“The Best of Both Worlds”

Conceptualising an Urban Sámi Identity

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To Harald Eidheim

For being a great source of inspiration

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Abstract

Indigeneity is often expected to merely exist in rural settings. The urban context is, therefore, considered atypical and inauthentic. I will distinguish between cultural traits and emblems, arguing that the creation of emblems has been an important aspect of revitalisation of Sámi culture. In addition, I maintain that the use of emblems in daily life is important for urban Sámi, as Sámi culture is not very visible in the city environment. However, the use of emblems has had unfavourable consequences. On the one hand, urban Sámi do not belong within the category of 'ordinary urban citizen' as they *hold* cultural traits that are not common in the urban and Norwegian context; nor do they belong within the 'Sámi' category as they *lack* certain expected cultural traits within the rural and Sámi context. Those who fall between the various categories become, arguably, *people out of place*. Opposing the notion of being *of out place*, this study seeks to demonstrate how the concept of an urban Sámi identity is created, articulated and challenged in an urban context. I argue that the interviewees belong in both 'worlds', and that the city creates a context to various means of cultural expressions.

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1

Introduction

> Oppressive authenticity operates primarily as a mechanism of exclusion: those who cannot be placed securely within two categories – 'native' or 'settler' – become people out-of-place.[1]

> Being a question of public agreement, ethnic identity ascription is based on the construction of criteria for belonging, which are related, as a matter of common sense, first to some notion of origin, i.e. one has to be able to answer satisfactorily the question of who were one's ancestors, and, in addition, on public recognition of one's abilities to perform according to a set of criteria that defines cultural distinctiveness.[2]

In October 2012, Norwegian mass media reported the violent assault of a young Sámi woman living and studying in Trondheim, in mid-Norway. While out on a Friday night with a friend, she was viciously attacked by a group of men. They had heard her speak and based on her accent they recognised she was from the North of Norway and potentially of Sámi descent.[3] Some time later, in Northern Norway, a young Sámi woman entered a local shop in order to buy a head attire for her traditional Sámi clothing. She was rejected, as her southern Norwegian accent indicated that she was not from the region, and she was deemed unfit for such a purchase.

What I wish to illustrate with these two episodes is how stigma can be twofold. The first example shows stigma in an inter-ethnic context. This woman holds attributes that place her in a stigmatised category, which differ from what the group of men considered as 'normal'. This allows the group of men to conduct sanctions, which in this case included setting her

[1] Sissons, Jeffrey, *First Peoples. Indigenous Cultures and Their Futures*, Reaktion Books Ltd, London, 2005, p. 39

[2] Thuen, Trond, 'In Search of Space: Challenges in Saami Ethnopolitics in Norway 1979-2000', in Kristina Karppi & Johan Eriksson (eds.), *Conflict and Cooperation in the North,* Norrlands Universitetsförlag, Umeå, 2002, p. 289

[3] Norvang, Elvi Rosita, Mette Ballovara, Dan Robert Larsen, 'Rystende hets mot samejente', *NRK Sápmi*, 08.10.2012, http://www.nrk.no/kanal/nrk_sapmi/1.8350580, accessed on 07.01.2013

jacket on fire. The second example shows stigma in an intra-ethnic context. This woman also holds attributes that place her in a stigmatised category, but in a different way. The context of buying traditional clothing requires fulfilment of certain cultural traits and the southern accent becomes a trait that is not suitable for such a context. Here too we see sanctions but in the form of a discontinued transaction. Research shows that 50 percent of Sámi living outside of Sápmi[4] have experienced discrimination of some sort. For Sámi living inside Sápmi, about 35 percent have experienced discrimination.[5]

This study aims to explore the conception of urban Sámi identity. On the one hand, urban Sámi are not in the 'normal' urban inhabitant category. On the other hand, they are not securely placed in the 'Sámi' category, as by living an urban life they differ from the expectations of 'authentic' Sámi. They are, from a post-colonial view, *people out-of-place*. As Jon Todal argues, in Norway there is an official definition of who *is* Sámi. Consequently there is also a definition of who *is not* Sámi. Therefore it is impossible to *become* Sámi.[6] This is in contrast to the majority Norwegian society, where the distinctions are not as clear.[7] Nonetheless, I would argue that the informants are by no means *out-of-place* but rather the urban context opens for new ways to express their Sámi identity. The city itself creates a basis for cultural creativity. The question is, to what extent new ways of being Sámi are to be recognised as valid ways in the eyes of the majority population and between other Sámi.

1. Historical basis

In this section I will give a brief historical basis for this study on urban Sámi identity. The Sámi are an indigenous people and an ethnic minority living in Sápmi, the northern regions of what is today known as Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. They have their own language, culture and history.[8] Even though Sámi reside in four countries due to the limitations of this thesis I will mainly focus on the Sámi living on the Norwegian side of the border. From here on then, when I refer to Sápmi I refer to the Norwegian side of the border. As there is no official registration of Sámi inhabitants in Norway, it is impossible to give the exact number

[4] What is considered to be the traditional geographical region of Sámi, this will be discussed further in the following chapters. Please also see map in the appendix.
[5] Hansen, Ketil Lenert, *Ethnic discrimination and bullying in relation to self-reported physical and mental health in Sami settlement areas in Norway,* University of Tromsø, Tromsø, 2011
[6] Todal, Jon, 'Språkleg vitalisering – faktorar som vi ikkje skriv om', in Tove Bull, Jurji Kusmenko, Michael Rießler (eds.), *Språk og Språkforhold i Sápmi*, Nordeuropa-Institut, Berlin, 2007, p. 208
[7] Thuen 2002, p. 286
[8] Solbakk, John Trygve, *Samene – En Håndbok,* 2nd edition, Davvi Girji OS, Kárášjohka, 2004

of Sámi. The Nordic Sámi Institute, however, based on numbers from the Norwegian Sámi Parliament, estimates the number to be between 50 000 - 100 000 in total in the four countries, with the majority living on the Norwegian side of the border.[9]

The Sámi language is a Finno-Ugric language, related to the languages of Finland, Hungary and Estonia. It is usually divided into ten dialects even though some dialects are so different they could arguably be defined as separate languages. Most of the dialects are only spoken languages. There are three main written dialects in Norway today, namely northern Sámi, Lule Sámi and southern Sámi. It is assumed that there are approximately 25 000 speakers of Sámi languages. Of these speakers, half of them are able to speak, read and write. It is also important to note that the dialects are spoken across Sápmi, regardless of state borders.[10]

Norwegian policies towards indigenous peoples are based on the constitution as well as being affected by international conventions.[11] Norway ratified the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention nr. 169 on the 19th of June 1990.[12] The convention focuses on issues that are especially relevant for indigenous peoples, including the rights to land. This often causes challenges in the juridical framework in states. Even though the convention also emphasises rights to a bilingual education, the right to own land, the right to self-identification, the right to participate in political decisions that affect indigenous peoples, these are considered basic human rights. Therefore the convention does not give indigenous peoples rights beyond human rights. By 2007, seventeen countries had ratified the Convention.[13] In contrast to the UN, non-governmental membership is possible in the ILO. This is interesting in the sense that it differs from the international norm of states being the most important actors and that only states can participate in the shaping of international law.[14]

[9] Sámi Instituhtta, *Hvor mange samer er det egentlig…,* http://www.sami-statistics.info/default.asp?nc=6809&id=110, accessed on 11.12.2012
[10] Solbakk 2004, p. 112-121
[11] Fornyings, Administrasjons- og Kirkedepartementet, *Grunnlaget for Samepolitikken*, http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/fad/tema/samepolitikk/midtspalte/grunnlaget-for-samepolitikken.html?id=87039, accessed on 03.03.2013
[12] Fornyings, Administrasjons- og Kirkedepartementet, *ILO-konvensjon nr. 169 om urfolk og stammefolk i selvstendige stater,* http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/fad/tema/samepolitikk/midtspalte/ilokonvensjon-nr-169-om-urbefolkninger-o.html?id=451312, accessed on 03.03.2013
[13] Lile, Hadi Khosravi, 'FNs menneskerettigheter og urfolksrettigheter. En innføring med focus på samiske rettigheter', *Gáldu Čála – tidsskrift for urfolks rettigheter*, nr. 1, 2008, p. 28-31
[14] Lile 2008, p. 28-31

Norway also supported the ratification of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, on the 13th of September 2007.[15]

1.1. Assimilation and revitalisation

The assimilation, or *Norwegianisation,* process encountered resistance after the Second World War. The Norwegian state was in a process of re-building the country after five years of war, focusing on modernisation and urbanisation. The basis of the welfare state meant that all citizens were to be equal, regardless of ethnic background. During this period, a new generation of Sámi arose. They had gone to universities, and had knowledge and experience of social and political sciences, as well as historical knowledge of their own culture. This was the beginning of a *revitalisation* process, that began in the 1950s and 60s. The establishment of several Sámi institutions, for instance the Sámi Council, exemplifies this political change.[16] With international focus on human rights, especially essential after the World War, the Norwegian government was confronted by a gap between their international engagement and their national policies. This was especially obvious in the case of the Alta dam.[17] It became impossible to ignore the claims for justice from the Sámi opposition. It is also important to note that state assistance was viewed as a general welfare issue, rather than a protection of indigenous rights.[18] The Alta case consequently led to the establishment of the Sámi Parliament in 1989. Sámi revitalisation was closely connected to the revitalisation of indigenous peoples worldwide, and Sámi actively participated in international indigenous movements throughout the 1960s and onwards.[19]

The Sámi movement had political undertones, although it was expressed as a nation-building development. It became more common to express one's Sámi identity publicly, by wearing traditional clothing, speaking Sámi and doing traditional handicraft. Cultural traits

[15] Fornyings, Administrasjons- og Kirkedepartementet, *FNs erklæring om urfolks rettigheter,* http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/fad/tema/samepolitikk/internasjonalt_urfolksarbeid/fns-erklaring-om-urfolks-rettigheter.html?id=87024, accessed on 03.03.2013

[16] Eidheim, Harald, *Aspects of the Lappish Minority Situation,* University of Oslo, Department of Social Anthropology, Oslo, 1987, p. 3-4

[17] Eidheim, Harald, 'Innledning', *Ottar*, volume 4, no. 232, 2000, p. 7-8. What later became known as the Alta-case, originated in 1968 when governmental plans to build a hydroelectric dam were published. In the original plans, the township of Máze was to be set under water, and would destroy the vulnerable landscape in the area. The news of the planned dam travelled worldwide, showing what the Norwegian government was willing to sacrifice. For the government, this was a highly embarrassing case. What started as an environmental issue, however, continued as fight for indigenous rights to land. For more on the Alta-case, see for instance Lars Martin Hjorthol 2006, Alta: Kraftkampen som utfordret statens makt.

[18] Eidheim 2000, p. 5

[19] Sissons 2005, p. 7-35

became strong cultural symbols. In this, we also see the use of name *Sápmi* becoming important, as a form of unifying a people that has traditionally been culturally and geographically dispersed.[20] In other words, certain traits of Sámi lifestyle became significant symbols for the people. These symbols became important emblems of a Sámi society regardless of intra-ethnic social and cultural diversification. The discussion on cultural revitalisation and its consequences will continue in chapter four.

1.2. Urban indigeniety

Sissons argues that urbanism is the predominant conditions of indigeneity today, although an urban indigenous life is still considered out of place.[21] I have therefore chosen to focus on Sámi living mainly outside Sápmi. This is partly due to the fact that it is often assumed that indigeniety is only found in rural conditions. It is based on a romanticised picture of indigenous peoples being so closely connected to the land the live in that they are incapable of surviving outside their native land. In 1800, the majority of the European population lived in rural areas. Only 2.2 per cent lived in cities with 100 000 inhabitants or more. With industrialisation and modernisation, there was a rapid urbanisation as more and more people relocated, both within and outside Europe.[22] It is often assumed that industrialisation and urbanisation were the downfall of indigenous cultures, the final act in the process of assimilation. The focus has been on what has been lost, and not what has been gained. [23] I will maintain, in line with Sissons, that indigenous cultures are as adaptable to change as all other cultures.

2. Research question

The topic of urban Sámi identity is a result of a variety of concerns. Following Sissons, I would argue that the idea that Sámi can only be indigenous while living in Sápmi is an idea that is very much alive even today. My hypothesis is that there are certain values and criteria connected to being Sámi that fewer and fewer people can fully relate to, such as speaking the

[20] Eidheim 2000, p. 1-6. See also Bjørklund, Ivar, *Sápmi – En Nasjon Blir til. Fremveksten av Samenes Nasjonale Fellesskap,* Samisk etnografisk fagenhet - Tromsø museum, Tromsø, 2000
[21] Sissons 2005, p. 57
[22] Sissons 2005, p. 60-63
[23] Sissons 2005, p. 63-65

language and living within Sápmi. It can be argued that a large part of Sámi identity is connected to a rural lifestyle, and, for instance, that Sámi who do not master the language are stigmatized within Sámi communities. Previous research done on Sámi issues has primarily focused on the very core areas of Sápmi. This study, therefore, attempts to show that there are several alternate ways and places of being Sámi. What I aim to explore in this study is *how an assumed urban Sámi identity is created, articulated and challenged*.

3. Guide through the thesis

The first chapter aims to give an introduction to the topic of an urban Sámi identity. I start off by outlining the historical background of the Sámi. I will then briefly explore the revitalisation process, before briefly introducing the idea of urban indigeniety. I will continue the discussion of these topics later in the thesis.

Chapter two concentrates on indigenous methodology and the methods used in the process of this thesis. I will discuss practical issues, such as interviewing, using personal networks to find informants, using cities as research locations, general challenges and realisations. I will continue by presenting the data, including a discussion on the concept of validity and reliability. Lastly, I will consider the issues of ethics and reflexivity, including a discussion on the importance of anonymity.

Chapter three targets the theoretical perspectives used in the analysis of this study. Firstly, I give an outline of the analytical levels. Secondly, I discuss the theories related to the topics of urban dwelling and indigeniety, ethnopolitics and the state, ethnic groups and identity management and social identity and stigma. Finally, I give a summary of previous research done on comparable topics.

Chapter four aims to explore the creation of emblems. I do this by continuing the discussion of revitalisation and how it has influenced the creation of emblems in Sámi society. I will introduce Briggs distinction between cultural traits and emblems, which are used throughout the thesis. I continue by demonstrating the use of emblems and stereotypes. Lastly, I will explore the *emblem* Sápmi.

Chapter five explores the city as a context for articulation of an urban Sámi identity. Here I will distinguish between a temporary and permanent view of the city, arguing that it affects how the informants perceive their urban indigeneity. I will go on to discuss the sense of

belonging within the urban context and the importance of *stories*. I will continue by discussing urban dwelling in relation to the emblem Sápmi.

Chapter six discusses various ways of expressing and articulating an urban Sámi identity by using cultural traits and emblems as a means of cultural creativity. I will look closer at the following topics: kinship, traditional garments, national celebrations and language.

In chapter seven, I will discuss the previous topics in relation to cultural authenticity and how the informants' ethnic identity is being challenged both in an urban and Sámi context.

2

Indigenous Methodology and Methods

> The term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word 'research' is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary.[24]

I will start this chapter by giving an outline of indigenous methodology. Due to practical limitations I have chosen to give a brief introduction and its relevance to this thesis, as well as discussing insider research. I will then go on to discuss the methods used in this study, focusing on interviews, using personal networks to find informants, cities as research locations and practical realisations related to the fieldwork. Next, I will present the data on which this thesis is based. Lastly, I will discuss ethics and reflexivity, focusing on the issue of anonymity.

1. Indigenous methodology

In this section I will look at research in relation to indigenous peoples and discuss the significance of indigenous methodology, focusing on the relevance to this study. Historically, research on indigenous peoples and cultures has been highly problematic. For instance, Bjørg Evjen gives examples from her research in the small township of Tysfjord in Northern Norway and how the locals experienced encounters with researchers in the early 1900s. Researchers were gathering data on physical anthropology, taking measurements of skulls and other physical features, as well as photographing the locals. Evjen argues that the researchers were clearly focused on racial hierarchy; ethical considerations were essentially non-existent.[25] Evjen's example is one of many that illustrate the problematic side of research

[24] Smith, Linda Tuhiwai, Decolonising Methodologies: Research on Indigenous Peoples, Zed Books, London, 1999, p. 1
[25] Evjen, Bjørg, 'Measuring Heads: Physical Anthropological Research in North Norway', *Acta Borealia,* vol. 14, no. 2, 1997, p. 16

where there was often a clear relation of power between the researcher and the research 'object'. However, Evjen also demonstrates how there has been a change in the academic field and how local Sámi are now actively participating in researching their own culture. This clearly shows a shift in power relations.[26] It implies that we as researchers have an important responsibility towards the people who share their lives and knowledge with us, allowing us a glimpse into their worldviews. As Chilisa argues,

> The researcher has to pay attention to issues of concern to the colonized researcher and those who are disadvantaged, to the history of the researched, to the history of the methods used and to the literature on the colonized researched.[27]

Sidsel Saugestad reflects on the concepts of *research on*, *research with*, *and research by*, confirming the shift in power that Evjen discusses. These terms suggest a development within the academic field, where the relationship between the *researcher* and the *researched* has been restructured. As research institutions have mainly been situated in a European and Western context, *research on* indigenous peoples has historically been focusing on 'the others', 'the noble savage', 'primitive peoples', and so on. Saugestad argues that the concept of *research with* does not imply a new kind of research, but rather an attention towards the relationship between the *researched* and *researcher*. The concept of *research by* is based on participation by the researched.[28] As Saugestad argues,

> On the one hand, indigenous peoples are the experts of their own culture and we have learned to value the richness of data that can be gained from 'native' or 'indigenous' systems of knowledge.[29]

So how do we ensure that our research remains *with* and *by* indigenous peoples? Rauna Koukkanen suggests creating a so-called indigenous paradigm, arguing that 'the need for such a paradigm is manifold and is connected to the deconstruction of the consequences of

[26] Evjen, Bjørg, 'Research On and By "The Other". Focusing On the Researcher's Encounter with the Lule Sami in a Historically Changing Context', *Acta Borealia,* vol. 26, no. 3, 2009, p. 2
[27] Chilisa, Bagele, *Indigenous Research Methodologies,* Sage Publications Inc, Los Angeles, 2012, p. 174
[28] Saugestad, Sidsel, 'Research on, with and by indingeous peoples', published in compendium for SVF-3026 Methodology and Methods in Indigenous Studies, Centre for Sámi Studies, 2001
[29] Saugestad 2001, p. 6

colonialism.'[30] Among other concerns, Koukkanen argues the importance of presenting ourselves and not being presented by others. This is in line with Saugestad's concept of *research by*. Koukkanen also states the importance of being critical towards Western values and world-views, by bringing back the research to the peoples it concerns so that they can benefit from it.[31]

We can also learn from the concept of *Kaupapa Maori*. In the words of Chilisa,

> Kaupapa Maori research encompasses the different sets of ideas and issues that are claimed as being important in doing culturally safe, sensitive and relevant research in the Maori community.[32]

Given the fact that indigenous peoples around the world differ regarding social, political and cultural factors, indigenous methodology should aim to be *culturally, safe, sensitive* and *relevant* for the designated community. Indigenous methodology may vary depending on the people, culture, research question, and so on. I wish to stress the distinction between the indigenous methodology as an ideology and as an academic method. In relation to this thesis, I have aimed to follow the ideology of indigenous methodology, as well as using it during the fieldwork and writing process. Being indigenous and a Sámi myself, is it enough simply to be aware of the responsibilities as a researcher? For one, it has been very important to me that the results of this study will benefit the Sámi community and hopefully other indigenous communities around the world. By benefit, I imply that the research should be of use for the Sámi community and not merely be research for the sake of research. I hope that highlighting issues related to urban indigeniety will make way for a broader discussion on how we think and perceive indigeniety, as well as realising that living an urban life does not exclude our indigeniety. It also implies that I wish to present the research in Sámi communities as an act of reclaiming the research and making available the knowledge that has been shared me with as a researcher.[33] It is not mine to keep and I wish to share the work with those who

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[30] Koukkanen, Rauna, 'Towards an Indigenous Paradigm from a Saami Perspective', *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies,* volume 20, nr. 2, 2000, p 412

[31] Koukkanen 2000, 420-421

[32] Bishop, R., 'Freeing Ourselves from the Neo-colonial Domination in Research: A Kaupapa Maori Approach to Creating Knowledge', in N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (eds.), *the Landscape of Qualitative Research,* Sage, Thousand Oaks CA, 2008 (a) -
Bishop, R., 'Te Kotahitanga: Kaupapa Maori in Mainstream Classrooms', in N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln, & L. T. Smith (eds), *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies,* Sage, Thousand Oaks CA, 2008 (b) -
Smith 1999 - Smith, Linda Tuhiwai, 'On tricky ground. Researching the Native in the Age of Uncertainty', in N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (eds.), *the Landscape of Qualitative Research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks CA, 2008, in Chilisa 2012, p 175

[33] Smith 1999, p. 155

participated.[34] Finally, I wish to end this section with a quote from Denzin and Lincoln who argue in *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* that 'critical indigenous qualitative research is always already political.'[35]

1.1. 'Anthropology at home'

> …The burden of history makes the positioning of an indigenous person as a researcher highly problematic… It is a field which privileges indigenous concerns, indigenous practices and indigenous participation as researchers and researched.[36]

When doing research we create data. The data is created as a part of our fieldwork when we analyse and categorise what we hear and observe. In order to do this we, as researchers, not only need to be able to distance ourselves in order to observe more systematically than we do in everyday life but also be close enough to actually be able to gather our data.[37] In methodology then there is an ongoing debate on the insider versus outsider perspective.[38] Is it possible for an outsider to have an insider perspective, and vice versa? In Cato Wadel's words, 'doing fieldwork in your own culture is researching part of your own reality.'[39] Because the field we are studying is familiar and known to us it may be taken for granted by the researcher.[40]

From a practical point of view, fieldwork on a familiar topic may arguably be easier. For instance, I speak both Norwegian and Northern Sámi and could easily communicate with the informants during interviews. Language was not a practical barrier. Some informants spoke Southern or Lule Sámi but there was still a sense of familiarity even if we could not communicate in Sámi.[41] Being a part of the same culture I was researching implied that the informants and I had, to a large degree, common experiences. Even though a lot of our values

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[34] Smith 1999, p. 142-161
[35] Denzin, N.K. & Yvonna S. Lincoln, 'Introduction. Critical Methodologies and indigenous inquiry', In N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln, & L. T. Smith (eds.), *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies,* Sage, Thousand Oaks CA, 2008, p 2
[36] Smith 1999, p. 107
[37] Paulgaard, Gry, 'Feltarbeid i Egen Kultur – Innenfra, Utenfra eller Begge Deler?', in Erik Fossåskaret, Otto Laurits Fuglestad, Tor Halfdan Aase (eds), *Metodisk Feltarbeid. Produksjon og Tolkning av Kvalitative Data,* Universitetsforlaget AS, Oslo, 2006, p. 70
[38] For further discussion on 'anthropology at home', see for instance Smith 1999 or Fahim, Hussein, *Indigenous Anthropology in Non-Western Countries*, Carolina Academic Press, Durham North Carolina, 1982
[39] Wadel, Cato, *Feltarbeid I Egen Kultur*, Hegland Trykkeri A/S, Flekkefjord, 1991, p. 18
[40] Wadel 1991, p. 18
[41] Map in appendix shows the different Sámi dialects

and cultural knowledge may be implicit there is still a notion of 'having something in common'.[42] For instance, the interview guide that I had made before the interviews were based on topics and issues that I, as a researcher, was interested in, but also topics that I, as a Sámi, could relate to. Therefore, already before even doing the actual interviews, I had already influenced the gathering of data.[43]

Therefore it is especially important to be aware of this fact and try to find a way of distancing in order to see the bigger picture while also keeping close enough to understand what the informants were talking about. One of my informants said after the interview that he would not have been so personal during the interview if we had not shared the same ethnic background. This implies that my role as a Sámi has been a significant feature during the fieldwork. For instance, many of the interview questions were fairly personal. Several of the informants commented on this after the interview, saying these were matters they would not necessarily discuss with 'strangers'. So even though I did not have a personal relationship with the informants my role as a Sámi influenced the interview situation.

