



Cultural Mediation

A Case Study of Sami Research



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Introduction

Research Problem

Faced with globalization - the neo-liberal market and cultural homogenization - societies are starting to reflect more on their diversity. Processes of cultural differentiation¹ parallel the potent processes of uniformisation. Some analysts of culture have turned to ethnic identity politics and highly essentialist notions of culture as ideological support to understand the claims of authenticity and autonomy of the indigenous people. Other analysts of culture have turned towards and preferred instead more politically and historically charged concepts of *discourse*, *interest* and *strategy*. My study is developed, theory- and method-wise, alongside this last front of enquiry.

I look at the ways in which the work of Sami researchers – connected with the University of Tromsø and working in different fields – challenges the Western scientific *discourse* on the indigenous people through cultural mediation. I view cultural mediation, as a continuing process of the mind, not as the step towards compromise. I attempt to identify the elements of innovation and experimentation these Sami researchers bring in with their themes and methods of research with an *intention* to challenge and create a shift from the ‘Western paradigm’, while mediating aspects of the indigenous culture and reality. By ‘Western paradigm’, I understand the tradition fostered since the Age of Enlightenment in terms of theories, methods and standards, which was built on ideals of objectivism, detachment and universalism, and which allowed for an authoritative and unambiguous position outside the events themselves from which omniscient knowledge was attainable.²

¹ Human diversity has been talked about in various terms. Currently, in an attempt to attenuate conflicts and promote understanding, international politics place emphasis on cultural diversity, a shift from ‘ethnic diversity’, the source of many frictions in various areas. On November 2nd, 2001, UNESCO had adopted by the General Conference at its 31st session a Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (1). An extract from UNESCO’s draft Programme 2004-2005, Scenario Major Programme IV General Conference, 32nd Session; Paris 2003: 04004: ‘Promoting cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue will be the principal priority and main theme of Major Programme IV. Diversity, if it is to remain creative, must be based on acceptance and dialogue. It cannot survive when communities withdraw into themselves or opt for confrontation. The aim in implementing the programme will therefore be to create conditions in which dialogue and diversity can flourish, on the basis of strategic objectives 7, 8 and 9 relating to culture in the Medium-Term Strategy for 2002-2007 (31 C/4 Approved), that is to say: (i) promoting the drafting and implementation of standard-setting instruments in the cultural field; (ii) encouraging pluralism and dialogue among cultures and civilizations through the promotion of cultural diversity; and (iii) enhancing the linkages between culture and development through capacity-building and sharing of knowledge, in particular by helping Member States to redefine or update the main lines of emphasis of their cultural policies.’

² Nevertheless, while the dichotomy ‘Indigenous vs. Western’ is well-tread at this point in history, a less visited territory covers the nuances of this dualism: how these systems of representations build on each other and how new meaning is constructed from this encounter. While the pure (extreme) dichotomy exists only in theory, in practice the state of facts displays a hybrid situation, where Indigenous and Western tendencies shape each other continuously and I shall try to emphasize these nuances as far as possible. Although I am aware of further variation within the umbrella of ‘Western paradigm’, I sometimes employ the term in this singular form, for didactic purposes, in a more extreme and generalizing understanding, in terms of ‘the West and the Rest’ dichotomy to paraphrase Stuart Hall, for the purpose of demonstrating how symbolic mechanisms function. (Chapter 6: The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power by Stuart Hall, in Stuart, Hall and Gieben, B., Eds., Formations of Modernity. Polity Press, 1992)

Additionally, in the present study I try to see in what ways the steps taken by Sami researchers are *strategies* of relevance for the projects set up by indigenous research methodology, as described by various theorists. My collateral intention is to identify theoretical and analytical tools to understand the interlocking processes of globalization and localization in the focused area: Northern Norway, Tromsø, indigenous community, academia and, finally, my two study cases. Cultural phenomena spread fast along global networks of interaction and communication in academia, but they also always develop site-specific forms anchored in specific places and spaces³. The same applies for indigenous studies as an intellectual field. A comparison between the transnational field of Indigenous Studies and local cases is valuable. There are similarities and differences between the ‘mainstream’ and its local ‘manifestations’. Is the local Indigenous Studies ‘department’ a manifestation of the mainstream only, or is it a member, an active participant in the shaping of the Indigenous Studies field? And is the mainstream shaped only by international law regarding indigenous people or by a particular centre leading research in the field? Do the local values permeate the international forums and how? I shall attempt to answer these questions by focusing on my two study cases.

In my project, I am interested in understanding and explaining the various ways in which my two interviewees, Ande Somby and Henry Minde, from their positions as Sami academics, develop *discursive* tools for translating experience into political, social and spiritual power. I am interested in the ways in which they draw upon their bi- or multi-cultural proficiency and guide both indigenous and non-indigenous audiences to a better understanding of each other’s worlds, thus surpassing the local arena. I conceptualised the effect they seek (i.e. their *intention*) in terms of ‘cultural mediation’, meaning ‘translatability’, or translation of otherness without subsuming it under preconceived notions, as per a recent theory of the German phenomenologist Wolfgang Iser⁴. I map the *strategy* for obtaining this effect under the term ‘symbolic action’, here employed with its

³ Academia has been self-reflexive to a high degree. There are many studies concerned with the dynamics of academia. The journal ‘Profession’ of the Modern Language Association of America, printed in the United States of America, is an example of publication where essays ‘on current intellectual, curricular, and professional trends and issues that are of importance to the field’ are invited.

⁴ Wolfgang Iser is a co-founder of the Konstanz School, specialized in reader-response theory and reception theory. On Translatability, Wolfgang Iser’s contribution to the first International Conference for Humanistic Discourses held in April 1994 addresses the question of translatability as a key concept for understanding encounters between cultures and interactions within cultures. In this view, translatability implies translation of otherness without subsuming it under preconceived notions. The theory proposes a cybernetic model of cultural understanding based on recursive looping. (On Translatability, Surfaces, Vol. IV/1994, Wolfgang Iser’s “On Translatability”. Roundtable Discussion, in Surfaces Vol. VI.106, v.1.0A - 14/08/1996 - ISSN: 1188-2492, or in Surfaces. Revue électronique, published by Les Presses de l’Université de Montréal, <http://pum12.pum.umontreal.ca/revues/surfaces/vol4/iser.html>)

communicative and political connotation of negotiating and controlling the symbolic containers providing meaning to events.

Ethical considerations related to indigenous research compelled me to situate myself with regard to the issue investigated and to include autobiographical method⁵. I wanted to develop dialogue and respect for my interviewees and not impose an interpretation based on Western paradigmatic issues I wish to challenge.

My Study Cases

I shall introduce below briefly my interviewees, their position in the university system, how I became acquainted to them, and how I have chosen the articles that I include in my analysis.

I focused on the activity and writings of two indigenous professors, Ande Somby and Henry Minde, affiliated with the Indigenous Studies Programme at Tromsø University. Ande Somby is Associate Professor at the Faculty of Law and has lectured in the module of Indigenous Peoples Law, JUR 3650 (spring semester of 2004). Henry is Professor in Sami History at the Faculty of History and has lectured for the modules in History HIS-3005: History of Indigenous Peoples: Colonization and Revival (autumn 2003), and HIS-2002: The Sami Nation. Indigenous People, Minority and Multicultural Society in a Historical Perspective (spring 2004). The Law and History modules, which I have mentioned, were compulsory for all students enrolled in the Indigenous Master. My attendance in Ande and Henry's lectures enabled me to acquire more information on their research work through participant observation, and facilitated other occasions to learn about them, such as conferences, forums, informal visits, Programme Board meetings, concerts and other such events where the two have participated in various qualities other than lecturers: Ande is also a well-known yoiker in the band *Vajas*, and both Henry and Ande were members of the Indigenous Studies Programme Board, where I have been Student Representative during the spring semester of 2004.

Since a Master project cannot afford the number of pages to encompass the life-time experience of two prolific researchers, I have chosen to 'anchor' my research on two

⁵ Smith, Sidonie and Watson, Julia, Eds. *Reading Autobiography. A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

particular written texts of the two professors and try to view these texts in the light of the larger understanding I have acquired about their research projects. These are: Some hybrids of the legal situation of the saami people in Norway (paper presented at the Sovereignty Symposium, Oklahoma, 1994) by Ande Somby and Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequence (paper presented to the Sami Parliament in 2002, *Acta Borealia*, 2003:2) by Henry Minde.

As stated in the title, Ande Somby's main theme is the legal situation of the Sami in Norway. What captivated me from the very beginning about Ande's text was the special kind of argumentation, the form recalling that of a yoik, and the dialogical development of the argumentation, constantly comparing and contrasting Western paradigm actualizations and indigenous realities. As for Henry's article, the first element that caught my attention was the use of personal testimonies in the rendering of the assimilation process in Norway, with a special focus on the boarding schools. The key themes that connect the two interviewees in my analysis are: history and historiography, use of language, narrative (oral and written), *petit/grand histoire*⁶, self-determination, land, schools, and, last but not least, personal, emotional and political elements of the 'real' and 'historical' reconstructions of Enlightenment boundaries. A 'staging' technique characterizes both researchers' discursive strategies, while the differences reside in what is being 'performed'. My discursive approach is to introduce the polemical issues with Ande's Some hybrids of the local situation of the saami people in Norway, while the analysis of Henry's Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences complements and, further, complicates the discussion in some ways showing how both researchers connect with the larger project of cultural mediation, where they are both involved in. This brings me to discuss the theoretical approach and methodology, which I have employed in my analysis.

⁶ Wolfgang Iser is a co-founder of the Konstanz School, specialized in reader-response theory and reception theory. On Translatability, Wolfgang Iser's contribution to the first International Conference for Humanistic Discourses held in April 1994 addresses the question of translatability as a key concept for understanding encounters between cultures and interactions within cultures. In this view, translatability implies translation of otherness without subsuming it under preconceived notions. The theory proposes a cybernetic model of cultural understanding based on recursive looping. (On Translatability, *Surfaces*, Vol. IV/1994, Wolfgang Iser's "On Translatability". Roundtable Discussion, in *Surfaces* Vol. VI.106, v.1.0A - 14/08/1996 - ISSN: 1188-2492, or in *Surfaces. Revue électronique*, published by Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, <http://pum12.pum.umontreal.ca/revues/surfaces/vol4/iser.html>; <http://pum12.pum.umontreal.ca/revues/surfaces/vol6/iser.html>)

Theory and Methodology

Overview

In this chapter, I shall introduce the theories and methods, which I found relevant and employed for the study of the ‘cultural mediation’ action performed by Ande Somby and Henry Minde, indigenous researchers with an indigenous-focused agenda, working under the auspices of a Western institution, the University of Tromsø, whose research tradition has developed in the spirit of the Western paradigm established by the Age of Enlightenment in terms of objectivity, universalism and detachment. As I have said, I shall concentrate on three main key terms: *discourse*, *interest* and *strategy*.

I would like to draw attention to the many ‘*meta-*’ levels of the analysis and, therefore, many theoretical frameworks required in this study, to move the focus alternatively from the local to the global, from the indigenous to the Western, from the large picture of discourse, strategy, interest of the indigenous movement, to the peculiarities of the various contexts, from the mainstream to the various manifestations, from my writing to the writing of my interviews and so on.

The theories and methods employed are relevant, in turn, but also overlapping, for various aspects of my enquiry. In terms of *discourse*, I introduce the concept as I use it and also *autobiography* is discussed in relation to ethical requirements of indigenous issues research with relevance for both my work⁷ and for my interviewees work. In terms of *interest*, for the study of the academic environment and its influence in terms of power relations on the two Sami researchers, I discuss ‘culture’ in terms of ‘cultural patterns and affordances’ to be reflected in the requirements of the academic ‘disciplines’ and various socio-cultural environments; also, from the point of view of the Sami researchers, I explain the power gained from discussing indigenous issues in academia. In terms of *strategy*, I talk about the resistance of the Western discourse and the tools created by the Sami researchers to challenge the Western scientific paradigm and discourse on the indigenous peoples; moreover, I introduce the concept of ‘symbolic action’ as established

⁷ Both the writing exercise and the conducted interviews are included.

by the indigenous political movement and equivalent to what Thomas Kuhn describes as ‘paradigm shifts’ in science; for describing the process of cultural mediation accomplished by the Sami researchers and academics, I employ the Sami figure of the *shaman*, as a critical paradigm, a lens to reveal the social, spiritual and political significance of their ‘performance’ and I refer to the discursive tools of both Ande Somby and Henry Minde’s ‘staging’ strategy.

To begin with, I would like to introduce the concept of ‘*discourse*’ as I employ it in my thesis, underling the main aspects to be observed. Further on, I shall focus first on my discursive practice. I shall foreground the ethical attitude, which I have tried to observe throughout my study as it is reflected in my writing mode and this discussion regards my *intention*, i.e. my attitude contained in the things I have tried to achieve from a personal point of view by conducting this analysis, and my *discourse*, concretely discussed in terms of writing practices and choices I had to make. These are just a few highlights. These and other aspects of the ethical approach in indigenous studies research are indicated as I proceed with the investigation of various topics throughout the thesis.

Mapping the Concept of ‘Discourse’

In the following, I set up the theoretical framework for my analysis by explaining my employment of the term ‘*discourse*’ throughout this study and the ideology, which it is imbued with. As I proceed, I will explain its relevance to the issues of cultural mediation, symbolic action and challenging paradigms, while in my analysis of Ande’s and Henry’s works, this perspective on ‘discourse’ will be seen in practice, applied in a critical/*meta* approach to the texts.

To start with, ‘discourse’ is a much used term in contemporary theory and particularly in post-colonial criticism, which informs my study to a high degree. While post-colonialism deals with the effects of colonization on cultures at large, my interest comes closer to specific aspects of the trend, such as the controlling power of representation in colonized societies as revealed starting with the 1970s by texts like

Said's Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient⁸ (London: Penguin, 1978), which subsequently informed the poststructuralists, a case in point being Foucault.

My understanding and employment of the term 'discourse' is derived mainly from Foucault's use of the concept. For Foucault, a discourse is a strongly bounded area of social knowledge, a system of statements within which the world can be known⁹. The key feature is that the world is not simply there to be talked about, but it is rather through the discourse itself that the world is brought into being. It is also in such a discourse that speakers and listeners, writers and readers come to an understanding about themselves, their relationship to each other and their place in the world. It is the complex of signs and practices which organizes social existence and social reproduction. There are certain rules controlling which statements can be made within the discourse. And these rules concern such things as the classification, the ordering and the distribution of that knowledge of the world that the language both enables and delimits. For this particular study, I am greatly interested in this perspective which joins discourse and power together.¹⁰ Leaving physical force aside, my study focuses on language as the main locus of power, in the form of an agency that confers power to a particular group by means of presenting an interpretation of the world as a 'matter of fact' or a 'scientific fact'. Contemporary theories brought a new and previously unexplored dimension in the philosophy of language: the reflexivity between language, human mind and reality. The new theories overcome the nature/civilization dichotomy emphasizing the interplay between language, human mind and reality, thus questioning further the rational humanism of the Enlightenment. To sum up, language, a highly structured and contextual system, offering an interpretation of the world, becomes an important element in power relations, while its political dimension emerges.

The conception of culture as a master narrative has triggered an emphasis on competing discourses and voices. A study concerned with this is Stuart Hall's The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power chapter in 'Formations of Modernity' (Hall and

⁸ Edward Said's *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (first edition in 1978; London: Penguin, 1991) set the trend for postcolonial studies and led to the formation of the so-called 'colonialist discourse theory' with the works of later critics, such as Spivak and Bhabha.

⁹ Foucault, Michel, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings* 1972-1977, New York: Colin Gordon Publishing House, Pantheon Books, 1980

¹⁰ Edward Said, in his discussion of *Orientalism*, is again the one who lays more emphasis on the relationship knowledge-power and the importance of writings and literary texts in the relationships between colonizers and colonized. (Said, Edward. *The World, The Text, and the Critic*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983)

Gilben, Eds.. Polity Press, 1992) to whom I have made reference earlier. Hall looks at the Western discourse about the Other in terms of ‘representations’, ‘ideology’, ‘power’ and ‘regime of truth’.

Attention has turned to political processes whereby certain of these voices marginalize others as they achieve political and intellectual hegemony. Michel Foucault has viewed this crisis, ubiquitous throughout history, in terms of competing ‘epistemes’ understood as ‘discourses’¹¹. With indigenous peoples and emerging nations, language becomes a matter of the state, since the ‘official’ language or discourse is a source of authority which makes resistance a political issue. Academia offers an arena for contestation. In academia as in the world, forces of cultural and political homogenization from the centre clash with the forces of differentiation coming from the periphery.

The Western scientific discourse, shaped in very much the same way since the age of Enlightenment, has kept the monopoly for the last 500 years in the field of knowledge and, consequently, in the field of institutionalized knowledge covered by academia. However, the very same Western scientific paradigm has been continuously contested from within by various ‘voices’. Thomas Kuhn has viewed this contestation in terms of competing paradigms¹². The Indigenous Studies trend is ‘growing’ as a competing paradigm within academia. In relation to ‘paradigm’, I view ‘discourse’ as a textual representation of a ‘paradigm’, which I identify as an abstract form of organization for knowledge.

I introduce the concept of ‘discourse’ to highlight some of the elements and forces at play in the process, such as *language, power, paradigms, truth*, and their intertwining, to indicate some major interests and consequences entailed by the academic empowerment of the indigenous paradigm(s) in the political and legal arenas, locally and globally. Let us proceed with some considerations on my discursive practices and intentions motivating them.

¹¹ See as an example Foucault's conceptual analysis of a major shift in (western) cultural practices, from 'sovereign power' to 'disciplinary power' in *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison* (Pantheon Books, 1978).

¹² See Thomas Kuhn. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

*The Ethics of Autobiography*¹³

I have explained in the introduction that ethical considerations regarding indigenous issues have determined me to use autobiography in developing this study. From the perspective of knowledge systems, the Cartesian dichotomy between nature and culture derived from the Enlightenment has fostered in the Western world a scientific tradition of research built on objectivism, detachment and universalism. Indigenous communities have considered researchers subscribing to this epistemic as arrogant, dominant, authoritarian and unappreciative of the local community realities. Furthermore, the scientific arrogance and authority have been experienced by indigenous peoples as part of the colonising project of the expanding states trying to realise ubiquitous presence, control and standards. Science looked at local peoples' knowledge as a result of ignorance and superstition. Local communities have looked back at science with mistrust in its representations of their realities.

Autobiography is appropriate here for expressing my *intention* to depict cultural mediation in terms of narrative relationality across borders in terms of 'equality' and restoration of balance. To a great extent the articles and discussion-interviews I have chosen to analyze are also autobiographical or make use of autobiography. Autobiography renders borders between 'self' and 'others' fluid through the movement from self-narrating to the representation of the autobiography's others: narration brings in coherence while allowing simultaneously acknowledgement of ethical problems in paying attention to issues of difference. Ultimately, I wanted to show dialectically how engaging in this research project has meant engaging in a discourse of which I am both the product and the producer. In this respect my writing connects to the field of life writing theory and criticism.

Having to write my thesis now at the end of the two years of Indigenous Studies, I reflect extensively on how I choose to talk/write about foreign cultures. It has happened before, after my year spent as a volunteer abroad in a boarding school in England, but then the terms in which I viewed the situation were not the same as now: should I talk/write in the 'scientific' key or in the 'local' key? After all, I am the product of a

¹³ I was informed greatly by two studies on 'autobiography': Smith, Sidonie and Watson, Julia, Eds., *Reading Autobiography. A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (London, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001) and *Women, Autobiography, Theory. A Reader* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1998)

Western type of education valuing critical objective analysis, but I have learnt also from the realities of the Sami world by making friends here in Sapmi and Norway, whose understanding of life I respect and care about. How to merge the two perspectives?

I do not belong to an indigenous group, but my interest in old cultures and customs has brought me closer to Sapmi and I have come to love this place. I find many similarities between the indigenous way of life (values and customs) and the way of life of the Romanian rural population for whom I feel strongly due to my family history and background; it has a lot to do with keeping alive the strong sense of ‘roots’ and a past that people measure their dreams and actions against. Loving people and making friends here has also taught me to show great respect, care and objectivity when learning about their ways or writing about them, or, to put it with the words of a novel very dear to me, it is like ‘holding differently an object that belongs to someone you love’ (Anne Michaels. Fugitive Pieces. New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1998: 54¹⁴). Definitely it is a complex process to work on finding a ‘voice’ to talk about the ‘Voices’ of my professors and their work.

Since the topic of the thesis refers to the ways in which the indigenous researchers have challenged the Western discourse on the indigenous people, I settled for a perspective accommodating both ‘keys’ by including and reflecting critically on the interaction of scientific and indigenous knowledge that was transmitted to me and, in the process, making visible the connections and the dialogue between the two. I consider important that these two bodies of knowledge should not be viewed as irreconcilable opposites, but as trading counters of an evolving negotiation between the various forces involved.

Making Meaning of My Experience in Tromsø, Sapmi and Norway

In the following pages, I explain how the investigation on cultural mediation performed by Sami researchers was narrowed down as a field of interest which originated

¹⁴ The full quotation I make reference to is: ‘Love makes you see a place differently, just as you hold differently an object that belongs to someone you love. If you know one landscape well, you will look at all other landscapes differently. And if you learn to love one place, sometimes you can also learn to love another.’ (Michaels, 1998: 54) Canadian Anne Michaels’ book Fugitive Pieces tells the interlocking stories of two men from different generations whose lives have been transformed by the Second World War: a young boy, Jakob Beer, rescued from the mud of a buried Polish city during the Second World War and taken to an island in Greece by an unlikely savior, the scientist and humanist Athos Roussos. The book addresses such issues as grief, loss, memory, science and history and their role in the ‘recuperation’ of the historical and personal events ‘as they really happened’, which I view as connected closely to my study and the inquiries of indigenous criticism.

in my own difficulties in adapting to different cultural perspectives and understanding Norway, Sapmi, the academic milieu of Tromsø university and the paradigms accommodated by this institution, the indigenous paradigms, the indigenous reality as well as the dynamics of the competing elements in the picture.

I arrived in Tromsø to find myself living a paradox: being in two ‘places’ at the same time, being in Sapmi and in Norway, neither familiar to start with. And it was not just a paradox built up by my mind hearing two different names for the same region, but it was being reinforced by the institutional paradox of a nation state with two nations and two Parliaments.

I could endlessly expand on what seemed familiar to a certain extent in the beginning about the Sami – traditional elements reminding me of the countryside life in Romania, and what seemed familiar about the Norwegian lifestyle – automatically comparing it with my years of living in the city. However it became slowly clear that there were many misunderstandings for not all the Norwegians were city-dwellers, for instance, and not all the ‘signs’ that recalled for me my home were to be ‘read’ in the same way as home. In my case, for example, ‘silence’ was often automatically mis-read as a sign of ‘hostility’ in cases when it only meant ‘unobtrusiveness’. Definitely there has been a gap between my own expectations and reactions, and those of the people around me.

How did I choose to make meaning of the gap? In terms of a space of great potential to build social cohesiveness on: to communicate, to talk, to question, to understand, to re-define, to participate and test my understandings. (I do believe that this is a matter of choice and I do consider that one derives more understanding from a communicative attitude!) And at some point I started to wonder about the position of people living ‘full-time’ inside this paradox, the locals in Tromsø, and especially those working in the university where I spent most of my time in the first year. Was this a paradox easy to live with?

Focusing on Tromsø Indigenous Academia

From a personal point of view, in order to learn how to express my background in the new cultural milieu where I found myself at the beginning of this Indigenous Studies Programme, I have focused on the Sami academics and means they developed to express their experience. I wanted to understand the processes happening at the encounter between an indigenous knowledge system with the Western paradigms and forms of expression institutionalized by academia. I wanted to spot what kind of pressures an indigenous researcher might encounter in finding appropriate ‘vessels’ for his ideas in academia and what kind of tools for resistance to Western impositions do indigenous researchers develop, what were the innovations and solutions devised for the situation. Although indigenous researchers seem to face a theoretical dilemma in having to choose in terms of ‘either/or’ between the two paradigms, since both indigenous world and scientific world are ‘pretty strict’ in imposing their rules to quote Ande Somby’s words from our discussion-interview, the Sami researchers appeared to me to have found a way out.

There are many definitions and understandings of ‘culture’, but here I focus on the one employed by Ruth Benedict due to her attempt to examine culture through the choices made by individuals. Cultural anthropologists since Ruth Benedict¹⁵’s early writings have employed a notion of ‘cultural patterns’ (also called cultural templates, models, and schemas) to describe specific organizations of cultural artifacts (including symbolic artifacts) and the psychological patterns derived from them. Cultural patterns could be so-called ‘cultural affordances’ because they are equivalent to physical affordances in natural environments. So I have started to wonder, while watching the Tromsø academic environment, that if culture is according to anthropologists, the communal or canonical meaning of some thing or act or utterance, then how much of these individuals’ expression is based on the ‘stored’ foundational narratives of their culture and how much is dictated by the requirements of the academic environment? How do individuals ‘proficient’ in using more than one culture and its narratives choose to employ them in academia? What are the interplay, purpose and frequency of use of these elements in the various socio-cultural fields of academia? Does this environment allow a

¹⁵ Ruth Benedict brought in the innovative approach of examining cultures through choices made by individuals. My reference here recalls one of her studies, titled *Patterns of Culture* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1934).

play of imagination and innovation, and to what extent? In other words, how much of the discourse resides in one culture and how much is altered imaginatively to deal with the rules entailed by the academic ‘disciplines’? These questions concerned both the Sami researchers I was becoming interested in and me, as a researcher in a foreign community.¹⁶

I have realized that while academic life can prove challenging for professionals in general, and I would like to illustrate this aspect with the article Narratives, Tricksterism, Hyperbole, Self-Image(s), and Schizophrenia: The Joys of Chairing an English Department (in *Profession 1998*, The Journal of the Modern Language Association of America) where Zack Bowen refers to the discursive tools a Western academic develops in order to cope with university formalities, the indigenous researcher with an indigenous agenda has an additional pressure to deal with: finding the means to mediate between the indigenous discourse and the Western discourse on the indigenous peoples.

International Indigenous Discourse. Political and Juridical Dimensions.

Indigenous peoples have a history of being weak politically, marginalised economically and stigmatized culturally by societies that have overtaken them. Before attending the Indigenous Studies Programme I was not aware of it. My conscious interest in indigenous peoples was triggered by the ethnographic elements of the novel Miss Smilla's Feeling for Snow by Peter Høeg, a Danish writer.¹⁷ Only after attending a number of courses in the Indigenous Studies Master Programme at the University of Tromsø was it that I became aware of other two dimensions of the situation of the indigenous peoples: the political and the juridical. Subsequently, I became interested in how the indigenous peoples - whose political demands and aspirations exceed the political power at their disposal – have chosen to formulate their position in various arenas in order to make their voice heard and obtain concessions and recognition from their governments.

¹⁶ In the spring of 2004, there has been a course of Methodology organised for the Master students in the Peace and Conflict Transformation Programme and the Indigenous Studies Programme about to leave for their fieldwork. By the end of the lecture all participants have agreed that what the anthropologist is writing at the end of the fieldwork is a thesis about ‘an anthropologist watching the indigenous people, who are watching the anthropologist’.

¹⁷ Høeg, Peter. *Miss Smilla's Feeling for Snow*. Flamingo, 1994. The novel is the story of a half-Inuit, Greenlandic native woman, Smilla, who tries to discover what really happened to a six-year old Inuit boy who fell (or jumped) off the roof of her apartment building. She ends up investigating the connection between the child's death and the misdeeds of a mining company. The book has extensive passages on the Inuit worldview and on their understanding of family relations, landscape and resources. At that point (the winter of 2000-2001), I was focused on a cultural perspective of the indigenous issues, which overlooked the political and judiciary dimensions of the picture. However, the tension between the locals and the colonisers is fore-grounded and hard to miss in the novel.

In the international legal arena, indigenous peoples have fought and achieved in legal tools an understanding of ‘culture’ to include reference to language, resources and subsistence practices, ultimately aiming at securing the right of self-determination for indigenous peoples.

Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, derived from the human rights principles of the UN Charter, affirms in universalist terms the right of persons belonging to: ‘*ethnic, linguistic or religious minorities..., in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion (and) to use their own language*’¹⁸. Such rights are reaffirmed and elaborated upon in the 1922 U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National, Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities¹⁹. While Article 13(1) of Convention No. 169 states:

In applying the provisions of this Part of the Convention governments shall respect the special importance for the cultures and spiritual values of the peoples concerned of their relationship with the lands or territories, or both as applicable, which they occupy or otherwise use, and in particular the collective aspects of this relationship.²⁰

Thus states signing and agreeing with international legal documents are compelled to safeguard the cultural integrity of indigenous peoples and their governments have a legally binding obligation to prevent actions which endanger the indigenous distinct cultures and identities, language, land and resources, or the existence of settlements in their land, or which attempt the assimilation of the indigenous peoples in any way. Moreover, by having all these aspects included in one legal definition of the term ‘culture’, promoting and securing one of these aspects entails some measure of positive action reflected on all of them.

In the light of the legal weight attached to the term ‘culture’ I am emphasizing here, I hope to make clearer the benefits and relevance of any kind of lobbying

¹⁸ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Dec. 16, 1966, G. A. Res. 2200 (XXI), art. 27, 999 U.N.T.S. 171 (entered into force Mar. 23, 1976)

¹⁹ Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National, Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, G.A. Res. 47/135, Dec. 18, 1992, reprinted in U.N. Compilation of Instruments, supra note 6, vol. 1, pt. 1 at 140

²⁰ ILO Convention 169, supra note 11, art. 13 (1)

indigenous cultures receive in any public arena and the ways in which social, political and juridical indigenous agendas interconnect.

Paying attention to the political and juridical value that indigenous people attach to their public activities nowadays (and in this respect cultural mediation performed by indigenous academics makes no exception!) I have framed my project under the framework of ‘symbolic action’. I shall explain in the following pages how the Sami protest in the Alta case, perceived by political analysts as ‘symbolic action’, is mirrored in similar terms by the Sami researchers, and more specifically, by the activity of the Sami academics under focus, Ande Somby and Henry Minde in Some hybrids of the local situation of the saami people in Norway and Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences, respectively.

Indigenous Movement and ‘Symbolic Action’ Strategy. A Sami Case

I begin with a brief reference to cognitive sciences²¹ so to map in very abstract terms the pattern of ‘symbolic action’ in connection to the human capacity of representation. This perspective helps me indicate in which way the Western scientific discourse and the indigenous discourse are merely representations of the human knowledge about the world, and thus they should be in theory competing on equal footing in terms of knowledge paradigms and expressive manifestations. However, the social and political unbalance of power between the indigenous peoples and the Western state structures reflect on the relationship between the two knowledge paradigms.

In cognitive sciences, symbolic action refers to the human ability to represent the world in words and operate with this ‘veil’ of representations further in building knowledge systems²². The steps that cognitive sciences indicate as important for understanding ‘symbolic action’ in what they call the ‘schema theory’²³ are: understanding what ‘quality space’ (i.e. what is to be transformed) is made of, how it is

²¹ I could have mapped ‘symbolic action’ with reference to semiotics as well. The founding father of semiotics, F. de Saussure, argued that language is just one among many systems of signs (e.g. visual forms of communication). Since linguistics, therefore, should be seen a sub-discipline of the wider, overarching discipline of semiotics, I could have discussed the topic connecting symbolic language and ideology. However I wanted to stay at a very abstract level of symbolic representation.

²² Burke, Kenneth. *Language as Symbolic Action*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966

²³ Schema theory was developed by R. C. Anderson, an educational psychologist (see Anderson, Richard C., Spiro, Rand J., & Montague, William E., Eds., *Schooling and the Acquisition of Knowledge*, New York: Erlbaum, Hillsdale, 1977). This learning theory views organized knowledge as an elaborate network of abstract mental structures which represent one's understanding of the world. The term ‘schema’ was first used by Piaget in 1926, so it was not an entirely new concept. Anderson, however, expanded the meaning.

structured, and how it can become restructured. Moreover what cognitive sciences say is that if a group cannot come up with a coherent and acceptable interpretation (i.e. a workable schema) of an important situation, an epistemological crisis can result.²⁴

For our case of symbolic action, I translate what cognitive sciences teach us in saying that the Sami researchers assess in their work the representations of the Western scientific discourse, in general, and the situation of the discourse on indigenous peoples, in particular (i.e. our ‘quality space’); then they identify the ‘weak’ points in a tendentious re-enactment of the Western scientific discourse performed with the intention to sabotage it, and ultimately replace the faulty elements with elements that are meant to make the world meaningful again, the result being a new (restructured) discourse based on an indigenous perspective (through which they point out how the coherence of the world can be made meaningful again).

The same phenomenon has been discussed thoroughly in relation to indigenous political action. I suggest looking first at one of these cases from Norway, the Alta case, and then I intend to demonstrate the relevance of this example for our academic study cases in terms of raised public awareness to indigenous issues, political value and positive reinforcement of indigenous forms at all levels that such symbolic actions trigger or reinforce.

