



The Sami National Day as a Prism to Tromsø Sami Identity: the Past and the Present



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To my dear parents, Konstantin and Galina

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Abstract

The thesis “The Sami National Day as a Prism to Tromsø Sami Identity: the Past and the Present” researches the way Tromsø Sami identity has changed over the last 20 years. The institution of the Sami National Day is used as a shaping tool of the concept of identity.

In this work I investigate the way the celebration of Sami Day has changed since the time the holiday was established in 1993 up to nowadays: in the past the celebration had a small-scale, local, character, uniting a limited number of the Sami people and their friends, while today the Sami National Day unites the whole city and is celebrated not only by the Sami - the number of which has significantly increased - but also by foreigners and Norwegians living in the city. On the basis of this analysis I research the way Tromsø Sami identity has developed over the last 20 years: it has become much more visible in society and stronger. Moreover, I investigate the issue of the level of development according to my research model Tromsø Sami identity is today.

The research is based on 22 interviews and has primarily qualitative character. Therefore, the results of the research can't reflect the whole Tromsø Sami community but they show the readers some patterns in it.

Key Words

Tromsø, Norway; identity, the Sami National Day; indigenous, Tromsø Sami community; symbols; change.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Nowadays the issues concerning indigenous peoples and their rights are a hot topic in many societies of the world. My thesis is dedicated to the research of the Sami identity. The concept of identity is abstract and needs to be shaped somehow in order to be researched and presented to the public. As the “shaping” tool of my project I use the institution of the Sami National Day, in other words, I use the analysis of the way Sami Day is celebrated as a prism that reflects the way the Sami identity reveals itself, becomes visible for others, and I further analyze the issue as to what extent the identity is developed. I have chosen the Sami National Day as a “shaping” tool for my investigation not by chance: this year we celebrated a 20-year anniversary of the establishment of Sami Day, the holiday that unites all the Sami and has a direct connection to their identity.

In my work I research the way the Sami identity has developed over the 20 years with the example of the Tromsø Sami community located in the northern Norway. What is also important to mention here is that in the thesis I focus on the University of Tromsø as an institution aimed at promoting Sami culture and rights.

1.1 Research Questions

In this thesis I investigate three main research questions: a) In what way has the celebration of the Sami National Day in Tromsø changed from the time it was established, in 1993, to nowadays, 20 years later? b) How does this change, in its turn, reflect the way Tromsø Sami identity has changed over the 20 years? c) What is the development level of Tromsø Sami’s identity today according to my model proposed in Section 1.4 of this chapter?

What I need to mention in advance concerning the fulfillment of the research work and the further analysis of the gathered material is that I dealt with only one research question: In what way has the celebration of the Sami National Day in Tromsø changed from the time it was established, in 1993, to nowadays, 20 years later? This was the main issue I was interested in while conducting interviews. The analysis of the other two questions is based on the results of the analysis of the first one.

1.2 Relevant Research

There are hundreds of scientific works throwing light on the Sami people and different spheres of their life. In this part of the chapter I present and discuss the works that deal with Sami identity, and the issue of identity in general, which are significant for revealing of the topic of my thesis.

Two key articles – “When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma” written by Harald Eidheim in 1971 and “When Identity is a Private Matter” written by Kjell Olsen in 2007 – represent and discuss the state of the Norwegian Sami identity: the first research took place in the 1960s, during the period of assimilation to the Norwegian majority of the state, and the second one was conducted during the 2000s, about 40 years later, during the period of revitalization of the Sami identity in the country (Olsen 2007). Both of these articles are integral parts of the thesis and presented in more detail within the analysis in the following chapters.

Of further importance in this part of the introductory chapter is that in the thesis I root my position in the idea that there is a definite indissoluble connection between group identity, culture and language: “language is inextricably tied to the first level of culture – how a people knows, believes, thinks, and feels. It is a key part of what gives a people their identity” (Fagan 2002: 10). The same idea that culture and language are integral parts of group identity is seen in the following statement: “Since language is a visible and powerful indicator of group identity, it has accurately been recognized as an important way to maintain links with one’s cultural past and to protect one’s cultural uniqueness in the present” (Grenoble and Whaley 2006: 3). In this light you can argue that nowadays the majority of the Sami population can’t speak Sami, and this does not impede them in considering themselves Sami and in belonging to the Sami society. You are right. What I try to say here is that an indigenous person’s ability to speak their indigenous language gives the person a much wider access to their indigenous culture, unites the indigenous community which person belongs to, and helps a lot in strengthening their indigenous group identity. So the ability to speak an indigenous language is not obligatory to obtain indigenous identity, but favorable.