While it can be an advantage to be close to the field it is vital to keep in mind that we, as researchers, have to acknowledge that our observations and understanding of informants are influenced by our own experiences. Aase stresses that when we do research we observe. But in order to analyse we use analytical tools to understand the observations and hence we *produce* the data ourselves. To simplify, Aase differentiates between concept and category on data production. If gender is a concept of differentiation then 'male' and 'female' are categories. We cannot take for granted that people have identical concepts and categories, even thought they are within the same cultural background, gender, age, region, and so on. Therefore the challenge is to interpret the observations into categories that are familiar to the informant. This implies that the researcher should aim to subscribe to the informants' categories.[44] The question is then how do I, as a researcher, analyse the data in relation to my informants? As discussed above, I maintain I have several of the same points of reference as many of my informants. Even so, it cannot be guaranteed that we share the same concepts and

[42] Wadel 1991, p. 18 - Saugestad, Sidsel, 'Fortolkningens forløp. Om feltarbeid og fortolkningen av differensiering i samfunnet', in Erik Fossåskaret, Otto Laurits Fuglestad, Tor Halfdan Aase (eds), *Metodisk Feltarbeid. Produksjon og Tolkning av Kvalitative Data,* Universitetsforlaget AS, Oslo, 2006, p. 188-206
[43] Tafjord, Bjørn Ola, 'Refleksjoner Kring Refleksivitet', in Siv Ellen Kraft, Richard J. Natvig (eds.), *Metode i Religionsvitenskap,* Pax, Oslo, 2006, p. 245, Fonneland, - Trude A, 'Kvalitative metodar: intervju og observasjon', in Siv Ellen Kraft, Richard J. Natvig (eds.), *Metode i Religionsvitenskap,* Pax, Oslo, 2006, p. 225
[44] Aase, Tor Halfdan, 'Tolkning av Kategori. Observasjon, Begrep og Kategori', in Erik Fossåskaret, Otto Laurits Fuglestad, Tor Halfdan Aase (eds), *Metodisk Feltarbeid. Produksjon og Tolkning av Kvalitative Data,* Universitetsforlaget AS, Oslo, 2006, p. 143-166

categories. For instance, I could in many ways define myself as an urban Sámi but I grew up in what is by some defined as a core Sámi area. To a certain extent we might have the same categories and concepts, but not in all aspects. Therefore it is important for me to realise that my understanding of the concepts and categories may be different from the informants and to continuously strive for an understanding of *their* concepts and categories. Linda T. Smith argues,

> The critical issue with insider research is the constant need for reflexivity. At a general level insider researchers have to have ways of thinking critically about their process, their relationships and the quality and richness of their data and analysis. So, too, do outsiders, but the major difference is that insiders have to live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis for ever more, and so do their families and communities.[45]

She continues to argue that insider research has to be respectful and humble because we belong to the community we are researching. But by doing research in our own communities we are taking on different sets of roles, which can be problematic.[46] I will use Saugestad's terms and argue that in terms of writing this thesis from an indigenous perspective, this study is done *by* indigenous peoples, *with* indigenous peoples. Throughout this chapter I will look at various challenges related to doing insider research, focusing on ethical dilemmas in section four.

2. Research questions and methods

The aim of this research, as stated in the first chapter, is to explore *how the concept of an urban Sámi identity is created, articulated and challenged*. The project is based on qualitative methods. The research approach mainly focuses on interviews with informants. The reason for choosing interviews as a tool for data collection was twofold. Firstly, I aimed to capture individual approaches to the concept of an urban Sámi identity. The main focal point was how the informants reflect upon their urban identity, as well as how they choose to express it. Secondly, I intended to see the topic from an indigenous perspective by using indigenous methodology in practice; I wanted to meet the informants in person as part of using indigenous methodology.

[45] Smith 1999, p. 137
[46] Smith 1999, p. 137-141

2.1 Interviews

There are several possible interview methods, unstructured / non-standardised, semi-structured, structured / standardised, to name a few. The interviews for this study were carried out in a semi-structured, open, conversational manner, based on a pre-written interview guide. By using an interview guide, I wanted to ensure I gathered the same kind of data from all my informants. It was also important to let the questions be open to interpretation by each informant. I tried to capture not only the informants' actual answers, but also *how* and *in what manner* the informant chose to answer.[47] In addition, I did some written interviews with informants who, for various reasons, did not have the opportunity to meet me in person, but who had agreed to participate in this study. I followed the same procedures with these written interviews. In addition, one interview was done with two informants together.

The interview guide covered several issues I believed could be relevant for Sámi living urban lives. The first part of the questions were basic information on age, gender, spoken languages and so on, followed by family relations, friends, the urban context, organisations and gatherings, language and expressions of identity. The questions were designed to get a picture of how Sámi are living an urban life and how their Sámi identity is expressed within that context. Chilisa, quoting Michael Patton, distinguishes between different types of questions, namely those referring to experience, behaviour, opinion, value, feeling, knowledge, sensory, background and demographic questions. The questions in my interview guide, therefore, were a mix between opinion and value questions, addressing feeling questions, knowledge questions, as well as background and demographic information. [48] After the first interview, I had to make several changes to the questions based on the answers from the first informant. I realised certain questions were highly relevant and so I included more in the same genre. Other questions overlapped and were re-written or removed in several instances. The informants themselves influenced me and I often followed up answers from previous informants and included new questions or rephrased questions in the next interviews. The interview process was not set in stone, so to speak, but changed from each interview to the next. This illustrates semi-structured and open interview standards. Since I let the informants themselves guide me through the interview process, they are also in line with

[47] Chilisa 2012, p. 205
[48] Patton, Michael, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods,* Sage Newbury Park CA, 2002, in Chilisa 2012, p. 205-206

indigenous methodology. Using Saugestad's terms, I did research *with* the informants, not *on* the informants.

I used a digital recorder to record the interviews, which all informants agreed to. That way I could focus on the informant completely and not worry about writing everything down and getting the correct quotes. I made sure it was a small recorder so that it would not be so visible on the table. After each interview I wrote down immediate reactions, thoughts and feelings about the interview in order to help me remember the setting and atmosphere. Transcribing gave me an opportunity to distance myself from the interviews later in the process.[49] I will discuss the ethical perspectives of transcribing in the following sections.

Although I had an interview guide, I tried to make the interview informal and easy going. I aimed for the interviews to be more of a conversation rather than an interview per se, in the lines of semi-structured or open interviews. I also spent some time before I started the recorder and the actual interview to tell informants a bit about myself, the purpose behind the project and prepared them for what kind of questions they would get. My intention was to make the informants comfortable and relaxed before the actual interview and to avoid any major surprises about topics. Therefore I started off with questions related to factual information, easing into the more personal questions.

One of the challenges with interviews is finding a setting where both the researcher and the informant feel comfortable and relaxed.[50] When contacting my informants, I always asked them where they would prefer to meet. Often they would say they did not mind and would ask me to suggest a place. I would then recommend a public area such as a café, where it was possible to get a semi-private place to do our interview. Most of the informants agreed to this. The ones that did not agree either suggested a different public place or invited me to their homes. The reason I would leave it up to the informants to invite me to their private homes was simply one of respect; I did not want to intrude. Doing interviews in a public space has its positive and negative sides. It is neutral ground and the informant does not need to take on the role of host, which can be disturbing for the interview. On the other hand, being at home could give the informant a sense of security and make the interview more personal. This was especially relevant in the cases where I interviewed informants I was already acquainted with. Being in their private home could make it challenging for me to distinguish clearly between my role as a researcher and as an acquaintance. Meeting in a public, perhaps a more neutral place, made it easier to construct a research situation, rather than a 'friend' situation. I will

[49] Fonneland 2006, p. 228-230
[50] Fonneland 2006, p. 227

return to the ethical dilemmas on interviewing acquaintances in the following sections. For the case of this study, I believe that doing interviews in a public sphere did not particularly influence the data negatively. Most informants seemed comfortable, although one informant asked if we could move to a place where there were more people present, just to make sure that no one was listening in on our conversation. It was unproblematic and the informant made it clear he was more comfortable in the next location.

There are certain differences between the written and oral interviews that should be addressed. With the oral interviews the informants tended to speak quite freely and I was able to ask follow up questions on the current topic. It was also easier for me to pick up on issues such as facial expressions, silence, smiling, reluctance to answer, and so on. The answers from written interviews were considerably shorter than from the oral ones. At the same time, the informant did have time to sit at home, relaxed, and answer the questions at his or her own pace. The written answers seemed more direct and to the point, without too much talk around the topic. I also needed to do some follow-up questions on the written interviews in order to get fuller answers to more challenging questions. The disadvantage of written interviews was that I did not have the opportunity to discuss the issues raised with the informants. In other words, I was unable to pick up on unexpected answer and discuss them further. In addition, I could not see their facial expressions and I had no way of knowing how the informants reacted emotionally to the various questions. Since their answers were often shorter, with much less elaboration, they also proved to be more difficult to use in the analysis. I would have preferred to meet all my informants face to face. However, I maintain that the written interviews have been important as a part of the data, even if they could not be analysed in the same was as the other interviews.

Chilisa problematises the conventional interview method, arguing that it ignores the post-colonial indigenous value systems and that the interviews themselves lean towards individualistic, westernised assumptions.[51] I acknowledge Chilisa's concern regarding the interview process, but I argue that my aim was to capture the idea of *individual* perception of urban identity. Interviewing, therefore, was the preferred method of data collection for this study, as I tried to master this method according to principles of indigenous methodology, thus giving voice to matters and concerns that are ignored in more conventional research setups.

[51] Chilisa 2012, p. 204

2.2 Using personal networks

All my informants were found through my personal network. That does not imply that I had a personal relation with each informant, but I was helped by common friends or acquaintances to get in touch with possible informants. There were many positive aspects of this. Firstly, I found it was easier to find informants by asking people if they knew someone who might be interested. I tried to contact possible informants without going through my network, but my requests remained unanswered. It seemed that it was easier for people to participate when asked by someone they knew. It may be connected with issues discussed in the first section related to indigenous peoples and the history of research. It may also be an issue of trust. Being asked by someone you know and trust feels more comfortable than being asked by a stranger. Secondly, because many of the informants were found through my network it implied that they already knew me or knew *of* me. Having common reference points, whether places, situations or people, made the interview feel more of an informal talk between acquaintances rather than a formal, scientific interview between strangers. I believe this could have made the interview situation more comfortable for the informants. Thirdly, having a direct or indirect relation to the informants on a personal level required more of me as a researcher, as a person and fellow Sámi. That meant that I had a relation to the informants *before* the interview, and it also means that I will continue having a relation to the informants *after* the interview.[52] What I write in this thesis will probably not go unnoticed then, as our relation will continue after the submission date. I believe this to be a positive aspect for both them as informants and for me as a researcher, as I continuously aim to follow indigenous methodological values.

Although finding informants through personal networks can be helpful, it can also be problematic. Using my personal network to find informants means that there are other people who know about this study and, more importantly, the informants who participated in it. This is clearly problematic and therefore it has been of utmost importance to take precautions to ensure their anonymity throughout the thesis. I will discuss this further in the last section of this chapter.

In relation to practical issues, social networks such as Facebook and Twitter are useful tools for building networks, also in indigenous communities. Dyson shows how the use of the Internet to promote indigenous cultures can be challenging and problematic, but also that

[52] Smith 1999, p. 137-141

indigenous presence online can be an important aspect of reaffirmation of indigenous identity.[53] Dyson states that the Internet has been an instrument especially for Sámi in connecting a borderless territory.[54] I used social networks such as Facebook actively whilst looking for possible informants. For instance, I found that sending e-mails was less successful than contacting people through Facebook. It was important for me to show that this was a serious study and therefore I assumed e-mail was a safer option. I thought Facebook would be too 'unofficial' and that people preferred to use Facebook for informal contact. I was proven wrong several times, as my e-mails remained unanswered whereas Facebook messages were answered almost instantly. The only exception was one informant who does not have a Facebook account.

2.3 Cities as research locations

When planning the fieldwork, I wanted to visit cities outside of Sápmi, here understood as a geographical space. The reason for choosing cities outside Sápmi is twofold. First, the largest cities in Norway are geographically situated in the south of Norway, outside Sápmi. Secondly, in addition to the urban perspective of the study, I also wanted to identify the added aspect of living *outside* of Sápmi. Therefore, I had to choose cities that were considered fairly large (on a Norwegian scale), as well as located outside of Sápmi. Due to practical restrictions, I could not visit every single city in Norway. I ended up with four, Stavanger, Trondheim, Oslo and Sykkylven. In relation to the visibility and presence of Sámi culture, each city is unique.

Oslo, the capital of Norway, was chosen due to its size and number of Sámi inhabitants. For many years, Oslo has been known as the city in Norway with the largest number of Sámi inhabitants outside Sápmi. This myth was recently proven incorrect.[55] However, Oslo has a number of institutions that are aimed at the Sámi population, such as a Sámi childcare centre, an official Sámi meeting place, Samisk Hus[56], and so on. This implies that the presence of Sámi culture is relatively stable in Oslo, and does not depend so much on individual contribution. My assumption was that due to the institutional presence of Sámi culture, it would have a positive effect on the Sámi population.

[53] Dyson, Laurel, 'Indigenous Peoples on the Internet', in Robert Burtnett, Mia Consalvo, Charles Ess (eds.), *The Handbook of Internet Studies,* Blackwell Publishing Ltd, Chichester, 2010
[54] Dyson 2010, p. 261
[55] Pedersen, Tord Olander, 'Tromsø er Norges sameby foran Oslo', *Nordlys*, 05.03.2012, http://www.nordlys.no/nyheter/article5958175.ece, accessed on 15.01.2013
[56] 'Samisk Hus' in Oslo is an organisation as well as an informal meeting place for local Sámi

Stavanger was chosen because of a specific key informant. Stavanger is located in one of southern regions of the country and, in contrast to Oslo, is not considered to be a typical city with a visible Sámi population. My assumption related to Stavanger was that the lack of a visible Sámi presence would be an interesting aspect of the informant's identity.

Trondheim became a natural choice as I have previously studied in the city. The city is very much influenced by the university and the Sámi population is largely based on students. This implies that the Sámi students are rarely permanent residents. In contrast to Oslo, it does not have any stable institutions per se, apart from some unofficial meeting places. I also believed Trondheim to have a useful practical aspect since I already had a Sámi network there.

Originally, I had only chosen the three cities mentioned above. During my fieldwork, however, I came into contact with a relative who knew of a Sámi woman living in Sykkylven, where I was going for a holiday. After a positive answer to my interview request, I decided to include it in my fieldwork.

There are clearly a number of other cities in Norway I might have chosen instead. However, it is difficult to say whether that would have made any difference to the data. With practical limitations in mind, I believe the cities selected show a variety and diversification of urban contexts in Norway.

2.4 Practical challenges and realisations

After months of planning the fieldwork, I encountered several challenges and realisations when I tried to apply theory into practice. For instance, to start with, I decided to aim for the same number of male and female informants in order to get perspectives from both genders. That became problematic, as women tended to be more willing to participate than men. A few informants wanted to meet me before they decided to participate, and interestingly, they were all men. All the female informants agreed almost instantly and needed no further persuasion. This may be due to the fact that I am a woman. It can also imply that they did not know me personally and wanted to know more about the study before participating. Even so, generally speaking I do not believe gender had a major influence on the interview situation. Comments from the informants were more in the lines of me being a Sámi rather than a woman. This could reflect the fact that Sámi issues were in focus, rather than gender.

When it came to doing the actual fieldwork, I planned approximately a week in each city. At first I believed this to be sufficient as each interview was scheduled to last approximately an hour, perhaps two hours in total including small talk and practical information. What I had not scheduled into my strategy was how exhausting each interview would be. After my first interview I realised I should aim to do one interview per day, with a maximum of two per day. However, I wanted to interview each person when it was most convenient for the informant. That meant that even though I aimed for one interview per day, I sometimes had to do two for practical reasons. When I had two interviews in one day, I would schedule a few hours break in between.

Another unexpected challenge was the emotional aspect of interviewing each informant. I had underestimated my own reactions during and after the interviews, as well as those of the informants. I regarded my questions as personal, but I had not anticipated that the informants felt so strongly about these issues. Many of the informants ended the interview with a sigh, and stated that prior to the interview they had hardly, if ever, thought about the issues I had raised. Many also commented that it had been a kind of relief to talk about them. It gave me the impression that these are topics that many Sámi, and perhaps other indigenous people, think about but rarely discuss or speak about out loud. Questioning and reflecting openly upon your own identity and sense of belonging seem to be a taboo for many people, as if you are expected to be entirely certain about your own identity in all stages of life.

Many informants would also ask my personal opinions after the recorder had been turned off. It would often be about one of the questions that they had found slightly difficult to answer and where they did not have a clear answer. In some cases, they just wanted to discuss issues in general. I did my best to answer their questions, trying to balance the fact that I did not want to influence their opinions too much, but feeling I could not lie about my own opinions on the matter. In short, I felt I owed them my honesty.

As an indigenous student, I found myself in something of an advocating role.[57] Not only during interview situations, but also when meeting other Sámi in various social settings. During some interviews, I noticed how many informants would refer to themselves as ‘half’ or ‘partly’ Sámi, or in other terms make it clear that they were not ‘completely Sámi’. I would challenge them on this, asking which part of their body was Norwegian and which part was Sámi. I wanted to illustrate that one does not have to be either Sámi or Norwegian, but could perhaps be both. For the informants who did not speak Sámi and who often had shared stories

[57] Smith 1999, p. 69-72

on how this affected their meetings with other Sámi and Norwegians, I would share my personal experiences about my own language barriers. It felt right to give something of myself back on such emotional issues and show them that also native speakers have language barriers.

3. The empirical data

The data gathered during the fieldwork will be analysed using the theories that are presented in the following chapter. For the purpose of this study, I have interviewed fourteen informants in total. Of these informants, there are eight women and six men. There is a small variety of age, with most informants between the age of 24-30 and the two remaining are over 30. There is also a variety in the sense that some informants had moved to the city for different reasons and with various motives, often related to work or study. Others have grown up and lived in the city for most of their lives. One informant is not Sámi by kin, but has grown up in a Sámi area and has very close connections to Sámi culture and language. When asked about their knowledge of the Sámi language, eight informants state that they speak Sámi; three informants state they understand Sámi; and the remaining three informants do not speak or understand Sámi.

When doing qualitative research there are certain concepts that are important during the fieldwork itself and the writing process afterwards. That is the concept of validity, reliability and representativeness. Validity is about the question of truth, whether the findings are based on critical assessment and not just a few well-chosen examples. It leads on to the representativeness of the findings and whether the results are representative for the population as a whole. Reliability is about other researchers being able to get the same findings and results if they followed in my footsteps.[58]

As this study focuses on an individual approach and perception of urban identity, the concept of validity is challenging. My aim is not to generalise the findings, but rather show different approaches to the topic. Whatever the informants say is *their* truth and cannot be questioned in that sense. However, an issue that can be questioned in relation to validity is my method of finding informants. One can argue that using personal networks to find informants consequently indicates a lack of diversity among the informants. With regards to

[58] Silverman, David, *Doing Qualitative Research: A Handbook,* 4th edition, Sage, California, 2010, p. 268-291

representativeness then, although I am not claiming this research to be representative for all Sámi living in urban areas of Norway, I do argue that the findings indicate prototypical and representative concerns amongst Sámi in urban areas.

In relation to reliability, a common challenge in qualitative research, especially when doing interviews and observations, is that it can be difficult to trace the researchers steps. During an interview there were usually two people present – the informant and myself. It will therefore be impossible for anyone else to have an opinion on what was said and done during that interview.

4. Ethics and reflexivity

During my fieldwork and later in the writing process, I encountered several situations and matters that were ethically challenging. So in this section I will discuss certain issues that I have already acknowledged in earlier sections of this chapter, but approach them more in relation to ethical challenges.

One issue that I realised became a common factor throughout the fieldwork and the writing process, is my role as a Sámi and indigenous person. I believe this demands a thorough discussion, as it affects many aspects of the fieldwork, the writing process and the final thesis itself. Because I am a Sámi, I am not only perceived as a researcher but also as a fellow Sámi. Therefore, I am not just myself, but also all the personal relations I have and have had in the past. I represent my family, relatives and friends, both positively and negatively.

This can be positive in the sense that the informants feel they can talk to someone who understands and knows their background. It can also lead to the informants holding back information, due to my connections to other friends or my family. The informants might think that the information given to me will not be kept within my professional work, but also shared with our common acquaintances. For instance, during one specific interview I noticed the informant sharing a lot on certain topics, even sharing fairly personal details about her extended family. On other topics, however, she would hold back by giving very short and un-elaborated answers. In other words, during this particular interview my persona was both a ‘door-opener’ and a ‘door-closer’, so to speak. As previously stated in relation to the choice of locations for the interviews, it was important to be clear on my role as a researcher and not as an acquaintance throughout the interview process.

I started each interview by informing each informant about myself, and the purpose of the study. By giving this introduction, I was situating myself in relation to the informant. As I will look closer at in the following chapter, kinship is an important aspect of Sámi culture and one positions oneself within a context of family and relatives. As one informant said during the interview, he was wondering who I was related to, whether we had common relatives or friends, and so on. Therefore, unknowingly at the time, I situated myself within the Sámi kinship-context. My initial reason for doing so was to make the interview context less intimidating and to make sure that all informants knew what they were getting themselves into. Sámi communities are rather small. People know each other and I wanted them to be fully aware of the consequences of participating in this study. In other words, doing indigenous research in a Sámi context implies exchanging information on kinship ties.

With regard to the examples I presented above, especially with kinship in mind, I will in one way or another continue to have a relation to the informants after submitting the thesis. In the section on using personal networks to find informants, I argue that this can be positive for both the informants and the researcher. However, I would like to point to the fact that it can be problematic for me to be critical towards the data. Consequently this could lead to a romanticising of the topic, which should be avoided. As Fonneland argues, being an insider makes it difficult to know how to be critical towards the informants. As the interviews also include third-party persons who have not voluntarily joined the research, being critical is highly challenging.[59]

This leads to the responsibilities we have as researchers. Anita Maurstad argues in her article on fishermen's knowledge that it is the researcher's responsibility to ensure the informants safety and well-being. She explains how she was given insight into fishermen's knowledge that she considered could be misused and exploited if falling into the wrong hands. Many of the fishermen were not against having their names in the thesis, as well as publishing the information they had shared with Maurstad. However, Maurstad argues that, as researchers, we must know when to protect our informants from unforseen consequences.[60] I believe Maurstad makes an important point and in regard to this thesis I believe it is essential to have the informants' well-being as the main priority. It can be argued that I have made the informants so unidentifiable they are no longer visible in the study. However, I claim that the key point of the thesis is not what each specific informant said but that *what was said*

[59] Fonneland 2006, p. 238-239
[60] Maurstad, Anita, 'Fishing in Murky Waters – Ethics and Politics of Research on Fisher Knowledge', *Marine Policy*, Vol 26, no 3, 2002

contributed to a general pattern of thought, visions and challenges to their formation of an urban Sámi identity. Because I am Sámi, the informants may speak more freely than they would with other researchers. Consequently, this suggests I have to be aware of the information that is shared with me. Was it shared with me as a researcher or as a peer?