The International Indigenous Movement, as mobilised starting with the 1960s, has a social, political and juridical agenda which sums up the intentions behind its coordinated actions and strategies. In the following, I shall discuss indigenous manifestations motivated by this social, political and juridical agenda, in terms of ‘symbolic action’, a strategy designed to change the Western colonialist formations to the point of replacing them by indigenous ones. The change is operated in the name of moral justice.²⁵ If indigenous structures lack the power to operate these changes within social, political and juridical Western systems permanently, often such changes are operated

²⁴ Concerning the Western scientific system, Thomas Kuhn discusses a similar process as ‘paradigm shifts’ in his most famous book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962) where he postulates that science does not evolve gradually towards truth, but instead when one overriding theory fails to explain a phenomenon, the theory is modified ad-hoc.

²⁵ Initially the indigenous cause was argued from the perspective of social and economic injustice, related to the agenda of the Labour parties, which supported the indigenous movement, but recently the indigenous discourse has been defended from the standpoint of moral righteousness and in the spirit of the Human Rights legal tools.

temporarily, in a symbolic manner to raise awareness regarding the necessity and benefits of such changes.

Acts of social disobedience in the context of land and resource-related disputes, general policy protests and symbolic assertions of sovereignty - and international protests using institutions such as the United Nations are types of *political* action recently undertaken by the indigenous peoples with various degrees of success in the world. On this theme, Indian Symbolic Politics: The Double-Edged Sword of Publicity (*Canadian Ethnic Studies* 1990, Vol.22, Issue 3, p. 19) by Radha C. Jhappan discusses the case of the Canadian Indians. More comprehensive, Indigenous Peoples and the Nation-State. Fourth World Politics in Canada, Australia and Norway edited by Noel Dyck (Social and Economic Papers No.14 Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University Newfoundland, 1985), covers three geographical areas and the indigenous peoples inhabiting them. In spite of the different locations for the two studies, they both agree on the term '*symbolic action*' with reference to the means of opposition taken by the indigenous communities. The strategy is not new: since these peoples have been dominated by colonial powers, their opposition always had to be indirect, largely symbolic and commonly expressed in terms that did not provoke a punitive response from governments. As opposed to the past when these opposition stances were not even detected or understood by government personnel, the tactics of today are open and decidedly provocative. (Dyck in Dyck ed., 1985:14) Ande makes reference to the same type of opposition when discussing the use of irony in Sami yoiks as a form of opposing the authorities.

I suggest following the demonstration of how symbolic action is performed in a case of Sami history: the Alta-Kautokeino case.

The Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Administration (NVE) issued plans in the 1970s to develop the Alta-Kautokeino water system on the Finnmark plateau, including a dam which would inundate a Sami community. Even after these plans were reduced, the hydroelectric project involved the construction of a road across reindeer grazing land and calving areas. The reindeer owners who were affected by this and the Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature took the state to court to prevent the development in 1979. Sami and environmentalist interests joined forces in

demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience. Demonstrations were staged at the construction site and Sami activists started a hunger strike in front of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). The case gained symbolic value. The dam was completed but this issue dominated the debate about Sami politics throughout the 1970s.

In Indigenous Peoples and the Nation-State, Robert Paine describes the Alta-Kautokeino case as a stance of symbolic action: an ‘ethno-drama’. His description is highly theatrical. Here is an excerpt from the book:

Narrative

Monday, 5 January. It is minus 33°C. Several hundred PAG and some 40 journalists have reached Alta. PAG headquarters is in the town, but the camp is at Zero Point. The media and Professor ‘M’ – one of the three senior Norwegian academics who are expected – already there, together with a couple of veteran opponents of other hydro schemes in Norway. These men are household names in a considerable sector of the national population. (Dyck, ed., 1985: 207).

The ‘drama’ is talked about in terms of ‘narrative’, set-up of time and space (‘Monday, 5 January, Alta’) and featuring characters just like in a real theatrical performance. A trait of all employed ‘actors’ is the highly influential position they hold (the ‘household names’). They are public figures thus meant to bring symbolic power to the action. One of the characters in this ethno-drama is ‘Professor M’, an academic, who appears to play an important role as well. All the participants in this action aim at influencing and winning over the public opinion through a peaceful demonstration, directed to appear so by contrast with the action of the authorities through the police forces expected to intervene:

Tuesday, 6 January. When I visited the PAG camp at Zero Point this morning, there were not Saami in evidence. I was asked, ‘When are they coming?’ I watch a rehearsal of a ‘chain gang drill’ in one of the tents behind the ice barrier: they sit in line, side by side, and each person puts on a tight-fitting metal belt, locking it to the heavy chain that is bolted to the rock at each end. M

says that the ‘chain gangs’ (one for each of the several tents behind the ice barrier) are prepared to remain sitting there, chained and exposed to the elements, even if police remove their tents. He wants this to be known in Alta so that public opinion will exert pressure on the government and the police. He also thinks that on the 14th, the Saami at Zero Point should place themselves in front of the ice barrier and not chain themselves. Then the police would remove them first and without any difficulty – which would be ‘symbolically and historically correct.

‘It’s a kind of language,’ says M, referring to the different actions taken by the PAG and the police during this pre-D-day week. (Dyck, ed., 1985:208)

This last remark of the professor, points to the new discourse that is born from the confrontation of Sami and Norwegian forces and finally of paradigms; the actions become ‘a kind of language’. And not only does language shape political action, but it also shapes the meanings that we hold about it. It is well known that the demonstrations in Alta and Oslo did not stop the dam building plans in Alta, but an important outcome of the demonstrations was to bring the attention of the national and international media on the Sami people and to open the floor for negotiations between the Sami people and the Norwegian State in constitutional matters. In this respect, the benefits are still unfolding. What was triggered by the Alta and Oslo peaceful demonstrations was a crisis of legitimacy of the Norwegian state policy towards the indigenous people, which led to a fundamental re-evaluation of the policy reflected in the constitutional amendment (Norwegian Constitution, Art 110a) and the creation of a Sami representative body, namely the Sami Parliament, about which Ande talks extensively. Even the Sami Fund, which makes a key subject in Henry’s article, could also be regarded as an outcome of the Alta demonstrations.

To sum up what I desired to prove by this example, is that the Sami people in Norway became active politically and through enhancement of their local culture on a symbolic level (the ‘peaceful’ character of their culture in the Alta-Kautokeino case), accessed stages unimagined before. They opened up a wider space for political international activity/negotiations/regulations to reach local communities and for local communities to be heard by the global system. In the same way their example could

prove valuable for other relatively weak local and national social movements of the indigenous people, I believe that their example could be and is followed by the Sami indigenous academia conducting research on indigenous issues.

Indigenous Academic Discourse²⁶ in terms of Symbolic Action

In the following pages I shall indicate how codifying indigenous/Sami experience and knowledge in academia becomes a symbolic act with the significance of decolonisation from Western paradigms and discourses. For this purpose, I indicate how the issue of indigenous knowledge entered the global discourse and forums, and finally how the discussion permeated various fields and Western local institutions, a case in point being the academic institutions and disciplines; I believe this was a top-down process and the global discussions introduced the indigenous topic in academia. To describe the versatile position of the Sami researcher in this process of symbolic (re)codification while performing cultural mediation, I introduce the umbrella-concept of the shaman. This a metaphor and indigenous critical paradigm at the same time shall become even more relevant later in the analysis of Ande's and Henry's texts when connected with various modes of discursive practices, such as yoik, story, or performance.

Since the 1960s, Arctic indigenous peoples have challenged this dominant position of science and state at international level. The process is known as 'indigenous internationalism'. This is a post-colonial period of claim, with forms taking various nuances depending on region, but aiming mainly at the same: re-contextualising displaced understandings of knowledge, tradition, land, community, governance, justice etc. Starting with the year 1973 and the Arctic Peoples Conference, the Arctic indigenous communities of Greenland, Sapmi and Northern Canada were trying to re-think their relationship with science and to re-design a position for indigenous perspectives and control at an international level. The background of the 1973 conference of the Arctic indigenous peoples was the global oil crisis and, consequently, a surge of environmental understanding, but also of interest in the ethics of sustainable development.

²⁶ Here, 'discourse' is meant as a group of statements which provide a means and language of representing a particular kind of topic (see Hall, Stuart and Gilben, B., eds., *Formations of Modernity*, Polity Press, 1992: 291-295)

The declared aims of the newly born indigenous international movement were to create a network for collaboration and mutual support between the indigenous peoples of the world, a network for news, information and knowledge on indigenous peoples and their societies to circulate and be spread in the media all over the world. And, finally, by gaining power and status, the end scope was to begin a dialogue with the state and pan-state structures ‘and negotiations for the reparations they wanted to claim.

A good example of how political and legal aspects of the international arena relate to knowledge systems and critical paradigms is demonstrated by Arnold Krupat in Nationalism, Indigenism, Cosmopolitanism (in Krupat, Arnold. Red Matters. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002). He identifies three undercurrents – nationalist, indigenist and cosmopolitan – shown to overlap and interlink, becoming meaningful and powerful against colonialism only in relation to the others.

It is important to understand how these particular cases of Sami research and the Sami search of finding means of expression under the sign of an indigenous paradigm is positioned in relation to the global indigenous movement.

The Sami position in this indigenous international movement has always been an active one and their participation has brought a plus of energy and creativity in seeking solutions. People occupying positions in academia have also been involved either through participation in the meetings at international level or locally in a variety of ways.

The anthropologist H. Eidheim has shown how an academic elite in cooperation with Sami political entrepreneurs managed to get the Sami question on the political arena even starting from the early 1950’s. (see Harald Eidheim, Stages in the Development of Sami Selfhood. Working paper no. 7, Dept. of Social Anthropology, University of Oslo, 1992) Academia has played an important role in the shaping of the indigenous standpoint from that point onward. It is my belief that, by entering the academic arena, the indigenous peoples sought to gain a certain kind of recognition and prestige for their culture, derived from the prestige and power in the Foucaultian sense of the academic institution(s)²⁷.

I view the work of the indigenous academia in the field of indigenous issues as a symbolic act: their use of established methods in each discipline for a new purpose (often even in opposition with its initial purpose!) as per their political agenda, and claiming

²⁷ A further example here is Arran’s project to teach Sami language and culture courses in Hungarian universities with their declared intention of gaining prestige for the Sami people, language and culture by making it known abroad - the source for this piece of information is a personal conversation with a researcher interested and with an insight in the issue.

established methods as indigenous for the same reasons, are symbolic since these are processes of ‘new meaning’ assignment. Moreover, due to the recurrence of these acts and the coherence of the ‘new meaning’ assignment endeavour, it is possible to speak of an indigenous symbolic discourse in the traditional sense, as a particular strategy to establish a way of representing the relationship between the West and the Indigenous peoples. I use ‘discourse’ as Stuart Hall uses it in The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power (in Hall and Gilben, 1992), as a group of statements which provide a language for talking about a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. I am particularly interested in the framework that indigenous discourse establishes: when statements about a topic (such as Western discourse on indigenous peoples, for example) are made within a particular kind of discourse (in the indigenous discourse, for instance), the discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in certain ways, but it also limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed (to reflect the relationship between the West and the indigenous, for example). In a similar way indigenous issues have delineated or are delineating their own field within academia.

When I started my research, my intention for this project was to look at the work of the Sami researchers connected with the University of Tromsø and the means by which their work challenged the previous discourse on the indigenous peoples. The tensions between Indigenous and Western are central to all debates around the Sami academic milieu (in terms of ‘indigenous theory and methodology’) and political arena, and the acknowledgement of this dualism has made possible the existence of a Sami academic milieu as a historical development²⁸, therefore this aspect is reflected in the discursive representation of their relationship.

This theoretical stance translates into the challenging question of how the Sami academic elite has managed in practice to accommodate and incorporate the Western scientific knowledge into a political agenda dealing primarily with indigenous knowledge systems and indigenous rights, and how the indigenous political agenda has permeated the academic milieu, theories, methodologies and ideas, as a result, delineating a distinctive field, ‘Indigenous Studies’(!). After all, nearly all the leading political figures in the Sami movement are also highly qualified academicians. By being qualified

²⁸ The emergence of the voice of the Other (in the academic milieu also!) serves as a postmodern political purpose by moving marginalized experiences to the center, by legitimizing that which the Western culture has sought to delegitimize. (James Ruppert. *Mediation in Contemporary American Fiction*. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995)

academics, educated in Western institutions (i.e. universities) and according to the Western knowledge canons, it makes it even more interesting to discover the means they have chosen later in their careers to mediate between the two tendencies, Indigenous and Western, and to make ends meet.

Transgressing boundaries and traveling from one world to another in the pursuit of knowledge and understanding is the realm of the shaman in the traditional Sami culture. It is probably not the only way to view the situation, but this ‘critical paradigm’²⁹, the metaphor of the *noaidit*/ the ‘shaman’, that I propose should help us understand better the purpose and result of the indigenous researchers’ endeavor, i.e. mediation, facilitation of understanding transgressing artificially-drawn cultural boundaries.

I could see the benefits of employing this paradigm with other study cases. To begin with, the shaman paradigm works well outside the time boundaries with their own social specificities due to the understanding of term ‘shaman’, implying a capacity of the entity to metamorphose well in various circumstances. Kathleen Osgood Dana employs the same ‘paradigm’ and writes in an analysis of Nils Aslak Valkeapaa’s poetry:

Much anthropology points to the diminution or demise of shamanic activities for northern peoples, but I contend that the realm the shaman has, in many instances, shifted from the private domain of family and family group to the public domain of literature and art, a domain at once strange and familiar to those with shamanic capacities. (Kathleen Osgood Dana, *Aillohas and His Image Drum: The Native Poet as Shaman* in NordLit. Working papers in Literature, Number15/Summer 2004: 7)

In the new social northern landscape, the public domain offers ‘visibility’ to the shaman both in terms of reception of ideas and their validation (the public domain decides on the quality of ‘truth’ to use Foucault’s theory). The medium and the tools of the newly emerged shamans have changed by all means, having adapted to the new ‘affordances’:

²⁹ In this respect, the Sami shaman resembles the Native American Trickster who is, according to Vizenor, ‘disembodied in a narrative... a communal sign... and a discourse’ (in Rosier Smith, Jeanne, *Mythic Gambols in American Ethnic Literature*. University of California Press, 1997: 14)

Literature, by its text-bound nature, public, enduring and authoritative, is markedly distinct from traditional shamanic practice, which is secret, fleeting, and oral. A published poet (or artist or musician), too, with a known persona and durable legacy, is made manifest in different ways from the traditional shaman. However, both poet/artist and shaman are equipped in remarkable ways to negotiate between worlds, and in the hands of shaman-poets, text becomes the tool of prophecy and mediation. (Dana, 2004: 7)

Thus one can understand if I enlarge the perspective and say that it is not only the indigenous poet/artist, but also the indigenous scholar/researcher who assumes this position of shaman-like mediator between the indigenous community and the outside world, between the perspective of the insider and the position of the reader, who can be an insider or an outsider.

James Ruppert wrote the study of Native American fiction, Mediation in Contemporary American Fiction (1995), with the understanding that the Native writers and scholars perform as ‘mediators’ that write having in mind both Native and non-Native readers with reference to linguistic, epistemological and sociopolitical contexts and fields of discourse. Ruppert pleads for the acknowledgement of a high degree of intertextuality in indigenous texts, the embodiment of bicultural proficiency, and also of multi-layered narratives to accommodate the various realities. If we agree that texts are representations of the worlds, the capacity of the indigenous writers and scholars to relate to a variety of worlds renders them as shaman-like.³⁰

Relevant for the indigenous writings in general and for the Sami milieu in particular, Harald Gaski writes in the article The Secretive Text – Yoik Lyrics as Literature and Tradition (in Pentikainen, Juka Ed.. Sami Folkloristics. Turku, 2000) referring to his ‘twofold’ critical approach to indigenous texts:

This problematizing of the approach to the (literary) works of the writers and other artists of ethnic minorities (Native Americans, the Scandinavian Sami, the Australian Aborigines and others) one could name ‘Indigenous Criticism’, which

³⁰ Like the Trickster and its liberating linguistic operations as shown in Rosier Smith, 1997:15.

in each case primarily would be concentrating on the specific reading and the understanding of a culture's own products. Without trying to diminish the importance of this kind of criticism, I will nevertheless attempt to position myself in between the (more) established methods of criticism and the rather esoteric position of each specific culture. Being in the field of communicative scientific practice, I feel it most urgent to be able to reach out with one's findings, not only to one's own people, but to transgress cultural boundaries and obstacles. (Gaski in Pentikainen 2000: 195).

Critics like Ruppert and Gaski suggest that the method to look at indigenous texts is to watch how they address implied audiences and how self-representations intervene in Western (metropolitan) modes of understanding. The peculiarity of such texts is the way they come up with statements that are not tailored exactly to what might be familiar to the indigenous or non-indigenous reader, but they require new insights, working in both Western idioms and indigenous ones to complete the work of mediation. It is in connection to this observation that I discuss Ande choice of *yoik* as a surprising discursive mode for a highly scholarly topic, i.e. an academic presentation of the legal situation of the Sami in Norway.

Like the shamans, the Sami researchers rely heavily on the power of words and symbolic language (Rauna Kuokkanen. Towards an 'Indigenous Paradigm' from a Sami Perspective. The Canadian Journal of Native Studies XX, 2(2000): 411-436). It is in this quality of their work that symbolic action resides: they develop discursive tools for translating experience into political, social and spiritual power and viceversa. Connected to the issue of symbolic action and language, Rauna Kuokkanen discusses in the article Towards an 'Indigenous Paradigm' from a Sami Perspective the benefits of implementing an indigenous paradigm at all levels and how this connects with the indigenous peoples' struggle for self-determination. I have already emphasized with the discussion about the Alta demonstrations how implementing an indigenous paradigm (of non-violence, in the Alta case), even if temporarily, is a symbolic action with complex implications of power and politics. Similarly, the example used here by Kuokkanen is the creation of Nunavut, the newest Canadian self-governing area, but here the self-governing indigenous system

is a clear indigenous institutional representation on equal footing in negotiations with Western power structures. In this way the influence between the use of an indigenous paradigm and self-determination is shown to work both ways:

Self-determination of Indigenous peoples deals with a range of various issues, one of them being the right to maintain and develop manifestations of cultural practices including the restitution of their spiritual and intellectual properties. The creation of an indigenous peoples' paradigm is part of the claiming of these rights. (Rauna Kuokkanen, 2000:412)

Besides the contribution of the indigenous paradigm, Kuokkanen indicates that more support is needed for achievement of self-determination at local level. I have already mentioned in this direction another case of symbolic actions, the recourse to international law.

Indigenous Studies researchers look for critical paradigms imbedded in the culture of the indigenous peoples in order to analyse their discourse. This is one of the main points made by indigenous studies theorists both in indigenous research 'manifesto'-type of studies (books or articles) or in critical considerations infused in texts dealing with non-critical topics. A good example of manifesto here is Linda Tuhiwai Smith's book Decolonizing Methodologies. Research and Indigenous Peoples (London and New York: Zed Books Ltd, Duendin: University of Ontago Press, 2002), which has received both acclaim for the issues it raises and criticism for the militarist language (Ruppert, 1995).

Benefits of employing indigenous paradigms in the study of indigenous realities have been largely debated by both indigenous and non-indigenous researchers. The motives fuelling these discussions reflect a concern with decolonisation from Western forms of representation in all aspects of life. Rauna Kuokkanen emphasizes in her article 'Towards an 'Indigenous Paradigm' from a Sami Perspective' the interconnected social, political and spiritual benefits derived from the use of such paradigm:

As it has become evident, an 'Indigenous paradigm' has a clear social and political agenda which aims at the overall decolonisation of Indigenous societies.

Second, it maintains a critical stand towards Western metaphysical dualism which still informs much of the current patterns of thinking and research practices. Third, an ‘indigenous paradigm’ is based on a holistic approach, which strives towards a balance between different areas of life and which does not separate intellectual, social, political, economic, psychological and spiritual forms of human life from each other. (Kuokkanen, 2000:417)

She continues by emphasizing the important communication aspect involved in employing a paradigm such as the *sámemárkan*, which, by the force of the example could connect the world inside (relatives, friends) with the world outside (new people, authority) in a neutral place of negotiation covering all walks of life:

A Sami example of this could be *sámemárkan*, a time of the year when Sami from different regions gather together for an annual market and deal with various issues: socialise and meet with relatives and friends, get to know new people, exchange news, discuss topical issues, trade, deal with issues with non-Sami authorities such as priests and police. It was, thus, a Sami event that looked after various spheres of life. (Kuokkanen, 2000:417)

Both Ande’s and Henry’s works reflect these elements as it will be further emphasized in the analysis of the texts. To give a bird’s eye view of the way Ande and Henry are involved with these issues, I say that Ande’s Some hybrids of the local situation of the saami people in Norway employs the *yoik* as an imbedded critical paradigm with an emphasis on its quality of re-presenting people and past events, connecting communities due to its spiritual significance and status in the Sami society, and protesting against authority decisions³¹; while, in Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences, Henry takes the discussion further and, by revealing how indigenous paradigms and representations have been obscured by authorities, he creates a need for the reinstatement of indigenous ‘voices’ that should be made heard in political and juridical forums, inside and outside the community.

³¹ See Somy, A., *Joik and the theory of knowledge*, <http://www.uit.no/ssweb/dok/Somy/Ande/95.htm>

Study Cases: Analysis of Articles and Interviews

In the broad theoretical framework of ‘symbolic action’, I have chosen to use discourse analysis as a method to work out the meanings that the two indigenous scholars/researchers, Ande Somby and Henry Minde, have built in their texts and that I open up for a more personal artistic/scientific interpretation.

Discourse analysis is defined as concerned with language use beyond the boundaries of a sentence/utterance, concerned with the interrelationships between language and society and also concerned with language use in social contexts³². I have applied discursive practice in my theoretical framework as well, interpreting aspects of culture as ‘texts’, and in the following discussion my starting point is Ande’s Some hybrids of the legal situation of the saami people in Norway and Henry’s Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences.

My method is interpretative and connected with my horizon of understanding, as a researcher. In this respect, my study pays tribute to Wolfgang Iser³³ and his published work, starting with The Act of Reading. A Theory of Aesthetic Response³⁴ and ending with his recent theory of translatability and ‘recursive looping’ he contributed with to the field of hermeneutics. I believe in the fact that the virtual position of the any work is between text and reader, and its actualization is the result of the interaction between the two, so concentrating on the author’s techniques should be seen jointly with the reader’s psychology: ‘As the reader passes through the various perspectives offered by the text and relates the different views and patterns to one another he sets the work in motion, and so sets himself in motion, too.’(Wolfgang Iser, 1980: 21) In addition, I believe that the ‘translatability’ concept Iser proposed for understanding encounters between different cultures (in the field of literary anthropology), implying ‘translation of otherness without subsuming it under preconceived notions’³⁵ is also profitable for the hermeneutics³⁶ of

³² M. Stubbs. Discourse Analysis. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983.

³³ Co-founder of the Konstanz School (reader-response theory, reception theory).

³⁴ Wolfgang Iser, The Act of Reading. A Theory of Aesthetic Response, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1980.

³⁵ As opposed to other models such as ‘appropriation’, ‘incorporation’, ‘exploitation’, ‘superimposition’, ‘hegemony’, ‘translatability’ opens up a space for the experience of otherness, a space that is between cultures, between self and other, between familiarity and foreignness (seen as ‘gaps’). This allows an overarching/objective/transcendent frame of reference, mutual mirroring of cultures, self-reflexivity, possibility of ‘stepping out’ of one’s culture.

³⁶ Hermeneutics, as understanding between self and other.

indigenous texts. The goal is comprehension, mutual understanding between cultures, meaning dialogue, conversation, ultimately conversation as one type of recursive looping. In trying to operate with an indigenous system of thought, other than exclusively radical Western scientific, my work does not claim ultimate objectivity or truth, but rather attempts to reveal some mechanisms and to keep the discussion going about indigenous research.

After the first few readings of the articles, the general tool-questions I have started my fieldwork, i.e. my interviews, with concerned the following issues: the background of the articles; the reasons of the researchers for choosing the topic, the approach, the reason for choosing the form of the article, the methods employed and if there were any internal or external pressures at work; the use of English (since I became acquainted with both texts in this language and not Norwegian or Sami); and the impact of the articles and reactions that the authors were aware of.

My concern has been to create space through a play of narrative surface and textual palimpsestic depths for my informants to express themselves and resist my 'mediation'. The interview, due to orality, is also a form of autobiography, which could be placed in the tradition of the Sami cultural world. The interview-conversation format of my direct interaction with both Ande Somby and Henry Minde seemed particularly appropriate to get into their workshops, their personal recollections of ideas in the most direct way, without any mediation or disguise. Therefore I have chosen not to edit the transcripts at all.

In writing, I have normally used both interviewee's first names in keeping with a tradition I discovered in Tromsø University regarding the relation student – professor, and but also to truthfully indicate to those outside this university that after getting so close to the 'workshops' of these two researchers, I feel we have established a bond going beyond the Western scientific ideal of cold detachment.

Before the interviews, I had formulated a set of questions: Do researchers feel a pressure to write in a certain way about their work? Is there a particular form that they feel appeals to their readers? How do they choose their themes and methods? Are these imposed by any kind of external agency (such as funding body, community pressure or project, university agenda etc.)? However during the interviews I have ended up changing

this exact wording due to various conversational circumstances. (The interviews are to be found as appendixes to the thesis.)

While analyzing the articles, for ethical purposes, I was mostly concerned to recognize the criticism included in the text, the method lying within for each discursive practice, and only afterwards to bring in my own background of knowledge. This is in the same line with my acknowledgement that the paramount requirement for research conducted in the Indigenous Studies field is an ethical attitude towards the involved indigenous individuals, communities and realities. I have felt even more compelled to do so since I am an outsider to the Sami and Norwegian societies and not an indigenous person myself. In my research, I have developed a dialectic approach. I started by looking first at the articles, trying to work out an understanding of them. Then I conducted the interviews only to return to the articles and realize that in many respects my understanding of the themes and methods has changed.

I shall proceed with the analysis of Ande's Some hybrids of the legal situation of the saami people in Norway to introduce some of the most polemical issues and exemplify what has been discussed in general terms until now.

Ande Somby: ‘Some hybrids of the legal situation of the saami people in Norway’

Introduction

With Ande’s text analysis I shall proceed first by indicating the cultural mediation performed through the formal, discursive choices he makes: Ande’s choice of yoik as a speech model, the staging and performing mode, the narrative mode employed also extensively in the interview, the comparing and contrasting Western and indigenous elements in a dialogic manner. Subsequently, I shall try to highlight the effects accomplished by employing these discursive means and innovations, for example, in demonstrating aliveness of the Sami culture which connects with formulations in international law consequently granting government support and protection to indigenous people to carry on with their traditional life style. Although expressed in the choice of formal expression, these are still indigenous cultural aspects, which are being mediated. In the second part of the analysis, I focus on the themes employed, explicit cultural aspects from the reality of the Sami people which are being mediated by contrast with Western forms, such as Indigenous/Sami vs. Western institutions (i.e. Sami Parliament vs. Storting, yoik vs. Western music), regulations (custom vs. law), history (colonization vs. decolonization), memory and society (in terms of structure and interaction between people, seeing the Sami as a ‘family’ vs. ‘military unit’).

Both the article and the interview are in English. In my discussion with Ande about the use of English in presenting the realities of a non-English speaking population, about its benefits and losses, Ande has focused primarily on the attention that needs to be paid to the relation ‘text’ and ‘context’, but has emphasized the opportunity of bringing something from one’s own background into the use of English:

Mirona: You know that due to this globalization process, in a way, all these lingua francas, like English and Spanish - depending on the context – are very much blamed because they say that they erase cultural differences and try to homogenize cultural specificities. I was wondering what do you think of the importance of telling the story in a language that many people, and people outside the immediate community, can understand.

Ande: This has two sides. The one side that I have noticed while being in America as a Visiting Professor for two years, I have noticed one thing that I never understood before, that is that the people in America often carries a pain by being monolingual, that they only speak one language. They, of course, do not have any practical need for being multi-lingual. But multi-lingual people... a language is also something more than a means of communication, it's also a way to think, so to speak, a mirror of how you can look the world. I mean, if you have one mirror, it's good because then you are not having aphasia, but having several mirrors help a lot in understanding how the world also can be seen. So you have, so to speak, three universes of perspectives and that can be pretty helpful for the thinking process that you will need to do. But it can also be very helpful for your communication, but then you have to be very conscious about what parts of the Sami way you can bring into the English. You have to be so conscious about the interplay between text and context!' (my interview with Ande, 2004: 9-10)

It is Ande's explicit wish to bring his own culture and language into English that made me decide not to change in any way the wording of his speech transcript³⁷, interview or web pages content, even if they do not always comply with the rules of proper English.

To me it seems that Ande found a good use for those instances of what others might identify as 'weakness' of English expression. Admitting he speaks 'perhaps the most common language in the world, broken English', Ande appeals to the participation of his audience to work further with his text, involve themselves even more in meaning-making of what tells about:

³⁷ The transcript is an appendix to this thesis.

In storytelling, if you expose your weaknesses when telling your story, then most people tend to be very helpful with you if it happens like it happens to me from time to time that my English will not fly me high enough and then some other birds will help me to fly as high as I need at that moment.’ (my interview with Ande, 2004: 9).

This is an instance that the use of the same language makes people connect in more than one way. And Ande made another point when I asked if he feels the story changes when he uses a particular language as an artistic expression mean, does the language shape the story? In what way or to what degree? He answered:

Of course, of course, it will! Because one level is the obvious that Sami is the water where I swim in the most convenient way. And then Norwegian. And then English. And then you will, of course, have different audiences. Sami speaking audiences are much more different than English or Norwegian speaking audiences. But then it is so interesting because there are communalities between the Sami speaking and the English speaking. I think that the English were always most far away, but I use more humor in the Sami and in the English speaking, referring to the ice-breaker, ‘I have to speak with the most common language...’ and that is a way... (my interview with Ande, 2004:9).

Ande has discovered a similarity between the Sami and the English linguistic expression. Since humour is a subtlety in expressing experience through language, a discursive tool employed with stylistic intentions, Ande works the difference to his benefit once again, as a plus value in the process of symbolic action and cultural mediation. And from his perspective, the conclusion that the English user is thus closer to the spirit of the Sami humor at least than a Norwegian-only speaker would be, one could view his use of the English language as shamanistic work too.

First Impressions. Yoik, Orality, Performativity.

In the following, I shall try to map the ways in which Ande's use of 'yoik' as a discursive mode connects with the aspect of orality and performativity as perceived both by Western scientific epistemological and ontological paradigms, and the Sami and Native Indian indigenous ones.

To begin with, I shall re-enact my intellectual process and recall some first impressions about Some hybrids of the legal situation of the saami people in Norway related to the conveyed sense of performance.

The 'article' was lying on a shelf in the old offices of the Sami Centre in the autumn of 2003 when we, the first generation of the Master Programme in Indigenous Studies, were 'officially' invited for the first time for a meeting at the Centre. I picked it up, read it later in the day, found it interesting and filed it to return to it for further investigation. What captivated me about this text from the very beginning was the special kind of argumentation, the form recalling that of a yoik. The yoik is the original music of the Sami, with clearly defined production, function and practice features in the Sami society. Some hybrids of the legal situation of the saami people in Norway opens up with the texts of a yoik and afterwards the text is pointing to the ceremonial value of the moment with the 'Narrating I' addresses the 'audience': 'With this yoik I would like to declare to you that I feel very lucky to be here. I wish to honor you in the most ceremonial way that I can. [...] I am Ande – hello.' (Somby, 1994: 1) The sensation of an audience and performance is created so vividly. In I TELL YOU NOW. Autobiographical Essays by Native American Writers, edited by Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat (University of Nebraska Press, 1997), Ralph Salisbury writes about the spiritual value contained in a voice addressing the people in the spirit of the native Oral Tradition:

Many dimensions constitute the Oral Tradition, but its essence is its sense of a person speaking a certain way to certain people; thus the sense of those people, the hearers, is mingled with the speaker's lyric voice. There is a sense of an occasion, the moment and the situation of the telling; and whatever is being presented, the reader of a poem or written work deriving out of the Oral Tradition

should get a sense of being located in an occasion – an occasion of utterance and hearing shared. (Swann, Krupat, 1997: 22-23)

My first impression of Ande's text expressed that sensation very clearly to me. Later, when I had the opportunity to interview him, I asked Ande and he explained that the 'article' was presented as a 'speech' at the Sovereignty Symposium in Oklahoma in 1994. It was exciting to discover this little detail, because it recalled for me the whole discussion about indigenous cultures, and particularly about indigenous literatures, being characterized by orality above everything else, while Western criticism requires 'textual body' from its object of study. Arnold Krupat writes in the book Ethnocriticism: Ethnography, History, Literature (Berkeley, 1992) about the paradoxical relation between Western literary criticism and indigenous literature:

What I am trying to say is simply that the first condition of possibility for a Western literary criticism of Native American literatures is the recognition that Native Americans do, indeed, produce discourse that might be called literature; and that the second condition of possibility for a Western literary criticism of Native American literature is the availability of texts of that literature. The relation between a criticism that is absolutely and unequivocally textual in orientation, and a literature that is oral (and so entirely independent of, indifferent to, and both historically and in the present frequently resistant to all forms of textualization) is, of course, highly problematic—to the degree that any possible "relation" between Western criticism, even ethnocriticism, and Native American literatures may be wishful and naive. I will return to this complex and difficult matter. For the moment I will only repeat that Western literary criticism has been and—so long as it remains Western literary criticism—will continue to be text-based (regardless of the existence of audio and videotapes, etc.), while reminding the reader that Native literatures are and continue to be oral and performative. (Arnold Krupat, 1992: 176)

According to Krupat, Western criticism and Indigenous voices are essentially incompatible. I shall address in the following the very issue of *performance* inherent in the native voice and I shall point out, on one hand, how the ‘yoik’ as discursive mode points to performance as a strategy for demonstrating cultural aliveness, and, secondly, how Ande’s artistic inclination and staging of his whole public persona reinforces this performance element.

