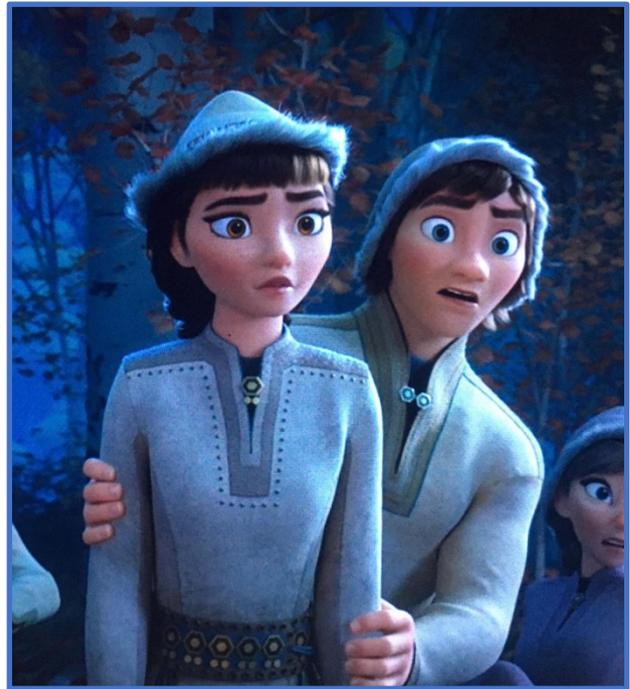


Cinematic Representations of the Sámi by Insiders and Outsiders

A CASE STUDY OF SAMI BLOOD AND FROZEN II



Student: E. Immerzeel

St. Nr.: 6253598

BA English Language and Culture

Thesis supervisor: Dr. R.G.J.L. Supheert

Second reader: Dr. S. Gryllia

6310 words

1th of July 2020

ABSTRACT

In the early years of Sámi cinema, representations of the Sámi were typically determined by non-Sámi creators. The release of the first Sámi-made film *Ofelaš* (1987) marked the beginning of cinematic Sámi representations by insiders of this culture. Scholars have made many assertions about differences in the representation of Sáminess between outsiders and insiders. However, these theories are largely based on 20th century releases. In this thesis the assertions about insider and outsider Sámi cinema are reviewed through the analyses of two contemporary releases featuring Sámi(-based) characters: *Sami Blood* (2016) and *Frozen II* (2019). The results show that some elements that have been named as typical for either insider or outsider Sámi-films can be recognized in *Sami Blood* and *Frozen II*, respectively. However, several features typical for insider Sámi cinema can be observed in the outsider film *Frozen II*.

CONTENT

1. Introduction	p. 4
2. Literature Review	p. 6
2.1 History of Sámi Cinema	p. 6
2.2 The Representation of Culture in Cinema	p. 7
2.2.1 Imagology	p. 8
2.2.2 Insiders, Outsiders, and Visual Sovereignty	p. 9
2.3 The Current Research	p. 11
2.3.1 <i>Sami Blood</i> and <i>Frozen II</i>	p. 11
3. Method	p. 13
4. Analysis and Results	p. 16
4.1 Analysis of <i>Frozen II</i>	p. 16
4.1.1 Perspective	p. 16
4.1.2 Representational Sovereignty and Stereotypes	p. 17
4.1.3 Defending the Sámi Cause	p. 18
4.1.4 Authenticity	p. 19
4.1.5 Language and Cultural Contrasts	p. 19
4.1.6 Ethnicity and Rivalry	p. 19
4.2 Analysis of <i>Sami Blood</i>	p. 20
4.2.1 Perspective	p. 20
4.2.2 Representational Sovereignty and Stereotypes	p. 20
4.2.3 Defending the Sámi Cause	p. 21
4.2.4 Authenticity	p. 21
4.2.5 Language and Cultural Contrasts	p. 22

4.2.6 Ethnicity and Rivalry	p. 22
5. Conclusion and Discussion	p. 23
5.1 Summary of the Results and Conclusion	p. 23
5.2 Limitations and Future Research	p. 25
References	p. 27
Appendix A	p. 31
Appendix B	p. 32
Appendix C	p. 34
Appendix D	p. 37

1. INTRODUCTION

Over the course of the 20th century, many films have been released featuring the Sámi. They are an indigenous group of approximately 50,000 to 80,000 people living in northern Scandinavia and Russia (i.e. Sápmi) and are traditionally known as reindeer herders (Blix, Hamran & Normann, 2013). The Sámi are sometimes referred to as Lapps, but this name is considered derogative and the self-descriptive term Sámi is favoured (Pietikäinen, 2001). Films featuring the Sámi have been around since, approximately, the beginning of filmmaking (Dahlquist 2015). The early period of Sámi cinema was characterized by a strong emphasis on the exotic, or even barbaric, Sámi placed in romantic scenery (Skardhamar, 2008; Mecsei, 2015). In these early years, the films, both fictional and documentary, were narrated from the perspective of the outsider (that is, by Finns, Norwegians, and Swedes) as well as created by cultural outsiders (Dahlquist, 2015; Mecsei, 2015). This changed in 1987, when the first Sámi-made film *Ofelaš (Pathfinder)* was released. Films in which the Sámi represented themselves now became part of Sámi cinema. Many scholars have observed differences between insider¹ and outsider cinematic representations of the Sámi. To illustrate, Kääpä (2015) states that films directed by people without Sámi heritage will focus on defending physical Sámi territory, whereas Sámi-made films tend to concentrate on respect for and acknowledgement of the Sámi as a cultural group.

Although the evolution of the cinematic representation of the Sámi throughout the 20th century in relation to insider and outsider filmmaking has been debated in several scholarly publications, literature on this topic concerning contemporary releases is limited.

¹ For this thesis, the criteria as preserved by the International Sámi Film Institute will be utilized to determine whether a film featuring the Sámi is made by insiders or outsiders. These criteria will be discussed extensively in chapter 2.2.2.

This is surprising, considering the widespread emphasis that has been placed on minority rights and minority representation in recent years. This trend might have induced changes in films featuring minorities made by insiders or outsiders. For instance, Sámi representations which have traditionally been associated with either insider or outsider filmmaking may be subject to alterations, which would require a re-evaluation of what is known on Sámi cinema. This thesis will argue that past assertions about differences in Sámi representations between insider and outsider productions do not fully apply to the contemporary films *Frozen II* (2019) and *Sami Blood* (2016). This topic is not only academically relevant, as it interlaces with the subject of minority representation as studied in the BA English Language and Culture, it is also socially relevant. This case study aims to generate more awareness about the need for respectful and considerate inclusion of minority cultures in cinema.

The films *Frozen II* and *Sami Blood* have been chosen for this research by virtue of their many similarities, such as both having been released in the latter half of the 2010s, their engagement with injustice against the Sámi, and their success outside of the Sámi community. They differ, however, in having been created by outsiders and insiders, respectively. The 2019 American film *Frozen II* by The Walt Disney Company (henceforth Disney) features a group of indigenous people based on the Sámi. Because Disney received criticism concerning alleged cultural appropriation in the first *Frozen* film, the company consulted with representatives of the Sámi community about the depiction of their culture in *Frozen II* (Simonpillai, 2019). However, the film was still predominantly produced by outsiders of the minority (viz. by Americans). This is not the case for *Sami Blood*, which also incorporates Sámi culture but was mainly created by Sámi people (Kernell, 2017).

The next chapter will provide an overview of what is already known in the literature about Sámi cinema. Emphasis will be placed on sources discussing insider and outsider

filmmaking, imagology, and visual sovereignty. The method and procedure employed in this research will be discussed in chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents the outcomes of the analysis, which will be interpreted by means of the reviewed literature in chapter 5. This chapter will conclude by identifying the limitations of the current study and by proposing recommendations for future research concerning this topic.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 History of Sámi Cinema

In the literature, the term Sámi cinema is at times used to refer to films featuring the Sámi, but also to films produced by people of Sámi heritage. Sámi cinema is said to have originated during the initial period of filmmaking, with films such as *De Christiana au Cap Nord* (1904) (Dahlquist, 2015). The films released in these early decades of Sámi cinema were consistently produced by people from outside the Sámi community as well as presented from the viewpoint of outsiders (Dahlquist, 2015). During this period, Scandinavian non-Sámi filmmakers depict the Sámi rather positively compared to the way in which other minorities, such as the Romani and Jews, were cinematically represented, which could be due to the Sámi's perceived intimacy with the natural environment (Sundholm et al., 2012; Wright, 1998). The Sámi were repeatedly represented as “noble savages” (Mecsei, 2015, p.74).