As already established, as researchers we have a responsibility. I believe this also goes for acknowledging the power relations that are present in a researcher / informant situation. As Fonneland argues, being a researcher gives you power; in this case, power related to choose your topic, choice of words, the quotes, the theories, what to include and what to leave out and so on.[61] As researchers then, we also have to be humble and acknowledge that our interpretation of the data is one of many possible interpretations. Doing qualitative research implies relying on an interpretive approach to matters told and activities seen.[62] A part of this is also knowing and realising how we, as researchers, influence the informants and the fieldwork conditions. [63] Simply our presence changes the context and an interview situation will never be the same as a conversation among peers. For instance, I noticed during interviews that the conversation could start off in a very informal and friendly manner and the moment I asked if it was all right to start the interview the situation would move to a more formal situation. Even the posture of the informant would change. Similarly, when the recorder was turned off the situation would again become informal and relaxed. During the interview then, I would do my best to keep the situation relaxed and informal, even though my success varied.

A practical challenge in relation to the interviews was the question of language. Not all informants spoke Sámi and some informants spoke a dialect that would not only be difficult for me to understand but in most cases impossible without an interpreter. Arguably, I believe interviewing in the informant's native tongue should always be a priority. However, as it would have been practically challenging and only a few interviews could have been conducted in Sámi due to difference in language, I chose to conduct all interviews in Norwegian. For the few informants who could have been interviewed in Northern Sámi, I asked for permission to interview them in Norwegian before the interview. For me, it was also more practical to interview in Norwegian, as it made the transcribing process easier. Since all the interviews are in Norwegian there is also the added challenge of translating the data into English. When quoting the informants, I tried to read each paragraph a number of times to

[61] Fonneland 2006, p. 232-233
[62] Barth 1994, p. 16-30, Geertz, Clifford, 'From the Native's Point of View: On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding', *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 28, Nr. 1, 1974, pp. 26-45
[63] Fonneland 2006, p. 230-232

make sure I understood it properly. I then translated it into English, aiming to keep the meaning of the paragraph rather than ensuring it was grammatically correct English. Some quotes may, therefore, seem odd to native English speakers but I hope the meaning is clear. Any mistakes in the translation are fully my own responsibility.

Finally, the process of transcribing was an important aspect of the interviews. As I have mentioned, the interviews themselves were emotionally demanding. So reading the transcriptions made it easier to focus on the analytical perspective. In a way it became a technique to 'step away' from the individual informants and explore their stories as *data*. While transcribing, I would also remember the interview situation and could make notes on the context. During the writing process I have kept listening to the interviews even after they were transcribed in order to get the combination of distance and closeness to the data. While listening and reading an interview at the same time, one gets a better impression of what is being said. Did the informant seem cheerful or miserable? Was the informant joking or being serious? And in what manner did the informant speak of the particular issues? In general, the process of transcription was vital in the early stages of analysis.

I wish to relate all the issues in this section to that of 'anthropology at home'. I have aimed to follow the ideology of indigenous methodology and using it in practice.

4.1. The importance of anonymity

For all the reasons that have been stated in the previous sections it was very important for me, as a researcher and a fellow Sámi, that the informants knew their anonymity would be respected. In order to do so I have made several modifications to the data. Most visibly is that I have chosen to give all the informants fictitious Norwegian names. The names are randomly taken from a Norwegian website containing the most used names in 2006[64] and are in no way related to the informants. I have not explicitly provided the age of each informant as I argue that it should not have any practical importance in this thesis as such. I have also chosen not to name any specific region where the informants are from, nor to name other locations they include in their interviews. Although I have discussed the different cities where I conducted fieldwork, I have chosen not to connect any of the informants to the particular cities. I believe the issue of the cities themselves to be relevant and an important issue to discuss. However, discussing each informant in relation to the cities is likely to expose their real identities.

[64] Norske Navn, http://www.norskenavn.no/, accessed on 21.02.2013

Therefore, when I refer to Sápmi, it includes all towns and townships within what is considered the official 'borders' of Sápmi.[65]

Anita Maurstad argues that as researchers we are responsible for the safety of the informant. In this context that means also ensuring their anonymity. As Maurstad exemplifies, and as I experienced myself during my fieldwork, some informants may ask to be named in the study. There may be different reasons for this. However, I argue, as does Maurstad, that anonymity should always be the first choice. Maurstad's reason was that others could misuse the knowledge the fishermen shared with her.[66] My personal argument in regard to my informants and this particular study is that even though the topics covered did not seem as personal at first, many of the answers became very personal during the interviews. Also, many of the answers included third-party individuals and families who had not agreed to participate. As Sámi communities are so small protecting informants becomes especially important.

Chilisa argues that for some informants being named in the final thesis is highly important. She gives examples of storytelling, where the informants themselves do not have the opportunity to write down their stories and they therefore rely on the researcher for the stories to live on.[67] However, I do not see any particular argument in favour of naming of my informants in this study. Therefore I stand by my choice to keep them anonymous. As I have stated previously, the focal points of this study is not *who* said what, but *what* was said.

[65] See map of Sápmi in appendix
[66] Maurstad 2002
[67] Chilisa 2012, p. 207

3

Empirical background and theoretical perspectives

In this chapter I will present the theoretical perspectives that I will use in order to analyse the data in the following chapters. As established in both chapter one and two, the aim of this study is to explore *how the concept of an urban Sámi identity is created, articulated and challenged*. Firstly, I will start by presenting Barth's model of three analytical levels. I will then go on to a discussion on urban dwelling and the concept of indigeniety in urban contexts, referring to Tim Ingold and Jeffrey Sissons. Furthermore, I will use Trond Thuen to discuss challenges in ethnopolitics in Norway. This will be followed by a discussion on ethnic groups and boundaries, according to Fredrik Barth and Harald Eidheim. Referring to Erving Goffman, the section on social identity and stigma will discuss the previous topics in relation to the micro level of society. Lastly, I will present a summary of previous research on comparable topics.

1. Analytical tools

In relation to the objectives of this thesis, I will use Barth's model of societal processes at three analytical levels: the micro, middle and macro level. Naturally, it is impossible to completely separate the levels objectively, but it can be valuable for analysis. The micro level models the process that creates experience and subsequently constructs identity, focusing on individuals and interaction between people. The middle level models the processes that create communities and mobilise groups. The macro level models the processes between the state and ethnic groups.[68]

With regard to this thesis, I will mainly focus on the micro and macro level. I have chosen these two analytical levels in order to focus on how processes on a national level can

[68] Barth, Fredrik, *Manifestasjon og Prosess,* Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1994.

affect people at an individual level. The middle level would also be highly relevant, but was left out due to practical restrictions connected to this thesis.

2. Urban dwelling and indigeniety

In the article 'Temporality of the Landscape', Ingold argues that as opposed to a naturalistic or a cultural view of landscape, we should adopt what he describes as a 'dwelling perspective',

> …According to which the landscape is constituted as an enduring record of – and testimony to – the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing, have there something of themselves.[69]

Ingold claims that the landscape is closely related to a story for the people living there. It is more than just a backdrop to their daily activities; it involves their ancestral lives and their history. The people who live in the landscape, viewed as a place, become a part of it and the landscape becomes a part of them. Living in the landscape and observing, according to Ingold, is then an act of remembrance.[70] In relation to urbanity, I want to stress that the term landscape does not only relate to rural areas but that the city itself is a landscape per se. Thus, it is expected to foster stories and memories in those living there.

In relation to Ingold, Sissons shows that indigeniety is often expected to be a rural condition, as opposed to settlers who belong to urban settings. Other cultures and peoples change over time, but for some reason indigenous peoples are thought, and expected, to live as they did centuries ago.[71] In contrast to Ingold then, Sissons argues that urbanisation, as relocation from one place to another involves a high degree of cultural creativity. This implies that if you remove the indigenous person from the rural context it will not result in cultural *loss* but cultural *change*, in addition to the appropriation of new spatial stories and experiences due to the living in urban spaces.[72] For instance, Sissons shows how indigenous peoples all over the world have found new ways to express their indigenous identity in urban settings,

[69] Ingold 1993:152 Ingold, Tim, 'The temporality of the Landscape', *World Archaeology,* vol. 25, no. 2, 1993, p. 153
[70] Ingold 1993, p. 152-153
[71] Sissons 2005, o. 61-62
[72] Sissons 2005, p. 61-65

from dancing schools in Hawai'i, kura kaupapa in New Zealand and survival schools in Canada.[73]

Ingold argues that people are a part of the landscape and consequently the landscape is a part of them.[74] However, he does not discuss the consequences of people moving away voluntarily or being forcibly removed from their native landscape. To relate to the topic of urban Sámi into Ingold's dwelling perspective, it can be argued that Sámi living outside Sápmi are unable to participate in their ancestral landscape, the included stories and memories, at least on a regular basis. In other words, dwelling perspective is used broadly to embrace incorporated memories and stories of places that individuals identify with or are attached to.[75] Following this line of thought then, since the landscape is a part of them and they are a part of the landscape it would mean they *'lose'* a part of themselves when distancing themselves from their native landscape where their ancestors dwelled. They are unable to become proper 'dwellers', according to Ingold. However, I would argue that the stories and memories the informants hold are highly dynamic and are *brought back* to the city by the informants themselves. By doing this, the city itself becomes a holder of these stories and memories, as the individual holder makes them part of their identity and life in the city. In other words, the stories are re-contextualised when used in urban contexts.

I would argue that the informants, in line with Sissons, show a great deal of cultural creativity and find various ways to express their identity. Although some informants mention that they would eventually want to move closer to 'home', often a place within Sápmi and where the Sámi culture is visible, the city is nevertheless their home for the time being. For all the informants, the combination of city life and indigeniety is not incompatible. In line with Ingold then, the city becomes part of their ethnic identity as Sámi and the city becomes a holder of their stories and memories.

3. Sámi ethnopolitics and the state

> Ethnopolitics is not only a question of achieving tangible results through negotiations with governmental authorities. It is also, and not least, one of changing the conditions framing the expression of a Sámi identity.[76]

[73] Sissons 2005, p. 78-79
[74] Ingold 1993, p. 154
[75] Ingold 1993, p. 152-154
[76] Thuen 2002, p. 284

In regard to Barth's model of the three analytical levels, ethnopolitics could be placed on the macro level. In this section I wish to focus on how the Norwegian state has affected Sámi ethnopolitics. This is a vast topic and due to practical limitations I have chosen to focus on a few issues, aiming to give a basis for discussion in the coming chapters.

In Norway there was a turning point in Sámi ethnopolitics after the conflict over the damming the Alta River in Finnmark, Northern Norway. Previous to the conflict, from a governmental view, the Sámi were considered to be 'Sámi speaking Norwegians'[77], in other words belonging within a common Norwegian identity. Thuen argues that the Alta conflict was successfully converted from an environmental issue into one covering indigenous rights in general, 'ascribing, by consequence, a status of coloniser to the majority population.'[78] The Alta case, together with other factors, forced the state to reformulate Norwegian policies towards the Sámi and a committee was consequently set up to investigate the historical and legal basis for the Sámi claim to indigenous status. Based on the recommendations by the committee[79] the Sámi Assembly (also known as the Sámi Parliament or *Sámediggi)*, was established in 1989.

The establishment of the Sámi Assembly opened up for new controversies. One of the main debates was the register for the Sámi electorate. It was based on voluntary enrolment, although many were sceptical on the use of such a registration. There is a dual criteria for registration: 1) speaking Sámi or having a Sámi speaking parent, grandparent or great-grandparent and 2) identifying oneself as Sámi.[80] This means that enrolling on the Sámi electoral register involves a huge personal transformation, as well as being recognised by others as Sámi. For many, the road to vote in the Sámi assembly is too difficult. This is a highly problematic politicisation of ethnic identity and is in a sharp contrast to the Norwegian identity; there is no graded scale of Norwegianess.[81]

I argue that policies such as the electoral register form a basis for what is considered Sámi. As voting in the Sámi Assembly is based on *self-ascription* as well as *ascription by others*, it affects people's views on who is Sámi and who is not. For instance, due to the *Norwegianisation* process[82], simply by looking at the population consensus in the first half of the 20th century shows that many individuals chose to change their ethnic identity to 'Norwegian' over a period of 20-30 years. Interestingly enough, today it is the other way

[77] Thuen 2002, p. 281
[78] Thuen 2002, p. 282
[79] Thuen 2002, p. 283
[80] Thuen 2002, p. 286
[81] Thuen 2002, p. 286
[82] The Norwegian governmental assimilation process

around. What some call 'new' Sámi are discovering their ancestral roots, trying to rediscover their cultural traits. For many this comes at a great cost, as individuals within the same family may choose different ethnic identity.[83] As Thuen argues,

> This is a field where deeply rooted personal considerations meet with politically motivated ambitions. The support for the Sámi ethnopolitical movement in the 1970s and 80s should therefore be analysed in terms of motivations that range from a personal change of identity ascription to a pragmatic consideration of its promises and achievements.[84]

Being Sámi is, arguably, never just an individual process. Having language as a political demand may excludes many possible electors. Many could identify themselves as Sámi but, since their ancestors were assimilated, the language might be lost. As this is also a highly personal and emotional process, not many would risk being publicly denied.[85] In relation to this study, I argue that the informants are highly influenced by the consequences of Sámi ethnopolitics. Trait of Sáminess in local contexts also gains the character of being emblems, partly due to public debates on ethnic relations and indigeneity.

4. Ethnic groups and identity management

Barth's theories on ethnic groups have been used in various contexts and academic fields. I regard aspects of these theories still to be relevant today, as Barth shows when he discusses the present-day relevance of the book 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the Social Organization of Culture Difference'.[86] Here, I will give an outline of the theories presented in the book, as the book contributes substantially to explorations of Sámi-Norwegian relations and urban Sámi identity matters today.

By focusing on the processes whereby people change their ethnic identity, the authors of 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries' were able to identify certain aspects in the production of ethnic groups. (1) Ethnic groups are an *attribute* of social organisation as opposed to an aspect of culture. The concept of ethnicity is therefore a question of belonging to a group and the productions of groups are based on the clarification of cultural differences. (2) Based on these

[83] Thuen 2002, p. 285-286
[84] Thuen 2002, p. 286
[85] Thuen 2002, p. 286-287
[86] Barth, Fredrik, *Ethnic groups and boundaries: the social organization of culture difference,* Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1969, in Barth 1994

statements, the focus should then be on the boundaries of ethnic groups and how the different groups recruit new members. (3) Since ethnicity is also about identity, membership of a group must rely on self-ascription and ascription by others. (4) The cultural traits that are of importance are those that show the difference between cultures. Accordingly, marks of categorical differentiations generate group formations, as they become important vehicles for intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication about identity and belonging. (5) Lastly, the role of the entrepreneur in ethnopolitics and how they use mobilisation of ethnic groups in order to promote a political initiative and not necessarily to express the groups cultural ideology.[87] Barth's perspective on ethnic groups forms a basis from which Sámi urban identity will be examined in this study.

With this in mind, I will look closer at identity management. Eidheim identifies two social processes that he claims to be present in daily interactions: the process of assimilation and ethnic incorporation. Assimilation is the process where a person takes on a different identity, in this case a Sámi taking on a Norwegian identity. Ethnic incorporation is the process where ethnic membership is relevant for the mobilisation of political activism and revitalisation. Assimilation then, is an individual process whereas ethnic incorporation is a group process.[88]

Eidheim argues that in order to analyse and understand the processes involved in assimilation and ethnic incorporation we need to learn the 'language' of symbols and idioms. Eidheim uses the term idiom in a wide sense, as means of expression that is ascribed a specific culturally defined meaning. This includes meanings that are physical, as well as linguistic and behaviouristic.[89] Eidheim's use of the term idioms may relate to Briggs distinction of traits and emblems, which I will discuss further in chapter four.

The importance of idioms becomes clear when discussing ethnic incorporation, as idioms need to be established in order to create new classifications. A gradual re-coding of idiomatic repertoire gives Sámi the means to embrace cultural traits that earlier were regarded as stigmatised. There are many examples of how re-coding of cultural traits can be done, from the revitalisation of joik, art, folklore, and so on. It is also common that emblems and symbols that show a clear difference to the majority population are the ones that are emphasized and re-coded. In the Sámi case, such traits could be language and reindeer herding. For instance, Eidheim shows how re-coding was used in Sámi society to give language a higher status, with

[87] Barth 1994, p. 174-175
[88] Eidheim 1987, p. 68
[89] Eidheim 1987, p. 71-72. For more on this particular topic, see for instance Stordahl 1996

demands that Sámi was to be regarded as a mother tongue and that it was to be used in official institutions on the macro level. [90]

According to Eidheim, the Sámi people have traditionally been a geographically, culturally and linguistically dispersed people. Therefore, Sámi identity has only had its relevance in the local environment.[91] In that sense, Sámi movements have been significant in order to create new arenas for Sámi to express their identity. However, it has also led to certain challenges. An idiom such as history can bring people together. It can also lead to emphasis on internal cultural differences, which in the case of Sámi communities could be problematic.[92] Based on this, Eidheim argues that the image of the 'perfect' Sámi is emerging. This person needs to have a grip on idioms and languages from both worlds, as well as sympathy with the Sámi movement. Eidheim therefore claims that an ethnic identity is not a private matter, as it is often debated how the idioms can and should be managed.[93]

Barth's five aspects of the production of ethnic groups and Eidheim's arguments related to traits and emblems may not seem interrelated at first. They are, however, essentially discussing similar issues. Where Barth gives an overview of ethnic groups on a more theoretical level, Eidheim gives more specific examples from Sámi cases. Barth shows us that ethnicity is about group organisation. In order to be a member of a group you have to be *accepted* as a member as well as *wanting* to be a member. By focussing on the boundaries of a group, one can argue that the main concern is not who *is* a member, but who *is not.*[94] The cultural idioms that make a group unique, based on Eidheim arguments on re-coding, are the traits that separate one group from another. I argue that in order to be accepted into an ethnic group it is necessarily to acquire certain traits that are recognised by other members of the group. In my project, this implies a closer look at the factors, which so to speak, make an urban Sámi identity similar to and different from a Sámi identity based on more rural spatial conditions.

The challenge of using Barth and Eidheim's theories is that they were both written at a time when the political situation for Sámi and indigenous peoples was fairly different from today. Since then there have been major changes internationally, with indigenous rights being recognised on an international level, for instance by the United Nations[95], as well as

[90] Eidheim 1987, p. 74-76
[91] Eidheim 1987, p. 69
[92] Eidheim 1987, p. 77
[93] Eidheim 1987, p. 68-82
[94] Barth 1994, p. 186-177
[95] See for instance the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

nationally, with the establishment in 1989[96] of the Sámi Parliament, for instance. Nevertheless, based on my data, I still find these theories relevant today.

In relation to this study then, I argue that although the process of ethnic incorporation has been important for many Sámi, it has also had undesirable consequences for others. As I will discuss later in this study, some of the informants feel they do not master the particular traits that they experience are expected by the society and therefore *necessary* in order to be Sámi. Consequently, many people struggle to identify themselves as 'proper' Sámi altogether. They are experiencing a form of stigma, which I will discuss in the next section.

5. Social identity and stigma

In order to understand identity on an individual and micro level, I believe Goffman's concepts of social identity and stigma are helpful tools. Goffman explains how society creates means for categorizing individuals, giving them attributes that are regarded as 'normal' in the different categories. Social settings provide a backdrop for what categories a person is likely to encounter. Thus, we use the anticipations that we have to the different categories and convert them into expectations that are then presented as actual demands. To use a simpler term – we create and use stereotypes. These demands do not concern us, however, until we are questioning whether the demands are being met or not.[97] An example of such anticipations can be related to what Sissons calls 'cultural authenticity'. Indigenous peoples are expected to be visibly and essentially different from the rest of the population.[98] Ironically, it suggests that indigenous peoples were colonised and assimilated and then later forced to prove their difference in order to be considered authentic and 'proper' indigenous, the very differences the colonisers attempted to eliminate.

A useful tool for this thesis could be Goffman's distinction between social identity, personal identity and ego identity. This distinction can be used as a tool to analyse how informants speak about their own identity and in what terms. Social identity, then, is composed of statuses and stereotypes, the expectations and assumptions of society and relations with other people. Personal identity indicates a person's biography so to speak, constructed of biographical and personal data. Ego identity refers to what a person identifies

[96] Solbakk 2004, p. 168
[97] Goffman, Erving, *Stigma. Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, Penguin Books Ltd, Harmondsworth, 1990 (1963), p. 11-31
[98] Sissons 2005, p. 44-45

himself or herself with, a subjective sense of his or her own situation and identity, including assessment on tho what extent a person identifies with idioms of social identity.[99]

Goffman also distinguishes between actual social identity, which are categories and attributes a person may hold, and virtual social identity, which are attributes and categories we expect a person to hold. Some of these attributes are what Goffman describes as *stigma*. These attributes are what make a person different from others in the same category that is available for the said person. The individuals that do not have these stigmatizing attributes are what Goffman regards as 'normal'. Stigma, therefore, are negative affordances onto traits of identity.[100]

Society responds towards stigma attributes with sanctions, which could also be termed as discrimination. These sanctions come in the shape of stigmatising terms, actions and attitudes. A fundamental part of a stigmatised person's situation is acceptance. The stigmatised person is also likely to make up for his or her errors by overcompensating in relation to persons other than themselves, in addition to forming alliances with persons who share stigma.[101] I argue that many of my informants are experiencing a twofold stigma. On the one side they are experiencing stigma from the majority population because they display traits that are different from the everyday urban citizen. On the other hand, they are also experiencing stigma from the Sámi population, as they *do not* have all the right traits, or they have the *incorrect* traits. Another interesting point is that some informants found it easier to live up to the expectations of the majority population rather than the Sámi population. In the majority population they are regarded as exotic and 'different'. In the Sámi population they are regarded as being 'too Norwegian' and therefore not completely Sámi. This relates to the discussion of cultural authenticity above, raised by Sissons.

As with Barth and Eidheim, Goffman's theories on stigma were published many years ago. One could therefore argue that it would not be valid today. However, using Goffman's distinctions on social, personal and ego identity, as well as actual and virtual social identity, has proven most useful in the process of analysis. I argue therefore, that the concept of stigma is still usable and most relevant for this study.

