Sweden.

Significant differences are observed when compared with Norway. The white paper on Sámi policy (Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2007–2008) includes Sámi sport, and the white paper on sport (Ministry of Culture, 2011–2012) includes Sámi sport. Fahlén and I identified differences between Sweden and Norway regarding the perception of responsibility for Indigenous sport (Fahlén & Skille, 2016, 2017). In Norway, there was a positive attitude in the Department of Sámi and Minority Issues in the Ministry of Local Government. State officials expressed a belief that Sámi sport contributes to strengthening the Indigenous identity for participants and provides an arena for developing a belonging to two cultures. A Sámi Parliament official shared: 'Sámi sport, as I see it, it is not only sport itself. It is much more than that. It is contributing to supporting the creation of identity for young Sámi who choose to participate' (cited in Fahlén & Skille, 2017, p. 182). Thus, a difference between Sweden and Norway is that politicians and bureaucrats in Sámi policy promote and protect the mainstream sport system in Sweden, while their colleagues in Norway provide and support a dual organizational arrangement – with a mainstream sport organization *and* an Indigenous sport organization alongside each other.

The two countries' differences must be analyzed by considering the state authorities and the Sámi parliaments together.¹ Regarding sport, the NIF has on at least one occasion invited the Sámi Parliament to give input on the NIF's policy document (Fahlén & Skille, 2017). Similar relationships or arrangements do not exist in either Sweden or Finland (Fahlén & Ferry, 2019; Koski et al., 2019). However, the invitation can be interpreted in various directions: NIF aims to adapt to and include the Indigenous people versus NIF aims to mainstream and assimilate the Indigenous people into its system to keep its monopoly. The interpretations are not mutually exclusive; however, given the historical relationship between the mainstream sport organization and the state, NIF's efforts to co-opt Sámi interests can be seen as an act of legitimation (Skille et al., 2021a). That NIF legitimates its role as the universalistic sport organization has fit into the social democratic welfare state by taking on board peculiarities and opponents.

In Chapter 7, I will elaborate on how Indigenous sport fall between policy fields based on organizational and societal expectations, summarized in the concept of convention. The point here is that the nation states' policies towards Indigenous sport must be seen in light of the nation states' other or general policies. In that respect, the process leading to SVL-N receiving subsidies from the state's gambling revenues (via the sport policy field) was influenced by another policy field and an overarching political climate; namely, that state policy for the Indigenous

sport partly based on Norway's ratification of the ILO convention on tribal and Indigenous peoples, which commits Norway to promote Sámi tradition and culture (Fahlén & Skille, 2017; Josefsen et al., 2015; Selle et al., 2015). Moreover, sport policies in the Nordic countries are undergoing change, which influences policies towards Indigenous sport. Stemming from neo-liberal winds blowing through the sport policy field in Norway (Broch & Skille, 2019), existing institutional arrangements, such as the monopolistic standings of mainstream sport organizations, are challenged. Thus, sport policy for Indigenous people is not a separate domain; studying Indigenous sport requires an analysis of sport policy combined with general policy for Indigenous people. These issues vary across countries, leading to the possibility of reforms and a reorganization of Sámi sport.

Reorganization of Sámi Sport in Finland and Norway: Crossing Borders and Sectors

The above indicates that Sámi sport and Sámi politics, more generally, have more amenable conditions in Norway than in Sweden, an arrangement that influences the relationship between Sámi across borders. In this section, we will see how the relatively better conditions for Sámi in Norway create a 'big brother' attitude in relation to their peers in Finland – at least that is how it is seen from Finland. I discuss the relationship between Sámi sport in Finland and Norway via an empirical case of a reorganization process of Sámi sport (Skille et al., 2021b).

In 2015, the Sámi Parliament in Norway initiated a reorganization of Sámi sport across Norway, Sweden, and Finland (Sámi parliament-N, 2015). To understand the background for the initiative, let me take one step back. In 2007, a faction of SVL-N's reindeer racing milieu quit and established a separate reindeer racing organization (*Sámi Heargevuodjinlihttu*, SHL) outside and independent from SVL-N. SHL aimed at a united Sápmi profile across state borders and had members from Norway, Finland, and Sweden. Its main motive was to enable the possibility to crown a Sámi champion (in contrast to the Norway-based SVL-N). However, racers, politicians, and bureaucrats considered two organizations as too many for such a small sport, especially when they were purposefully mutually exclusive. One story goes that an athlete 'had to pay membership in SHL to start in the World Cup. After his reindeer crossed the finish line, [he] terminated his membership. "I did it like this to keep my reindeer in the tournament organized by SVL competitions". However, 'Although [he] was a member of SHL for only half an hour, the rules were clear: He had been member of two associations in one season and had been awarded by the SHL. As a result, he could not be awarded in the SVL tournament' (*Newspaper X*, March 2013).

As this dual arrangement was destroying the sport discipline and undermining Indigenous sport more generally, change was desired. A politician in the Sámi Parliament in Norway explained the need for organizational amendments as 'mainly due to conflicts within the reindeer racing milieu. It was very unfortunate that within a small milieu there was much quarrelling about event schedules and

participation and all that stuff' (cited in Skille et al., 2021a, p. 9). Hence, the dual organization was perceived as disadvantageous in political, administrative, and economic terms. In that respect, the Sámi Parliament council (equalling a government) in Norway reported concerns about Sámi sport to its Sámi Parliament plenum. Some Sámi Parliament politicians felt partly responsible for the situation: 'for one reason or another, the Sámi Parliament had messed up (and involved itself in it) by being main financier for both competitive organizations' (cited in Skille et al., 2021b, p. 9).

The council suggested a reorganization of Sámi sport, not only regarding reindeer racing and in Norway. A proposal for an organizational reform was launched covering all of Sámi sport in all affected countries, with impacts on each fragment of the Sámi sport organizations in each unitary state (SVL-N, SVL-S, SVL-F). Arguing for sport development and aiming at strengthening Sámi sport, the Sámi Parliament's council in Norway reported their concerns regarding a fragmented organization of such a small milieu. 'According to the council's opinion, this is not beneficial, and the council observes that this organization has not been the best for the development' (Sámi parliament N, 2015, p. 5). As indicated, the report included administrative and economic arguments for a reorganization; hereunder, there were concerns regarding 'the role of the Sámi Parliament' because that was considered as 'less beneficial' by some representatives themselves. In the report, this is elaborated:

The council is of the opinion that the sport' own organizations should have a more active role in the distribution of the economic tools made available for Sámi sport. According to the Sámi Parliament council's judgement, it would be beneficial with a model where the Sámi Parliament and *one umbrella organization* for Sámi sport through annual negotiations reach an overall agreement in which content and economic recourses are specified.

(Sámi parliament N, 2015, p. 6; italics added)

In other words, since Sámi sport faced coordination challenges with member clubs and participants in three different countries,² the Sámi Parliament in Norway proposed an 'all-Sámi' model for the new organization to achieve a more coherent and united Indigenous sport organization across state borders. The idea was to change the model from country-based organizations (SVL-N, SVL-S, and SVL-F, respectively) to discipline-based federations cutting across all countries: (i) reindeer racing, (ii) football, and (iii) lassoing including skiing and running.

Albeit aiming at a Sápmi united organization, the proposal was not a result of collaboration across Sápmi but a one-sided initiative from the Sámi Parliament in Norway. The Sámi Parliament in Norway even offered to pay for the administration of the new organization, in addition to pay for sport participants from Sweden and Finland when representing Sámi sport at international events because it was perceived as more convenient than negotiating and making agreements with their colleagues in other countries. Not surprisingly, the initiative generated

reactions among various actors. There were reactions in the voluntary sector for being steered by a public sector organization, and there were reactions in other countries.

In SVL-N, members were divided into a pattern of three responses. On one end of the spectrum, some representatives supported the proposal relatively unconditionally. On the other end, some representatives resisted the reorganization proposal and felt the existing organization should be continued. In the middle were the board members and sport club representatives of SVL-N,³ who held an undecided attitude to the initiative of an organization reform. In principle, they were in favour of a reorganization, which – for many – was long-awaited and desired due to a general hope and wish for a more united Sápmi. However, this group was sceptical about the tight schedule of the process and reluctant to the process as such, particularly concerning how and by whom the reform would be initiated and how peers in other countries would experience it. More specifically, the reluctant group did not like what they perceived as a top-down process in which the governmental Sámi Parliament in Norway was overriding actors in a voluntary system. Closely connected to that, they missed the anchoring of this process in the grassroots sport clubs and, in principle, held that any change of an umbrella sport organization would need a proposal from the grassroots at the organization's general assembly before proper negotiations, voting, and decision. Therefore, the first general assembly treating the reorganization decided to postpone the process to involve grassroots sport interests. The minutes from the meeting in 2018 read: 'SVL-N's general assembly has decided to postpone this case, to make it possible for member clubs to participate in the next consultation process' (cited in Skille et al., 2021b, p. 11).

Regarding the relationship to the Sámi sport organizations in the other countries, the SVL-N board at the general assembly in 2018 underscored that it already, together with SVL-F and SVL-S, formed a Nordic sport organization: SVL. Consequently, the minutes from the meeting held that the reorganization 'is also a Nordic cooperation, and then SVL is the right organization to handle this' (cited in Skille et al., 2021b, p. 11). Against this background, with Norwegian reactions about the all-Sámi nature of Sámi sport, let me turn to Finland and investigate how representatives of Sámi sport on that side perceived the reorganization if registered at all. Although the Finnish state plays a coordinating and more active part in sport compared to Norway and Sweden (Lehtonen, 2017; Lehtonen & Mäkinen, 2020), voluntary grassroots sport clubs are – as in the other Nordic countries (Green et al., 2019) – the fundament for the conductance of sport. Thus, in Finland too, there is a mixed model including the state and the voluntary movement (Henry, 2009; Lehtonen & Mäkinen, 2020). As in Norway and Sweden, Finland has a monopolistic umbrella sport organization representing mainstream sport (Koski et al., 2019). Thus, the Sámi sport organization in Finland, SVL-F, receives no subsidies from the state because – just as in Sweden – Sámi sport was viewed as a cultural affair and hence outside the scope for those dealing with sport policy. In other words, the same lack of interest in,

contribution to, or legitimation of, Sámi sport revealed in Norwegian sport policy (Skille et al., 2021b) seems even stronger in Sweden and Finland.

Several actors on the Finnish side considered the reorganization proposal a top-down process with the self-claimed big brother in Norway at the steering wheel. For example, the Sport Unit in the Ministry of Education and Culture in the Finnish government had heard nothing about the process and referred to the Sámi Parliament and the local authorities in Sápmi for affairs regarding Sámi sport. In that respect, Finnish politicians and bureaucrats share with many of their counterparts in Sweden and Norway (Fahlén & Skille, 2016, 2017; Skille et al., 2021b) a lack of competence and interest in Sámi sport. Officials of the Sámi Parliament in Finland knew of the organizational reform of Sámi sport and shared the vision of an all-Sámi organization across state borders. A bureaucrat at the Sámi Parliament in Finland generally encouraged ‘more Nordic cooperation between Finland, Sweden, and Norway’ (cited in Skille et al., 2021b, p. 12). However, the big brother conducts on the Norwegian side – as experienced on the Finnish side – and was, indeed, viewed as a challenge for increased cooperation: A bureaucrat at the Sámi Parliament in Finland claimed that ‘there are huge cultural differences’ between the countries. Regarding colleagues in Norway, she continues: ‘The Sámi in Norway are not the easiest ones; their mentality is that “money talks”’. Referring to the Norwegian side, she held: ‘Things are easier for them because of the money’ (cited in Skille et al., 2021b, p. 12).

The analysis of the reorganization revealed how organizations federated in an umbrella organization crossing borders are impacted by the culture and structure of each of the unitary states.⁴ It shows how nation states’ distinct cultures and structures include how nation states deal with colonialism and postcolonialism differently. Moreover, the analysis revealed that individuals of the same Indigenous people – on different sides of state borders – are played up against each other, creating emotional reactions against their peers on other sides. Although some general support for a reorganization of Sámi sport is found in the Sámi Parliament in Finland, it quickly turns into an economic explanation of Norwegians – or Sámis in Norway. The lack of common ground and suspicion created across borders indicates cultural differences within Sápmi (Skille et al., 2021a, 2021b).

Explaining the Non-Participation of Russian Sámis in Indigenous Sport

The critical reader has probably observed – and may have been annoyed by – the repeated neglect of Russia during the presentations of Sámi sport and the Sámi people. With this section, I hope to nuance that impression. There is a Barents cooperation of sport,⁵ which in practical terms, works only occasionally and is something else than Sámi sport. The Barents cooperation of sport refers to meetings among the mainstream sport organizations in the involved countries; hereunder state administered sport in Russia and the Finnmark branch of NIF. Although the inter-personal experiences and local significance of such events shall not be

underestimated, it is not Indigenous sport. Rather, it is an international sport, taking place in the Barents region and, therefore, in Sápmi. When it comes to formal policies related to Sámis, the absence of Russia in Norwegian Sámi policy documents is striking. While Finland is mentioned seven times and Sweden is mentioned 13 times in a recent Norwegian white paper into Sámi policy, Russia is not mentioned at all (Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2018–2019). There exists, however, a coordinating organ: the Sámi Parliamentary Council, with members from the three Sámi parliaments plus representatives of Russian Sámi organizations (see Sámi parliament-N, n.d.; Sámi parliament-S, n.d.; Sámi parliament-F, n.d.).⁶

When it comes to Indigenous sport and nation-building, Russia is not part of the reorganization of Sámi sport simply because there exists no branch of the Sámi sport organization as there is in Norway, Sweden, and Finland. Moreover, information from representatives of Sámi sport clubs on the Norwegian side of Sápmi indicates and partly explicates that they consider Sámi sport in Russia a ‘lost case’. A board member of a Sámi sport club in Norway shared:

I wish they could take part, but it is almost impossible for them. ... They are so bad off that it is sad. It is difficult for us in Norway, Sweden and Finland to assist because it is not allowed. It is very sad. And when Norway and Sweden struggle to cooperate, we cannot expect to cooperate with Russia.

(Sport club representative C5)

It seems as if Sámis in voluntary sport clubs (in Norway and elsewhere) have enough with their own struggles of running voluntary sport for their local populations; they have recognized that spending effort on making changes in Russia is out of the scope of their own operations. It is most challenging to include the Russian Sámis as they seem to be worse off not only regarding sport but in general (Berg-Nordlie, 2015). It seems fair to say that the situation in Russia is different from that in the Nordic countries in several respects and that these general circumstances influence (the non-existence of) Sámi sport in Russia. Let me list some simple facts to pave the way for a short analysis of Sámi sport (based on Myklebost & Niemi, 2015). Geographically, Russia is huge – the largest in the world, actually; bordering with Norway and Finland in the west and the Pacific Ocean in the east, it is approximately 50 times the size of Norway. Demographically, Russia is also massive, and not least varied; the total population is over 140 million, which is close to 30 times the equivalent for Norway. There are estimated 37 Indigenous peoples or ethnic groups in addition to Russians. In the northwestern arctic region of Russia alone, where the Sámis live, there are at least four other Indigenous peoples in addition to Russians (Nenets, Khanty, Evenk, and Chukchi). Due to this complexity combined with an overarching assimilative federal policy, being one small Indigenous people is challenging. Even Sámi politicians on the Russian side doubt the value of a potential Sámi parliament in Russia due to the size and complexity of the country (Myklebost & Niemi, 2015).

Therefore, most probably, a paternal, 'big-brotherhood', such as the one enacted by the Sámi Parliament in Norway regarding reorganization and subsidizing of Sámi sport, would fall on rocky ground in Russia; recently (the last 15 years), 'a series of legislative measures' have – among other barriers – 'placed restrictions on foreign funding and influence on NGO activities' in this country (Sørly et al., 2021, p. 315). In sum, the various approaches to Sámi policy, both among Sámis and the respective nation states' politicians (on various levels: state, county, and municipality), facilitate different opportunities for the Sámi people within each nation state (Berg-Nordlie, 2015) and for the possibility to build a Sámi nation across the nation states and, thus, create an overarching, united, and uniting Sápmi. This counts for sport, and for other things. Having said that, perhaps the universal ideology of a state-driven sport system can be interpreted as a contribution to the nation-building of Russia. In that respect, most visible in the international literature thus far is efforts of nation-building 'against' Russia. As we saw in Chapter 2, the Russian state – with international support – overruled the Circassians (an Indigenous people of the North Caucasus including the land of which Sochi is located) protesting the Olympic Games in Sochi (Bhimani, 2016). We also saw in Chapter 2 how new nation states – that are former Soviet states – quickly applied sport to contribute to the building of their independent nations by selecting and cultivating specific wrestling styles (Petrov, 2014). In sum, a generally less privileged situation for Indigenous peoples in Russia, which includes impacts on Sámis in Russia, leaves small opportunities for Sámi sport there.

Indigenous Peoples around the World

While it is not my intention (nor capability) to provide an exhaustive overview of Indigenous sport in the world, I believe some examples from outside Sápmi can shed new light on my empirical case – and vice versa. Therefore, in comparison with others, Scandinavian nation states' approach to Indigenous sport can be seen as neo-traditionalist (Skille, 2019), referring to 'an ideology that reserves Indigenous culture ... for Indigenous peoples' (Albury, 2015, p. 319). The neo-liberalist approach leaves 'the right and responsibility for maintaining cultural values and practices ... to those who share a genetic link to the traditional group' (Rata, 2007, p. 80). In other words, Sámi sport is only a concern for the Sámi people (and not the rest of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia, respectively). On the contrary, biculturalism refers to when 'Indigenous ... culture may be shared and accessed outside the ethnically Indigenous group' (Albury, 2015, p. 319) and culture is seen 'as created as people live together in a society, making their history, language, and customs as they go' (Rata, 2007, p. 80). Albury identified the New Zealand state's approach to Indigenous and mainstream cultures as bicultural. Based on this analytical definition, in the next section, I mainly compare Sámi with Māori along dimensions of sport policy and organization and explain the sport policy and organization with general policy for the Indigenous peoples; later, I cast an eye also on Canada.

Māori in New Zealand

Regarding contexts, some similarities and differences should be pinpointed between Māori and Sámi. While Sámi is an Indigenous people crossing four nation states, Māori is an Indigenous people within the borders of New Zealand. While predecessors of the Sámis and the Norwegians have lived together on the land, which today is Norway, for thousands of years, Māori arrived in New Zealand as the first people in the 14th century and were later colonized by Europeans (Anderson et al., 2014). The Sámi people comprises (maximum) 1%–2% of the population in Norway (Samson & Gigoux, 2017, p. 3) and is scattered with some core Sámi areas in the north inland; the Māori make up approximately 17% of the population and populate all New Zealand (Samson & Gigoux, 2017, p. 3), with lower density in the inland of the South Island and higher density in some coastal areas, especially of the North Island.⁷ Both countries have one dominant ethnic group and culture, Norwegian and Pakeha (white New Zealander of European descent), respectively; but different systems of Indigenous peoples' influence on state policy. In New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi (first signed in 1840 between Māori chiefs and representatives of the British Crown, regulating the relationship between the Māori people and the state to this day), securing everything being made, of any kind of policy, must consider a Māori perspective about the policy's consequence on Māori culture (New Zealand legislation, n.d.). In Norway, there is the Sámi Act of 1987,⁸ a formulation in the constitution, and a ratification of the international ILO convention on tribal and Indigenous peoples, which all bind the state of Norway to secure the development of Sámi culture. Nevertheless, these legal similarities have found different trajectories and practical solutions; hence, sport policy towards Indigenous sport organizations must be understood in the context of the countries' various postcolonial situations.

Regarding participation patterns, Sámi and Māori both participate in mainstream sport in their respective countries. Although we do not identify ethnicity in the Norwegian census, studies show that youth in areas with a high density of Sámi speaking families are as active and as often members of mainstream sport as their Norwegian peers (Rafoss & Hines, 2016). Among the youth in New Zealand, Māori participate less than Pakeha, but both Māori and Pakeha score high on regular sport participation (Sport New Zealand, 2018). Relatively similar across the Nordic countries and New Zealand (and others; Canada, Australia), Indigenous peoples participate in mainstream sport and excel in elite sport through the mainstream systems (although the systems vary; Green & Houlihan, 2005). Thus, Māori and Sámi, indeed, participate in sport organizations open for all (New Zealand: school sport and club sport, Norway: only extra curriculum). Simultaneously, both Indigenous peoples have separate and exclusive Indigenous sport organizations, such as the SVL-N, Aotearoa Māori Tennis Association, and the NZ Māori Golf Association (Anderson et al., 2014). In that respect, I do not search for explanations for any 'gap' regarding participation. Instead, I seek to understand the policy and organization of Indigenous sport *per se*.