One more significant point I would like to draw your attention to in this part of the chapter is that there is a definite connection between a people’s identity and the place they live in. According to the Finnish geographer Anssi Paasi, “all regions have not only a territorial shape (vague or more explicit boundaries) but also a symbolic shape that manifests itself in social practice that produces/reproduces the region and which is used to construct

narratives of identity and to symbolize a region” (Paasi 2011: 13). For the Sami people such a region with “a symbolic shape” is their home region, Sápmi: “In the last decade, Sápmi, the Sami home land, has become a symbol of identity for the Sami people – it represents Sami unity in the modern world” (Lehtola 2004: 9).

Another important point in understanding the analysis done in the thesis is that there is a definite connection between region, identity and power. Paasi considers that “regions should be seen as complicated constellations of agency, social relations and power. Regions are institutional structures and processes that are perpetually ‘becoming’ instead of just ‘being’. They have a material basis grounded in economic and political relations. ... Such structures are the basis for the narratives of identity, mobilization of collective memory, and they also constitute the visible and invisible social ‘gel’ based on values, norms and ideologies” (Paasi 2009: 133). The way this interconnection between region-identity-power works (or has been working) regarding the Norwegian Sami people is shown in Chapter 2 of the thesis. Moreover, in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 I research these components in detail by applying Paasi’s ideas to the region of Tromsø, to the identity of Sami living in Tromsø, and to the distribution of power between Tromsø authorities and Tromsø Sami.

Such a focus helped me in sorting out the research material and in analyzing it more deeply.

1.3 Key-concepts

Aiming to make my thesis comprehensible not only to specialists in Social Anthropology but also to a wider variety of readers, in this part of my work I present and explain the key-concepts of the thesis using not only social-scientific literature but also the Oxford English – English Dictionary, the articles of which are supposed to be comprehensible to anyone.

Indigenous people. According to the United Nations’ definition given in its Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), indigenous peoples are “ethnic groups with a common language, culture, livelihoods, spiritual beliefs and way of life, and with a distinct and intrinsic connection to a fairly defined territory” (Åhren 2007: 125). In my research work I follow this definition as it was worked out in the states’ negotiations with their indigenous peoples, and supposed to reflect the indigenous point of view on the issue.

Identity. This concept means “the fact of being who or what a person or thing is” (Oxford Dictionary: Identity 2013 [internet based article]). Applying this definition to my thesis, we obtain the following understanding of the researched subject (in a broad sense): the fact of being who or what Sami – as a group of indigenous people – is. Here I should also note that in terms of national identity, the Sami people have double identity: for example, the Sami living in Norway are both Sami and Norwegians.

In this research project I have dealt with three ways identity reveals itself. First, conducting interviews, talking with representatives of the Tromsø Sami community and learning their personal opinions about the celebration of the Sami National Day, I dealt with individual identity of each informant. Then, analyzing the gathered data and generalizing it, I worked with the collective identity of the Tromsø Sami community. Finally, in Chapter 5 I researched the way Tromsø Sami identity reveals itself in negotiations with the bigger society.

Self-Awareness. The concept means: “conscious knowledge of one’s own character, feelings, motives, and desires” (Oxford Dictionary: Self-Awareness [internet based article]). Applying this definition to the researched topic and comparing it to the concept of identity, we understand that self-awareness is a pre-stage of some kind of identity. The difference between them is that self-awareness is kept completely inside a person - in our case, inside the Sami community which is why it is invisible in the society. Identity of the group is visible as it is manifested by different means in the society. That is why in Chapter 2, where I analyze the process of assimilation of the Norwegian Sami towards the majority of the population, I use the concept “self-awareness” to present the state of the Sami’s identity at that period (the reasons and other relative issues are discussed in detail in the chapter itself). Later, analyzing the period of revitalization of the Sami identity, I use the concept identity in its full meaning.

Vitalization and Revitalization. These concepts are synonyms, both meaning a process of giving strength and energy to something (Oxford Dictionary: Vitalize 2013; Oxford Dictionary: Revitalize 2013 [internet based articles]).