[99] Goffman 1990 (1963), p. 11-128
[100] Goffman 1990 (1963), p. 11-31
[101] Goffman 1990 (1963), p. 11-31

6. Previous research and the relevance of this study

In this section I aim briefly to introduce relevant research related to this study, as well as discussing the relevance of this particular thesis. In addition to studies already mentioned above, several studies have been conducted on urban indigeniety. Most of these studies within urban anthropology have focused on Maori in New Zealand and indigenous peoples in Canada and United States. For instance, the recently published book *Indigenous in the City* focuses on urban indigeneity in Canada, The United States, Australia and New Zealand.[102] Natasha Gagné's study of urban Maori lives discusses the sense of place of Maori living in Auckland, investigating what it means to be Maori today and how it is experienced in the city.[103] There are additional studies that emphasis other localities, such as the discussion of place and articulation of Ainu identity in urban Tokyo by Mark K. Watson.[104]

Within a Norwegian and Sámi context, the emphasis of research has not been on urban indigeneity as such. However, several studies discuss modernity and change in ethnic identity in relation to the Sámi. For instance, Arild Hovland discusses 'modern Sámi' in relation to political organisations, ethnic identity and a sense of belonging, with emphasis on Sámi youth.[105] Vigdis Stordahl also discusses changes in Sámi society, though within the context of the village of Karasjok.[106] Kjell Olsen traces Harald Eidheim's steps, aiming to point out socio-economical changes that have impacted ethnic relations in the same geographical area as Eidheim did his fieldwork.[107] The recent study by Paul Pedersen and Torill Nyseth connected the concepts of urbanity and indigeneity, hence creating new perspectives for the discussion of urban Sámi identity in Norwegian context. As Pedersen and Nyseth show, the city creates a basis for cultural creativity, where the Sámi inhabitants incorporate the city as part of their ethnic identity.[108] Asle Høgmo's study of how identities change is also relevant to

[102] Peters, Evelyn & Chris Andersen, *Indigenous in the City: Contemporary Identities and Cultural Innovation*, The University of British Colombia Press, Vancouver BC, 2013
[103] Gagné, Natacha, Being Maori in the City: Indigenous Everyday Life in Auckland, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2013
[104] Watson, Mark K., 'Diasporic Indigeneity: place and articulation of Ainu identity in Tokyo, Japan', Environment and Planning, vol. 42, 2010
[105] Hovland, Arild, Modern Urfolk – samisk ungdom i bevegelse, UNGforsk/NOVA Cappelen Akademisk Forlag, Oslo, 1996 - Hovland, Arild, Moderne Urfolk – lokal og etnisk tilhørighet blant samisk ungdom, Norsk institutt for forskning om oppvekst, velferd og aldring, Oslo, 1999
[106] Stordahl, Vigdis, Same I den morderne verden. Endring og kontinuitet i et samisk lokalsamfunn, Davvi Girji OS, Kárášjohka, 1996
[107] Olsen, Kjell, 'When Identity is a Private Matter', Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics, vol. 1, no. 1, 2007
[108] Pedersen, Paul & Torill Nyseth, 'Bysamer og bysamiske institusjoner i Tromsø – et nytt trekk i byens historie', Ottar, volume 2, nr. 295, 2013

mention here, as it shows how three generations of sea Sámi manage their Sámi identity.[109] Robert Paine's study of 'entangled identities' gives a valuable insight into the complexity of intra-ethnic relations, arguing that the question is not always whether one *is* Sámi or *not,* but rather *how to be* Sámi.[110]

The objective of this study is, in line with Pedersen and Nyseth, to discuss how Sámi identity is created in an urban context and how the city itself opens for new ways of expressing identity. Consequently, the city also challenges the notion of urban indigeneity. In contrast to Pedersen and Nyseth, this study is situated outside Sápmi and core Sámi regions.[111] As a lot of studies related to Sámi issues are concentrated within Sápmi and the core Sámi regions, I wish to contribute to a wider perception of Sámi identity.

7. Concluding remarks

The theoretical perspectives for this study were chosen for several reasons. Barth's analytical levels have proven to be a simplified, yet valuable, way to analyse different processes that occur in society. I have also chosen to use Barth's theories on ethnic boundaries, as I find that many aspects of his theories are still highly relevant today. Ingold's theories of landscape are valuable as it gives a perspective on the significance of landscape and the places people dwell in in relation to processes of identity constructions. However, I argue that Ingold's theories are not entirely sufficient when it comes to analysing urban dwelling and indigeniety, as will be discussed in chapter five. In relation to Ingold, Sissons shows that urban indigeniety involves a great deal of cultural creativity. I argue that both Ingold's dwelling perspective and Sissons focus on cultural creativity are relevant for my data, but in different ways. Trond Thuen gives a valuable basis for discussing Sámi ethnopolitics in Norway, arguing that political demands of cultural authenticity may, in the case of the Sámediggi (Sámi Assembly), create further divisions between a person's actual social identity and virtual social identity. Lastly, I have chosen to use Goffman's theory of stigma. As many of the previous theories, as I will show, focus on Barth's macro level, Goffman gives an interesting insight into the individual consequences of different societal processes.

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[109] Høgmo, Asle, 'Det tredje alternativet. Barns læring av identitetsforvaltning I samisk-norske samfunn preget av identitetsskifte', Tidsskrift for Samfunnsforskning, vol. 27, no. 5, 1986

[110] Paine, Robert, 'Identitetsfloke: Same-Same. Om komplekse identitetsprosesser i samiske samfunn', in Bjørn Bjerkli & Per Selle (eds.), *Samer, makt og demokrati. Sametinget og den nye samiske offentligheten,* Gyldendal Norske Forlag AS, Oslo, 2003, pp. 291-317

[111] See chapter 4 for further explanation and discussion

4

The Creation

In this chapter I will discuss the creation of emblems. The chapter consists of three sub-sections. I will start by outlining a historical background for particular emblems that are relevant for this study. This is important in order to understand the significance of the cultural traits I will discuss in the following chapters. I will then go on to discuss how cultural traits can be created into emblems. Here, I will use Jean Briggs distinction between cultural traits and emblems, looking at how emblems are displayed openly and consequently how that affects the individual. Lastly, I will focus on the geographical region and emblem Sápmi, as well as discussing the relevance of both Sápmi and the core Sámi regions in contrast to the notion of urban indigeneity.

1. The revitalisation process

To understand markers of Sámi identity, what Briggs calls respectfully 'traits' and 'emblems', it is necessary to discuss the historical relevance of these particular traits. Let me start with an outline of the historical background.[112] In 1944, Northern Troms and Finnmark were burned and destroyed as the German troops retreated. This consequently led to a nation-wide aid programme with the aim of re-building the country after the Second World War.[113] The total destruction of the Finnmark and Troms region had severe consequences for the local Sámi population. Within months everything they owned had been burned and many found themselves dependent on governmental aid. This changed the relationship between Sámi and the Norwegian state, as previously there had been little interaction. The re-building process was based on Norwegian standards, with little or no room for ethnic diversity. Within a few years, the Norwegian collective was a reality.[114]

[112] For other authors on the similar topics, see for example Stordahl, Vigdis, 'Samene: fra "lavstaaende race" til "urbefolkning" ', in Thomas Hylland Eriksen (ed.), *Flerkulturell forståelse*, Tano Aschehoug, Otta, 1997
[113] Bjørklund 2000, p. 6
[114] Bjørklund 2000, p. 6-8

The Norwegian welfare state was largely based on the notion of equality – there should not be a difference between rich and poor, or Sámi and Norwegian for that matter.[115] As the welfare state was established, Norwegian standards and ideals became even more extensive. The state created national standards in housing, diets, healthcare and education, and these standards highly influenced people's way of thinking. It became important to live the 'correct' life, so to speak. Being Sámi then, was perceived as culturally low-status and unnecessary in daily life.[116]

The post-war politics resulted in the partial elimination of ethnic boundaries in the north. That also meant that the difference between the reindeer herding Sámi, who were considered to be the *real* Sámi, and the rest of the population became more evident. Sámi fishermen had no opportunities or right to express their ethnicity in the public space. This created a cultural hierarchy, which resulted in many Sámi *abandoning* their Sámi identity. It became a social stigma, one that for many became impossible to endure. At the same time, however, the government appointed a committee to investigate Sámi matters. The result of the so-called 'Sámi Committee' was published in 1959, resulting in many proposals for ensuring the survival of Sámi culture and language. Interestingly, the main group of protestors against these proposals came from interior of Finnmark region[117], considered to be the core Sámi areas of Norway, which I will discuss in the following sections.

During the 1960s, the increasing number of educated Sámi resulted in a growing interest in Sámi questions. This was also in connection to an increased level of activity among indigenous peoples all over the world. The establishment of *Norske Samers Riksforbund*[118], also known as NSR, was the first organisation that worked for the rights of *all* Sámi. They argued that the Sámi were *one* people with their own culture and language that differed from that of the majority population. This was arguably the birth of the collective Sámi identity. [119]

Politics related to Sámi issues evolved during the 1970s and 1980s, with the case of the Alta dam being of great political importance.[120] For many young Sámi, it became important to 'take back' what they had lost and express their identity openly. This period is often called ČSV, named after three letters in the Sámi alphabet. There are different opinions on what these letters imply, but people often refer to meanings such as 'čájehehkot sámi vuoiŋŋa'

[115] Bjørklund 2000, p. 9
[116] Bjørklund 2000, p. 12-14
[117] Bjørklund 2000, p. 16-17
[118] Translated to 'Norwegian Sámi National Association' by the author
[119] Bjørklund 2000, p. 24-26
[120] Bjørklund 2000, p. 26-31. For more on the Alta-case, see for instance Hjorthol, Lars Martin, *Alta: Kraftkampen Som Utfordret Statens Makt*, Gyllendal Akademisk, Oslo, 2006

(Show Sámi Spirit). Today, being a 'ČSVer' may also have negative undertones, saying that someone is *exaggerating* their Sámi identity.[121] There were several ways of expressing Sámi identity. Examples of such expressions are music and joik (traditional singing), duodji (handicraft), theatre, art, traditional clothing, etc. As Bjørklund argues, the traditional *gákti* has been a very powerful expression of identity for centuries.[122] All in all, these expressions of identity became significant as the notion of a collective *Sápmi* became stronger.

Benedict Anderson discusses the notion of *imagined communities,* where he claims that nations are socially constructed communities, and *imagined* by the group of people who consider themselves a part of that particular nation. He demonstrates this, for instance, by showing how the use of printing press and common languages creates a sense of unity.[123] The revitalisation process can therefore be understood in the context of creating an imagined community, in this case *Sápmi*. As stated in the previous chapter, according to Eidheim the Sámi have traditionally been known as a culturally and geographically disperse people.[124] This is in clear contrast to the birth of the collective Sámi community, since traditionally it had not existed. Creating common means of cultural expression therefore became important to the creation of a strong notion of unity. In line with Barth, ethnic groups are an attribute of social organisation. The revitalisation process can therefore be comprehended as a process where the ethnic boundaries are strengthened and reproduced. When creating such boundaries, the emphasis is on cultural traits that show the difference between cultures, as demonstrated above. I maintain that the revitalisation process has been necessary and important for the Sámi. However, it has also had undesirable consequences, which I will discuss later in this thesis. In relation to Barth's analytical levels, this historical overview can be placed on the macro level, showing processes between the state and ethnic groups.

2. The creation of emblems

> But when our worlds are felt to be endangered – when a house of *bricks* suddenly reveals itself to be of straw – then 'traits' may turn into 'emblems': emotionally

[121] Bjørklund 2000, p. 28-29
[122] Bjørklund 2000, p. 31-32
[123] Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and the Spread of Nationalism,* Verso, London, 1991, p. 35-46
[124] Eidheim 1987, p. 69

> charged markers which we can use as mirrors to show ourselves that our house is real, or as building blocks to construct boundaries and barriers in self-defence.[125]

Creation of particular emblems in this study can arguably be perceived as a consequence of the revitalisation process. Briggs argues that there has been a change in the academic field, from looking at *culture change* to *invention of tradition*.[126] I prefer to use the term *creation* as opposed to *invention,* as the term *invention* implies that it is merely made up rather than an aspect of cultural creativity. I will therefore use the term *creation* from here on. What then, is the difference between a cultural trait and a cultural emblem? Briggs argues that we are seldom aware of our own cultural traits until we encounter cultural traits that differ from or are in contrast to our own. Briggs identifies two characteristics that make certain traits more evident as emblems. First, the cultural traits are often emotionally charged. Second, these traits are often centres of confrontation.[127] As the quote above shows, Briggs argues that the creation of emblems is either an answer to a cultural threat of some kind or a confirmation of our identity to ourselves.[128] In other words, it can be a feeling of cultural insecurity that is turned either *outwards*, as self-defence, or *inwards*, as mirrors. For instance, language can be a cultural trait when used in intra-relations. When the language is threatened, for instance in inter-relations, it becomes an emblem, an almost sacred symbol of our culture. But this distinction of trait and emblem is not set in stone; traits can become emblems and vice versa, depending on the situation and context.

As an illustration, let us turn to Olsen's discussion on tourism and the construction of Sámi emblems. Even though his arguments mainly concern the *outward* display of emblems, he also argues that this affects the understanding of emblems *inwards*.

> But for the Sámi it is an increasing problem that everyday life does not fit the idea about indigenous people, and this is a problem not only found in tourism, but also in other realms.[129]

For instance, Olsen looks at representation of the Sámi in tourist brochures and summarizes that the image of Sámi is of a traditional people.[130] The nomadic reindeer herders

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[125] Linton 1943:321, Linton, Ralph, 'Nativistic Movements', *American Anthropologist,* volume 45, 1943, p. 321, Briggs, Jean, 'From Trait to Emblems and Back', *Arctic Anthropology,* volume 34, no. 1, 1997, p. 228
[126] Briggs 1997, p. 227
[127] Briggs 1997, p. 228
[128] Briggs 1997, p. 227-228
[129] Olsen, Kjell, 'The Touristic Construction of the "emblematic" Saami', *Acta Borealia*, vol. 20, no. 1, 2003, p. 7
[130] Olsen 2003, p. 7

are considered to be 'the backbone of the Sámi culture', with villages such as Karasjok and Kautokeino regarded as 'Sámi centres'.[131] Interestingly enough, around 10 percent of all Sámi have traditionally been reindeer herders. In the census of 1930, the majority of people identifying themselves as Sámi lived near the coast. Although it is important to note that this census would be faulty due to the consequences of the assimilation process, it does provide a reasonable impression.[132] Any mention of modern life then, is in *contrast* to this traditional image. Olsen refers to several tourist brochures, showing that most of the pictures visually presenting the Sámi are motifs with Sámi in traditional clothing. This clearly gives the impression of the Sámi as a people still living a very much traditional life.[133] This is not only problematic for tourists, but for the majority population as well for Sámi. As Olsen states, 'such processes become embedded, localised, and altered in people's everyday life'.[134]

An example of an emblem that is mainly focused *inwards* is that of Tromsdalstind in Tromsø, northern Norway. Kraft argues that 'Tromsdalstind emerged as a sacred mountain for both Sámi and northern Norwegians in general, though in various ways and in relation to different discourses.'[135] The context for this process of sacralisation was the debate on whether Tromsø should be the host city for the Norwegian application to the Olympic Games. Tromsdalstind was to be used as an Olympic arena, with brand new ski slopes. The main opposition to this suggestion came from ethnic Norwegians, with arguments 'relating to the beauty of the mountain and to its position as a popular area for hiking'.[136] The Sámi political organisations were initially positive to the suggestion, but had some concerns relating to the position of the mountain in the past. It was argued that if there existed evidence of the mountain being of religious importance to the local Sámi, then it would be problematic to use the mountain for skiing.[137] For the Norwegian opposition then, Tromsdalstind became a symbol of Tromsø city. For the Sámi opposition, the mountain was part of a nation building process.[138] There is no archaeological evidence of the mountain being a sacred place, nor are there any written testimonies as such. But by protesting against the ski slope, the local Sámi demonstrated that they have been present in the region for centuries.[139] The mountain was

[131] Olsen 2003, p. 7
[132] Bjørklund 2000, p. 6-7
[133] Olsen 2003, p. 9-13
[134] Olsen 2003, p. 14
[135] Kraft, Siv Ellen, 'The Making of a Sacred Mountain. Meanings of Nature and Sacredness in Sápmi and Northern Norway', *Religion,* vol. 40, no. 1, 2010, p. 53
[136] Kraft 2010, p. 55
[137] Kraft 2010, p. 55
[138] Kraft 2010, p. 56
[139] Kraft 2010, p. 59-60

therefore made into an emblem, not for tourists or the Norwegian inhabitants but for Sámi themselves.

What I have aimed to show in this section is how emblems are created as means to display ethnic identity both *inwards* and *outwards*. The creation of emblems is in line with Sissons' notion of cultural creativity. He argues that indigenous peoples living in an urban context often create new means of cultural expression.[140] The creation of emblems commonly happens on a macro level in society. However, individuals on the micro level participate in the making and continuation of emblems; it is therefore a reciprocal interaction, where both influence each other. Therefore it may be a *result* of Sámi ethnopolitics, but the emblems themselves can also *affect* ethnopolitics. I argue, in line with Barth, that the use of emblems as such can be a characteristic of *belonging* within an ethnic group. By using certain emblems that are acknowledged by the larger ethnic group, one shows a mutual connection and a common understanding. However, there is the aspect of stigma related to the use of emblems. By creating and using emblems, we also create stereotypes. In Goffman's terms, there arises a distinction between our actual social identity, which are the attributes we hold, and our virtual social identity, which are attributes we are expected to hold. Emblems then, as symbols of belonging to an ethnic group, also become stigmatic for those who are unable to identify with these emblems. It will distinguish further between those who *belong* to an ethnic group and those who *do not*.

3. Sápmi – a geographical place or an emblem?

Geographically and territorially speaking, Sápmi is considered to be the traditional Sámi region and place of origin. It stretches across the northernmost regions of four countries, namely Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. However, Sápmi, as I have shown above, is a fairly recent creation. The notion of a collective Sámi people during the revitalisation process became conceptualised through *Sápmi*. One can therefore speak of the geographical space of Sápmi, or the social and political *construction* of Sápmi.[141] I argue that this construction also can be viewed as an emblem of Sámi unity, in lines with Benedict Andersons *imagined communities.*[142]

[140] Sissons 2005, p. 61-62
[141] Eriksson, Johan, 'The construction of Sápmi: Towards a transnational polity?', in Kristiina Karppi & Johan Eriksson (eds.), *Conflict and Cooperation in the North,* Norrlands Universitetsförlag, Umeå, 2002, p. 239
[142] Anderson 1991. Alternative literature is also Stordahl 1996, p. 89-92

The Sámi Committee, mentioned above, suggested in 1959 that in order to ensure the survival of Sámi languages and culture it was vital to establish a core region in areas where the Sámi were in a majority. They suggested several settlements in inner Finnmark, such as Kautokeino, Karasjok and Polmak. They also named Nesseby, Tana and Kistrand as possible additions. The reasons for choosing the named villages were partly due to the status of the language; Sámi was still the main language in these areas, as was traditional livelihoods such as reindeer herding and fishing.[143] It is important to note that these municipalities represent only a small part of Sápmi as a whole. In other words, Sápmi is more of a cultural and symbolic borderless region, whereas the so-called core Sámi region includes several Norwegian municipalities that have a particular responsibility towards the protection of Sámi culture and language, embedded in Norwegian law.

The establishment of a core Sámi region, then, has had severe consequences for Sámi living outside the region. Especially in Karasjok and Kautokeino, several institutions and reforms were established in order to protect and promote language and culture. Consequently, the conditions for the revitalisation of Sámi culture were much better in the core regions than other regions. These institutions also created jobs for returning inhabitants, who had temporarily moved elsewhere to study at universities or colleges. Often, these returnees were also involved in politics and were important resources for the local communities. Andersen defines this as a form of Sámi modernisation, where the combination of different institutions made Sámi culture visible and consequently the inhabitants were made conscious of their ethnic identity. This awareness also resulted in a form of self-confidence in regard to their Sámi identity. In addition, Andersen claims that this development counteracted the assimilation process.[144] This is in contrast to what Bjørklund argues, as stated above, that many locals in the core regions such as Karasjok and Kautokeino protested against the committee and their suggestions.[145]

The establishment of core Sámi regions also had symbolic effects. For instance, Andersen suggests the stereotypical view of Sámi in Finnmark to be the following: the coastal Sámi are deeply assimilated, unsure of their ethnic identity and in the process of revitalising. They become 'new Sámi', as they re-track their roots. Inland, however, the Sámi are not as

[143] Fiskeri- og Kystdepartementet, Retten til fiske i havet utenfor Finnmark, http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/fkd/dok/nouer/2008/nou-2008-5/7/4/5.html?id=500019, accessed on 03.03.2013 - Andersen, Svanhild, 'Samisk tilhørighet i kyst- og fjordområder', in Bjørn Bjerkli & Per Selle (eds.), Samer, makt og demokrati. Sametinget og den nye samiske offentligheten, Gyldendal Norske Forlag AS, Oslo, 2003, p. 247-248
[144] Andersen 2003, p. 249
[145] Bjørklund 2000, p. 16-17

assimilated and are more confident about their identity. The core region has therefore somewhat *defined* the perception of Sámi in general.[146]

Andersen argues that the majority population often creates a stereotypical construction of 'the others', often based on cultural traits that differ from that of the majority culture.[147] In other words, the emphasis is on cultural traits that are perceived as exotic, different and perhaps mysterious. In relation to Sámi culture, the stereotypical portrayal may be that of the reindeer herding Sámi. As this may be true, I also wish to relate this to Eidheim's argument on the creation of emblems. He argues that, when creating emblems, one often focuses on cultural traits that distinguish *oneself* from the majority population.[148] In other words, not only does the majority population create a stereotypical image of Sámi; Sámi themselves create a stereotypical image of themselves by creating emblems. For instance, the portrayal of the reindeer herding Sámi as the *authentic* Sámi can be seen both as a product of the majority population's interest in cultural traits that seem exotic and different, as well as Sámi themselves wishing to present themselves as different to the majority population. To use Brigg's line of thought, this portrayal of reindeer herding Sámi could be viewed as a construction both *inwards* as mirrors and *outwards as self-defence*. Consequently, the perception of the stereotypical reindeer herding Sámi does not only affect the tourists visiting Northern Norway who are unable to find 'real' Sámi, but also Sámi living in urban context who do not feel they can relate to this stereotype *and* emblem.

To summarise, there is a distinction between Sápmi and core Sámi regions. As Sápmi is rather a cultural emblem, the core regions are mainly political constructions. Andersen argues that the development within inner Finnmark and in the core Sámi regions is contrasted by the *lack* of development in the coastal areas of Finnmark.[149] I continue Andersen's argument and argue further that the core Sámi region has also affected the lack of development related to Sámi issues in the south, especially in urban areas. For instance, as Andersen shows, it has been difficult for children outside the core regions to learn Sámi in school. In general, there is a lack of knowledge of Sámi culture in the educational system, leading to stereotypical knowledge of Sámi being taught. On the one side, this leads to a continued lack of knowledge on Sámi from the majority perspective. On the other side, this leads to Sámi children growing up outside the core regions constantly being reminded that they do not fit into this

[146] Andersen 2003, p. 250-251
[147] Andersen 2003, p. 251
[148] Eidheim 1987, p. 74-76
[149] Andersen 2003, p. 248-249

stereotypical image.[150] In other words, they are reminded that they do not belong within the ethnic borders. The concept of a core Sámi region then, is legitimising the *lack* of development on Sámi issues *outside* the core regions.