First, let us look at the discursive modes of ‘yoik’, orality and performance and what is being symbolically mediated through them. Orality, for me, suggests primarily that the ‘meaning’ of the ‘happening’ is derived from the interaction between a ‘teller’ and an audience in a given situation. Here the ‘teller’ is actually a ‘yoiker’. Since holding this speech is regarded as a ‘yoiking approach’ by Ande, the ‘happening’ quality of this event is clear. Moreover, Ande refers by contrast to the relation between the Western ‘academic’/learned way of making music, music pattern and musicians, and the Sami way of making music, yoiking:

It will be difficult for musicians to work with me. The yoik will always be a little different from one time to the next. The musicians will on his side always expect that I start in the same tone every time. His accords would then fit in, and he could follow his accords-symmetric system. I would have problems to hit the musician’s tone. My mode or mood could have changed since the last time we rehearsed. That emphasizes a yoik is not a fixed status, but perhaps rather a process. (Somby, 1994: 2)

From the perspective of a critical method within the text, i.e. a ‘meta-text’ in Western terms, the audience is expected to read all references to the yoiking ceremonial as references to how Ande’s message should be understood and what are the rules of the yoiking ‘game’. New rules are established and in this resides the power of the ‘speaker’: he ‘chairs’ the gathering and points at how facts are to be comprehended by the audience in a new light, according to a new paradigm, which is of the Sami yoik and ultimately of the Sami ‘ways’. Moreover, understanding the significance of the yoik paradigm of the speech is paramount for grasping the deeper ways in which the speech builds up on

various subjects that acquire the value of symbols and metaphors. Since we discuss in terms of ‘symbolic action’, there is more ‘weight’ to the themes discussed than meets the eye because in terms of ritualistic power, in talking about things there is action too. The already quoted article of Kathleen Osgood Dana Áillohaš and his Image Drum: The Native Poet as Shaman (NORLIT 15/2004) and Harald Gaski’s The Secretive Text – Yoik Lyrics as Literature and Tradition (in Pentikäinen, 2000) speak about the shamanistic qualities of indigenous literature in general and about the text of yoiks in particular, and how their imagery is multilayered, their depth to be discovered only from looking at the same ‘sign’ from various perspectives, from inside and outside. The revealing and changing of perspectives is performed by the shaman-artist: ‘In the circumpolar north throughout time, shamans have been empowered to negotiate among the sensate, multifaceted realities of the human world, including the angaqq for the Inuit, the noaidi for the Sami, and the various shamans for Siberian peoples’. (Dana, in NORLIT 15/2004: 7) In the same way yoiks are not merely texts, nor just music, but a contextualized interpretation of symbolically represented cultural realities, Ande’s speech must be understood in connection with the Sami and Western realities it recalls.³⁸ There is transformative power and spiritual healing in this kind of speech because the words employed, through their symbolic and metaphorical qualities, recall cultural aspects which appear fully (re)contextualised in the indigenous/Sami or Western reality and propose remedies for ontological and epistemological crises.

In relation to the use of indigenous texts by criticism, in Ande’s case, I came across the ‘text’ (the ‘prompting text’ of the speech) and I did not have the chance to witness Ande deliver his speech in Oklahoma. Although I understand the loss that comes with it, or to say it with Ande’s words from the speech ‘Would you like to have a bird that doesn’t move?’ (Somby, 1994: 2), I do see how the text exudes performativity and life. Maybe this has to do with me being familiar with Ande’s performance skills from the Vajas³⁹ concerts I have attended, but there is also a textual load denoting it. In terms of ‘symbolic action’, we recall the purpose of ‘staging’ for other indigenous public acts

³⁸ See also Ande’s Joik and the theory of knowledge, <http://www.uit.no/ssweb/dok/Somby/Ande95.htm>

³⁹ <http://vajas.info/>

that both Robert Paine and Radha Jhappan discuss about, i.e. indigenous acts of civil disobedience in the context of land and resource-related disputes.

Ande's Project

1. Sami Artistic Manifestations as Discursive Practices in Academia

I shall take this opportunity to expand on Ande's choice of exploring and experimenting with different styles of academic practice and to reflect on the extent to which the practicing scholar can and is allowed by the audience or by the academic system to double his discourses through the deployment of artistic work and for what purposes.

In academic writing, the practice of combining creative and critical mode may make more sense in view of the fact that the novel has traditionally integrated discourses which are related to essay, poetry, prose and philosophy. And philosophical discourse is no stranger to narrative, for instance, while poetry can offer a source for the most philosophical discourses. But to what extent does Law allow for such 'deviation' of mode⁴⁰? The question of the practice of scholarship at the liminal boundaries between art (with an emphasis on the perceptual dimension of human existence) and theory (as reflection on human perceptions) becomes perplexing when different media are involved such as the use of yoik in Ande's case.

To get some insight into the styles that Ande uses as a scholar, I quote a fragment from his interview:

... I always have this philosophy when giving presentations and when lecturing that I shall bring with me both the requirements that the academic society requires from me - to have the information and the academic structuring of the information - and then I have the project to use my own cultural background. To be both a Sami person in a cultural sense means that you have to know three arts: one art is

⁴⁰ 'Deviation' understood as exception from the rule originating etymologically from the Latin 'regula' (meaning 'straight line'; see also its other English meaning referring to the object used to draw straight lines)

yoiking, the other art is story-telling and the third art is to imitate people's voices and how people talk. (from my interview with Ande, 2004: 2)

On one hand, Ande tries to meet the requirements of the Western academic formal expression and combine it with the 'arts' essential to expressing the Sami inherent identity. It is a paradoxical mix some say: art and science in academic discourse, and I am interested in the choice of scholars in general to adopt artistic practice for allegedly theoretical activities and whether all literary or conceptually orientated artistic acts in academic discourses are necessarily to be perceived as theoretical. With Ande, the reason is the wish to symbolically bring forth the cultural background of his people, the Sami. He views it as a strategy, a 'project' and points to the convergence of purpose in reflecting the 'Sami ways' of all the 'Sami' means he employs: yoiking, story-telling, imitating people.

On the other hand, Ande is aware and speaks about the kind of resistance he encounters: in a more general and abstract sense, both the 'strict' academic world and the 'strict' Sami world as he rates them, and, in a more concrete sense, his physical audience –people from academia or students:

And sometimes I succeed with that. But other times, then... I guess people who already are in academia, maybe they are a bit more confident. But students used to react to that sometimes. From time to time. It's not always. And the reaction used to be that 'the lectures had a lack of structure'. Actually I saw from the evaluation of the Master Programme that the students react a little bit to the way...(from my interview with Ande, 2004: 2)

He explains that he constructs his discourse as a protest against a particular kind of attitude belittling the value of the Sami cultural values and expressions:

And the reason why I have chosen to have this as a priority is that I have seen so many of the Sami academic people that, when they go to the university, they – so to speak – leave the Sami ways, that the Sami way becomes (n.n. to them) some

sort of chaotic thing, for example, the stories about ghosts, the stories about the Keepers of the Land, and also the yoiks and many other things that are genuine to the Sami way. So that is the starting point for this two-folded project. (from my interview with Ande, 2004: 2)

Ande's attitude is expressed in clear terms both regarding the choice of strategy and in connection to the motivation and opposition encountered by it. The resistance he develops facing some negative reaction of others connects in some respects with those practices of cultural analysis which argue strongly for the developing, constructively critiquing and ultimately celebrating activities of artistic essence in academia. Yet the question of how scholarly discourse can itself become a form of aesthetic practice remains open to question. In Western academia, some artists are scholars, but have kept what might be considered two apparently related practices, as two careers. Some writers, such as Julia Kristeva⁴¹ (though theoretical in their respective projects!), deploy strategies both theoretical and emotive. Some filmmakers argue for film as a conceptual and synaesthetic project which should not devote itself to emotional catharsis only and argue for its use in academia on equal footing with other means of investigation and expression, such as writing. Here, I think also about our colleague in the Indigenous Studies Programme and a film-maker who asked to make a film on indigenous issues instead of writing a thesis and was denied the permission by the Board due to academic administrative reasons, i.e. lack of courses in the Programme to teach film-making and consequently being unable to evaluate the film and give a grade to the student for the work. This was for me a real-life instance of the on-going discussion about the means of expressing employed by research, various modes being preferred in academia to others.

While some scholars would argue for keeping academic publications and literary/artistic practice in separate camps, the experiment of combining the essay with fiction or letter writing and theory or/and film, essay and literature in the same space, might afford different possibilities. Cases like the research work of Ande Somby offers opportunities

⁴¹ Julia Kristeva said about her novel *The Samurai*: 'People have always wondered if they should treat a subject that interests them through theory or through fiction. Is there really a choice to be made? Must we prefer one form of discourse to the other[...] The imaginary could be understood to be the deep structure of concepts along with their underlying systems. The core of the symbolic lies in the fundamental drives of the signifier, that is, in sensations, perceptions, and emotions. When we translate them, we leave the realm of ideas and enter the world of fiction, which is why I sought to describe the emotional lives of intellectuals.' (Gubermas, Ross Mitchel. Ed. 'Julia Kristeva interviews'. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996)

to examine the spaces between theoretical and artistic practice working for the benefit of making the Sami culture more visible.

2. Performativity as Discursive Effect

I visited Ande's web pages '<http://www.jus.uit.no/ansatte/somby/>' and I attended some of his concerts with the Vajas ('<http://vajas.info/>'), investigating the artistic side of his work. I believe that helped me contextualize better for myself his expression means and understand his choices and innovations in style on both sides of the 'act' - academic and artistic - while analyzing the space between and how this space is made meaningful. Ande's use of various 'textual' expressions, from building web pages to making jewelry, yoiking, researching and lecturing (representing just as many discursive modes with the effect of 'staging'), is also a skillful 'montage' of a persona. Ande chooses to make his indigenous identity meaningful in a public arena. It is a matter of performance and performativity turned into symbolic action. The starting point remains that in a live culture, the distinct but related notions of performance and performativity are important – beyond the more limited notion of the 'work of art' they incorporate. It is part of the indigenous peoples' agenda to demonstrate that their cultures are alive and still producing 'newness', which grants them the right to have their life styles protected by the respective governments and even eventually be allowed freedom of action in what concerns their societies, understood as 'self-determination' in the terms of international law.

The primary motivation for the ongoing importance granted to performance with indigenous peoples and cultures is its epistemological and artistic meaning of 'aliveness'. If I choose to look now for meanings of 'performance' within the Western system, performance, in anthropology, is the construction of knowledge about a culture together both with the people and through collective research and discovery and ultimately points to the negotiation of cultural representations and mediation of meanings. Moreover to perform is to act; it is doing. Most often the word performance is used to indicate ontological dynamism connected. In theatre, performance is when a play becomes a play; without performance, it remains a text. A musical score needs to be performed to become music. In reception-oriented theories of reading, the same notion of performance is used

to define the specific ontological status of textuality. Without reading, the book exists only as an object in space. In this respect, text and image occupy the same ontological domain, for neither one exists as “pure.” Much contemporary theatre and music even dispenses with the script or score. Simultaneously to this development in the relevantly named ‘performing arts,’ the study of language, literature, and philosophy has gone through a decisive ‘performative turn’ in the last 30 years. From linguistics and the philosophy of language, one takes the notion that utterances do something; perform an act that produces an event. From theatre, one borrows the notion of role-playing that can be extended to include social role-playing, and restrict it to that aspect of playing that is effective in that it affects the viewer. From anthropology, one takes the idea that the performative speech act in the extended sense requires the participation in the production of meaning of the ethnographer’s partner, the people belonging to the culture studied. In art, this sense entails the indispensable participation of the visitor to the museum or the viewer of the work without whom the artwork is simply nothing: a dead object; or the listeners to a musical performance without whom anything, strictly speaking, would happen in the theatre.

3. Cultural Mediation as Strategy for Indigenous Legal and Political Claims

Ande plays hard on the semantic ‘umbrella’ of connotations infused in the act of ‘performance’ I described above: aliveness, ontological dynamism, construction of knowledge, participation, existence in space, role-playing, producing an event to affect the viewer. In the Western world yoiking is viewed as performing. Therefore his ‘yoiking’ approach in the Some hybrids... speech connects these Western understandings and mechanisms to explain realities from the Sami society. In relation to the understanding of ontological dynamism, Ande explains how the Sami society is not a uniform world, but rather one of diversity and continuous change. This is expressed both with regard to the yoiking performance techniques, but also to the Sami people, regarding their physiognomy: ‘the Sami people is the people of the thousand faces, and we don’t fit into the indigenous people stereotype with black hair and dark skin’ (Somby, 1994: 5), observing their motivations and actions, but also when looking at the way the society

works as a whole: ‘The saami people are not a military unit, but more like a family. It means that we are not marching towards the same directions at any given time. We can have our quarrels.’ (Somby, 1994: 7) In relation to the dynamic aspect of existence of the Sami people, reindeer herding and nomadism, two key elements of the Sami old ways are also featured in connection with the ontological dimension of ‘being in space’ of this people: ‘We didn’t stay at the same place during the year, but we went to the coast during the summer. Maybe it was even a problem that our relationship to the earth couldn’t be recognized by ownership. How could your mother become your property?’ (Somby, 1994: 3). In terms of role-playing in the Sami world, the emphasis falls on the equalitarian vision including all entities: ‘It is not easy even for the trained ear to hear the differences between an animal’s yoik, a landscape’s yoik or a person’s yoik. That perhaps emphasizes that you don’t differ so much between the human-creature, the animal-creature and the landscape-creature as you regularly do in a western European context. Your behavior will therefore maybe be more inclusive towards animals and landscapes. In some respects this can also emphasize that we can have ethical spheres not just towards fellow humans but also to our fellow earth and our fellow animals. Can you own some of your fellows?’ (Somby, 1994: 2)

By pointing all the time to various differences, grand and small, between the Western and the Sami ways subsumed under the metaphorical system of differences⁴² between the Western understanding of music making and the Sami understanding of yoiking, Ande operates a paradigm shift by ‘translating’ elements from one culture to another. Therefore here, in the case of Ande, we cannot speak about performativity only, or about music making only. The invocation of the academic discipline by indigenous academics like Ande with highly charged political roots of indigenous activism encompasses performativity, subsuming it as a means only, and succeeding in being more than solely it. This aspect led me to choose the term of ‘symbolic action’ to describe the phenomenon of indigenous research challenging the Western paradigms in the first place:

⁴² A similar strategy, discussed in terms of ‘the logic of difference’ and ‘cultivation of distinction’ in a study devoted to Isadora Duncan and her effort to acquire cultural legitimacy for dancing, *From Done into dance: Isadora Duncan in America* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995) by Ann Daly. Daly argues that: ‘The fundamental strategy of Duncan’s project to gain cultural legitimacy for dancing was one of exclusion. In order to reinvent the idea of the ‘dancer’, that is to say, to make dancing (but specifically her kind of dancing) a matter of good ‘taste’ within the existing cultural order, Duncan employed the dominant logic of difference along a number of axes, and used it to cultivate ‘distinction.’ (Daly, 1995: 16-17). Moreover I was interested in another observation by Daly, which applies in relation to Ande’s strategy of indigenous ‘symbolic action’ too: ‘Inherent in Duncan’s art, then, was this curious tension between the desire to spread dance as a cultural practice through a strategy of exclusion and the desire to spread dance as a cultural practice through a strategy of inclusion.’ (Daly, 1995:114). My perception is that Ande oscillates much in the same ‘exclusion-inclusion’ manner between Western and Sami/indigenous paradigms deriving benefits from all for the indigenous ‘cause’.

the approach appears to be one of using known-forms with an innovative ‘twist’ to express a new meaning. Concerning the Western scientific system, Thomas Kuhn has recognized a similar process as ‘paradigm shifts’ in his most famous book The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), where he postulates that science does not evolve gradually towards truth, but instead when one overriding theory fails to explain a phenomenon, the theory is modified ad-hoc.⁴³

In the Sami understanding, yoiking is more than performance too. Yoiking is also about remembering and recalling (by enactment) in present things that have existed in the past, so Ande’s Some hybrids from the legal situation of the saami people in Norway is also about remembering with the intention to ease emotional pain and eventually to cure, by producing a cathartic change. In a Western paradigm, yoiking translates in an integration of the aesthetic, political and spiritual, cutting across disciplinary boundaries and modes of theory.

I would now like to discuss how yoik crosses or dissolves boundaries between the disciplines of History and Law between indigenous events and cultural realities. After the introductory part of the speech when Ande introduces himself and the Sami yoiking techniques, his speech continues with a Brief introduction to a history with a sad and a glad part. It is, of course, a chapter devoted to Sami history and here the temporal aspect of performance is at play. The history of the Sami people is invoked with sorrow:

The history of our people is not a nice story. It contains much pain, and it hurts me to talk about it. Our people traditionally were hunters, fishermen and reindeer-herders. I will not dwell in the days of Adam and Eve. We lost our paradise. There are some differences between how it happened in Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia. (Somby, 1994: 3)

Like in the case of all indigenous peoples, the history of the Sami is marked by land dispossession and hence the particular relationship with power centres, such as empires and states, which brought about trauma. The discursive allusion to the ‘lost paradise’ points exclusively to this trauma and is not meant to place the ‘action’ in a

⁴³ See also The Structure of Scientific Revolutions by Thomas Kuhn. Outline and Study Guide prepared by Professor Frank Pajares, Emory University’ at <http://www.emory.edu/EDUCATION/mpf/Kuhn.html>

biblical/mythical *illo tempore*. Ande's performance is clearly and concretely situated in time and place: the narrating voice 'I' situates itself in the introduction and throughout the speech pointing to its physical 'time and space' coordinates as a persona (Ande as an indigenous person, academic and professional in the field of Law, see Ande, 1994:3). He 'yoiks' *now*. On the other hand, the historical events Ande is talking about are also carefully mapped in time and space (see the discussion about the Alta case and the hunger-strike of 1979 on page 4), but as it happens in the case of yoiks, the performance is a reenactment of the past event where the 'yoiking' (the happening) becomes the event itself. This dynamics are related to the 'tribal' understanding of time and space as discussed also by Kathleen Osgood Dana in relation to Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's poetry: 'For most natives, time is not a linear concept, but a relational one, based on a notion that all things are imbued with spirit and are thus related. '(Dana, Nordlit, 15/2004: 15). Within the critical paradigm of the yoik, it translates: 'You don't yoik about someone or something. You yoik someone or something. Yoik has no object. That emphasizes perhaps that taking or thinking about yoik in subject-object concepts isn't possible.'(Somby, 1994: 2) In terms of cultural mediation as 'symbolic action' performed by the researcher/shaman, the yoiking/performance is something that hovers between past/historical event and present and the ontological indeterminacy resulting from it allows a space and time for further clarification of meaning, for negotiation of meaning between the audience and the yoiker. Dana quotes a Blackfoot Native American, Leroy Little Bear, the leader of the Native American Programme at Harvard University for a while, with a suggestive article Jagged Worldviews Colliding: 'The idea of all things being in constant motion or flux leads to a holistic and cyclical view of the world. If everything is constantly moving and changing, then one has to look at the whole to begin to see patterns.' (Little Bear in Dana, 2004:15) And Vine Deloria explains similarly the 'relatedness' understanding of 'We are all relatives'(in Chapter 3: Relativity, Relatedness, and Reality, in Barbara Deloria, Kristen Foehner and Sam Scinta, eds., Spirit & Reason: the Vine Deloria Reader, Fulcrum: Golden Colo, 1999). If I look at the patterns here in the Some hybrids... speech, then I could enlarge and state that the space of negotiation opens up not only for Ande and his audience, but also for a historical negotiation and trauma healing for the whole Sami people. My argument is that Ande himself shows how

yoiking is 'a process' (Somby, 1994: 2): 'It hasn't a start and neither an ending. Yoik is definitely not a line, but it is perhaps a kind of circle. Yoik is not a circle that would have Euclidian symmetry. Although it has maybe a depth symmetry.' (Somby, 1994: 2)

The description resembles Wolfgang Iser's 'recurring looping' hermeneutic paradigm which invites the readers to revise the system of knowledge as one goes and acquires new knowledge about reality. Ande invokes here not a detached knowledge about reality, but rather what is relevant to the trauma lived by his people and seeks reparation through it.

Ande, also, deconstructs the traditional 'discourse' produced by the West (consequently by Western research also) about indigenous people reflected in the Norwegian and Sami power structures and relations and his speech addresses the historical, political and legal issues of the Sami in Norway revealing malicious attitudes and faulty mechanisms. Ande recalls the norwegianisation policy in terms of church oppression (banning the yoik as pagan and calling the Sami spiritual leaders 'heathens'), land expropriation, schooling policy (with prohibition of the Sami language until 1959). Norwegianisation is a process initiated by the Norwegian state in an attempt to determine the Sami to give up their cultural practices and adopt the Norwegian ones. The article I have chosen to discuss in the following chapter in order to illustrate the research work of the historian Henry Minde also deals with this issue and focuses on the schooling system. With Ande, the emphasis falls on the legal system of the Norwegian state and the discussion is built around several events of interest, court cases, solved to the detriment of the Sami. The first topic is the history-making event of the Alta case in which the Sami opposed the construction of the dam with the hunger strike and demonstrations. The second is the Court case of a Sami man Mr. Gaski who refused to do his military service with the Norwegian army. He invoked the Sami culture's lack of the concept of armed defense and the danger of having to fight against his own kind (the Sami inhabiting four neighbouring states: Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia).

On one hand, when Sami realities are measured against Norwegian legal structures, the conclusion is that the Norwegian legal system falls short of means to fairly deal with them. In Mr. Gaski's case, Ande cites the three arguments formulated by the Court to dismiss the case of Mr. Gaski: the Sami Article in the Norwegian Constitution

was not meant to include the military service, the Sami have been doing their military service since 1897, and the Sami organizations have never protested against the military draft before. Ande emphasizes the fact that the Norwegian jurisprudence is different from the Anglo-American jurisprudence in that it does not rely on the history of court cases, but on the history of legal decisions and law making, in other words not what negotiated in connection to particular real cases, but what is designed by the power structures.

On the other hand, Sami realities are measured against international legislation and that also appears to fall short of covering all sectors and aspects of a people's life; and here again I think of the Sami Article in the Norwegian Constitution used by the Court as an argument in Mr. Gaski's case namely, saying that the military service is not being explicitly mentioned in it. Since the inclusion of such an Article in the Constitution was triggered by the Norwegian state declaring itself supportive of international law efforts to provide indigenous peoples with protection of their livelihood, international law is thus pictured in a bad light for not being able to compel the Norwegian state to act in accordance with its commitments. Ande employs the word 'mythologies' to hint at the level of 'untruthfulness' of such commitments: the 'mythology of making an indigenous peoples' culture to revive by declaring the revival in the most solemn and obligating way' and the 'mythology of the armed defense that requires everyone to take part in the defense of the interests of the nation' (Somby, 1994: 9).

Ande argues that the Norwegian Constitution is not legally binding; therefore the Sami article does not impose corresponding rights and obligations for the Sami. The functionality of the legal document is 'deconstructed' by firing a set of questions:

Has it secured and developed the legal protection of the saami culture, language and society? Are the Norwegian courts among the bodies of the Norwegian state that are obliged by this article? Does the article hold the Norwegian state accountable or does it also imply corresponding rights and duties for the saamis? If it gives rights, can a saami individual claim them or is it just the saami people by its parliament that can claim rights? Does the article just prohibit negative discrimination of the saamis or does it give an obligation to discriminate

positively, for example, when it comes to give saami seats in lawschools?
(Somby, 1994: 8)

Ande leaves the questions open allowing room for his audience to become involved and work out the answers for themselves.

When Ande compares the Norwegian jurisprudence with the Anglo-American system, and mentions that even other Western systems have found better ways of functioning, with more benefits for the indigenous (Somby, 1994: 8-9), a permanent swing between feelings of 'trust' and 'mistrust', a red thread through his speech, is reinforced. Some Western (legal) systems could be trusted, but should one trust them all?

Ande seeks to trigger catharsis through the blunt distinction made between functioning and non-functioning structures, by creating 'sites of anticipation' and then contradicting them. In this way, he works with the imagination of the audience. Shamanistic and educational aspects (in Western scientific epistemological sense) are at play.

At this point, Ande uses two puppet-like 'characters', the Optimist and the Pessimist, to further dramatize his speech and increase its cathartic effect. The ontological indeterminacy effect grows with the feeling of 'free-floating', 'not yet ascribed' meaning for the legal stances, for where the situation of the Sami people stands and for where the truth lies. Starting from the discussion on the formulation of the Sami Article in the Norwegian Constitution as a legal document whose function is made to appear purely 'decorative', the Pessimist deconstructs the Western ways by showing the negative outcome of the present situation ('the pessimist would call this a *catch 22*', Somby, 1994: 10). The Optimist points to possible means to change present things for the better, in other words, indicate beneficial 'paradigm shifts'. From the beginning the 'audience' had been warned that the story has 'a glad part and a sad part'. At times, the roles of the Pessimist and the Optimist are swapped. The artifice for introducing this change is irony which makes the truth appear relative, depending on the point of view: 'The optimist would say that father met so bad litigators, but next time when the litigating is better...'. The artifice brings to mind the Native American 'Trickster'⁴⁴. The same

⁴⁴ Vizenor's 'Trickster of Liberty' who 'liberates the mind in comic discourse' and 'trickster transformer' (in Blaese, Kimberly, Gerald Vizenor: Writing in the Oral Tradition. University of Oklahoma Press, 1996: 137).

Trickster⁴⁵ comes to mind when Ande speaks about the Sami as the people with ‘thousand faces’ (Somby, 1994: 5). Native American literature criticism shows how the success of the Trickster ‘metaphor’ in such argumentative discourses is due to focusing attention to otherness and to diversity: how to read otherness, how to reconcile otherness to oneself, how to represent otherness and so on. Tricksters often put on roles that are ‘other’ not ‘self’, only to discover something of self in the other or something of the other in the self.

Or maybe I should recall the artifice of the ‘Pessimist and Optimist’ in Sami cultural terms as the metamorphosis of the shaman while traveling to different worlds in order to seek truth and understanding and discuss the spiritual alternatives and understandings?⁴⁶

I like to look at as an kabuki-like expression of Ande’s use of humor⁴⁷, employed to soften harsh facts, to set a ‘laughing’, i.e. safe, distance between us and the object of our scrutiny, avoid open conflict and open up instead spaces meant for further interaction and dialogue. But maybe the discussion about the ‘Pessimist’ and ‘the Optimist’ should be conducted in terms of challenges to the notion of objectivity?

Foucault would say that the use of the ‘Trickster’ figures is about truth and power: who judges the two figures as optimist and pessimist in the first place, with what right and according to what/whose value system? The ‘dialogue’ between the Optimist and the Pessimist and the themes of their considerations also make one reflect on the use of power and truth in discourse, discursive practices at the level of law, but also political lobbying, in schools, church, and, not in the last place, through yoik. In sum, Ande takes a personal emotional and political stand in these matters and all aspects should be considered in turn.

⁴⁵ The trickster’s gift of double-voiced discourse and ability to assume masks in Rosier Smith, 1997:17.

⁴⁶ See traveling Raven-Trickster and passages (‘a pore, a portal, a doorway, a nick in time, a gap in the screen, a looseness in the weave’) in Hyde, Lewis, ‘Trickster Makes This World’, Farn, Strauss, Giroux, NY, 1998.

⁴⁷ See survival through wit and humor with Vizenor: ‘Humor has political significance’ (in Blaeser, 1996: 150).

Yoik and Rhetoric of Law

In one of his lectures, Ande told us that ‘Law is about conflict.’ I presumed at that time that he thought in terms of his doctoral thesis about the Rhetoric of Law: Legal Reasoning⁴⁸ and I also thought about his activist past.¹⁹ In the interview, I asked him about this statement and Ande stated:

Ande: I have been looking at law as one of many possible ways to administer a conflict. When people are in conflict, then one needs to do something in order to solve that conflict. And then I have been looking at the tradition of conflict management and then I have been looking at law.

Mirona: You’ve told us once about your grandmother who was making two bags when two families were in conflict and taking a bag to one family and hearing their story, and then the other bag to the other family and listening to their story, the final sentence was given.

A: And that was a way that – I think – carries so much female wisdom because female wisdom is very solution-oriented to get things to have a solution. And I only use ‘female’ – ‘male’ as some labels I have not been reflecting very much on how appropriate these particular labels fit to that. I have just been using this in order to tell the story that sometimes a conflict is not a conflict, that sometimes the main thing is to get a solution, but in other times it is a way to canalize your rage, and the function of what Aristotle calls ‘catharsis’. People are angry and they lack solutions, that’s conflicts are about. And then I have also been contrasting the male strategy where you display your anger, and I think that law does that.

M: The nose-breakers that you were talking about?⁵⁰

⁴⁸ His thesis was finished on February 27th, 1999 (see <http://www.jus.uit.no/ansatte/somby/andeENG.htm>) ; the web titled: Is the legal method the story about how legal positions are determined or is it the story about how legal justifications are determined??

¹⁹ ‘It is a long way from our small village to the university. My track goes from a political emphasis focused on Sami and indigenous peoples rights. Despite that fact I have never been in any heavy involvement with the Sami organizations. In my younger days my heart was closer to activism than to being an organizational bureaucrat. I took part in the demonstrations against the Alta damn (1979). Since then I am a spectator and occasionally a commentator of Sami politics.’ (Ande Somby in his Tromsø University/Law Faculty pages, <http://www.jus.uit.no/ansatte/somby/andeENG.htm>)

⁵⁰ Here, I make reference to a term (‘nosebreakers’) used by Ande in his speech Some hybrids...: ‘The saami interests tried together with environmental interests to bring to an end the Alta project via a legal process. The government won the case. That also made a cold day in the saami history in 1982. There are more nosebreakers than successes when it comes to litigate saami rights in the Norwegian court system.’ (Somby, 1994: 4)

A: Yes. It has not been a successful thing for the Samis to go to the Courts because, I guess, of the way a culture..., the conflict management strategies in different cultures are maybe the most distinctive things. The traditional songs have been pretty different, but I guess the conflict management strategies are even more different. And the aim to address that aspect is that thereby I sort of manage to make the law related to other ways. Law is not a religion, so to speak, The Religion, but it is one of many other possible ways. (my interview with Ande, 2004:12)

This explains clearly what Ande attempts to do with his work. He argues that the Western paradigms, such as the Norwegian legal system concerning the indigenous peoples does not have the 'undeniable truth', the 'untouchable', but is a text, i.e. rhetoric, a discourse whereby the Authority in a field justifies and rationalizes its position. The point Ande makes in his doctoral thesis is that everyone within the Western legal system is doing legal reasoning, and all litigants, legislators, judges, administrators, legal theorists etc. use arguments in order to persuade other members of the legal reasoning society about the rightfulness of their decisions or actions. In other words, they make themselves 'comfortable' within one paradigm, or theory as Ande stated in our interview of October 2004 with reference to some people in academia. Therefore Ande identifies the discursive tools for creating a counter-offensive. I shall now introduce in the following Ande's analytical elements of approach.

Ande's Persuasion Levels

Ande identifies at least three levels of persuasion: verbal expression, non-verbal expression and cultural context. He argues that at least five aspects should be relevant for the rhetoric of power, and thus important for the analyst to follow up: the reliability of the speaker 'ethos' (e.g. Supreme Court vs. Primary Court, professors vs. students), the content of the arguments 'epistemology' (law and facts), the situation and the context of the speech 'tempus', the form of the speech 'modus' (e.g. legal prose), the audience 'auditorium' (who is your addressee?). He uses the Aristotelian concept of

‘argumentation’ to mean ‘a speech with an intention to persuade’ and employs classical rhetoric as an analytic tool mainly based upon verbal persuasion, while for nonverbal rhetoric he employs semiotics.

To revise according to Ande’s argumentation, I suggest we follow the transformative act which allows us to speak of ‘symbolic action’ due to the paradigm shifts: the audience is assured of the in-the-know reliability of the speaker when he introduces himself as both an indigenous person and a Law academic with years of practice in both fields; in terms of epistemology, the law is always measured up against facts and the shortcomings of the legal system appear as obvious; the form of the speech, the yoik is gaining a place among the discursive practices of law, education and even environmentalism by the emphasis on the dynamic properties of such form of representation; the tempus has been broadly discussed in terms of ‘now’ and ‘ritual re-enactment of the past’. Paradigm shifts are reflected both in micro- and in macro-structures, from formal changes of traditionally established paradigms crystallized in particular ways of saying things (see the ‘so far so sad’ from Ande’s speech vs. ‘so far so good’ the established formula), to emphasized formal/discursive marks of the same process of paradigm change at the level of institutions, legal structures and, even more abstract, in terms of ‘doxas’, meaning the premises and ‘metaphors’⁵¹ that might be considered universal, but if looked at closer they appear specific only for the Western European culture (Western music vs. yoik).