In a seldom research contribution comparing sport policies in New Zealand and Norway, Sam and Ronglan (2016) mentioned Indigenous sport for New Zealand but not for Norway. The neglect of Sámi sport is common practice among Norwegian sport policy researchers (Seippel & Skille, 2019; Skille et al., 2021a). Thus, apparently established patterns in general sport policies (between countries) also indicate different policy patterns for Indigenous sport. The nation states have had different regimes during colonization, different understandings of democracy, and have chosen various pathways to Indigenous representation. In contrast to Norway, which reinforces the autonomy of Indigenous sport, New Zealand has an integrated approach (denominated bicultural according to Albury, 2015). Despite different trajectories and current approaches, both countries claim to do it their way to preserve their respective cultures and Indigenous peoples' self-determination. There seems to be a more targeted policy for the Māori in New Zealand compared to Sámi in the Nordic countries. In New Zealand, a new legislation in 2002 resulted in the establishment of Sport and Recreation NZ (SPARC⁹). Its functions were broad and included the development of policies for physical recreation and sport, hereunder the agency's mandate 'to promote and support the development and implementation of physical recreation and sport in a way that is culturally appropriate to Māori' (SPARC, 2011, p. 43). After observing that the rates of physical activity were declining among some population groups including Māori (SPARC, 2003, p. 10), the key focus was to improve – for Māori – the 'participation rates to match the norm for the New Zealand population' (SPARC, 2003, p. 8). Such policy is hard to imagine in Norway and can be linked to general political representation; thus, it becomes a responsibility for the nation state's governing bodies.

In New Zealand, Māori representation in parliament is partly secured by a special category of electorates. To vote in these Māori electorates, there is a specific voter roll in which one has to declare ancestry (unlike Norway). According to Wilson (2009), New Zealand is one out of less than ten countries with a system securing Indigenous representation in parliament (the Sámi Parliament model is included in Wilson's study). In New Zealand, a voter must choose enrolment on the Māori electoral roll or the general electoral roll before an election (New Zealand Government, 2021; Wilson, 2009); while in Norway, a person enrolled in the Sámi policy system can vote in both the Norwegian Parliament election and the Sámi Parliament election. Māori culture is prominent in New Zealand, and Māori artefacts represent not only the 'Māori nation' (as something different from the 'Pakeha nation', which together are fundamentals for the nation state of New Zealand), but also a united New Zealand nation. The most visible and important element of spreading the Māori culture to all New Zealand inhabitants and future power persons is probably its standing in the educational system and the national curriculum on all levels. But also, the link with sport is evident. According to a recent report: 'Māori cultural elements such as the "haka" and the inclusion of the Māori version of the national anthem "E Ihowā Atua" were cited as increasing awareness of and adding value to sport and recreation in

New Zealand' (KTV Consulting, 2017, p. 16). Everybody must learn about both the peoples and cultures of which the nation state is built. There is a bicultural approach in which the integration of Māori in the nation state's identity profile and the equality between Māori and Pakeha cultures are held as relevant and important for both Māori and Pakeha.

Most prominent, in sport terms, is when the All Blacks – the New Zealand national team in rugby – performs the haka (a traditional and ceremonial Māori dance). In this context, the haka symbolizes a united country with integrated and important elements from the Indigenous people. While it 'is rugby's mythical and popularized role in defining New Zealand identity and in uniting Māori and Pakeha that explains the significance of the haka' (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002, p. 127),¹⁰ there are no similar examples of Sámi ritual in Norway. It would be hard to imagine that any form of Sámi art, say a song, dance, or an imagined action with reindeer as the most spectacular possibility, could symbolize the country of Norway. Reindeer symbolizes the Sámi culture, the Sámi people, and the Sámi nation; it is an exotic element and acknowledged aspect of the Indigenous people of Norway, but not as a unified Norwegian nation. To specify with an empirical example, when reindeer racing is staged on the main street of a city (Skille, 2013) or at Olympic Games (in Lillehammer in 1994) or youth Olympic Games (in Lillehammer in 2016), it is to exhibit something Sámi for the others (including Norwegians). However, the Sámi element of the Olympics was not an integrated part of the program but showcased as an exhibition at the opening ceremony or the like.

A complementary example of biculturalism in sport organization terms is the combination of the All Blacks and Māori All Blacks (Mulholland, 2009; Scherer & Jackson, 2008, 2013). While the All Blacks refers to the New Zealand national rugby team, representing everyone and recruiting the best New Zealanders to play and represent New Zealand regardless of ethnicity, the Māori All Blacks is an Indigenous team that competes against other national teams (but not in the World Cup, as only one national team can be registered at World Rugby, rugby union's international governing body). While Māori All Blacks and All Blacks are two teams both representing the same national sport governing body, it contradicts FA Sápmi, which is an organization independent of the Norwegian football association and, of course, independent from the Finnish or Swedish football associations; in turn, FA Sápmi is member of the Indigenous sport organization SVL, while the Norwegian football association is a member of the mainstream NIF (and of UEFA and FIFA, the European and international football organizations, respectively).

Contrary to the New Zealand approach to Māori sport (Palmer, 2006a, 2006b, 2007), the Norwegian state's first rejection of the applications to economically support Sámi sport can be interpreted as a sign of continuous colonization as long as it indirectly supports the monopolistic standing of Norwegian sport through the NIF's corporatist relationship with the state (Skille, 2012). The invisibility of SVL-N in the Norwegian state's sport policy can be explained by NIF's input legitimacy, where tradition (i.e. the corporatist relationship between the Norwegian state and the Norwegian sport organization) has priority before measures

of whether the defined policy goals are achieved. Sam and Ronglan (2016) list self-organized training and commercial fitness centres as potential threats to the input legitimacy of NIF in relation to the state (not other sport organizations) and hold that the sport sector has kept clear of the new public management introduced in other societal sectors. In this regard, the state subsidies to Sámi sport is about ethnicity and not sport; it 'is based on the constitution's § 110a (the Sámi Act) which regulates the state's responsibility to facilitate, preserve and develop Sámi language, culture and society' (Ministry of Culture, 2011–2012, part 11.5; for criticism, see also Broch and Skille, 2019).

Canada and Indigenous Sport

It should be remembered that Indigenous people participate in mainstream sport systems, including elite sport (remember the skiers Krogh and Klemetsen as members of Norwegian national teams and Māori players in the All Blacks), as is also the case in Australia. Jarvie – with reference to Hargreaves (2000) – emphasized how Australian Aboriginal women 'are part of two worlds of sport and two forms of nation-building' (Jarvie, 2003, p. 542). However, Norway – and even more, the other relevant Nordic countries – define sport policy and Indigenous policy as distinctive fields (Fahlén & Skille, 2016, 2017; Skille & Fahlén, 2020; Skille et al., 2021a). Several elements serve to complicate the case. Norway is often seen as the 'model citizen' internationally when it comes to peace making, aid and development programs, and policy for Indigenous peoples. Norway, as a state, has a generally good recognition for the Indigenous history and colonial legacy of the Sámi people and aims to pay back for the mistakes committed (Coates, 2004; Dahl, 2012; de Carvalho & Neumann, 2015; Kuokkanen, 2019). However, with the Norwegian and Nordic ideology of universalism, including free health services and free education for *all* (Olstad, 2017), also applying to sport (Goksøyr, 2011; Olstad, 1987; Tønnessen, 1986), the flipside of this coin (of universal ideology) is that there is little room for special treatment of specific groups. Consequently, the Norwegian state's model for Indigenous sport is to outsource the management – and in many respects, therefore, the responsibility – of Indigenous sport to the Sámi Parliament (Skille, 2012; Skille et al., 2021a).

While New Zealand has – per above – a dual or bicultural approach at taking Māori stakes into consideration in all policy issues, including sport, Canada has a slightly different dual approach; there is one overarching sport policy for both mainstream and Indigenous sport. The federal department 'Sport Canada ... is responsible for sport development throughout the country'. Consequently, it

is responsible for overseeing the development of Aboriginal sport in Canada. A key partner in this system – the mainstream, government-run system – is the Aboriginal Sport Circle, a multi-sport organization that serves as the national voice for Aboriginal sport development in Canada.

(Forsyth & Giles, 2013, p. 7)

In that respect, one can consider the mainstream Canadian and the Indigenous sport systems as simultaneously distinctive but intertwined. On one side, Forsyth and Giles (2013, p. 8) 'do not refer to a singular sport system in Canada, but rather to two sport systems, specifically the mainstream Canadian sport system and the Aboriginal (All-native) sport system'. On the other side, the relationship between the systems is double-edged. 'Some view the Canadian and Aboriginal sport systems as working as a double helix: there are places at which the two systems intersect, but there are others where they depart' (Forsyth & Giles, 2013, p. 8). In some more detail:

The anatomy of a double helix consists of parallel strands stabilized by cross-links. The parallel strands represent the mainstream and the Aboriginal sport system, each operating independently of each other. ... Thus, the model served as a discursive element structuring the way people imagined the two sport systems in relation to one another, while at the same time providing an effective way of communicating the existence of an alternative sport system, characterized by specific sites where Aboriginal sport connects to, and remains distinct from, the mainstream model.

(Forsyth & Paraschak, 2013, p. 269)

Two cautions should be mentioned regarding the double helix metaphor. For one thing, it has been beneficial for scholars looking into the Canadian sport policy because there is an overarching state responsibility for sport in Canada; out of that common source come both mainstream sport and Aboriginal sport systems. In that respect, the Canadian situation sheds light on the Sápmi situation through 'negation' because it is hard to imagine something similar (to Canada) in Sápmi; empirically, it is at least rather impossible to identify similar patterns for sport policy regarding Indigenous sport in the Nordic countries. Another cautious note to make regarding the double helix metaphor is that Indigenous people's participation in sport and Indigenous sport are two separate spheres. While participation in sport generally refers to activity and membership in organized sport, it very often practically refers to participation and membership in mainstream sport organizations. This is a specific point in which the double helix metaphor becomes useful, namely, in comparison with Indigenous sport in the Nordic countries. On one side, the helix does not cover the sport policy and organization system very well (as in Canada). However, recollecting some points from Chapters 4 and 5 (i.e. the dual affiliation, including the double administrative burden and participation in two cultures and sport systems reported by representatives of Sámi sport clubs), on the local level of the sport clubs, things seem to function along the double helix principle.

Conclusion

This is the third chapter in a row, aiming to reveal an increased complexity regarding Indigenous sport, with a focus on Sámi sport and, therefore, on sport's

potential contribution to the nation-building of Sápmi. While Chapter 4 showed a relatively homogenous situation in core Sámi areas, Chapter 5 showed more variation when including data from outside core areas. Whilst both Chapters 4 and 5 focused on the Norwegian side of Sápmi, the majority of this chapter has extended the focus by comparing the situation of Sámi sport in Norway with their counterparts in Sweden and Finland. We have seen how institutional arrangements and formal acknowledgement of Indigenous peoples create differences between countries, even though Nordic countries, in many other terms, are considered relatively similar when it comes to inclusion and equity for sport participation (Green et al., 2019; Tin et al., 2019). However, sport participation for Indigenous individuals versus Indigenous sport are different questions, as there is a difference between individual rights and collective acknowledgement (Kuokkanen, 2019, pp. 30–38); the focus here has been on the collective of Indigenous organized sport.

A debate on Indigenous rights revolves ‘around Indigenous-state relations’, and because of ‘the state-centred character of international law, Indigenous rights are always constructed through and in relation to that framework’ (Kuokkanen, 2019, p. 32). In other words, the opportunities for Indigenous sport are framed by the unitary state in which it is located. The power of the Sámi Parliament is limited when it comes to real self-determination although it has increased its power in Norway in recent decades. Nevertheless, I will claim that this chapter is an example of how Sámis in Norway have ‘in the past 20 years been able to increase their participation in decision making pertaining to matters affecting them but this participation has not translated into a greater exercise of Sámi self-determination’ (Kuokkanen, 2019, p. 37). The point is that, compared to the state of Norway, the Sámi political organs have limited power; while in comparison with Sámis in other countries, Sámis in Norway, indeed, stand out as the powerful faction. In sum, the nation states (Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia, as well as, for example, New Zealand and Canada) have political and organizational arrangements that variably enable and constrain Indigenous sport to blossom. Due to such differences, this chapter indicates that Sápmi, as a nation across four countries and as a united sport organization, is far from being realized.

Having said that, Sámis are integrated and appear satisfied with this arrangement. One point is that citizens of Norway may have a different Indigenous identity, and per the definition of a nation provided in Chapter 1, they may belong to one state and two nations. Sámis belong to two nations and live one full life with two (not parallel but rather) integrated worlds. Just as each Sámi Parliament ‘is a complement to the political system of the state and the Sámi can still participate in all other elections’ (Pettersen, 2015, p. 166), Indigenous sport supplement mainstream sport. Just as each Sámi Parliament is situated in a unitary state with specific historical and contextual conditions and the three Sámi parliaments ‘differ with respect to voting requirements, scope of authority, available resources, and organizational structures’ (Pettersen, 2015, p. 166), the Indigenous sport organizations depend on the circumstances in the unitary state.

Notes

- 1 Strictly speaking, the Sámi parliaments are governmental organizations. Nevertheless, they also represent Indigenous self-determination. Therefore, I consider them as separate units in this analysis.
- 2 The coordination challenge is concrete when it comes to participation in the Arctic Winter Games because Sápmi (as a national team) sends one delegation comprised with athletes and delegates from Finland, Sweden, and Norway. 'It has proven difficult for participants from Swedish and Finnish parts of Sápmi to obtain finance for AWG participation. In effect, this means that it is the Norwegian Sámi parliament's contribution to SVL-N which to large extent supports participation in AWG' (Sámi parliament-N, 2015, p. 7).
- 3 Perhaps it is better to say 'among the few sport club representatives engaged in the process' as most interviewees did not know or did not care about the reorganization.
- 4 This is not big news in sport sociology or sport organization research. Just think about how the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) and the National Anti-Doping Organizations (NADOs) to high degrees depend on nation states to function despite the rules and regulations of WADA in principle apply similarly to all NADOs (Hanstad et al., 2010).
- 5 Barents sport is part of the cooperation of the Barents council (Barents Euro-Arctic Cooperation, BEAC), which is an intergovernmental and interregional collaboration with members from Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, and the European Commission (see BEAC, n.d.). It has a Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) with Sámi, Nenets, and Veps (the two latter from Russia only) representatives (see WGIP, n.d.).
- 6 The Sámi Parliamentary council appoints three of the six members of the BEAC's WGIP.
- 7 In addition, Asians represent approximately 15% and Pacific islanders (non-Māori) approximately 9% of the New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2019).
- 8 The full name is 'Act about the Sámi Parliament and other Sámi legal issues' (Lovdata, 1987).
- 9 Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC) was later – in 2012 – changed to Sport New Zealand (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2012).
- 10 This glory image of haka is contested (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Scherer & Jackson, 2008, 2013); or, the exploitation of it by commercial forces. The All Blacks sponsor has stereotypically portrayed the haka as a war dance and thus the Māori people as uncivilized savages (cf. Paraschak's [2013] analysis of Indigenous peoples as mascots in Canadian mainstream sport).

References

- Albury, N. J. (2015). Your language or ours? Inclusion and exclusion of non-indigenous majorities in Māori and Sámi language revitalization policy. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 16(3), 315–334.
- Anderson, A., Binney, J. and Harris, A. (2014). *Tangata Whenua. An illustrated history*. Auckland: Bridget Williams Books.
- BEAC (n.d.). *About us*. Barents Euro-Arctic Coperation. Retrieved from: <https://www.barentscooperation.org/en/About>.

- Berg-Nordlie, M. (2015). Representativitet i Sápmi. Fire stater, fire tilnæringer til inklusjon av urfolk [Representativity in Sápmi. Four states, four approaches to inclusion of Indigenous peoples]. In B. Bjerkli and P. Selle (Eds.): *Samepolitikkenes utvikling* [The Sámi politics' development] (pp. 388–418). Gyldendal akademisk.
- Bergsgard, N. A. and Norberg, J. (2010). Sports policy and politics – The Scandinavian way. *Sport in Society*, 13(4), 567–582.
- Bhimani, S. (2016). Decolonial practices of the No Sochi Circassian movement: confronting colonial double backing through the Sochi Winter Olympics. *Social Identities*, 22(4), 379–412.
- Broch, T. B. and Skille, E. Å. (2019). Performing sport political legitimacy: A cultural sociology perspective on sport politics. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 36(2), 171–178.
- Coates, K. S. (2004). *A global history of indigenous peoples. Struggle and survival*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dahl, J. (2012). *The indigenous space and marginalized peoples in the United Nations*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- de Carvalho, B. and Neumann, I. B. (2015). (Eds.). *Small state status seeking. Norway's quest for international standing*. Routledge.
- Elder, C., Pratt, A. and Ellis, C. (2006). Running race: Reconciliation, nationalism and the Sydney 2000 Olympic games. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 41(2), 181–200.
- Eliassen, M. (2015). *Idrettens barnerettigheter og bestemmelser i et barneperspektiv. En kvalitativ undersøkelse av 10–12 år gamle jenters erfaringer i turnsporten* [Sport's children's rights and regulations in a children's perspective. A qualitative study of 10–12 years old girls' experiences from gymnastics]. Norwegian School of Sport Sciences.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Polity Press.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (2002). *A welfare state for the 21st century*. Sakurai-Shoten.
- Fahlén, J. and Ferry, M. (2019). Sports participation in Sweden. In K. Green, T. Sigurjons-son, and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Sport in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries* (pp. 136–172). Routledge.
- Fahlén, J. and Skille, E. Å. (2016). Samisk idrett og statlig politikk i Sverige og Norge [Sami sport and state policy in Sweden and Norway]. In H. C. Pedersen and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Utafor sporet? Idrett, identiteter og regionalisme i nord* [Outside the tracks? Sport, identities and regionalism in the north] (pp. 138–167). Oplandske Bokforlag.
- Fahlén, J. and Skille, E. Å. (2017). State sport policy for Indigenous sport: Inclusive ambitions and exclusive coalitions. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 9(1), 173–187.
- Fahlén, J. and Stenling, C. (2016). Sport policy in Sweden. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 8(3), 515–531.
- Forsyth, J. and Giles, A. R. (Eds.) (2013). *Aboriginal peoples and sport in Canada. Historical foundations and contemporary issues*. UBC Press.
- Forsyth, J. and Paraschak, V. (2013). The double helix: Aboriginal people and sport policy in Canada. In L. Thibault and J. Harvey (Eds.): *Sport policy in Canada* (pp. 267–293). University of Ottawa Press.
- Giulianotti, R. (2019). Afterword. The Nordic model and physical cultures in the global context. In M. B. Tin, F. Tøselth, J. O. Tangen and R. Giulianotti (Eds.): *The Nordic model and physical culture* (pp.135–244). Routledge.
- Goksøy, M. (2011). *Idrett for alle: Norges idrettsforbund 150 år* [Sports for all. The Norwegian confederation of sports 150 years]. Aschehoug.