In later decades, films featuring the Sámi do not concentrate as much on their supposed savagery, but rather focus on Sámi rights. An example of such a film is *La Elva Leve!* (1980) by Greve, which centres around the Sámi protests against the Alta Dam (Mecsei, 2015). Even though this film addresses injustices against the Sámi and realised more societal acceptance of Sáminess, the situation was still reported from a non-Sámi point of view (Mecsei, 2015). This changed in the year 1987. Sámi cinema is said to have been revolutionised in this year with the release of the first Sámi-made film, *Ofelaš* by Nils Gaup. Skardhamar (2008) claims

that this narrative from the perspective of the Sámi themselves breaks with the tradition of the stereotypical cinematic portrayal of the Sámi as savage. Instead, Gaup focusses on the injustice against this minority (Skardhamar, 2008). Sundholm (2012) remarks that, even though the film was received positively, even across the Scandinavian borders, the release did not lead to an immense growth in the number of Sámi-made releases. In Norway, in 2007 the International Sámi Film Centre was established, which evolved into the International Sámi Film Institute (henceforth ISFI) in 2014. The ISFI supports the making of Sámi-produced films through funding (“About the International Sámi Film Institute (ISFI),” n.d.).

2.2 The Representation of Culture in Cinema

Criticism on the representation of specific cultures in films is no novelty; it has sparked debate for a long time. In the 1920s Hollywood films caused discontent amongst citizens of various European nations who objected to stereotypes² of their culture in these films (Vasey, 1992). Aronson, Wilson, Akert, and Sommers (2017) define the notion of stereotype as follows: “A stereotype is a generalization about a group of people in which identical characteristics are assigned to virtually all members of the group, regardless of actual variation among the members.” (p. 436). Spector (1998) discusses ethnic stereotypes in Disney films and proposes that for a stereotype to be considered “abusive” (p. 41), it must be a commonly held, deceitful, and negative stereotype aimed at a group of people suffering from oppression. This implies that oppressed groups suffer more from being stereotyped than those who are not. Spector illustrates this with the following example:

Consider the example of a woman, alone on a dark street, suddenly surrounded by five men who demand that she obey them or she will be hurt. The woman manages to escape unharmed, and the

² Vasey gives the following examples of such national stereotypes: “‘square headed’ Germans, ‘silly ass’ Englishmen, effeminate Frenchmen, excitable Italians, lazy Hispanics, and so on” (p. 620).

men are apprehended. At that point, the men say: “We never actually harmed her or even touched her. All we did was to say words. So, let her stand there and say the same words back to us. She can tell us that we have to obey her or we will be harmed. Then, after she says those words, we will be even.” Very few people in our society would accept that line of reasoning [...] Words have different impact on people, depending in large part on the ability to back those words up with force. (p. 40)

It could be argued that films such as *Lajla* (1929) and *Operasjon sjøsprøyt* (1964), which revolve around the Sámi but are produced by outsiders of the Sámi culture, affirm the stereotypical image of the Sámi as nature-people. Still, these films do not necessarily reinforce a very negative stereotype, as they present the Sámi as “noble savages” (Mecsei, 2015, p. 74) or “happy savage[s]” (Skardhamar, 2008, p. 294). King, Lugo-Lugo, and Bloodsworth-Lugo (2010), however, argue that positive stereotypes are stereotypes, nonetheless, and can therefore contribute to a crooked image of cultural groups. They refer to these positive stereotypes in films with the notion of “false positivity” (p. 158) and indicate this trend in several fairly recent productions by Disney such as *Mulan* (1998), *Pocahontas* (1995), and *The Princess and the Frog* (2009). They remark that, even though Disney has largely moved away from representing cultures through negative stereotypes as featured in earlier productions, the protagonists of these films, though presented positively, are valued according to Western standards. Even Disney films that were produced in the 2010s, such as *Frozen* (2013) and *Moana* (2016), have been critiqued for their manner of representing cultural minorities (CBSnews, 2016; Simonpillai, 2019).

2.2.1 Imagology

When discussing representations of culture in film, it is important to elaborate on the notion of imagology. Beller (2007) explains that the study of imagology is concerned with the characterization of cultures through various forms of literature. He expands by noting that the study of imagology intends to bring fallacious preconceptions about cultures to people’s awareness (p. 11-12). He differentiates between “autostereotypes” (i.e. people’s fixed image

of themselves) and “heterostereotypes” (i.e. fixed preconceptions about other people) (p. 429). Degler (2007) argues that stereotypes in films serve to demarcate the “Self” from the “Other” (p. 295). For early films depicting the Sámi, such stereotypes are present in the representation of the Sámi as noble savages that stand apart from the civilized world. For instance, films such as *Lajla* (1929) construct a contrast between the members of the (superior) dominant Norwegian culture, and the Sámi (Skardhamar, 2008).

2.2.2 Insiders, Outsiders, and Visual Sovereignty

The release of *Ofelaš* in 1987 has been repeatedly named as a juncture in Sámi cinema, as films featuring the Sámi prior to this production were practically always made by outsiders of this culture (Skardhamar, 2008; Mecsei, 2015). Elements that have been named characteristic of outsider filmmaking include the stereotypical representation of the Sámi as a savage and idyllic people (Mecsei, 2015) and, more generally, the absence of the native language of the culture being represented (Shohat & Stam, 1994, as cited in Villar-Argáiz, 2014). For *Ofelaš*, however, the production was in the hands of a Sámi insider for the first time and with this change in the production of the film came the change in perspective. The narrative is told from the point of view of the insider, instead of the outsider, a trend that perpetuates in post-*Ofelaš* cinematic representations of Sáminess (Mecsei, 2015). *Ofelaš* also engages with the oppression of the Sámi (Skardhamar, 2008). Kääpä (2015) notes that later productions by Sámi directors like Simma and Gauriloff also centre around rights of the Sámi minority. Furthermore, he claims that films made by Sámi-insiders and films made by Sámi-outsiders differ, in that films by outsiders will “take up the Sámi cause via land ethics and resource politics,” whereas Sámi-made films tend to concentrate on “the politics of recognition” (p. 54), which concern the acknowledgement of Sámi cultural and political autonomy. Thus, non-Sámi productions will engage with material affairs such as

landownership, whereas Sámi productions will focus on immaterial issues like respect for and acceptance of the Sámi. Moreover, Skardhamar (2008) remarks that in several outsider Sámi films, intercultural conflicts are rooted in ethnic differences between Sámi and non-Sámi characters. He notes that this trope is not used in productions by the Sámi insider director Gaup such as *Ofelaš*. Instead, Mecsei (2015) proposes that cultural contrasts are often marked through language difference in insider Sámi films. According to her, this tendency is not present in outsider productions. Mecsei (2015) identifies more elements that differentiate insider and outsider Sámi cinema. She notes that “self-representational sáminess” (p. 75) in Sámi-made films can be achieved through the use of traditional Sámi imagery such as clothing and reindeer herding, as well as filming with real Sámi people in actual Sámi territory. Even though a film such as *Ofelaš* includes imagery that has historically been employed by outsiders to represent the Sámi, the inclusion and manipulation of these conventions in Sámi-made films could be regarded as a means to redefine the Sámi identity. This practice has been referred to as a form of “visual sovereignty” (p. 50), a notion involving the negotiation of stereotypical representation of minority groups by reworking them in order to challenge the audience to re-evaluate these representations (Kääpä, 2015). Raheja (2013) describes visual sovereignty as: “the space between resistance and compliance wherein Indigenous filmmakers and actors revisit, contribute to, borrow from, critique, and reconfigure ethnographic film conventions, while at the same time operating within and stretching the boundaries created by these conventions” (p. 193).