Conclusion

In Some hybrids from the legal situation of the saami in Norway, Ande seeks to balance his activist past and critical analysis. His text is infused with terms denoting the personal stance he takes in this discussion such as confessing that talking about the history of the Sami causes him pain. In the interview, he told me that his personal experience as a Sami subjected to norwegianisation had him filled with anger: ‘I was so full of rage after that, after I came back from the boarding school. So I became so politically very radical...’

⁵¹ Ande quotes in the abstract of his doctoral thesis the book of Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, 1980) <http://www.jus.uit.no/ansatte/Somby/thesisENG.htm>

(my interview with Ande, 2004). However, objectively, he looks into what goes wrong inside the Sami society as well, like in the analysis of the conflict between the Norwegian Reindeer Organisation and the Sami Parliament regarding the responsibility over the reindeer programmes. Faced with the issue of globalization and how Ande's research work surpasses the local arena, but carries with it the specificities of the Sami culture and land.

To end my analysis, I would like only to add that Ande's Some hybrids from the legal situation of the saami in Norway has revealed the researcher Ande Somby as a person skillful at combining shamanistic, aesthetic and academic means to take his audience into the realities of the Sami people in Norway, into their past and even attempt to open a door to peep into their possible future. The metamorphoses Ande indulges into as an academic-researcher-artist-yoiker open up ontological places to be explored by philosophy. What makes Ande's writing transformative is the process, the mix of art and scientific, of both reflexive and perceptive text that raises questions and makes it possible for the researcher and his audience to get involved. This is how the indigenous methodology is also developing: wherever the Western paradigm proves weak, the indigenous researcher brings in a question to contest it and a new paradigm is created ad-hoc to replace the faulty one. Or to say it with poetry quoting a Romanian poet very dear to me, Nichita Stanescu: 'If a stone split, a god / was quickly brought and put there.' (A god was put in every tree stump).

Henry Minde: ‘Assimilation of the Sami–Implementation and Consequences’

Introduction

The analysis of the article ‘Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences’ (2002) is developed around the discursive choices Henry makes to ensure cultural mediation through history writing and research on the theme of Sami assimilation and Norwegianisation policy. I am particularly interested in identifying the epistemological paradigm shifts Henry proposes to the Western discourse on the indigenous peoples and to the discipline of history, as well as the means by which he renders these shifts as necessary and further implements some of the proposed modifications.

With the discussion of Ande’s article, I indicated a practice of comparing and contrasting the indigenous and Western paradigms in order to challenge the later. Henry’s article adds perspective to my thesis by showing the indigenous move within the Western paradigm and use of new research in the field to build a subversive system of contestation. Perspective is added also with Henry’s discussion of the role of the school in the policy of norwegianisation as transcending the area of language or education research, and leading instead to a focus on social processes inside and outside the schoolroom.

Henry’s preoccupation with the representation of Sami society in historiography was not new in 2002 since in October 1992, he had presented at the First International Conference of Arctic Social Sciences (Laval University, Ste-Foy, Quebec, Canada) a paper dedicated exclusively to this issue, ‘The Post-War Sami Society in Norwegian Historiography’. However, the article ‘Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences’, written on the creation of the Sami Fund by the Norwegian Parliament - a paradigm shift within the Western power structures of the Norwegian state - marks the

event as an occasion for broadening the understanding of colonization consequences and trauma healing practices, by employing 'life narratives'. I wanted to know more than anything else if the life narratives included by Henry as a counterpart to the facts and figures of the traditional historical representation in the case of the Sami assimilation, were inspired by the Sami oral tradition. Therefore this has been the recurrent question during my discussion-interview with Henry and he positioned himself clearly:

For me, as a historian, as a Norwegian historian also, because I am writing also in the tradition of Norwegian history, this kind of perspective and also the method used in this article is not something new when you are comparing what the historians have done in connection with the study of social history from the 50s until today. And much of this research has been about the people who have not so much to say politically and socially, minorities of all kinds, but also the people with low social status in the country. [...] So in this tradition, this use of the oral tradition was only a supplement to this ordinary social history. (My interview with Henry, December 2004: 8-9)

These aspects have determined me to use a theoretical framework mediating between the Western Enlightenment paradigm and contemporary postmodern theories such as Ricoeur's⁵², marking a paradigm shift away from the Enlightenment idea of scientific objectivity. The staging and narrative (as event emplotment) modes are highlighted with criticism inspired by the Annales School, mirroring formally a concern with the representational character of history that allows symbolic action. I know that, in his turn, Henry employed the Annales theories in his analyses and made reference to the history of mentalities in articles like Constructing 'Laestadianism': A case for Sami survival? (*Acta Borealia*, vol. 15.1, 1998: 5-25).

With regard to the content of Henry's article, I track the various changes operated at grass-root and institutional levels over a long period of time and highlighted to

⁵² The French philosopher, Paul Ricoeur was a phenomenologist, like Wolfgang Iser. His writings prior to 1960 are in the tradition of existential phenomenology. During the 60s Ricoeur concluded that to study human reality one had to combine phenomenological description with hermeneutic interpretation. For hermeneutics, whatever is intelligible is accessible to us in and through language and all deployments of language call for interpretation. Ricoeur believed that "there is no self-understanding that is not mediated by signs, symbols, and texts; in the final analysis self-understanding coincides with the interpretation given to these mediating terms." (Ricoeur, *On Interpretation*, in *From Text to Action: Essays in Hermeneutics*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991:15)

describe the historical process of norwegianisation and its aftermath. There is much detail and the reader is compelled to change the perspective from the augmentative dimensions of the grand histoire to the fine features of the petite histoire. The first part features a significant amount of statistic data, which might be perceived by the reader as a striking element after the analysis of the artistic means employed by Ande. All these are artifices and part of the strategy of subverting the Western scientific paradigm in history.

Regarding my research question about how the local and global interact, I have chosen this article because it was presented to the Norwegian Sami Parliament, for the discussion of the Sami Fund proposed by the Norwegian Government. This kind of occasion indicates indirectly that such revising performed by historians is ultimately reflected in state policies. In our discussion of the article, Henry was cynical or modest regarding the practical effect of his research on state policies, in particular with regard to his participation in one project initially meant to stop the building of a tunnel by NATO troops in Norway, but whose debut followed the finalisation of the NATO project. However these are proofs that policy making relies on indigenous research and its reformulations of the Western scientific discourse on the indigenous people.

Regarding my interview with Henry, it was conducted in English. Like in Ande's case, I have limited the editing as much as possible remaining faithful to my interviewee's 'voice'. The varied topics touched upon in the interview inform my study explicitly, like Henry's confessed writing tradition quoted farther in my study, as well as implicitly as is the case of the Maori history project of indigenous histories, which served for me as an inspiration when looking at Henry's case.

These general observations being concluded, I would like to present a few first considerations regarding my first encounter with Henry's article.

First Considerations

To start with I shall emphasize how I was motivated in my analysis of Henry's Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences in an attempt to reveal the discursive means by which the article signals a need to listen to Sami individual 'voices'

contesting the norwegianisation policy and how history/histories were written (or not) about it.

The article Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences was included in our compendium History of Indigenous People: Colonization and Revival as compulsory literature for the History Course HIS-3005 of the autumn semester 2003 in the Indigenous Studies Master Programme. That was when I read it for the first time. During the second year of the Master Programme, I have come across the same article in the first of our two compendiums for the Health Course, but it was only in the History Course that we, the Master students, had the opportunity to discuss the article in a seminar ('chaired' by the author himself!). The heated discussion that the article ignited during that seminar has determined me to choose it as a 'looking glass' for the research work of Henry Minde and some of the means he employs to challenge the discourse on the indigenous peoples, developed by the Western scientific trend. What caught my attention in the seminar discussion was the question of how the experiences and the boarding school stories of the indigenous peoples make a difference compared to other boarding school stories coming from other cultural milieus, such as Eastern European countries (like Romania and Hungary), Great Britain or France.

Sami Fund – Now and Then. Political Shift Demands Shift in History Writing

Below I follow Henry's demonstration of how a shift in political and administrative state structures, marked by the creation of the Sami Fund in 2002, requires a shift in research and methodology for the investigation of the Sami assimilation process and Norwegianisation policy conducted by the state, and finally a change of course in history writing.

I proceed with several formal observations. The article Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences opens with a quotation from the Norwegian newspaper Dagbladet of July 28th 2001, the words of a young woman Beate Hårstad Jensen who said: 'If it has taken 100 years to norwegianise the Coast Samis, then it will perhaps take another 100 years to make us Samis again?'. These words are followed by an introduction explaining Henry's purpose for writing the article and the connection

with the motto becomes obvious: the article has been written for the use of the Norwegian Sami Parliament with the role of an informative study regarding the policy of norwegianisation. The motion put forward by the Norwegian Government to establish a Sami people's fund and discussed by the Norwegian Sami Parliament in May 2002, becomes the occasion for Henry to investigate and document, on one side, the extensive and long-lasting efforts of the State to make the Sami and the Kven quit their language and cultural practices, and, on the other hand, the economic, social and psychological negative effects inflicted on the Sami and Kven⁵³ population in the process. The article was the result.

Several considerations are made in the same introduction to signal the lack of research on the victims of the norwegianisation state policy and the special methods and ethical issues required by such research. The emphasis on the emotional element is especially striking.

In my understanding, Henry means to show that in the same way the new Sami Fund creates a shift from the Norwegian state history of Sami assimilation to a new history course of reparation through funding and finally administration of this Fund by the Sami, the course of history making should change by collective trauma healing through research in this field of norwegianisation and careful choice of the appropriate research means to do so.

A generous footnote related to the title of the article goes into financial details about the Sami Fund (75 million Norwegian crowns) and explains the purpose intended for this amount, of collective compensation for damage of the norwegianisation policy. Furthermore it explains that the Sami Parliament was consulted with regard to the framing of statute for the fund management.

This brings us to discuss in detail the discursive modes employed by Henry to express the utter necessity for a paradigm shift in history writing. For a start, I shall indicate a few 'props' by which the effect of 'staging' is achieved and through it, the awareness of working within a context of symbolic representation.

⁵³ The Kven is the Norwegian name for the descendants of the Finnish settlers who came to Norway from the area around the Gulf of Bothnia and began to settle in Finnmark from the Late Middle Ages. A continuous and steady migration started from the early 18th century to the Norwegian countries of Troms and Finnmark.

Signaling 'Staging' As Discursive Mode

From the very beginning the reader of the article becomes aware of a discursive 'staging' effect. Both the introduction to the article and the title-related footnote take the reader 'by the hand' providing background information on the occasion and purpose of the study. It is a *mis-en-abîme* kind of technique having to do most probably with the inclusion of the article in the Indigenous Master Programme History Compendium (HIS-3005, autumn 2003, Part II) and its educational goal. However, this *mis-en-abîme* also includes an element of cultural mediation, of which one becomes more aware when encountering a series of terms in Norwegian together with their English translation: '*fornorsking*'/'*norwegianisation*', *Sametinget/Sami Parliament*, *Samefolkets fond/Sami peoples' fund*'. (Henry Minde, 2003: 1) The text has been initially written in Norwegian and subsequently translated in English by Einar Blomgren. Thus, on one hand, Henry announces his intention that the understanding of the text as it is should surpass the cultural and linguistic boundaries of the Norwegian and Sami immediate context and on the other hand, the act of translation points to the fact that the article is a symbolic representation. From the perspective of linguistic encoding and discursive choices, Henry hints at the historians' intentions and strategy in the manipulation of knowledge about facts/reality, here, regarding the Norwegianisation state policy.

Norwegianisation Strategy

In the very beginning of the article, the norwegianisation policy is documented in the tradition of the 'grand histoire' (i.e. 'grand narrative' also), following the chronological events between the year 1850, when the 'Lapp Fund'/'Finnefondet' becomes a 'special item' in the national budget established by the Storting/Norwegian Parliament to bring about change of language and culture for the Sami people, and the year 1981, which marked the end of the Alta controversy (1979-1981). The Annales School has introduced the distinction 'grand histoire' / 'petit histoire' when challenging the traditional history's subjugation to power in writing about wars, states, great men and linear development. In the following pages of my analysis, I shall return to the issue of narrative as discursive mode and use references to historians and theorists of culture

informed by the Annales School, such as de Certeau, White, Foucault, Ricoeur, Mc Hale, elaborating more about history and fiction. However, at this stage, from a discursive perspective, it is important to note only that the Alta controversy, also present in Ande's speech, is referred to as 'a symbol of the Sami fight against cultural discrimination and for collective respect, for political autonomy and for material rights' (Minde, 2003: 2). . Moreover, Henry complicates what Ande experienced as an activist in the Alta project and brings nuance to the anger against the 'nose-breakers'. The enumeration of four symbolic meanings attached to the dam building opposition movement initiated by the Sami and its outcome brings forth the understatement that the reparation sought by the Sami at this stage has the same four-folded aspect

After clarifying the period of investigation, which points to a diachronic analysis, Henry clarifies the object of his investigation: the schooling system in the mixed-language areas of North Norway, with an emphasis on language. The discursive choice of terms reinforces the idea of strategy of the Norwegian state though corroborated efforts: Henry speaks of 'institutional coordination of efforts in various sectors' (Minde, 2003:2), 'determined, continuous and long-lasting conduct of that policy' (Minde, 2003:3). It places the phenomenon of norwegianisation within the European and world context, depicting it as 'inseparable from the emergence of strong nation states' (Minde, 2003:3). While Henry indicates that its existence is similar in essence to the policies of 'russification', 'germanification' or 'americanisation', and, here, reference is made to other history studies of Western historians, he explains that the intensity of the norwegianisation policy made its historical legacy in Norway a 'morally problematic and politically sensitive' issue. This is another instance when a manifold signification is attached to a historical event with an emphasis on emotional and human values. Moreover, talking about the memory of an event in terms of 'legacy' underlines the element of consequences and obligations related to such events that go beyond the time when the event occurred into the future. I am inclined to see here a clear resemblance with Ande's attempt to re-enact historical events through yoiking, bring them in the *now* and by contrast with another pattern (in Henry's case, the processes of 'russification', 'germanification', 'americanisation') point out the shortcomings at play. Traditionally,

for the historian, the *now* implies also the perspective and distancing of looking at a process from outside its time span, as opposed to the ‘there’ of the event.

State Institutions and Sami Community in History. Required Paradigmatic Revisions

In this section, I introduce Henry’s presentation of the ideological and social role played by the school in the policy of norwegianisation and his mediated aspects of the relation between the state and Sami communities reflected by the schooling institution and practices. I focus on the cathartic value of historical accurate renderings as understood from Henry’s discursive practices and direct observations. I rely on H. White’s interpretation of history as a ‘mystifying strategy’⁵⁴ and back-up Henry’s considerations on the occulting character of historiographic production with de Certeau’s the ‘institutions of the real’⁵⁵.

The ‘historiography’ part of the article Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences begins with an analysis of Institutional and political studies.

One of the first aspects discussed is a ‘paradigm shift’ occurred after the Second World War and the Holocaust, when scientists gradually had to shift their focus on ideological motives and social processes. The observation highlights the interconnection between reality and scientific inquiry and representations. The ‘backdrops’ of the early policy, namely ‘social darwinism and racial overtones’, are shown to reflect on the quality of earlier research in the same terms. (Minde, 2003: 3) Henry shows how in the light of this ideological and social emphasis shift, the role played by the school in the policy of norwegianisation transcends the area of language research, and leads instead to a focus on social processes inside and outside the schoolroom. Henry relies on previous research on the topic, the thesis of Anton Hoëm (Makt og kunnskap, Oslo, 1976), which demonstrated how the central power has controlled the Sami community through the education system.

To me, the reference to Hoëm bears a triple significance: first, it moves the narrative from an emphasis on individual to collective in as much as it connects Henry’s

⁵⁴ White, H. *The Content of the Form: Narrating Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

⁵⁵ Michel de Certeau. *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.

work to the larger “meaning” of the concerns and investigations of ‘his’ time; secondly, it indicates an on-going discussion on the topic of the role of school and education in the process of norwegianisation in terms of state as a ‘centre of power’ and educational institutions as structures for infliction and perpetuation of oppression and violence; and, finally, it indicates that in spite of ‘shifts and turns’ of paradigm, the Western scientific research builds on previous research and in this respect Kuhn’s enunciation states that Knowledge in scientific communities is a system of professional institutions and consensus-models of knowledge and the state of knowledge represented by a "paradigm" reflects a consensus with the institutional power. However, there is a follow-up to this last aspect indicating revisionist patterns. By quoting the monograph ‘Den Finske fare’/‘The Finnish Menace’ (Universitetsforlaget, 1981) by Knut Einar Eriksen and Einar Niemi, - a break with the educationalists’ research paradigm of before due to the emphasis on the security issue, Henry indicates that his account of the Norwegian policy with respect to the Samis in 1850-1940 shall be based on Eriksen and Niemi’s book, but supplemented and modified by subsequent historical research.

A certain tension is felt with the emergence of these paradigm revisions, which I perceive in terms of Ricoeur’s ‘hermeneutics of suspicion’ (Paul Ricoeur. Freud and Philosophy: An Essay on Interpretation. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970). Ricoeur explains how in the case of metaphors or texts, where proverbs, eschatological sayings, and parables occur⁵⁶, there is a “is like” component in the narrative form of the parable (the model), and the “is not” in the way the narrative form is transgressed (the qualifier) by the intrusion of the extraordinary, unexpected or even scandalous detail. These duality component leads to the tension between the “closedness” of the narrative form and the “openness” of the metaphorical process. Again, the tension leads to the projection of a world in front of the text between the interpreter/hearer and the text itself whereby the referent of the parable becomes apparent. In our case, the tension is between what the reader knows (I or the members of the Sami Parliament⁵⁶) about the ‘norwegianisation’ policy before being acquainted with the whole content of the Assimilation... article and the announced element of novelty in Henry’s article

⁵⁶ Paul Ricoeur. *Biblical Hermeneutics*. Semeia 4, unknown binding, 1975

⁵⁶ Since they were the first audience the article was intended for (see the introduction to the article *Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences*)

represented by recent historical research. To follow Ricoeur's explanation and his dialectical approach to the text, there is his desire to avoid absolutizing either text or the interpreting self, which leads to an intrinsic "openness" regarding the meaning of a parable and, in fact, to all written texts where distanciation is present. In his desire to find meaning, not in the text itself, but in the subtext, Ricoeur, in fact, allows for an inescapable relativizing of the text's message. As the reader's context changes so does the world in front of the text and in reality the "is not" is allowed to dominate at the expense of the "is like." In reality the tension is finally resolved in favor of the "new meaning" generated in the flux between reader and text; an intrinsic destabilizing of the text's message and an associated relativizing of that message inevitably follows. The cathartic effect of such transformation of the audience expectation horizon and the *denuement* that is reached has been discussed in relation to Ande Somby's Some hybrids... speech as well. The difference is in the employment of the differentiation strategies: while Ande creates as he goes a contrasting parallel between an indigenous paradigm, i.e. the yoik, and a Western paradigm, i.e. Western music, to indicate the shortcomings of the second, Henry moves within the Western paradigm using new research from within the field of Western history (i. e. ultimately, Western science!), and within this paradigm he builds a system of contestation and challenge.

Until now, the sum up of Henry's declared goal of the study is to create a more nuanced re-presentation⁵⁸ of the norwegianisation process with rectifications brought in by fresh evidence and focus on social consequences. The outcome is expected to approximate better the truth of what has happened. However the understatement of sought objectivity does not impede the author to employ in the discourse a series of terms denoting emotion and perception: the 'grip' of the central state power on the Sami community is 'firm and profound' (Minde, 2003:3), the supporters of central authorities in the process are 'staunch' (Minde, 2003:3), the norwegianisation policy is said to have had a 'determined, continuous and long-lasting conduct' (Minde, 2003:3). The style is not exceedingly ornate, but the choice of adjectives (epithets) denotes a continuous concern with representing the actual set-up in practice and perception⁵⁹ of what could be

⁵⁸ See again Ricoeur's explanation about the 'logic of re-' as 'again' and 'against'.

⁵⁹ James Hillman, a critic of contemporary psychological life, writes, "psychic reality is inextricably involved with rhetoric. The perspective of soul is inseparable from the manner of speaking of soul, a manner which evokes soul, brings to life, and persuades us into a psychological perspective" (Brief Account. Dallas: Spring, 1983:19)

understood as an abstract thing, the state policy towards indigenous people and minorities.

In addition to Ricoeur's hermeneutics of suspicion with regard to Henry's discursive strategies in Assimilation..., but reading further through the chapter Studies of cultural and socio-cultural consequences, another aspect becomes obvious, namely, the history of the norwegianisation policy and process is paralleled by the history of research at the borders of several disciplines close to history. The field of education (i.e. pedagogy) was already talked about, so the focus moves on to socio-anthropological research. From the framework of the grand histoire, i.e. from the dominant Norwegian perspective, Henry's discourse changes the lenses of looking at reality and the eye of the reader needs to get accustomed with the dimensions of the petit histoire. Two local community monographs are mentioned: Johs Falkenberg's study of Laksefjord (1941) and Ivar Bjørklund's history of Kvænangen (1985). Compared to the narratives of the 'documentary' model of knowledge of the Grand Histoire, which limits the role of the imagination to the mechanical filling in the gaps, with this reference to monographs Henry could be pointing to the understanding that history studies are texts that rework 'reality', not mere sources that 'divulge' facts about reality.⁶⁰ Therefore the themes of investigation of the researchers change in time and together with them, the 'emplotment' and 'encodation of the facts contained in the chronicle as components of specific kinds of plot structures' (H. White. Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978: 83). Henry explains how in Ivar's monography the process of norwegianisation is regarded as 'ethnic cleansing'. This is how things become transparent: history is, in fact, historiography, meaning the transposition of the unprocessed 'record' of past events into a meaningful form, the narrativisation of history and 'mystifying strategy' insofar as rather than simply narrating events, the historian seeks to make the world speak itself and speak itself as a story' (H. White. The Content of the Form: Narrating Discourse and Historical Representation. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987). Once hinted at the impositions of formal coherence and emplotment of events, which presupposes selections and exclusions having to do with questions of authority and rule/law, the reader should by now be warned about the field

⁶⁰ La Capra, D., *History and Criticism*. London: Ithaca and Cornell University Press, 1985: 11, 18

of historiography as a mode of symbolic production with the same institutional constraints as the larger socio-economic system, as discussed by Michel de Certeau about the 'institutions of the real' (i.e. historiographic production):

The 'real' as represented by historiography does not correspond to the 'real' that determines its production. It hides, behind the picture of a past, the present that produces and organizes it [...] a mis-en-scène of a past actuality, that is, the historiographical discourse itself, occults the social and technical apparatus of the professional institution that produces it. The operation in question is rather sly: the discourse gives itself credibility in the name of the reality which is supposed to represent, but this authorized appearance of the 'real' serves precisely to camouflage the practice which in fact determines it. Representation thus disguises the praxis that organizes it. (de Certeau, 1986: 203)

The examples brought by Henry with Harald Eidheim's Master thesis of 1958, which thematised the problems of norwegianisation as an 'accumulation' of population in Inner Finmark, and what is rated as a 'classic study', namely When Ethnic Identity Becomes a Social Stigma by Harald Eidheim, indicate the manipulation of the 'real'. It is what White calls 'moralizing intentionality', i.e. the perspective implemented is the normativity of the 'Law'. Eidheim shows that it was not the 'real' history of the Sami, which was important, but rather the contemporary perception and experience of the Sami's past. Thus, in the historical discourse, what was supposed to quiet the 'dead' in the past allegedly serving the interest of a group in power (the Norwegian minority represented by the central power of the state), allows the Sami to speak 'in the present'. Thus, what is not explicitly indicated in the historical account, namely the meta-textual consideration regarding the institutional practices monopolizing truth, becomes of paramount significance for the discursive moment in Henry's article. It is an opportunity for a paradigm shift as described by Kuhn. Further on Henry indicates a *lack* in representing (re-constructing) the norwegianisation process: the lack of 'comprehensive monographs of the consequences of the assimilation process', the lack of discussion about it (being 'taboo-ridden'), the lack of collected information, the lack of trust in people to share their

norwegianisation experience and so on. All these ‘voids’ signaled by Henry are made meaningful because it has already been hinted at what is missing from the ‘picture’ with the account of ‘doxified’ history. The selected ‘facts’ pertaining to doxified history and the transgressed ‘real-historical’ alternatives bring about a ‘process of mutual review’ (Wolfgang Iser. Staging Politics. Columbia University Press, 1993: 6); it can be ascertained that foreground and background do not cancel each other. On the contrary, ‘doxified’ history is re-inscribed in its alternatives to a certain extent as a shadowy foil.

If the reader doubts what concerns the missing pieces of the puzzle, Henry offers the example of an interview with an elderly couple from Skånland in South Troms:

When the wife said that the teacher ‘laughed at’ or ‘mimicked’ them because they knew only the Sami language when they started school (in the 1920s), her husband interrupted her with the following reminder: *‘Enough has been said now. Let me tell you, your story has been so thorough and correct that you need not add neither A nor B’*. (Henry Minde’s collection of interviews from Stuuranjárga, recorded 27.11.1990 in Minde, 2003: 5)

I believe that this is how Henry opens up the discussion about the concealment (vs. openness) of valuable eye-witness information at the encounter between a dominant culture and a minority culture due to historical trauma and silencing of ‘voices’ caused by long-term repressive state policy. By quoting a woman, Henry moves even further the lens on gender groups less represented by the Western discourse (see Spivak on colonialist texts in Mills, Sara. Discourse. The New Critical Idiom. London and New York: Routledge, 1997: 120)

The solution for opening up a dialogue is sought in the development of adequate methodologies, inter-disciplinary, with an ethical approach to the collected material (which can be proved harmful for the informant, according to Jens-Ivar Nergård, Det skjulte Nord-Norge, ad Notam, Gyldendal, 1994 in Minde, 2002:5)

In order to reconstruct a world, the selected historical ‘realness’ must be ‘derestricted’ and arranged into new intertextual constellations. This means that historical characters or events, for instance, are recoded as signifiers in a parallel ‘world’, but again

the logic of doubling pre-empts a total separation between the suspended reference and the performative reference of 'figuration'. The relational networks established in the text are constantly overstepped by these often mutually contradictory historical references, which in a sense reverse the undermining effect of 'historiographic metafiction'. Thus the fictionalized 'history' is kept in a state of indeterminacy, or in Ricoeur's words, of 'ontological flickering'. By visibly contradicting the public record of 'official' history produced/written up to a point, by flaunting anachronisms, the tension between the two versions induces 'a form of ontological flicker between the two worlds: one moment, the original version seems to be eclipsed by the apocryphal version; the next moment, it is the apocryphal version that seems mirage-like, the official version appearing solid, irrefutable. (Brian McHale, *Postmodernist Fiction*, Methuen, New York, 1987: 90)

Assimilation Stages. Emplotment of Events Under Focus

To continue with Henry's discursive practices, in the following I show how the change of perspective or ideology of the historian turns a time span into a period of consolidation or culmination. Therefore the symbolic action of manipulating understanding of time and events allowed by the historical production is pictured as unlimited if it were not for the deontological commitment of history as a discipline doubled by the 'legacy' of the Sami victims.

As a next step in his article, Henry puts together a chronology for the norwegianisation policy, with development phases and analysis of means and effects. He covers a period of time that has been investigated before in history studies, but for the same time span he identifies four phases of norwegianisation policy: the transitional phase (1850-1870), the consolidation phase (1870-1905), the culmination phase (approx. 1905-1950) and the termination phase (approx. 1950-1980). It is shown how after the establishment of the Norwegian state in 1814, the humanistic and romantic ideas of the time caused many books in Sami to be written and the Sami language to be put on an equal footing with the Norwegian language. However, class clashes, namely pressure from the 'Norwegian upper class of Finnmark' (Minde, 2002: 6) the Storting has subsequently toughened his approach on the Sami in 'transitional districts' primarily.

Figures from the Historisk Statistikk /Historical Statistics 1978 (quoted from Bjørg Larsson, Finnefondet – Et fornorskningsinstrument, unpublished master thesis in history, Tromsø University, 1989) are interpreted and it is thus demonstrated how a special item in the Norwegian national budget termed ‘Finnefondet’/The Lapp Fund, meant to promote the teaching of Norwegian in transitional districts and ‘to ensure the enlightenment of the Sami people’, was then larger than the amount allocated for the Sami issues today. Moreover it is discussed how other budget items, such as those for road construction, were intended for the same border districts and finally working with the same effect as the ‘Finnefondet’.

This is another case of difference pointing to an unbalance of forces and claiming rectification of paradigm and policy.

For the consolidation phase, sources like the socio-anthropologist Ivar Bjørklund’s monography Fjordfolket i Kværningen (Universitetsforlaget,1985), Larsson’s thesis Finnefondet – Et fornorskningsinstrument (Tromsø University, 1989) and the education researcher Helge Dahl’s Språkpolitikk og skolestell i Finnmark 1814 til 1905 (Oslo, 1957) are evoked. Henry’s ‘programme’ to employ a cross-disciplinary perspective for the analysis of the norwegianisation is already taking shape. The findings are as follows: during this period incentives have been established for the teachers who could prove good results in their students’ ‘change of language’; a new school instruction system was introduced in 1898 – the Wexelsen decree – meant to reduce even further the use of Sami almost to total absence (students being denied the right to speak Sami even during school breaks); work prohibition on ethnic grounds has become an institutionalised measure; building of boarding schools around Finnmark country aimed at isolating pupils from their home environments; Sami and Finnish courses at Tromsø seminar were terminated; tuition scholarship for pupils of Sami or Kven background were abolished; and teaching methods designed to ensure assimilation were preferred and proliferated by education institutions. The two reasons for the above measures, which have been pointed at and justified by now in history, are, as indicated by Henry: an increased fear of the ‘Finnish menace’ (Henry’s choice of words here recalling Eriksen and Niemi’s study!) and the attention given to the dissolution with Sweden. These attitudes round up the causes for the norwegianisation policy: on one side, ethnic issues

of Darwinist nature, and, on the other side, the security fears of the state. The government invoked reason of *'welfare for the vast minority'* (from the 1907 statement of Bernt Thomassen, Director of Schools, to the Ministry in Minde, 2003: 10) is cast aside to be discussed in terms of manipulative centres of power instead, in connection with the Ministry tightening of the control of schools.

Ricoeur acknowledges that objectivity in historical representation is ultimately a question of how the facts related (and emplotted) by various accounts interlock or, to add a further twist, are *made* to interlock and concur by the historian (Paul Ricoeur, 'Time and Narrative', vol. 1, translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1984: 176) This also relates to our previous references to Foucault and Kuhn. The conflictual 'double allegiance' of the historian, both to plotting (and to plot-types) and to 'the past' (i.e. facts from reliable documents and other sources), is inscribed in the trace and logic of the analogue (the past *is* and *is not* as represented). Thus, in spite of the intentional (and to a certain extent, referential) specificity in history writing, this cannot escape the meshes of textuality and discursive mediation. 'This implies that the only instruments that he (the historian) has for endowing his data with meaning, of rendering the strange familiar and of rendering the mysterious past comprehensible, are the techniques of figurative language' (H. White, The Historical Text as Literary Artifact, in Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozicki, Eds., The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978: 56) It is the figurative language that points to the historian's intentions in the 'manipulation' of knowledge about facts/reality and the conscious discursive choices he makes.

The period of time between approximately 1905 and 1950 is called by Henry 'the culmination phase'. Eriksen and Niemi had described the beginning of the period as a time when the 'measures previously launched were consolidated and ideologies were firmly cemented' (Eriksen and Niemi, 1981:323) with regard to the state security policy. Here it is obvious how, with the change of perspective, of 'ideology' followed up by the historian, the same time span becomes a time of consolidation or culmination.