- Green, M. and Houlihan, B. (2005). *Elite sport development. Policy learning and political priorities*. Routledge.
- Green, K., Sigurjonsson, T. and Skille, E. Å. (Eds.) (2019). *Sport in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries*. Routledge.
- Hanstad, D. V., Skille, E. Å. and Loland, S. (2010). Harmonization of anti-doping work: Myth or reality? *Sport in Society*, 13(3), 418–430.
- Hargreaves, J. (2000). *Heroines of sport: The politics of difference and identity*. Routledge.
- Henry, I. (2009). European models of sport: Governance, organizational change and sports policy in the EU. *Hitotsubashi Journal of Arts and Sciences*, 50, 41–52.
- Hokowhitu, B. and Scherer, J. (2008). The Māori All Blacks and the decentring of the white subject: Hyperrace, sport, and the cultural logic of late capitalism. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 25(2), 243–262.
- Jackson, S. J. and Hokowhitu, B. (2002). Sport, tribes, and technology. The New Zealand All Blacks Haka and the politics of identity. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 26(2), 125–139.
- Jarvie, G. (2003). Internationalism and sport in the making of nations. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture Power*, 10(4), 537–551.
- Josefsen, E., Mörkenstram, U. and Saglie, J. (2015). Different institutions within similar states. The Norwegian and Swedish Sámediggis. *Ethnopolitics*, 14(1), 32–51.
- Koski, P., Lehtonen, H. and Vehmas, H. (2019). Sports participation in Finland. In K. Green, T. Sigurjonsson and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Sport in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries* (pp. 40–62). London: Routledge.
- KTV Consulting (2017). *Māori participation in community sport review*. KTV Consulting.
- Kuokkanen, R. (2019). *Restructuring relations. Indigenous self-determination, governance, and gender*. Oxford University Press.
- Lehtonen, K. (2017). Building of the legitimacy of a sports organization in a hybridized operating environment: Case Finland. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, 14(2), 166–181.
- Lehtonen, K. and Mäkinen, J. (2020). The Finnish sport system in transition: from a mixed model back to the Nordic sport movement? In M. B. Tin, F. Telseth, J. O. Tangen, and R. Giulianotti (Eds.): *The Nordic model and physical culture* (pp. 117–130). Routledge.
- Lovdata (1987). *Lov om Sametinget og andre samiske rettsforhold* [Act about the Sámi Parliament and other Sámi legal issues]. Kommunal- og distriktsdepartementet. Retrieved from: <https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/1987-06-12-56?q=sameloven>.
- Ministry of Culture (2011–2012). *Den norske idrettsmodellen* [The Norwegian sports model]. Kulturdepartementet.
- Ministry of Culture and Heritage (2012). *SPARC changes to Sport New Zealand*. Ministry of Culture and Heritage.
- Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (2007–2008). *Samepolitikken* [The Sámi policy]. Arbeids- og sosialdepartementet.
- Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation (2018–2019). *Samisk språk, kultur og samfunnsliv* [Sámi language, culture and societal life]. Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet.
- Mulholland, M. (2009). *Beneath the Māori moon. An illustrated history of Māori rugby*. Huia.
- Myklebost, K. A. and Niemi, E. (2015). Minoriteter, etnopolitikk og statlig strategi [Minorities, ethno-politics and state strategy]. In S. G. Holtmark (Ed.): *Naboer i frykt og*

- forventing. *Norge og Russland 1917–2014* [Neighbours in fear and expectations. Norway and Russia 1917–2014] (pp. 605–614). Pax Forlag.
- New Zealand Government (2021). *Register for the Māori electoral roll*. Retrieved from: <https://www.govt.nz/browse/engaging-with-government/enrol-and-vote-in-an-election/register-for-the-Māori-electoral-roll/>.
- New Zealand Legislation (n.d.). *New Zealand Legislation*. Parliamentary Council Office. Retrieved from: legislation.govt.nz
- Nicholson, M., Hoye, R. and Houlihan, B. (Eds.) (2010). *Participation in sport*. Routledge.
- Olstad, F. (1987). *Norsk idrettshistorie 1861–1939. Forsvar, sport og klassekamp* [Norwegian sports history 1861–1939. Defence, sports and class struggles]. Aschehoug.
- Olstad, F. (2017). *Den lange oppturen. Norsk historie 1945–2015* [The long upswing. Norwegian history 1945–2015]. Dreyer.
- Palmer, F. (2006a). Maori sport and its management. In S. Leberman, C. Collins and L. Trenberth, (Eds.): *Sport Business Management in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (2nd ed.), (pp. 62–88). Thomson Dunmore Press.
- Palmer, F. (2006b). State of Maori sport. In M. Mulholland (Ed), *State of the Maori nation: Twenty-first century issues in Aotearoa* (pp. 261–275). Reed.
- Palmer, F. (2007). Treaty principles and Maori sport: Contemporary issues. In C. Collins and S. Jackson (Eds), *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Thomson Dunmore Press.
- Paraschak, V. (2013). Aboriginal peoples and the construction of Canadian sport policy. In J. Forsyth and A. R. Giles (Eds.): *Aboriginal peoples & sport in Canada* (pp. 95–123). UBC Press.
- Petersen, T. (2015). The Sámediggi electoral roll in Norway: Framework, growth and geographical shifts, 1989–2009. In M. Berg-Nordlie, J. Saglie and A. Sullivan (Eds.): *Indigenous politics. Institutions, representation, mobilization* (pp. 165–190). ECPR Press.
- Petrov, P. (2014). National styles of wrestling in the Soviet Union and the Post-Soviet states: Political and sociocultural aspects of their development and use. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 31(4), 405–422.
- Rata, E. (2007). Māori language survival and New Zealand education. In K. Schuster and D. Witkosky (Eds.): *Language of the land* (pp. 79–98). Information Age Publishing.
- Ridoux, M. A. (2006). The nonsense of native American sport imaginary. Rethinking the past that never was. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 41(2), 2001–2219.
- Sam, M. P. and Ronglan, L. T. (2016). Building sport policy's legitimacy in Norway and New Zealand. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 53(5), 550–571.
- Sámi Parliament-N (2015). *Sametingsrådets redegjørelse om samisk idrett* [The Sami parliament's council's statement about Sami sport]. Sametinget.
- Sámi Parliament-N (2018). *Proposal for ethical guidelines for Sámi health research and research on Sámi human biological material*. Sametinget.
- Sámi parliament-N (n.d.). *Samisk parlamentarisk råd (SPR)*. [Sámi parliamentary council]. Retrieved from: <https://sametinget.no/politikk/politisk-organisering-og-ledelse/samisk-parlamentarisk-rad-spr/>.
- Sámi parliament-S (2009). *Sammanträdesprotokoll 2009:2* [Minutes of meeting]. Kiruna: Sametinget.
- Sámi parliament-S (n.d.). *Samiskt parlamentariskt råd* [Sámi parliamentary council]. Retrieved from: <https://sametinget.se/spr>
- Sámi parliament-F (n.d.). *Sámi parliamentary council*. Retrieved from: <https://www.samediggi.fi/sami-parliamentary-council/?lang=en>.

- Samson, C. and Gigoux, C. (2017). *Indigenous peoples and colonialism. Global perspectives*. Polity Press.
- Scherer, J. and Jackson, S. (2008). Cultural studies and the circuit of culture: Advertising, promotional culture and the New Zealand All Blacks. *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies*, 8(4), 507–526.
- Scherer, J. and Jackson, S. (2013). *Contested terrain of the New Zealand All Blacks: Rugby, commerce, and cultural politics in the age of globalization*. Peter Lang.
- Seippel, Ø. and Skille, E. Å. (2019). Sports participation in Norway. In K. Green, T. Sigurjonsson and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Sport in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries* (pp. 108–135). Routledge.
- Selle, P., Semb, A. J., Strømsnes, K. and Nordø, A. (2015). *Den samiske medborgeren* [The Sami co-citizen]. Cappelen Damm Akademisk.
- Skille, E. Å. (2012). Ethno-politics and state sport policy – The case of how the Sami sport association – Norway challenged the Norwegian confederation of sport's monopoly for state subsidies to sport. *Scandinavian Sport Studies Forum*, 3, 143–165.
- Skille, E. Å. (2013). Lassoing and reindeer racing versus 'universal' sports: Various routes to Sami ethnic identity through sports. In C. Halinan and B. Judd (Eds.): *Native games – indigenous peoples and sports in the post-colonial world* (pp. 21–41). Emerald.
- Skille, E. Å. and Fahlén, J. (2020). The role of sport organizations for local and national community – The case of Sámi sport organizations. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 29(2), 239–254.
- Skille, E. Å., Fahlén, J., Stenling, C. and Strittmatter, A. M. (2021a). (Lack of) Government policy for Indigenous (Sámi) sport – a chain of legitimating and de-legitimating acts. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690220988650>.
- Skille, E. Å., Lehtonen, K. & Fahlén, J. (2021b). The Politics of organizing Indigenous sport – cross-border and cross-sectoral complexity. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/16184742.2021.1892161>.
- Skille, E. Å. and Säfvenbom, R. (2011). Sport policy in Norway. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 3(2), 283–293.
- Skirstad, B. (2011). Barneidrett som politikk og praksis [Children's sports as policy and practice]. In D. V. Hanstad, G. Breivik, M. K. Sisjord and H. B. Skaset (Eds.): *Norsk idrett – Indre spenning og ytre press* [Norwegian sports – inner tensions and external pressure] (pp. 33–51). Akilles.
- Skirstad, B., Waddington, I. and Säfvenbom, R. (2012). Issues and problems in the organization of children's sport: A case study of Norway. *European Physical Education Review*, 18(3), 309–321.
- Sørly, R., Kårtveit, B., Nygaard, V., Normann, A. K., Ivanova, L., Britvina, S. and Riabova, L. (2021). Adapting to the unpredictable: The story of a Norwegian-Russian study of NGOs in the Murmansk region during a pandemic. *Qualitative Social Work*, 20(1–2), 312–319.
- SPARC (2003). *Statement of intent 2003–2004*. Sport and Recreation New Zealand.
- SPARC (2011). *Statement of intent 2011–2014*. Sport and Recreation New Zealand.
- Statistics New Zealand (2019). *2018 Census totals by topic – national highlights*. Retrieved from: <https://www.stats.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/2018-Census-totals-by-topic/Download-data/2018-census-totals-by-topic-national-highlights.xlsx>
- Swedish Ministry of Cultural Affairs (2008). *Statens stöd till idrotten* [The state's support to sport] (Prop. 2008/09:126). Kulturdepartementet.

- Swedish Ministry of Social Affairs (2008). *Föreningsfostran och tävlingsfostran - En utvärdering av statens stöd till idrotten* [Association fostering and competition fostering – An evaluation of state support to sport] (SOU 2008:59). Fritzes.
- Tin, M. M., Telseth, F. and Tangen, J. O. (2019). Introduction. In M. B. Tin, F. Telseth, J. O. Tangen and R. Giulianoti (Eds.): *The Nordic model and physical culture* (pp. 1–17). Routledge.
- Tønnessen, S. (1986). *Norsk idretts historie 1939–1986. Folkehelse, trim, stjerner* [Norwegian sports history. Public health, recreational activity, stars]. Aschehoug.
- WGIP (n.d.). *Working group of indigenous peoples*. Barents euro-arctic cooperation. Retrieved from: <https://www.barentscooperation.org/en/Working-Groups/Working-Group-of-Indigenous-Peoples>.
- Wilson, J. (2009). *The origins of the Māori seats*. Parliamentary Library. Retrieved from: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/stout-centre/about/events/events-past-conferences/publications/8th-Parlconference-Wilson.pdf>

Communities and Conventions in Indigenous Sport

In this chapter, I search for more analytical explanations of the descriptive narratives into Indigenous sport and nation-building outlined in the three previous chapters. This research leans on my earlier works, mainly on sport policy and sport organization with theoretical preferences for neo-institutionalism and Bourdieu and characterized by field analysis of culturally dependent interpretations, actions, and interactions (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990; Campbell, 2004; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977).¹ Consequently, I seek concepts that span the double-sided nature of social structures and individual agency (Enjolras, 2006; Skille, 2011; Stenling & Skille, 2018) because sport and nation-building are intra- and inter-individual phenomena. They exist because people perceive it, talk about it, practice it, and give meaning to it. Talk and practice occur in contexts of interaction, such as public organizations (the Norwegian government, the Sámi Parliament, schools, civic offices, etc.) and voluntary organizations (i.e. national sport federations and sport clubs). Hence, I need concepts that cover how cultures are shared by individuals and define what is meaningful within contexts. I found this interplay in the concepts of ‘community’ (e.g. Jenkins, 2004; Skille, 2015; Skille & Fahlén, 2020) and ‘convention’ (Enjolras, 2006; Skille, 2011; Skille & Stenling, 2018). In line with the Indigenous methodologies sketched in Chapter 3, I intend to apply community and convention within the inspiration of postcolonial theory (Gilroy, 2008; Wenner & Billings, 2017; Young, 2003). Thus, this chapter starts with a detour via a short note on how I am inspired by postcolonial theory before moving on to the main parts: one section contending an analysis driven by community theory and a second section inspired by the theory of convention.

Postcolonial Inspiration

While the prefix ‘post’ indicates that colonization is over, the effects or legacies of colonization are still at work. Thus, the legacies and the responses to them vary because today’s conditions between peoples are shaped by earlier power relations (Gilroy, 2008; Go, 2013; Young, 2003), as empirically expressed in the case of Indigenous sport in the previous chapters. Although the historical phase of domination and suppression has formally ended, the imprints impact sport today

in a web-like manner. There are multiple interdependencies of actors: Sámi sport relate to Norwegian sport, Sámi sport relate to Sápmi and Norway, Sámi sport in one area (with their own webs of relationships to Norwegian sport, Sápmi and Norway) relate to Sámi sport in another area (with their webs), etc. Thus, the legacy of the assimilation process is context-dependent; it works differently in various local contexts of the focal Indigenous people, within one unitary state *and* in an Indigenous nation across nation states. Presenting a bottom-up narrative, as in Chapters 4 and 5, compared to many other studies into Indigenous sport and nation-building (as per Chapter 2 and partially Chapter 6), I have aimed at an analysis of the suppression's historical legacy (Pedersen & Høgmo, 2012) by listening to 'subaltern voices' (Go, 2013, p. 10) and conducting an 'interpretative social science that aligns with postcolonial theory's emphasis upon subjectivity and meaning' (p. 20). Nevertheless, I can never leave my privileged position as a researcher representing the dominant culture (Skille, 2021) when analyzing the trajectory of the status of the Sámi people across contexts. Indeed, this is partly because sociology 'has conceptualized modernity endogenously by taking the social norms, structures, and values characterizing the so-called Western societies as a universal parameter for defining what modern societies are' (Boatca et al., 2010, p. 1).

Thus, as sociologists, we run the risk of using words that disguise relationships and complexities and potentially reproduce structures of power and dominance. A self-critical question to pose is whether I risk going into that trap when it comes to the study of Indigenous sport and nation-building and during the empirical investigation of Sámi sport. The point is that the sociologist himself is contextual; for example, when I use the concepts of core Indigenous areas as a structuring feature for this book, I contribute to the reproduction of a hierarchy of the research participants. Should it not be my job to resist such reproductions? Having said that, I am – as a researcher and a person familiar with the focal contexts – held in check both by the need to structure a research outlet and the obligation to use the terms and phrases that the research participants themselves apply. Nevertheless, I aim to follow a postcolonial twist in sociology (Go, 2013) when I challenge the nation state-sport nexus. Just as sociology developed alongside the creation of nation states, the subject's postcolonial focus developed alongside Indigenous revitalization. I hope I succeed in combining classic sociological theory with postcolonial awareness. In that respect, I aim to challenge the nation state-sport nexus by identifying national communities other than the one based on nation state(s) and trying to understand how we think and act by following established conventions. Only then, I believe, can we critically discuss and propose alternatives to respectfully attend to Indigenous peoples.

Real and Imagined Communities

In the introduction, I applied the term imagined community (Anderson, 1983) to depict a nation as socially constructed by individuals who consider themselves

members of it. It contrasts with the concrete community because imagined community refers to how individuals emotionally connect to shared symbols and, therefore, with each other despite not knowing (most of) the others personally. Running the risk of and aiming to overcome Bairner's (2015) criticism – that sport sociologists often apply 'imagined community' without outlining it (see p. 12/Ch. 1) – I employ the following sections to elaborate on how the concrete and the abstract Indigenous communities are connected.

A keyword for that connection is organization; the relationship between the real and the imagined is literally organized – into organized sport and sport organizations. In this, there is a connection between the imagined and the concrete because sport clubs are parts of sport organizations and contribute to both local and national communities. The points are that the concept of community covers several layers and that sport – or rather sport organizations – are the linking mechanism between the layers and various understandings of community. While Cohen (1985) held that community is symbolically constructed around understandings of similarity, Jenkins (2008) emphasized that community refers to reality (without denying the significance of symbols). The relationship between symbols and reality is important in analyzing Indigenous sport and nation-building because sport emphasize physical practices *and* symbolize nations. Moreover, the (national) imagination is concretized and materialized in symbols: Sámis share cognitions and emotions of Sápmi through their flag, folk costume (*gákti*), music (*yoik*), handicrafts (*duodji*), and even parliaments (Olstad, 2017).

Most crucial for the current analysis is, as we have seen in previous chapters, that (some of) these symbols are also integrated into the conduct of sport and the meanings they are filled with by sport participants, club, and sport organization representatives. Meanings are created, reinforced, or reshaped in concrete communities, such as sport clubs, where individuals interact with and influence each other. The local community of sport enables belonging to a national community, but – although I just pointed at sport organizations as the linking mechanism – they are multiple and work differently in different contexts. The broad pattern of difference between sport within core Sámi areas and sport outside core areas can be explained by Weber's (1922) distinction between communal and associative forms of social relationships. A *communal* relationship is based on the subjective, affective, and traditional feeling of belonging together, while an *affiliative* relationship is based on rational interests. An affiliative relationship includes connections with voluntary organizations, both based on self-interest and common values; the two are, of course, compatible and probably reinforce each other. Although both forms work in all contexts at all times, the empirical material reveals a pattern with those who consider themselves as natural insiders – as communed – on one side, and those who focus on the membership in the sport club and affiliation in the Indigenous sport organization on the other. Not least, the pattern of the 'communed insiders' and the 'affiliative outsiders' is reproduced by their relationship, by the way they talk about each other. The insiders of core areas do not talk much

about those outside, while some participants outside core areas confirm their inferiority in the hierarchy by referring to representatives in core areas as the 'real Sámi'.

The division between communal and associative forms of relationships 'is similar to the distinction made by Ferdinand Tönnies in his pioneering work, *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*' (Weber, 1922, p. 41, original italics). Tönnies (1963) described the transition from traditional communities to new forms of social life, where – in the latter – human interaction is based on rational and professional relationships. Moving from the informal to the formal, Tönnies theorized that traditional relationships based on face-to-face connections were replaced by laws and bureaucracy. Durkheim (1964 [1893]), on his end, theorized that traditional communities worked through mechanic solidarity where people are held together in small and geographically coherent groups due to shared values and mutual dependency. On the contrary, organic solidarity was a metaphor for modern society; an organism needs each specialized organ to function properly. Thus, mutual interdependencies changed from similarities and kinship to relationships based on differences; dichotomies, such as employee–employer and consumer–producer, became the glue of the new world order. While modern times, including new leisure activities and technological inventions, have influenced all of us, sport refer to specific physical activities, rules and guidelines, and organizational structures that are relatively similar today compared to several generations ago. In that respect, sport is a key site for describing transitions in community relations because it is built on traditional community *and* now layered with rational self-interested functional purposes. Specifically, sport refer to face-to-face practices that reproduce belonging among interdependent human beings, and sport refer to organizational linkages that make belonging to cooperating and competing sport clubs and their members. In other words, sport connect groups of human beings who share interests and by being relatively close to each other.

Taken together, all linked groups (directly or indirectly) create an understanding of something greater – an imagined community (Anderson, 1983). This imagined community can be a nation or several nations. In line with mainstream sport clubs, Indigenous sport clubs are significant contributors to local communities. Among sport actors and politicians, this is considered an intrinsic good and refers to how youth can experience joy and development in a safe environment (Skille, 2015),² which further relates to a classical understanding of community as practicing joyful and meaningful activities together with peers, which, in turn, creates feelings of belonging (Cohen, 1985; Jenkins, 2008). Moreover, sport contexts are communities for youth to develop and considered a good framework for children's and youth's activity and 'a foundation wall' to build a stable house – a metaphor for a good life. Representatives of Norwegian sport clubs (Skille, 2015) and Sámi sport clubs (who sometimes overlap) see sport as a community; thus, they – unconsciously, I presume – follow Tönnies' (1963) understanding of *Gemeinschaft*, Durkheim's (1964) understanding of mechanic solidarity community, and Weber's (1922) understanding of communal relationships by living their

everyday lives with face-to-face interactions. Summing up, thus far, for one thing, Indigenous sport clubs work and function along the lines of the old version of society referred to as mechanic solidarity or *Gemeinschaft*. Small groups in geographically limited areas comprise people who know each other, trust one another, share values, and need to do that to function as a focal sport club. On the other side, sport clubs – as any other organization – are modern creations with formal affiliations, democratic procedures, as well as bureaucratic and economic arrangements. In that respect, sport clubs fulfil a role in modern society and, therefore, comprise characteristics of organic solidarity and *Gesellschaft*. Sport itself is a modern phenomenon based on rationality (the one who is doing the smart training wins), bureaucracy (regulations in the form of written rules), and standardization (for example, the same distance every time). This is true especially when referring to organized sport, with a formal organization and institutionalized practices (Coakley, 2001; Guttmann, 1978). The empirical linkage of Indigenous sport as featuring both mechanic solidarity and organic solidarity works via local sport clubs' role in the division of labour in society, as prescribed by Durkheim (1964).

Let me elaborate on these points: local versus national, Sámi versus Norwegian, and distinctions in theories. The empirical investigations reveal that Sámi sport clubs share with Norwegian sport clubs that the 'intermediate link between the individual and the society in general' can be referred to 'as roots' (Skille, 2015, p. 513). Such roots 'are assumedly only, or at best, developed in local communities' (Skille, 2015, p. 513). Thus, sport clubs can 'be defined as the root that facilitates the development of youth individuals into proper citizens and local settlements into sustainable communities, which in turn creates a sustainable and well-functioning society' (Skille, 2015, p. 513). Consequently, the mutual exclusiveness between mechanic solidarity and organic solidarity is artificial; they are rather two sides of the same coin. Sport clubs are functional organs in the organism of modern society, *and* they are 'the roots' for people sharing interests and identity; hence, they operate as mechanic *and* organic solidarity, simultaneously. When Durkheim – as sociologists did at the time – described a transition from rural agriculture to urban and industrial society as a 'definitive transition', at least in many places in Norway and Sápmi, it seemed to be exaggerated. The point is that many contexts are still rural and dominated by primary industries, but nevertheless modern with characteristics of the Western world in the third millennium regarding education, infrastructure, technological communication, etc. Theoretically, Weber acknowledged Tönnies' description of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* but did not share this positive view, nor did he see it as a straightforward transition from one to the other. Rather, Weber held that pockets of *Gemeinschaft* could exist with the modern *Gesellschaft*; thus, the community did not disappear with modernity; rather, today's society is more complex and comprises several communities – on various levels. The narratives of Chapters 4 and 5 indicate that rural sport clubs contribute to a continuation of mechanic solidarity (or *Gemeinschaft*) in their local contexts (see Skille, 2010 for similar findings for rural Norwegian sport clubs). The sport club in each village facilitates an experience of belonging.