The question remains which requirements need to be met in order for a film to be considered Sámi-made. The ISFI supports the production of Sámi-made films and maintains several prerequisites for projects in order to be eligible for a grant (“Applications & Grants,” n.d.). First off, Sámi language should be the language of production and the language spoken

in the film. Also, two of the main positions in the production process (that is, the “producer, director or manuscript writer” (“Applications & Grants,” n.d.)) should speak a Sámi language and be of Sámi heritage. Lastly, the Sámi should be the subject matter of the film. This implies that film projects for which representatives of the Sámi community have been consulted, but are predominantly produced by outsiders, would not be considered to be Sámi-made.

2.3 The Current Research

As previously mentioned, not much research has been conducted on differences in Sámi representation between contemporary productions by insiders and outsiders. This could be because only a limited number of films featuring the Sámi have been released in recent years. However, the release of *Sami Blood* (2016) and *Frozen II* (2019) have created new opportunities to re-evaluate what is known in the literature about insider and outsider Sámi cinema, respectively. For this research, the conditions for a film to be considered Sámi-made (thus, made by insiders) as established by the ISFI will be maintained.

2.3.1 *Sami Blood* and *Frozen II*

The film *Sami Blood* centres around a Sámi teenage girl named Elle-Marja and is situated in Sweden during the 1930s. Elle-Marja comes to despise her heritage due to the policies of assimilation enforced by the Swedish government. The film can be considered Sámi-made, because it was written and directed by Amanda Kernell, a woman of Sámi heritage, and because one of the languages spoken in the film is Southern Sámi. The film also features Sámi actors (e.g. the roles of Elle-Marja and Njenna are portrayed by actual Sámi reindeer herders) (Kernell, 2017). The film was well received internationally and has won several awards (ISFI, “Feature Films,” n.d.).

The Disney film *Frozen II* is the sequel to *Frozen*, which was released in 2013. These films are two of the highest grossing animated films of all time (Tartaglione, 2020). Even

though *Frozen* was very well received, the film was subjected to criticism for its use of Sámi imagery without actual reference to the Sámi. This led to Disney collaborating with representatives of the Sámi community to ensure that *Frozen II* represented the Sámi in an appropriate manner (Simonpillai, 2019; McGwin, 2020). *Frozen II* tells the backstory of Elsa and Anna, queen and princess of the fictitious kingdom of Arendelle, and the indigenous Northuldra people, who live in the Enchanted Forest and are based on the Sámi (Simonpillai, 2019; McGwin, 2020). Despite the fact that representatives of the Sámi community were consulted about their representation in this film, it cannot be considered Sámi-made, for it does not meet the criteria set by the ISFI; the key positions in the production process were not filled by people of Sámi heritage and the only language featured in the film is English.

As discussed, the movies *Frozen II* and *Sami Blood* have been selected because of their similarities. They differ, however, in having been created by outsiders and insiders, respectively. It could be argued that the films differ in more aspects, such as target audience and the fact that *Frozen II* is an animated film and *Sami Blood* is live action. Some believe that animated and live action films differ in their respective impact on their audience. Callaghan (2012), writer and producer on the cartoon series *Family Guy*, claims that animation allows for jokes that would seem distasteful in live action. Rovers (2019) points out that in the live action remake of *The Lion King* (2019), some jokes do not seem to come across as well because of the fact that the animals seem real. However, aside from these remarks, not much is said in the literature concerning the difference between animation and live action in the representation of foreign cultures in film. Literature on potential differences in cultural representations between films aimed at children and films aimed at adults appears to be even scarcer. Therefore, these differences between the films shall not be taken into further consideration for the current research.

3. METHOD

The current research was conducted by means of Qualitative Content Analysis, as described by Schreier (2013). This method was deemed most suitable, for it allowed the researcher to gain a fairly objective grip on subjective notions through the creation and implementation of a coding frame. The coding frame consists of the two main categories “Elements of Insider Sámi Cinema” and “Elements of Outsider Sámi Cinema” and several subcategories. The subcategories were constructed in a “concept-driven” (Schreier, 2013, p. 176) manner; they are derived from characteristics of insider and outsider filmmaking as named in the literature reviewed in chapter 2 of this thesis. In some instances, the indication of a characteristic of insider Sámi filmmaking suggested a complementing characteristic of outsider Sámi filmmaking, and vice-versa. For example, Mecsei (2015) describes that authenticity of filmmaking can be observed in several Sámi-productions (e.g. the inclusion of Sámi actors and Sámi language in the film). The researcher then inferred that the lack of such authenticity is typical for outsider filmmaking. This process led to the creation of six subcategories to each main category. The coding frame with the names of each (sub)category and their description is presented in table 1 below.

Table 1: Coding frame for elements of insider and outsider Sámi cinema.

Elements of Insider Sámi Cinema	Elements of Outsider Sámi Cinema
Manners of Sámi representation which have been considered characteristic for insider Sámi filmmaking in the literature as described in chapter 2 of this thesis.	Manners of Sámi representation which have been considered characteristic for outsider Sámi filmmaking in the literature as described in chapter 2 of this thesis.
1. Insider perspective	1. Outsider perspective

<p>Sámi culture in the film is seen from the point of view of one or more Sámi characters (Mecsei, 2015; Skardhamar, 2008).</p>	<p>Sámi culture in the film is seen from the point of view of one or more outsiders of the Sámi community (Dahlquist, 2015; Mecsei, 2015; Skardhamar 2008).</p>
<p>2. Attempts at representational sovereignty</p> <p>Whenever (stereotypical) Sámi imagery is employed in a manner that renegotiates modes of representation which have been used by outsider filmmakers (e.g. to confront the audience with these stereotypes). Sámi scenery, reindeer herding, traditional Sámi attire, and joiking are, amongst others, examples of such imagery (Kääpä, 2015; Mecsei, 2015).</p>	<p>2. Stereotypical representations of the Sámi</p> <p>Cases where the Sámi are represented in a stereotypical or one-dimensional manner, either through traditional Sámi imagery such as Sámi scenery, reindeer herding, traditional Sámi attire, and joiking, or through the depiction of the Sámi as noble savages (Mecsei, 2015; Skardhamar, 2008).</p>
<p>3. Engagement with politics of recognition</p> <p>Moments that engage with the recognition of Sámi culture and autonomy. These include direct mentions of or references to this recognition, as well as the depiction of the absence of such this recognition (Kääpä, 2015).</p>	<p>3. Embrace of Sámi cause concerning territory and supplies</p> <p>Elements of the narrative that engage with injustices against the Sámi. Such injustices are restricted to deprivation of material property and disregard of Sámi territory (Kääpä, 2015).</p>

<p>4. Authenticity</p> <p>Elements of the film that contribute to the authenticity of Sámi cinema, such as: the inclusion of Sámi (voice-)actors, the inclusion of the Sámi language, and the inclusion of Sámi locations (Mecsei, 2015).</p>	<p>4. Lack of authenticity</p> <p>The absence of authenticity in the film through the inclusion of non-Sámi (voice-)actors, the prioritization of a non-Sámi language, and the use of non-Sámi locations (Deduced from Mecsei, 2015).</p>
<p>5. Language as cultural contrast</p> <p>Instances where the use of language indicates a contrast between cultures. More specifically, Sámi language as opposed to outsider languages such as other Scandinavian languages and English (Mecsei, 2015).</p>	<p>5. Cultural contrasts not accentuated through language</p> <p>Language is not employed as an instrument to indicate cultural contrasts (Mecsei, 2015).</p>
<p>6. Rivalry not based on ethnicity</p> <p>Any rivalry between groups of people as portrayed in the film is not based on respective ethnic background of the characters (Skardhamar, 2008).</p>	<p>6. Ethnicity as a cause of rivalry</p> <p>Instances where antagonism is grounded in characters' ethnic backgrounds.</p> <p>Occurrences of unequal distributions of power based on ethnicity are also considered to belong in this category (Skardhamar, 2008).</p>

For the analyses of the films, four coding sheets were created (viz. Elements of Insider Sámi Cinema in *Frozen II*, Elements of Outsider Sámi Cinema in *Frozen II*, Elements of Insider Sámi Cinema in *Sami Blood*, and Elements of Outsider Sámi Cinema in *Sami Blood*). These

coding sheets can be found in appendices A, B, C, and D, respectively. Examples from the films that corresponded to the respective subcategories were noted. Subsequently, subcategories were marked green if they were recognized in the films, and red if they were not. This way, the researcher could assess whether the Sámi representations present in the film correspond to elements of insider or outsider Sámi cinema, respectively, as discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis.

4. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.1 Analysis of *Frozen II*

As discussed in chapter 2, the indigenous Northuldra people that are featured in *Frozen II* are directly based on the Sámi and Northuldra representations will therefore be treated as Sámi representations in this analysis. Halfway through the film, it becomes apparent that Elsa and Anna's Mother, Iduna, was Northuldra and was raised among them. Therefore, the researcher considers Iduna to be Northuldra. This also implies that Elsa and Anna are of Northuldra heritage. However, no reference to this fact was made in the first *Frozen* film. Moreover, the girls were raised Arendellian. Consequently, they are not considered Northuldra in this research.

4.1.1 Perspective

The story of *Frozen II* is told from the point of view of the protagonists (i.e. Elsa, Anna, Kristoff, and Olaf), who the researcher considers to be outsiders of the Northuldra culture. Thus, even though this film tells the story of the Northuldra people, the perspective is never with insiders of this group.

4.1.2 Representational Sovereignty and Stereotypes

Many stereotypical representations of the Sámi were found in *Frozen II*. They can be recognized in the appearance of the Northuldra (image 1). There is not much physical variation amongst them, even though the hair and skin colour of the Sámi often vary. The same applies to the Northuldra's attire. The clothes they wear are uniform, whereas traditional Sámi attire differs per family.



Image 1: The Northuldra [00:34:22]

Overall, the visual representation of the Sámi people seems to be rather one-dimensional. The depiction of the relationship between the Northuldra and the reindeer can also be considered a Sámi stereotype. This becomes most apparent through the traditional

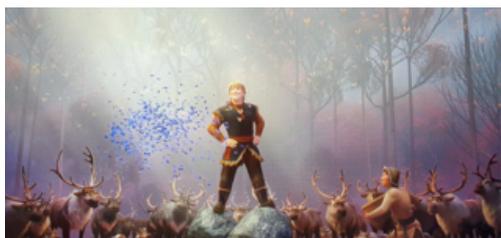


Image 2: Proposal [00:47:47]

Northuldra way of proposing which “involves a lot of reindeer” [00:43:45] (image 2). Moreover, the stereotypical image of the Sámi as a peaceful people is very prominent in this film. For example, it

becomes apparent that Anna and Elsa's grandfather once betrayed and attacked the old leader of the Northuldra “who wields no weapon” [01:10:24] (image 3). When the Northuldra are seen fighting, they do so by using sticks rather than swords, which allures to the stereotype of the Sámi as primitive. The relationship between the Northuldra and nature is also emphasized in the film through Anna and Elsa's father's description of the Northuldra in the opening scene: “[The Northuldra] were not magical. They just took advantage of the Forest's gifts” [00:02:36]. Also, the Northuldra leader says that the Northuldra “only trust nature”

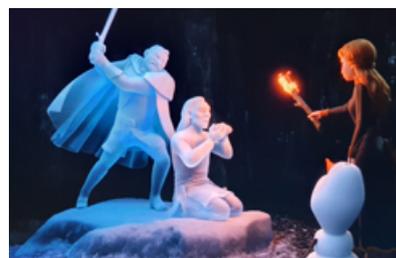


Image 3: King Runeard and Northuldra leader [01:10:10]

[00:37:21]. This Northuldra characteristic is reminiscent of outsider’s representations of the Sámi as nature people.

Besides the many stereotypical representations, there are also some more thoughtful and layered representations of Northuldra. This can be recognized in the moments where joiking is used to mark significant events (such as Anna and Elsa’s discovery of their Northuldra ancestry) rather than serving as a device to merely define sáminess. The incorporation of Sámi mythology in this film could also be regarded as rather authentic. Unlike the majority of the dominant Scandinavian cultures, the Sámi traditionally believe in nature spirits which can take on material forms. These nature spirits are also featured in the



Image 4: Water spirit [01:03:31]

film and their appearance seems to be in accordance with Sámi folklore, such as the embodiment of the water spirit in the form of a horse (image 4). Lastly, the Northuldra leader refers to the Northuldra as “the people of the sun” [00:42:32], which is a title the Sámi also give themselves (Jannok, 2011). These examples show that, at some instances, the film also represents Sámi culture with integrity. The manners in which this is done in the film even seem to resemble attempts at visual sovereignty as described in chapter 2 of this thesis.

4.1.3 Defending the Sámi Cause

The Northuldra cause, and therefore, the Sámi cause, is mainly spotlighted through the inclusion of the dam-storyline. It becomes apparent that the Northuldra were wronged by king Runeard through the construction of the dam (image 5) which damages the Enchanted Forest. In the end, Anna succeeds in breaking the dam and freeing Northuldra habitat once more. This issue is clearly



Image 5: The dam [00:27:34]

reminiscent of Sámi protests against the construction of the Alta Dam in Norway. The injustices against the Sámi through the Alta Dam have been portrayed before by outsiders, as in the 1980 film *La Elva Leve!*, by Greve (Mecsei, 2015). However, even though the Sámi cause is taken up through the defence of their habitat, *Frozen II* does not focus on the inequality they experience and their quest for recognition.

4.1.4 Authenticity

The main release of *Frozen II* was fully spoken in English. However, Disney made a version of this film in Northern Sámi (one of the Sámi languages) which was released at the same time as the American version. Even though none of the main positions (e.g. producer, writer, director) in the making of this film was filled by a person of Sámi heritage, Disney did consult with representatives of the Sámi community about integration of their culture in *Frozen II*. In spite of some inauthentic elements being present in the film, Disney has made a clear effort at authenticity.

4.1.5 Language and Cultural Contrasts

The only language that is featured in the original release of *Frozen II* is English. The Northuldra speak fluent English and are never heard speaking any other language. Hence, language is not employed to define cultural distinctions in this film.

4.1.6 Ethnicity and Rivalry

The plot of *Frozen II* centres around animosity between the Northuldra and the people from Arendelle. However, the story of Elsa and Anna's father in the opening scene of this film establishes that there has not always been rivalry between these two groups. Instead, this feud was instigated by the Arendellian king Runeard because "the Northuldra follow magic" [01:08:02]. Thus, behaviour and beliefs rather than mere differences in ethnicity formed the cause of the rivalry between the two groups.

4.2 Analysis of *Sami Blood*

4.2.1 Perspective

The story of *Sami Blood* is told from the perspective of Elle-Marja, a woman of Sámi heritage. Elle-Marja renounces her Sámi identity as an adolescent and subsequently tries to pass as a Swede. However, because she was raised Sámi, it can be concluded that the perspective in this film is with a Sámi insider.

4.2.2 Representational Sovereignty and Stereotypes

Many aspects of this film can be regarded as attempts at representational Sámi sovereignty. This becomes evident through the inclusion of joiking. When young Elle-Marja and her little



Image 6: Sámi children at boarding school [00:51:50]

sister Njenna set off to the boarding school, Elle-Marja tells Njenna to joik the Norra Storfjället-mountain and evoke its presence. She says: “If you can joik it, it is as if you are home” [00:14:36]. This does lie at the heart of joiking in Sámi culture (Larsen, 2014). Thus, the joiking is not merely used to define the girls as Sámi, it is used in an authentic context. Later, when Elle-Marja attends a party of the Swedish boy Niklas in Uppsala, joiking reappears under different circumstances. Some Swedish girls interested in anthropology ask Elle-Marja to joik. In this context, the very uncomfortable Elle-Marja is treated like an exotic object and the joik loses its purpose. At a later age, the joik evokes feelings of disgust towards the Sámi with Elle-Marja when her son plays a joiking CD in the car. These inclusions of joiking could be regarded as attempts at representational sovereignty: the scene at the party is reminiscent of past treatment of outsiders of the Sámi culture, whereas the true meaning of the joik is redefined when the sisters depart for the boarding school. Representational sovereignty can also be recognized through the reindeer in

the film. Early in the film, young Elle-Marja and Njenna mark Njenna's first reindeer (image 7). This scene establishes the significance of these animals to the Sámi. However, when Elle-Marja's mother refuses to



Image 7: Calf marking [00:11:12]

let her sell her reindeer, Elle-Marja kills one in her rage. This could be regarded as her separating herself from a crucial element of Sámi culture. The manners in which the reindeer are included in this film are, again, an example of insider Sámi filmmaking reclaiming the Sámi imagery.