I understand the concept “vitalization” in the context of identity research as the case when a people’s identity had to become invisible – (but did not disappear!) - mostly due to negative external factors, such as the process of assimilation; then when the political situation in the country changed, it became favorable for the people, their initial identity became possible to again be expressed openly.

In the case of the revitalization there is a period in a people’s history when their identity disappears because of negative factors, and then when the political situation changes into a favorable one, the people’s identity is reconstructed.

In my research I use the concept “vitalization”, as the Sami identity has never disappeared and therefore reconstructed in the future (the explanation of my point of view is given in Chapter 2 of the thesis). My discussion of the concepts of Ivar Bjørklund, a scholar who has been working for many years with Sami issues, made me doubt my understanding of these concepts and to stick to the traditional use of the concept “revitalization” in identity-culture related scientific works without paying attention to the difference between the concepts as, according to Bjørklund, “vitalization” means not only “putting vitality into something whatever” but it also means “that you vitalize something which might be new, something that you did not have before” (Bjørklund 2013 [interview]).

Symbols. The concept of symbols plays an important role in my thesis as identity is something that is rather personal, or kept inside a person or group, and expressed in public in the form of symbols (Lehtola 2004: 9; Olsen 2007: 86 - 88). My analysis of the way Tromsø Sami identity reveals itself on the Sami National Day is mostly based on the analysis of the symbols. In my work I use the second meaning of the concept: “a thing that represents or stands for something else, especially a material object representing something abstract” (Oxford Dictionary: Symbol [internet based article]).

Discrimination. As I learned from the course in Indigenous Rights, there are two types of discrimination: negative and positive (Åhren 2011 [lecture]). In the text under the word “discrimination” I mean the traditional – negative - understanding of the concept: “the unjust or prejudicial treatment of different categories of people, especially on the grounds of race, age, or sex” (Oxford Dictionary: Discrimination 2013 [internet based article]). The positive understanding of the concept is given in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

To answer the research questions and to structure the thesis I use Anssi Paasi’s “regional institutionalization model” presented in his monograph “Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness” (1996). In the work he discusses the change of the Russian – Finnish boundaries on the territory of Karelia and its consequences for the Veps people living there and their identity.

Paasi considers that “regions should be conceptualized as historical(ly contingent) processes” (Paasi 2011: 12) and distinguishes four stages of such a process:

- a) “territorial shaping (making of ‘soft’/ ‘hard’ boundaries);

- b) symbolic shaping (naming/other symbols);
- c) and institutional shaping (institutions producing/reproducing other shapes);
- d) and the establishment of the region as part of the regional system and social consciousness i.e. the region has an ‘identity’ “ (Paasi 2011: 12).

In her work “...thought I was just a same”. “Lulesame” and “Lulesamisk area” as New Political and Identity-Shaping Expressions” (2004) Bjørg Evjen adapts Paasi’s model to the investigation of the Lule Sami identity and presents it in the following form:

- a) the development of the concept of a specific geographical space;
- b) the establishment of a series of symbolic expressions (for example, names and particular cultural features);
- c) the establishment of institutions for the development and strengthening of geographical attachment;
- d) a full development of a geographical identity takes place, which includes society in general and the political system (Evjen 2004: 43).

What is significant for our research is that both these models are about the acceptance of an identity by the society, and the means of their phases represent how much the identity is accepted by the society. If the identity is accepted on the last stage of the model, it means that it is fully accepted by the society.

One important thing which I have already mentioned above, but want to underline here, is that both models have chronological character and represent the acceptance of the identity in time perspective.

In my work based on my empirical experience I modify the last version of Paasi’s model and present the model adapted to the content of my thesis. In my model of society’s acceptance of Tromsø Sami identity the four stages – in my interpretation, four levels - look this way:

- a) the acceptance of Tromsø Sami identity by the Sami themselves;
- b) the acceptance of Tromsø Sami identity by the Norwegian authorities;
- c) the development of Tromsø Sami’s own institutions;
- d) the acceptance of Tromsø Sami identity by the local society.

On the first level of the model I investigate the way Tromsø Sami identity is accepted by the Sami themselves. In other words, this level deals with the development of the concept of self-awareness among Tromsø Sami. As I have mentioned in Section 1.3 of this chapter, identity is individual and kept inside a person, and manifested to others by means of symbols.