Thus far, the discussion of a community has centred on features that are shared with mainstream sport. It should be noted that because some of the activities traditionally stem from a specific Indigenous tradition and because the sport are organized in Indigenous milieus affiliated with an Indigenous sport organization, a local Indigenous community is created. That idea is discussed more after the next section, which discusses how the public sector's role is necessary to include in the sport and community debate.

State-Sport Policy and Community – A Critical Top-Down Approach

Norwegian sport club representatives' ideas about the sport clubs and community theory (Skille, 2015, p. 515) are also valid for Indigenous sport clubs. An important consideration for Indigenous sport and community is that a community can be conceived of as a sport policy goal, a policy tool, and – not least – as 'a "natural" (though historically and socially constructed) social phenomenon without any specific reference to sport policy' (p. 515). These three versions of a community are present simultaneously. A community on the local level works because it is part of a civil society and principally outside state policy control. In that respect, Indigenous sport clubs play their role as other societal institutions and other sport clubs do in a modern Norwegian and Western society, and as theorized by Durkheim (1964), Tönnies (1963), and more recent scholars (i.e. Cohen, 1985; Delanty, 2010; Jenkins, 2008). Community as a local phenomenon is developed and sustained through voluntary work and as a major contributor to social integration, networks, and trust. Policymakers' interest in community seems to stem from a combined and relatively specific conception of a societal problem and an appropriate solution for it. The 'problem' is a commonly understood consequence of modern society shared by many sociologists (e.g. Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001; Giddens, 1991), which Durkheim and Tönnies both predicted; namely, human isolation – often referred to as individualization. An appropriate solution that could also cut the economic costs – especially in comparison to many public sector initiatives and responsibilities – was 'by downloading the responsibility for the delivery of programs and services to the community level' (Kelly & Caputo, 2011, p. 12). While such offloading of responsibilities is a relatively recent phenomenon worldwide, as a response to needs for cutting costs in welfare states along neoliberal lines, it also aligns within a tradition of arrangement between public and voluntary sectors where state (or lower level: county and municipality for Norway) authorities define political objectives without considering implementation, while voluntary organizations, including sport clubs, are relatively detached from centrally defined political goals (Bunyan, 2014; Coalter, 2007; Groeneveld et al., 2011). All in all, it is hard to determine the causal direction as long as the customary community-based sport model fits well with contemporary needs and solutions (to cut economic costs).

In that respect, it is interesting to go back to some of the craft of sociology's founding fathers and observe that – and how – Tönnies and Durkheim differed

in their views on the forces that could overcome the challenges of individualization and promotion of community. For Tönnies (1963), only the state would have such reconciling power, while for Durkheim (1964), civil society was the best way to retain community (Delanty, 2010). The empirical findings presented in the previous chapters indicate a confirmation of the Durkheimian view: leaving all hope and responsibility for community development to the civil sector. Nevertheless, there is an important role played by the public sector, hereunder especially economic support. I have elsewhere pinpointed ‘a striking consensus about the strength in community, within state policy documents and in sport clubs’ (Skille, 2015, p. 513) and discussed whether sport clubs were ‘doing community’ because the state had formulated a ‘community policy’ in white papers (Skinner et al., 2008). While the white paper on sport indicates that there is a causal relationship ‘that sport clubs follow state-sport policy into community thinking’ (Skille, 2015, p. 514), I claim that this is misleading because there have been community cultures in sport clubs long before the government considered community as state policy. Metaphorically, it is like a conjoining of rivers – one that is engineered and one that has been there for ages (that the state takes credit for?) – together creating a stronger (irresistible?) stream.

The history of local sport clubs goes back to before the 1860s (Goksøyr, 2011), while the first white paper that mentioned sport was published in 1973 (Ministry of Culture, 1973–1974). A similar conclusion can be made of the relationship between Sámi sport and the Sámi Parliament as Sámi sport were established long before the Sámi parliaments (Lidström, 2019; Pedersen, 2013). This history shows how dependent Indigenous politics are on the unitary nation state within which it operates. However, although Sámi sport clubs align with Tönnies’ (1963) definition of *Gemeinschaft*, based on bonds to family and local places – the economic support from the Sámi Parliament should not be underestimated since it reflects *Gesellschaft*, based on self-interested bonds with instrumental means and ends. In that respect, I will discuss whether the Indigenous *sport clubs* possess such a role and further whether the outspoken *Indigenous* sport clubs possess another role compared with other sport clubs. It is all about context in several ways. Perception of belonging depends on the situation; it depends on who is asking; things are constantly compared, interrelated, and have various levels as points of departure. This caveat is twofold; first, that sport organizations are facilitators for an imagined community – for Norway, Sápmi, or other nations. Second, the point is that internally identifying belonging also defines borders externally to other – possibly competing – communities.

From Linkages to Borders of (Indigenous) Communities

In previous chapters, I have approached the study of Indigenous sport and nation-building bottom-up and considered grassroots Indigenous communities as preconditions for an Indigenous nation. In the sections above, I connected the real local community with the nation by way of affiliation in sport organizations

(Skille & Fahlén, 2020), picking up on Weber's (1922) notion of the affiliative relationship as one form of social belonging amid changes and development of modern society. A discussion of whether modern society has developed from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* reflects some perception of loss and brings a feeling of nostalgia. I will, however, claim that sport organizations create and recreate relatively stable conditions of *Gemeinschaft* or mechanic solidarity and that sport organizations are linkages to an imagined national community (see Figure 7.1). Fahlén and I previously explained this stability within an even faster changing society – metaphorically – ‘in the words of Lash (1999, 2002) as the “groundless ground”’, namely, that ‘although human interdependency has taken new routes in a less tradition-based direction (individualization), human interaction still needs to be based on “something”’ (Skille & Fahlén, 2020, p. 12). This ‘something’ can be sport contexts. In that respect, these words from an earlier study into Norwegian sport are equally valid for Indigenous sport. Sport clubs operate as part of a civil society, which is very similar to the phenomenon that Tönnies (1963) called community. It is where people live their everyday lives in face-to-face interaction with peers who share an interest and most probably share some core values and norms. Instead of treating modernity as a move from community to society, as described in the literature (Durkheim, 1964; Tönnies, 1963), contemporary society can be considered a more complex entity with a number of communities.

Indigenous sport refers to physical movements, which can be located in concrete geographical contexts and are conducted by actual individuals. In similar veins, specific sport clubs, neighbourhoods, and villages are all practical, tangible, and concrete. Simultaneously, Indigenous sport are abstract as they symbolize the imagined community of a nation. One connection between the concrete and the abstract is the Indigenous sport organizations; organizations linked with both Sámi sport clubs and SVL-N. Since SVL-N is an Indigenous sport organization, it contributes to the idea of an imagined Indigenous community and, therefore, to the building of an Indigenous nation: Sápmi (as do other Sámi organizations, including the Sámi Parliament). Put simply, Indigenous sport are substantive *and* symbolic. With their participation in the Indigenous sport, individual athletes and leaders contribute to Indigenous nation-building – with two intermediaries or organizational connections: sport clubs and the Indigenous sport organization (see Figure 7.1). Through affiliation with the Indigenous sport organization, sport clubs and their representatives’ access to (new or other) practical events, here-under SVL-N training camps and international Indigenous sport competitions such as the AWG. As described in Chapter 6, the Indigenous community of Sámi sport is also part of an international Indigenous sport community. Thus, there are layers of Indigenous communities.

As mentioned, the mechanisms of linking the practical and local levels with the imagined and national levels of community have until now been discussed along the lines that are shared between Indigenous and mainstream sport. A complicating element, visible in the empirical material from local sport clubs and the presentation of elite athletes alike, is that the focal community

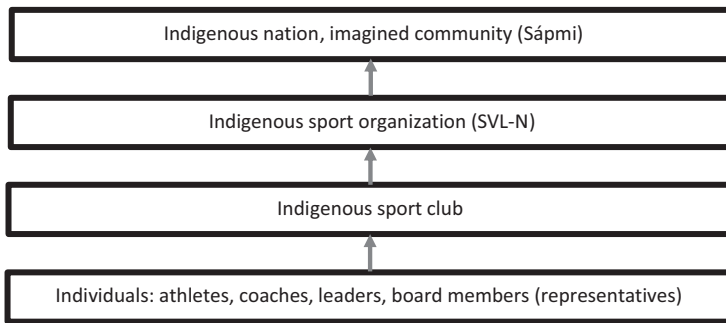


Figure 7.1 The Indigenous nation is built up by athletes and other individuals via sport clubs and national Indigenous sport organization.

comprises Indigenous and non-Indigenous (Sámi and Norwegian) elements. Hence, the correct label for this phenomenon is probably that there is a multicultural community (Delanty, 2010) – or to be even more specific – ‘a liberal communitarian multiculturalism’, which ‘concerns the status of immigrant minorities versus that of Indigenous peoples. This is of particular interest in a context where another national minority (Kven) and immigrants cohabit’ (Skille & Fahlén, 2020, p. 250). These conceptualizations of community unite and divide (Jenkins, 2008). While community connotes belonging and shared meanings as solely positive, Cohen (1985, p. 14) considered ‘border’ as an unavoidable consequence of community. Put simply, inclusion always leads to exclusion (Jenkins, 2008, p. 112). Either you are inside a nation or not. Despite its numerical minority (compared to Norwegian sport), ‘SVL-N’s activities have been of importance for the individual athlete’s understanding of his/her Sámi identity and for the collective understanding of what Sámi sport identity entails’ (Pedersen, 2014, p. 372). Yet recall that, compared to the history of Sámi and Norwegian cohabitation, sport is a new phenomenon. Thus, the tradition of peaceful cohabitation and multicultural community was well established long before voluntary organizations or sport were invented. In other words, the issues discussed above depend on which community is at stake and that one individual can belong to several communities and nations, and perhaps that opportunity differs with conventions that differ across contexts. Such definitions depend on ways of thinking and acting. To better discuss the inclusion and exclusion of individuals in a specific community, I will introduce the concept of convention to grasp how people think – hereunder define borders and memberships – and act.

Competing or Compatible Conventions?

Our understandings of and relationships among Indigenous peoples, sport, and nations depend on social and cognitive structures or conventions (Enjolras, 2006). The concept of convention is often associated with global legal issues, such as the

United Nation's *Convention on the Rights of the Child* and the ILO Convention 169 about Indigenous and tribal peoples. That Norway is the only state with Sámi inhabitants to ratify the ILO Convention 169 is considered an important factor for the relatively better conditions for Sámi sport in Norway compared to the other countries. These legal-philosophical elements of convention show how things should be in an ideal world, a feature of the concept that also informs the sociological version presented and applied here (Enjolras, 2006; Skille, 2011; Skille & Stenling, 2018). As a key characteristic of conventions, shared meanings make groups appear homogenous and simultaneously distinctive from other groups. Moreover, individuals and groups may interpret the same phenomenon (such as national identity) differently despite necessarily sharing in its construction and experience. For example, it is impossible to live in Norway without any consideration of Sámi and Sám̄i, and vice versa. Although people share the phenomenon, there are different emotions, meanings, and formal connections related to it. Indeed, while many individuals are members of Sámi elections and organizations and are registered in the enrolment of the Sámi Parliament, most Norwegians are not members of Sámi organizations and may be outright critical towards the very idea of Sám̄i including the existence of a Sámi parliament (Andresen et al., 2021). Nevertheless, the latter group contributes to the reproduction of Sám̄i via participation in a debate that keeps the Indigenous nation alive by using terms that challenge conventions.

Conventions of Sport

Conventions of sport permeate the contexts in which politicians and representations of sport organizations act and interact (Skille & Stenling, 2018). In straightforward terms, such conventions comprise a shared understanding of what sport is (e.g. a form of leisure, a vehicle for character development) and what it can do (e.g. health promotion and social integration). Conventions of sport apply in local sport clubs because that is where sport activities are conducted in everyday lives (Skille, 2011). There are approximately 7,500 ordinary sport clubs (NIF, 2021) on five million inhabitants in Norway (SSB, 2021), where nine out of 10 are or have been a member of a sport club during childhood (Bakken, 2019, p. 37). In other words, sport are omnipresent; all members of a local neighbourhood will be affected by sport and consequently by the conventions of sport. Stenling and I have elsewhere elaborated on how this understanding impacts the implementation of sport policy because conventions include that sport are interpreted and conducted by all members of society and not only those who are members of sport organizations. A neighbourhood will always comprise sport participants, parents, and other relatives of sport participants, coaches, and leaders in the local sport clubs. Also, those outside sport – former members, potential members, critics, and even those trying to be indifferent to the phenomenon of sport – are influenced by the fact that many around them consider sport in one way or another. It is impossible to escape the conventions of sport (Skille & Stenling, 2018).

As per this study's empirical findings plus the international research literature (Breuer et al., 2015; Green et al., 2019; Seippel & Skille, 2015, 2019), sport clubs organize competitive physical activities for their members. Physical activity, in this way, seems to refer to bodily movement and is often associated with a societal discourse of sedentary lifestyles, including the risk of developing an obese population, particularly among youth generation (the primary target group for sport clubs) (Skille, 2009). Some representatives of sport clubs connected their work and role directly to the modern world's health issues and lifestyle diseases. On the other hand, sport (as opposed to physical activity) refers to some of the same but distinguishes itself from physical activity by its reference to organization and competition (Skille & Fahlén, 2020). Laypersons and politicians (and, sometimes, researchers) use the terms sport and physical activity interchangeably. However, there is a crucial distinction based on different conventions, and I will, thus, argue that sport has a nation-building potential because it represents something greater than bodily movement. Hence, physical activity as a stand-alone convention does not fulfil a community function because it does not necessarily comprise collectivity and togetherness, neither in organizations nor in a competitive context.

According to Enjolras's (2006) sociological definition, conventions comprise two dual-dimensional conceptualizations of reality. One dimension refers to how individuals apply cognitive structures to interpret information from their surrounding environment to create and reshape meaning and act appropriately in specific contexts. Meaning can stem from any aspects of reality, such as sport consumption (live experience or mediated spectatorship), sport participation, volunteering in sport clubs, or professional work in sport organizations; all in all, meaning develops and redevelops through inter-individual relationships. For example, a 'cognitive script' can be that of individuals' self-understanding and perception of societal contribution related to being a volunteer in sport – as a civic duty and 'worker bee' for an organization. The other dimension refers to conventions as both individual and social. Thus, in addition to the individual structures of interpretation and action, conventions comprise social structures, which are created and reshaped through the interactions between individuals. This dimension is around routines that over time become institutionalized; for example, regarding how voluntary sport has become institutionalized through a democratic organizational structure combined with the above-mentioned understanding of being volunteers that rest in many individuals. Taken together, there is an expectation enacting upon each individual to contribute to the reproduction of the sport organization. Hence, we have reached a situation where alternatives are in our imagination – at best and rarely there – because the given institutional arrangement includes (taken-for-granted) ideas of the good arrangement in normative terms. The philosophical inspiration of convention concerns both social practice and normative guidelines; common values lead to actions that are considered appropriate in specific contexts. Conventions regulate collective behaviour (Lewis, 2002 [1969]; Schatzki, 1996; Tuomela, 2002) and, over time, become 'internalized as a fact on the social reality whose origin is unquestioned'

(Enjolras, 2006, p. 12). The double-sided feature with convention maintains stability in interpretations and actions. Despite individuals' various behaviours, conventions regulate the understanding of and approaches to sport and nation.

Hence, conventions of Indigenous sport relate to various levels of community: local and national, linked and concretized by organizational affiliation. The conventions regarding nations comprise different meanings: how to define a nation, whether Sápmi is a nation, and whether Indigenous sport contribute to nation-building. Moreover, different conventions exist across contexts. In that respect, I will remind the reader how individuals in various contexts express themselves. When sport club representatives outside the core areas speak about their relationship with the clubs in core Sámi areas, they indicate a hierarchy with themselves in an inferior position based on the conventions of core areas: language skills and closeness to reindeer herding as the arche symbol of indigeneity for Sámis. The point is that Sámis in various contexts are influenced differently by other conventions, such as the historically shared belief among Norwegian powers, of Indigenous inferiority that was operationalized in the assimilation policy of Norwegianization. In other words, 'other' conventions than those stemming from the Indigenous sport context impacted the internal relationship of Indigenous sport. That is the focus of the following: a section into sport versus nation-building and a section into nation versus nation state.

Convention of Sport versus Convention of Nation-Building

As per Chapter 2, regimes deliberately employ sport to create an image of nations being politically and culturally successful (e.g. Beacom, 1998; Petrov, 2014), and by extension, the selection processes for national teams might generate discussion about ethnicity and indigeneity (e.g. Holmes & Storey, 2004; Murray & Hassan, 2018). As shown in Chapter 5, similar challenges have occurred in Sámi sport, especially in relation to selection for representing the Sápmi delegation in the AWG. The opportunity is only for the best athletes, and there is a selection process to represent Sápmi. Insofar as they follow conventions of competitive sport, selection processes invariably lead to exclusion, which contrasts expressions about the openness and inclusivity of Indigenous sport contexts. Having said that, the achievement logic should not be underestimated: the pride that sport provides for both Sámis and Norwegians leans on defeating other nations. Thus, the apparently contending conventions of competitiveness, selection, and exclusiveness on one side can work jointly with the convention of a nation on the other, particularly when the latter is conceived of as belonging and identity. For example, as I write these lines, the media is full of how England is mourning while Italy is celebrating the outcome of the final UEFA 2020/2021 championships³; the situation depends on two premises: first, that England and Italy are entities of imagined communities where individuals commit to and feel for; second, that one party defeated the other within an institutionalized frame of sport. Hence, national teams symbolize the nation on behalf of other members of the imagined community.

However, there is an ambivalence between inclusion and exclusion, particularly in the case of Indigenous nations, which leads to a discussion of whether the convention of sport as competitive and achievement-oriented and the convention of nation-building intercept and contradict. The problem occurs when the achievement reward goes to non-Indigenous athletes at the cost of Indigenous athletes or when sport's convention of competition and *achievement* overrules conventions of *belonging* to an Indigenous nation. While such discussions were visible between areas of Sápmi within Norway as per Chapter 5, Lehtonen, Fahlén, and I identified a suspiciousness among Indigenous sport representatives across state borders (as per Chapter 6). When Sámi sport representatives in Finland referred to their peers in Norway as 'so-called' Sámi people who only 'want to maximize sport performance' and who 'forget community, networks, and cultural aspects' because they all are 'speaking Norwegian' (cited in Skille et al., 2021, p. 12), there are clear indications of different conventions on different sides of the state borders. Or, there seems to be similar conventions at stake – of competitive sport and the Indigenous nation – but different weightings ascribed to them. For one thing, Sámis in Norway are – in the eyes of their peers on the Finnish side – almost too well integrated into Norwegian society. For another, the Sámi sport representatives in Finland consider their peers in Norway as too spellbound with achievement, winning, and results in logics of sport. The Sámis on the Finnish side prioritize the convention of the national community, while Sámis on the Norwegian side put weight on the sport convention.

The intertwining of sport conventions versus ethno-political conventions generates a number of questions: Is it a precondition for Indigenous sport's contribution to nation-building that there is not 'too much sport' in the definition or understanding of Indigenous sport? Insofar as the Sámi Parliament is labelled an 'ethnic authority' (Falch et al., 2015) in the question of self-determination, do Indigenous sport organizations likewise only have 'ethnic authority' or 'ethnic power' (and lack or have less 'sport power') in the sport field? Such questions are relevant because establishing a new organization challenged nation state structures and reclaimed pre-nation state borders (Skille et al., 2021). Although the establishment of a new Indigenous sport organization was resisted, many involved parties conceived of it as a positive development for the state crossing – or even 'state-less' – Indigenous community. The opportunity to crown a Sámi champion (not only a Norwegian Sápmi) made sense for Indigenous nation-building, illustrating how conventions are challenged, changed, and deeply ingrained in the conventions of sport performance. The idea of the Sámi champion merges the conventions because the Indigenous champion is the 'best athlete' among the 'right people'. In that respect, the definition of being the right insiders of sport based on ethnic or Indigenous particularities challenges the ideology of universalism in the Nordic welfare states (Olstad, 2017).

Previous research has revealed a tension between the ambitions of pluralism versus the ambitions of unitedness on both the Norwegian and Swedish sides of Sápmi (Fahlén & Skille, 2016, 2017). The latter refers to how the Norwegian and

Swedish organizations for sport are open for all *and* united in a monopolistic umbrella organization, NIF and RF, respectively. In principle, the umbrella organization with its federated associations should be enough to reach the goal of sport for all and satisfy the population's needs and desire for sport. Whilst state politicians prioritize the 'universal' organizations as the only sport policy implementers, one can ask (at least in the Norwegian context) whether sport is the colonizers' and assimilation politicians' last bastion (Skille, 2012; Fahlén & Skille, 2016, 2017)? In that respect, when discussing the convention of the Indigenous nation versus that of the nation state (and recalling that convention refers to ways of interpreting and acting), perhaps the correct denomination of the analysis should start from a convention of dichotomous thinking versus a convention of multicultural thinking.