4.2.3 Defending the Sámi Cause

The film supports Sámi rights through the engagement with the politics of recognition, as defined in chapter 2 of this thesis, rather than through the depiction of outsider threats to their habitat, as is the case in *Frozen II*. The inclusion of the Swedes' discrimination of the



Image 8: Elle-Marja burning Sámi clothes [00:57:42]

Sámi, as well as Elle-Marja's attempts at passing as a Swede are reminiscent of these politics of recognition as they confront the audience with injustices against the Sámi. The other Sámi characters in the film, such as Elle-Marja's family and classmates,

evidently disprove of her rejection of sáminess. They are proud of their heritage; it pains them to see Elle-Marja's disregard for their culture. This pride in sáminess also contributes to the film's involvement with the politics of recognition.

4.2.4 Authenticity

Many aspects of this film are authentically Sámi. *Sami Blood* was both written and produced by Amanda Kernell, a woman of Sámi heritage. Furthermore, the role of Elle-Marja was portrayed by a Sámi actress and the whole narrative is told from her perspective. The scenes in the film that take place in Sápmi were actually recorded there and Southern Sámi was

spoken in a great part of the film. All these elements add to the film's authenticity and to what Mecsei (2015) describes as "self-representational Sáminess" (p. 75).

4.2.5 Language and Cultural Contrasts

Language clearly establishes a contrast between Swedish and Sámi culture in *Sami Blood*.

Throughout the film, Elle-Marja's Southern Sámi, one of the Sámi languages, is slowly replaced by Swedish. Changes in Elle-Marja's language use coincide with her cultural transformation: as Elle-Marja's aversion of the Sámi grows, so does her usage of Swedish.

At Njenna's funeral Elle-Marja refuses to speak her native language. However, near the end of the film, Elle-Marja asks her sister for forgiveness in Southern Sámi. In this film language and cultural belonging go hand in hand.

4.2.6 Ethnicity and Rivalry

The rivalry between the Sámi and the Swedes depicted in this film can be traced back to their respective ethnicities. More specifically, it is based on ethnic inequality; the Swedes perceive

the Sámi and their culture as inferior. The Swedish researchers that visit the boarding school to perform anthropometry (image 9) and the Swedish boys using Elle-Marja's own knife to mark



Image 9: Anthropometry Elle-Marja [00:31:16]

her ear are rather direct and striking examples of disregard for

the Sámi. However, it is also manifested in more subtle behaviours, such as the Swedish boys' utterance of racial slurs and Elle-Marja's teacher refusing to help her continue her education after boarding school because of her race. The girls' treatment of Elle-Marja as a rarity at Niklas' party is also exemplary of the lack of respect towards the Sámi.

5. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Summary of the Results and Conclusion

This thesis discussed and evaluated assertions concerning characteristics of insider and outsider Sámi cinema through the analyses of the two contemporary films *Frozen II* and *Sami Blood*. The results indicate that several elements which scholars have identified as typical for insider or outsider Sámi filmmaking, respectively, are present in the two films. The perspective of the insider film *Sami Blood* is with Elle-Marja, a Sámi girl, whereas the story of the American film *Frozen II* is told from the perspective of outsiders of the Northuldra culture, an indigenous group based on the Sámi. More elements that are allegedly typical for either Sámi or non-Sámi productions can be observed in the respective narratives of the films. It has been posited that outsider Sámi films tend to focus on defending Sámi habitat (Kääpä, 2015). This tendency is evident through the inclusion of the dam-storyline in *Frozen II* and the eventual destruction of the dam, setting the Forest and its inhabitants free. In *Sami Blood*, however, the problematic position of the Sámi is not depicted through the threat that outsiders form to Sámi territory, but through the reluctance of the Swedes to accept and respect the Sámi characters in the film. Thus, this production seems to focus on “the politics of recognition” of the Sámi as an ethnic group within Sweden, which is an element indicated to be typical for Sámi-made productions (Kääpä, 2015, p 54). These observations by Kääpä were, thus, decidedly applicable to *Sami Blood* and *Frozen II* and could be suitable for case studies on the cinematic representation of other minorities as well. Another suggested characteristic of Sámi filmmaking is the establishment of a cultural contrast through language (Mecsei, 2015). This element does become apparent in *Sami Blood* in several ways, such as Elle-Marja’s refusal to speak Sámi as part of her renouncement of this culture. This contrast through language is not apparent in *Frozen II*; all characters exclusively speak English.

Furthermore, non-Sámi productions are said to represent the Sámi rather stereotypically (Mecsei, 2015; Skardhamar, 2008). Indeed, the Sámi(-based) characters seem to be stereotyped more often in *Frozen II* than in *Sami Blood*, e.g. the uniformity of the facial features of the Northuldra and the absurdist, reindeer centred, traditional Northuldra manner of proposing. In *Sami Blood*, depictions of the Sámi and their culture could be regarded as attempts at representational sovereignty, e.g. joiking is included as a practice to evoke places or beings instead of a device to define sáminess. This has been described as typical for insider Sámi cinema (Mecsei, 2015). However, this does not mean that stereotyping does not occur in this film. For instance, the Swedish characters are all Caucasian and do not treat the Sámi respectfully. As this stereotyping mainly concerns characters other than the Sámi, it does not necessarily contest the previously described assertions about cinematic representations of the Sámi by insiders and outsiders, respectively. Nonetheless, it would be inaccurate to assume that the omission of stereotypical representations is typical for insider-filmmaking. Another element that has been recognized in insider Sámi filmmaking is authenticity (Mecsei, 2015). This authenticity can indeed be observed in *Sami Blood* through the inclusion of Sámi actors, Sámi language, and footage of Sápmi. In comparison, *Frozen II* appears to be less authentic in its representation of sáminess as Sámi languages (and voice actors) are not included in this film.

However, not all assertions about insider and outsider films featuring the Sámi could be affirmed through the analyses of the films. Even though stereotypical representations of the Sámi do occur in *Frozen II*, there are several aspects of the film that show integrity with regard to the representation of the Sámi story. Examples are the depiction of the nature spirits and the reference to the Northuldra as “the people of the sun” (*Frozen II*, 2019, 00:42:32), a term used by the Sámi to describe themselves (Jannok, 2011). Even though the

term visual sovereignty inherently excludes outsider-filmmakers as it concerns restoring minorities' rights to self-representation, it could be argued that representations of Sáminess resemble attempts at visual sovereignty in these instances in *Frozen II*. Nevertheless, due to the inherent exclusion, the notion of visual sovereignty might not be adequate to utilize while comparing insider and outsider productions. In addition to the above-mentioned elements, Disney's consultancy with representatives of the Sámi community prior to the production of this film adds to the film's authenticity. Taken together, these aspects are not expected in an outsider film featuring Sámi characters. *Sami Blood*, on the other hand, seems to include an element that is said to be utilized by outsiders in films featuring Sámi characters, namely, a strong emphasis on ethnicity (Skardhamar, 2008). In conclusion, even though some elements that have been described as typical for insider and outsider productions featuring the Sámi can be recognized in *Sami Blood* and *Frozen II*, respectively, several divergences from these tendencies were observed. These were most noticeable in the film *Frozen II*; several aspects of the representation of Sáminess in this film are similar to insider cinematic Sámi representation.

5.2 Limitations and Future Research

A limitation of this thesis stems from the researcher's own cultural background. All knowledge of Sámi culture as presented in this thesis was acquired through publications rather than through primary research or personal experience. Larsen (2014) quotes the following statement made by a Sámi person: "if you want to learn who we are, then you need to stay [among the Sámi] for a long time" [0:05:15]. This immersion did not take place and, consequently, some representations of Sámi culture might have gone unnoticed during the analyses of the two films. The scarcity of research on the difference between cultural representations in live-action and animated films forms another limitation. No special

attention could be given to potential differences in Sámi representation stemming from this variation in genre. However, this might have influenced the results. A lack of scholarly literature on the difference in representation of cultures between films aimed at children and films aimed at adults constitutes another limitation. This potential difference was disregarded for the current research, which could have had an influence on the outcome of the analyses. Lastly, representations of the Northuldra in *Frozen II* have been treated as representations of the Sámi in this thesis. Even though these characters are based on the Sámi (Simonpillai, 2019; McGwin, 2020), they are not referred to as such in the film. This does make it difficult to make conclusive statements on outsiders' cinematic representations of the Sámi in contemporary productions.