Following the development of the Finnefondet/Sami Fund, in another instance of discursive staging, Henry says the amounts have been doubled. No reference is made

here, but one presumes the financial data results from the same Historical Statistics quoted before. The intention behind this great increase of money going into the Finnefondet is revealed in an omniscient manner: the money was meant to cover the government's boarding school initiative. What follows in terms of word choice, has the reader envisage the events and emplot them in terms of a spy-story, but a 'see-through' one. The 'secret' character of the government decisions regarding the Sami Fund is revealed by the narrator who is pointing to the change of name into a more 'neutral' name 'Special grants for elementary schools in Finnmark's rural districts' in the year 1921 with the intention to camouflage it (Minde 2002: 11) since according to source quoted before (Larsson, 1989) although the ways in which the money were spent did not change. The underlining of the terms 'neutral' and 'camouflage' is ours and our intention was to emphasize the semantic aura created by these words, leading to the realms of 'mystery' and expectations of the readers to have it revealed.⁶¹ It is thus that the world of the text and the world of the reader intersect and interpenetrate, thereby remoulding the latter's horizon of existence. It is crucial to understand at this point how, at the same time, the historical narratives aim primarily at stabilizing their referential field and this entails a violent encroachment on the 'object'. Ricoeur argues that the reader is finally expected to understand what distinguishes historical narratives from fictional ones: one can ascribe certain intentionality to the former in as much as historian's constructions, at least according to the deontology of the discipline, are meant to be truthful reconstructions as well. (Ricoeur, Time and Narrative, vol.3, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1988:142)

Another red thread in Henry's text is the emphasis on real-life figures in the historical account of events. Edward Said said that colonial discourse operated by making discursive structures anonymous, beyond human agency, so it was almost impossible to blame any individual agent for their part in imperialism. I believe that indigenous researchers like Henry point out to the fact that, whilst individuals cannot be held responsible for the large scale organization and effects of colonialism and norwegianisation, in our case, it is also clear that individuals differed in degrees to which they participated in the assimilation processes. What happens in Henry's text is that

⁶¹ On the same page of Henry's article he also speaks of 'underhand justifications for the introduction of new measures'. (Minde, 2003: 11)

human figures stand for the ‘human’/real life representations of the institutionalized government power. However their names are given always in connection with the position occupied by them in the ministry (i.e. state power system) and eventual connection with ideologies that might have influenced their decision making, for example, the Director of Schools and ‘well-known Liberal Party sympathizer’ Bernt Thomassen in the year 1902, or Chr. Brygfjeld – one of Thomassen’s successors in the office of the School Directors and the chief inspector of norwegianisation measures from 1923 to 1935.

These figures dramatize further the narrative. They are quoted from written sources, but their narrative ‘voices’ speaking from Ministry documents⁶² (letters, reports, statements) or Storting deliberations⁶³, ‘come to life’ being paralleled by similar ‘voices’ from Henry’s interviews collection (interviews from Stuuranjarga, recorded on 27.11.1990 and quoted by Minde, 2003: 5) this time of Sami people who have been subjected to the process of norwegianisation. This makes the reader take ‘personally’, i.e. think in terms of ‘quantifying’ human qualities, when the discussion about the Sami and the Kven in terms of ‘racial superiority of the later as believed and taken into considerations in the measures applied by the education system in the inter-war period (Minde, 2002:12).

Later the differential treatment was no longer applied, as shown by the Elementary School Act of 1936. That was the occasion when the explanation for the Sami being allowed to use their language, as opposed to the Kven, was based on their ‘indigenous people’ status. (Minde, 2003: 12) There was only one previous instance when Henry discussed the relative ‘power’ of the Sami people and their influence on the norwegianisation process, and that was when referring to the Sami mobilization and its effect on the justifications of the Finnmarksnemden/The Finnmark Board after 1931, which became consequently ‘*underhand*’ justifications (Minde, 2003: 11). Henry had investigated the theme in detail in the article The Sami Movement, the Norwegian Labour Party and Saami Rights (in L’image de l’autre, Vol. 2.16. Congres International des Sciences Historique, Stuttgart, 1985: 402-443).

⁶² Thomassen’s words are quoted from a Ministry statement from 1907 and quoted by Eriksen and Niemi, 1991:114 (Minde, 2003: 10)

⁶³ Director General Hertzberg of the Ministry’s words are quoted from Storting deliberations 1878 II, annex 12 (Minde, 2003: 9)

Up to this stage in the article, Henry's Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences has provided the discursive elements for the reader to see what historians, metahistorians and philosophers have persuasively argued and demonstrated, namely that historical knowledge must content itself with a recourse to other texts and 'traces' (in the broad sense and there is a need for identifying these sources further).

'Voice' as Discursive Strategy

I come again to the paradigm shift away from the Enlightenment idea of scientific objectivity to explain why the Sami paradigm is a valuable solution. Henry's article indicates that the Sami paradigm does not simply replace the old paradigm with a new form of dualism, in claiming that the Sami experience represents the Truth that has been hidden. Both Ande and Henry imply that the Sami view is more truthful, but there is a difference between claiming Truth and claiming truths through the integrity of personal experience.

The norwegianisation strategy is documented in the tradition of the Grand Histoire: we follow a chronological account, with hierarchies and dichotomies. The second part of the article chooses to say not The Truth, but a self-representation with the help of various individuals' memory.

The manner in which the narration of the 'termination phase' events (approx. 1950-1980) develops, describing the dissolution of norwegianisation violence structures, such as the Wexelsen decree, but with an emphasis on the self-image damage brought about by the publicly expressed racist attitudes, paves the way to the challenge of the 'doxified' historical accounts by the accounts of Sami people who have been through the experience of the boarding schools.

These people's testimonies show how knowledge is not a 'learned reflection on the world, but rather shapes the world in particular ways, for particular interests' (Rigney, 1999:115). When writing about personal testimonies in indigenous communities, Linda Tuhiwai Smith emphasizes the formality that comes with it, the understanding that a painful truth is being revealed and there is a structure of the testimony which allows the space and protection for a voice to be heard (Smith, 2002:144). What these people choose

to say about their experiences has nothing to do with any investigation format. They are individual 'voices' who make their own choices about how to speak for themselves with their own means. No pre-existing formulas seem to be capable to accommodate this process. 'While the listener may ask questions, testimonies structure the responses, silencing certain types of questions and formalizing others' (Smith, 2002:144) What do these personal testimonies stand for? Could they point at the fate of traditional academic theories and practices as a drama of bad representations and communication fallacies? These peoples' accounts are built on little or no theory, but more on persuasion and suspension of disbelief because they stand for how individuals have perceived facts, how they have experienced them from their point of view, which is what really counts. (That is not to say that one should ignore these peoples' methods of reality construction.!) Why are these peoples' discourses more legitimate in its persuasive attempts than the discourses of history and anthropology? It is because they are empowered by the authenticity of a lived experience. In our discussion-interview, Henry stated:

When you are actually asking what that [i.e. the assimilation] implicated for their living conditions and their culture and the people's thinking about their own self-esteem and so on, you have to talk to people and see how they talk about this. And they can lie and they can tell the truth – everything's actually interesting. (my discussion interview with Henry, 2004: 8)

Henry does not deny the fact that memory cannot be trusted or entrusted with more than what it is, namely an account of a subjective self-representation. What do these testimonies bring new to the historical discourse about the indigenous peoples? It is chiefly the understanding that without real interest and empathy, representations are but cheap fakes of the reality.

Similarly, by connecting his own existence and feelings to the expression of feelings in these testimonies, Henry points towards the need for authenticity in his life also.

...if you are interested and if you are born indigenous people yourself, it is naturally that you're interested to really understand how the people in this culture are trying to manage their own life and economy and social life, and how they are. (my discussion interview with Henry, 2004: 11)

And, yes, there might be contradiction between what he strives for and the reality in which he lives, or the reality of historiography as it is at the moment, but paradigms are to be negotiated. How does the historical paradigm come to be revised? I have shown how historians interested in revising accepted knowledge depend on a wide variety of sources to draw a picture of an event or period and if some of that evidence is contradictory, then respectful scholarly debate ensues; if new evidence surfaces, then the historical record gets revised. However attention should be paid to those deniers who take such 'battles' to extremes and use the barest of evidence of one contradiction, for example, to discount entire arguments and human tragedies. (see the analysis of the case of Holocaust deniers Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?, by Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2002)

Conclusion

In Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences my impression is that Henry's strategy consists of an initial review of the process of norwegianisation as it has been reflected by historical, educational and socio-anthropological studies written previously in a truncated manner; these pieces he re-considers, re-arranges and adds a dramatic touch to the puzzle with a feature of real life characters employed in state structure key positions; and making heard these 'voices' of the state power, he creates a need for balance and consequently for 'voices' of those subjected to the process of norwegianisation to tell what has happened from the perspective of the eye-witness and victim. Henry admits in the interview that the accounts of the eye-witnesses are not the ultimate truth, but the attempt of recuperating this experience is a moral duty.

Following the means by which the local indigenous discourse of the Sami researchers surpasses the immediate context, concluding the analysis of Assimilation..., I can say that the texts of my two interviewees mutually reinforce each other. I indicated with Ande how indigenous performance and demonstrated dynamism negates the Western colonialist allegiance that indigenous peoples, and the Sami people, live in the past. This play with the time dimension relates to both history and politics. On one hand, I have explained how indigenous aliveness contradicts the Western historiographic representations of the indigenous reality as backward, uncivilized, incompatible with the present; here Henry's article brings more nuances (with criticism of old historiographic sources and introduction of new sources of information on the indigenous experience) to the theme of indigenous variety and dynamism introduced by Ande. On the other hand, the very same indigenous statement of 'aliveness' serves political purposes in claiming rights for the indigenous peoples in present day contexts as opposed to stereotyped representations or contextualisations of the past; and here Ande's text enlarges significantly with legal details (e.g. Parliament, social and civil status for the Sami, court cases and decisions) the theme introduced by Henry's indication that his report was requested by the Sami Parliament. The fact that an indigenous institution, working closely with the Storting and interacting directly with international bodies, was requested Henry's research and article indicates already that the researcher's activity is being heard in political arenas. Ande shows how the direct impact on the legal scene and how

paradigms shifts could take place, are already taking place, or have been operated recently in the administrative, social and political structures of the society.

The article Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences manages to accomplish a number of things. It draws a fuller picture of the norwegianisation process. Moreover it provides an alternative avenue for people to learn about the government strategy and the effects it had on the Sami people. The article further indicates how truth can be manipulated or obstructed by ideology. In terms of knowledge systems, it shows how a professional historian has been revising and revealing knowledge about the norwegianisation in the light of fresh evidence and interpretation that more closely approximates the truth of what happened.

Like in Henry's article, when drawing to an end, the competing 'stories' point to the story that has not been told yet in my study: the final conclusion.

Conclusion

As my thesis title indicates, the present study is developed on the general theme of cultural mediation and my cases are works of two Sami researchers, Ande Somby and Henry Minde, from Tromsø University.

My understanding of cultural mediation is epitomized by the critical paradigm of the shaman, which I employ, on one hand, to analyze the versatile role of the two researchers at the encounter between cultures and, on the other hand, to indicate that the representations of peoples or events are not a frozen fact of culture, but a transformative stance. Therefore I regard my interviewees, their work and their challenge of the Western scientific discourse on the indigenous peoples as stances in a larger process. This larger process is the mobilization of the indigenous peoples on both global and local level. This approach is reflected in my theoretical and methodological framework. On one hand, to refer to the dynamic stances, I rely on discourse analysis (where the concept of discourse is 'used to describe a structure which extends beyond the boundaries of the sentence',

Mills, 1997: 131-132) and reader response theory (where Iser's translatability and 'recursive looping' provide a dynamic critical paradigm for the process). On the other hand, to relate to the larger picture of indigenous mobilization, I rely on colonial and post colonial (Said, Krupat), poststructuralist and postmodernist (Foucault, McHale, White, Ricoeur, de Certeau) and indigenous theories and methodologies (Smith, Kuokkanen, Gaski). What I wanted to emphasize, to paraphrase James Ramsey (in Blaeser: 1996: 145), is that cultural mediation is a continuing process of the mind, not a step towards compromise or reconciliation.

Another important feature in my study was represented by the ethical attitude towards my interviewees and their texts. I used the discussion interviews with them as a means to verify my understanding of their work. Moreover, I employed autobiographical methods (Watson and Smith) to move away from the Enlightenment idea of scientific detachment and reflect on how much of myself I was writing in the study. I wrote my study so that theory never disappears from it, but the analysis goes into details of text and reality, and becomes personal and intimate with the text. The reader has been warned: my perspective was announced as subjective, microscopic and ethical. This project has taught me to foreground my voice and my reflexivity.

Still with regard to my writing, the reader might have noticed irregularities and differences in my approach and style at various stages in the study. The differences are triggered by the different styles and discursive strategies employed in the articles and interviews, to which I wanted to be truthful. Therefore at times, my writing is more demonstrative and employing more discursive artifice compared to other instances when I express ideas with an economy of means. These differences should not be judged against a 'norm', but, in the same understanding of cultural mediation, as instances in my thought process on the indigenous researchers work.

The strategies employed by these researches are interesting and have fully engaged my attention. In my opinion, in their analysis the accent should return all the time to the power relations they depict, which connects them in a challenge to the Western paradigm, and not on the differences that set them apart. It is in this that the subversive power of the representational/discursive strategies of these texts resides rather than in the moments of disjuncture.

By showing also the ways in which the articles are different, my intention was to indicate that the indigenous challenge of the Western scientific discourse on the indigenous peoples is not a homogenous group of texts, bearing one single message. But on the contrary, this discourse is heterogeneous and maybe those who expected a unified, undifferentiated indigenous discourse will be disappointed. Nevertheless they should see the gain in this presentation: viewing the texts as undercurrents from a different range of discourses allows one to read the challenge on the Western scientific discourse as containing destabilizing elements working in many directions, therefore making the contestation a more powerful tool.

With regard to the content of the two articles, in my analysis I have emphasized the recurring themes: history and historiography, language, narrative, *petit/grand histoire*, self-determination, land, schools, personal, emotional and political elements of the 'real' and historical reconstruction of Enlightenment boundaries. I have tried to indicate the similarities between my two interviewees in treating these topics throughout my study. With regard to the discursive practices they employed, I have concentrated on traces belonging to the post-colonialist context manifest in the challenge of the Western scientific discourse on the indigenous peoples. There are features I identified as belonging to the following framework of thought: the intention to break free from the power relations of colonialism and instate a paradigm shift from Western scientific practices, a manifestation of these power relations. I have mostly followed their demonstrations which point to the ways describing the Western norm as anomalous. However there are also features which are innovations: aspects of the Sami culture are being mediated and they were not discussed previously by the Western discourse; similarly both Ande and Henry employ discursive practices which are not built by opposition to the Western ones. Therefore the texts are not only a challenge to the Western scientific discourse on the indigenous peoples, but there are expressions of the author's personal beliefs and creativity. I want to acknowledge this aspect too.

I explain the challenge brought by the indigenous researchers to the Western scientific discourse on the indigenous peoples by symbolic action to point to the intention behind the strategy, namely the will to move inside the Western system of thought and subvert it from within firstly by assigning new meanings to the old forms, to be finally

replaced by something new. The researchers develop tools to indicate that the Western scientific discourse on the indigenous peoples, as reflected by theories and power structures, is faulty. The Western symbolic representations of the indigenous are usually measured up against indigenous realities and they loose. The discursive strategy to trigger this effect, which connects Ande and Henry, is the 'staging' or 'performing' mode. With these being said, I think I have answered the first main research question I had at the start of the project.

The second main question and the last referred to the way in which the local indigenous discourse impacts on the global discourse and how much of the local discourse is informed or inspired by the global. With respect to this, I have indicated that both texts I was engaged with were discourses meant to reach the global level either directly, considering the case of Ande's speech presented at an international indigenous symposium; or indirectly, through the medium of an institution, if considering the case of Henry's article presented as an informative note to the Sami Parliament, known to report permanently to international forums on the situation of the indigenous peoples and the progress that is made in all directions. The fact that Henry's article was written for the occasion of the new Sami Fund creation, with the significance of a change of Western paradigm in the Norwegian state structures and thought, is reassuring for the consequences of indigenous research and its distribution, which legitimates the growth in interest for the Indigenous Studies as an academic field. Its place in academia and the strategies employed by the Indigenous Studies field to promote indigenous realities announces to be a rich domain of investigation for the future.

And with these being said, I hereby end my story.

APPENDIX 1.

TRANSCRIPT OF DISCUSSION-INTERVIEW WITH ANDE SOMBY

The meeting took place on October 6th, 2004, 8:00 a.m. in Ande Somby's office (Law Faculty, Tromsø University).

It was my first visit to Ande's office. I was impressed with the natural look of the room: next to the door there is a bench (bed?) covered by a woolen blanket with traditional motives that reminded me of the interior of many Romanian countryside houses. My grandparents used to have a similar bench, which they were taking out in the summer, placing it under an old tree. Although children were not allowed to sleep there, we have spent many nights watching the stars while lying on it late at night.

The walls of the office: bookshelves carrying hundreds of volumes. (The room is quite big). I feel comfortable surrounded by books: my room home had over 2,000 volumes 'wallpapering' it.

The pc, the telephone and the desk were the only reminders that we were actually in an office.

I took out the article I had prepared for the discussion and showed it to Ande. He seemed not to recognize it at first which made me a little nervous. Intriguing...Another story-telling strategy? Smile.

Mirona: This text is like a yoik: you don't have a beginning or an end. I found this article in the Sami Centre when we first arrived in Norway, I read it and found it interesting as structure and kept it. And later on, after I studied I went back to it and I was wondering if you remember the article... I don't know if it has been published because it looks to me more like a contribution to a conference.

Ande: Yeah I guess it is not... published – I guess... (Ande is looking at the article)

M: I have found it in this form.

A: Yes yes... I don't even remember where I have given this presentation.

M: What is really my question... it refers to the structure of the speech. Because you are introducing yourself in the beginning and you say that it is going to be an explanation of the legal system of the Sami in Norway, but also that it has the structure of the yoik.

A: Hmmm...

M: So you introduce yourself as a yoiker as well as a part of the legal system in Norway. And the reason why I ask about why you presented it like this is because I am interested in the background of the article, the occasion when you presented it, and what made you structure it as a yoik.

A: Well, I slightly recall that it is an article presented in... the Sovereignty Symposium in Oklahoma in 1994, I guess it was. And I always have this philosophy when giving presentations and when lecturing that I shall bring with me both the requirements that the academic society requires from me - to have the information and the academic structuring of the information - and then I have the project to use my own cultural background. And the reason why I have chosen to have this as a priority is that I have seen so many of the Sami academic people that, when they go to the university, they – so to speak – leave the Sami ways, that the Sami way becomes (n.n. to them) some sort of chaotic thing, for example, the stories about ghosts, the stories about the Keepers of the Land, and also the yoiks and many other things that are genuine to the Sami way. So that is the starting point for this two-folded project. To be both a Sami person in a cultural sense means that you have to know three arts: one art is yoiking, the other art is story-telling and the third art is to imitate people's voices and how people talk. And this is not an easy project to have because the academic world is pretty strict. And so is the Sami world, pretty strict on the forms and on the substance. But I have sort of tried to make my formula to do that and one of the things in that formula is that I use the dramaturgy of the yoik as a way to structure, for example, a lecture or a presentation, and even series of lectures. And

sometimes I succeed with that. But other times, then... I guess people who already are in the academia, maybe they are a bit more confident. But students used to react to that sometimes. From time to time. It's not always. And the reaction used to be that 'the lectures had a lack of structure'. Actually I saw from the evaluation of the Master Programme that the students react a little bit to the way... (The phone rings.)

M: Maybe I did not become aware of this until I have started to read for this thesis, but I realized that what happens at the moment both in the scientific and in the traditional field is that people realize more and more that everything is more of a process than a linear thing. You also mention this aspect in your article. And I saw Thomas Kuhn's book on your shelf. I have also read it... I was really happy that a scientist has realized that we are not getting - in a way - anymore closer to the truth, we are just developing a way of discussing, of explaining what we do and what we know about the world.

A: Yes. That's a... so good, so true. But even with these small obstacles to this two-folded project I have decided to keep it going and sort of being...

I guess that the most conservative part will be the students. And the reason for that is that the students are in a situation when they are not so confident at the university...

That has been my project. And then the characteristics, what makes these things that they differ from each other. You have already mentioned the linear structure and the cyclic structure. And it has... I guess... yoiks and songs are more than yoiks and songs. They can also be metaphors of how we structure time. So regular songs have a linear structure with a beginning and an end.

M: Eliade is saying the same thing about the myth: that it is a story about something that happened a long time ago, but it is also a thing in itself since it develops a different time dimension, it speaks of an older time...and also the ritual of telling the story (that the myth comprises of) becomes a story in itself, a happening. I like it. There are many definitions of the myth, but I like Eliade's definition because it also describes that there is more of a spiral than a circle, it is the changing process of whatever you say once, and twice and three times, because you come to understand more about it.

It is also about the ceremonial that you are – again! - mentioning in the text.

A: Yes I have also been looking at Eliade's understanding (going to the bookshelf).

M: Has he been translated? Is this (the book Ande has on his bookshelf) the French or the Norwegian version?

A: Yes, the Norwegian...

M: I did not know that he has been translated into Norwegian.

A: It is very interesting. And, you know, to have had small children once, it is so interesting because you line up a lot of children's books and when you plan to go through them with your child and then you realize that the child will like the first book and they have to read it over and over and over again. Because if you try to negotiate, to say: 'What do you say? Shall we take the second book now?' Then the child will say: 'But, Father, couldn't we take the first one first?'

M: Does it mean that they learn less by taking the first book so many times, by hearing the first story many times?

A: I don't think so. I think that it's a kind of human need to hear the stories all over again. And I guess that this is very distinct in cultures like the Sami culture and the indigenous peoples' cultures, but I guess... or I think... in my perspective, I think that also the academic society – when they find a good story – they tell and retell that many times.

M: We've been taught in pedagogy that this is the learning process: you have to read something many times until you learn. But I was wondering, because I hear with many students this, and maybe with the academics also: 'I have heard this before', 'The professor did not bring anything new – I've heard this before.' I wonder sometimes if this happens because many of us have been brought up without listening to stories that often

and parents don't have time to read stories to children anymore. And so they are not interested in the process (of telling stories) anymore, they are just interested in the information, and not in contextualizing the information and getting the logic of it, and the context of it, and the bigger picture.

A: I think you have a very very interesting observation there. And you can hear it even more distinct when you hear people telling jokes. So, in a linear world, if people are in a linear world they will say: 'I've heard this joke before.' But in a cyclic world, you will have heard this joke before, but you will sit there and wonder how is this joke going to be used now. And then you hear it retold once more. But maybe this is one of the pains for the people who transfer from the circular world, cyclic world to the linear world.

M: The reason why I was thinking about these formal questions: I was wondering... I was telling you about my project... and what I'm planning to do is to take some articles from different fields that are different due to the field they are approaching, due to the 'voices' of their authors, their background and so on, and I am going to write about them first to show the importance of telling (the same story twice) because more or less they are talking about the same events. I think also that it is important for people to understand why the same story is taken from so many angles and, at the same time, it is still important to tell it over and over again and once brought in, what is the difference that it makes. And also regarding the disciplines, there is always this competition in a way. For instance, I do not have brothers and sisters – unfortunately, but I grew up surrounded by cousins and neighbours, and one of them became an engineer and he is always teasing me saying: 'You are going to do a PhD in your Humanities and what is going to come out of it? It's the end of the world! If you were to do a 'PhD' in Engineering, you'd build a better machine, but if you do a PhD in the Humanities, there is no meaning to it. What is the point? Do they teach you to speak nicely to people?' And when I told them what I am studying here – of course they don't see the point of me studying until such an old age. They think I should be at home, having a family and 'minding my own business'. And when I told them (n.n. what I am studying), they were saying: 'What is the point? What change can you make by studying these issues?' They don't see, and, people in general,

even at home, have been taught to be happy with what they have and not to ask for more. I have been talking with Victoria, the student from Zambia, and she was saying that this is maybe because we come from poor families and we have always been taught not to ask for more because your family cannot offer it to you. And it is the same home: people are taught to be happy with what they have:... 'don't ask for anything (more) because you will rock the boat'. Nothing good will come out of it. So I had to speak to these people home and explain that very often telling stories can come to legal consequences. Because I think that in the legal field it is more obvious how stories can come to real changes. That is why I have started with the form of your article. Because it is a story. Of course, it addresses really important issues regarding the legal system and historical events.

A: My response would have been that we live in a very dramatic time in human history now. One thing is that we have an explosion in the concept of text – texts are not what they were. And we have realized... somehow we have realized that the text – texts have always been technology. Books are as they are due to the printing technology and before that writing was due to the pen and paper technology. So that technology is an important part. And now we see it very dramatically over the internet – that technology is in a sort of reconfiguring medias for information. Because we have been used that the books shall be the media for our information. And on the other hand, we are realizing that there is so much important knowledge from the past that has many valuable aspects: people know the stars, how they are moving, and they know a lot of biological things, technological things, about strategies – how they solve conflicts -, and many more things: how animals behave and different other processes that happen in the world, and so on. And that is a goal: to preserve all this knowledge. The problem is that this knowledge is preserved in other (different?) types of stories. And stories are a way to structure your information and therefore we live in a time when it is so important to work with stories because that can keep the gateways both to how we can look – read the past so to speak, but also what kind of scenarios we are going to need in order to make a good thing of this technological explosion for we can say that the concept of text is exploding in two ends and one of the important activities is exactly to look at the stories and how they work as a carrier of information values.

M: What ... At some point in your article was so that you were hinting at some concepts, how they're employed in legal texts – like the concept of being a Sami, what makes you a Sami, and, from a concept, by trying to show the variety in it, the variety of what fits into that concept which tries to be very clear in a way, you start to tell a story, the story that is behind the words in a way. It seems to me that it's showing also that everything is a process: one word cannot mean only one thing all the time; being a Sami means essentially the same, but when you start explaining it you tell a different story in different contexts, is that so?

A: That is so true, that is the way I have been using the Sami, to link the Sami way. Because also the academia has this need of communication. I always went lecturing or giving presentations, I never forget that that is the oral communication. And oral communication follows a different logic, different from written communication. And the logic of oral communication is, for example, to have the competence of improvisation rather than the competence of planning. That, if you get a question out of the audience, you have to be able to respond to that; and that you can illustrate academic points by telling stories. And that's also due to the fact that it will never be impossible to read what is given in a presentation and because, one thing is, that the presentation's aim is just to stimulate people to go and study: 'Go and study this! And go and study that!' That is when you have succeeded in your presentation.

M: Maybe the reason why the students, or some of the students, have been confused regarding your lectures, I think it's because we might have started feeling like children when they are listening to stories: you always expect to know how did something happen and not everything is in the story. Also there is something that I remember when we started to study in faculty about postmodernism, the professor came with so many definitions and so many new approaches, and we were so disappointed at the end of the course, because we had been studying for a year and we still had no clue about what postmodernism was. It's all part of the process of learning because you feel at some point

that 'well... I've been listening, but I still feel like I don't know anything about... and well, I have been learning and I still don't know anything...'

A: Yes, that is... the expectation is to be fed. But if one succeeds, then you have not fed the students. You have rather stimulated their hunger. So the thing is that they shall be even more hungry when they leave you than they were. You don't expect that people can leave the table and do other businesses, while you are sort of talking about the food and how to process the food in order to get the best delicious...

M: Of course, there are many recipes. The ingredients are the same, but there are many recipes.

A: Ha ha... Yes, that's a good metaphor. So... And it's not so easy to communicate that.

M: I think that is also what is expected more from art than from science. When you speak of academia, you expect people to come and tell the square lines, and show how things clearly work, the clear-cut mechanisms and no exceptions to the rule. And if there are a couple, they only prove that there is a rule.

A: Yes. That is, I guess, the shape of the old good old days. There were also good old days for the arts. That the arts... pictures were very clear cut. And... But I guess that learning how complicated the world can be...

M: Do you think you're telling a different story in English than you'd be telling if you were speaking Sami or Norwegian? And I also refer to your text because at some point you're saying that you're going to give your presentation in English and it's going to be what most often used in the world – i.e. 'broken English' – what I am also speaking, being Romanian, so not a native speaker.

A: Yes. (Agreeing and laughing loudly)

M: I wonder if you feel the story is changing, if you are using the language like an artistic means in a way that shapes also the way you're telling the story.

A: Of course, of course, it will! Because one level is the obvious that Sami is the water where I swim in the most convenient way. And then Norwegian. And then English. And then you will, of course, have different audiences. Sami speaking audiences are much more different than English or Norwegian speaking audiences. But then it is so interesting because there are communalities between the Sami speaking and the English speaking. I think that the English were always most far away, but I use more humor in the Sami and in the English speaking, referring to the ice-breaker, 'I have to speak with the most common language...' and that is a way...

M: That is something like common ground, I was thinking...

A: Yes, and it's also to... In storytelling, if you expose your weaknesses when telling your story, then most people tend to be very helpful with you if it happens like it happens to me from time to time that my English will not fly me high enough and then some other birds will help me to fly as high as I need at that moment.

M: You know that due to this globalization process, in a way, all these lingua francas, like English and Spanish - depending on the context - are very much blamed because they say that they erase cultural differences and try to homogenize cultural specificities. I was wondering what do you think of the importance of telling the story in a language that many people, and people outside the immediate community, can understand.

A: This has two sides. The one side that I have noticed while being in America as a Visiting Professor for two years, I have noticed one thing that I never understood before, that is that the people in America often carries a pain by being monolingual, that they only speak one language. They, of course, do not have any practical need for being multi-lingual. But multi-lingual people... a language is also something more than a means of communication, it's also a way to think, so to speak, a mirror of how you can look the

world. I mean, if you have one mirror, it's good because then you are not having aphasia, but having several mirrors help a lot in understanding how the world also can be seen. So you have, so to speak, three universes of perspectives and that can be pretty helpful for the thinking process that you will need to do. But it can also be very helpful for your communication, but then you have to be very conscious about what parts of the Sami way you can bring into the English. You have to be so conscious about the interplay between text and context!

M: What do you think is the purpose of telling the story of your own place, and community, and people rather than the people from outside? Because they often say to me 'You went there, it's not your people, and you want to write about this, but it's not your home, why should you care?' To me it is a sad situation because it means that you shouldn't care about what happens to your neighbour if not your family, or it can be about your friend too, but not your close family. It is 'just' a friend or is it a friend and it means a lot to you?

A: Yes, I don't know... Have you been reading Hans Christian Andersen's tales?

M: Yes, when I was a child...

A: I did something when I was doing my doctoral thesis: of course, it is about the Rhetoric of Law, and then the basic values that the society is built on, the basic understandings are, - I had the hypothesis that they are formulated in tales and children's books – so I went back to the tales. And went, for example... if you read 'The Snow Queen' and Thomas Kuhn, and compare these two stories. And one can even sit there and wonder if Kuhn has been conscious, when he wrote his book in the 1950s about the Snow Queen, or is it the story of the Snow Queen that has a little bit expanded and contextualized into scientific.

M: What part of the story you have in mind? Or what aspect of the story?

A: Well, this is how a paradigm is broken. H. C. Andersen writes about this mirror that breaks and then Thomas Kuhn writes about scientific people who are starting in the first place to repair the mirror and they end up by a different understanding and through their travel they visit many consultants, so to speak, and that is very similar to the story in both stories when they end up in a new kind of balance. It's within a framework where you have thesis, antithesis and synthesis (by Hegel). And the story that I had in mind for this question raised is 'Tommelise'², this little girl who ends up with, for example, this little animal that is so satisfied of the life in his cave and thinks that this little girl should marry him and start living in his cave, of course, then such a wonderful world. To me, this story has been important because sometimes when I hear people say, and – of course – people always say that, why fly? Why can't we be here, in this cave, because here it is so good. That also happens in the scientific world. For instance, people who feel confident in the theories that they are within, so they don't want to question them because it is so warm and...

M: ... comfortable inside the theory...

A: Yes. So I was writing a little bit about that in my thesis that I didn't want to be aggressive in the sense that I say to people: 'You are confident within the theory' and who have their home there, that they should start moving to another location. So I wrote that. And these people can relax. I just consider this dispute as a joke.

M: And it is a joke because you told it/put it in a relaxed way. I remember in your course once, when you started, you started by saying that 'Law is about conflict'. And then you started your course and you explained how and where the conflict started, what is the purpose behind it. I was wondering how do you go about it and if you could tell me more about this perception? And also the fact that law is rhetoric - not the facts, but more the story of the facts, and the way you're putting things, and whether it is a peaceful way of putting things or warlike? So to put it this way, (what are) the benefits of telling a story in a certain manner, (and about) the rhetoric, if it's a war rhetoric or a peace rhetoric?

² 'Tommelise' was translated in English as 'Thumbelina'.

A: I have been looking at law as one of many possible ways to administer a conflict. When people are in conflict, then one needs to do something in order to solve that conflict. And then I have been looking at the tradition of conflict management and then I have been looking at law.

M: You've told us once about your grandmother who was making two bags when two families were in conflict and taking a bag to one family and hearing their story, and then the other bag to the other family and listening to their story. Then the final sentence was given.

A: And that was a way that – I think – carries so much female wisdom because female wisdom is very solution-oriented to get things to have a solution. And I only use 'female' – 'male' as some labels I have not been reflecting very much on how appropriate these particular labels fit to that. I have just been using this in order to tell the story that sometimes a conflict is not a conflict, that sometimes the main thing is to get a solution, but in other times it is a way to canalize your rage, and the function of what Aristotle calls 'catharsis'. People are angry and they lack solutions, that's what conflicts are about. And then I have also been contrasting the male strategy where you display your anger, and I think that law does that.

M: The nose-breakers that you were talking about?

A: Yes. It has not been a successful thing for the Samis to go to the Courts because, I guess, of the way a culture... The conflict management strategies in different cultures are maybe the most distinctive things. The traditional songs have been pretty different, but I guess the conflict management strategies are even more different. And the aim to address that aspect is that thereby I sort of manage to make the law related to other ways. Law is not a religion, so to speak, The Religion, but it is one of many other possible ways.

M: It is questionable.

A: Yes, it becomes questionable. And now I forgot the second part of the question. I have just answered the first part.