Mainstream sport policy and the common understanding that all sport fall under monopolistic sport organizations is a reproduction of the nation state-sport nexus cited in Chapter 1 (Goksøyr, 2011; Marjoribanks & Farquharson, 2012; McLean & Field, 2014) and the intertwined processes of nation states and development of sport organizations as outlined in Chapter 2. What then about the convention of Indigenous tradition and culture? The point is that the way of thinking about Indigenous interests only partially intersects with the way of thinking about sport among most decision-makers. However, there are contextual differences. I will claim that two contrary processes closely intertwine and mutually influence each other. Or, more precisely, in Norway, there seems to be a convention of Indigenous rights (that is legal-philosophical, normative, and global) influencing sport policy, while this is much less so in Sweden, Finland, and Russia (Andresen et al., 2021; Falch et al., 2015; Kuokkanen, 2019). Considering the issue of Indigenous sport as an issue of political conventions makes the difference between, for example, Sweden and Norway even clearer. Swedish politicians seem to consider Sámi sport as an ethnic issue only, while Norwegian politicians view Indigenous sport as constituted by both ethnicity *and* sport. Having said that, there are also variations of dominating conventions inside Sápmi in Norway. Although I aim at challenging the sport-nation state nexus, the empirical narrative casts doubt on Sápmi as a nation, indicating that the established convention (that a nation equals a state) is strong. Empirically, there was no doubt among the sport club representatives reported in Chapters 4 and 5 regarding the status of Norway as a nation.

However, compared to other Indigenous nations in the world that are usually completely located within nation state borders, the fact that Sápmi crosses four states makes it somewhat easier to define Sápmi as a unique entity. For example, when there is an awards ceremony at the Indigenous international sport event like the AWG, 'they play the American [US] national anthem for Alaska, they play the Canadian [anthem] when it is a Canadian region. So, for Sápmi, they play the Sámi anthem [which is] also used at the Sámi national day' (Sport club representative D9). The very fact that Sápmi actually has and uses a national anthem of their own, while the other mentioned Indigenous nations use their

superior nation state's anthems, indicates an understanding of unity across the countries on what Sápmi covers and that there is a specific Indigenous nation that sport contributes to building. This leads to a discussion of conventions of nation versus nation state.

Conventions of Indigenous Nations Versus Conventions of Nation State

As per Chapter 1, nations and states are different entities. In this study of Indigenous sport across states, the distinction is probably best exemplified in the case of the reorganization of Sámi sport reported in Chapter 6. It appears as if one of the main arguments to reorganize Sámi sport was to establish unity and cooperation in a joint Sápmi. However, a well-functioning outcome requires that disrupting conventions – such as one joint organization across several nation states versus organizations determined by the unitary states they are in – adapt to each other. The Sámi Parliament in Norway, which strictly speaking is a Norwegian government institution, initiated the reorganization. Therefore, following the idea of a *Norwegian Sámi Parliament* has a prerogative in defining Sámi politics as social reality as a Norwegian reality. If that is the case, placing the nation state as superior to the Indigenous nation has some implications. First, such beliefs and structures reproduce power relations that are important in maintaining the legitimacy of a *Norwegian Sámi Parliament* instead of a joint Sámi governing body across nation state borders. Second, and tightly related to the former, it reproduces the colonialist positions of (Norway as a state) being the most powerful governor of Sápmi. The conventional understanding of a nation state – the Norwegian nation state – reaffirms the legitimacy of the rationalized structure it constitutes; 'old power' preserves 'new power' relations because conventions are relatively stable.

Regarding the latter, a bureaucrat in the Norwegian Sámi Parliament sums up the point succinctly: 'Although we are Sámis, we grew up and are educated within a country.' The Sámi Parliament official sees 'a huge difference of being a Sámi sport person on the Swedish compared to on the Norwegian side. ... Independent on whether it regards sport or other things, you end up copying bureaucratic models' (official, Sámi Parliament in Norway). In that respect, there occurs a distinction between the Sámi sport organizations and the Sámi parliaments as proxies of their respective nation states on one side and the collective Sámi community on the other. Some SVL-N representatives experienced a lack of inclusion of their peers in other Sámi sport organizations and considered any reorganization of Sámi sport as a matter for the SVL on the Nordic level, including representatives from Norway, Sweden, and Finland (SVL-N, 2018). The legitimacy of Sámi sport and an extension of Sámi sport organization rest on respecting and calling on the pre-state borders – a joint Sápmi. Instead, the dividing lines drawn by colonizing powers invariably create tensions within the Sámi people. Thus, Indigenous sport organizations leaning on the conventions of unitary states put various groups of one Indigenous people up against each other. An equally plausible – and not

mutually exclusive – interpretation could be that Finnish organizations belong to a Finnish field in which sport are legitimized by cultural connotations, while Norwegian organizations belong to a Norwegian field in which sport are legitimized as performance optimization. The point is that a significant number of intrapersonal and interpersonal interpretations of sport and nations are all at play, and all at once.

Conclusion

Given the outset of this book, where I criticized the established research literature focusing on the nation state-sport nexus, and the complex empirical reality of Indigenous sport on the North Calotte, should a new convention be developed? What I have in mind is a convention for the sport-nation nexus, excluding the state. The answer to such a question clearly depends on the context and who you ask. For some insiders of Indigenous sport, it is already an established convention. For others, mostly outside Indigenous sport (but also among some insiders), the nation-sport nexus (without state) does not apply; they are spellbound in the nation state-sport nexus. Thus, if convention is both an individual and collective ‘interpretation schema’, new questions arise: how many will need to comply with the schema to make it a convention and how much is determined by a conventional understanding of sport? Do we need to think along the lines of nation and state at all? The question could at least be: can the dichotomous understanding of nation be replaced by a multi-national understanding?

Approaching the end of the chapter and aiming at answering some of the above questions, I will merge community and convention. The overall arguments are, first, that understanding nation-building through Indigenous sport requires a commitment to a convention from the vast majority of Indigenous individuals. Second, it requires an integrated and multiple approaches. Considering community along the lines of Cohen (1985) and Jenkins (2008), as symbolic constructs regarding similarity and belonging, the empirical findings reveal an analytical point: nobody belongs to only a single context or community. Therefore, at least in the context of Sápmi in Norway, it is an oversimplification to speak about Sámi versus Norwegian as if you will have to choose one community or identity and simultaneously reject the other. Moreover, it is reductionist to speak of a concrete local community versus an imagined national community because they are mutually dependent. Above, conventions of sport versus the convention of a nation, and the convention of nation versus the convention of state, are discussed in rather dichotomous manners. From this, I questioned whether another convention is required in between these dichotomies or if it is required to take an analytical step up to leave the convention of dichotomous thinking.

The actors of Indigenous sport struggle with finding the right balance between sport and ethnopolitics. What is an ‘appropriate amount’ of indigeneity? Hansen (2008) holds that an exhibition of the Indigenous can be ‘too much’ or ‘too less’, depending on the perspective. Studying an Indigenous festival in revitalized

areas, many local inhabitants think that the festival is ‘too much Sámi’, while the tradition-oriented milieu in Finnmark thinks it is ‘not Sámi enough’. Both sides believe that an exhibition of Indigenous peoples ‘destroys the respective culture’ because such perceptions presume ‘an idea about culture as homogeneous, pure, and ordered cultures’ (Hansen, 2008, p. 8). Thus, an alternative to the dichotomous world view required to find the balance is an integrated or multiple one. A new generation (those growing up since the 1980s) insists on being considered heterogeneous. As per the introduction, I have cousins who are Sámi and Norwegian. No problem. They and their children have participated in both Indigenous and mainstream sport. No problem. Problems arise if they are forced to choose one or the other, or if they are considered half of each. For them, they are 100% Norwegian and 100% Sámi. This integrated understanding is in line with the development of the North Calotte, which to large degrees has moved towards a convention of multiculturalism, or multinationalism (Andresen et al., 2021; Skille & Broch, 2019). However, this understanding is limited to being inside each respective nation state.

Notes

- 1 See, for example, Fahlén and Skille (2016, 2017); Skille (2008, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2013); Skille et al. (2021).
- 2 I do not in any way deny the dark sides of sport (see, for example, Auweele, 2004; David, 2005). In this analysis, however, I lean on the empirical material of Sámi sport representatives as reported in previous chapters.
- 3 Italy won the final after a penalty shootout (UEFA, 2021).

References

- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities. Reflecting on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Sage.
- Auweele, Y. V. (2004). *Ethics in Youth Sport. Analyses and recommendations*. Lannoo Campus.
- Bairner, A. (2015). Assessing the sociology of sport: On national identity and nationalism. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 50(4–5), 375–379.
- Bakken, A. (2019). *Idrettens posisjon i ungdomstida. Hvem deltar og hvem slutter i ungdomsidretten?* [Sport’s standing during adolescence. Who participates and who quits youth sport?] NOVA/Storbyuniversitet.
- Beacom, A. (1998). Indigenous sport and the search for belonging. *The Sports Historian*, 18(2), 50–77.
- Beck, U. and Beck-Gernsheom, E. (2001). *Individualization*. Sage.
- Boatcă, M., Costa, S. and Rodríguez, E. G. (2010). Introduction: Decolonizing European sociology: Different paths towards a pending project. In E. G. Rodríguez, M. Boatcă and S. Costa (Eds.): *Decolonizing European sociology. Transdisciplinary approaches* (pp. 1–10). Ashgate.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Polity Press.

- Breuer, C., Hoekman, R., Nagel, S. and van der Werff, H. (Eds.) (2015). *Sport clubs in Europe. A cross-national comparative perspective*. Springer Verlag.
- Bunyan, P. (2014). Re-conceptualizing civil society: Towards a radical understanding. *Voluntas*, 25(2), 538–552.
- Campbell, J. L. (2004). *Institutional change and globalization*. Princeton University Press.
- Coalter, F. (2007). *A wider social role for sport. Who is keeping the score?* Routledge.
- Coakley, J. (2001). *Sport in society. Issues and controversies* (7th ed). McGraw-Hill.
- Cohen, A. P. (1985). *The symbolic construction of community*. Tavistock.
- David, P. (2005). *Human rights in youth sport. A critical review of children's rights in competitive sports*. Routledge.
- Delanty, G. (2010). *Community* (2nd ed). Routledge.
- DiMaggio, P. J. and Powell, W. W. (1983). The Iron Cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. *American Sociological Review*, 48(2), 147–160.
- Durkheim, E. (1964 [1893]). *The division of labor in society*. The Free Press.
- Enjolras, B. (2006). *Conventions and institutions*. L'Harmattan.
- Falch, T., Selle, P. and Strømsnes, K. (2015). The Sami: 25 years of indigenous authority in Norway. *Ethnopolitics*, 15(1), 125–143.
- Fahlén, J. and Skille, E. Å. (2016). Samisk idrett og statlig politikk i Sverige og Norge [Sami sport and state policy in Sweden and Norway]. In H. C. Pedersen and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Utafor sporet? Idrett, identiteter og regionalisme i nord* [Outside the tracks? Sport, identities and regionalism in the north] (pp. 138–167). Oplandske Bokforlag.
- Fahlén, J. and Skille, E. Å. (2017). State sport policy for Indigenous sport: Inclusive ambitions and exclusive coalitions. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 9(1), 173–187.
- Gilroy, P. (2008). Multiculturalism and post-colonial theory. In J. S. Dryzek, B. Honnig and A. Philips (Eds.): *The Oxford handbook of political theory* (pp. 656–676). Oxford University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity. Self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford University Press.
- Go, J. (2013). Introduction: Entangling postcoloniality and sociological thought. In J. Go (Ed.): *Postcolonial sociology* (pp. 3–31). Oxford University Press.
- Green, K., Sigurjonsson, T. and Skille, E. Å. (Eds.) (2019). *Sport in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries*. Routledge.
- Groeneveld, M., Houlihan, B., and Ohl, F. (Eds.) (2011). *Social capital and sport governance in Europe*. Routledge.
- Guttmann, A. (1978). *From ritual to record. The nature of modern sport*. Columbia University Press.
- Hansen, L. (2008). *Storm på kysten* [Storm on the coast]. Margbok.
- Holmes, M. and Storey, D. (2004). Who are the boys in green? Irish identity and soccer in the Republic of Ireland. In A. Smith and D. Porter (Eds.): *Sport and national identity in the post-war world* (pp. 88–104). Routledge.
- Jenkins, R. (2004). *Social identity*. Routledge.
- Jenkins, R. (2008). *Rethinking ethnicity* (2nd ed). Sage.
- Kelly, K. and Caputo, T. (2011). *Community. A contemporary analysis of policies, programs, and practices*. University of Toronto Press.
- Kuokkanen, R. (2019). *Restructuring relations. Indigenous self-determination, governance, and gender*. Oxford University Press.

- Lewis, D. (2002 [1969]) *Convention*. Harvard University Press.
- Lidström, I. (2019). The development of Sámi Sport, 1970–1990: A concern for Sweden or for Sápmi? *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 19(11), 1013–1034.
- Marjoribanks, T. and Farquharson, K. (2012). *Sport and society in the global age*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Meyer, J. W. and Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology*, 83(2), 340–363.
- Ministry of Culture (1973–1974). *Om organisering og finansiering av kulturarbeid* [On organizing and financing of culture work]. Kulturdepartementet.
- Murray, C. and Hassan, D. (2018). The Good Friday disagreement: Sport and contested identities in Northern Ireland since 1998. In D. Hassan and C. Acton (Eds.): *Sport and contested identities. Contemporary issues and debates* (pp. 30–48). Routledge.
- NIF (2021). *Årsrapport 2020* [Annual report 2020]. Norges idrettsforbund.
- Olstad, F. (2017). *Den lange oppturen. Norsk historie 1945–2015* [The long upswing. Norwegian history 1945–2015]. Dreyer.
- Pedersen, H. C. (2014). Skiing and divergent ethnic identities in the multiethnic Northern Norway. *National Identities*, 16(4), 365–376.
- Pedersen, P. and Høgmo, A. (2012). *Sápmi slår tilbake. Samiske revitaliserings- og moderniseringsprosesser i siste generasjon* [Sápmi strikes back. Sámi revitalization and modernization processes in the last generation]. CalliidLagadus.
- Petrov, P. (2014). National styles of wrestling in the Soviet Union and the Post-Soviet states: Political and sociocultural aspects of their development and use. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 31(4), 405–422.
- Schatzki, T. R. (1996). *Social practices. A Wittgensteinian approach to human activity and the social*. Cambridge University Press.
- Seippel, Ø. and Skille, E. Å. (2015). Sport clubs in Norway. In C. Breuer, R. Hoekman, S. Nagel and H. van der Werff, H. (Eds.): *Sport clubs in Europe. A cross-national comparative perspective* (pp. 309–324). Springer verlag.
- Seippel, Ø. and Skille, E. Å. (2019). Sports participation in Norway. In K. Green, T. Sigurjonsson and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Sport in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries* (pp. 108–135). Routledge.
- Skille, E. Å. (2008). Understanding sport clubs as sport policy implementers: A theoretical framework for the analysis of the implementation of central sport policy through local and voluntary sport organizations. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 43(2), 181–200.
- Skille, E. Å. (2009). State sport policy and the voluntary sport clubs: The case of the Norwegian Sports City Program as social policy. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 9(1), 63–79.
- Skille, E. Å. (2010). *Idrettslaget – helseprodusent eller trivselsarena?* [The sports club – Health producer or arena for well-being?] Oplanske bokforlag.
- Skille, E. Å. (2011). The conventions of sport clubs: Enabling and constraining the implementation of social goods through sport. *Sport, Education and Society*, 16(2), 241–253.
- Skille, E. Å. (2012). Ethno-politics and state sport policy – The case of how the Sami sport association – Norway challenged the Norwegian confederation of sport's monopoly for state subsidies to sport. *Scandinavian Sport Studies Forum*, 3, 143–165.
- Skille, E. Å. (2013). Lassoing and reindeer racing versus 'universal' sports: Various routes to Sami ethnic identity through sports. In C. Halinan and B. Judd (Eds.): *Native games – indigenous peoples and sports in the post-colonial world* (pp. 21–41). Emerald.

- Skille, E. Å. (2021). Doing research into Indigenous issues being non-Indigenous. *Qualitative Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14687941211005947>.
- Skille, E. Å. & Broch, T. B. (2019). Sámi Sport in the Nordic civil sphere: Assimilation, multiculturalism and multiple axes of membership. In J. C. Alexander, A. L. & A. M. Voyer (Eds.): *The Nordic civil sphere* (pp. 151–173). Polity Press.
- Skille, E. Å. and Fahlén, J. (2020). The role of sport organizations for local and national community – The case of Sámi sport organizations. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 29(2), 239–254.
- Skille, E. Å. and Stenling, C. (2018). Inside-out and Outside-in: Applying the concept of conventions in the analysis of policy implementation through sport clubs. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 53(7), 837–853.
- Skille, E. Å., Fahlén, J., Stenling, C. and Strittmatter, A. M. (2021). (Lack of) Government policy for Indigenous (Sámi) sport – A chain of legitimating and de-legitimating acts. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690220988650>.
- Skinner, J., Zakus, D. H., and Cowell, J. (2008). Development through sport: Building social capital in disadvantaged communities. *Sport Management Review*, 11, 253–275.
- SSB (2021). *Befolkning* [Population]. Retrieved from: <https://www.ssb.no/befolkning/folketall/statistikk/befolkning>
- SVL-N (2018). *Vedtekter* [Statutes]. Sámiid Valáštallanlihttu – Norga.
- Tönnies, F. (1963 [1887]). *Community and society*. Harper and Row.
- Tuomela, R. (2002). *The philosophy of social practices*. Cambridge University Press.
- UEFA (2021). *Euro 2020. Final*. Retrieved from: <https://www.uefa.com/uefaeuro-2020/>.
- Weber, M. (1922 [1978]). *Economy and society. An outline of interpretive sociology*. University of California Press.
- Wenner, L. A. and Billings, A. C. (2017). *Sport, media and mega-events*. Routledge.
- Young, R. J. C. (2003). *Postcolonialism: A history*. Blackwell.

Nation-Building and Indigenous Sport

Lessons Learned

From the outset of this book, I aimed to shed light on the kinds of roles Indigenous sport organizations and sport clubs play in Indigenous nation-building and how these roles vary. In short, sport contributes to nation-building via sport clubs in local neighbourhoods, which work as both physical activity providers and community associations with a place identity focus that may include an Indigenous identity focus. Moreover, the relationship between the concrete local community and the imagined national community is omnipresent, but it is variable and nuanced. Although the differences are never starkly black and white, there seems to be a pattern indicating that the relationship is somewhat more communal in core Indigenous areas and more assimilative outside core Indigenous areas. I will elaborate on this topic in this chapter, and then, at the end, I will revert the focus to the second aim of this book, which is to discuss what contemporary conventions within Indigenous sport signal future community development and the (re) emergence of the Indigenous culture and nation.

Moreover, conventions of nations, sport, and sport organizations vary and create discussable tensions regarding the relationship between individual and collective elements. In this chapter, I will focus more explicitly on individual-oriented universalism of the welfare state on one side versus particularism of Indigenous nations on the other. In so doing, I also touch upon hierarchies within the particular Indigenous people under scrutiny. In the section 'Community Development in Sápmi', I relate the findings from my sport sociological inquiry to general processes of societal and community development of Sápmi. Further, a section on 'Multicultural Versus Segregated Communities' primarily addresses the relationship between the Indigenous Sámi minority and the Norwegian majority. Meanwhile, a section on 'Sámi Sport and Sápmi Nation-Building in an International Perspective' compares the present case with other studies (including the literature presented in Chapter 2). In the section 'Citizenship and Nationhood', I take a step back and discuss some methodological (and epistemological) issues, along with a side commentary on how language influences interpretation in social science. The section 'Contributions and Applications' sums up this piece of sport sociology and considers potential future research. Finally, the section 'The

End – A Good Future?’ considers political implications and aims to provide some semblance of optimism.

Community Development in Sápmi

Sociological theories into individualization and community revitalization often start from the premise that the ‘community’ is in decline. I adopt a slightly different approach. With reference to the long history of sport clubs in Norway combined with the long history of multi-ethnic cohabitation in North Calotte, I want to pinpoint that there is as much evidence of continuity of community as there is supporting disruptions. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that there is a revitalization of the focus on the concept of community in contemporary academic works (Tjora & Scambler, 2020). It could be questioned whether this renaissance of the application of ‘community’ is (one part of) a return of ‘the progressives’ (Putnam, 2020). In this regard, Putnam (2020) mentioned President Roosevelt and sociologist Jane Addams from the Chicago School as examples of classic progressives who sought a return to the ‘old days’. A few comments to make here are, first, that the challenges that American cities faced in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (such as urbanization, segregation, and individualization), never occurred in North Calotte – at least not to the same degree that sparked sociology’s focus on the urban challenge. In the local north, small towns and villages are still the rule of thumb for residencies, child upbringing, and youth development. These are simply the main conditions for human interactions and relationships, including in organized sport. Thus, rural village life is the generalized context for shaping identities in Sápmi (as in many other rural parts of the Nordic countries).