Future research could assess potential differences in cultural representation between animated and live-action films, and between films with different age groups as their target-audiences. Also, the films that were discussed in this thesis were analysed by only one person. It would be advisable to invite more researchers to code and analyse the films to obtain more reliable results. Furthermore, it would be interesting to examine the reasons why the representations of the Sámi in *Frozen II* and *Sami Blood* diverge to some extent from previous insider and outsider Sámi films. This might be due to the current increase in attention for minority rights.

REFERENCES

- Aronson, E., Wilson, T. D., Akert, R. M., & Sommers, S. R. (2017). *Social psychology. Global edition* [E-book]. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Beller, M. (2007). Perception, Image, Imagology. In: M. Beller & J. Leerssen (Eds.), *Imagology: The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey* (pp. 1-16) [E-book]. Retrieved from <https://brill.com>
- Blix, B. H., Hamran, T., & Normann, H. K. (2013). Struggles of being and becoming: A dialogical narrative analysis of the life stories of Sami elderly. *Journal of aging studies*, 27(3), 264-275. doi:10.1016/j.jaging.2013.05.002
- Buck, C., & Lee, J. (Directors). (2019). *Frozen II* [Motion picture]. United States: Walt Disney Pictures.
- Callaghan, S. (Writer & Producer). (2012). 200 Episodes Later [Television series episode]. In S. MacFarlane (Executive producer), *Family Guy*. New York, NY: Fox Broadcasting Company.
- CBSnews (2016, November 30). Disney's "Moana" a box office hit, but is it offensive? *CBSnews*. Retrieved from <https://www.cbsnews.com>
- Dahlquist, M. (2015). The Attractions of the North: Early Film Expeditions to the Exotic Snowscape. In: S. MacKenzie & A. Westerståhl Stenport (Eds.), *Films on Ice: Cinemas of the Arctic* (pp. 279–285) [E-book]. Retrieved from <https://www.cambridge.org>
- Degler, F. (2007). Cinema. In: M. Beller & J. Leerssen (Eds.), *Imagology: The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey* (pp. 295-297) [E-book]. Retrieved from <https://brill.com>
- International Sami Film Institute. (n.d.). About the International Sámi Film Institute (ISFI) [Web page]. Retrieved from <https://www.isfi.no/en/>

International Sami Film Institute. (n.d.). Applications & Grants [Web page]. Retrieved from

<https://www.isfi.no/en/>

International Sami Film Institute. (n.d.). Feature Films [Web page]. Retrieved from

<https://www.isfi.no/en/>

Jannok, S. (Presenter). (2011, November). *Our Rights to Earth and Freedom. Sofia Jannok at TEDxGateway* [Video file]. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5GZu8xECOdW>

Kääpä, P. (2015). Northern Exposures and Marginal Critiques: The Politics of Sovereignty in Sámi Cinema. In: S. MacKenzie & A. Westerståhl Stenport (Eds.), *Films on Ice: Cinemas of the Arctic* (pp. 45–58) [E-book]. Retrieved from <https://www.cambridge.org>

Kernell, A. (Director). (2016). *Sami Blood* [Motion picture]. Sweden: Nordisk Film Production.

Kernell, A. (2017). Sami Blood. Why Amanda Kernell broke all 3 rules for making a feature debut [Interview by E. Buder]. *No Film School*. Retrieved from

<https://nofilmschool.com>

King, C. R., Lugo-Lugo, C. R., & Bloodsworth-Lugo, M. K. (2010). *Animating difference: Race, gender, and sexuality in contemporary films for children* [E-Book]. Retrieved from

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>

Larsen, E. (Presenter). (2014, March 10). *Erika Larsen. The Reindeer People. Nat Geo Live* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bPiKAhhEHXA>

McGwin, K. (2020, February 2). How a collaboration with Disney shaped the way Sámi cultural details were portrayed in *Frozen 2*. *ArcticToday*. Retrieved from

<https://www.arctictoday.com>

- Mecsei, M. K. (2015). Cultural Stereotypes and Negotiations in Sámi Cinema. In: S. MacKenzie & A. Westerståhl Stenport (Eds.), *Films on Ice: Cinemas of the Arctic* (pp. 72–83) [E-book]. Retrieved from <https://www.cambridge.org>
- Pietikäinen, S. (2001). On the Fringe: News Representations of the Sami. *Social Identities*, 7(4), 637-657. doi:10.1080/13504630120107746
- Raheja, M. H. (2010). Visual Sovereignty, Indigenous Revisions of Ethnography, and Atanarjuat (The Fast Runner). *American Quarterly*, 59(4), 1159-1185. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org>
- Rovers, R. (2019, July 17). Is 'The Lion King' een fascistische parabel of moeten we de film niet zo serieus nemen? *Trouw*. Retrieved from <https://www.trouw.nl>
- Schreier, M. (2013). Qualitative Content Analysis. In: U. Flick (Ed.), *The sage handbook of qualitative data analysis* (pp. 170-183) [E-book]. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Simonpillai, R. (2019, November 19). Disney signed a contract with indigenous people before making Frozen II. *Now*. Retrieved from <https://nowtoronto.com>
- Skardhamar, A. K. (2008). Changes in Film Representations of Sami Culture and Identity. *Nordlit: Tidsskrift i Litteratur Og Kultur*, 12(1), 293–303. doi:10.7557/13.1346
- Spector, A. J. (1998). Disney does Diversity: The Social Context of Racial-Ethnic Imagery. In: Y. R. Kamalipour & T Carilli (Eds.), *Cultural Diversity and the U.S. Media* (pp. 39-50). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Sundholm, J., Thorsen, I., Andersson, L. G., Hedling, O., Iversen, G., & Møller, B. T. (2012). *Historical dictionary of Scandinavian cinema* [E-book]. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>

Tartaglione, N. (2020, January 5). 'Frozen 2' crowned highest grossing animated film ever at worldwide box office as it skates past original. *IMDb*. Retrieved from

<https://www.imdb.com>

Vasey, R. (1992). Foreign Parts: Hollywood's Global Distribution and the Representation of Ethnicity. *American Quarterly*, 44(4), 617-642. doi:10.2307/2713217

Villar-Argaiz, P. (2014). The representation of non-irish immigrants in recent irish films. *Irish Studies Review*, 22(4), 466–486. doi:10.1080/09670882.2014.961336

Wright, R. (1998). *The Visible Wall: Jews and Other Ethnic Outsiders in Swedish Film*.

Carbondale, Il: SIU Press.

APPENDIX A: Elements of Insider Sámi Cinema in *Frozen II*

	Elements of Insider Sámi Cinema: Subcategories	Examples from <i>Frozen II</i>	Timestamp
1	Insider perspective	Not found.	x
2	Attempts at representational sovereignty	<p>a) Elsa encounters the wind spirit in the form of a tornado.</p> <p>b) Elsa encounter the fire spirit in the form of a salamander.</p> <p>c) The Northuldra joik when they discover Elsa and Anna's mother was Northuldra.</p> <p>d) Yelena says the Northuldra are "the people of the sun".</p> <p>e) Elsa encounter the earth spirits in the form of giants.</p> <p>f) Elsa encounters the water spirit in the form of a horse.</p> <p>g) Joiking sounds when the mist clears from the forest.</p> <p>h) Joiking sounds when Elsa rides towards Ahtohallan.</p>	<p>a) 00:31:33</p> <p>b) 00:39:01</p> <p>c) 00:41:51</p> <p>d) 00:42:32</p> <p>e) 00:46:04</p> <p>f) 01:01:07</p> <p>f) 01:22:52</p> <p>g) 01:30:30</p>
3	Engagement with politics of recognition	Not found.	x
4	Authenticity	<p>a) When travelling North towards the Enchanted forest (Northuldra territory) the southern landscape turns into Nordic landscape (tundra).</p> <p>b) Elsa, Anna, and Olaf travel further North. The landscape looks barren again.</p> <p>c) The mist clears, and the people can exit the Forest again. They see the tundra.</p> <p>d) Disney made a version of this film in Northern Sámi which was released at the same time as the American version.</p> <p>e) Disney consulted with representatives of the Sámi community about integration of their culture in <i>Frozen II</i>.</p>	<p>a) 00:23:53</p> <p>b) 00:52:10</p> <p>c) 01:23:28</p> <p>d) x</p> <p>e) x</p>
5	Language as a cultural contrast	Not found.	x
6	Rivalry not based on ethnicity	Ethnicity did not lie at the basis of the rivalry between the Arendellians and the Northuldra in this film. This rivalry was rather based on differences in believes.	x