M: Shall we go back? Well... I guess it's part of the process...

(We discuss a while about how I am planning to write the transcript, and then return to ask more questions. I was sure there'd be more questions since I might have asked the same, or gone to 'the same book' many times, instead of going through all I had planned to ask. The answer is positive).

M: When you started to study law, and maybe even this project that you say you have, of putting your background very much into your academic work, did that come from the very beginning, when you started, when you became a law student, have you thought from the very beginning 'this is what I want to do?' or it came as a need later on when you started to do research and you felt that the way things are told in the university requires more that things should come from your background?

A: Yes, this is a question of how a newcomer responds to an environment and most of the newcomers, for example... Are you a Catholic?

M: No, I am an Orthodox.

A: Aha... But imagine you should become a Catholic. I'm neither a Catholic, but you have... if you go in a new world, then I guess that both of us would respond to that situation. Maybe become more Catholic than the Pope.

M: Yes... I know the expression.

A: Yes. And the university meets you in this way that you really have to consider how to be within the system, and the most natural way that we react to that is that we become more Catholic than the priest and the Pope. And so did I in my early days in the university. The thing was also that I have this background from the boarding school and I am not aware if you have seen the documentary that the TV (has) made?...

M: No, I haven't.

A: It has English subtexts.

M: I want to see it actually, but I have only read about it in a program that Silja gave me, from the Sami Film Festival. But I haven't seen it.

A: You could have borrowed it to see... Do you have access to a DVD player?

M: I have a DVD player on my laptop.

A: I am looking for it and not being able to find it... Because there we have the story of the boarding school. I was so full of rage after that that I came from the boarding school. So I became politically very radical and...

M: You told us about it actually. And I have heard many stories of boarding schools and I must say I have heard many from my parents, but – of course – from a different context. The communists were trying to build these industrial areas and they were taking children from the countryside, forcing them in the city and, of course, they were living in the boarding schools. And there they were told that what was going on home was wrong and that they were building a new world with new values. Of course, it was a trauma.

A: I guess that the boarding school experience has been a harsh experience for the humanity. The boarding school has been applied in many places in the world and that could be a very important thing for humanity not to repeat. Because it is so harmful to do

so, but I am a kind of survivor from the boarding school experience, but I came to the university still so full of anger and rage, and so in that sense I was very critical to the university, to the values the university carries, to the strategies – how they were structuring knowledge, and so on... But after a while, I mean, if you shall play with somebody you have to apply the rules of the play. So I was playing together. I decided I can play the law game so that I get this exam.

M: Did you receive criticism from your own community, from your own family regarding your work? Because to me it seems that the hardest is to take criticism from those you consider the closest to you. Somehow we expect them to be in agreement with everything we do.

A: Yeah, but you should know that there are two sides to that. Because what your family doesn't say to you is that they are proud of you because you carried their dreams. Your cousin, for example, I guess he would love to travel abroad and to see all the things that you see, to understand these things...

M: They somehow have the feeling that I know more than they do...

A: And they don't feel perhaps so confident and they try to bite you a little bit in order to establish some kind of bounds. And that was, for the Sami academics, a crucial thing. Point one is that we have very egalitarian societies. Then my village and my family were too conscious if I started to fly too high, that I didn't recognize them anymore. Since I started with the university and I was the first one in the village and the clan who went to university. And I became aware of how sensitive this was, so I had to transform to be very much of a politician there. So when I came home from Christmas, the neighbours and the people from the village, they would be slightly shy to see me, but they would be very sensitive if I have seen them so then, in the shop, I used to go and say 'burre, burre' to everybody who is in the shop there. And, of course, it took a lot of energy, but I thought this is a part of the price I had to pay for being in the university system and then, another aspect was that I was carrying their dreams. And it became a responsibility

that I couldn't fail, for example. Because most of the Norwegian students, they were just individuals, maybe they were carrying their father's, and mother's, and sister's dreams, but I had a whole village, and it became so known that I was studying Law, and I was one of the first ones so at the end of the day the whole Samiland was expecting that 'you will do this'. And luckily I survived that. But what I have really learnt is that belonging to these different cultures is a lot of hard work, but then it also pays off in the way that it helps my big family at home.

M: Do you think they see clearly? What I fear – but, of course, this is only my background – sometimes this egalitarian attitude... in our place, it was destructive, meaning that often excellence was not recognized. They said, we are equal so you shouldn't dream for more, you should dream only what everybody else is dreaming. If the person who was saying that, who had the opportunity to say that, was dreaming very little, it became very sad for the people who were dreaming a lot more than the others.

A: Yes, that is also a sort of micro-political...

M: Yes, there is a sad and a glad part of things.

A: Yes. So it has... But for my part, I realized after a while that it would mean that if somebody in my big family had a need for a plumber, for example, if the water had frozen, the difference could be that I had said hello to the plumber in the shop and they could meet the plumber and say that 'We are in a living crisis now because the water is frozen', then the plumber would say that 'Well, Ande was actually here and he said hello to me' and he would be so happy for that that he went there. So... But my understanding is that everybody has a dream to see more and do more, and some of us get the chances to fly and then we have more responsibility to take care of the opportunity in a good way. And we also have the responsibility to interact with communities and I bet that your people are very curious to hear stories about how it is in Norway and how people are doing. So the art is to give that in portions, the right portions. I have experienced the same thing in this corridor, here after having been invited to be Visiting Professor twice.

And that hasn't happened to any of the researchers here in this corridor, so it is slightly a problem for the egalitarian part. Because the bottom part is that there is an egalitarian part in the Norwegian society and the second thing is that it requires a wisdom never to overfeed with the stories from abroad, and if one uses the stories from abroad, use them as illustrations!, because people – some people – can be sensitive for the very reason that they can't do the same things, they don't have the same wings, so to speak.

M: Thank you very much!

A: You are very welcome!

APPENDIX 2.

TRANSCRIPT OF DISCUSSION-INTERVIEW WITH HENRY MINDE

The meeting took place on December 1st, 2004, 14:00 a.m. in Henry Minde's office (Breiviklia Building, Faculty of Social Sciences, Tromsø University).

I was familiar with Henry's office from previous meetings, when we discussed the feedbacks from essays I wrote in History. Everything is carefully arranged: all books lined up on shelves, all documents carefully filled. Only on the tables, I can see randomly stacked books and odd sheets of papers – sign of work in progress. The place reminds me the quietness and importance of a state archive I visited once at home, in Romania. The office of a historian.

The discussion begins without giving me a chance to start the recording. We talk a while about the topic of my thesis and Henry's article I have chosen to concentrate on. Henry gives me his Curriculum Vitae. We go briefly through a couple of other articles he wrote, and research and interviews he conducted. I hear many interesting details about life interviews and I regret that the machine is not recording, but, to start with, that did not feel natural. The idea of recording seemed like an intrusion. Finally, I decide to record when the discussion reaches the topic of the article Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences.

Mirona: I have started recording.

I was interested, first of all in the background, the circumstances of writing the article. That is why I wanted to record the details you are giving about the Sami Parliament and the creation of the Sami Fund.

Henry: But, actually, that is in the background of the article, when you start reading it.

M: What I wanted to know is whether it was presented in an open meeting of the Parliament or it was published and sent to the government. I was interested in the immediate audience for which it was intended.

H: No, I did not present that at the meeting in the Sami Parliament. I have sent it only as a paper that was presented at the Sami Parliament in accordance to this case. And the Sami Parliament sent it then to all the representatives. That was in a way... they asked me to give a presentation of the status of what we know about the government policy of assimilation in all these years, but also to discuss about what we actually know about the consequences, how the people themselves...

I have also participated in a project about these 'taterer' in Norway. And that project was quite extensively discussing what were the consequences of this quite hard, even more than towards the Sami, assimilation policy up to the 1970s and 80s. So when I compared what had actually been done to them in the context of the Sami, it was much less in terms of the consequences.

And we had lots of interviews in this project about the so-called... (Indistinct recording.) That's the area in southern Troms, northern Norway. And that was because of the NATO project to make holes in the mountains and what were the consequences for the reindeer Sami in this area, and also to the Sami culture in this area.

M: In what year was this project initiated?

H: 1988 to 1991. It's a political truth (?). The Defense Department asked us to do such kind of research. We interviewed 60 people in this project. And when we tried to ask them about their school period, they didn't care much about it and some denied to tell anything. So that was also my experience of how this project was used to discuss what the people say when they are interviewed, and we compare with a lot of interviews in other cultures when people give their life story. In Sami area and also in Kven area helped us know so much about that period when people were in the school.

M: The reason why I was asking about the time when these interviews were taken was because I have seen that in the article you mention two years – 1991 and 1993 – if I remember well, and I was wondering if they were part of this particular project, this set of interviews, and if the project was related to this article directly. But you've just explained that...

H: These interviews were taken for what was published in Norwegian about how the history of the Sami peoples in that area is in a way constructed by both the Norwegian people living in this area, but also in academic literature before.

M: You were mentioning the NATO project of making a tunnel. Was that project carried out in the end?

H: Yes, it was. Actually, it was done so even before we started our project, our research project.

M: ... because I was interested to know more about the impact of this research project on politics and...

H: The impact... In a way, it was thought as an impact project, but actually, as I said, the NATO project had finished before we started our project. So it became not an impact 'study' for the Norwegian Parliament to take into consideration if they accepted the tunnel, but it was, in a way... we had got 2.4 million to do this as a cultural study in this area.

M: Probably the impact was felt later on other projects of the government.

H: We hope so, but we haven't seen that.

M: The research is published in Norwegian, yes?

H: Yes.

M: ... because even this article was written in Norwegian I suspect because in the end there was mentioned the name of the translator of this text. I was interested in your opinion about writing in English and the impact that articles in English have outside the country, outside of Norway. For instance, this NATO project triggered a corpus of research that was conducted in Norwegian and I was wondering if the impact on NATO wouldn't have been larger maybe if the project was conducted in English or if it was made visible abroad.

H: My impression and also what I felt when I have been reading presentations of the Sami history outside the country is that it is much easier to have an audience who is interested in the area of Norway and the Nordic countries, it is much easier to give such a presentation about the indigenous people – the Sami here – and it is much easier there, in Canada,, New Zealand, Australia to compare this history of the indigenous people in different kinds of worlds, than to give a presentation of some kind of subject of the ordinary Norwegian history when you have to give a very theoretical analysis and discussion so that people become interested in that. So, in a way, many of these items of the history of the indigenous peoples from the Middle Ages, but also recent history, today's history, is what the peoples around the world are very much interested in that.

M: When I have started the lectures I could not help making parallels with what happened in Romania from the oldest periods until nowadays with all sorts of empires. And I remember that during one seminar I couldn't keep quiet and I worded it out, and I said that I have seen many similarities. Even later, after Romania was unified and they managed to recover territories from different empires, the nationalism that was taking shape was building the nation, but was crushing the people.

And I was reading, and it was very interesting in your article, at some point you have mentioned that this norwegianisation is not a singular phenomenon, but you mention Russification and the turning of the Native American into Americans as a similar process.

And maybe that is why the story is so easily understood because it was the same kind of pain.

I do remember stories told by my parents about the boarding schools home and the situation was very similar. They were trying to turn peasants who were conscious of their region and their activities into Romanians and, of course, it was joint with communism and ideas of communism and of the 'bigger nation'.

H: I think that is a question of nationalism, which was in all European countries during the last part of the 19th century... They produced the same kind of questions actually and also the states, when they were established, they were more eager to homogenize people and assimilate the minority language into the national project in that state. And that was actually the history of Norway too. Norway was a new country with a young government and Parliament from 1814. It has been said that because it has been lasting so much, the government was so eager to practice this. This is in a way more than in the other countries that we know. But this actually... I am not sure. There can be countries in your area which might have the same experience.

M: They haven't done much research on this issue. I was also wondering. Of course, I have read a lot of literature about boarding schools in general and I have even worked in one in England and I know that it is traumatizing for children. I have worked in this school where they had children from all over the world because it was run by the Free Masons and they were sending their children to England to get good education. But I have heard stories from children from China, for instance, who have been brought there on the first day without speaking a word of English and it is really heartbreaking to hear them tell the story. It is a different kind of assimilation. In a way, it is consented by the parents, but – of course – it is traumatizing for the children.

H: And also in Canada, they have all these stories about - in addition to that – about the sexual abuses on children. But I have tried to ask if that didn't happen also in the Sami area, but... *sigh* maybe it's some kind of problem that we have in Catholic schools and not in other religions because for the Catholic, it is forbidden to marry... for their

priests... and some of them worked at the school. There are some rumours about what happened also in the Sami area, and my guess is that it actually happened also in the Sami areas, but that is so taboo...

M: Yes... it is just not talked about...

You were saying you have 50 interviews on the topic. All of them are about boarding schools?... or is it the education system in general?

H: Most of the interviews were conducted to let the people give their life story, and they can choose themselves what they were actually talking about. But we also had some kind of questionnaire, for example, when we asked about what kind of experience did you have in the boarding school?

M: Was this a joint project of historians and social scientists? I was thinking about the method that was used... Because life interviews maybe they are... I don't know exactly when they started using them as an object of study in history...

H: As a historical source, it is very much disputed. And also in social science, for instance. Bourdieu and Claude Lévi-Strauss, they are saying that you can use such kind of interviews because people are always giving their special version and something they don't like to talk about, they don't speak about that. Actually they are lying sometimes. And because I am born in this area, of course, I can see when the people are not telling the truth at all or are not willing to talk about some kind of items, which I have actually experienced.

M: From that point of view, it is obvious why it is useful to belong to an area or, at least, to have a very good knowledge about an area, to be able to do research on it using life narratives.

H: Of course, you can't take everything for face value in such kind of interviews. But such kind of interviews actually in the discipline of history in Norway has been used

from the 1950s, from researchers who did class structure studies in the country and so on. And there have been prominent historians in Norway who have actually used this kind of sources very extensively.

M: But it was not research on the Sami. It was just used in general.

H: Yes, working class, for example. But you asked if we were all historians. No. We were three persons. And the other ones were social scientists. One of them was studying the school system today in this area and the third was analyzing the reaction from the people to this NATO plan and why it became so politically important for the people in this area. So it's actually three of this kind of people in this area.

M: This is the first one in the same series? This is the first report. And then there is a 2nd and a 3rd.

H: And some of them... At least the social-anthropologist Terje Brantenberg who works at the Tromsø Museum, he used also such kind of interviews in his analysis of the process.

M: To me it looks like something new, in history books, these life interviews. And I thought that maybe it was brought in with the Holocaust studies and the interviews they made in that period. I don't know... I was just wondering... I knew from my previous studies about the 'grand histoire' and the 'petit histoire' of L'Ecole des Annales trend, but I don't know exactly when did they start to use life narratives.

H: I think that in the historical tradition in Norway, they were very early in using this kind of material as historical sources, as I mentioned, from the 50s. And he was a very prominent Norwegian historian and he has a lot of books and he was outspoken during the 50s-70s and he died in the middle of the 80s. So that was the beginning for the Norwegian historians to use such kind of sources. And that was before all kinds of Holocaust Studies.

M: In the case of the indigenous peoples and the trend that is born with that it coincides with the wish of letting the indigenous people write their own history, letting them speak their version of what happened. And in my thesis, I wanted to analyze to what extent this can be linked with the oral tradition or this belongs to the official academic discourse on the indigenous people?

H: Like... studying in the Middle Ages, this historian from Siena in Italy, Carlo Ginzburg, who has done this study on the sources when he interviewed the people who had done something which the Church didn't like, heresy and so on. And compared to that, what they have taken from this academic or learned literature to incorporate that in their own thinking at local level. That's very interesting.

M: You are showing in your article that there has been research done on the assimilation process, the different phases and, of course, you are mentioning among other things the 'Finnish menace'. But what your article brings new I think is this life narrative incorporated in the historical chronology of facts.

H: Of course, that is one of the main sources. When you are actually asking what that implicated for their living conditions and their culture and the people's thinking about their own self-esteem and so on, you have to talk to people and see how they talk about this. And they can lie and they can tell the truth – everything is actually interesting.

M: Truth is relative all the time. It depends how they perceive the truth at that moment.

H: In that way, I should really continue to get more into details in these interviews and that is one of the projects I am thinking about also to do later on. When you have a lot of interviews, you can go into this in much more detail and see the way people are structuring their experience with their own life and what they think about this. Maybe how this has changed during the years in their own thinking.

M: Maybe have a new set of interviews at this moment?

H: In such kind of research you usually interview old people, who after some years... they are mostly dead... all of them. Passed away...

M: I know Siri-Anne has a project on a similar theme and she was saying the same thing, that there are old people in her grandmother's village and that she wants to interview them for the same reason because she feels that they will be going soon and information will be lost.

H: And in such cases people are always saying the same thing: 'you are too late, you should have interviewed that and that man, and that and that woman, who has just died only some few years ago'. That is the situation always. That is why I say it should be interesting to do interviews with young people and follow them... Yes. Interview them in different phases of their lives.

M: Yes, we are thinking in the beginning when we had just started the Programme to have some interviews with the students in the beginning, and then after one year and then after the end of the Programme because I am sure that many have changed their worldview. I mean all of us, in some respect...

H: Interesting. Ja...

M: Why did you choose these interviews for this article? In the end, you are saying that this Fund created by the Norwegian government now is the settling the account with the old Sami Fund in the 19th century.

H: Yes, I mention in the dissertation in the beginning *looking for papers*... this is actually a young woman in the newspaper. She said that it has taken a hundred years to norwegianise the coastal Sami. Then it will probably take another 100 years to make us Sami again. So one of the important things in this article and, that was very new, was to

compare how much compared to the Norwegian state budget was used in all kinds to assimilate minorities in the north. And to compare how much today is given to the Sami Parliament, but also directly from the state to ‘recover’ Sami culture. And usually when this is discussed officially in Norway today, they say there is a lot of money used by the Sami Parliament and the Sami Centre, but if you compare back with what the Norwegian state used to assimilate, it was more in the percent of the budget that what is used today.

M: And you were saying in the article that these are just some of the figures, what went directly into this Fund, and not different projects outside the Sami Fund.

H: That’s true. Because it was used every kind of money to build roads, for example. It was in Finnmark, but also inside Tromsø, that the state gave the money for this road building before other things to hinder the movement of the reindeer herds into these islands.

M: Another question you are raising is the question of the methodology and the ethical issues brought by the discussion of the meeting between the dominant and the minority culture. To me it seems that these life narratives were something new brought to the old approach in the history of the indigenous peoples, i.e. the chronology of events, because that was what we get (n.n. in the traditional Western rendering). I know, probably, Linda Smith was the most quoted in our Programme, but there are other researchers who have written about methodology and about ethical issues connected with the case of the indigenous people. And also from the discussion we had in the Programme regarding the tools of research, what can be called ‘indigenous methodology’ and are there any pure indigenous methods to do research? That is another thing that I would like to write about in my thesis. To me it looks like the methods are not necessarily new – you can’t re-invent the wheel -, but the framework is different from other fields of enquiry. Even in history, I think that looking at the history of indigenous peoples raises some issues that were not raised by previous research. This is a case in point with the life narrative. Research has been done before, but not many life interviews have been used and if they were used, they were used only in a superficial kind of way. Did I get the meaning right?

H: Ja. For me, as a historian, as a Norwegian historian also, because I am writing also in the tradition of Norwegian history, this kind of perspective and also the method used in this article is not something new when you are comparing what the historians have done in connection with the study of social history from the 50s until today. And much of this research has been about the people who have not so much to say politically and socially, minorities of all kinds, but also the people with low social status in the country. So this kind of perspective depends on what research questions you raise. And during this social history movement in the 60s and which I guess is also in a way they have this movement in Great Britain because there you had the ‘town hund’³, the working class just after the Second World War, and Hobsbawm and in there were lost of opportunities, because then we started to use all kinds of statistical materials that incorporated the whole population, not only the elite and so on. So in this tradition, this use of the oral tradition was only a supplement to the ordinary social history. So, in a way, there was also the argument that the people themselves should give voice in this process of history writing. So, in a way, even though we as academics could say or could analyze what they are saying and say ‘This is not true’, it is actually interesting to hear how they argue for themselves, without trying to be academic or not, to say what is interesting be it the truth or not the truth. It is in a way to try to analyze the mentality and so on. So in that way, what is important for me is more what kind of perspective you choose in connection to this question you raise and, of course, if you are interested and if you are born indigenous people yourself, it is naturally that you’re interested to really understand how the people in this culture are trying to manage their own life and economy and social life, and how they are.

M: Was there any pressure at any moment to choose this structure? To have in the first part the chronology and then, in the second part, it is about the self-esteem and the perception of the Sami of themselves due to the education system and assimilation procedure. Was there any pressure to structure it like that?

³ ‘Town labourer’, reference to The town labourer 1760-1832 : the new civilization. Hammond, John Lawrence Le Breton and Hammond, Barbara (Bradby). Longmans, Green, 1920 and The town labourer (1760-1832) : the new civilisation vol.II. . Longmans, Green for British Publishers Guild, 1949

H: No, actually, because the first part of the article is to sum up what kind of knowledge we actually know and the second part is to challenge and what we do not know so much about, and what is surprising, for example, when we compare the Sami population when they are talking about their school period compared to the Norwegian. The great Norwegian authors in the 19th century, they really discussed how the underclass people, the people living in the countryside, was handled by the state government and so on. So you are really surprised when you compare that with how the minorities speak about that because it is and has been a taboo for them. So there is actually a group who is trying to get the people in the Sami area to talk about it and their work will be published in two or three volumes.

M: This is in general what I wanted to discuss about the article. I might come back with more questions at some point.

H: My feeling... I think that Linda Smith is quite interesting to read and she has always challenged what the academics have done, but my impression when she is talking about historians and what the historians have done is more what the academic British more traditional history has done and not the new kind of history that appeared from the 50s and 60s has done.

M: Everywhere or in England only?

H: It's about social history, minority history, not only political history interested in what the state has done.

M: A long time ago, in the first year, I talked to you and I wanted to discuss about the project the Maori have about re-writing their history. Could you tell me more about it? I would like to read more, to use it in my thesis...

H: It's tremendous because they want that during three or four years they should educate 500 doctoral theses about Maori, all kind of Maori project. And they also try to

incorporate not only the state university, but also in New Zealand the Maori people are 10% of the whole population, which is much more than in any other places like Canada, the US and the Nordic countries, where the indigenous peoples are only 2 - 3% of the whole population, but in New Zealand you have this Maori as 10% and many of them are well-educated like the Sami in Norway in the last 2-3 decades. And you have in many of the bigger communities, you have, by Maori themselves, such kind of universities, they call them 'Maori Universities', actually high-schools. And many of them have this ideology that what they should do is to just rely heavily only on their own traditions and to make an academic career only on that basis and that is sometimes contrary to the tradition of the Western academics. So I guess there will be also many discussions within the Maori societies, some people who are working at the universities and from these traditional high-schools.

M: In the Health compendium, we have an article about the Maori traditional culture and there are many terms translated from the Maori into English. I have found that very interesting. It's like a whole dictionary involved in the paper. And again I am sorry that I don't read Norwegian very well because I was wondering if there are many articles in Norwegian trying to explain many of the Sami words.

H: What has been most interesting in relation to the Sami is how the Sami are speaking about the snow. Of course, when you are living in the snow area and really there are living there without these modern vehicles, you have to have to categorize what you are doing and how you can live in these conditions and so on. Because of that, the Sami have lots of words about the snow. The Inuit, the same.

M: In the beginning we have been told about the Sami calendar, that months are called by the type of ice and snow, how the ice is, how the snow is, if you can walk on it, if you can pull your sledge on ice.

H: The Mayan calendar... the Mayan people say that if they know the day when you were born, they can say what kind of career you will have. And today there is a Mayan

student group in Guatemala who gives this funding to the people according to the kind of day when you were born because they say 'you were born on that day, so you'll have a bad career'. So actually, do we accept that? And I asked, what will they say for my birthday? Maybe that I should have no career at all...

(Laughter from both sides)

M: Thank you very much for this discussion.

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Reference appendix

Some hybrids¹ from the legal situation of the saami² people in Norway³

1. A yoik⁴

Sámi eatnan duoddarat
galbma garra guovllut
geađe borge máilbm

Sámiid mánaid ruoktu
Liegga litna salla

2. A Yoiking approach

With this yoik I would like to declare to you that I feel very lucky to be here. I wish to honour you all in the most ceremonial way that I can. My topic, the development of the legal situation of the saami people in Norway, has certain things in common with this yoik. There are both topical reasons and ceremonial.

I will first briefly introduce myself, and then my yoik. Then I will provide you with a general overview of the legal situation. The establishment of the saami parliament and the saami article in the Norwegian constitution are important items, so I will use a bit of time on them.

I am Ande - hello. I am currently working at the university of Tromsø in northern Norway. I work with saami peoples legal position, and at present I am working on a doctoral thesis which is an analysis of jurisprudence as rhetoric. I should have been in the mountains, but the river of life lead me to the university. I got my law-degree, and I have been working both in the Norwegian central administration, as an assistant-judge and as a litigating lawyer. English is not my language. Therefor I have to use what is perhaps the most common language in the world, broken English.

Yoik is different from the regular idea of singing in several ways. I will point out a few differences. You don't yoik about someone or something. You

¹ This is a draft. Citations may be consulted with Ande Somby

² Saami people are known as Laplanders. The term Laplanders have however many negativ and stigmatizing connotations and so much paine, so saami is what we ourself prefer us named as.

³ This essay is based upon a paper to a presentation by Ande Somby in the sovereignty symposium of the surpreme court of Oklahoma, 08. june 1994

⁴ A yoik is a traditional saami way of singing or chanting.

yoik someone or something. Yoik has no object. That emphasizes perhaps that talking or thinking about yoik in subject-object concepts isn't possible. Maybe the singer is a part of the song?

The regular concept of a western European song is that it has a start, a middle and an ending. In that sense a song will have a structure as a line. A yoik seems to start and stop suddenly. It hasn't a start and neither an ending. Yoik is definitively not a line, but it is perhaps a kind of circle. Yoik is not a circle that would have Euclidian symmetry. Although it has maybe a depthsymmetry⁵. That emphasizes that if you are asking for the start or the ending of a yoik, your question would be wrong.

There are Yoiks for persons, animals and landscapes. In our tradition it was very important for the personal identity to get a yoik. It was like getting a name if you got your own yoik. Yoiking a landscape had possibly similar ritual connotation, and the same goes for an animals yoik. It is not easy even for the trained ear to hear the differences between an animal's yoik, a landscape's yoik or a person's yoik. That perhaps emphasizes that you don't differ so much between the human-creature, the animal-creature and the landscape-creature as you regularly do in a western European context. Your behaviour will therefore maybe be more inclusive towards animals and landscapes. In some respects this can also emphasize that we can have ethical spheres not just towards fellow humans but also to our fellow earth and our fellow animals. Can you own some of your fellows?

I yoik yoiks from my area, and there are many of other dialects so to speak in yoiking. They can differ from melodic epic yoiks to imitating birds. Inside a yoikdialect it would be differences between yoiking individuals. That emphasizes that yoik is not living in a society of uniformity. Yoik Perhaps rather belongs to, and lives in a life of diversity.

It will be difficult for musicians to work with me. The yoik will always be a little different from one time to the next. The musicians will on his side always expect that I start in the same tone every time. His accords would then fit in, and he could follow his accords-symmetric system. I would have problems to hit the musician's tone. My mode or mood could have changed since the last time we rehearsed. That emphasizes that a yoik⁶ is not a fixed status, but a perhaps rather a process. It also emphasizes that you cant use squares and pyramids or other symmetric principals when you understand yoik. Would you like to have a little bird that doesn't move? It would perhaps be beautiful in a squarecube made of glass, but it will not remain alive.

This particular yoik belongs to the thundras of the saami-land. It is made by our very celebrated creative native Nils-Aslak Valkeapää⁶, and it tells that it is so cold there. It is so hard there. There are many rocks. There is so much snow there. Winterstorms. There are also small foot-tracks. For some it is their warm and soft homeland. This Yoik was important for the development of the saami

⁵ The term is inspired by Ludwig Wittgenstein and his term of depth grammatics.

⁶ Nils-Aslak Valkeapää or Áillohas as we call him has published a lot of records, several books, multimedia performances, stage performances, thought performances. He is one of of remaining little birds outside the glass cube.

rights.

3. Brief introduction to a history with a sad⁷ and a glad⁸ part

The history of our people is not a nice story. It contains much of pain, and it hurts me to talk about it. Our people have traditionally were hunters, fishermen and reindeer-herders. We lived in the northern part of Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia. I will not dwell in the days of Adam and Eve. We lost our paradise. There are some differences between how it happened in Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia.

I will mainly speak about the Norwegian development. It contained a so called norwegianizing policy. This policy has varied from time to time. Both our religion, our economy and culture were attacked. Together with the church the state considered our spiritual leaders as heathens. They were both stigmatized and some times threatened as criminals. Some of them were burned. Parts of the church still want to prohibit yoiking because they consider it pagan.

Our right to exploitate the land wasn't recognized as legal⁹, and our people had to move when farmers or other better people came¹⁰. The question was raised as how we could be bearers of ownership? We didn't stay at the same place during the year, but we went to the coast during the summer. Maybe it was even a problem that our relationship to the earth couldn't be organised by ownership. How could your mother become your property?

Our children were taken away from their homes and were raised in boarding schools. Our language was prohibited in the schools until 1959. I forgot to tell you that I am born in 1958.

The motives for the policy of integrating us, was for sure to make us able to be in a modern Norwegian context.

From the sixties pedagogicians advised the school-system to teach the kids to read and write in their own language. We got some saami lessons in the school,

7 ?

8 ??

* The first time when the norwegian justice system gave a sort of legal protection to traditional saami exploitation of the land was in 1968 in the so called Altwater case. There the supreme court declared that a saami group should have tort if the land was exploited in such a way that caused damages to the traditional saami exploitation. That sentence was a surprise in the norwegian legal system, because until then the discussion had been whether the state could prohibit the traditional saami exploitation at any time.

¹⁰ It is might a familiar phenomenon that the savage has to move when the frontier is coming. The musical Oklahoma states that for instance. In a case in 1986 the norwegian supreme court had a case where the the question was whether the reindeerherders should herd their flocks to any cost or if the duty to herd was dependent of how much it costed to herd compared to how valuable the economical damages which the reindeers could cause. The supreme court stated that it was irrelevant to raise the question of such a comparison. I dont know whether the supreme court is undermining its staeint upon natural laws about the savage and the frontier or it is undermining its statement upon a statement made in 1902 which says that

and some time after we also faced that it was possible to survive through the schoolsystem. The first small plants had started to grow.

At the end of seventies we had a number of saami academicians, who became activists. We also started to get artists. We also saw that the Norwegian people had changed their attitude. There were established public funding programs for saami literature. Somehow we could smell spring in the air.

At the same period the Norwegian government had a plan to construct a hydroelectric dam-construction, which later became the famous Alta-case. There was strong resistance against that hydroelectric project. It became a kind of alliance between the saamis and the environmentalists. The resistance was both formalized both through the political - and later through the legal system. The political system didn't recognize the resistance, and the parliament of Norway decided to build the construction.

The most famous parts of the resistance became the demonstrations. Two demonstrations were famous. The zero-point demonstrations established a point of zero, which shouldn't be passed by the machines. People sat there preventing the machines from passing. That demonstration went on for approximately one and a half years.

The second demonstration was the saami hunger-strike. It was the first hunger-strikes in the Norwegian history. It took place in october 1979. Seven young saamis took a lavvo, and raised it on a lawn outside the parliament of Norway. They hadn't got formal permission to have this lavvo on that lawn, and they were threatened by the police. Somehow the population of Oslo took these seven saamis under their wings. The media emphasized that the saamis had always lost. Young Norwegians, old ladies, artists, children came and they sat there. The mass became so large that there have not been so many people since the freedom celebration when second world war came to an end in 1945. It took time until the police carried the saamis away. During that time this yoik became an anthem. I don't think the saamies were aware of that during those demonstrations they used also their stories and took metaphors from them. The saami argumentation became much more mythological.

The saamies started to feel summerwinds to their case, and so obviously did the Norwegian politicians. The Norwegian prime minister came out with two announcements. In the first he announced that they made a preliminary stop in their execution of the river in Alta. The second announcement was that the Norwegian would establish a saami legalrights commission. Then the first saami hungry-strike got its victory, and it could end.

The preliminary stop in Alta lasted until a very cold day in february 1982. The Norwegian government sent a police force of a thousand police officers to Alta. The police force carried away all the demonstrators. It maybe made that day the coldest in saami history, and an extremely cold day in the Norwegian history as well.

The saami interests tried together with environmental interests to bring to an end to the Alta project via a legal process. The government won the case. That also made a cold day in the saami history in 1982. There are more nosebreakers than successes when it comes to litigate saami rights in the Norwegian court system.

So far so sad.

The saami right commission became the good part of this story. The commission contained both legal experts, representatives for the public and representatives for interest organizations - including saami interest organisations. It was lead by professor of law Carsten Smith¹¹, and in 1984 it came up with its first report. The question about land rights was of course the burning one. The committee decided first to give a general overview of the legal protection of the saamis, and return to the question of land rights later.