Therefore, on the first level of my model I analyze the way Tromsø Sami identity is accepted by the Sami themselves by means of the analysis of the symbols that make the identity visible.

The second level of my model presents the state - non-Sami - organizations that deal with Tromsø Sami issues. First of all, this group includes the University of Tromsø, one of the biggest Norwegian organizations dealing with the promotion of Sami issues in the country and abroad, which pays special attention to the regional Sami development. Moreover, on this level I discuss the activity of the University Museum of Tromsø and the Center for Sami Studies - which nowadays are integral departments of the university – in terms of the promotion of Sami issues and by means of this analyze the way Tromsø Sami identity is accepted by the official authorities of Norway.

The discussion of the activity of the Center for Sami Studies - most of the staff of which are Tromsø Sami – is a bridge connecting the second and the third levels of my model and representing the development of Tromsø Sami institutions.

The fourth, and last, level of my model deals with the acceptance of Tromsø Sami identity by the local society, in other words, by ordinary Norwegians living in Tromsø. Here I need to remind my readers that identity is individual and kept inside a person. Therefore, researching the acceptance of Tromsø Sami identity by the local society I deal with the symbols that make the Sami identity visible in the society, in other words, I investigate the way these symbols are accepted by the Norwegians living in Tromsø. As I have already mentioned, if an identity is accepted on this level, it is accepted totally.

1.5 Fieldwork

I started the fieldwork on the project “Sami identity and the Sami National Day” in December of 2012 having already successfully passed all the courses within Master’s Programme in Indigenous Studies (MIS). What I would like to pay attention to here is that all of the courses – although focusing on the indigenous peoples of the world – presented discussed issues in the light of the Norwegian Sami people. Personally, I consider it to be a brilliant approach for the Programme as it allows the students to obtain information about the studied issues first hand: some of the teachers and authors of the articles included into the curriculum are of the Sami origin, others have been working with Sami issues for a long time and even participated in a number of important events in the Norwegian Sami movement. The Programme successfully combines theory and real life, allowing the students to see the things

with their own eyes and to take their own points of view about the studied issues. For me the courses became a good basis for the realization of my research project.

1.5.1 Data

In my research work I mainly used two sources of information: social-scientific literature (that served as a background for the research and helped a lot in understanding and analyzing the material that I obtained via interviews) and interviews themselves (that became the core of the research). Moreover, working on the thesis I used lectures given within Master's Programme in Indigenous Studies, the University of Tromsø; lectures from different courses of the University of the Arctic; lectures given at the academic seminar and field trip "Focal Point North: Network, Indigenous Institutions and Knowledge Production" organized by the Center for Sami Studies, University of Tromsø, on April 15 – 19, 2013; and lectures given within Indigenous Studies Summer Program on Indigenous Peoples' Rights and Policy, Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race, Columbia University, the USA, on June 3 – 14, 2013. I also worked with the information given on web-sites of different Sami organizations and the information concerning the celebration of the Sami National Day published in local newspapers. Furthermore, I observed the celebration of the Day at the University of Tromsø on February 6, 2013.

1.5.2 Methods

As seen from the research questions and the data I worked with - aiming to learn my informants' opinion about the researched issue (the first research question concerning the celebration of the Sami National Day in Tromsø) via interviews - my investigation was based on the qualitative method. In David Silverman's words, I was more interested in "how" questions than in "how many" questions (Silverman 2010: 118).

As I have mentioned above, my research is based on the information I learned from social-scientific literature, lectures, web-sites and local newspapers. This means that another method I used in my research work was text analysis. In my understanding of the term "text" I follow Silverman's point of view: the text is "a heuristic device to identify data consisting of words and images which have become recorded without the intervention of a researcher" (Silverman 2010: 52).

The core method of my research work was interviews. As Silverman notes in his book “Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook”, “many interview studies are used to elicit respondents’ perception” (Silverman 2010: 48). My research did not become an exception from this tendency as I also wanted to learn my informants’ opinion about the researched issue.

Another method I used in the research work was observation. First of all, I observed the celebration of the Sami National Day in Tromsø on February 6, 2013. As I am not a member of the Sami community, I observed the events of Sami Day as an outsider, in other words, I used excluded observation to get the material for my investigation. Secondly, in conducting interviews I observed the reaction of my informants on the discussion of this or that issue related to my research. These observations helped me in understanding and analyzing the material I obtained via the interviews.