APPENDIX B: Elements of Outsider Sámi Cinema in *Frozen II*

	Elements of Outsider Sámi Cinema: Subcategories	Examples from <i>Frozen II</i>	Timestamp
1	Outsider perspective	The story is told from the perspective of the protagonists: outsiders of the Northuldra culture.	x
2	Stereotypical representations of the Sámi	<p>a) Joiking during opening scene.</p> <p>b) Introduction to the Northuldra. They wear beige woollen and leather (uniform) clothing, hats, decorated belts with tools hanging from them. Their hair is either dark or grey, they resemble the Inuit in appearance.</p> <p>c) King Agnarr says: “[The Northuldra] were not magical. They just took advantage of the Forest’s gifts”.</p> <p>d) First instance of Northuldra woman herding reindeer.</p> <p>e) The Northuldra are seen fighting with sticks, whereas the Arendellian soldiers fight with swords.</p> <p>f) Elsa, Anna, Kristoff, Sven, and Olaf enter the Enchanted Forest. The Forest looks idyllic.</p> <p>g) Yelena says “My people are innocent. We would have never attacked first” in response to accusation made by Arendellian soldiers.</p> <p>h) Yelena says that the Northuldra “only trust nature”.</p> <p>i) The reindeer flee from the fire. Northuldra man panics; they value the reindeer very much.</p> <p>j) Ryder tells Northuldra way of proposing “involves a lot of reindeer”.</p> <p>k) Image of the leader of the Northuldra “who wields no weapon” being attacked in the back by King Runeard. This scene implies that the Northuldra are peaceful (or gullible).</p>	<p>a) 00:00:08</p> <p>b) 00:02:30</p> <p>c) 00:02:36</p> <p>d) 00:02:40</p> <p>e) 00:03:37</p> <p>f) 00:27:15</p> <p>g) 00:36:26</p> <p>h) 00:37:21</p> <p>i) 00:37:49</p> <p>j) 00:43:45</p> <p>k) 01:10:24</p>
3	Embrace of Sámi cause concerning territory and supplies	<p>a) First instance of the dam.</p> <p>b) Troll shows image of dam and says: “a wrong demands to be righted”.</p> <p>c) The old Northuldra leader says the dam is not good for the forest.</p> <p>d) Anna succeeds in breaking the dam.</p> <p>e) Elsa protects Arendelle from the tidal wave.</p> <p>f) As a result of breaking the dam, the mists in the Enchanted Forest lift and the spirit stones become visible.</p>	<p>a) 00:02:50</p> <p>b) 00:22:42</p> <p>c) 01:09:14</p> <p>d) 01:20:59</p> <p>e) 01:22:02</p> <p>f) 01:22:45</p>

4	Lack of authenticity	a) The main release of <i>Frozen II</i> was fully spoken in English. b) None of the main positions (e.g. producer, writer, director) in the making of this film was filled by a person of Sámi heritage.	a) x b) x
5	Cultural contrasts not accentuated through language	Contrasts between the Northuldra and the Arendellians were not highlighted through language.	x
6	Ethnicity as a cause of rivalry	Not found.	x

APPENDIX C: Elements of Insider Sámi Cinema in *Sami Blood*

	Elements of Insider Sámi Cinema: Subcategories	Examples from <i>Sami Blood</i>	Timestamp
1	Insider perspective	The story is told from the perspective of Elle-Marja: an insider.	x
2	Attempts at representational sovereignty	<p>a) Elle-Marja's son plays joiking in the car.</p> <p>b) Electrical wires that run along Nordic landscape.</p> <p>c) Old Elle-Marja sees people in traditional Sámi clothing.</p> <p>d) Man joiks at Njenna's funeral.</p> <p>e) Sanna wears Sámi dress.</p> <p>f) Elle-Marja and Njenna mark Njenna's calf.</p> <p>g) The camp where young Elle-Marja lives. The people wear traditional Sámi clothing.</p> <p>h) Elle-Marja's grandfather gives her her father's old calf marking knife.</p> <p>i) Elle-Marja tells Njenna to close her eyes and imagine the Norra Storfjället mountain. She asks if Njenna can hear the mountain. "If you can joik it, it is as if you are home".</p> <p>j) Elle-Marja joiks to Njenna.</p> <p>k) Traditional necklace around Njenna's neck.</p> <p>l) Elle-Marja practices giving the traditional Sámi <i>riegka</i> to the Swedish guests.</p> <p>m) Njenna joiks to make fun of Elle-Marja speaking Swedish.</p> <p>n) Elle-Marja burns her traditional clothes.</p> <p>o) Elle-Marja joiks when the girls at Niklas' party ask her to.</p> <p>p) Elle-Marja is back in Sapmi and sits amongst reindeer.</p> <p>q) Back in Sápmi: Njenna joiks.</p> <p>r) Elle-Marja and her family sit inside the Lavo.</p> <p>s) Elle-Marja tells her mother she wants to sell her reindeer.</p> <p>t) Elle-Marja kills reindeer in anger.</p> <p>u) Old Elle-Marja watches calf marking at her old camp.</p>	<p>a) 00:01:37</p> <p>b) 00:02:37</p> <p>c) 00:02:55</p> <p>d) 00:03:54</p> <p>e) 00:05:14</p> <p>f) 00:11:16</p> <p>g) 00:11:51</p> <p>h) 00:13:07</p> <p>i) 00:14:36</p> <p>j) 00:15:16</p> <p>k) 00:26:58</p> <p>l) 00:27:08</p> <p>m) 00:27:28</p> <p>n) 00:57:30</p> <p>o) 01:27:08</p> <p>p) 01:30:28</p> <p>q) 01:34:28</p> <p>r) 01:34:59</p> <p>s) 01:36:21</p> <p>t) 01:38:15</p> <p>u) 01:43:06</p>
3	Engagement with politics of recognition	<p>a) Elle-Marja does not like joiking and says that she has nothing to do with the Sámi and that they steal and lie.</p> <p>b) Elle-Marja pretends she does not speak Sámi.</p> <p>c) Women in hotel lobby condemn the Sámi people outside of the hotel.</p>	<p>a) 00:02:04</p> <p>b) 00:04:40</p> <p>c) 00:07:40</p> <p>d) 00:07:58</p> <p>e) 00:12:16</p> <p>f) 00:16:57</p>