In the 1984 report it was for the first time the public Norway had been involved in an analysis of the saami rights question. The expert group made an analysis of the legal history of the saami people. They also analysed the saami peoples rights based on international sources. One of these parts had a particular interest. They analysed article 27 of the UN convention on civil and political rights, which addresses that persons shall have the right to together with other members of his group to have his culture. They made an analysis whether cultural, just referred to ideological expressions as songs, literature, theatre, storytelling traditions or if it also had implications for the material base for a culture - in other words the question of cultural protection of natural resources. The commission concluded that the international protection of the saamis was much stronger than it had been recognized as in Norway. Concluding, the report there was two proposals in that report. The first proposal was that we should get a saami parliament. The other proposal was that the saami culture, language and society should be recognized in the Norwegian constitution.

Both proposals went through. It was a little debate about the parliament, and some political compromises had to be made. In 1987 the saami act became a part of the Norwegian legislation. The same year the saami article was included in the Norwegian constitution. The saami parliament was declared opened in october 1989 by his majesty King Olav the 5th. One session is passed. The parliament is building up its administration and bureaucracy.

4. Briefly about some formal and legal aspects by the saami parliament

The Saami parliament is a body that covers all Norway. It is a national body, and would be a federal body if we should translate that to the language of your system. Every forth year - at the same time when representatives are elected to the Norwegian parliament - there are elected 39 representatives. The act contains regulations of the procedure of the elections. The act also regulates what kind of status - advisory or binding the saami parliament has. The parliament has its administration. I shall address about the elections and about the status.

Look at me. I hope I am a natural man. I have not a natural tan. I am blond. The saami people is the poeple of the thousand faces, and we don't fit into the indigenous people stereotype with black hair and dark skin. That gives a lot of trouble - but also some advantages. You never know who and where we are. It also gives us exits to fly into the big societies if the world becomes too hard.
I--(TRY TO USE "BUT" SPARINGLY TO BEGIN A SENTENCE.)--I But

¹¹ Carstein Smith is now the chiefjustice of the Supreme court of Norway.

that is a problem to face when you are a saami. When it comes to recognize us as indigenous people, we don't fit into the natural-tanned-stereotype. So the participation to the elections cannot be based upon a natural tan in combination with mathematics about bloodpercentage.

That was also the problem when the regulations about who can vote a representative to the saami parliament. In the saami act that depends on two conditions that are cumulative - both of those conditions have to be fulfilled simultaneously.

The first condition is that you give a declaration or statement that you consider yourself as a saami. That principle is emphasizing that participation in the saami society is based upon free will. No one shall be forced to remain a saami. That is the so called subjective aspect.

The second condition is a connection to saami language. The norwegianizing policy has taken away the language from many saamis. Maybe most of the saamis don't speak their own language. The policy is not to exclude the saamis who have lost so much of their own. Therefore this language-based criterion has three alternatives. Either you yourself shall have saami language as your homelanguage¹². The second alternative is that one of your parents has had saami language as homelanguage. The third alternative is that one of your grandparents has had saami language as their homelanguage.

Otherwise, Norway is divided in 13 electiondistricts. From each district three representatives are elected. The people are not a homogeneous mass, so there are some districts that cover larger geographical areas than other. There are not the same number of votes behind each representative. The concentrated population in the northern part is a little bit less represented than the southern parts. Behind that we have the fact that the saami population is not homogeneous mass - so it is not appropriate to talk about the saami people. We have the saami peoples. Therefore a terminology from the European concept of national states don't fit.

In other senses the elections to the saami parliament are based upon the regular regulations concerning elections to the Norwegian parliament. The most interesting ones would be following

- The voter must be a Norwegian citizen
- The voter must be older than 18 years.
- The voter shall not have lost his right to vote because of a criminal case against him

To become elected to the saami parliament is determined basically by the same conditions as they that determines the right to vote. Although one can under certain conditions get a permission to regret an election. The main condition would be that the election is causing a burden. One can also regret if one has been a representative the last four years. Staff from the administration of the saami parliament can't be elected.

The question of what the status of the parliament is can be divided in three questions. Does the parliament have advisory or binding status? Can the

¹² Homelanguage is a term which is especially created to the saami act, and it is the language which you have used in your home. The point is that the saamis that have been growing up with several languages shall not be excluded.

parliament take up an item on its own initiative or must it wait until a Norwegian governmental body is addressing a question to the saami parliament? Can the saami parliament take up every case, or is it formally regulated which items are saami-items.

The answer to the last question is that the saami parliament is free to definite every given case to be a saami case.

The answer to the second question would be that the saami parliament has the right to make initiatives on its own on one hand. That governmental bodies can make initiatives.

The first question is of course the biggest and most important. Legislation-technically it is interesting how that is formulated in the saami act. The act says that the parliament has binding status in areas where that is explicitly addressed in the Norwegian legislation. The point of this addressing technique is to emphasize that giving the parliament status will be a dynamic principal. The present political program seems to be that the parliament should get more status over the time. That means that in most of the areas the present status is an advisory saami parliament. On the other hand there are certain areas where the Norwegian government has formally delegated binding status to the saami parliament. Examples to that would be administrating governmental granting to the saami cultural activities, the saami school and education programs and so on.

The saami people are not a military unit, but more like a family. It means that we are not marching towards the same directions at any given time. We can have our quarrels. One discussion can illustrate how that works. It is the discussion whether the saami parliament should get the responsibility over the reindeer programs. The reindeer herders have two interest organisations. The most influencing of - the Norwegian Reindeerherders Organisation - NRO - was quite sceptical to that the saami parliament should get the responsibility. In Norway we have a national reindeer board, which is appointed of the government. The appointment is determined of suggestions from different types of interest organizations. The hot question was whether the central government should appoint the public representatives or if that should be appointed by the saami parliament. The government had proposed that the saami parliament should do that in the future. NRO didn't support the proposal. Their main argument was that if the central government did appoint the public representatives, then it would secure that the reindeer programs would be supported by expertise. NRO went to Oslo, and the majority of the Norwegian parliament decided that the saami parliament should point out one of the three public representatives. NRO could be suspected for arguing for saami right occasionally, and that when it fits then take a trip to Oslo. The story must be modified. The other organisation BES, supported the saami parliament. BES has approximate the same amount of members, but which hasn't got the same influence as NRO. This illustrates however that the parliamentary form of representation is not unquestionable.

I have pointed out some legal aspects which will determine the status of the saami parliament. The status will however also be determined by how much economic resources the parliament can get during its childhood. Yet we don't know certain things. Will the Norwegian government will give wide enough budgets and financial programs to the parliament to build up a body, which would be able to define which items were important to the saami society, come with its own

initiatives and manage to administrate binding status? In worse case it could be a poor body that became "papered down" by the governmental bodies.

The situation is very open at the time. The picture has some clear and nice colours, but it also has grey and brown. The picture is definitely not a photography - maybe rather a video. Yet we don't know the storyline, and there are both optimists and pessimists among us..

5. Briefly about the saami article in the Norwegian constitution

The saami article declares that the Norwegian state as a national obligation to make efforts that the saami culture, language and society shall be secured and developed. **

The starting point for the article was that the saamis required formal recognition. The public Norway answered by stating that recognition in their constitution. It was as addressed, the most solemn and obligating way of doing that, and that this article should symbolize the reverse of the policy of norwegianizing the saamis.

The text of the article itself is brief, but it causes many questions. Has it secured and developed the legal protection of the saami culture, language and society? Are the Norwegian courts among the bodies of the Norwegian state that are obliged by this article? Does the article just give a duty for the Norwegian state or does it also imply corresponding rights for the saamis? If it gives rights, can a saami individual claim them or is it just the saami people by its parliament that can claim rights? Does the article just prohibit negative discrimination of the saamis or does it give an obligation to discriminate positively, f.ex when it comes to give saami seats in lawschools?

We can't go into these questions. I will just comment on some of them.

Before we can raise these question at all, we face some methodological problem. We have the tradition¹³ in the Norwegian legal context that our constitution is rather considered as an anachronism than a legal text. Secondly we consider the constitution more as a political than a legal text. There are not many cases litigated in Norway where the constitution is present.

At this stage I must also focus on a difference between our jurisprudence in Norway and the anglo-American jurisprudence. In our system legal history¹⁴ for the legislator is considered as important legal sources. I understand that in the

¹³ The Norwegian constitution is from 17th of may 1814. The 17th of may is still the national day of Norway.. This so called constitution conservatism has maybe historical reasons, from the time when Norway was to become a free nation. Then much of their freedom-rhetoric was based upon interpretation of the constitution. On the other hand the swedish King made some attacks in order to change the constitution. At that time there was both formulated prinisipals and created a mythology that the constitution is sacred, and as we know the norwegian nationalists won the battle.

¹⁴ The preparing documents contains often a discussion from an expert-group, the governmental hearing round, where different organisations and public bodies give their statements, the governmental upsumming and finally the debates made by the parliamentary representatives.

anglo-American system courtcases are much more important. Decisions made by the supreme court in a question of interpretation an article in an act is considered as a very important legal source in our system as well.

Many of the questions above were raised in a case from 1992. It was a criminal case against a saami, Mr. Gaski. Gaski hadn't showed up to a military repetition course, and he was convicted. He was sentenced both by the local court, where I did the defence litigation. After an appeal to the supreme court the sentence remained.

Mr Gaskis arguments were based upon both the saami article in the constitution, article 27 in the UN convention and an old convention between Sweden and Norway. Mr Gaskis arguments were that the saamis in their tradition don't know of such a concept as armed defence, and including the saamis historically was based upon the norwegianizing policy. He also argued with that the saamis live in four national states, and that it is hard to have the risk to shoot your own people. The heard argument was that even nowadays the army works norwegianizing. There is no saami cultural expressions there as saami language, saami clothing, saami food etc. All these things should, according to Gaski lead to that he had the right as an individual to come to the courts and claim positive discrimination of himself as a saami.

The supreme court based its dismissal on three arguments. The court addressed that because of these three arguments, it wasn't necessary to give statements whether Gaski as an individual had rights according to the article. It wasn't necessary to give a statement whether this article established obligations for the courtsystem as well. It was neither necessary to give state whether Gaski could have claimed positive discrimination. The first of these three arguments were that the saami article wasn't meant to include the military service for the saamis, army service wasn't explicitly mentioned in the preparing documents. The second argument was that saamis had been doing their service since 1897 when the duty was established. The third argument was that the saami organisations have never protested against the military draft before.

The interesting thing is that this case could be looked upon as a meeting between two mythologies. On one hand we have the mythology of making an indigenous peoples culture to revival by declaring the revival in the most solemn and obligating way. On the other hand you have the mythology of the armed defence that requires everyone¹⁵ to take part of the defence of the interests of the nation. The question after such a meeting would most probably become; what is left of the most solemn and obligating declaration.

The pessimist would say that the most solemn and obligating theatre is over. The saamis got one more of the usual facecrackers from the Norwegian supreme court. He would focus on that the supreme court explicitly stated that it is still an open question whether a saami individual who wants to get positive discrimination can consider the article as legal at all. He would also focus on that the supreme court required that draft should have been explicitly mentioned if the

¹⁵

That is almost a sacred mythology in every Western European societies, and it has classical origins. This discussion took already place between Agamemnon and Odysseus when Odysseus tried to escape from participating in the Trojan war.

court could release Gaski. That requirement was formulated in spite of the fact that the discussion in the preparing documents is general. No particular area is explicitly mentioned. A case about education can pretty well be met by the same argument. The pessimist would call this a *catch 22*¹⁶. The pessimist would also focus on that this "since-1897" argument could be generalized to refer to anything. Our land was taken away from us by these times. If you can take our youngsters by that argument, you can walk away with anything. To the third argument the pessimist would say that the position of saami organisations has never been considered as legal source before this. The litigation was not prepared to that. The Nordic saami youth organization has actually in 1983 given these question explicit statements. What do you do when a new legal source suddenly appears? Was that a torpedo?

The optimist would say that this was a very bad case to come to the court with. The mythological connotations are too touchy to make that a good case for the saami rights. He will say that it would have been a much better case to come with if you had some educational questions. The best case would perhaps have been a case about establishing a museum for yoik. The optimist would maybe say that father had a bad day this particular day. Father will regret, and treat you much softer next time you show up. The optimist would maybe say that father met so bad litigators, but next time when the litigating is better...

A very positive case from the Norwegian administration moderates this rather pessimistic approach. The ministry for the fisheries had made up maximum quotas for harvesting codfish. The regulation was strictly formal - every fisherman that hadn't been harvesting over a level of tons missed the right to harvest. The implications of this regulation were a lot of the saamis, who are small and not so industrialized fishermen lost their right to fish, and the legal question was whether the saami article protected the saami fishermen. Professor Carsten Smith was asked by the ministry to write an opinion, and based on that opinion the saami fishermen could start to harvest again. In his opinion he answered that fishing was a saami right. It was legal. The saami fishermen should be positively discriminated.

An other very positive thing is the legislation about the saami language. The legislator has given an act that gives legal protection to saami languages. It is mainly whether a saami can claim to communicate with the administration, the police, the courts in saami language. The legal basis to that is the saami article in the constitution. This is also an example of how much obliged the legislator considers himself of the saami article.

My impression is that both the politicians and the bureaucrats in the administration are quit friendly and positive when it comes to exaggerate saami rights. At the time I wouldn't invite to a saami right party in the courts. That is of course a problematic situation. It is in that party where all the legal songs and dances are basically performed. The court-party is also the party where the ordinary man meets the justicesystem. I am happy for that we don't have a case

¹⁶ I dont know if the term is used in the North American context, but it describes a rule which leads to that the system always win. The term got its name from a title of a novel, that describes this mechanism in certain variations.

system in Norway. I guess the politicians and the bureaucrats are more dependant on the goodwill of the population in Oslo than the judges.

Where do the road go? Even here it seems that the road is created while you are on your walk.

6. Some updates

Where are the land rights or are there any at all you may ask. Since 1984 the saami right commission has almost been as the famous Godot. We had all been waiting, and we had started planning to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the 1984 report. I guess one of the reasons to that is that professor Carsten Smith went back to the university and then to be chiefjustice of the supreme court of Norway. The commission has since then had one leader and now it has its third leader Judge Tor Falck of the local court in Stjoerdal and Verdal.

At the end of 1993 an internal expert group of the commission published a legal analysis of whether the saamis in Finnmark¹⁷ should be considered as owners of the land. Secondly they asked whether saamis in Finnmark had a legal protection to their traditional exploitation

The conclusion in the ownership question was negative. The main argument was that it had gone so long time since the declaration that this long time legalizes the ownership of the state. On the other hand some exploitations were considered as legal protected.

The expert group had dissent. One expert came to an opposite conclusion.

The majority of the group of experts has been criticized for that they have neither asked whether traditional saami legal concept would be legally relevant. They have just stated that these wouldn't have "weight" anyhow. The second thing that they have been criticized for is that they haven't analysed what implications international law could have to the question of ownership. Particularly ILO convention 169 has been focused on in the critic.

We are still waiting for the saami right commission itself to come with its report. You may ask what happens meanwhile.

Rio Tinto Zink Inc, one of the largest mining companies of the world has applied the Norwegian government for permission to mine in a very central area in Finnmark. They got their permission. The saami parliament wasn't asked. The president of the Norwegian saami parliament, Ole Henrik Magga went up to the mountains and asked the mining company to leave. The company left, and they have also stated that they will respect the saami parliament.

¹⁷ Finnmark is the northernmost county of Norway. It is also the county where most of the saamis live. The saamis was in majority in Finnmark until 1890ies. The state declared ownership over the land, because it was unoccupied, and as addressed that the saamis (or lapps as we were called those days) just moved around and therefore couldn't own the land. That doctrine was in 1974 attacked by Sverre Toennesen in his doctoral thesis in law, which is called *The right to the earth in Finnmark*. Since then it has been two positions in this question. The saami position is that the declarations were illegal then, and must be the same today. The states position is that even if the declaration was illegal then the long time since the state declared has now legalized it.

What about the Alta project? That project became not an economical success. The needs for electricity didn't turn out as expected by the government, and as confirmed by the Norwegian supreme court. Although the Norwegian prime minister admitted on Tv that it was a mistake to construct that project.

7. Concluding lookbacks

A main difference between our people and the north American Indians is that they got treaties and beads when they lost the land.

In Alta we lost our river, and we got the saami parliament and the saami article. Are they pearls or beads? If they are, beads do they have colours?

F. ex the saami parliament that is good in that way that we have a representative body. But sometimes I ask what requires a representative body from us. And I also ask is it appropriate for our people to squeeze ourselves into a mini national-state concept. I have recognized the natives in Canada argued that they are not a homogeneous group, and could therefor not be satisfied with a natives parliament. I realize that the parliament will have squared rooms and squared papers and less yoik, and my question is if that shall be our future path?

I have been mentioning optimists and pessimists several times during this presentation. I understand that I myself could be asked whether I myself belong to category A or B. First - I don't like categorization or categorizations. Therefor I don't know whether I am a Yoiker or an academician or a reindeerherder or a salmonfisher or someone else. I could even be a society of all these strange individuals. If I were put under pressure to answer the A-or-B question I would answer that I don't know whether I should restrain myself as a pessimistic optimist or as an optimistic pessimist.

Assimilation of the Sami – Implementation and Consequences¹

Henry Minde

If it has taken 100 years to norwegianise the Coast Samis, then it will perhaps take another 100 years to make us Samis again? (Beate Hårstad Jensen (29), Dagbladet 28 July 2001)

In May 2002, the Norwegian Sami Parliament discussed a motion put forward by the government of establishing a Sami people's fund as an act of reconciliation; to compensate for the state's former policy of *norwegianization* [assimilation]. In conjunction with this case, the present article was originally written as a background paper to depict the present state of knowledge about the minority policy toward the Sami (1850–1980). The paper shows that on one hand great efforts have been made to clarify the political aspects of norwegianization towards the Sami and the Kven. One can conclude that the state's efforts to make the Sami drop their language and change the basic values of their culture and national identity have been extensive and long lasting. On the other hand, the consequences for the victims of this policy, both economically and social-psychologically, have so far been examined to a small extent. The few contemporary sources from the Sami children's encounter with the school system are used to discuss the methodology and the ethical problems in studying the consequences of the meeting between a dominant and a minority culture.

Introduction

1. The legacy

The policy conducted in respect of the Sami minority in Norway was for a long time synonymous with a policy of assimilation or *fornorsking*, which literally means "norwegianization". Both in a historical and a contemporary perspective we see that this convergence of the minority policy and a policy of

norwegianization represents a separate phase of development, a separate era in Sami history. The policy of norwegianization, understood as a period of time, stretches from about 1850 up to approximately 1980. The beginning and the end of the period can be linked to two events, both of which had a material content, but which also had a powerful symbolic value. The first event was the establishment of *Finnfondet* [the Lapp fund] in 1851. This was a special item in the national budget established by the Storting to bring about a change of language and culture. The other was the *Alta controversy* of 1979–1981, which became a symbol of the Sami fight against cultural discrimination and for collective respect, for political autonomy and for material rights.

Most people who grew up in mixed-language areas in North Norway from the middle of the nineteenth century and far into the post-war period would have been able to tell their own special story of the assimilation. Within the scope allowed, I shall first give a brief historical summary of the efforts made by the Norwegian state over more than 100 years to assimilate the Sami – and the Kven² – people. I shall then discuss the ensuing consequences for the Sami people's understanding of themselves and their identity. The policy of norwegianization was introduced in the field of culture "with school as the battlefield and teachers as frontline soldiers" (Niemi 1997: 268). The subject which was focused on was, therefore, *language*. This became a measure and a symbol of the failure or success of the policy of norwegianization. Several other social sectors were involved throughout the twentieth century. The institutional co-ordination of the efforts in the various sectors was to be a special feature of this policy. I have nevertheless chosen to concentrate on education and language policy. This is due partly to considerations of space, but chiefly because it is possible in this sector to document to a certain extent the long-term consequences for the people who were subjected to this policy. Besides, *school* became the cornerstone in the governing of any nation state in the nineteenth century (cf. Weber 1979; Edvardsen 1992; Heathorn 2000).

Given the development of historical realities, it is necessary to see the assimilation of the Samis in a comparative perspective, especially in comparison with the Kven people. Both in Norway and Sweden, the Samis and the Kven appeared in this period as clearly distinct peoples who lived in certain places in such concentrated communities that their existence was considered a problem which called for a special national policy (see Elenius 2002). The breakthrough for the policy of assimilation was not unique in the world in the nineteenth century. Just across the Finnish border and in the Baltic, attempts at such a policy were called "russification" (Thaden 1981), and further afield in central Europe the Bismark's German Reich revealed the harmonization policy of "germanification" (Kohn 1965: chapter 8), and in far-away USA the non-violent policy in respect of the Indians was called "americanization" (Hoxie 1984). The policy of assimilation was, in other words, inseparable from the

emergence of strong nation states. Thus, it was not the advancement and the existence of a policy of assimilation which made Norway different from other states, but rather the determined, continuous and long-lasting conduct of that policy. This is what makes the historical legacy of the norwegianization policy morally problematic and politically sensitive, even to this day.

2. The historiography

This exposition and discussion will necessarily reflect the situation in today's research, but will also draw attention to aspects of the assimilation which we know surprisingly little about today.

2.1. Institutional and political studies

It was teachers and educationalists who first became interested in norwegianization as a interesting field of study. This was only to be expected. First, the teaching profession had been staunch supporters of the central authorities in the process, they had, in other words, been central players and had a role which increasingly became the subject of discussion. Second, language, education and a Christian upbringing were very much in focus during the process. These were central subjects in the training of teachers in Norway from the mid-nineteenth century. Lastly, the legacy of the educational and nation-building perspective of the state developed by the Liberal Party dominated the historical accounts of it for a long time. After the Second World War and the Holocaust, scientists gradually began to shift their focus to other ideological motives and social processes. Elements of social darwinism and racial overtones came to light, forming a backdrop to the early policy – and research. The problems which the school encountered in Sami areas were no longer limited to a question of language, which could be resolved by more sophisticated educational means. The problem had to be studied in the light of social processes, both inside and outside the schoolroom. The important contribution in this field was Anton Hoëm's thesis, printed in 1976. He demonstrated, in detail, how the central state power even in the 1960s had maintained, through its educational system, a firm and profound grip on the Sami community.

Historians were slow to involve themselves in this field of research, and the major contribution used a surprising approach – in the eyes of the educationalists. In the cold war era, Knut Einar Eriksen and Einar Niemi, for the first time, gave the security policy motive a prominent place, in their monograph *Den finske fare* [The Finnish Menace] of 1981. In their view it was

security policy which explained the distinctive formulation of the Norwegian policy in respect of minorities, in its content, scope and depth, as well as in continuity and consistency. My account of the Norwegian policy in respect of the Samis in the years 1850-1940 will be based largely on Eriksen and Niemi's book, but will, to a certain extent, be supplemented and modified with subsequent historical research.

2.2. *Studies of cultural and socio-cultural consequences*

While the minority policy in itself has been given considerable attention, the cultural and socio-cultural consequences of the policy of norwegianization have received far less attention, although the subject has been dealt with in a number of major works and scientific articles, especially at a theoretical, methodological and general level. We find interesting observations and analyses in local community monographs, from Johs. Falkenberg's study of Laksefjord, dating from as early as 1941, to Ivar Bjørklund's history of Kvænangen from 1985. Bjørklund sees the assimilation as the main cause of the ethnic cleansing which apparently took place, evidenced by figures obtained from the Central Bureau of Statistics: the proportion of Samis in this municipality was reduced from 44% to 0% in the period 1930-1950 (Bjørklund 1985: 12). Even though the country had been occupied in the meantime and the people of Kvænangen were forced to evacuate the area in 1944-1945, we know that largely the same families and persons lived in the municipality after the Second World War. Problematic as it may be, the ethnic registration carried out in the censuses demonstrates the drastic "disappearance" or change in identity of the Sami population in *overgangsdistrikter* [transitional districts], i.e. areas which had become ethnically mixed with a substantial element of ethnic Norwegians and other Norwegian speakers. Far into the twentieth century this was synonymous with Coast Sami areas.

Harald Eidheim submitted some early and inspiring works which were of some significance to the way his peers in social anthropology regarded the subject of history, and which, in addition, were to provide the basis for a wider cultural and political understanding of what had taken place and still took place in the Sami areas in the post-war years. Eidheim, in his MA thesis of 1958, thematized the problems of norwegianization as an "accumulation" of population in Inner Finnmark. He explains in detail how the Norwegians' attitude to the Samis manifests itself as negative discrimination. And he launches the hypothesis that the attitudes of Norwegians, including many public bodies, become increasingly negative the closer one gets to the Sami central areas. In the small, but classic, study "When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma" of 1971, this discussion is raised to a more general level. This study

insists that the contemporary situation of the Sami must be seen first and foremost as *part of* the state societies within which the Samis as a minority (and in more recent works, as indigenous people) live. It was not the "real" history of the Sami which was of significance, but rather contemporary perception and experience of the Sami's past. And within this horizon of understanding, all things "Sami" were regarded as beggary, old fashioned, reactionary and – in many circles – heathen. The asymmetric power relations between Norwegians, the Norwegian general public and the Sami relegated features of Sami culture to the private sphere, while attempts were made to conceal that culture in the public sphere.

The social anthropological paradigm on the norwegianization has not resulted in any comprehensive monograph of the consequences of the assimilation process. This is probably an indication of how complex and taboo-ridden the subject is, at any rate among the most exposed groups and those who underwent the most painful experiences. Traditional research will run into numerous problems and ethical dilemmas. On the one hand, considerable familiarity with the informants is required to be able to collect information and data and establish a dialogue with them. And on the other hand, the information obtained by the researchers in this way is so intricate and ambiguous and liable to hurt the informant that it should be used only with the utmost caution (Nergård 1994). Traditional methods of collecting historical material have involved problems of recording relevant data on the subject. The fear of being confronted with self-denial of one's Sami past or the shame associated with incidents from one's schooldays may be reasons why life interviews with people from the transitional districts are so superficial and general when they touch on childhood and schooldays. One intermezzo during an interview with an elderly couple from Skånland in South Troms gives a good indication of this. When the wife had said that her teacher "laughed at" and "mimicked" them because they knew only the Sami language when they started school (in the 1920s), her husband interrupted her with the following reminder: "Enough has been said now. Let me tell you, your story has been so thorough and correct that you need add neither A nor B".³ It was obvious that a subject had been broached in which they soon reached a pain threshold (Minde 1993: 24f.). This type of reaction is typical of meetings between a dominant culture and a minority culture. When researchers carried out their interviews for the cross-disciplinary project on the consequences of the state policy in respect of the Romany people, concealment versus openness was a relevant issue to many persons (Hvinden 2000: 27). This project nevertheless showed how far one can go in the identification of such consequences when resources are made available for a cross-disciplinary research effort. As will appear from the following, we would still like to see a similar effort with regard to the history of the Sami.

The phases, motives and content⁴

The long policy of norwegianization can be subdivided into several phases, commonly the background of the causes which impelled this policy, the peoples – Sami or Kven – who were most in focus, the means employed and the degree of co-ordination which took place.

1. The transitional phase, approximately 1850–1870

In the young Norwegian state after 1814, the first generation of senior civil servants who, by virtue of office, made contact with the Sami, put the Sami language on an equal footing with Norwegian. In accordance with the humanistic and romantic ideas of that period, it was believed that to speak one's native tongue was a human right. The most prominent spokesman for these ideas was the clergyman N. V. Stockfleth, who translated and published several books in Sami for use in schools and churches. Stockfleth's line had received strong support from the senior civil servants' party in the *Storting* (the Norwegian Parliament) and from the government. However, this "liberal" – as seen through our contemporary eyes – language policy was opposed by the Norwegian upper class of Finnmark, especially when Stockfleth placed the Sami and the Kven on an equal footing in terms of cultural policy. In 1848 and subsequent sessions of the *Storting*, Stockfleth's line in language policy was vehemently debated. The discussion heralded a tougher stance by the authorities in respect of the northern minorities.

The measures applied in the first phase were to focus on the Sami in "transitional districts". In 1851 the *Storting* created a special item in the national budget, termed "*Finnfondet*" (the Lapp Fund), to promote the teaching of Norwegian in the transitional districts and to ensure the enlightenment of the Sami people. To give some indication of the scope of this effort, see Table 1.

An estimate for the 2002 fiscal year shows that the grants for earmarked Sami purposes represent slightly less than 1% of the total national budget, a little over one third of which is managed by the Sami themselves, through the Sami Parliament (Fjellheim 2000). Table 1 shows that the proportion which the state spent on norwegianization through *Finnfondet* alone – except for the first two decades – was equal to, if not slightly higher than, what the Sami Parliament has at its disposal today. And in some periods in the early twentieth century the funds made available for norwegianization measures through *Finnfondet* were larger than the total proportion allocated for Sami purposes today. We must, of course, be careful not to draw solid conclusions on the basis of thousandths when dealing with phenomena from differing historical

Table 1. *Finnfondet*, annual allocations, and per thousand of public administration expenditure.

	Annual allocations from <i>Finnfondet</i> , NOK	Per thousand of public administration expenditure
1865 (1864/1865)	4000	0.19
1870 (1869/1870)	11,200	0.53
1880 (1879/1880)	20,000	0.67
1890 (1889/1890)	31,000	0.82
1900 (1899/1900)	25,300	0.99
1910 (1909/1910)	90,000	1.01
1920 (1919/1920)	189,200	0.94

Annual allocations taken from Larsson (1989: 58, Table 1) and per thousand of public administration expenditure calculated on the basis of figures from *Historisk Statistikk 1978* [Historical Statistics 1978] (table 234, column headed "avgifter i alt" [total expenditure]).

periods. A direct comparison will be incongruous for two reasons: first, as we shall see, there were a number of assimilation measures which were funded over other budget items⁵, and second, many of these measures were intended for the border districts and the Kven population.

2. *The consolidation phase, approximately 1870–1905*

From the late 1860s, the Storting began to tighten the norwegianization measures. The great Finnish immigration to East Finnmark was brought up. The measures already taken had not had the desired effect. Quite the contrary, it was said, the Norwegian language was in decline among Sami and Kven. While these measures in the first phase had been motivated by civilizing and nationalistic considerations, now security policy was highlighted and "national considerations" were decisive to both objectives and strategies. It was against this background that the Storting, in 1868, decided that the money of *Finnfondet* was to be spent on measures also aimed at the Kven population. This item in the national budget was more than doubled in a few years (see Table 1).

The measures were gradually tightened. One central instrument was an instruction issued by the directors of Troms diocese in 1880 to teachers in the transitional districts. The instruction stated that all Sami and Kven children were to learn to speak, read and write Norwegian, while all previous clauses saying that the children were to learn their native tongue were repealed. Teachers who were unable to demonstrate good results in this linguistic decodification

process or "change of language", as it was called, were not given a wage increase. For someone who had taught for 7 years, this represented between 23 and 30% of the wage (Larsson 1989: 113). Sami or Kven teachers saw no point in applying for this increase, while Norwegian teachers became financially dependent on documenting the zeal they put into their norwegianization work (see Bjørkdund 1985: 263-274). The instruction of 1880 marked the final breakthrough for the strict norwegianization policy.

The final and most long-lived school instruction was issued in 1898, and was nicknamed "the Wexelsen decree", after the Minister for Church Affairs. Again, in the justification for the instruction it was pointed to the peril from the east, and again there were reports of the deteriorating language situation. It was now stated that use of the Sami and Kven languages must be limited to what was strictly necessary, "as an aid to explain what is incomprehensible to the children". The instruction even required teachers to check that their Sami and Kven pupils did not use their native tongue during breaks. The objective was maintained and made more stringent, while the methods and the scope were modified. Funds spent on teaching the Sami and Kven languages at Tromsø Teachers' Training Seminar were revoked. Although these funds largely went to students of a Norwegian ethnic background, the Ministry thought that it had been unfortunate to signal a willingness to oblige demands of this kind. Besides, it was thought that the process had gone so far that the actual need was no longer really present.

Even though such well-known "Sami activists" as Isak Saba and Anders Larsen were admitted as Sami students on tuition scholarships at Tromsø Teachers' Training Seminar, there could have been only a few whose background was ethnic Sami or Kven.⁶ According to education researcher Helge Dahl, only 12 of the 187 students on tuition scholarships who graduated in the 1872-1906 period were from Finnmark, i.e. 6.4%. We do not know how many of these had a minority background. Some students from Troms (51) and Nordland (58) must also have had such a background (Dahl 1957: 256). In comparison, between 1883 and 1905, 10 Sami and five Kven were admitted at the seminar (Dahl 1957: 248). Scepticism regarding the admission of Sami and Kven students increased throughout the period. In the late 1860s, the directors of Troms diocese were already sceptical of Sami teachers: "There were considerable problems associated with them, yet with no possibility of instilling in them any satisfactory education" (quoted from Dahl 1957: 226). In 1877, Director General Hertzberg of the Ministry went in for work prohibition on ethnic grounds, with the following justification: "Experience seems to have demonstrated that teachers of pure or mixed Kven or Lappish descent are not suited to promote norwegianisation among their fellow countrymen with the desired success". (Stortingsforhandling 1878). This proposed work prohibition on ethnic grounds at first met with no response.

but two decades later "the Wexelsen decree" signalled the green light for this measure.