Analyzing the interviews, I noticed some similarities and differences in my informants’ presentation of the Sami National Day and ideas around it. Therefore, I also used a comparative method to group the findings for further analysis.

Moreover, when analyzing the interviews I also used a critical method to distinguish my informants’ feelings and opinions from the facts.

The following scheme presents the methods I used in my research work and sums up the information about them:

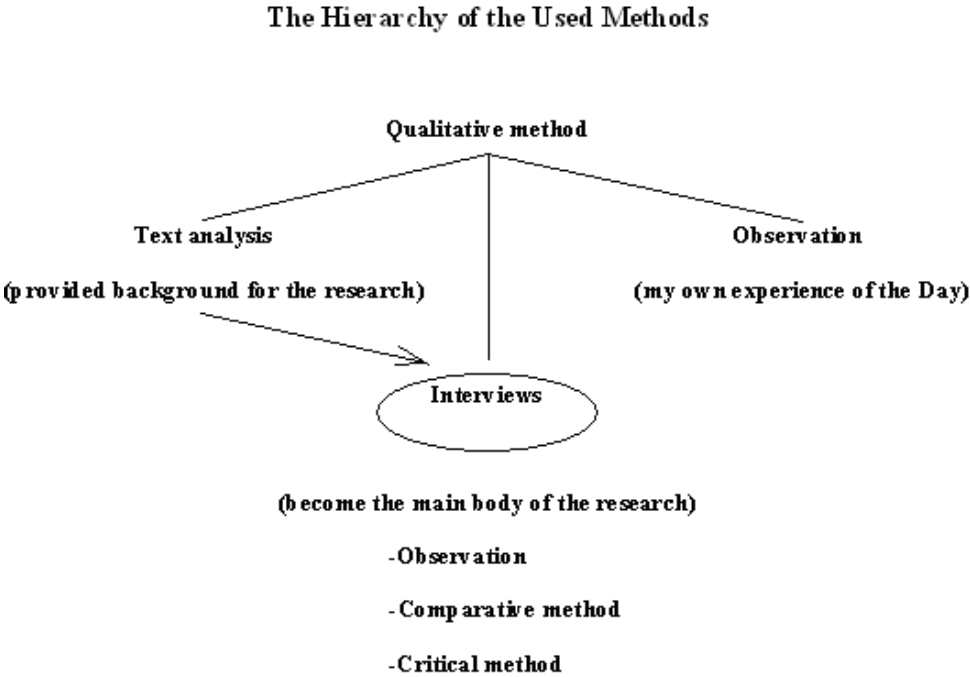


Fig.1 The Hierarchy of the Used Methods

As the interviews were the main source of the research information I present and discuss them in detail.

1.5.3 Interviews

1.5.3.1 Place and Time

The main part of the fieldwork – taking interviews - was fulfilled in Tromsø in February and March 2013, in other words, during the weeks directly following the celebration of the Sami National Day. I had chosen this period for conducting interviews on purpose: the events, impressions and thoughts about Sami Day were fresh in the memory of the informants, and what is more important for the research – their perception of Sami Day was not influenced by my questions. (This means the informants – who knew nothing about my project at that time – celebrated the Sami National Day and observed the events in the same natural way they had always celebrated, having no thoughts in the back of their minds about their participation in the celebration.)

As all the informants were in one way or another related to the University of Tromsø, most of the interviews were conducted on the University campus. Taking into consideration that fact that the fieldwork was fulfilled in the middle of semester, and the campus was full of students and other visitors, I tried to arrange places and times for the interviews to be conducted in such a way that they would not to be disturbed by others: some interviews were taken in the offices, some in the reading rooms, some in the library, and coffee bars in those hours when they were almost empty.

1.5.3.2 Informant Groups

To see the researched issue from different angles at the beginning of my fieldwork I planned to interview three groups of informants: Sami living in Tromsø, Norwegians living in Tromsø, and foreigners living in Tromsø. The first group represented insiders and their point of view on the celebration of the Sami National Day. The second and the third groups represented outsiders and their point of view on the researched issue. The outsiders were of two different kinds:

Norwegians are outsiders towards the Sami community, but as they live in the same country as the researched people and the territory of the country is rather small (as compared to my home country, Russia), it nearly goes without saying that all of them are aware of the existence, location, main livelihoods, and culture of the Sami people;

The word “foreigners” refers to those informants that came to Norway from other countries. They are outsiders to the Sami community as well, and their difference from the Norwegians is that very few of them had known about the Sami people before they arrived to Tromsø.