Nevertheless, the overarching societal development regarding infrastructures and technologies in the information society era also enables new forms of relationships in these contexts. The point is that the reciprocity, preached by the mentioned ‘progressives’ as something that needed to be returned to in order to maintain healthy in social terms, never left the countryside in Sápmi. In that respect, grand theories fail to consider minorities such as Indigenous peoples and nations, which I will claim is yet another justification for a research like this. A discussion of the conventions within Indigenous sport and what they signal in terms of community development and the (re)emergence of an Indigenous nation must take into consideration an overarching development that is relevant for the particular context. Therefore, I will sum up some of my findings by drawing upon more general knowledge about the Sámi people. I turn to a recent book on Sámi history covering the middle of the 18th century until today (Andresen et al., 2021) that professes three integrating processes of community development that are still ongoing: closer relations among Sámis internally, between Sámis and Norwegians, and between Sámi and Indigenous communities globally.

First, the empirical findings in Chapters 4 and 5 indicate by and large that there is a better relationship between Sámi sport actors across Sámi areas today

compared to, say, one generation ago. Nevertheless, the composition of the Sámi community as a whole (as one people or one nation) still encompasses variations between different groups of the Sámi people. Most significantly, there is a notable hierarchy in Sámi sport (in relation to ‘authenticity’ and legitimacy) that reflects the broader situation of the Sámi people (Andresen et al., 2021), with Sámis from core areas on top and those living outside core areas positioned lower in the hierarchy. The structuring elements of these overarching patterns are, in addition to *language as a benchmark for measuring legitimate Indigenous belonging*:

- closeness to the reindeer-herding culture as the ultimate symbol for the Sámi and
- closeness to formal Sámi institutions, such as
 - the Sámi Parliament (political power) in Karasjok,
 - the Sápmi branch of the Norwegian state’s broadcasting company (public information) – also located in Karasjok,
 - the Sámi university college (formal knowledge) in Kautokeino, and
 - the Inner and Eastern Finnmark court in Tana (legal system).

The last point (the court) is particularly interesting as it is established to take care of the Sámi dimension in the Norwegian legal system. In addition to these issues within Norway, there are variations and even competing opinions among Indigenous sport representatives across state borders. In sum, then, the internal process pinpointed by Andresen et al. (2021) is somewhat evident, but a study of Sámi sport reveals some remaining distinctions between various groups of the same Indigenous people.

Second, regarding the Sámi–Norwegian relationship, it is complex when it comes to sport as the difference between the collective and the individual dimensions is distinctive. To elucidate, Sámi sport is a separate organization with a focus on the promotion of Indigenous elements of the activities, while Sámi individuals partake in both Indigenous and mainstream organizations. Therefore, on the one hand, the narratives outlined in Chapters 4–6 do not indicate a tightening between Sámi sport and Norwegian sport, but rather an often-incompatible relationship between separate sport systems. The Indigenous sport organization as a representative of the collective Indigenous movement can be considered a threat to the monopoly and corporatist relationship that NIF is accustomed to and maintains with the state (Skille et al., 2021). However, on the other hand, at the individual level, Sámi athletes are – as other Sámis – integrated inhabitants of local communities and the state of Norway. This is probably most visible – at least symbolically most valuable – in cases wherein Sámi athletes participate in Norwegian national teams. As mentioned earlier, ethnicity information is not collected in household surveys in Norway. Consequently, we have no data on the participation of Sámi in Norwegian mainstream mass sport. However, there are indications of similar participation patterns among Sámi as for others regarding

sport participation (Rafoss & Hines, 2016) and regarding involvement in voluntary organizations in general, as well as in political parties (Selle et al., 2015). Aiming – for the moment – at taking the mainstream sport organization's and majority population's point of view, it is probably easier to accept the Indigenous individual as benign (than an organizational or collective movement). Indeed, she is often a mainstream sport participant, thereby contributing to the membership base that makes up much of the power for mainstream sport as a collective system, and sometimes – as we have seen – the Indigenous individual athlete may even constitute a resource that can strengthen the Norwegian national team.

In that respect, the Indigenous sport organization stands in some contrast to the contextual descriptions from Chapter 3 as long as the tightening between Sámi and Norwegians is taken as a given when it comes to political institutions. For example, Spitzer and Selle (2020) made the point that the Sámi autonomy versus self-governance and self-determination of Sámi is not a zero-sum game; it is actually possible to simultaneously increase Sámi power and merge more with the Norwegian political system. That is an ongoing process that is best exemplified by the consultation arrangement between the Sámi Parliament and the Norwegian government (Broderstad, 2011). In sum, I postulate the narrative that the relationship between the Sámi and the Norwegian communities is becoming closer (Andresen et al., 2021), but the situation is (slightly) more complex when it comes to sport policy and sport organization. The complexity is based on the nuances between the individual and the collective dimensions and how various conventions 'compete' (which I will explain when discussing the third process).

Third, Sámi sport is part of an international Indigenous sport community. Empirically, this statement is arguably best specified with the participation – and the ascribed value to the participation – in the Arctic Winter Games. Moreover, this international participation and – as seen in Chapter 5 – tightening of an international Indigenous sporting community reinforces the first process described: the increasingly close internal relationships within the focal Indigenous sport community (by generating training camps and meeting places among Sámis to prepare for international participation). However, the Games and the associated preparations also 'disturb' the internal tightening process because such preparations include selection processes that bring to light an Indigenous justification discourse. Indeed, there is a hierarchy among Sámis identified through the disputes regarding indigeneity and selection for Sápmi national teams and the possibility of becoming Sámi champions. In that respect, the Arctic Winter Games highlight the third integrating process in the Sámi community in relation to how it develops closeness with an established and increasing community of international Indigenous peoples and an Indigenous movement (Andresen et al., 2021). Where sport by its competitive nature creates challenges regarding representation, it is also evident that conventions of sport compete with conventions of nation-building.

On the whole, Andresen and colleagues (2021) claimed that the three processes of community development, namely, Sámi internal, Sámi–Norwegian, and

Sámi on the international Indigenous peoples' scene, are all undergoing integration and tightening. However, these authors would remind us that these are all broad processes that take hundreds of years, and each of them can manifest variations. In that respect, we should also be mindful that there was never complete assimilation without resistance, and there was never total agreement among the Sámis about the way forward for Sámi revitalization, neither 'intra-state' nor 'all-Nordic' reconciliation. For example, Sámis themselves disagreed with regards to the establishment of the Sámi Parliament (Andresen et al., 2021). Thus, it is inconceivable to claim or suggest complete agreement among all Sámi about Sámi sport. In that respect, the narratives about Indigenous sport and nation-building from different corners of the world, but mainly from Sápmi, have all indicated or revealed some tensions. Thus, a question arises: why is this the case in sport? As we have seen, especially regarding the tightening between the Sámi and the Norwegian societies and communities, when it comes to sport, there are crucial variations across the general theme. As already indicated, I believe some of the answers lie in the tension between individuals as citizens of a welfare state and the particularities of ethnic and Indigenous groups and organizations. This aspect is scrutinized further in the subsequent section.

Sport and Indigeneity – Multicultural or Segregated Communities?

Much of the discussion on Indigenous sport and nation-building touch upon broader issues of being distinctive versus being integrated and are dependent on whether the focus is on individual and universal features versus ethnic or Indigenous group characteristics. The Norwegian welfare state, known for supporting voluntary organizations that foster an egalitarian society (Engelstad & Larsen, 2019), has extended universalism into sport (Archetti, 2003; Bairner, 2010; Green et al., 2019). This implies a strong belief in a system where 'one-size-fits-all'. Admittedly, the Norwegian sport organization NIF has been relatively successful with regards to the number of participants it has generated, especially if compared to most other countries (Green et al., 2019). However, this 'one-size-fits-all' arrangement has its limitations when it comes to specific groups, hereunder the acceptance of Indigenous peoples in a country (Selle et al., 2015). As Indigenous Sámi sport in Norway is at least partially impacted by mainstream Norwegian conventions of sport and organization, it creates a Norway-based Indigenous community as much as a national Sámi community. Therefore, I suggest denominating Sápmi in Norway as an 'embedded Indigenous nation' (paraphrasing Hanrieder & Zangl, 2015).¹ Allow me to explain. 'Norwegian Sápmi' is embedded in the unitary state of Norway; hence, the Indigenous nation of the Sámi people is divided. Indigenous sport complies with and reproduces the societal and permeating divisions made by the unitary states. Given how participation at international Indigenous sport events contributes to Indigenous nation-building, it is a paradox how Indigenous sport contributes

to the nation-building of a divided Indigenous nation because – when divided by state borders – each ‘local Sápmi’ is embedded in its respective nation state.

In some way, sport clubs can be considered the ultimate expression of an ‘embedded Indigenous nation’ because they make the embeddedness *and* the nation concrete through everyday activities and human interactions. As per Chapters 4 and 5, most Sámi sport clubs are both mainstream because they are affiliated with the dominant Norwegian sport organization *and* simultaneously Indigenous because they are associated with the Sámi sport organization. This dual affiliation symbolizes the multicultural everyday life of communities with Indigenous and non-Indigenous inhabitants of North Calotte. The picture of what is Sámi and what is Norwegian is not – and has never been – black and white; it has been multi-ethnic and multicultural. All such ‘multis’ may at their best include acceptance, tolerance, understanding, and recognition. The difference can be considered as particularity and becomes a source that asserts the right to be admired for being different. In that respect, multiculturalism has the potential to be a means of recognition and a pathway to acknowledging outgroups. However, when it comes to sport, the NIF’s imperative to re-create the primordial status of the welfare state is used to put Indigenous sport outside and in need of organizational assimilation. Regarding the state’s sport policy, Indigenous sport’s first attempt to gain subsidies was not successful; Norwegian sport became defined as culture, while Sámi sport did not. The state kept acting uniformly.

To specify, 25 years ago, the White Paper on Sámi policies cited the White Paper on sport policy when claiming that the Sámi sport organization should ‘find a solution through a cooperation with NIF that can serve common interests in Sámi sport and other sport and the further development of Sámi sport in Norway’ (Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 1996–1997, Chapter 12.12). Apparently, the state sport policy and the state’s corporatist relationship with the mainstream sport organization (NIF) resided with an assimilative mode, guiding its participants through the cultural and primordial way to Norwegian-ness (Broch & Skille, 2019). The problem of forging a new path for funding Indigenous sport was challenging because conventions of Nordic egalitarianism were powerful. Despite official politics today discarding such historical ideas, the rejection of a concrete application for subsidies could be interpreted as fitting into a pattern of suppression and stigmatization of Sámi identity (see Eidheim, 1971) that facilitated a continued ‘othering’ of Sámi culture (Olsen & Andreassen, 2018; Skille, 2021). The majority–minority relation is fused with ideals of sameness. No matter how liberal the welfare state has developed, the Sámis have challenged the nation state’s imagination of uniformity and its acceptance of an assimilative stance. In that respect, Sámi sport brings into light the primordialism of the Nordic nation states, where ideals of sameness generate processes of inclusion and exclusion (Broch & Skille, 2019). This sameness ideology of the welfare state – which is an ‘embedded state’ within the global conventions – both creates and hinders as primordial Indigenous outgroups aim for equality while being different. In that respect, the

very construction of an Indigenous sport organization threatens the majority's image of sameness; no wonder representatives of the state expressed resistance.

Change eventually occurred, and the Norwegian state formally acknowledged SVL-N as an independent organization instead of becoming a member of NIF and an autonomous receiver of state sport grants in 2005 after being pressured by an external power (Skille, 2012). The Sámi Parliament president was active in negotiations with the state, providing information about Sámi sport and requesting that the Norwegian state ensure the sustainment of the Indigenous population's culture and language. Despite the economic–symbolic reconciliation inherent in the subsidies from the state to Indigenous sport, the hierarchical relationship between NIF and SVL-N remained. Historically, the Norwegian 'sameness state' does not see the benefits of an Indigenous outlook. However, Indigenous sport in the Nordic countries allows Sámis to exhibit primordial qualities as their ascribed identity. Indigenous sport provides a context in which ethnic identity can be actively developed and displayed instead of passively being labelled according to the dominant group's definitions of 'the other' (Broch & Skille, 2019). Thus, the coordinated initiatives by the Sámi Parliament and the Sámi sport organization challenged the narrative of the universal welfare state and emphasized that the SVL-N was not created to be an arena for practicing sameness between the majority and Indigenous minority. SVL-N, as part of SVL, was created to enact sameness across Sámi subgroups as well as to shape and reshape a community other than the Norwegian (including Sámis in Norway). By providing the arrangements for economic support, the Norwegian state authorities sensed that there was more at stake than the physical activity of the Sámis. SVL-N was reconceptualized in a multicultural way and as a context for building an Indigenous nation.

However, the relative success for Sámis in Norway does not equate a general or complete success for Sámi sport in states' sport policies across Sápmi nor for a Sápmi nation. For one, the challenges faced by the Indigenous sport organization comprised a double-edged sword: on one side, it created a successful ethno-political strategy by distinguishing itself from the mainstream sport organization; on the other, this made it unconceivable to create a 'folk movement' ala the mainstream sport organization because it targets a small and ethnically defined group of the population. Another challenge is that the Sámi people reside across four nation states. Hence, the Sámi sport organization was established as part of a broader context of political movement and organized interest expressions. In other words, sport – as many other organized Indigenous interests during the 1970s – 'became a tool in the revitalization process of Sami culture and nationalism' (Pedersen, 2014, p. 371). The idea with the Sámi sport organization established in 1979 was to create or re-create the 'borderless' Sápmi, which must be interpreted as an expression of 'the fundamental ideological idea of Sápmi and the homogenous Sami nation' (2014, p. 372; see also Skille et al., 2021), where the segregation from Norwegian sport was a 'fundamental organizational basis of Sami sport' (Pedersen, 2014, p. 371). To this end, Sámi sport does not want to be 'embedded' in Norwegian sport (Skille, 2012), but these struggles can be perceived as smaller

'riots' or battles (than the Alta case) in the Indigenous war for self-determination and acknowledgement.

Whilst social democratic welfare states have excellent solutions for universal rights for individuals, the same excellence may conceal fights for groups and their rights. 'Where minorities may claim integration, Indigenous peoples claim autonomy'. Individual rights are insufficient. 'For Indigenous peoples, the answer to their marginalized or subordinate position is self-determination' (Dahl, 2012, p. 205). However, the organization of self-determination varies, and the state politics for it is double-edged. On one side, self-determination takes a particular form regarding cultural projects. For example, it seems 'easy' and 'cheap' for the state to support festivals and other projects in order to 'tick off' the box for supporting the Indigenous people. On the other, the assumption of homogeneity in the Nordic welfare states hides the Nordic tradition of dealing with diversity. Indigenous sport is a good example of such diversity and of a move towards the recognition of Indigenous peoples. Sport offers insights into how domination, assimilation, and incorporation have taken multicultural forms. Indigenous sport shapes the possibilities for multicultural recognition and inclusion, hereunder the possibilities for Indigenous-ness and Indigenous co-identification. The diversities regarding self-determination and universal/individual rights go beyond the Nordic context. Therefore, let me move on to framing the case of Sámi sport into larger perspectives and broader comparisons of Indigenous sport and nation-building.

Sámi Sport and Sápmi Nation-Building in Global Perspectives

This study reveals some similarities between Indigenous sport in North Calotte and in international cases. It also highlights some differences, revealing some unique elements of Sámi sport. Therefore, let me position this study in the research field by referring to some international literature (cf. Chapter 2). This study of North Calotte resonates with Bhimani's (2016) study about the Olympic Games in Sochi 2014 that were held on an Indigenous people's land in the sense that there seem to be two competing conventions: particular interests versus universalism. The IOC, with the support of strong partners such as hosting nation states, executes a 'double backing' for the event; there is no room for 'smaller issues', such as Indigenous interests of the land on which the event is organized. Apparently, there is only one solution: the 'universal sport identity' shared among most actors in the world. In a similar vein, the mainstream sport organization in a country that is economically and symbolically supported by a nation state works the same way and provides little room for Indigenous sport and Indigenous sport organizations. The NIF and the state of Norway jointly stand for a double backing of the idea of a united and universal sport movement. Having said that, there are clear elements of nation state support for the Sámi people in Norway, for example, regarding the establishment and relatively steadily increasing power of the Sámi Parliament.

As mentioned, the colonization of Sápmi differs from ‘classic’ colonization (Olsen, 2016; Olsen & Andreassen, 2018), such as that in African countries (Darby, 2007). While Darby (2007) indicated some exploitation of African footballers, the same cannot be said about the footballer Tom Høgli or the Nordic combined athlete Håvard Klemetsen – Sámis on Norwegian national teams (or can it?). The Sámis are an integrated people in the Norwegian nation state and other nation states and are as active in mainstream Norwegian sport and other voluntary organizations as others (Rafoss & Hines, 2016; Selle et al., 2015). Nevertheless, when Indigenous athletes participate in mainstream sport, they support a convention of a universal ideology regarding activity and competitiveness. In doing so, it can be questioned whether they contribute to the development of an Indigenous nation if the Indigenous element is never played out. Indigenous individuals within mainstream sport *can* play it out, for example, if Māori players on All Blacks; Aboriginals on Australian national teams; First Nations on a Canadian team; or Sámis on Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, or Russian teams display their indigeneity in some way. A famous example is when New Zealand rugby players perform the Indigenous dance *haka* – usually led by a Māori athlete – before All Blacks games. Another example is Cathy Freeman, the Aboriginal Australian sprinter who won the 400 meters in the Sydney Olympics and who is claimed to embody a reconciled Australian nation (White, 2013). However, there have been different opinions on this subject: after winning a race at the 1994 Commonwealth Games, Freeman first grabbed the Aboriginal flag. This ‘overt display of pride for her people was reprimanded by a senior official’ of her team although his objection was considered out of line by public opinion and that of the nation’s leaders, including the Prime Minister (White, 2013, pp. 159–160). All in all, ‘Freeman received both acclaim and criticism’ for grasping both flags, leading to discussions on whether the Aboriginal flag could be a symbol for the Australian nation or should be used (only) as a symbol of resistance to that nation (see also Bruce & Wensing, 2009). If individuals can spur such discussions, it follows that Indigenous organizations might have similar impacts and implications.

While some scholars refuse the idea of sport as an assimilation instrument in Sápmi (Pedersen, 2013, 2014) as it is portrayed, for example, in Africa (e.g. Darby, 2000a, 2000b) and North America (e.g. Forsyth, 2020), others pose the question of whether sport can be considered a legacy from colonial times (Broch & Skille, 2019; Skille, 2012, 2019). If so, how does it influence the nation-building of Sápmi? Considering the contribution of sport as a building block in this regard, it would be helpful to divide sport activity and sport organization analytically. Historically, for example, it is a fact that the Norwegian sport organization was established (1861) before the constitutional arrangement of parliamentarism (1884). The point is that organized sport was an objective reality (to lean on an understanding adopted from Berger & Luckmann, 1966) when state sport policy and administration developed, and it was an integral piece of the political and social environment that state bureaucracy adapted to during its creation. Hypothetically, if sport had been established later, especially if it had been established by

the (new) state, sport would probably have been easier utilized as an instrument for state policy purposes, such as assimilation. Although it is difficult to claim any causal relationship, the legitimation of state sport policy today strongly leans on the mainstream sport organization (Skille et al., 2021).

A related issue that is relatively lightly touched upon in this study are the samples of sport disciplines that define Indigenous sport. The disciplines that make up Sámi sport are (today mainly) lassoing and reindeer racing. This seems to be the understanding among Indigenous sport club representatives, in the Indigenous sport organization, and in the Sámi Parliament and the state bureaucracy. However, they are not the only potential sport disciplines. In recent history, Sáms have organized and competed in other disciplines. In the first years of organized Sámi sport, there used to be reindeer-herding competitions (Lidström, 2018). More informally, there are also examples of competitions in riverboat poling (Rønbeck, 1981). In that respect, the Sámi sport disciplines today can be considered selected traditions – a phrase that Petrov (2014) used to describe specific wrestling styles chosen for nation-building of states detached from the former Soviet Union. The understanding among representatives of the Norwegian state of what Sámi sport is distinguishes which Indigenous sport organization is worth supporting and is used to justify the state sport policy for it. Under this view, only Sámi-specific disciplines, and not the disciplines also provided by the mainstream Norwegian sport organization, should be included. Thus, again, the Indigenous sport disciplines are not included in the definition of ‘universal sport’. While the Indigenous element (and not the sport element) of Indigenous sport justifies state subsidies and the Indigenous elements are closely linked to traditional industry mainly found in core areas, the external support (state subsidies) reinforces the internal hierarchy in the Indigenous nation.