We have seen that allocations for the norwegianization measures increased substantially in the early twentieth century (see Table 1). The reasons for this were both a greater fear of "the Finnish menace" and the attention given to it, and the national agitation surrounding the dissolution of the union with Sweden. New measures were introduced in a short period of time:

- the building of several boarding schools around Finnmark county, aimed at isolating the pupils from their original environments;
- the termination of courses in Sami and Finnish at Tromsø seminar;
- at the same time, tuition scholarships for pupils with a Sami or Kven background were abolished at the same school;
- the authorities preferred teachers with a Norwegian background in Sami and Kven areas, i.e. a work prohibition for Sami and Kven in schools;
- teaching methods designed to promote assimilation most efficiently were discussed at teachers' conventions and demonstrated by the school superintendent himself.

Moreover, there was a considerable tightening of state control over the norwegianization measures, especially in schools. Up until the turn of the century, the local authorities had had control of, and responsibility for, the implementation of norwegianization, e.g. the vicar checked that the measures were put into practice in the municipalities, by virtue of his role as chairman of the school board. In 1902, the state authorities set up the first office in Norway of a county Director of Schools and ordered Bernt Thomassen, a well-known Liberal Party sympathizer, to carry out the new mission in the county of Finnmark. In *Sagai Muittalagje* he was called Bobrikoff after the general governor whom the czar appointed to russify Finland (Polvinen 1995). It is no doubt that Thomassen was strictly dedicated to the task he had been given. We note that the justification he gave included not only nationalism and security policy, but also welfare policy. Norwegianization was, as Thomassen pointed out in a statement to the Ministry in 1907, "as much a matter of welfare for the vast majority of the North Norwegian Lappish and Kven population. Norwegianisation paves the way for development and progress even for these people" (quoted from Eriksen and Niemi 1981: 114). With this conviction, the authorities believed that they could maintain their objectives *on behalf of* the minority populations and *for their good*. I will return to this point later. As Thomassen stayed in the office as Director of Schools for a long time (1902–1920), he marked out the course and put his mark on how the norwegianization was implemented.

3. *The culmination phase: approximately 1905–1950*

In the first part of this phase "measures previously launched were consolidated and ideologies were firmly cemented" (Eriksen and Niemi 1981: 323). The Versailles Peace Treaty after the First World War changed the borders on the northern Fennoscandia. For Norway this resulted in a common border with both Russia and Finland. The security policy threat perceived by Norwegian authorities became stronger after the Russian revolution, but after a short period it was still "the Finnish menace" which was at the centre of attention. The inter-war years were therefore to be marked by a shielding off from Finland and – more relevant to our topic – an "inner offensive" against Kven and Sami.

The various means which had been employed until then and which were supplemented with several new ones, were finally brought together in a joint, secret, body, *Finnmarksnemden* [the Finnmark Board], in 1931. This body marks the culmination of the Norwegian assimilation policy which continued into the post-war years and which, characteristically, remained quite unaffected by the change in government in 1935. The Finnmark Board also demonstrates the increasingly stronger ties which gradually developed between the minority and the security policies and which, in particular, characterizes the distinctive character and form which the norwegianization policy assumed. The secrecy must also be seen as a reaction against the organized opposition by the Sami and their criticism of the education policy. The fear of both ambitions for a greater Finland and Sami mobilization led to more "underhand" justifications for the introduction of new measures.

Allocations for the above-mentioned *Finnfondet* had been considerably increased in the early twentieth century and were more than doubled in the years before the outbreak of war in 1914. The great increase was intended to cover the government's boarding schools initiative as a new and more efficient tool in the assimilation efforts. At first the boarding schools were built as border fortifications in Kven-dominated areas, but later Inner Finnmark county and Tysfjord were also included in the programme (Meløy 1980). As soon as the war was over, the Director of Schools for Finnmark county characteristically took the initiative to change the name of *Finnfondet* to a more "neutral" term. This initiative should probably be seen in the context of the Sami national meetings which had been held the previous years. The Ministry followed the advice, and from 1921 *Finnfondet* was camouflaged as a general tool: "Special grants for elementary schools in Finnmark's rural districts". Bjørg Larsson, who has studied how the money allocated over *Finnfondet* was spent, concludes that "grants for *Finnfondet* continued as before" (Larsson 1989: 31).

Chr. Brygfeldt was one of Thomassen's successors in the office of Director of Schools and the state's chief inspector of norwegianization measures from

1923 to 1935. Academic literature refers to him as both stubborn and rigorous in his practice (Meløy 1980: 94; Eriksen and Niemi 1981: 257 ff.). He rejected all demands made by the Sami, partly from clearly racial points of view:

The Lapps have had neither the ability nor the will to use their language as written language. (...) The few individuals who are left of the original Lappish tribe are now so degenerated that there is little hope of any change for the better for them. They are hopeless and belong to Finnmark's most backward and wretched population, and provide the biggest contingent from these areas to our lunatic asylums and schools for the mentally retarded (quoted from Eriksen and Niemi 1981: 258).⁸

According to Bryggfeldt, the assimilation of the Sami was an indisputable civilizing task for the Norwegian state, because of the Norwegians' racial superiority. Here he distinguished between Sami and Kven, as he considered the latter to be a cultured people, the "most industrious and competent" in Finnmark. The fact that the Kven must be norwegianized was due exclusively to security policy considerations.

From the mid-nineteenth century the authorities did not distinguish between Sami and Kven pupils in assimilation measures in schools. But, as the example with Bryggfeldt above shows, this distinction was more commonly made in the inter-war years. This differential treatment could be negative to the Sami, based on a scale of civilization where the Sami fell short. Or it could be positive from a historical argument: unlike the Kven, who must be considered old immigrants to Norway, the Sami were an old indigenous people of northern Fennoscandia.

This differential treatment of Sami and Kven was in fact laid down in the Elementary School Act of 1936. The previously existing possibility of using Finnish as an auxiliary language in case of need, as was the case with Sami, was now abolished. The 1936 School Act was, in other words, a further tightening of the regime in respect of the Kven. The justification was that the Sami enjoyed special rights as an indigenous people and that many of them knew no Norwegian. One underlying motive was security policy, but this was expressed only in unofficial memorandums, not in public debates in the Storting. The new Labour Party government, in other words, followed up the norwegianization and assimilation policy of the previous non-socialist government.

4. *The termination phase: approximately 1950–1980*

Formally speaking, the instruction of 1898, the Wexelsen decree, remained in force until the Sami Commission's recommendation was debated in the Storting in 1963 (Innstilling 1959: 58f.; Stortingsmelding 21 (1962–1963)).⁹ The

requirements laid down in the instruction consequently applied throughout the 1950s, indeed there is evidence that they were applied far into the 1960s in some places. In Tor Edvin Dahl's book report (1970: 150), a teacher who came originally from Oslo states the following:

Then we had to make sure the children never spoke Sami or Finnish, we had been told by the headmaster that they were not allowed to speak their native language, not even during breaks or after school hours. Norwegian was to be spoken, and no discussion about it.

The fact that the Old Spirit was still alive in the 1960s is further confirmed by a small account which Anders Ole Hauglid (1984: 65) from Brummundal has given of his meeting with "the land of adventure": Wondrous Finnmark – it was quite an experience to have gone to a foreign country: – Everyone speaks Norwegian. Nobody has to speak Finnish or Sami, was the message we had been given! Until the manager of the school's dormitory made me aware that Sami and Finnish were their native tongues and that the boarding school was their second home. Today, 20 years on, one can fret and grieve about this.

Both accounts are from Porsanger, but it seems likely that active norwegianization was carried on during and outside school hours elsewhere in Troms and Finnmark as well, as late as in the 1960s, even after the Storting had finally buried the "Wexelsen decree". In the case of North Troms, it has been demonstrated that the teaching staff in the inter-war years consisted largely of people from outside who were animated by the authorities' programme to disseminate the Norwegian language and culture. There are examples of teachers who publicly expressed racist attitudes. In Bråstad Jensen (1990: 141) words, school had:

(...) unfortunate consequences for the development of the self-image of many Sami and Even pupils. At school they were told more or less overtly that their native language and their cultural belonging were of little value altogether.

It is not within the scope of this article to discuss in more detail how the relationship between school and local communities developed or to discuss the outcome, in terms of knowledge, of the development of education in the norwegianization policy. There was no major survey of these issues until the 1960s, in connection with the transition from elementary school to 9 year primary and lower secondary schools in the central north Sami areas. At that time the pupils' average performance was markedly below the minimum requirements of the curriculum plan, and all through the twentieth century the distance between school and Sami, in both social and cultural terms, had increased (Hoëm 1976a,b).

5. Today's knowledge and discussion of the effects

It has been said that the norwegianization policy "was the aggregate measures and thinking behind the totality of the assimilation work" (Eriksen and Niemi 1981: 61) and that it, in our context, "required the Sami to be what they were not" (Nergård 1994: 58).

Based on history, one can safely conclude that the state's efforts to make the Sami (and the Kven) drop their language, change the basic values of their culture and change their national identity, have been extensive, long lasting and determined. The restructuring of social institutions must have had profound consequences for the individuals' relations with each other. The state's efforts were to some extent made easier by existing everyday racism, but these efforts in themselves probably contributed to a massive downgrading of those who were subjected to the policy. Yet, it has been pointed out that social unrest was remarkably feeble during the entire modernization and norwegianization period. There is great consensus that this is due to the powerlessness caused by the extremely unequal power relations between state administration as the executive party and the individuals who were subjected to the changes (Aubert 1982; Eidheim 1971; Eriksen and Niemi 1981; Hoëm 1976a,b).

Eriksen and Niemi have launched as "a reasonable hypothesis" that without "the Finnish menace" "the norwegianisation policy in respect of the Sami would not have been conducted as strictly over such a long period of time" (Eriksen and Niemi 1981: 333, see also 125). We have, in line with this conclusion, seen that after about 1870 the assimilation policy in Finnmark was continuously tightened owing to increased Kven immigration. Recent research has nevertheless drawn attention to the fact that the authorities' policy in respect of the Sami south of Finnmark, especially the reindeer-herding Sami, was characterized by national, social darwinistic and racist motives to an equally great extent. The long process leading up to an agreement between Norway and Sweden about reindeer grazing in 1919, the Reindeer Grazing Convention, has been called by historian Roald Berg "another victory" for "the Norwegian restrictive policy in respect of the Sami culture" (Berg 1998: 182), and in the work *Norsk utenrikspolitisk historie* [the history of Norwegian foreign policy], Berg concludes the discussion of this issue thus:

The reindeer grazing conflict with Sweden up until 1919 was the manifestation in foreign policy of the hard-handed norwegianisation policy resulting from colonisation from the south, the inner consolidation and expansion into the old Sami country (Berg 1995: 143).

A closer look at the economic development than this article allows reveals that the marginalization was to a considerable extent a result of the assimilation measures in a wide context (Minde 2000: 81–103). The result in the Coast Sami

areas was that the Sami "disappeared" from the censuses, and that Sami interests and identity in the fishing industry were stigmatized (Drivenes 1982: 144f; Eythósson 2003). In other words, studies made of the Norwegian-Swedish reindeer grazing conflict, national and regional reindeer herding in Norway (Berg 2000) and local communities in South Troms and Ofoten (Minde 2000) have both supplemented and modified the work of Eriksen and Niemi on this point.

We know from other research that this form of powerlessness which the minorities experienced during norwegianization has social-psychological consequences. On the one hand, various defence mechanisms are activated to adapt to the social pressure and the new conditions. But if the pressure from the surroundings becomes sufficiently strong and persistent, it will on the other hand "mark one's self-image, undermine one's self-respect and self-esteem, and at worst cause self-contempt and an exaggeratingly critical attitude towards other members of one's own group" (Hvinden 2000: 19).

The identity and self-esteem

Since Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson's peasant stories and the novels of Arne Garborg, Norwegian literature has contained innumerable descriptions of schools' injustice towards children on the basis of social position and conditions of class. A great number of such stories could be expected, given what took place for more than a century in the 50 boarding schools and 70 school rooms,¹⁰ if we look at Finnmark alone.

As mentioned in the introduction, there has been little research performed by historians and social scientists regarding the social-psychological consequences of the norwegianization of Sami and Kven. I shall nevertheless summarize some observations on the background of evidence that has become known up until the present day from literature and written recollections. How did schoolchildren themselves experience their encounter with school? What were the consequences of the norwegianization policy for young people's development in a critical phase of their lives?

1. Introduction of a new teaching method – an episode

Academic literature does not know of many episodes which shed light on the cultural clash that must have occurred daily in the school rooms. Historian Regnor Jernsletten has referred to an episode which was reported in Anders Larsen's newspaper *Sagai Muittalægje*, which took place during the Director of Schools' (Thomassen) journey in Porsanger in 1903. Thomassen took over a

classroom lesson in Lakselv, wishing to demonstrate how the new method in educational norwegianization, visual instruction,¹¹ was to be applied in practice.

The school superintendent shouted to one of the children: "Go out! Go out!" and when the child did not understand the foreign language, the superintendent seized him by the neck and threw him into the hall with the words "Go out!". The child was frightened and began to cry. Then one of the other children was told to go and fetch him back, again on the school superintendent's order – which was again "Go out! Go out!" This child fared no better than the first. Then the superintendent fetched a stick and pointed around the room at various objects with it. And when the children failed to understand his foreign tongue, he banged the stick on the table. And *then* the children understood nothing at all, as they had become utterly terrified (Jernaletten 1998: 50).

The Director of Schools superintendent did not let this go unchallenged. His version, which was translated into Sami and printed in the same paper, largely confirms the actual events, but offers a totally different interpretation:

The school superintendent demonstrated how teaching could be effected by means of visual instruction, without the use of the Sami or Kven language. What was to be learned was the word "out". A child was required to leave the room for this purpose, and the remaining children were asked where he was. Their answer was to be: "Johan has gone *out*". After this had been repeated several times, Johan was asked to come back in. However, he had misunderstood the situation. The whole thing was therefore repeated with another boy, and Johan realised his misunderstanding. – The teacher was impressed by the superintendent's simple and good method of instruction. – And the superintendent had been forced to bang the stick on the table a couple of times in order to have the children's attention (Jernaletten 1998: 51, cf. Hoëm and Tjeldvoll 1980: 79–82).

Regardless of which version is the most correct compared with what "actually" happened, these accounts reveal the real implications and consequences of the new teaching methods. As we shall see below in more detail, the pupils risked having their human dignity violated daily. But paradoxically enough, there have been few accounts of how these children experienced school. One common attitude in Sami areas has been to "let bygones be bygones". The contrast with the many and detailed school day memoirs which exist from ethnic Norwegian areas is striking. In most multi-ethnic communities in North Norway, however, school seems to have been almost as taboo-ridden to Sami and Kven pupils as rape and incest have been until recently in Western countries. How are such paradoxes to be explained? We have no

possibilities of doing in-depth studies here, but if one takes as a starting point what people have suggested more or less implicitly, there should be enough material to arouse interest in further fact-finding.

2. Pupils' "mastering" of changes in school

Where the pre-Second World War period is concerned, I would first of all refer to two well-known accounts, both printed in the clergyman Jens Otterbech's anti-norwegianization battle pamphlet, which appeared in 1917 (Hidle and Oterbech 1917).¹² In this collection of articles, two Sami teachers write about their own encounter with school, Anders Larsen (1870–1949) from Seglvik in Kvænangen¹³ and Per Fokstad (1890–1973) from Bonakas in Tana.¹⁴ As a man who was past the prime of his life, Larsen remembers his own schooling in this way:

I cannot remember anything of what my teacher said during my first years at school, because I did not understand him, and I was certainly not among the least gifted. I profited sadly little from school. I was intellectually malnourished. My soul was damaged. These are the most barren and fruitless of my learning years. They were wasted, so to speak, and a wasted childhood can never be made good (Hidle and Oterbech 1917: 35).

What is left in Larsen's mind is the feeling of having been ignored and neglected. At this time, Larsen had been frozen out from his teaching vocation in the Sami areas and had ended his period as a Sami activist (Bjorklund 1985: 329, cf. Hoëm and Tjeldvoll 1980: 79–82; Eriksen and Niemi 1981: 114). It is the life experience of a resigned man that marks the school day recollections we meet in this account. One might expect a different attitude in the young teacher Per Fokstad, who worked in his home community in Tana and who faced a long career as Sami and Labour Party politician.

Oh, what helpless experiences those first school lessons were! It was as if all doors were closed! – What was he saying? – It sounded so stiff. – There was something revolutionary going on in your mental life. The bright, bold receptiveness left you; the childlike cheerfulness disappeared! You did not dare ask a question; you only guessed. No utterance of amazement at what you saw ever crossed your lips. It was as if you had suddenly become old. You became uncommunicative, you were seized by a feeling of loneliness. (...) School lessons were so boring and so poor, so poor in content.

True, there are accounts of a demand for knowledge and revolt, but these are repressed for fear of the authorities. The awareness of the reactions that

school created is remarkably similar to the one found in Larsen. Half a century later, Easter 1970, Folkstad reflected on the personal consequences that the rigorous norwegianization could have:

Sometimes when I think about this, it is such a great pain that I can't sleep. I stay awake at night, I feel I have to speak up. Tell this story to someone, everything that causes pain, that has been trampled down -. There is something inside me that shouts: Don't suffocate me! Something that needs air, that wants to rise, that wants to live. But we were branded. We were trampled down and I can never forget it. Never forget what it was like. Everything was taken away from us. Our native language we were not allowed to speak. Nobody listened to us (Dahl 1970: 10).

Again the feeling of being looked down upon is underlined, of not being appreciated and of being ignored. In the case of Folkstad, the feeling of bitterness, similar to what we saw in Larsen, led to an occasionally active opposition to the minority policy in force. Larsen and Folkstad were no doubt representative of those Sami who, from about 1905 to about 1920, took part in the first Sami organization building (Jernsletten 1998: 49-65). It may, of course, be a question to what extent such attitudes were common among the Sami in general. We shall look at some examples from areas which did not have any strong ethno-political organizations until the 1980s and 1990s. One Sami from Ullsfjord in North Troms, born in 1911, who had not been active in Sami politics, stated in an interview in 1990:

I wondered why the teacher didn't speak Sami in school when he was a Sami - He probably wasn't allowed to, he thought. (...) We were so used to being repressed - it didn't matter much.¹⁵

A woman of about the same age and from the same place had not only noticed the low status of the language, but remembered in particular how the teacher had made a habit of ridiculing pupils who knew no Norwegian: "We had a teacher from Bodo. He was a true Norwegian. He made fun of anyone who spoke Sami".¹⁶ The feeling of being looked down upon by the teacher is common to those who have talked about their school days at all, such as this Sami woman from Skånland, born in 1924:

When I started school I could not speak Norwegian. Had to learn. Of course it sounded broken. (...) I have to say many times, that when I think back, I was bullied many times for my language alone, the poor Sami language.¹⁷

School day recollections given in Tor Edvin Dahl 1970 report from Karasjok, Tana and Porsanger refer to the period during and after the Second

World War. It is from Inner Finnmark, which is where the ethno-political opposition began to take root in the 1960s (Stordahl 1996). Dahl lets a varied group of people with a Sami background tell their stories:

The language was Sami, of course. The teachers were the only ones who spoke Norwegian, and all teaching was in Norwegian. You perhaps didn't understand very much. But you crammed the Bible stories until you knew them. In the course of 4 1/2 years I had 9 teachers, and none of them knew Sami (Hans Eriksen, headmaster in Karasjok. Born and raised in Sirma. Approximately 35 years old in 1970; Dahl 1970: 69).

At any rate, many are insecure and feel so. It began when you were small, didn't it. At school, with the endless misunderstandings, all the small humiliations. I didn't know Norwegian so well, I had problems expressing myself, and I frequently said something different from what I intended (Albert Johansen, headmaster, Polmak. Approximately 40 years old in 1970; Dahl 1970: 74).

I never had more than 4 years of schooling, I suppose. Then I went south to a lower secondary school, and at first I did all right. I could read mechanically, but strangely enough, when I began to understand a little, things got worse. Writing something, that was not easy. And then one day we had a test. I didn't hand in my paper. Afterwards the teacher came and asked me why? I said it wasn't much good, so I didn't want to hand it in. Well, let me see, then, he said. After that he sat with me many evenings, and that was probably why I managed as well as I did (LK, carpenter from Sirma. Approximately 40 years old in 1970; Dahl 1970: 92).

I suppose I am quite simple, as you will understand who have come from Oslo to make a book. But I have always got along. I have even learned Norwegian, even though it is said to be so difficult for us Sami. I didn't understand a word at school, and the teachers gave us the Bible stories, and we were told to read. But of course it was quite incoherent to us (RS, housewife from Polmak. Approximately 55 years old in 1970; Dahl 1970: 118).

(...) I went to school for 17 months, but didn't learn a word of Norwegian and could neither read nor write. Grey sheep, my teacher called me. Maybe I could have won the court case and been paid money because I didn't learn anything, many people up here could have done that. But I am not like that (JS, farmer from Karasjok, 50 years old in 1970; Dahl 1970: 138).

I don't know very much. I can't speak Norwegian, just a little, but it is hard. I don't understand it when they talk on the radio, it is too fast there. And I can't read or write, not Sami and not Norwegian. So you understand, there isn't much I can do either (AS, from Karasjok. Approximately 45 years old in 1970; Dahl 1970: 143).

One element common to these personal school day stories is the disgrace the pupils felt as they were left out of things during the first years because of their language. They did everything to avoid being ridiculed and disgraced. Pupils' absence and omission at that time were certainly not always caused by poverty and disease, despite the notations in school protocols. The gifted pupils managed to get through school, but not always without memories which could still be painful. And surprisingly, many never learned proper Norwegian. One account from Musken boarding school in Tysfjord confirms the impression from Inner Finnmark. The informant was born in 1932 and later became a teacher:

When we showed up at school – it was a totally strange world. We learned how to read – it is a miracle – I can't understand how we made it. I learned mechanically. Of course I read, but I didn't understand a thing (...) We cried and did our homework – crammed and crammed (...) How I got through the first years at school I cannot understand. Not until the 6th grade was the Norwegian language an instrument of thought (...) Pupils who, had it been today, would know how to both read and write with a little special teaching, I remember them in particular (...) There was a fellow the same age as me. He managed, in the seven years, to write the figure 1 – and he never learned to read. What struck me afterwards was that he was a crackerjack at mental calculation.¹⁸

3. *The cultural pain*

One recurrent feature in this context is the fact that the events of the past are soon lost in semi-darkness. The human costs of the measures that were applied are, as already indicated, difficult to evidence. Because a culture based on the written language is less common among minorities, and because loyalty and shame have been common feelings, we can talk about a structural feature, i.e. the fact that "power covers up its tracks" (Hvinden 2000: 27–28; cf. Høgmo 1986; Nergård 1994).

It is, therefore, not surprising that academic literature contains relatively few examples of organized resistance among Sami and Kven, aimed directly at the implementation of assimilation measures. The feeling of powerlessness among the minorities was too great for that, and those in power were

convinced that the minorities' agreement was not even necessary. This is well demonstrated by the short period during which the norwegianization policy was attacked by the directors of *Finnemisjonen* [the Lapp Mission], i.e. circles within the Church of Norway. Both Director of Schools Thomassen and bishop Dietrichson¹⁹ were forced to come to the defence of the norwegianization policy. The main arguments were that the vast majority of those entitled to give an opinion were in favour of the policy in force. The opposition was characterized as reactionary because it wished to return to the previous confusion in school language and because it disregarded the fact that norwegianization would elevate the Sami materially, culturally and religiously. Besides, Thomassen and Dietrichson claimed, it was not correct that the Sami themselves were opposed to assimilation (Eriksen and Niemi 1981: 122).

Here, the Director of Schools and the bishop responsible for the Sami population in the north on the one hand disregarded the pronounced opposition voiced in Sami political circles and represented by such politicians as Anders Larsen and Isak Saba. In the magazine *Sagai Muittalægje* (1904–1911) they had expressed well-known opposition against norwegianization: the language is a people's life nerve, therefore Sami and Norwegians must enjoy equal rights "in our realm". On the other hand, Thomassen and Dietrichson could point to expressions coming from Sami quarters which gave them support. This is seen in the first big language debate about the native language among the Sami in *Sagai Muittalægje* in 1905–1906. Larsen had then given space to a Sami language teacher from Talvik in Finnmark who wrote under the pseudonym "a thinker". The article could have been written as an application to the Director of Schools for a wage increase from *Finnfondet*: without learning the main language of a country one could not get very far. What little progress had been made in the country was due to Norwegians. The Sami were incapable of making a better future for themselves. Only when the next generation of Sami had become norwegianized would the Sami peoples see progress (Jernsletten 1998: 51f). It was not the first and only time that such opinions were voiced among Samis. The Sami writer Matti Aikio received public attention when he stated in a national newspaper in 1919: "Modern life is getting closer and closer, and it does not speak Lappish".²⁰

This attitude to their native language was probably becoming quite common among the Sami, especially among those who wished to rise in the Norwegian society, whether they were teachers or writers. It was a widely held opinion in some coastal areas where the Sami had previously been the majority that tending the Sami language was a futile business. A couple from Ullsfjord (born approximately 1915) obviously had differing opinions, as they

answered thus when asked whether there were problems for pupils from Sami homes:

Wife: Yes, you know, there were...

Husband (interrupting): Oh no, because all the other kids spoke Norwegian. Even in the homes where they spoke Sami, they had to learn Norwegian (...). It was more convenient to use the language spoken in Norway. It is a dying language. What is the point of keeping it alive? It is the old, old people who can't walk anymore who have the Sami. And you university people who are working to get the Sami language back. That is just foolish!²¹

While norwegianization among those who belonged to the Sami movement must often have caused bitterness and opposition, the reaction among the "loyal Norwegian subjects" of Sami descent was often one of shame, either on behalf of one's ancestors and fellow tribesmen who still spoke the native tongue or on behalf of themselves, if the pupil was unable to learn Norwegian well enough.²² Sami politicians explained such attitudes in the following way: in the Sami and Kven communities it was accurately shown by Larsen as early as in 1917:

Unfortunately there are few young Finns [i.e. the young Sami, author's comment] who have not had their soul damaged in some way or another by norwegianisation at school. Given school's attitude towards Finnish [i.e. Sami, author's comment] they have gradually come to depreciate their native tongue. One sees often enough that as soon as young Finns have learned Norwegian tolerably well, they become ashamed of their native tongue and their origins (Hidle and Oterbech 1917: 35).

We have seen that "the Sami pain" – an expression borrowed from educationalist Jens-Ivar Nergård (1994) – may have been widespread among those who were in opposition, but probably even more deep-felt and traumatic among those who tried most eagerly to adapt to the assimilation pressure. In this respect the latter group was to play the most serious role of the victim. To attempt an answer as to why it was so is to undertake a whole research project *per se*.

I shall conclude here by pointing to a factor which is of relevance even today, and which is associated with the problems of self-determination, or rather the lack of self-determination. The norwegianization policy in respect of the Sami and Kven was presented by the authorities as being *for their own good*. As in the above-mentioned example with the Director of Schools Thomassen and bishop Dietrichson, it was assumed that the Sami and Kven themselves did not know any better. Given the image which civil servants had

of the minorities, there was no reason to invite Sami and Kven to a dialogue and co-influence in the process. What apparently was needed was paternalistic protection. Even if the motivation behind the methods could be construed as social welfare, these methods were implemented through one-way communication and coercion. Using a sentence from Habermas (1998: 56f), one may conclude that "evil is not sheer aggression as such, but something one feels justified to do. Evil is good turned inside out".²³

Concluding comments

- Our knowledge of the assimilation process is unevenly distributed. Great efforts have been made to clarify the political aspects of norwegianization. There are many obvious reasons for this priority. The extensive source material of state activity invites this. Many of the players were powerful men in their day, and some were colourful persons. On the other hand, the "victims" of this policy were a big mass where only a few are conspicuous and have left traces in the sources. Many of those who are still alive will be reluctant to "drag up" the memories of how the assimilation affected them personally. I would maintain that it is just as important for us – and certainly about time – to have some knowledge of the effects of the norwegianization process as of its causes. Only in this way can we assess the actions of the players on the side of both power and powerlessness; the actions of those who introduced the process and of those who bore the burdens of assimilation pressure.
- It appears as relatively certain that the norwegianization policy succeeded in reaching its goals in the "transitional districts", i.e. in the Coast Sami districts, at any rate with regard to the objective of a change of language, and partly a change of identity. The consequences of the norwegianization process were individualized and in part associated with shame. Being taken for a Sami in public was a personal defeat. Poverty was linked to Norwegians' image of the authentic Sami. Sustainable counter-images became possible only when the modern Sami movement inspired big, collective actions. The Sami actions during the Alta controversy of 1979–1982 are the most well known (Minde 2003), but were followed by a number of local actions, less known in the Norwegian public mind, such as the "Coast Sami revolt" in Finnmark in the 1980s (Nilsen 2003).
- I have tried to find a measure with which to compare the public efforts for assimilation with what is allocated for Sami purposes over today's national budget. With the reservations that must be made in cases of comparisons over time, I would nevertheless maintain that the annual

efforts from about 1870 were probably at a level corresponding to today's total efforts over the national budget to "rehabilitate" and strengthen the Sami community. In this sense it could be said that it will take about 130 years from the establishment of the Sami Parliament until the Norwegian state will have "settled its account" regarding the norwegianization policy.

Translated by Einar Blomgren

Notes

1. The Norwegian Parliament decided in June 2000 to allocate 75 million Norwegian crowns to a *Samefolket fond* (Sami peoples' fund). The purpose was to compensate collectively for the damage the so-called "norwegianization" policy had inflicted on the Sami peoples. *Sametinget* (the Sami Parliament) was invited to give advice on how the statute for the management of the fund should be framed. The present article was originally written as a background paper to the Sami Parliament when they handled the case in May 2002 (*Sametinget*, case 23/2002).
2. Kven is the Norwegian name for the Finnish settlers in Northern Norway and their descendants. Originally coming from the area around the Gulf of Bothnia, they began to settle in Finnmark from the Late Middle Ages. A regular migration took place from the early eighteenth century to the two northernmost counties in Norway, Troms and Finnmark.
3. Henry Munde's collection of interviews from *Stuonarijarga*, recorded 27 November 1990.
4. This whole section is based in particular on Eriksen and Niemi (1981), especially pp. 113 ff.; 256 ff.; 298 ff. References to other works are included only insofar as they supplement or modify Eriksen and Niemi's account in this work.
5. An example of this was the Storting's allocation for road construction in Ser-Varanger in 1869–1876, a total of 80,000 kroner, an average of 11,400 kroner per year. This issue was given high priority as an instrument in the service of norwegianization (Eriksen and Niemi 1981: 70f). The average sum is just as large as the annual funds of *Finnfondet* in the same period.
6. Isak Saba (1875–1921) from Nesseby (Finnmark) became a member of the Storting 1906–1912 representing the Labour Party from the constituency of East Finnmark. He also wrote the national anthem of the Sami *Same soga láula* [The Sami peoples' song], published in the magazine *Sogai Muitalagis* [*The News Reporter*], 1 April 1906. The editor of that magazine was his friend and brother-in-law Anders Larsen (1870–1949) from Kvanangen (Troms).
7. Edited by Anders Larsen 1904–1911.
8. It should be remarked that, to my knowledge, nobody has checked whether there are grounds for the allegation that the Samis were over-represented among the mentally ill. If this were to prove correct, it seems likely that the norwegianization policy in schools had been a contributing factor.
9. The school situation for the Samis of Finnmark in the first 25 years after the Second World War has otherwise been discussed in *Melding om skolene i Finnmark 1945–1970* [Report on the Finnmark schools 1945–1970] s. 32–37 ("Norsk skolepolitikk i samiske områder de siste 25 år: En oversikt" [Norwegian school policy in Sami areas during the past 25 years. A survey] by the then advisor in Sami language issues, Odd Mathis Haetta) and pp. 42 f.

- ("Soring" i skoledirektørens stolen) [A "southerner" in the school superintendent's chair by Arthur Gjermundsen].
10. The figures are from (Meløy 1982: 50).
 11. This was a method which was to replace the need for Sami and Kven language instruction among teachers.
 12. For the debate which the publication caused, see (Eriksen and Niemi 1981: 121 ff.).
 13. See (Bjørklund 1985: 324–331).
 14. Folkstad has described the story of his life in an interview (Dahl 1970: 7–15). See (Jernsletten 1998: 125–128).
 15. Tove Johansen's collection of interviews from Ullsfjord, account dated 15 June 1989.
 16. Tove Johansen's collection of interviews from Ullsfjord, recorded 11 September 1990.
 17. Henry Mінде's collection of interviews from Skånlandhalvøya, recorded 15 May 1991.
 18. Henry Mінде's collection of interviews, recorded 29 January 1993.
 19. Bishop of (Hälogaland 1910–1918).
 20. Quoted from (Gjenset 1980: 142).
 21. Tove Johansen's collection of interviews from Ullsfjord, recorded 11 September 1990.
 22. Similar socialization processes from recent years have been described by Hagmo (1986).
 23. These problems pose fundamental ethical questions, which, with regard to the history of the Romany people, have been discussed by Wyller (2001).

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