In the following chapter, I will continue to discuss the concept of *Sápmi* and core Sámi regions in relation to the urban context.

4. Concluding remarks

I started this chapter by outlining the historical background of the revitalisation process, as to create a context to several cultural traits and emblems I will discuss in the following chapters. By using Brigg's distinction of traits and emblems, I discuss how traits become emblems when our culture is threatened. I also demonstrated how the creation of emblems might affect the understanding of Sámi culture for both Sámi and others. Lastly, I showed how the revitalisation process created the notion of Sápmi – *one people,* the core Sámi regions and how this has created several challenges for Sámi living outside these areas. I argue that the creation of emblems, although important to create a sense of unity and to ensure the protection of Sámi culture, has consequently left many Sámi feeling they do not belong within the ethnic boundaries.

[150] Andersen 2003, p. 256-258

5

Urban dwelling and belonging

This chapter focuses on the city as a context where an urban Sámi identity is communicated and articulated. It is divided into three sections. I will start by looking at the city as a *place* where identity is created, articulated and challenged. This section focuses on how the informants' themselves perceive the city. I will make a distinction between the city as a temporary place and the city as a permanent place in the eyes of the informants. Secondly, I will discuss the informants' contrasting perceptions in the city in relation to Ingold's *dwelling perspective*. I argue that there is a difference in the sense of belonging among the informants, distinguished by their contrasting view of the city. In the final section, I will look at the city in relation to the emblem Sápmi and the core Sámi regions.

1. Urban perspectives

In the previous chapter I have looked at the historical background for various Sámi emblems, as well as discussing the creation and consequences of such emblems. I argue that the emblem *Sápmi* and construction of *the core Sámi* regions have subsequently led to the lack of development regarding Sámi issues *outside* of both Sápmi and the core regions. The informants I have interviewed for this thesis are situated outside both Sápmi and the core regions, here understood as geographical areas. In this section then, I will look at the city as a *place* where the concept of an urban Sámi identity is created, articulated and challenged. I consequently move on to the micro level of analysis.

Adopting Ingold's 'dwelling perspective', the city is more than just a backdrop for human interaction.[151] In a broad sense, the city itself contains memories of those who have lived there and continue to do so. As we will see, the importance of the city varies among the different informants. Although all the informants have the experience of living in an urban setting, there are certain differences in how they perceive the city. One factor of

[151] Ingold 1993, p. 152-153

diversification is whether the informants acknowledge the city as a permanent or a temporary home. Another factor is whether the informant has grown up in the city or lived the majority of their lives in there, as opposed to moving there in recent years.

1.1. The city as a permanent 'home'

Several informants indicate that the city itself is an important part of their ethnic identity. The following informants argue that the city is not merely a place of residence, but also a significant feature of their Sámi identity. For instance, Tove is born and raised in a city. When asked what she enjoys most with the city, she replies that 'I have never tried anything else,'[152] explaining further that

> I grew up in (city) which is a relatively large city, so that is, well that is my hometown because that is where I spent my teenage years, that city shaped me a lot. But at the same time, (township) is also an important place for me… because that is where many of my relatives are.[153]

Therefore she has strong connections to both categories of place, but in different ways. The city is her home, but the township is a joyful place to escape to when she needs a break from her usual life. Her sense of belonging to the township is partly based on her relatives that live in the township and friends that she has acquired over the years. She recalls how she envied her friends going on holidays to exotic places, as she and her family always went up north during holidays.

> But now I am very grateful that we did that, because now, now it is very enjoyable to visit (township) and meet all the people I know because of all of our trips there.[154]

She also considers the township as an important part of her mothers' life and therefore an important part of herself, saying that

> Because my mother's relatives are from (township), I feel a strong sense of belonging to the place because it is a great part of my mother, that is where she grew up… and therefore I feel it is also a part of me.[155]

[152] Interview with informant 5
[153] Interview with informant 5
[154] Interview with informant 5

Emilie has also grown up in the city. 'I feel at home here', she says, 'it's home, I was born here'.[156] When asked to address both positive and negative aspects with the city, she lists assets such as the variety of activities and possibilities. As a negative aspect she mentions that she enjoys visiting the countryside every now and again to unwind, but emphasizes that 'I can't really think of anything I do not enjoy with living here'.[157] She too feels connected to a township in Sápmi and another township in the south, which are the main places where her relatives live.[158]

> I visit (township) two-three times a year, just to see everyone. And they come to (city) often, so… I see all of my cousins many times a year.[159]

She points out that she only has cousins on the Sámi side of her family and therefore keeping in touch with her cousins and other relatives is 'extremely important in order to keep in touch with my Sámi identity.'[160]

Both Tove and Emilie have grown up in the city, and their Sámi identity is closely linked to the city itself. As their main experience of being Sámi is linked to the city there is arguably no such thing as 'urban Sámi' because, for them, being urban includes being Sámi. For both Tove and Emilie, visiting the township in Sápmi has become an important aspect of their identity. In Goffman's terms, the city becomes part of their *ego identit*y. By visiting the township, they continue to strengthen their relation to the township and therefore also to their relatives and history. Both include the aspect of kinship as an important reason for their regular visits to Sápmi. Visiting the respective townships then, strengthens their *personal identity*. So their Sámi identity is not only linked to the city, though that is mainly where their identity is shaped; it is also linked to their relatives and distinct locations in Sápmi. The relationship with their relatives is consequently a confirmation of their Sámi identity.

Nora spent her first years in Sápmi but moved to the city as a young girl. For the majority of her life she has lived in the city. She identifies herself as a 'city girl'[161] but also acknowledges her roots in Sápmi to be a part of her identity, saying it is a natural and important part of her urban identity. As Nora grew up in a smaller town in Sápmi, she still feels connected to that town, as well as another township nearby.

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[155] Interview with informant 5
[156] Interview with informant 7
[157] Interview with informant 7
[158] Interview with informant 7
[159] Interview with informant 7
[160] Interview with informant 7
[161] Interview with informant 10

> I have a close and special connection to (city in Sápmi), also because I have family still living there. I also feel connected to (township in Sápmi), but not in the same way as I have never lived there myself. But it always feels good to visit family there.[162]

Hanna grew up in a smaller township in Sápmi but has lived the majority of her life in the city. While discussing city life she states that she enjoys the urban life in general, saying

> I like the duality. I like the fact that no one knows me, but at the same time I enjoy visiting places where I am certain I will meet people I know.[163]

During the interview she defines herself as a 'country girl', but also says that she feels 'urban'.[164] Hanna has two other townships she feels connected to, both in the region where she grew up. She explains her connection to these two places by the presence there of her own family as well as her husband's family.[165]

> I could not imagine living anywhere else but (current city of residence), (husbands home-town) or (hometown). If I were to lose my family relations, I would not be a complete person.[166]

Nora and Hanna have lived the majority of their lives in the city but as they were both born in smaller towns or townships in Sápmi they have experience from both contexts. While Nora uses the term 'city girl', Hanna uses the term 'urban', both implying that they identify themselves as urban Sámi. This is similar to the experience of Tove and Emilie. In contrast to Tove and Emilie, however, Nora and Hanna have lived in smaller towns, so their Sámi identity is also linked to that preceding experience. Whereas for Tove and Emilie being urban is naturally linked to being Sámi, the urban Sámi identity is something Nora and Hanna have acquired later in life. We see, for instance, that Hanna explicitly stresses what she defines as a dual identity, being both a 'country girl' and 'urban', as well as saying that she could not imagine living anywhere else but in the current city or places where she already has connections to relatives.

These informants share certain similarities. First of all, as can be seen by their quotes, the city is arguably perceived as their permanent home and they have no current plans for moving

[162] Interview with informant 10
[163] Interview with informant 2
[164] Interview with informant 2
[165] Interview with informant 2
[166] Interview with informant 2

out of the city. Some of these informants were born in the city and, therefore, have always been urban Sámi in some sense. For them, being urban is connected to being Sámi. In line with Ingold, their knowledge of being Sámi is not separate from the experience of living in the city as a place, regardless of that place being perceived as Sámi by other inhabitants.[167] Others have moved to the city but have adopted the city as a home and plan on staying.

Secondly, we also see that these four informants have fairly close connections to other locations situated both in and outside Sápmi. These places have been visited regularly and therefore can also be included as a kind of 'second home', so to speak. These other locations become part of their identity and experience because they are visited so regularly and are connected to relatives living there. As Emilie clearly states, being in close contact with her kin is vital for her Sámi identity.

Thirdly, there is a sense of dual identity among the informants. This dualism is visible among all informants, which is arguably due to the connection they have to other places outside the city. They are not *just* urban Sámi; they have all had a taste of a rural life, which has played a significant role in their lives and therefore also their identity. In other words, in relation to the dwelling perspective, the city dwellers are integrated and connected to the experiences of other places, thus shaping their self-ascription as a Sámi person. In a political perspective, Sápmi contributes to their identity as a symbolic reservoir of memories and understandings of what it means to be a Sámi in Norway today. In terms of living in the city – their Sáminess is not perceived as a problem; they do not feel *less* Sámi. Their ways of being Sámi are related to relatives, who live there and elsewhere, and to visits to rural Sámi communities. In other words, their ways with Sáminess are not challenged as inauthentic on a regular basis.

1.2. The city as a temporary 'home'

Other informants arguably view the city as a temporary home. Although these informants do not view the city as a permanent place of residence, at least not at this particular stage of their lives, they are still urban Sámi in the sense that they currently live in an urban context.

For instance, Ingrid lived in several townships in Sápmi when she was younger, but has lived in the current city for many years. When asked what she likes about the city, she replies that

[167] Ingold 1993, p. 154-155

> I am not a city person, and I would not like to live in a bigger city than this… It's not quiet anywhere.[168]

She does, however, identify closeness to the surrounding countryside as a positive aspect of this particular city and claims she can get 'the best of both worlds.'[169]

> But I like (city) because then I have the possibility to go for a walk in the forest if I want to. And it's not far, it's only half an hour and then you're there. And at the same time you have everything the city has to offer. You get everything you want.[170]

She also identifies the townships in Sápmi where she grew up as locations that she feels connected to, although many of her friends and relatives have moved to other cities or locations in Norway.[171]

Andreas grew up in a smaller township in Sápmi, but moved to the city for study purposes. When asked to identify aspects about living in the city, he replied that

> There is a lot of noise… Especially where I am living now, there is a lot of noise. And it can be quite impersonal, living in the city.[172]

On the other hand, Andreas regards the city as giving him the best of both worlds, as he can still easily travel to his hometown whenever he feels the need to do so.

> I think (city) is a good place, because it is close to home, its easy to go back home if I want to, and it's big enough to do a lot of different things.[173]

Andreas also feels strongly connected to his hometown and he estimates that he goes home once a month. Andreas has grown up in a reindeer herding family, so his connection to other places are closely linked to that of his mother's and father's reindeer herding districts.

Tobias grew up in a smaller township in Sápmi and also moved to the city to pursue his studies. When asked about his thoughts on living in the city he stresses that he will probably

[168] Interview with informant 11
[169] Interview with informant 11
[170] Interview with informant 11
[171] Interview with informant 11
[172] Interview with informant 1
[173] Interview with informant 1

move back home sometime but that 'the city contains certain possibilities the smaller townships do not'.[174]

> I live a very hectic life… and I find that I need nature to feel relaxed… It is something about the silence, and I have found that I cannot find that silence in the city. Not at all.[175]

A location he regards as important apart from his hometown is his family's cabin. This is a place that his family has visited regularly and it has become an important meeting place for his close family as well as the extended family. Although he claims he needs nature to feel relaxed, he also points out that he cannot go anywhere to find peace.

> Visiting our cabin… is something completely different from visiting some random mountain in some random area… It is definitely not the same.[176]

For Tobias, the cabin represents more than merely a holiday home. It is situated in an area where his ancestors have lived for centuries, implying that the landscape itself holds memories and stories. His connection to the cabin and surrounding area could therefore represent his feeling toward kinship, as he states that it is a meeting place for his extended family. For Tobias then, visiting the cabin is not simply a trip out of the city, but rather an important aspect of his identity and sense of belonging.

Mathias has grown up in a township in Sápmi, but has lived in the city for some years to pursue studies and work. Although he enjoys life in the city, he also states that

> I do not see that there is anything specific keeping me in the city, apart from work. I do not have to live here, and I genuinely would like to move up north. I would much rather be closer to nature and wildlife, as well have more space around me.[177]

He visits his hometown regularly, spending most of his holidays in Sápmi. He feels connected to many of the places where his family has traditionally resided, namely by the coast but also inland.

Sebastian has not lived in the current city for very long, but has previously lived in other cities.

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[174] Interview with informant 6
[175] Interview with informant 6
[176] Interview with informant 6
[177] Interview with informant 3

> I enjoy living in the city because it is big, there are a lot of people, and there is a lot happening culturally and socially. It is easy to get to know new people, and the city is culturally diverse.[178]

He continues to say that he does miss the closeness to nature, saying that it is not always easy to find calm places in the city. He visits his hometown in Sápmi regularly throughout the year, as his family and relatives still live there.[179]

Julie and Thea were interviewed at the same time. Both are from smaller townships in Sápmi and moved to the city to study. Julie states her main reason for moving to the city was education and says that 'it is fun living in the city as there is always something going on. More people, in general.'[180] She later states that she feels moving away from home is a vital part of growing up, implying that it might be valuable to get new perspectives away from Sápmi. Although she enjoys the city, there are several features she finds challenging.

> The contrast was so noticeable; the city was an odd place and a strange world to me. At the same time it was familiar, because we were still in Norway. But in regard to Sámi culture, it was invisible; there is no place to make of yourself.[181]

When Thea is asked to identify aspects of living in the city, she says

> Well, when you are from a small town, the city can often be quite massive. A lot of people everywhere. And living in a small flat is not always optimal. And… well, it is very far away from home.[182]

She continues to say that

> I like living in the city but obviously I know the feeling of missing my hometown. It's always good to come home, having the Sámi environment and having it in your everyday life.[183]

Again, there are certain similarities with these informants. The sense of a dual identity, which was present in the informants with a permanent view, also exists in the informants with a temporary view. However, even though they have a positive perception of the city, they all state in various terms that they either wish to move back 'home' or have the need to visit their

[178] Interview with informant 13
[179] Interview with informant 13
[180] Interview with informant 12
[181] Interview with informant 12
[182] Interview with informant 14
[183] Interview with informant 14

'home' more often. This implies that the city may be *one* 'home', but it is not the only, or perhaps not even the main, 'home'. In addition, whereas the informants with a permanent view had difficulties identifying aspects of the city that they *did not* enjoy, the informants with a temporary view often define the city as 'noisy' and that they miss a 'closeness to nature'. Closeness to nature is often linked to hunting, berry picking or related activities. If there are any positive aspects about the city, it is often expressed through the ease of access to the surrounding countryside. Consequently many use terms such as 'the best of both worlds' in order to describe their lives.

Secondly, many of the informants associate their hometowns with their relatives and families. This is similar to those informants with a permanent view. However, one aspect of diversification between the two views is the role of the city itself. For the informants with a permanent view, the city is a natural part of their Sámi identity. Visiting other locations in Sápmi is important for their Sámi identity, but not fundamental. For the informants with a temporary view, the city is a temporary place of residence and their Sámi identity is not as closely linked to the city itself. For them visiting home seems more of a fundamental aspect of their Sámi identity since that is where their identity is centred. The city is therefore an 'all purpose' home to the informants with a permanent home and a 'special purpose home' to the informants with a temporary view.

2. Belonging within an urban landscape

In the previous section, I looked at the city as a *place* where the concept of an urban Sámi identity is created, articulated and challenged. In this section, I will continue this line of thought and discuss further the city by using, among others, Ingold's dwelling perspectives. I will continue on the micro level of analysis, focusing on the individual.

Ingold argues that the knowledge people have about landscapes comes from the experience of living in that particular place. For Ingold, experiencing a place is like remembering the past. So following Ingold's argument, the landscape is a story that you experience when being in that place. He argues that just like stories are a way of guiding the listener into the world, you become a part of the landscape by living in it and the landscape becomes a part of you.[184] Basso argues that anthropologists have overlooked the importance

[184] Ingold 1993 p. 152-153

of how people are interconnected with the land they inhabit. It is a reciprocal relationship that should not be underestimated. Basso follows Heidegger, and argues that

> Dwelling assigns importance to the forms of consciousness with which individuals perceive and apprehend geographical space.[185]

Familiar places are of importance because they can trigger memories and self-reflection. These thoughts can lead to other memories, stories and people, and thus sensing the places becomes a very dynamic experience. Basso also shows the importance of place names and how they are used to store memories. When his informants were talking of certain places they also re-experienced living in those places.[186]

When Tove and her family visit the township in Sápmi stories of their family and ancestors are a natural and common topic of conversation. They would tell stories of relatives, often stories that would give an impression of life 'back in the day'. Some stories would be humorous, especially stories told to children, and would be retold many times over the years. Others would be more serious, reflecting on important happenings in the family history. These stories often include reflections on relations and general genealogical knowledge. Tove stresses that this interest in her family's history is not only related to the Sámi part of her family but also to her father's Norwegian part.[187]

So for Tove, who grew up in the city visiting her mother's hometown creates a different context for storytelling. Although stories are often told in the city context they become more significant in the context of vising relatives in Sápmi. For Tove, visiting the township is also a journey through her family history, as Basso has shown.

Hanna explains that the stories she knows from her childhood are often connected to certain physical places. For example, visiting the family's cabin often brings up memories and stories that are then retold. She says that she often retells the stories to her children when they are at the specific place where the story happened. Even though she also tells some stories when they are in the city, she claims that

[185] Basso, Keith H., 'Wisdom Sits in Places', in Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso (eds.), *Senses of Place*, School of American Research Press, Santa Fe NM, 1997, p. 54
[186] Basso 1997
[187] Interview with informant 5

> It has to do with re-creating a feeling. It re-creates an image. And often different smells, too. And we have grown up listening to stories. … It's in that moment when you are doing something related to the story, that's when you tell it.[188]

The amount of knowledge of their family stories differs, although all informants claim they know quite a lot. Some informants make the point that they know more of their Sámi history than they do of the Norwegian side of their family. Several informants claim that storytelling has been a natural part of their life when growing up, learning about ancestors and family members. Apart from Tove and Hanna, the other informants do not directly connect story telling to places. However, following Basso, we could assume that visiting places in Sápmi triggers stories for the informants and people around them.

Cruikshank gives examples of how, while living in Yukon Territory, she learned that stories and narratives were important aspects of everyday life. Cruikshank claims that this can assumedly be common in many indigenous cultures.[189] She tells of three women, Kitty Smith, Annie Ned and Angela Sydney, who all drew on 'local narratives to reflect on complex life circumstances.'[190]

> A consistent feature of accounts these women told was their use of what might be called 'traditional' stories, learned from parents and grandparents, to explain modernist changes that swept through their twentieth-century lives.[191]

Cruikshank shows how the stories also include relationships to non-humans, animals and features of landscape, saying that

> Oral transmission of stories is a panhuman activity, probably the oldest form of history-making, and in many parts of the world it has a continuing role in the production and reproduction of history.[192]

Throughout the book she shows the importance of landscape, memories and stories, and how these are 'entangled'.[193] I argue that in relation to this study and the informants, their stories are also 'entangled' with memories and places, as well as their kin. In a way, it is not a sense of belonging to the place as such, but also what the place contains.

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[188] Interview with informant 2
[189] Cruikshank, Julie, Do Glaciers Listen? Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, and Social Imagination, UBC Press, Vancouver, 2005, p. 50-75
[190] Cruikshank 2005, p. 50
[191] Cruikshank 2005, p. 51
[192] Cruikshank 2005, p. 60
[193] Cruikshank 2005

In line with Ingold and Basso then, the informants *make* the city Sámi just by using that urban landscape. The city contains their memories and stories, which are Sámi memories and stories. The urban landscape therefore, *becomes* Sámi to those who use the stories. Ingold does not discuss the fact that you can bring the stories, and therefore arguably the landscape too, back to the city. The stories are not fixed in the landscape – they are transferable like the humans who hold them and hence become incorporated into the urban landscape. My material shows two ways for urban Sámi to link themselves to other places than the place they currently reside in, namely stories and activities. Whereas Ingold mostly deals with connections through activities, Basso and Cruikshank address stories.

Ingold also argues that the knowledge people have about landscapes comes from the experience of living in that place. But the informants who have grown up in the city have knowledge of the landscape even though they have not permanently lived there. They have learned the landscape mainly through visits and through stories told from their childhood. One would expect that because the informants with a permanent view of the city are 'removed' from the landscape, they would not know the stories. Nevertheless, all informants say that they know quite a lot of their family history, kin and past events.

3. The urban landscape in relation to *Sápmi* and *core Sámi regions*

In this section I will look at the urban landscape discussed above in relation to Sápmi and the core Sámi regions. How does the perception of Sámi living in urban contexts relate to that of the emblem Sápmi and the core Sámi regions? I showed that all the informants have a sense of belonging to a place outside their urban home. For most informants these other places are situated within Sápmi. I argue that this shows the importance of Sápmi as an emblem and as a unifying factor for Sámi. However, it is important to note that the informants do not explicitly relate their Sámi identity to Sápmi or the core Sámi regions. But since many relate their identity closely to their kin *and* locations within Sápmi, it implies that the emblem Sápmi is, if not explicitly so, still significant. Nevertheless, Sápmi also means different things to individual Sámi. As an emblem, Sápmi is multivocal with multiplex meanings in addition to being a symbol of unity for Sámi.

For the informants with a permanent perception of the city, the connection to Sápmi seems to indicate a connection to their kin and perhaps even to Sámi identity in general. This is demonstrated by several of the quotes above. The informants with a temporary view also

emphasise the connection between kinship and locations. However, the connection to Sápmi also seems to indicate a notion of having 'the best of both worlds', which is not evident in the informants with a permanent view. As we saw with Andreas, for instance, he regarded the city he lives in as a good place due to its geographical location in relation to his hometown, indicating he could easily visit his hometown if he wanted to and needed to. By having both places close to each other, he could easily travel between the two places.

Several of the informants with a temporary view strongly indicate that they would want to move back to their hometowns or that they visit their hometowns regularly. Many also claim that the city is 'noisy', and that they need to be close to nature in order to relax. If there is a positive side to their current city, it is often due to closeness to the countryside. This need to be close to nature is not evident in the informants with a permanent view.

The notion of a collective Sámi people during the revitalisation process became conceptualised through *Sápmi*. The importance of these locations outside the city, therefore, shows the importance of the emblem Sápmi. Further, I would claim that Sápmi is also vital in the context of ethnic boundaries. Due to the ethno-political emphasis over the past centuries, it seems almost impossible to be Sámi without having a connection to Sápmi. Sápmi becomes an emblem that also creates a boundary between those who are within the ethnic group and those who are not. In relation to Benedict Anderson, Sápmi becomes a significant *imagined community*. I would also argue, in line with Ingold, that Sápmi is an enduring testimony to previous generations. Even though the informants do not permanently live there, their connection to Sápmi shows that the dwelling perspective includes not only the informants themselves, but also past generations.

4. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have looked at the city as a context where an urban Sámi identity is communicated and articulated. In the first section, I argued that the informants have different perceptions of the city, namely a permanent or a temporary view. In the second section, I looked at the contrasting perceptions in relation to Ingold's dwelling perspective. Thirdly, I discussed the urban landscape in relation to the emblem Sápmi and the core Sámi regions. I argue that all informants have a sense of a dual identity, although this differs somewhat depending on each informant's perception of the city. For the informants with a permanent view, the city itself becomes Sámi. Although the city is the main context where their Sámi

identity is shaped, the sense of belonging to townships within Sápmi is also significant, as is kinship. The informants with a temporary view express that their main sense of belonging is connected to the townships in Sápmi, but the city becomes something of a 'second home'. Similarly to the informants with a permanent view, visiting Sápmi and kinship are regarded as significant. I argue that this shows the importance of the emblem Sápmi as *an imagined community.*

6

The Articulation

In this chapter I will look at how the informants create and articulate their identity in an urban context. All informants make a point of stressing that there are no particular places or situations where they *cannot* be Sámi. Sámi identity is, arguably, imperative. However, as we will see, the informants express their identity in a variety of ways, as well as displaying certain similarities. For practical reasons, I have chosen some examples in order to demonstrate the different ways of expressing an urban Sámi identity. Firstly, I will discuss kinship in relation to a sense of belonging and the significance of kinship in terms of urban Sámi identity. I argue that kinship is a significant cultural trait and in some situations becomes an emblem. Secondly, I will discuss the use of traditional clothing and jewellery as expressions of identity. The discussion of traditional clothing leads on to the third example, that of the celebration of national days. Finally, I will look at language. I will argue that the informants display a great deal of control over when, where and how they choose to express their identity.

1. Kinship as a cultural trait and emblem

In the previous section, I showed that many informants felt a sense of belonging to places outside of their hometown. Both those with a permanent and temporary view mentioned relatives and family as reasons for this sense of belonging. Arguably then, one of many differences between a rural and an urban context is how people relate to each other in everyday life. Here I wish to focus on uniplex and multiplex relations at the micro level as it has relevance to how the informants create and articulate their identity in an urban context.

All individuals hold several social statuses.[194] The statuses will be relevant in various situations and with different people. Here, it can be helpful to distinguish between uniplex and multiplex relations. Uniplex relations are 'simple' relations, typically between doctor and

[194] See for instance Goffman 1969

patient, salesman and customer, teacher and student, and so on. In uniplex relations, only one or few statuses are relevant and in use at a time. In a doctor / patient relation, the doctor is merely a doctor and the patient is merely a patient. Uniplex relations are more common in bigger cities and in urban contexts as one meets a great number of people each day in a mainly uniplex manner. Multiplex relations, on the other hand, can be between friends and relatives, where one knows each other on many levels and by many statuses at the same time. Multiplex relations are more common in smaller cities and townships, where many statuses are at work at the same time. For instance, a patient may go to his or her doctor who is also a cousin and married to a common friend.[195]

In relation to kinship, Nergård, among others, argues that it is a very important aspect of Sámi culture.[196] Traditionally, having a large family meant that you had many relatives who could help out in times of need, giving each person a large network of support. As family and relations are of such value, this implies that one is expected to know about one's ancestral lines. In social situations, identification is often based on kinship. By exchanging genealogical information you are positioning yourself and the other person within a broader environment.[197] In order to show the importance of kinship, Nergård gives examples of child rearing and how the extended family participates in socialising the child. If the child is baptised, the sponsors are people with whom the family has closes ties and are considered to have a positive impact on the child. Baptism, then, is one of many traditions used to strengthen family ties. Another example is the process of naming the child. Often the child will be named after a relative, also as a part of strengthening the relations or honouring a person. Nergård argues that this shows the importance of kinship in Sámi culture and how this is very visible in everyday life.[198] Nergård stresses that even though kinship is important in Sámi society, there are also exceptions to these cultural conventions as changes in society also affect the importance of kin.[199]

All the informants confirm this view. For instance, Andreas explains his relation to family by stating

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[195] Hylland Eriksen, Thomas, *Små Steder – Store Spørsmål. Innføring i Sosialantropologi,* 2nd edition, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1998, p. 58-60

[196] Other authors who have contributed to this topic are for instance Balto, Asta, *Samisk Barneoppdragelse i Endring,* Ad Notam Gyldendal, Oslo, 1997 - Höem, Anton, *Yrkesfelle, sambygding, same eller norsk?*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, Bergen, Tromsø, 1976 - Erke, Reidar, 'Sosial Organisasjon', in Reidar Erke & Asle Høgmo (eds.), *Identitet og Livsutfoldelse. En artikkelsamling om flerfolkelige samfunn med vekt på samenes situasjon*, Universitetsforlaget AS, Kautokeino, 1986

[197] Nergård, Vegard, *Slekt og Rituelt Slektskap i Samiske Samfunn. Innspill til en psykodynamisk forståelse av sosialisering.* University of Oslo, Oslo, 2004, p. 27-55

[198] Nergård 2004, p. 27-72

[199] Nergård 2004, p. 27-55

> It's important to … take care of family. Because it is the closest thing you have, and they are the one's taking care of you. And I also think that when growing up, we always knew how important family was.[200]

Julie, like Andreas, sees the family as fundamentally important, saying that

> My family are the ones who have made me who I am today. I feel confident about my Sámi identity, which is thanks to my family. We are a Sámi family where our culture is a natural part of us, and visible in all ways.[201]

And in Tove's words,

> I feel that all Sámi families are interested in their relations, in a way. It's a very big thing. In a way, you have… you have a book that shows the different families and their family tree, and then you look through that… Everyone is interested in his or her kin.[202]

For urban Sámi, then, kinship represents a very significant cultural trait and, therefore, also a significant connection to their Sámi identity. Living in the city, they often do not have everyday ties to their extended families. They generally have uniplex relations in the city but experience multiplex relations when visiting smaller townships in Sápmi. For instance, Tove identifies the possibility of being anonymous in the city as a positive aspect but also enjoys being somewhat of a local when visiting the township, explaining that 'living in a smaller township means that you do not have to explain who you are'.[203] Nora, on the other hand, appreciates all the possibilities the city provide, although she admits that 'sometimes one might feel a bit lonely in the city.'[204] Regarding the significance of kinship then, there is no apparent difference among the informants. In different ways they all regard family as important aspects of their lives. It can be helpful to note that when the informants speak of 'family', it often involves extended family rather than nuclear family.

For the informants who view the city as a temporary place visiting their hometowns is an act of strengthening their family ties. For them, their hometowns are their permanent homes and therefore it is important to visit regularly in order to maintain the multiplex relations. Their identity is tied to the townships and their multiplex relations in the townships. They

[200] Interview with informant 1
[201] Interview with informant 12
[202] Interview with informant 5
[203] Interview with informant 5
[204] Interview with informant 10

have uniplex relations to non-Sámi persons and to other Sámi living in the city, but they have multiplex relations to their relatives regardless of place of residence. However, in the township, multiplex relations are practiced more often, due to the fact of sharing everyday life circumstances. For the informants who view the city as a permanent place, however, visiting the smaller townships are important aspects of their Sámi identity but it is not the leading aspect. Their identity is tied to the city, so visiting relatives in townships are strengthening factors but not vital for their identity. The stories may be more significant than the townships themselves. Again, I argue that stories, kinship and places are 'entangled', to use Cruikshank's term.[205] The informants' sense of place is, therefore, linked to kinship and stories.

In conclusion, I would argue that kinship is a cultural trait, which in some contexts becomes an emblem. Several informants indicate that caring for one's relations is 'very Sámi'. The extended family, therefore, becomes something of a symbol for what is regarded 'typical' Sámi, irrespective of whether the city is views as a 'permanent' or 'temporary' residence. However the two categories of Sámi city dwellers differ in regards to the importance of interacting with their relatives in townships. Here, it would have been interesting to explore the issue of visiting relatives from the townships to the city. However, I did not pursue this during the interview and have no data on the topic.

2. Traditional apparel

There is a discernable difference between expressing one's identity on an everyday basis and at public events such as public festivities. On a more everyday basis, then, several informants say that they wear some sort of symbols to show their Sámi identity. This is often done by wearing some Sámi artefacts, such as bracelets with tin embroidery, jewellery in general or items such as scarfs with common Sámi patterns and so on.

One of the more visible pieces of clothing is the *gákti.* As I discussed in the previous chapter, the *gákti* became an important emblem during the revitalisation process and is still an important emblem for Sámi today. Not only has it become an emblem for Sámi but it has also become a symbol of Sámi culture for non-Sámi. Wearing the *gákti* is an important aspect of the informants' identity at an individual level. It is also a way of showing that one belongs within the ethnic boundaries, both to fellow Sámi and to non-Sámi. For instance, Mathias

[205] Cruikshank 2005

knowingly wore his *gákti* to a formal work event after recently starting a new job. He argues that he did it simply to show and state his identity and ethnic background to his new colleagues. The reactions, according to Mathias, were mostly positive.[206]

When directly asked how Tove communicates her identity to people around her, she says that it involves talking about her Sámi background with others and often using traditional Sámi clothing and jewellery with Sámi symbols, and so on.[207] Hanna, in contrast, explains that she does not feel more Sámi when wearing traditional garments on formal occasions or in other situations where it is natural to wear traditional clothing. Rather, she says, her Sámi identity is present within her at all times and to strengthen that feeling speaking Sámi is more important for her than wearing traditional clothing. Even so, later in the interview she mentions that going to a wedding, for instance, and not wearing her traditional garment feels wrong and that wearing it is a way of expressing her identity in public.[208]

Some informants express that even if they use clothing or jewellery to express their Sámi identity, it may not be meant to be visible to everyone. Julie explains that

> I often chose not to make my identity visible. If someone asks, if I am wearing a ring for example, then someone might ask, 'is that a *bunad*[209] ring?', then sometimes I chose to say yes because I cannot stand the whole, 'you are a Sámi, how exciting', that conversation.[210]

Thea explains further, that

> It's not that I feel I have to hide myself… it's more like I chose not to mention that I went home in the weekend because then it becomes a Sámi issue. I just can't be bothered.[211]

Andreas confirms this, saying that when getting to know new, non-Sámi he will usually wait before 'dropping the bomb,'[212] because he feels there is tendency to focus only on his ethnic identity and not on him as a person. He does, however, often wear a traditional unisex bracelet made of tin broidery.

[206] Interview with informant 3
[207] Interview with informant 5
[208] Interview with informant 2
[209] Norwegian traditional clothing
[210] Interview with informant 12 (group interview)
[211] Interview with informant 14 (group interview)
[212] Interview with informant 1

> Its like I said, it's not something I say immediately. Or, it's not something I announce out loud, and not something I feel is so…I don't have the need to broadcast it so openly.[213]

Tobias says he feels his ethnic identity is not always relevant in his everyday life, saying that 'I am Sámi wherever I am. But it is not always a relevant issue in some particular situations.'[214] He continues to stress that he does not hide his identity and, if asked, he will answer honestly. Rather, Tobias feels there are certain situations where his ethnic identity should not be the main part of his identity.[215] In other words, he sees no explicit purpose for insisting its relevance, and wants rather more of a context dependent disclosure of ethnic identity.

As Julie shows by occasionally lying about her ring, these symbols are occasionally not meant to be visible to everyone. The wearing of Sámi symbols, then, seems to be twofold. On the one hand, it seems to be more of a symbol for fellow Sámi or for oneself, rather than for 'outsiders'. This implies that the people who do *not* understand or 'read' these symbols do not *need* to understand. As Julie states, 'it is a very personal topic and they, well, they take a very big step by asking me about things they find very exotic'.[216] On the other hand, it can also be used to show others that they are, in fact, Sámi. For instance, when Mathias wore his *gákti* at his first formal work event after starting a new job he argues he did it to make a statement, implying that it was important for him that his new colleagues knew of his cultural background.[217] By wearing the *gákti,* Mathias expresses his identity non-verbally but leaves no doubt about his ethnicity and cultural background. We see here that the traditional Sámi garment becomes a very visible Sámi trait and emblem. For Tove, it has been important that her friends know about her identity, saying that 'for them to understand who I am, it is vital that they know where I come from.'[218] Therefore she uses visible symbols on an everyday basis to openly state her ethnic background. This implies that the informants practice a high degree of control over their ethnic identity, being in charge of when, where and to who they would like their ethnic identity to be visible. Different persons do not have the same competence in the 'reading' of symbols, or they ascribe different meanings onto these

[213] Interview with informant 1
[214] Interview with informant 6
[215] Interview with informant 6
[216] Interview with informant 12
[217] Interview with informant 3
[218] Interview with informant 5

symbols. So, accordingly, a Sámi artefact signifies different meanings to Sámi persons and to non-Sámi persons.

I would argue that the informants all have their individual way of expressing their identity and that the nature of the city itself gives them an opportunity to be culturally creative. Each person has individual needs as to how and where they would like to articulate and express their identity. This also differs depending on situations. As Sissons maintains, moving to a city does not strip indigenous persons of their indigeniety. They become culturally creative with their own expression of identity.[219] In a way, using the *gákti* is a way of confirming ones social identity in relation to ones personal identity.

Tove shows how her friends often use her Sámi background as an 'icebreaker', claiming that she does not mind. Other informants, such as Tobias and Andreas give the impression that they are opposed to being regarded only by their status as Sámi, but would rather be acknowledge as whole persons. Tove has the city as a permanent home, and may have a stronger need to confirm her identity by recognition, or ascription, by her friends. Andreas and Tobias, both with a temporary view, does not seem to share this need. This could be explored in the context of multiplex and uniplex relations. Living in small townships with multiplex relations often implies that everyone knows you and therefore there are certain expectations in the community that you should live up to. There is no room for choosing when to display your ethnic background, as 'everyone' knows already. Thus, the city gives individuals more freedom to decide when to act upon their ethnic identity. This means that the informants actively need to choose whether or not to express their identity, as this is not a given fact. For Andreas and Tobias, moving to the city gives them the opportunity to choose the situations of when to express their Sáminess. For Tove, growing up in the city, is used to acting upon this choice, and has chosen to express her identity openly.

In conclusion, I would argue that using traditional clothing or jewellery is many-sided. It is a way of expressing one's Sámi identity to others and displaying one's identity outwards. Sometimes it is only meant to be visible for other Sámi. At other times it may be for non-Sámi. Nonetheless it is an emblem that is to be *understood* by someone else. In another way it is also a way of displaying one's identity inwards, as a mirror to one's own ethnic identity and as a strengthening factor. The symbols also have a different meaning, depending on whether is an intra-ethnic or an inter-ethnic context. Of course, that does not mean that Sámi persons have to communicate their Sáminess through visible markers of their identity. Like Hanna

[219] Sissons 2005, p. 61-62

says, wearing the garment is very much about stating her identity to a public, be it for her Sámi relatives or fellows at weddings, or non-Sámi in a public arena. The informants all have different needs when it comes to expressing their identity outwards and they possess a high degree of freedom choosing when, where and how they express their identity.

3. National celebrations

The Norwegian national day is celebrated on the 17th of May. It commemorates the establishment of the Norwegian constitution in 1814. It is commonly celebrated nationwide with parades. A lot of the celebration is focused on children. For instance, the parades are often based on schools and marching bands. Many Norwegians use their traditional clothing called *bunad*. The Sámi national day is celebrated on 6th of February throughout Sápmi, regardless of national borders. It commemorates the first official meeting of Sámi throughout Sápmi. It is a recent celebration and does not have long standing traditions. In Norway, it is celebrated in a similar way to the 17th of May, with special events and sometimes parades. Since it is a fairly new tradition Sámi communities are still finding ways to celebrate the day. The 6th of February is arguably based on the model of the 17th of May celebrations but on a smaller scale as it is mainly celebrated in core Sámi regions. However, many municipalities throughout Norway will mark the day with some kind of official event.

Keesing shows how the Kwaio people of the Solomon Islands have reproduced colonial traits and traditions in order to claim their rights. By using colonial symbols, such as the flag and written laws, or *kastom,* Kwaio were able oppose colonisation by making use of the coloniser's own means. The term *kastom* is a pidgin word for *custom* and although similar terms, *kastom* is a consequence of the colonial context in which it is used.[220]

> Kwaio anticolonial discourses have a pervasively oppositional character, incorporating categories and symbols of the colonisers, precisely because they are articulated in realms separated from those of everyday life.[221]

While the 6th of February is a newly created tradition it nevertheless has become a significant celebration for Sámi today.

[220] Keesing, Roger M., *Custom and Confrontation. The Kwaio Struggle for Cultural Autonomy.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992, p. 225-238
[221] Keesing 1992, p. 9

How, then, is the celebration of both national days relevant for the expression of an urban Sámi identity? When Tove is asked to reflect upon situations or places where she feels comfortable about expressing her identity, she responds instantly and says

> 17th of May is almost my favourite day of the year. I get so much attention on the 17th of May. I almost become an object that walks around and people say 'wow, there is a Sámi!'[222]

She states that she enjoys the attention, saying that 'I don't want to say I feel more Sámi, it's just that everyone else can actually see it.'[223] She explains that in the latter years she has also started celebrating 6th of February with close friends, which started off as a spontaneous celebration a few years ago but has carried on ever since. When asked how her friends see her as a Sámi, she answers 'surprisingly normal'.[224] She continues by explaining that the differences between her and her friends are not visible in everyday life but rather on special occasions such as the national day. For Tove then, wearing the *gákti* on the national days becomes an important emblem to show not only strangers but also her close friends that she is, in fact, Sámi. It is what visibly marks her out her from her friends.

In the context of uniplex and multiplex relations as discussed above, the national celebrations become a day where urban Sámi can express their ethnic identity in a uniplex manner. This is in contrast with every-day uniplex relations, where ethnic identity in most cases is not relevant. For instance, both the *bunad* and the traditional Sámi *gákti* show geographical belonging, so you are not only displaying your ethnic identity but also geographical and family connections. The national celebrations are natural contexts where the use of *gákti* is common. It is a day where they are visible and recognisable as Sámi, not just as any other urban citizen. As many urban Sámi do not differ from other urban citizen in everyday life, the national celebrations give them an opportunity to explicitly show their ethnic identity. The visibility of their Sámi identity expressed by the *gákti* becomes an aspect of self-ascription and ascription by others.

[222] Interview with informant 5
[223] Interview with informant 5
[224] Interview with informant 5

4. The significance of language

The Norwegianisation process, as discussed in the previous chapter, had a significant impact on language. The Sámi languages were not used in any public spheres, which was especially visible in the educational system. Young Sámi were not taught in their native languages, consequently, did not understand what was being taught as well as not learning anything about their own language.[225] During the revitalisation process 'taking back' the language became an important aspect of the cultural revival and thus also became a significant *emblem* the Sámi ethnic identity.

In relation to the informants, I wish to start by discussing three factors that Jon Todal argues has influenced the vitalisation of languages, namely (1) *the barrier*, (2) the question of *owning* a language, and (3) the question of *inclusion / exclusion*. The first factor, *the barrier*, is complex. Todal gives examples from his fieldwork in the so-called Sámi core regions where he often experienced that elders had grown up speaking Sámi but had not spoken Sámi to their children. This means that the parental-generation, or second generation, today has grown up hearing Sámi but without speaking it themselves. This generation of Sámi are not active speakers but often wish their own children to become Sámi speakers. The third generation then, has their language revitalised through the school system. Todal argues that this is a very common situation in many communities.[226] The barrier, then, is what prevents the second generation of Sámi from speaking Sámi. They often have a basic knowledge of the language, they know several words and they understand the syntax. However, there is a barrier preventing them from using the language actively. Some people explain this by their lack of confidence in the language. They feel they do not speak well enough or they are afraid of the reactions from others if they make mistakes. Interestingly enough, speaking English seems to be no problem at all, even though it is a foreign language. Todal claims that the barrier is not a Sámi issue per se, but is present in many communities with minority languages.[227]

Factor two is who owns the language. Due to the assimilation process, the language has been a property of a select few. As there were so few speakers, they became the keepers of an important *emblem* and therefore have played a significant role in the revitalisation process. Others, who do not belong to this elite group of native Sámi speakers, may feel that they do

[225] Magga, Ole Henrik, 'Samebevegelsen og det samiske språket', *Ottar*, volume 4, no. 232, 2000, p. 39
[226] Todal 2007, p. 204-205. For further discussion, see also Juuso, Jane, *Válddán giellan ruovttoluotta. Tar språket mitt tilbake,* Isak Saba Senteret, Vuonnabahta, 2009
[227] Todal 2007, p. 205-206

not own the language. The language was something that belonged to their ancestor and the select few who speak the language, their *own* the language. An additional pressure on those learning the language is the fact that language is an ethnic marker in some Sámi areas. There is then a pressure to speak grammatically correct and use the correct words.[228] In other words, skills in language reproduce some divisions of stratification in parts of Sámi society.

This brings us to the third and final factor, the question of inclusion and exclusion from the language community. Todal argues that in Norway there is an official definition of who *is* Sámi. Consequently, there is also a definition of who is *not*. Todal maintains that one cannot *become* Sámi and that this can lead to challenges in the revitalisation of languages, especially in areas outside the so-called core Sámi area where the language is most vulnerable.[229]

In relation to this study, the informants were asked to define their individual knowledge of Sámi languages. Eight said they speak Sámi, three say the understand Sámi, and the remaining three say they neither understand nor speak Sámi. When using the word *understand* I mean that they can comprehend what is being said, but are *unable* to respond in Sámi. It is important to note that the definition of what *knowing a language* means differed among the informants. Some argued that understanding the language was almost the same thing as speaking a language, arguing that there was just the matter of *crossing the barrier.* Others believed that in order to say that you speak Sámi, you should be able to participate fully in a conversation. Defining their own knowledge of Sámi, then, was naturally based on their individual view of knowing languages.

Those informants who define themselves as Sámi speakers all argue in various terms that the language is 'vital' or 'significant' for their Sámi identity and that it is highly important to them that their (future) children speak the language. As Andreas argues, 'it is a topic that lies very close to my heart.'[230] He continues to say that he considers it to be important to give his future children a good basis for learning Sámi and that he takes that responsibility seriously. Hanna says she becomes irritable when her relatives speak Norwegian to her children, saying that 'it has been important for me that I have done everything I can in order to teach my children Sámi.'[231]

Those who do not define themselves as Sámi speakers, however, use different terms when speaking about language. They argue more along the lines that it would be nice if their children speak Sámi, or at least understand a few words, but it is not vital for their Sámi

[228] Todal 2007, p. 206-208
[229] Todal 2007, p. 208
[230] Interview with informant 1
[231] Interview with informant 2

identity. For instance, Emilie has taken online language courses as an adult but argues it has been difficult maintaining what she has learned when she does not have anyone to practice with in her daily life. However, she does hope that her children will at least acquire a basic knowledge of the language. Answering a question on why she does not practice with her Sámi speaking parent, she replies that

> My (parent) does not know the grammar and cannot explain practical issues. When (parent) was at school they did not learn such things…. If I ask about grammar, well, it's a very touchy subject for (parent).[232]

Tove argues that she *understands* Sámi, but does not *speak* it. When asked to define her ethnic identity, she stated her Sámi identity was a natural part of her everyday life in the city. However, when visiting the township in Sápmi, she said that

> But when I visit (township)… there are perhaps situations where I feel less Sámi… Because, when I am in (township) it becomes very apparent that I do not speak Sámi. I can follow conversations, and for me that is very, very satisfying as I can participate in conversations and I can answer, but I cannot answer in Sámi. So… on that aspect, I feel like I perhaps have lost something that others still have. … I do not feel less Sámi because I live in a city, but it perhaps it has something to do with the language issue.[233]

For Tove, the issue of language is not an everyday topic. As she argues, she speaks more Sámi than her friends in the city and therefore there is no one to question her knowledge of the language. However, when visiting the township in Sápmi, which she argues has been a strengthening factor for her Sámi identity, she is also confronted with the absence of certain cultural traits.