	<p>d) Elle-Marja agrees with the women in the hotel lobby condemning the Sámi.</p> <p>e) Elle-Marja's mother tells her to stop speaking Swedish.</p> <p>f) Swedish boys are rude to Elle-Marja and Njenna.</p> <p>g) Teacher punishes children for not speaking Swedish well enough.</p> <p>h) Villagers stare at Sámi children.</p> <p>i) Swedish guest touches the hair and clothing of the Sámi children.</p> <p>j) The Swedish guests measure the facial features of the Sámi children and take photographs.</p> <p>k) A Swedish boy says the Sámi are less evolved. Elle-Marja tells him to take his words back. They mark her ear with her own knife.</p> <p>l) Elle-Marja tells the boy marking her ear that he is like a Lapp.</p> <p>m) Elle-Marja looks angrily at her facial features.</p> <p>n) Elle-Marja puts on her teacher's dress.</p> <p>o) Elle-Marja thinks she smells bad and washes herself before entering the party.</p> <p>p) Elle-Marja tells Niklas her name is Christina.</p> <p>q) Elle-Marja tells Njenna that she does not understand her and calls her a dirty Lapp.</p> <p>r) Elle-Marja is punished for going to the party.</p> <p>s) Elle-Marja's teacher says she cannot continue her studies after boarding school.</p> <p>t) Elle-Marja tells Njenna that she is a Lapp child that does not understand anything because Lappish brains are too small. She says the Sámi are idiots that cannot think for themselves.</p> <p>u) Women on the train watch Elle-Marja, who wears traditional clothing, suspiciously.</p> <p>v) Elle-Marja wears the clothes she stole from a Swedish woman and burns her Sámi clothes.</p> <p>w) Niklas' parents want him to send Elle-Marja away.</p> <p>x) Elle-Marja tries to register with the school as Christina Lajler.</p> <p>y) Partygoers treat Elle-Marja as an exotic being.</p> <p>z) Elle-Marja's family look warily at her when she returns to the camp.</p> <p>aa) When Elle-Marja returns to her Sámi camp, she tells Njenna to bath because she supposedly smells bad.</p>	<p>g) 00:17:59</p> <p>h) 00:20:22</p> <p>i) 00:29:34</p> <p>j) 00:30:24</p> <p>k) 00:35:55</p> <p>l) 00:36:31</p> <p>m) 00:37:16</p> <p>n) 00:38:28</p> <p>o) 00:41:24</p> <p>p) 00:45:07</p> <p>q) 00:47:33</p> <p>r) 00:48:58</p> <p>s) 00:52:53</p> <p>t) 00:55:17</p> <p>u) 00:56:36</p> <p>v) 00:57:30</p> <p>w) 01:10:45</p> <p>x) 01:16:46</p> <p>y) 01:25:30</p> <p>z) 01:31:29</p> <p>aa) 01:32:22</p> <p>bb) 01:36:03</p>
--	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

		bb) Elle-Marja's family look sad and shocked when she tells them her name is no longer Elle-Marja. Her mother then tells her she should be careful not to turn into a Swede. She then tells her to leave when Elle-Marja compares the Sámi to circus animals.	
4	Authenticity	<p>a) The film was both written and produced by a woman of Sámi heritage.</p> <p>b) Inclusion of Sámi actors.</p> <p>c) The scenes in the film that took place in Sápmi were actually recorded there.</p> <p>d) Southern Sámi was spoken in a great part of the film.</p>	<p>a) x</p> <p>b) x</p> <p>c) x</p> <p>d) x</p>
5	Language as a cultural contrast	<p>a) Elle-Marja insists she does not speak Sámi.</p> <p>b) Elle-Marja's son speaks some Sámi words, Elle-Marja smiles.</p> <p>c) Mother talks Sámi to Elle-Marja, Elle-Marja responds in Swedish. Mother tells her not to speak Swedish.</p> <p>d) Elle-Marja tells Njenna to speak Swedish.</p> <p>e) Elle-Marja asks her dead sister for forgiveness in Sámi.</p>	<p>a) 00:04:40</p> <p>b) 00:09:20</p> <p>c) 00:12:05</p> <p>d) 00:21:08</p> <p>e) 01:41:54</p>
6	Rivalry not based on ethnicity	Not found.	x

APPENDIX D: Elements of Outsider Sámi Cinema in *Sami Blood*

	Elements of Outsider Sámi Cinema: Subcategories	Examples from <i>Sami Blood</i>	Timestamp
1	Outsider perspective	Not found.	x
2	Stereotypical representations of the Sámi	Not found.	x
3	Embrace of Sámi cause concerning territory and supplies	Not found.	x
4	Lack of authenticity	Not found.	x
5	Cultural contrasts not accentuated through language	Not found.	x
6	Ethnicity as a cause of rivalry	<p>a) Women in hotel lobby condemn the Sámi people outside of the hotel.</p> <p>b) Swedish boys are rude to Elle-Marja and Njenna.</p> <p>c) Teacher punishes children for not speaking Swedish well enough.</p> <p>d) Villagers stare at Sámi children.</p> <p>e) Swedish guest touches the hair and clothing of the Sámi children.</p> <p>f) The Swedish guests measure the facial features of the Sámi children and take photographs.</p> <p>g) A Swedish boy says the Sámi are less evolved. Elle-Marja tells him to take his words back. They mark her ear with her own knife.</p> <p>h) Elle-Marja is punished for going to the party.</p> <p>i) Elle-Marja's teacher says she cannot continue her studies after boarding school because of her race.</p> <p>j) Women on the train watch Elle-Marja, who wears traditional clothing, suspiciously.</p> <p>k) Niklas' parents want him to send Elle-Marja away.</p> <p>l) Partygoers treat Elle-Marja as an exotic being.</p>	<p>a) 00:07:40</p> <p>b) 00:16:57</p> <p>c) 00:17:59</p> <p>d) 00:20:22</p> <p>e) 00:29:34</p> <p>f) 00:30:24</p> <p>g) 00:35:55</p> <p>h) 00:48:58</p> <p>i) 00:52:53</p> <p>j) 00:56:36</p> <p>k) 01:10:45</p> <p>l) 01:25:30</p>



PLAGIARISM RULES AWARENESS STATEMENT

Fraud and Plagiarism

Scientific integrity is the foundation of academic life. Utrecht University considers any form of scientific deception to be an extremely serious infraction. Utrecht University therefore expects every student to be aware of, and to abide by, the norms and values regarding scientific integrity.

The most important forms of deception that affect this integrity are fraud and plagiarism. Plagiarism is the copying of another person's work without proper acknowledgement, and it is a form of fraud. The following is a detailed explanation of what is considered to be fraud and plagiarism, with a few concrete examples. Please note that this is not a comprehensive list!

If fraud or plagiarism is detected, the study programme's Examination Committee may decide to impose sanctions. The most serious sanction that the committee can impose is to submit a request to the Executive Board of the University to expel the student from the study programme.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is the copying of another person's documents, ideas or lines of thought and presenting it as one's own work. You must always accurately indicate from whom you obtained ideas and insights, and you must constantly be aware of the difference between citing, paraphrasing and plagiarising. Students and staff must be very careful in citing sources; this concerns not only printed sources, but also information obtained from the Internet.

The following issues will always be considered to be plagiarism:

- cutting and pasting text from digital sources, such as an encyclopaedia or digital periodicals, without quotation marks and footnotes;
- cutting and pasting text from the Internet without quotation marks and footnotes;
- copying printed materials, such as books, magazines or encyclopaedias, without quotation marks or footnotes;
- including a translation of one of the sources named above without quotation marks or footnotes;
- paraphrasing (parts of) the texts listed above without proper references: paraphrasing must be marked as such, by expressly mentioning the original author in the text or in a footnote, so that you do not give the impression that it is your own idea;
- copying sound, video or test materials from others without references, and presenting it as one's own work;
- submitting work done previously by the student without reference to the original paper, and presenting it as original work done in the context of the course, without the express permission of the course lecturer;
- copying the work of another student and presenting it as one's own work. If this is done with the consent of the other student, then he or she is also complicit in the plagiarism;
- when one of the authors of a group paper commits plagiarism, then the other co-authors are also complicit in plagiarism if they could or should have known that the person was committing plagiarism;
- submitting papers acquired from a commercial institution, such as an Internet site with summaries or papers, that were written by another person, whether or not that other person received payment for the work.

The rules for plagiarism also apply to rough drafts of papers or (parts of) theses sent to a lecturer for feedback, to the extent that submitting rough drafts for feedback is mentioned in the course handbook or the thesis regulations.

The Education and Examination Regulations (Article 5.15) describe the formal procedure in case of suspicion of fraud and/or plagiarism, and the sanctions that can be imposed.

Ignorance of these rules is not an excuse. Each individual is responsible for their own behaviour. Utrecht University assumes that each student or staff member knows what fraud and plagiarism



entail. For its part, Utrecht University works to ensure that students are informed of the principles of scientific practice, which are taught as early as possible in the curriculum, and that students are informed of the institution's criteria for fraud and plagiarism, so that every student knows which norms they must abide by.

I hereby declare that I have read and understood the above.

Name:

Elwimmer Zeel

Student number:

6253598

Date and signature:

1 Juli 2020

Submit this form to your supervisor when you begin writing your Bachelor's final paper or your Master's thesis.

Failure to submit or sign this form does not mean that no sanctions can be imposed if it appears that plagiarism has been committed in the paper.