Moreover, the selection of disciplines reflects a somewhat stereotypical understanding of Sámi, as both lassoing and reindeer racing originate from the inland Sámi traditional industry of reindeer herding. As long as only a small fraction of Sámi work within or in relation to reindeer herding, they stand out as symbolical winners. Regarding the latter, similar views can be proposed for the Norwegian idea of skiing and winter expeditions, which are often promoted as the typical Norwegian sport disciplines. Put in perspective, not many Norwegians compete in cross-country skiing; even fewer visit the North Pole. Although skiing is one of the driving forces behind an increased economic burden associated with participation in sport (Oslo Economics, 2020), it is still a symbol of Norwegian nation-building. Seen in such a light, it is perhaps not that peculiar how sport disciplines originating from reindeer herding symbolize the Sámi nation although very few Sáms are actually reindeer herders. Notably, there is another difference. Lassoing stems from a traditional Indigenous industry, while skiing – although it stems from transportation – is considered today as an established sport discipline. A sport discipline that could be compared to lassoing, would be – for lack of a better example – sheepdog competitions. The point is that it is difficult to imagine how most Norwegians would accept sheepdog skills as the ultimate

Norwegian national sport in a similar vein as sport clubs representatives in this study accept lassoing as 'their' sport although their everyday culture is far from reindeer herding.

Another difference between lassoing and skiing is that the former takes place only within Indigenous sport contexts, while skiing is 'universal'. Sport that take place only within nations, like 'volata' in Italy during the inter-war era or Gaelic football (Beacom, 1998), have limited value in outwards image building and, concomitantly, have limited value as contributors for nation-building. However, what the stories of, for example, 'volata' and Gaelic football, do not reveal is whether there were other interests and ethnicities that may have felt overruled by the aim of building nations through these specific sport disciplines. An interesting point in Beacom's (1998) study is that the regime gave up volata when it realized that soccer was a much better instrument to showcase its success to the world, including to its own citizens. In this respect, lassoing has a limited value as well. However, in contrast to volata – which was established in a top-down way by the ruling regime – and more in line with Gaelic football that actually functions for internal nation-building (Beacom, 1998), lassoing activities are more anchored in Sámi grassroots (also outside reindeer herding milieus). A notable point is that overall, Sámi sport seems to put privilege on disciplines that distinguish the Indigenous sport system from the mainstream. Football, although also organized in SVL-N, would never get the same symbolic value (and may even be considered somewhat assimilative). Thus, the interplay between the Indigenous nation and the nation state can be taken into account: could it be that the state – by justifying its support for Indigenous sport with the unique disciplines – assists in the choosing process? It can be speculated whether representatives of the state – more or less deliberately – 'choose' disciplines for SVL-N (via the criteria for support) that do not challenge the monopoly of the mainstream and state corporatist sport organization.

Citizenship and Nationhood – Language and Translation

The Indigenous sport organization is unique and administrated outside the ordinary sport policy systems, which enables nation-building for Indigenous people. Sámi sport remains an Indigenous issue that is beyond the scope of the nation state's sport policy, while New Zealand and Canada have systems in which the nation state contributes to and takes responsibility for both mainstream and Indigenous sport. I have recurrently stated that if Sápmi nation-building exists at all, it takes place within four different unitary states, and that the Norwegian Sámis seem to be better off than their peers in Sweden, Finland, and Russia. The Sámi policy's close relationship with the nation state may, thus, be difficult to reconcile for some Indigenous peoples. While the Sámi Parliament is considered 'as a key element for the partaking of self-determination' among Sámi themselves, for some representatives of other Indigenous people, representing the Indigenous

democratic organ as part of a nation state's delegation is 'considered as almost treacherous behaviour' (Dahl, 2012, p. 107). Indeed, according to Dahl (2012), among peoples from the Americas, some 'were skeptical about accepting the European-looking Sámi as Indigenous' (p. 24). Again, there are layers of groupings or communities; the Sámis representing Sápmi were apparently considered as too Norwegian to be included in the international Indigenous community. Again, there is an exercise of balance between assimilation versus multiculturalism and integration versus Indigenous particularities. While this can be a tough exercise to analyze empirically and represents somewhat of a paradox of lived experience, it depends on the meanings connected to them. In turn, the meanings depend on the language in which they are created.

As underscored a number of times now, Sámis are simultaneously citizens of their respective nation states and members of the Indigenous nation Sápmi. However, as this book is necessarily written in English, let me mention a few linguistic nuances that may foment conceptual understanding. In order to do so, I employ what is probably the most common reference to nation in the world of sport, namely, the 'national team'. In the relevant Nordic languages, the term 'national team' is 'landslag' (Norwegian and Swedish) and 'maajoukkue' (Finnish). In northern Sámi, the equivalent is 'riikkajoavku'. Why is this interesting? For the Norwegian and Swedish, the term literally means 'country team' – where 'land' equals 'country' (just like in England and Scotland) – and does not inhere any direct reference to a nation. It is the same for the Finnish although the word is not as identifiable in English as in the Norwegian and Swedish cases. In the case of Norway, there are two nations in one country, the Sámi and the Norwegian nations, respectively, which represent different Indigenous identities and ethnicities. Nevertheless – or naturally, if speaking from a perspective in which the state is the common reference point – both Sámis and Norwegians are on Norway's 'country team', the Norwegian national team (cf. 'Sámis for Norway' in Chapter 5), just as there are Māori on the All Blacks (New Zealand's 'country team' for rugby; or other sport) or both Aboriginals and whites on Australian 'country teams'.

The Sámi term 'riikkajoavku' is somewhat more challenging to explain and yet, perhaps also more accurate in terms of the way it is actually used. The first part of the word, 'riikaa', may initially sound similar to the German 'Reich' that is often associated with a kingdom or an empire. In some respect, the Sámi word shares some similarities with Reich because it refers to a limited geographical area. However, this geographical area refers more to a flexible understanding of 'land'; in that respect, it can refer to Norway as both a monarchy and Sápmi as a geographical area crossing several countries (of which Sweden and Norway are monarchies). In this way, the Sámi language is perhaps better equipped for comparing discourses in the English language than any of the other Nordic countries' languages. Sámi language is also more concise than the Norwegian and I would claim the English languages – in expressing the difference between formal state belonging and emotional ethnic identity (Ballari, 2021). 'Norggalaš' equals

a Norwegian citizen and can be applied to both Sámi and non-Sámi because the concept describes the state connection (a passport holder with state rights and duties) and not the ethnicity. In this regard, immigrants with Norwegian citizenship are Norwegian because they belong to the Norwegian state community. However, the Sámi words 'dáru', 'dáža', and 'rivgu' refer to non-Sámi men and women; in Norway, this refers to ethnic Norwegians and does not implicate the element of state belonging. The point is that Sámis and Norwegians, or a native English-speaking person, all possibly connote (bigger or smaller but still potentially significant) differences when talking, reading, and writing about Indigenous sport and nation-building.

In line with the methodological approach utilized in Chapter 3, despite the consequently repeated statements about the differences among Sámis across contexts, the choices I have made and the words I have used to present and discuss my findings may not, on some occasions, have done justice to some Indigenous subgroups. In other words, can my pinpointing of the relationships between inside and outside core areas, for example, have overshadowed or concealed other relationships? Or worse, can my approach lead to the reproduction and even reinforcement of existing power relations within the Sámi people? Most importantly, might my focus on language as the bearer of Indigenous culture have been overstated or too one sided? Of course, I do not believe so myself, and member checking through continuous conversations with actors within and around the research subjects confirms my view. Nevertheless, my conversation partners are selective, and I run the risk of contributing to the reinforcement of relationships, including or specifically power relations and hierarchies that some Indigenous people aim to eradicate and overcome. Nevertheless, despite the risks, I believe this piece provides more pros than cons.

Contributions and Implications

Returning to the outset of this book and the idea of 'sporting identities in nations without states' (MacLean & Field, 2014), the empirical findings of this study indicate an affirmation of several of Jarvie's (2003, pp. 540–541) statements about how sport can contribute to nations – including the argument that sport can facilitate nation-building. This study generally confirms that nations excluded from mainstream representation at international sport events can experience national identity; however, there are also some nuances that are important to take note of. While Jarvie (2003) illustrated that FC Barcelona functions as a symbol for the region of Catalonia *within* the territory of Spain, this study shows how sport clubs on the local level of Indigenous communities can connect with people to a national Indigenous community across state borders. Especially when meeting other Indigenous peoples at international events, sport, indeed, creates consciousness and advocacy regarding Indigenous peoples' specific nations and processes of nation-building separated from the adjacent nation states. In this respect, there is a crucial distinction between Indigenous people as individuals and

an Indigenous people as a collective – for example, those ‘collectivized’ through sport organizations.

Thus, the narrative of the Sámi individual shares some similarities with Forsyth’s (2020) story about Tom Longboat, an Indigenous (Onondaga First Nation) distance runner. The Tom Longboat story shows how the utilization of Indigenous sportsmen for assimilation policies was replaced by Indigenous self-determination and pride. During his active years in the 1900s, Longboat was portrayed in the media in very ambivalent terms. ‘On any given day’, reporters ‘would frame Longboat as a hero who had conquered the world; as a lazy Indian who would not train; as a gifted athlete admired by all; and as a drunken Indian who squandered his prize money’. In short, he was a ‘tragic hero’ situated between mainstream society in which he was a role model and ‘a wayward Indian who needed to be steered away from his “natural” inclinations and vices’ (Forsyth, 2020, p. 3). The legacy of Tom Longboat follows a well-known storyline: when the Tom Longboat award was established, it was an instrument for assimilation intended to stimulate Indigenous youth to become good mainstream athletes and good mainstream citizens in the Canadian nation state. Or, as Forsyth (2020) nicely puts it, the award was intended ‘to better themselves through organized sport and recreation by providing them with something to work toward’ (p. 61). Later, Indigenous sport milieus have laid claim to the award as something for Indigenous athletes to work towards in order to feel and show pride as Indigenous (Forsyth, 2020).

Invariably, researchers have found that sport plays a significant role in nation-building (see, for example, Beacom, 1998; Forsyth, 2020). In that respect, Forsyth (2020) referred to Canada, where the state used sport for colonial purposes, but that sport eventually moved from government to Indigenous control. The history of sport is somewhat different in Sápmi, which confirms or justifies the significance of sport in nation-building. In this context, sport is omnipresent and intertwined with other overarching elements, such as the institutionalization of self-determination and self-governance through the Sámi Parliament and the everlasting benchmark for legitimate membership with Sámi indigeneity (Hermansen & Olsen, 2020), namely, language (Albury, 2015; Pedersen & Høgmo, 2012; SVL-N, 2018, § 3; Todal, 2015).

Approaching the end, looking back and reflecting upon the process ending in this book, I claim to make the following contributions. I have shown how Indigenous sport clubs share with mainstream sport clubs the role of being providers of physical activity and the function of local community associations. I have pinpointed the role of sport organizations in Indigenous nation-building and how national sport organizations function as nodes that connect local sport clubs as concrete communities with the nation as an abstract community. I have demonstrated how the universal and theoretical elements of community are particular; when the local contexts are permeated with Indigenous culture, sport clubs become facilitators for promoting and maintaining Indigenous culture. I have unveiled that the facilitation of an Indigenous community depends on the conventions of the unitary states, most specifically on the weighing of competing

conventions (of sport versus of nation). I have also touched upon –taking another Indigenous nation as the point of departure – the notion that the ordinary dimensions of centre–periphery and north–south work in opposite directions in Sápmi compared with the common power relations in Norway, Sweden, and Finland (all with economic and political gravity located in cities in the south). Most empirically evident, I have illuminated the sources of differences among Indigenous people within a country and explained the variations with colonial legacies in various contexts. Chapter 4 demonstrated how the Indigenous element of sport is more natural to the inhabitants of core areas, while Chapter 5 showed how Indigenous sport representatives often use Indigenous sport in core areas as some kind of reference point for their own nation-building.

Moreover, by merging the theoretical concepts of community and convention (Chapter 7), I have indicated how it is somewhat reductionist to employ labels such as Sámi and Norwegian on individuals (although they are – as analytical categories – mutually dependent) because the individuals' life world is often 100% of each. On a very practical methodological level, I have simply scrutinized Indigenous sport and nation-building by taking grassroots sport as the point of departure. On an aggregated level, my contributions to sport sociology and Indigenous studies are summarized in four interrelated points. There are substantive variations *and* hierarchies within one Indigenous people, dependent on how former colonization and assimilation policies have functioned, all of which are observable today. The relationship between individual rights governed by welfares states, on one side, and the focus on Indigenous people that is often implied by global conventions on the other is complex. More or less a by-product of the two points above, I have put the Nordic corner of the world on the sport sociology map in other ways than the established literature praising the high participating rates and egalitarian societies. Finally, the Indigenous methodological ideas I proposed in Chapter 3 (Skille, 2021) led me to contemplate how I can give back to the Sámi sport community. A challenge is that reciprocity and heterogeneity jointly work in mysterious ways. I cannot tell for whom this information is 'good' as Sámi sport is heterogeneous.

Research always fosters new questions. For example, picking up on the last section (Citizenship and Nationhood), if this study had been conducted, otherwise, by another researcher or in another language, different analyses and other results and discussions could and would have evolved. Thus, future research could include a similar study conducted by other researchers with Indigenous identity and in another language to achieve a higher degree of sensitivity regarding the internal relationships of the focal Indigenous people. Further directions for future research are as follows: a study into sport policy in small nations as opposed to and supplementary to an already published study into sport policy in small states (Sam & Jackson, 2017); a study into sport organizations for Indigenous peoples around the globe, and the Indigenous sport organizations' support, opportunities, and constraints within their respective nation states' sport policies – as exemplified by the Māori situation in New Zealand and the double-helix organization in

Canada (Forsyth & Giles, 2013; Forsyth & Paraschak, 2013; Scherer & Jackson, 2008, 2013); and a study on how specific sport disciplines symbolize Indigenous nations and other nations; hereunder reindeer racing, lassoing, and skiing for Sámi (cf. Chapter 2). A most interesting follow-up of this book would be to see if the work of *The Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (TRC, n.d.) will have any impact on Sámi sport and the relationships between Sámi sport, Norwegian mainstream sport, state sport policies, and last but not the least, local sport clubs and the everyday lives of their participants and representatives in local Indigenous communities in the Indigenous nation.

The End – A Good Future?

Picking up on the second aim of this book, we come up with some postulations about the future of community development in the Indigenous culture and nation based on contemporary Indigenous conventions. Despite all preconditions that need to be considered regarding predictions for the future, it appears likely that the development of the Indigenous community will follow a trajectory informed by past and present, that is, individuals considering themselves as similar, sharing background or interests, who altogether create relatively stable patterns of communities on various layers – internally in the focal Indigenous community, in the relationship between majority and minority, and with the international Indigenous community. Although the phenomenon of Indigenous sport and nation-building often has a historical perspective, supported by the empirical materials presented in Chapters 4–6, I agree with Jarvie (2003) that ‘the relationship between sport and nationalism is likely to have a future’ (p. 543). First, it seems as if the representation of territorially defined nations (even with changes in nation states’ sovereignty) will continue. Second, the authorities will continue to claim sovereignty and make policies accordingly. Third, nationally oriented sport organizations will continue with their focus (Gaelic football is employed as an example). Fourth, the concept of nation will retain its importance in international sport. The idea of international sport is founded on nations. However, that is not to say that nations and nation states are perfectly overlapped; ‘the homogenous view of the viable nation state is over, if it ever existed’ (Jarvie, 2003, p. 544). All in all, this is a contribution to sport sociology and the study of Indigenous sport and nation-building, as well as a contribution to the field of Indigenous research, which does not very often consider sport. When it comes to politics and practice, it is a privilege to be a social scientist; however, it is simultaneously difficult.

While it is not my role to make official policies, it is the job of a researcher to provide information and make it available for decision-makers. I, indeed, feel a responsibility to offer policymakers with insight and advice, so they can make informed and legitimate policies in the future. On a general level, I believe sport sociology could and should be a source of information in ongoing political work. This book makes no exception. It is a potential information source for decision-makers. In addition to putting sport as a major leisure activity on the policy

agenda, it hopefully contributes to an increased understanding of how historical policy processes, especially their legacies, impact current situations. This gives rise to a platform for politicians and bureaucrats in the state, in the Indigenous parliaments, and in the interface between them. Moreover, this is – in the context of the corner of the world in which the research is conducted – one piece in an ongoing puzzle about Indigenous people’s rights and lives. More specifically, I would advise policymakers to tread carefully around ‘essentializing’ or ‘exoticizing’ the Sámi without first acknowledging the duality of identities that is found here. Acknowledging such fluidity or paradox (e.g. being 100% Norwegian and 100% Sámi) suggests justification for multiple policies and programmes that may seem incoherent or even contradictory. I believe that policymakers should avoid trying to ‘solve’ these paradoxes once and for all; just because the project is always going to be incomplete does not make the project unworthy of attention.

There may be a thin line between victimization and distinction, depending on how the process evolves and by whom it is initiated. In 2018, the Norwegian Parliament established *The Commission to Investigate the Norwegianisation Policy and Injustice against the Sámi and Kvens/Norwegian Finns* in order to ‘lay the groundwork for the recognition of the experiences of the Sámi and Kvens/Norwegian Finns during enforcement of this policy by the Norwegian authorities, and what consequences these experiences have had for them collectively and individually’. In addition to conducting a historical survey and investigating the consequences, one of the commission’s three tasks is to ‘[p]ropose measures to contribute to further reconciliation’. The commission’s report is to be delivered by September 2022. It will be interesting to see whether there are some similarities with the conclusions from similar initiatives in Canada. The final report from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC, 2015), delivered in 2015, contained 94 calls to action; of these, ‘numbers 87 to 91 focused specifically on sport’ (Forsyth, 2020, p. 181). Forsyth (2020) stated that the commission ‘identified the need to support the development of the Indigenous sport system and traditional physical practices’ and that ‘The Calls to Action thus spoke to Indigenous’ people’s ongoing commitment to use sport to advance their social, political, cultural, and economic interests, *which are not necessarily aligned with the state*’ (p. 181, emphasis added). Sport sociology has a role to play here.

Note

- 1 Original: ‘Nation states have come to exert their authority within an internationalized authority structure comprised of international institutions and organizations’ (Hanrieder & Zangl, 2015, p. 253).

References

- Albury, N. J. (2015). Your language or ours? Inclusion and exclusion of non-indigenous majorities in Māori and Sámi language revitalization policy. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 16(3), 315–334.

- Andresen, A., Evjen, B. and Rymiin, T. (2021) (Eds.). *Samenes historie fra 1751 til 2010* [The history of the Sámi 1751–2010]. Cappeen Damm Akademisk.
- Archetti, E. P. (2003). Den norske 'idrettsmodellen': Et kritisk blikk på sivilt samfunn i Norge [The Norwegian 'sport model': A critical view on civil society in Norway]. *Norsk antropologisk tidsskrift*, 14(1), 8–15.
- Bairner, A. (2010). What's Scandinavian about Scandinavian sport? *Sport in Society*, 13(4), 734–743.
- Ballari, K. (2021). Begreper, etnisitet og samedebatt [Concepts, ethnicity and Sámi debate]. *Sáгат* 12 April 2021.
- Beacom, A. (1998). Indigenous sport and the search for belonging. *The Sports Historian*, 18(2), 50–77.
- Berger, P. and Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality*. Penguin books.
- Bhimani, S. (2016). Decolonial practices of the No Sochi Circassian movement: Confronting colonial double backing through the Sochi Winter Olympics. *Social Identities*, 22(4), 379–412.
- Broch, T. B. and Skille, E. Å. (2019). Performing sport political legitimacy: A cultural sociology perspective on sport politics. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 36(2), 171–178.
- Broderstad, E. G. (2011). The promises and challenges of indigenous self-determination. The Sami case. *International Journal*, 66(4), 893–907.
- Bruce, T. and Wensing, E. H. (2009). 'She's not one of us': Cathy Freeman and the place of Aboriginal people in Australian national culture. *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, 2, 90–100.
- Dahl, J. (2012). *The indigenous space and marginalized peoples in the United Nations*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Darby, P. (2000a). Africa's place in FIFA's global sport order: A theoretical frame. *Soccer & Society*, 1(2), 36–61.
- Darby, P. (2000b). Football, colonial doctrine and indigenous resistance: Mapping the political persona of FIFA's African constituency. *Culture, Sport, Society*, 3(1), 61–87.
- Darby, P. (2007). African football labour migration to Portugal: Colonial and neo-colonial resource. *Soccer & Society*, 8(4), 495–509.
- Eidheim, H. (1971). *Aspects of the Lappish minority situation*. Universitetsforlaget.
- Engelstad, F. and Larsen, H. (2019). Nordic civil spheres and pro-civil states, In J. C. Alexander, A. Lund and A. Voyer (Eds.): *The Nordic civil sphere* (pp. 39–63). Polity Press.
- Forsyth, J. (2020). *Reclaiming Tom Longboat: indigenous self-determination in Canadian sport*. University of Regina Press.
- Forsyth, J. and Giles, A. R. (Eds.) (2013). *Aboriginal peoples and sport in Canada. Historical foundations and contemporary issues*. UBC Press.
- Forsyth, J. and Paraschak, V. (2013). The double helix: Aboriginal people and sport policy in Canada. In L. Thibault and J. Harvey (Eds.): *Sport policy in Canada* (pp. 267–293). University of Ottawa Press.
- Green, K., Sigurjonsson, T. and Skille, E. Å. (Eds.) (2019). *Sport in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries*. Routledge.
- Hanrieder, T. and Zangl, B. (2015). The Embedded State: The New Division of Labor in the Provision of Governance Functions. In S. Leibfried, E. Huber, M. Lange, J. D. Levy, and J. D. Stephens (Eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State* (pp. 253–268). Oxford university press.
- Hermansen, N. and Olsen, K. O. K. (2020). Learning the Sami language outside of the Sami core area in Norway. *Acta Borealia*, 37(1–2), 63–77.
- Jarvie, G. (1991). *Highland games. The making of the myth*. Edinburgh University Press.