> I get sad because I never learned it… I get angry with my mother who stopped speaking Sámi to me and for not demanding that I should learn it at school. Then I get angry at the state for not finding the funds for my Sámi lessons when I was at school. At the same time, I believe it is not their responsibility that I learn Sámi… It is something I have to take responsibility for myself.[234]

[232] Interview with informant 7
[233] Interview with informant 5
[234] Interview with informant 5

When asked why she has not followed her own advice with regard to learning the language, she names several practical explanations, such as a lack of time and resources. At the same time, she says that she is used to saying that she does not speak Sámi that it has become a natural part of her Sámi identity. In further discussion on the topic, she also acknowledges the infamous barrier, as she does not yet feel she is competent enough. In relation to Todal's three factors then, we see that the barrier is present. Tove *wants* to learn more Sámi and be able to speak but has many practical explanations for why she has not done so yet. She identifies a sense of grief with regard to the language, using terms such as having *lost* the language. At the same time, speaking Sámi has not been the main factor of her Sámi identity. She does not feel she *owns* the language and therefore it has not been necessary for her to speak in order to feel Sámi, at least not on an everyday basis.

For Hanna, who is a fluent speaker, knowing the language is not so much about vocabulary or syntax but rather understanding the *codes*. She defines codes as a way of socialising, understanding situations, picking up on jokes and so on. She argues that you can understand the language by understanding the codes, even though you do not actively speak.[235] As Hanna considers herself to be a fluent speaker, she does not have the same barrier as Tove experiences. She feels confident about the language and regards the language as an important identity marker. Therefore she looks beyond the concept of knowing words and views language as a way of understanding and comprehending cultural *codes*.

Julie speaks Sámi but still argues that the expectations of Sámi speakers are unrealistically high.

> … If you learn Sámi as an adult, you learn it as a, well, second language. …And not everyone is prone to learning languages fluently… I think it has to do with the language barriers and 'language police', in addition to expectations in society that if you learn Sámi, well then you have to speak as a native speaker, but that is not always possible.[236]

When Julie speaks of the 'language police', '*språkpolitiet'* in Norwegian, she is referring to the expectations of the overall community as well within the individual. As Todal demonstrates, it may be easier for a non-Sámi to learn Sámi, as there are fewer expectations of fluency. When a Sámi is learning the language, people expect them to become fluent,

[235] Interview with informant 2
[236] Interview with informant 12

arguably, because it is part of their culture.[237] When asked where she believes these expectations come from, Julie replies that 'I believe it lies within ourselves, because we consider Sámi to be our mother tongue, and therefore we should be fluent speakers.'[238] Thea, in contrast, believes the expectations are a mixture of personal expectations and the reactions of the surrounding community.

> But I also think it is a mix between what society expects, if you are Sámi than you should be able to speak Sámi. And that can make you believe that, well, that how it should be.[239]

Both agree that a working knowledge of Sámi is also partly linked to prestige, since it grants access to the inner circle of *language owners,* also making it difficult for outsiders to question your authenticity.[240] Mathias also speaks Sámi but in contrast to Thea and Julie, he argues that learning the language is a simple matter. He acknowledges the barrier but says that 'if you understand a language, then you can also speak it.'[241]

Based on Eidheim's and Todal's arguments, I maintain that the revitalisation of the language, together with the re-coding of other cultural traits, has been highly important for Sámi society as a whole. However, it also has disadvantages. For instance, with regard to language an effort was made to create an official Sámi written language that was based on Northern Sámi, giving it an immense advantage over the other Sámi languages. The consequences of this are visible even today, with the Sámi Assembly in Norway struggling to translate the assemblies from Norwegian to Southern and Lule Sámi.[242] I also argue that the revitalisation process has consequently created a Sámi elite, due to its command of the Sámi language. The issue of language also highlights another diversification in Sámi society, namely a diversification that exists regardless of urban-rural aspects. Those Sámi who are owners of the language become part of an elite of Sámi speakers, regardless of geographical belonging.

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[237] Todal 2007, p. 206-208
[238] Interview with informant 12
[239] Interview with informant 14
[240] Interview with informant 12 & 14
[241] Interview with informant 3
[242] Aslaksen, Eilif, 'Sørsamisk jubelaften', NRK Sápmi, 28.11.2012, http://www.nrk.no/kanal/nrk_sapmi/1.8843982, accessed on 03.03.2013

5. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have aimed to show *how* the informants create and articulate their identity in an urban context. I demonstrated varied ways of expressing identity by focusing on kinship, traditional clothing, celebration of national days and language. Kinship is an 'invisible' trait that arguably becomes an emblem in certain contexts, expressed both inwards and outwards. Traditional clothing and the celebration of national days are examples that show how ethnic identity is expressed outwards. For many informants these celebrations are an opportunity to openly, and perhaps proudly, display their identity. As one informant states, it is one of the few contexts where there is a visible difference between urban Sámi and other urban citizens. Language is a cultural trait, a significant emblem and a factor of diversification among the informants. As the language is owned by a select few, in the words of Todal, Sámi speakers become an elite group. Those informants who speak Sámi often claim that the language is what makes them Sámi, whereas non-speakers focus on various other cultural traits, such as the *gákti* or music. In addition, those who do not have ownership to the language often show a sense of grief or sadness.

7

The Challenge

In the previous chapters, I have looked at how cultural traits are transformed into emblems. I have discussed the city as a context for an urban Sámi identity and demonstrated how the informants express their identity in an urban context. In this chapter, I wish to look at the connection between the uses of emblems in relation to cultural authenticity and how this consequently challenges the informants' ethnic identity. I will start by looking at selected processes in society, which I argue, have a significant influence on cultural authenticity. Then I will continue to discuss how the cultural traits and emblems treated in previous chapters have affected and shaped the informants' view of their ethnic identity in relation to cultural authenticity. As Sissons has shown, indigenous peoples are expected to remain 'culturally authentic', implying that cultural change is a natural occurrence in other cultures but not in indigenous cultures.[243] I argue that the use of emblems creates general expectations of cultural authenticity that many Sámi people struggle to fulfil. Nevertheless, I maintain that the use of cultural traits as emblems is significant for many of the informants.

1. Cultural authenticity

Sissons defines the requirements for indigenous purity as oppressive authenticity, claiming that it operates as a mechanism for exclusion. Those who cannot meet certain requirements or be placed within set categories become 'a people out of place' and inauthentic.[244] As I have stated earlier, indigenous peoples are expected to be visibly different from the majority population and to express these differences openly. As Sissons states, 'urban indigeneity is, therefore, regarded as an anomalous condition for indigenous peoples'.[245] In relation to the discussion of the creation of emblems in chapter four, Olsen showed that the representation of

[243] Sissons 2005, p. 38
[244] Sissons 2005, p. 38-39
[245] Sissons 2005, p. 41

Sámi culture for tourists was very much based on traditional images, where the modern reality contrasts with this stereotypical image.[246]

This demand for cultural authenticity is naturally problematic in the aftermath of the harsh assimilation politics that indigenous peoples have endured. There is a division between *actual social identity*, which are attributes and categories a person may hold, and *virtual social identity,* which are attributes and categories a person is expected to hold.[247] As there are not only expectations but also requirements as to what cultural traits and attributes a person should hold, many people are forced to become *inauthentic* in order to be *authentic.* For instance, Sissons demonstrates this by showing how Australian Aboriginals are required to prove a continuous link to their traditional homelands in order to have their rights officially recognised. Another example is that of the blood quantum in the United States, New Zealand and Australia, where the burden of proof lies with the indigenous peoples. In other words, it is possible to have *impure* blood.[248] The consequences of such policies may be seen in Canada and United States, where there is a clear difference between status and non-status natives. Those living on reserves are considered more culturally authentic than those living off reserves, who enjoy fewer officially recognised rights in terms of health services and so on.[249] Social authenticity is also closely connected to ancestry and is regarded as a biological phenomenon. In other words, a genealogical connection to an indigenous person is considered to be a vital factor with regard to social authenticity.[250]

Thuen argues that kinship, self-identification and cultural competences are all ambiguous criteria. They can be altered or manipulated or even *constructed*. This is illustrated by the example of Kwaio mentioned above and their creation of *kastom*. Therefore the discourse on Sámi issues is about construction as well as authenticity. On one hand, there are criteria linked to kinship. In this lies the genealogical connection to the Sámi community that a person is born with. Thuen argues that kinship is seldom enough to ascribe to an ethnic identity because so many people are of mixed origin. On the other hand, there is the affiliation a person needs to demonstrate by showing cultural traits or skills that are perceived as Sámi as opposed to Norwegian.[251]

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[246] Olsen 2003, p. 9-13
[247] Goffman 1990 (1963), p. 11-31
[248] Sissons 2005, p. 42-43
[249] Sissons 2005, p. 50-55
[250] Sissons 2005, p. 51
[251] Thuen, Trond, 'Lokale diskurser om det samiske', in Bjørn Bjerkli & Per Selle (eds.), *Samer, Makt og Demokrati,* Gyllendal Akademisk, Oslo, 2003, p. 278-281

Sissons argues that indigeneity is not merely a biological or cultural identity, but rather a sense of belonging to places, communities and nations.[252] Andersen shows how many Sámi find an alternative personal narrative, in contrast to the official narrative, in order to define their own ethnicity. Thus, the concept of 'half-Sámi' has become a common term.[253] Sissons confirms this, giving examples from Aboriginal children who were abducted and later legitimised by, what he terms, 'a strange pseudo-mathematics of biological authenticity.'[254]

> When expressed as racial purity, Aboriginality was mathematically divisible: parents were halves, grandparents were quarters, and so on. A precise terminology was evolved to identify the different propositions of white admixture, and hence degrees of racial authenticity: on the path to assimilation 'full-bloods' became 'half-castes', 'half-castes' became 'quadroons', and 'quadroons' became 'octoroons'.[255]

This is also the case in North America and New Zealand. Although such a policy has not officially been an aspect of assimilation politics of Norway, I argue that Andersen's example clearly shows that the idea of is present, even today. I claim that by defining oneself as 'half', it is possible to justify the absence of cultural traits that are commonly anticipated. This is especially evident in terms of language. For instance, Emilie was asked how, when meeting new people, she introduces the fact that she is Sámi.

> It happens very quickly. … When people ask me where I come from, I do not answer, I mean, I'm not from (township in Sápmi). But… I usually mention that I am half Sámi, so yes, it is often acknowledged quickly.[256]

Emilie argues that she defines herself as 'half Sámi' because people have expectations about her language skills and often ask her to say something in Sámi. By saying she is 'Sámi' people expect her to be completely 'authentic' in terms of mastering the language. By defining herself as 'half', people are more understanding in terms of her lack of various cultural traits.

> I have been asked such things before, and I find it a lot easier to say that I am half Sámi. I feel a strong sense of connection to it, my (parent) is Sámi, I speak Sámi

[252] Sissons 2005, p. 58
[253] Andersen 2003, p. 259-261
[254] Sissons 2005, p. 44
[255] Sissons 2005, p. 45
[256] Interview with informant 7

> with (parent), joik and all of that comes very naturally to me. But I am not from the core regions, in a way. And I was not taught Sámi in school… Or, I do feel Sámi. But I accept that others may not accept that I say it in those terms.[257]

Thomas Hylland Eriksen argues that people 'living in two worlds', where they are both Norwegian and something else, are constantly challenged in relation to the expectations of the surrounding community. In relation to their identities, he identifies three possible choices of identity, namely *pure identity, hyphenated identities* and *creole identities*. The pure identity is based on a contrasting identity, an *enemy* of some sorts, and is common within religious groups and identity politicians. It removes from the individual the right to free choice and ambivalence and can be used to create order in a chaotic environment. The hyphenated identity tries to connect to existing identities, such as Norwegian-Pakistani or Norwegian-Sámi. Hylland Eriksen argues that many with an ethnic minority background chose to define themselves in such terms. There are often visible differences between the two identities where each identity is played out in different contexts. The creole identities do not acknowledge pure identities and therefore is a mix of several identities. An example would be a Muslim who drinks alcohol and eats pork.[258]

I argue that the several of the informants have chosen the option of hyphenated identities, since they clearly show that they are both Sámi and Norwegian, acknowledging 'the best of both worlds'. For instance, when asked to define her identity Tove says that 'I am Sámi and I am Norwegian. I do not distinguish between the two.'[259] Emilie states that 'I think of myself both as Sámi and Norwegian.'[260] This is in line with how several informants define their identity. Nevertheless, the same informants also use the terms 'half Sámi' to describe both themselves and other Sámi living in similar contexts. Using Goffman's terms one can say that when speaking of their *social* identity[261] they often refer to terms such as 'half'. When speaking of their *personal*[262] and *ego*[263] identities they are both Norwegian and Sámi.

[257] Interview with informant 7
[258] Hylland Eriksen, Thomas, 'Identitet', in Thomas Hylland Eriksen (ed.), *Flerkulturell forståelse*, Tano Aschehoug, Otta, 1997, p. 34-52
[259] Interview with informant 5
[260] Interview with informant 7
[261] Social identity is composed of statuses and stereotypes, expectations and assumptions from society and relations with other people.
[262] Personal identity is a personals biographical and genealogical data
[263] Ego identity refers to what a person subjectively identifies him or herself with

1.1. Authenticity in a state context

In order to explore cultural authenticity at the macro level and in a Norwegian context, I will start by presenting the so-called Sámi Act, which is embedded in Norwegian law.[264] The reason for focusing on this particular Act is that it is the foundation on which Sámi political issues in Norwegian politics are based. Here, due to practical limitations I choose not to focus on international conventions such as the ILO 169 or the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, even though both have influenced ethnopolitics in Norway and would have been highly relevant.

The Sámi Act is divided into four parts, (1) general edicts, (2) the Sámi Assembly, (3), the Sámi languages and (4) transitional rules. Section 2 about the Assembly and section 3 on languages are the main sections. In relation to the Sámi Act, one of the political effects after the so-called Alta case was the establishment of the Sámi Assembly in Norway. In order to participate in the elections, potential electors are required to fulfil certain criteria before they are accepted and registered in an electoral roll, consequently publically and officially defining themselves as Sámi, as discussed in chapter three. Gaski argues that many potential voters are hesitant, especially those living outside the core Sámi regions.

> …Many of them can not speak the Sámi language and they do not bare visible cultural traits or possess knowledge that is traditionally connected to "Saminess". For this group, imagining the Sámi nation is not very obvious, which represents a challenge for developing and expressing Sámi nationhood.[265]

She continues to argue that political processes are often significant for creating identity. In relation to the discussion in the previous chapter on the geographical space and emblem Sápmi, Gaski shows how Sámi politicians are 'naturalising the connection between territory and identity'.[266] This is clearly problematic in relation to Sámi living outside Sápmi and the core Sámi regions, as it may strengthen their feeling of not belonging within the ethnic boundaries.

As the Act itself is not the focus of this thesis, I will merely give a suggestion of what this might imply for my data. Firstly, all the informants are on the electoral roll in the Sámi

[264] LOV 1987-06-12 nr 56: 'Lov om Sametinget og andre samiske rettsforhold', http://www.lovdata.no/all/hl-19870612-056.html
[265] Gaski, Lina, 'Sami Identity as a Discursive Formation: Essentialism and Ambivalence', in Henry Minde (ed.), *Indigenous Peoples: Self-determination, Knowledge, Indigeneity*, Eburon Publishers, Delft, 2008, p. 219
[266] Gaski 2008, p. 224

Assembly. However, several informants imply that the focal issues of the *Sámediggi* (Sámi Assembly / Parliament) are often not related to them and their urban lives. As Andersen shows, it is widely perceived that the Sámediggi works on the behalf of those Sámi in the core Sámi regions as opposed to all Sámi regardless of geographical belonging.[267] Therefore, it may seem that for some Sámi being on the electoral roll has been more of a symbolic statement rather than a wish to actively vote during the elections. Secondly, the emphasis of the Sámi Act is mainly on either the Sámediggi or language related issues. I do not wish to undermine the importance of these issues. Rather, I wish to demonstrate the *lack* of attention to other concerns. As I argued in the previous chapter, the establishment of a core Sámi region has led to a lack of attention to regions with Sámi inhabitants elsewhere, which may imply the whole of Norway. In general, there is a lack of attention to Sámi inhabitants outside the core regions.

1.2. Who then, is culturally authentic?

In order to discuss cultural authenticity on a micro level, let me present the two following informants. Ida is born and raised in the south of Norway. She grew up with her mother and half sister. Only as an adult, while searching for her father, did she discover that she was of Sámi descent.[268] The second informant, Martin, has grown up in a township in Sápmi. He speaks fluent Sámi, as does the rest of his family. In contrast to Ida, Martin is not of Sámi descent.[269] I wish to problematize the issue of cultural authenticity with regard to these two informants. Ida has a Sámi father but has not grown up in a Sámi cultural environment. On the other hand, Martin has lived the majority of his life in a Sámi cultural environment but lacks the genealogical connection. Martin does not describe his family as Sámi, despite the fact that they all speak Sámi. However he does acknowledge that an outsider coming to visit them will probably not see the difference between his family and any other local family. 'Perhaps we are more of a Sámi family than a Norwegian family'[270], he wonders. Ida, on the other hand, does not speak Sámi. When asked whether she has plans for learning the language she claims she would like to but lacks people nearby to practice with.

[267] Andersen 2003, p. 261
[268] Interview with informant 4
[269] Interview with informant 8
[270] Interview with informant 8

In previous chapters, I have shown how the language itself is a significant cultural trait and an important emblem. One of the main distinctions between Ida and Martin is, in fact, language. One the one hand, Martin could be considered more culturally authentic than Ida because he speaks Sámi and, having grown up in a Sámi environment, he also understands the 'cultural language', so to speak. On the other hand, Ida could be regarded as culturally authentic since she holds a genealogical connection. Following Thuen's arguments, however, having a genealogical connection may not be enough. Ida can enlist on the electoral roll for the Sámi Assembly but Martin is unable to. However, if he teaches his children Sámi *they* will be able to enrol. What I wish to demonstrate with Ida and Martin is that cultural authenticity is a highly challenging issue, with no simple answers. As Barth argues, in order to be within ethnic boundaries one relies on self-ascription as well as ascription by others. This implies that the main power to define ethnic identity does not necessarily lie with the individual but rather in the society in general.

2. Stigma in relation to cultural authenticity

The discussion on cultural authenticity leads to the examples demonstrated in the first chapter. I argue that some informants experience stigma in relation to their ethnic identity. Emilie explains that,

> I have experienced that those who are 'full' Sámi, I mean those who are real Sámi, they do not accept that I, … or I know that many people would react if I state that I am Sámi, because it has become cool to be Sámi… It's like, do not call yourself something you are not.[271]

In both intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic situations some informants experience that they are not 'complete' Sámi. As one informant describes it, 'I'm on the borderline'.[272] In some cases, there are clear divisions between an informant's *actual social identity* and *virtual social identity.* These divisions are strengthened by media portrayal of stereotypical Sámi, which few informants say they can relate to. Divisions are also strengthened by government policies, as shown above, and by general expectations in society. As Sissons argued above, there is a responsibility to justify one's ethnic identity.

[271] Interview with informant 7
[272] Interview with informant 9

In intra-ethnic situations, one can also become *overly* Sámi. For instance, during the revitalisation process certain cultural traits became relevant in relation to ethnic incorporation. As mentioned earlier, it was during this time that the concept of ČSV originated. The thought behind the symbol was that when meeting other people you could instantly know whether they were Sámi or not. It was a symbol of pride, much like the growth of 'black power'. Stordahl shows how activists, often just called ČSVers displayed this new symbolic pride not just by calling themselves ČSV but also by using traditional clothing, jewellery, and so on. For many, this ethnic incorporation brought a new sense of political and cultural freedom.[273] Today, this term may be used with negative undertones. For instance, when Mathias was asked how he expresses his Sámi identity in his daily life, he remarked that he did not need to express it that often because 'I am not completely ČSV.'[274] When asked how he used the term, he explains that

> 'It implies being *very* Sámi, and do everything... to show that you are Sámi and that you are proud of your identity. I compare it with religion, if you think of someone who is religious and then you have someone who is *very* religious, then being ČSV means being *very* Sámi'.[275]

When asked whether he used it as a negative term, he replies 'perhaps a little, although I did not intend to.'[276] In a way, this sets the informant in a *damned if you do, damned if you don't*- situation. In inter-ethnic situations you may be perceived as less Sámi since you do not hold certain expected cultural traits. In intra-ethnic situations, you may not be Sámi enough because you live in the city but may become *overly* Sámi if you try to adapt to expected cultural traits.

3. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have explored the connection between the uses of emblems in relation to cultural authenticity. I started by a general discussion of cultural authenticity. I showed that in the case of urban Sámi there is a division between their actual social identity and virtual social identity. I then went on to discuss how Sámi ethnopolitics influence cultural authenticity. I

[273] Stordahl 1996, p. 87-89
[274] Interview with informant 3
[275] Interview with informant 3
[276] Interview with informant 3

aimed to demonstrate that politics highly influence virtual social identity, and that for many urban Sámi the division becomes impossible to cross. I questioned cultural authenticity by introducing two informants', both holders of cultural traits that would define them as Sámi, and at the same time neither fulfils the virtual social identity completely. Lastly, I discussed stigma in relation to cultural authenticity, showing that the informant's may be positioned in a *damned if you do, damned if you don't*-situation.

8

Concluding Remarks

In this thesis, I have explored the creation and articulation of urban Sámi identity and how identity is being challenged in an urban context. I did so by looking at the historical background of certain cultural traits and how they, through the revitalisation process and in various contexts, become emblems. Secondly, I discussed the city as a context for the creation and articulation of an urban Sámi identity, differentiating between a permanent and temporary view of the city. Thirdly, I demonstrated how the informants articulated and communicated their Sámi identity in an urban context. Finally, I discussed the said issues in relation to cultural authenticity.

Summarising, I argue that the revitalisation process and the consequent creation of emblems as a means of cultural creativity has been vital for Sámi people. Although the Sámi have traditionally been geographically and culturally dispersed, I believe that the notion of *Sápmi* and the idea of *one* Sámi people was, and perhaps is, significant for the survival of our culture. Surely, we are stronger together. I also argue that the use of emblems is, for many Sámi, important in a daily life where Sámi culture is less visible, which in this case is the city context. As one informant states, Sámi culture is non-existent in the city landscape and for many Sámi it becomes important to make themselves more visible by their own daily actions. However, I argue that the use of emblems has unfavourable consequence. As I argued earlier, by using emblems we also create stereotypes. Stereotypes create expectations related to our appearance, our lifestyle and our identity. In other way, they create a division between our actual social identity and virtual social identity. The characteristic image of the reindeer herding Sámi living on the Finnmark plateau in harmony with the landscape while lovingly tending to his herd, to use one example, becomes destructive when there are not other images to contrast this. Since traditionally only around ten percent of Sámi have been reindeer herders, although stereotypical illustrations may suggest otherwise, few are able to relate to these images.

I imagine we can accept the disappointment of tourists, who expect to see ‘authentic’ Sámi living in traditional housing and wearing their *gákti*. What I believe is truly problematic

is how these stereotypes influence public policies and laws. As I have shown, those living outside core Sámi regions lack the institutions that protect their cultural and language rights. Andersen argues that this is the case of Sámi living in the coastal areas of Finnmark and Troms. In addition, I would include all other regions outside the core Sámi regions. As stereotypes create expectations of authenticity, they consequently create a cultural hierarchy, which I regard as highly problematic. To demonstrate this cultural hierarchy, let me present the small village of Nervei. It is an isolated sea Sámi settlement on the coast of Finnmark. Like many coastal townships it is suffering from centralisation and urbanisation. What distinguishes Nervei from other villages in the region is the lack of a connecting road to the main road on the plateau. There are other ways to access Nervei, by boat, by driving a four-wheel drive and by snowmobile. However, all are naturally less safe than by car. In order to make the village more accessible for its inhabitants, and to tempt younger inhabitants to stay in the settlement, the inhabitants of Nervei have fought for a new road for more than fifty years. Opposing a connecting road, local reindeer herders argued that a road would be create problems for their reindeer. The Nervei case shows a clear intra-ethnic conflict, where the needs of reindeer herders were deemed more significant than those of sea Sámi. Having a road is arguably highly important for the survival of the village and the local sea Sámi culture there.

In the first chapter, I illustrated how two young women experienced being stigmatised. I argued that this demonstrates how stereotypes and emblems affect urban Sámi. The woman who attempted to buy a head attire for her *gákti* was denied because she did not display typical cultural traits expected of her as a Sámi. The woman who was attacked did show typical cultural traits but was judged negatively based on them. Both examples show that the use of emblems and consequent stereotypes can work both ways – as cultural strengthening factors but also as divisions. Some time ago, the current President of the Sámediggi in Norway expressed publically that his successor *ought* to speak Sámi. [277] By stating this, he created ethnic boundaries that subsequently may exclude many possible candidates. When a member of the Sámi Council recently suggested, evidently as a 'joke', that all members of the Sámediggi should wear their *gákti* 365 days a year, speak Sámi and live within Sápmi, he too was creating ethnic boundaries that are for many Sámi impossible to cross.[278] Both the president and the council member are influential members of the Sámi community. Both hold

[277] Aslaksen, Eilif & Thor Werner Thrane, 'Ja til samisktalende president', *NRK Sápmi,* 28.06.2012, http://www.nrk.no/kanal/nrk_sapmi/1.8223971, accessed on 03.03.2013

[278] Unknown author, 'Provoserer med forslag om koftekrav', *Ságát,* 04.05.2013, http://www.sagat.no/sak&article=34400, accessed on 04.05.2013

high positions, as both the Sámediggi and the Council are working for *all* Sámi people; even those residing in cities outside Sápmi. When they both refer to cultural traits that are owned by a select few, they are creating significant, and for many unrealistic, expectations.

Similarly, there have been recent debates about the electoral roll of the Sámi Assembly in Norway.[279] One participant in this discussion is a Swedish musician, Max Mackhé. He has no genealogical link to Sápmi but grew up in a South Sámi community on the Swedish side of the border. He recently applied to be enlisted onto the Norwegian electoral roll, claiming that Sámi was the main language at home and that he identified himself as Sámi. He stated that the reason for being enlisted was to 'test' the system and to question the use of such an electoral roll, when 'anybody' can be registered.[280] This naturally generated debates on the issue, in which many Sámi regard Mackhé demonstration as disrespectful and inappropriate since the register is based on trust.[281] Mackhé clearly challenges the notion of cultural authenticity. Nevertheless, I would argue that the main challenge is not be who *wishes* to be on the electoral roll to the Sámi Assembly even though they are not eligible, but rather who *could* be on the electoral roll but choose not to be.

I maintain that the notion of Sámi as *one* people is not wrong. But being *one* people does not stop us from being diverse. As one people, we are both reindeer herders and fishermen. We are doctors and teachers. Some spend their holidays travelling to foreign countries; others spend their holidays on the plateau. Similarly to countless peoples all over the world we have experienced a severe assimilation policy and have fought our way through it. However, we cannot expect to come through such a process unchanged. Some of us speak the Sámi language, others do not. Some have hidden our common Sámi background so their children grow up not knowing their heritage. Some of us were lucky and were brought up recognising our heritage. Traditionally, we have been geographically and culturally diverse. This has not changed. Perhaps we are even more diverse than before. I believe that we should be more accessible to the diversity that is in our culture. We *know* why many of fellows do not speak

[279] See for instance McGuinne, Johan Sandberg, 'The importance of a single word: when Saaminess comes down to an 'either' or an 'and'', *Jurddabeassi,* 11.04.2013, http://jurddabeassi.no/?p=1007, accessed on 11.04.2013 - Pulk, Åse & Jenna Rasmus, 'Testet Sametingets valgmanntall', *NRK Sápmi,* 03.04.2013, http://www.nrk.no/kanal/nrk_sapmi/1.10971949, accessed on 03.04.2013 - Keskitalo, Aili, 'Gii lea sápmelaš? Om å være registrert i Sametingets valgmanntall eller ikke', *NRK Sápmi,* 11.04.2013, http://www.nrk.no/kanal/nrk_sapmi/1.10982523, accessed on 11.04.2013

[280] Mackhé, Max, 'Sámi Wanna Be – Kan man konvertera til same?', *maxmackhé,* 02.04.2013, http://maxmackhe.wordpress.com/2013/04/02/sami-wanna-be-kan-man-konvertera-till-same, accessed on 11.04.2013

[281] Anyone who applies is accepted to the electoral roll, and the approcal is only questioned if there is an official complaint.

our language and instead of creating strict boundaries where only a few of us have access, we should embrace our diversity.

In the academic sphere, the majority of research on Sámi issues in Norway concentrates on Sápmi, the inner regions of Finnmark and the core Sámi regions. Studies on Sámi issues often concern either traditional livelihoods, such as reindeer herding and fishing, or land rights. Consequently, such research strengthens the idea that authentic Sámi live within Sápmi, creating an illusion that Sámi are less culturally creative than other peoples. There are reasons to believe that urbanisation and centralisation will continue at a higher rate and therefore issues raised in this study may become more relevant in the years to come. Issues of land rights and reindeer herding are consequently not relevant to all Sámi. This fact should be reflected in the field of academia. Therefore, I would recommend a broader perspective on Sámi issues and would suggest further research on urban indigeneity in and outside Sápmi. One proposal might be a longitudinal study on the children of urban Sámi and how the creation of emblems continues through several generations. In addition, I wish to stress that issues concerning urban Sámi are not unique as such. The matters I have discussed throughout this thesis could be related to indigenous peoples all over the world, as well as other ethnic minorities.

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Appendix

1. Interview guide, translated into English

1. Basic questions
   - Age?
   - Education?
   - Occupation?
   - Languages spoken/written?

2. Family relations
   - Who does your family consist of?
   - How would you describe your family and your relation with them, to your friends?
   - Does your family live (geographically) near you?
   - Do you see them often?
   - Is there anyone you are especially close to? Why?
   - In what way are family relations important to you?
   - Can you give examples of activities you and your family do together?
   - How do you think your immediate family would describe you?
   - Do you know your Sámi family's stories?
   - Can you give an example of your Sámi family's story, good or bad?

3. Networks
   - How would you describe your relationship to your friends?
   - What would be a typical activity you would do together?
   - Do you have separate friend groups for different activities / gatherings / locations?
   - How do you think your friends would describe you?

- Is it important / necessary for you that your friends know your Sámi background? Why / why not?
- Is there anyone in your group of friend who do not know about your Sámi background? Why?
- How do you think your friends understanding you as a Sámi?

4. The urban context
    - How long have you lived in this city / area?
    - What do you like about living in a / this city?
    - Is there anything you do not enjoy with living in a city?
    - Are there other places (geographical) you also feel a belonging to?
    - Are there specific places / situations / arrangements in the city where you can feel Sámi / not feel Sámi?
    - In your opinion, can a person be Sámi and live in an urban context?

5. Organisations and gatherings
    - Are you a member of any specific Sámi related organisation (such as political, duodji, knitting, sports)?
    - Why are you a member of these organisations?
    - Are you involved in social gatherings with other Sámi on a regular basis?
    - What is your role in these gatherings?
    - What do these gatherings and / or organisations mean to you?
    - If there were more / other social gatherings and organisations for Sámi in your city, would you consider joining?

6. Language
    - Have you followed the language debate in the Sámi Parliament regarding the upcoming election? What are your thoughts on the debate?
    - What do you believe are the criteria's to "know" a language?
    - If you do not speak Sámi, why have you not learned it as an adult?

- How important is it to you that your children speak Sámi?

7. Expressing identity
    - How would you define your own identity?
    - What does it mean to be Sámi in your perspective?
    - How and where is it natural for you to express your Sámi identity?
    - What are your thoughts on how media portrays Sámi culture? Do you believe it affects you in any way?
    - In your point of view, how does an urban Sámi identity differ from other urban identities?
    - What do you think makes you different than non-Sámi living in urban society?
    - What do you think makes you different than Sámi living in traditional geographical areas?
    - Has your Sámi background been a positive or negative experience? Explain?
    - Has your view on your ethnic identity changed, as you got older?
    - Is there anyone / how many in your family is in the voting list for the elections to the Sámi Parliament?

2. Interview guide, Norwegian

1. Grunnleggende spørsmål
    - Alder?
    - Utdanning?
    - Yrke?
    - Språk du behersker – skriftlig og muntlig?

2. Familie relasjoner
    - Hvem består din familie av?
    - Hvordan beskriver du din familie og din relasjon til dem, til dine venner?
    - Bor du geografisk nært familien din?
    - Ser du de ofte?
    - Er det noen du er spesielt fortrolig med? Hvorfor?
    - På hvilken måte er familie relasjoner viktig for deg?
    - Kan du gi eksempler på aktiviteter du og din familie gjør sammen?
    - Hvordan tror du din nærmeste familie vil beskrive deg?
    - Kjenner du din samiske families historier?
    - Kan du / har du hørt familiehistorier, gode eller dårlige? Eksempler?

3. Bekjentskapskrets
    - Hvordan vil du beskrive ditt forhold til dine nære venner?
    - Hva ville være en typisk aktivitet dere gjør sammen?
    - Har du egne grupperinger av venner for ulike aktiviteter / sosiale sammenkomster / lokaliteter?
    - Hvordan tror du dine venner vil beskrive deg?
    - Er det viktig / nødvendig for deg at dine venner kjenner til din samiske bakgrunn? Hvorfor / hvorfor ikke?
    - Er det noen i din vennekrets som ikke vet om din samiske bakgrunn? Hvorfor?
    - Hvordan opplever dine venner deg som same?

4. Den urbane kontekst
    - Hvor lenge har du bodd i denne byen / området?
    - Hva liker du med å bo i by / denne byen?
    - Er det noe du ikke liker ved å bo i en / denne byen?
    - Er det andre lokaliteter du også føler en tilhørighet til?
    - Er det noen spesifikke plasser / situasjoner / arrangementer i byen hvor du kan være samisk / ikke være samisk?
    - I din mening, kan en person være same og samtidig bo i en urban kontekst?

5. Organisasjoner og sammenkomster
    - Er du med i organisasjoner eller gruppe som er relatert til samisk kultur, språk, eller lignende (politisk parti, duodji gruppe, sport, osv)?
    - Hvorfor er du med på slike organisasjoner / grupper?
    - Er du involvert i sosiale sammenkomster med andre samer på en jevnlig basis?
    - Hva er din rolle i slike sammenkomster?
    - Hva betyr slike sammenkomster / organisasjoner for deg?
    - Hvis det var flere / andre sosiale sammenkomster eller organisasjoner i ditt området, ville du ønske å involvere deg?

6. Språk
    - Har du fulgt med på språkdebatten på Sametinget i forhold til det kommende valget? Hva syns du om debatten?
    - Hva mener du er kriteriene for at man skal kunne et språk?
    - Hvis du ikke kan samisk, hva er grunnen til at du ikke har lært deg det?
    - Hvor viktig er det for deg at dine barn kan samisk?

7. Uttrykke identitet
    - Hvordan vil du definere din egen identitet?

- Hva betyr det å være samisk i ditt perspektiv?
- Hvor og hvordan er det naturlig for deg å uttrykke din samiske identitet?
- Hva er dine tanker om hvordan media portretterer samisk kultur? Føler du at det påvirker deg på noe vis?
- I ditt synspunkt, hvordan er en urban samisk identitet annerledes fra en generell urban identitet?
- Hva tror du gjør deg annerledes enn andre ikke-samer som bor i et urbant samfunn?
- Hva tror du gjør deg annerledes enn samer bosatt i tradisjonelle samiske områder?
- Har din samiske bakgrunn vært en positiv eller negativ opplevelse? Forklar?
- Har du endret synet på din etniske identitet etter hvert som du har blitt eldre?
- Er det mange / noen i din familie som er med i stemmemanntallet for Sametingsvalget?

3. Information sheet given to informants, English

Information about the project

Date: 22. August 2012
Working title: Urbanisation and Sámi Identity in Norway

To participants:

I am studying Master's in Indigenous Studies at the University of Tromsø, and I am currently working on my final thesis. The project is about urban Sámi identity, and I wish to explore which factors influence an urban Sámi identity, as well as how this urban identity is being expressed.

In relation to this study, I wish to interview Sámi that live in urban areas, from the age of 18 and above, and I would be grateful for your contribution. I will follow a semi-structured form of interview, where I will ask relatively open questions related to the topic. The interview will last approximately an hour. I wish to use a digital recorder and take notes during the interview, but only if you are comfortable about me doing so. The recorder can be turned of any time before and during the interview.

It is voluntary to participate in this project, and you may withdraw your contribution any time during the project without giving a reason. The data gathered during the interview will be confidential, and no individuals will be recognisable in the finished thesis. Information that may identify individuals will not be available to anyone else but me. All the data will be anonymised and the interview records will be deleted when the project is finished.

If you have any further questions you can call me on 41 67 94 93, or send me an e-mail at Kajsa.kemi.gjerpe@gmail.com. You can also contact my supervisor Jorun Bræck Ramstad at the Institute for Archaeology and Social Anthropology on phone: 77 64 52 82 or e-mail jorun.braeck.ramstad@uit.no

This study has been evaluated by Personvernombud for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelige datatjeneste (NSD), and is financed by the Centre for Sami Studies at the University of Tromsø.

Kind regards,
Kajsa Kemi Gjerpe
Seminarbakken 51
9008 Tromsø

4. Information sheet given to informants, Norwegian

Informasjon om prosjektet

Dato: 22. August 2012
Arbeidstittel på prosjekt: Urbanisation and Sámi Identity in Norway

Til deltakere:

Jeg er masterstudent i urfolksstudier ved Universitetet i Tromsø og holder nå på med den avsluttende masteroppgaven. Prosjektet skal handle om urban samisk identitet, og jeg ønsker å undersøke hvilke faktorer som påvirker en urban samisk identitet, samt hvordan denne identiteten blir uttrykt.

Jeg ønsker i den sammenheng å intervjue personer som bor i urbane strøk, fra alderen 18 år og oppover, og vil være veldig takknemlig for ditt bidrag. Jeg vil følge en semi- strukturert form for intervju, hvor jeg stiller relativt åpne spørsmål relatert til temaet. Intervjuet vil ta omtrent en time. Jeg ønsker å bruke båndopptaker og ta notater mens vi snakker sammen, men bare hvis du er komfortabel med det. Båndopptakeren kan slås av når som helst før og under samtalen.

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet, og du kan trekke deg når som helst underveis i prosjektet, uten å måtte begrunne dette nærmere. Opplysningene vil bli behandlet konfidensielt, og ingen enkeltpersoner vil kunne gjenkjennes i den ferdige oppgaven. Personidentifiserbare opplysninger vil ikke være tilgjengelig for andre enn meg. Opplysningene anonymiseres og opptakene slettes når prosjektet er avsluttet.

Hvis det er noe du lurer på kan du ringe meg på 41 67 94 93, eller sende en e-post til kajsa.kemi.gjerpe@gmail.com. Du kan også kontakte min veileder Jorun Bræck Ramstad ved institutt for arkeologi og sosialantropologi på telefonnummer 77 64 52 82 eller e-post jorun.braeck.ramstad@uit.no.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste (NSD), og finansieres av Senter for Samiske Studier ved Universitetet i Tromsø.

Med vennlig hilsen
Kajsa Kemi Gjerpe
Seminarbakken 51
9008 Tromsø

5. Project evaluation from NSD

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

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Jorun Bräck Ramstad
Institutt for arkeologi og sosialantropologi
Universitetet i Tromsø
Teorifagbygget hus 5
9037 TROMSØ

Vår dato: 24.08.2012 Vår ref:31206 / 3 / SSA Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 22.08.2012. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

31206	*Saami Identity in an Urban setting*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Universitetet i Tromsø, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Jorun Bräck Ramstad*
Student	*Kajsa Kemi Gjerpe*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.

Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, eventuelle kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk_stud/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/prosjektoversikt.jsp.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 01.07.2013, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim

Sondre S. Arnesen

Kontaktperson: Sondre S. Arnesen tlf: 55 58 25 83
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering
Kopi: Kajsa Kemi Gjerpe, Seminarbakken 51, 9008 TROMSØ

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TROMSØ NSD. SVF, Universitetet i Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø Tel: +47-77 64 43 36 nsdmaa@sv.uit.no

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 31206

Ifølge prosjektmeldingen skal det innhentes både muntlig og skriftlig samtykke basert på både muntlig og skriftlig informasjon om prosjektet og behandling av personopplysninger. Personvernombudet finner informasjonsskrivet tilfredsstillende utformet i henhold til personopplysningslovens vilkår.

Innsamlede opplysninger registreres på privat pc. Personvernombudet legger til grunn at veileder og student setter seg inn i og etterfølger Universitetet i Tromsø sine interne rutiner for datasikkerhet, spesielt med tanke på bruk av privat pc til oppbevaring av personidentifiserende data.

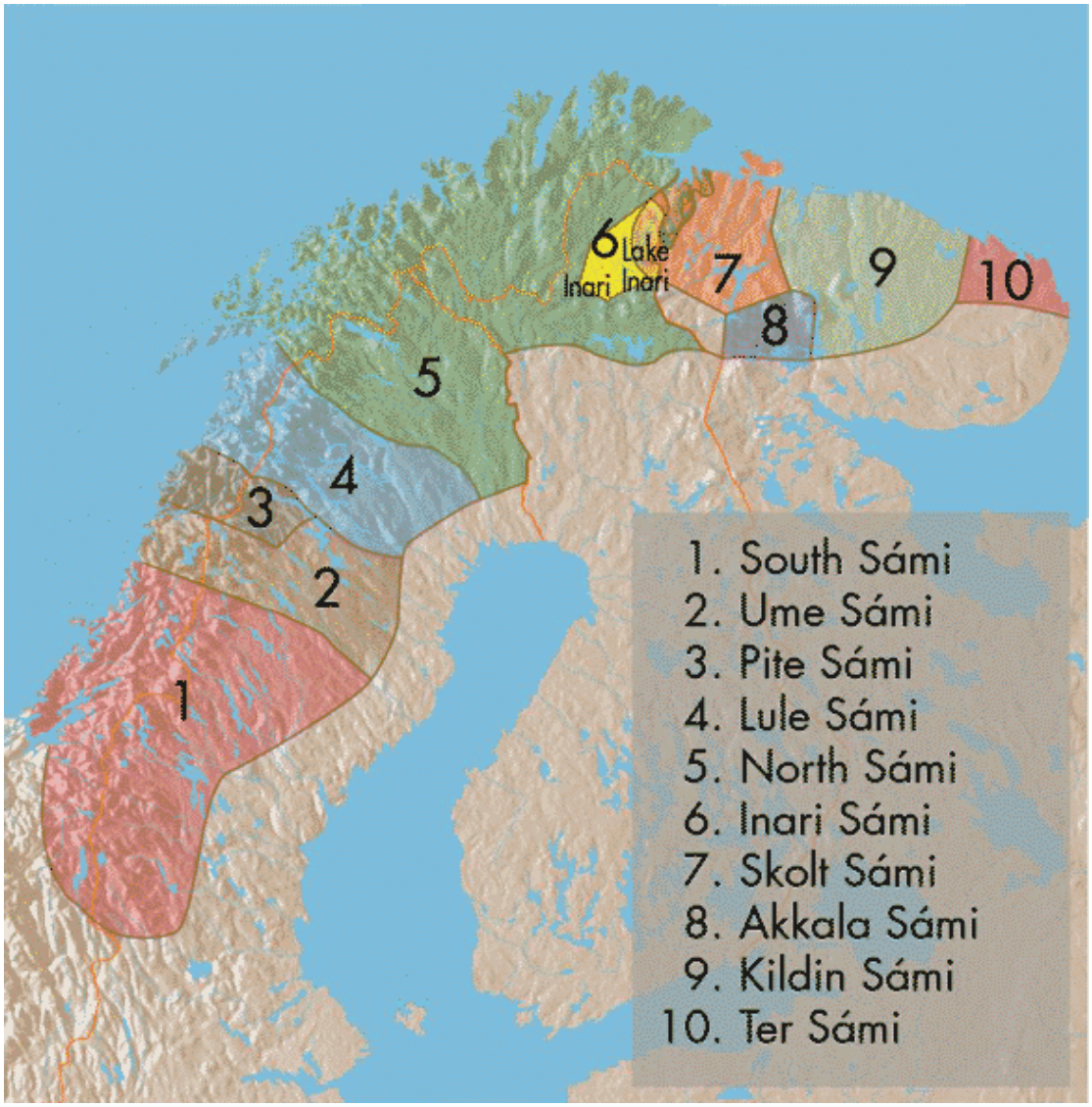
Prosjektet skal avsluttes 01.07.2013 og innsamlede opplysninger skal da anonymiseres og lydopptak slettes. Anonymisering innebærer at direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger som navn/koblingsnøkkel slettes, og at indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger (sammenstilling av bakgrunnsopplysninger som f.eks. yrke, alder, kjønn) fjernes eller grovkategoriseres slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes i materialet.

6. List of informants

All informants have been given fictive names that are used throughout the thesis. The informants are listed in random order.

Number	Fictive name	Gender	Approx. age
1	Andreas	Male	20-30
2	Hanna	Female	30-40
3	Mathias	Male	20-30
4	Ida	Female	40-50
5	Tove	Female	20-30
6	Tobias	Male	20-30
7	Emilie	Female	20-30
8	Martin	Male	20-30
9	Kristian	Male	20-30
10	Nora	Female	20-30
11	Ingrid	Female	40-50
12	Julie	Female	20-30
13	Sebastian	Male	20-30
14	Thea	Female	20-30

7. Map of Sápmi



This is a map of Sápmi, also showing the main dialects.

http://www.samimuseum.fi/anaras/english/kieli/kieli.html

8. Map of the core Sámi regions

The grey areas show the municipalities that are within the core Sámi regions, the so-called 'forvaltningsområdet for samisk språk', which can be translated to 'administrative regions for Sámi languages'. The red dots show Sámi language centres. The yellow area shows municipalities that have been adopted within the core regions, but have not been fully implemented at this date.

http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/fad/tema/samepolitikk/samiske_sprak/samelovens-sprakregler-og-forvaltningsom.html?id=633281