- Jarvie, G. (2003). Internationalism and sport in the making of nations. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture Power*, 10(4), 537–551.
- MacLean, M. and Field, R. (2014). Performing nations, disrupting states: Sporting identities in nations without states. *National Identities*, 16(4), 283–289.
- Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (1996–1997). *Om norsk samepolitikk* [About Norwegian Sámi policy]. Arbeids- og sosialdepartementet.
- Olsen, T. A. (2016). Responsibility, reciprocity and respect. In A.-L. Drugge (Ed.): *Ethics in indigenous research. Past experiences – Future challenges* (pp. 25–44). Umeå University.
- Olsen, T. A. and Andreassen, B.-O. (2018). ‘Urfolk’ og ‘mangfold’ i skolens læreplaner [‘Indigenous peoples’ and ‘diversity’ in school’s curriculum]. *FLEKS – Scandinavian Journal of Intercultural Theory and Practice*, 5(1), 1–17.
- Oslo Economics (2020). *Økonomi som barriere for idrettsdeltakelse – kostnader og kostnadsdrivere i barne- og ungdomsidretten* [Economy as barrier for sports participation – costs and cost drivers in children’s and youth sports]. Oslo Economics.
- Pedersen, H. C. (2013). Skiing and sport in the Core Sami Area of Norway, 1927 to 1964: Organisation, modernisation and minority policy. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 30(6), 580–597.
- Pedersen, H. C. (2014). Skiing and divergent ethnic identities in the multiethnic Northern Norway. *National Identities*, 16(4), 365–376.
- Pedersen, P. and Høgmo, A. (2012). *Sápmi slår tilbake. Samiske revitaliserings- og moderniseringsprosesser i siste generasjon* [Sápmi strikes back. Sámi revitalization and modernization processes in the last generation]. CalliidLagadus.
- Petrov, P. (2014). National styles of wrestling in the Soviet Union and the Post-Soviet states: Political and sociocultural aspects of their development and use. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 31(4), 405–422.
- Putnam, R. D. (2020). *The upswing. How America came together a century ago and how we can do it again*. Simon & Schuster.
- Rafoss, K. and Hines, K. (2016). Ung i Finnmark – En studie av bruk av fritidsarenaer og deltakelse i fritidsaktiviteter [Young in Finnmark – A study of use of leisure time arenas and participation in leisure time activities]. In H. C. Pedersen and E. Å. Skille (Eds.): *Utafor sporet? Idrett, identiteter og regionalisme i nord* [Outside the tracks? Sport, identities and regionalism in the north]. (pp 169–192). Oplandske Bokforlag.
- Rønbeck, N.-F. (1982). *Staking i elvebåt: bevegelsene og historien* [Pole pushing of river boat: The movement and the history]. Norwegian School of Sport Sciences.
- Sam, M. and Jackson, S. J. (2017). (Eds.) *Sport policy in small states*. Routledge.
- Scherer, J. and Jackson, S. (2008). Cultural studies and the circuit of culture: Advertising, promotional culture and the New Zealand All Blacks. *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies*, 8(4), 507–526.
- Scherer, J. and Jackson, S. (2013). *Contested terrain of the New Zealand All Blacks: Rugby, commerce, and cultural politics in the age of globalization*. Peter Lang.
- Selle, P., Semb, A. J., Strømsnes, K. and Nordø, A. (2015). *Den samiske medborgeren* [The Sami co-citizen]. Cappelen Damm Akademisk.
- Skille, E. Å. (2012). Ethno-politics and state sport policy – The case of how the Sami sport association – Norway challenged the Norwegian confederation of sport’s monopoly for state subsidies to sport. *Scandinavian Sport Studies Forum*, 3, 143–165.
- Skille, E. Å. (2019). The Nordic Model and multiculturalism: the case of Sámi sport. *Sport in Society*, 22(4), 589–605.

- Skille, E. Å. (2021). Doing research into Indigenous issues being non-Indigenous. *Qualitative Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14687941211005947>.
- Skille, E. Å., Fahlén, J., Stenling, C. and Strittmatter, A. M. (2021). (Lack of) Government policy for Indigenous (Sámi) sport – A chain of legitimating and de-legitimating acts. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690220988650>.
- Spitzer, A. J. and Selle, P. (2020). Is nonterritorial autonomy wrong for indigenous rights? Examining the ‘Territorialisation’ of Sami Power in Norway. *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, 28(3), 544–567.
- SVL-N (2018). *Vedtekter* [Statutes]. Sámiid Valáštallanlihttu – Norga.
- Tjora, A. and Scambler, G. (2020). *Communal forms. A sociological exploration of concepts of community*. Routledge.
- Todal, J. (2015). Forvaltningsområdet for samisk språk i tjuve år [The administration area for Sámi language in twenty years]. In B. Bjerkli & P. Selle (Eds.): *Samepolitikkenes utvikling* [Sámi political development] (pp. 198–224) Gyldendal akademisk.
- TRC (2015). *Honouring the truth, reconciling for the future summary of the final report of the truth and reconciliation commission of Canada*. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.
- TRC (n.d.). *The commission to investigate the Norwegianisation policy and injustice against the Sámi and Kvens/Norwegian Finns*. Retrieved from: https://uit.no/kommisjonen_en.
- White, L. (2013). Cathy Freeman and Australia’s indigenous heritage: A new beginning for an old nation at the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(2), 153–170.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Index

Note: *Italic* page numbers refer to figures and page numbers followed by “n” denote endnotes.

- Aas, S. 41
Aboriginalization process 42
Aboriginals 21–22
Addams, Jane 145
affiliative relationship 126, 131
African Football Federation 22
All Blacks 23, 27, 114, 118n10, 152
all-Sámi model 46–47, 56n11, 107, 109
Alta conflict 42, 43
Amundsen, Roald 30, 34n2
Ancient Burmese 20–21
Andresen, A. 42, 45, 76, 146, 147
Aotearoa Māori Tennis Association 112
Arctic Winter Games (AWG) 27, 28, 92–94, 98n1, 99n5, 118n2, 147
assimilation process: legacy of 125; Sápmi 40–43
associative relationship 126, 127
Athens Games 24
Australian Aboriginal women 3
- Bairner, A. 12, 21, 22, 126
Barents cooperation of sport 109, 118n5
Barnhardt, R. 56n14
Beacom, A. 19, 154
Berger, P. 56n14
Bhimani, S. 25, 151
biculturalism 111, 114
Bomann-Larsen, T. 29
Burma/Myanmar, chinlone in 20
- Canada 25, 154, 157; Dene and Inuit in 26, 27; double-helix organization in 158–159; double participation approach 27; and Indigenous sport 115–116; mainstream sport in 28
Canadian sport policy 116
Carpenter, V. M. 51
Chechen terrorists 25
chinlone 20
Chiu, W.-C. 21
citizenship 154–156
civil society, in Scandinavia 7–8
Coakley, J. 9, 10, 30
coastal Sámis 45
cognitive script 134
Cohen, A. P. 126, 132, 139
colonization 124; of Sápmi 152
communal relationship 126, 127
community 124, 158; in contemporary academic 145; real and imagined 125–132, 132; state-sport policy and 129–130
community association 64–65
community development, in Sápmi 145–148
community policy 130
community revitalization, sociological theories into 145
convention 124, 158; competing/compatible 132–133; of Indigenous nations *vs.* nation state 138–139; of sport 133–135; of sport *vs.* nation-building 135–138
core Sámi areas, Sámi sport in 42, 45, 54, 55n9, 72–73; Indigenous sport in 62, 77;

- labelling of 14n9; language issues and relationships with 84–85; merging with Norwegian sport 75–77; skiing 73–74; sport clubs in 65
cultural practice 27
- Dahl, J. 155
Darby, P. 22, 23, 152
Deanu Searat 8–9, 14n6
de-ethnicization, defined as 4
Dene 26, 27
double bureaucracy 66–67
double helix metaphor 116
double participation approach 27
dual/bicultural approach 115
dual-dimensional conceptualizations of reality 134
Durkheim, E. 127–130
- “E Ihowā Atua” 113
Enjolras, B. 134
ethnic authority 136
ethnicity 4–6, 23, 27, 31, 39, 74, 84, 89, 94, 135
ethnopolitical conventions 136
ethno-political strategy 150
ethnopolitics 68–69
Europe, African football players’ migration to 22
- Fahlén, J. 105
Falcous, M. 18
Field, R. 18
Finland: reorganization of Sámi sport in 106–109; Sámi Parliament in 109; Sámi sport representatives in 136
Finnmark 45, 75–77, 85, 86, 94, 95, 97
Finnmark fetishism 45
‘Finnmark Sport Model’ 75
Forsyth, J. 116, 157, 160
Freeman, Cathy 152
- Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) 26
Gaelic football 19, 20, 154
Geertz, C. 53
Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft (Tönnies) 127, 128
Giddens, A. 3
- Giles, A. R. 116
glocalization 3
Goksøy, M. 29
Great Britain 25; history of 24
- Hansen, L. I. 39, 139
Harald V, King 43
Hargreaves, J. 3, 115
Hassan, D. 25
heterogeneity, researcher positioning 51–52
Høgli, Tom 95, 97, 99n7, 152
Høgmo, A. 56n9
Hokowhitu, B. 49
Holmes, M. 25
- ILO Convention 169 133
imagined community 12, 125–132, 132
indigeneity 4–6
Indigenous communities, from linkages to borders of 130–132, 132
Indigenous identity 70–72
Indigenous language, issue of 65–66
Indigenous people 5; around world 111; international sport competitions for 93; self-determination 151; sports and nation-building 18–19; of Taiwan 21
Indigenous sport 26–28, 131; Canada and 115–116; in changing world 3–4; conventions of 135; narrative of 101; non-participation of Russian Sámis in 109–111; reflections on 34; state policy in Sweden and Norway 103–106
Indigenous sport club; *see also* Sámi sport club
Indigenous sport clubs: community association 64–65; issue of Indigenous language 65–66; physical activity for local youth 63–64; purpose and operations 63, 63–66, 82; in urban areas 90–91
Indigenous sport discipline 67–68, 86–88, 153
Indigenous sport events 85
Indigenous sport organization (SVL-N) 90, 112, 138, 146, 147
individualization 129; sociological theories into 145

- international football federation (FIFA) 22
- International Olympic Committee (IOC) 24
- interpretative pragmatism, researcher positioning 52–54
- Inuit 26, 27
- Italian Volata 19
- Jarvie, G. 3, 11, 14n1, 20, 156, 159
- Jenkins, R. 126, 139
- Keech, M. 23
- Kirkness, V. J. 56n14
- Klemetsen, Håvard 74, 96, 97, 152
- Krogh, Finn Hågen 74, 96
- Kuorak, I. 47
- Kven 41, 55n2, 56n10
- 'Lapp conditions' 32
- Lash, Scott 131
- lassoing 86–87, 153, 154
- liberal communitarian multiculturalism 132
- Lidström, I. 30–32
- Llewellyn, M. P. 24
- local hesitancy 88–89
- local identity 69–70, 88
- local organizations, division of labour between 89–90
- local sport clubs 128, 130, 131, 133
- Longboat, Tom 157
- Luckmann, T. 56n14
- MacLean, M. 18
- mainstream sport 26–28
- Mandela, Nelson 23
- Māori All Blacks 27, 114
- Māori, in New Zealand 26–27, 112–115
- Māori sport organizations 27
- McMurphy-Pilkington, C. 51
- Minde, H. 42
- modernity 2, 18, 125, 131
- multicultural community 132, 148–151
- multiculturalism 140, 155; in Sámi athletes 96
- Murray, C. 25
- Nansen, Fridtjof 29–30
- nation: defined as 2; traditional conception of 4
- National Anti-Doping Organizations (NADOs) 118n4
- National Fitness Council 20
- National Identities* 18
- national identity building 3
- national minorities 55n6
- national team 24
- nation-building: in changing world 3–4; convention of sport vs 135–138; ethnicity, indigeneity and 4–6; global sports disciplines and 21–23; Indigenous identity 70–72; local identity and 69–70, 88; narrative of 101; reflections on 34; of Sápmi 91; sports, Indigenous peoples and 18–19; tools for 1; unique sports disciplines and 19–21
- nationhood 154–156
- nation states: convention of Indigenous nations vs. 138–139; development of 20; representation of 4
- nature people 31, 34n4
- New Zealand 26, 154; dual/bicultural approach 115; Māori in 26–27, 112–115; Māori situation in 158
- non-Indigenous researchers 50, 52
- non-Sámi participants 94
- Nordic countries 102, 116, 117; on equality and equity 103; Sámi in 26
- normalization process 89
- Norway 5–6; folk costumes in 78n1; reorganization of Sámi sport in 106–109; Sámi Parliament in 43–44, 78n5, 101, 106–108, 111, 138; Sámi ritual in 114; Sámis for 96–97; and Sápmi 28–29; school teaching in 7; state policy for Indigenous sport in 103–106
- Norway–Sámi relationship 46
- Norwegian elements 29
- Norwegianization 41, 42
- Norwegian nation-building 29–30
- Norwegian Olympic Committee 29
- Norwegian Parliament 160; election 113
- Norwegian Sápmi 148
- Norwegian Ski Association 68, 69
- Norwegian Skiing Championship 87

- Norwegian sport: merging Sámi sport and 75–77; Sámis in 32–34
 ‘The Norwegian Sport Model’ 75
 Norwegian sport organization (NIF) 66, 75, 83, 102, 103, 105, 148–150
 Norwegian sport system 90
 Norwegian state-sport policy 28
 NZ Māori Golf Association 112
- objectivization 56n15
 occasional ambivalence 88–89
 Olsen, B. 39
 Olsen, T. A. 56n14
 Olympic Games 24, 25, 114
- Pakeha 7, 27, 112–114
 ‘Pakeha nation’ 113
 Paraschak, V. 28
 Pedersen, H. C. 32, 33
 Pedersen, P. 56n9
 Pedersen, S. 40
 Persson, Johan Abram 31, 32, 34n7
 Petrov, P. 20, 153
 physical activity 134; for local youth 63–64
 Pidgeon, Michelle 56n14
 pluralism 136
 Poli, R. 4
 postcolonial inspiration 124–125
 postcolonial theory 124
 Putnam, R. D. 145
- real community 125–132, 132
 ‘real Sámi’ 81, 94
 reciprocity, researcher positioning 51
 reflection, researcher positioning 49–51
 Reindeer Husbandry Act 98n3
 reindeer racing 98n3
 researcher: heterogeneity 51–52; interface between context and 54, 55; interpretative pragmatism 52–54; reciprocity 51; reflection 49–51
 resistance, Sápmi 40–43
 revitalization process 89–90; Sápmi 40–43
 Ricoeur, P. 53
 riikkajoavku 155
 river boat poling 9
- Ronglan, L. T. 113, 115
 Roosevelt (President) 145
 Russian Sámis, non-participation in Indigenous sport 109–111
- Sámi Act (1987) 43
 Sámi athletes 102; multiculturalism in 96
 Sámi culture 7–9, 65, 71, 81, 87, 103, 114; development of 112; and language 45; ‘othering’ of 149; in state bureaucracy 104
 Sámi ethnicity 39, 74, 89, 94, 95
 Sámi identity 5, 93
 Sámiid Valáštallanlihttu (SVL) 46, 47
 Sámiid Valáštallanlihttu – Norga (SVL-N) 7–8, 10, 47, 48, 53, 54, 108, 112, 131, 138, 150, 154; sport clubs relationship with 66–69, 85–88
 Sámi indigeneity 148–151
 Sámi language 42, 44, 45, 65, 66, 77, 85, 154–156
 Sámi nation-building 8
 Sámi–Norwegian history 46
 Sámi–Norwegian relationship 146
 Sámi Parliament 43–44, 52, 53, 56n17, 76, 78n5, 118n1, 130, 133, 136, 147, 150, 153, 154, 157; election 113; establishment of 148; in Finland 109; in Norway 101, 106–108, 111, 138; power of 117; in Sweden 104, 105
 Sámi Parliamentary Council 110
 Sámi people 2, 6, 7–8, 11, 34n4, 136; history of 39
 Sámi policy system 111, 113
 Sámi politics 138
 Sámi revitalization 148
 Sámi Rights Committee 43
 Sámis: in Nordic countries 26; for Norway 96–97; in Norwegian sport and nation-building 32–34; in Scandinavian sports history 30–32
 ‘Sámi Sámi’ 81, 94
 Sámi Skiing Championship 87
 Sámi sport 5, 11, 138; in different countries 102–103; in global perspectives 151–154; hierarchy in 146; and indigeneity 148–151; organizing of 46–48, 48; promotion of

- Indigenous elements 146; reorganization in Finland and Norway 106–109
- Sámi sport club: dual affiliation of 66; inside and outside core areas 81–82; representative outside core areas 83; second category of 89–90; *see also* Indigenous sport club
- Sámi sport organization 99n6, 110, 138, 150
- Sam, M. P. 113, 115
- Sápmi 2, 5, 6, 8, 39–40, 40; assimilation instrument in 152; assimilation, resistance, and revitalization 40–43; colonization of 152; community development in 145–148; as international sport actor 91–93, 92; nation-building of 91; nation crossing and within state borders 44–46; Norway and 28–29; organizing Sámi sport 46–48, 48; Sámi Parliament 43–44
- Sápmi national team kit 92, 92
- Sápmi nation-building 72–77; in global perspectives 151–154
- Scandinavia 93; civil society in 7–8; sports history, Sámis in 30–32
- segregated community 148–151
- 'selected traditions' 20, 153
- self-determination 43, 113, 117, 136, 147, 151, 154, 157
- self-governance 147, 157
- Selle, P. 45, 147
- SHL 106
- skiing 63, 68, 73–74, 153, 154
- Slagstad, R. 30
- Smith, A. 2
- Smith, L. T. 50
- snowball effect 25
- Sochi Games 25, 97
- society 7–9
- sociological theories, into individualization and community revitalization 145
- Spitzer, A. J. 147
- sport 1; definition of 9–10, 10; global disciplines 21–23; Indigenous peoples and nation-building 18–19; and Norwegian nation-building 29–30; public sector entity for 7; unique disciplines 19–21
- Sport and Recreation NZ (SPARC) 113
- sport clubs: ethnic dimension of 65; functional organs in modern society 128
- sport clubs outside core areas 97–98; Indigenous disciplines as requirement 86–88; local hesitancy and occasional ambivalence 88–89; local identity and nation-building 88; and nation-building of Sápmi 91; relationship with SVL-N 85–88; variation and ambivalence 85–86
- sport clubs, relationship with SVL-N 66; double bureaucracy 66–67; ethnopolitics 68–69; specific Indigenous sport disciplines 67–68
- Sporting Identities in Nations Without States* 18
- sport-nation state 4
- sport organization 7–9, 26–28
- sport politics 78n4
- state-driven sport system 111
- state-sport policy: and community 129–130
- Storey, D. 25
- SVL-N: in Norwegian state's sport policy 114; and Sámi Parliament 76
- Sweden: Sámi Parliament in 104, 105; state policy for Indigenous sport in 103–106
- Swedish Sámi Sport Association 46, 47
- Swedish Sport Confederation (RF) 103, 104
- Taiwan: Indigenous people of 21; national identity in 21
- Tönnies, F. 129–131; *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft* 127, 128
- translation 154–156
- Treaty of Waitangi 112
- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) 159, 160
- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC, n.d.) 56n10, 159
- umbrella organization 137

- United Nation's Convention on the
Rights of the Child 133
- urban areas, Indigenous sport clubs in
90–91
- Vestgården, T. 41
- volata 19, 20, 154
- voluntary sport clubs 110
- vulnerable youth 83, 84
- Weber, M. 126, 128, 131
- 'whiteness' 50–51
- Wilcken, U. 1
- Wilson, J. 113
- World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA)
118n4
- wrestling style 20
- Yu, J. 21, 22