Therefore at the beginning of my fieldwork the informant groups looked this way:

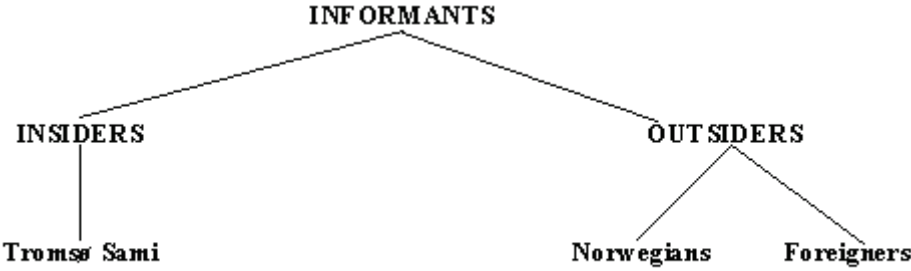


Fig.2 Informant Groups 1

But when conducting the fieldwork I realized that the range of informants was rather larger than the groups presented above. There appeared to be - as I call it – a transition group, the group between “insiders” and “outsiders” representing those informants that are not Sami by their origin but belong to the Sami community (I discuss the case in detail in Chapter 3, Section 3.5).

It appeared to be reasonable to divide “insiders” into age groups: *the younger generation* (from 25 to 40 years old), those who started school or were school children at the time the Sami National Day began being celebrated; *the middle generation* (from 40 to 50 years old), those who started university or were students at the time Sami Day began being celebrated; and *the older generation* (from 50 years old), those informants that were mature at the time Sami Day began being celebrated and took an active part in the Sami movement at that time. I should note that in the presented age groups I do not follow any scientific age classification. I divide my informants into these groups on the basis of the empirical material I obtained during the fieldwork aiming to conduct the analysis of the material more thoroughly. The presented age division helps me to reconstruct the way the Sami National Day was celebrated at the beginning of the 1990s and the way it is celebrated nowadays. Moreover, it is very helpful in analyzing and explaining the differences in the answers of my informants

concerning the same time period. As the results of the analysis of the interviews show, it appeared to be rather difficult for some informants to remember the details concerning the celebration of the Sami National Day twenty years ago.

Moreover, I divided the group “foreigners” into *European* - those who live in European countries, in other words, neighbouring countries to Norway, and have much better access to the information about Norway and its people, and foreigners living in countries rather distant from Norway who are represented in the group *non-European*.

Furthermore, to make the analysis more precise, I divided all the outsiders into “those who have been living in Tromsø less than two years” and “those who have been living in the city for a longer period”.

I then divided all the outsiders into *indigenous related* and *not related*, as those informants that have some relations towards indigenous studies appeared to be more observant and receptive in terms of watching and analyzing things concerning the celebration of the Sami National Day in Tromsø. Under the word combination *indigenous related* I mean those informants that are indigenous by their origin and/or are related to indigenous studies due to their professional interests.

By the end of the fieldwork the informant groups appeared this way:

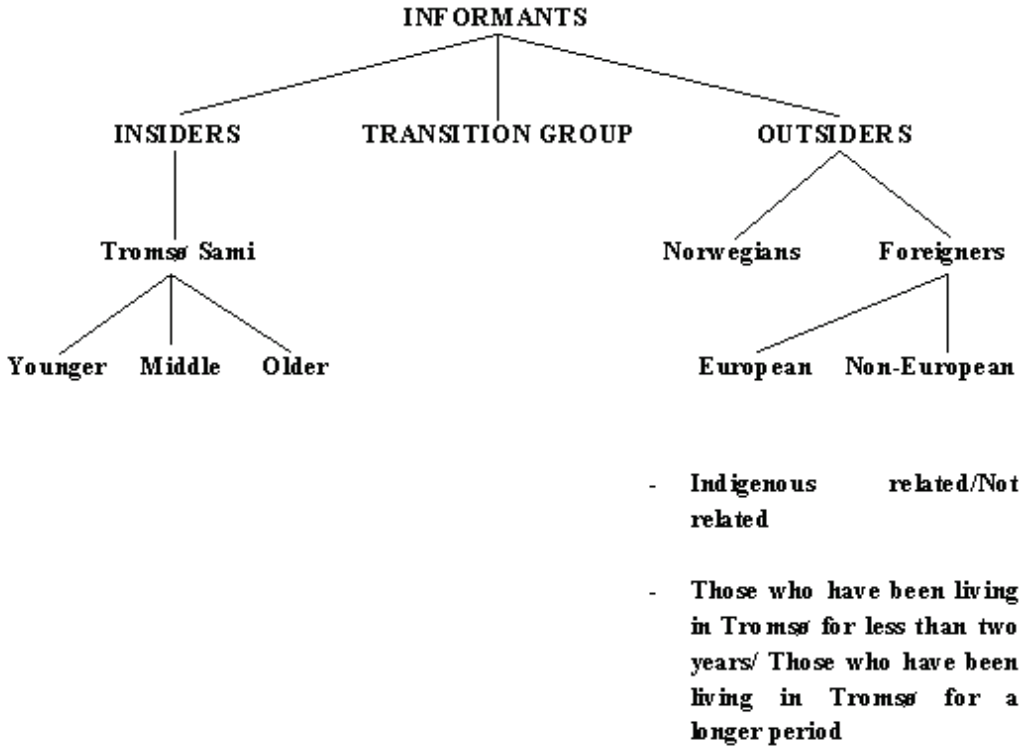


Fig.3 Informant Groups 2

One may wonder why I use such broad definitions for my informants. The answer is simple: Tromsø is a rather small city, its Sami community is even smaller, and as all of my informants are related to the university, it can become too easy to identify them if I give further details about their personalities. Why do I try to protect my informants' identity? The answer is also simple: in the thesis I investigate the identity of an indigenous people by learning my informants' personal opinions about the researched issue, so the topic of my research work is too sensitive to reveal the names of my informants publically. This is why I present them anonymously, as numbers, but in the text noting details concerning their personalities that are important for understanding their points of view, and in the supplement to the thesis giving more details about their personalities in a form of a table.

1.5.3.3 Overview of the Taken Interviews

During the fieldwork I took 22 interviews, 20 anonymous and 2 official. Among the anonymous informants I interviewed 6 insiders, 1 representative of the transition group, and 13 outsiders (6 Norwegians and 7 foreigners). I did not try to take the same number of male and female informants as, from my point of view, gender does not play a vital role in the research.

The officials I interviewed were Ivar Bjørklund, a founder of the exhibition "Sápmi – Becoming a Nation" at the University Museum of Tromsø, and Else Grete Broderstad, the academic director of the Center for Sami Studies at the University of Tromsø who has been working at the Center for more than 20 years started as an administrative director in 1992 (Broderstad 2013 [interview]).

The duration of the interviews varied from 10 minutes to 90 minutes. When I started conducting interviews it looked like the outsiders had a little to say about the discussed issues (and the interviews took only 10-15 minutes) and the insiders had much to tell me (the interviews took 40-50 minutes), but then the situation turned around: interviews with some insiders took only about 10 minutes and interviews with some outsiders took up to 90 minutes.

What I would also like to note here is that in the short interviews (10-15 minutes) the informants and I spoke in equal turns, but in the longer interviews (40-50 minutes) my informants spoke more prevalently.

1.6 Success and Challenges in the Use of the Methods

The first challenge I faced in preparing for interviews was to find informants. The problem was that I am a foreigner, an outsider in the Tromsø community, and people were not eager to share their experiences and ideas about the celebration of the Sami National Day with me. Moreover, as I have mentioned above, the researched issue, the identity of an indigenous people, is rather sensitive as it deals with personal opinions, attitudes, ethnicity and conflicts in the society. So although I started my fieldwork by searching for informants among the Tromsø inhabitants I was acquainted with, I received a number of refusals. I believe that people were afraid of sharing their perceptions publically. The problem of finding informants for my research was solved with the help of other Tromsø acquaintances who gave me interviews themselves and introduced me to their good friends to help me in gathering the data. In this way the “snow-ball” method of finding the informants operated.

Another problem I faced during the process of conducting interviews was that some informants started talking about the discussed issues by giving their opinions and attitudes more freely as soon as I switched off my voice recorder. So that fact that the informants were aware of being recorded made some of them more politically correct and reserved in their answers. But even in such interviews – those which were recorded – I found a number of interesting points for analysis.

Some informants, on the contrary, were so talkative, and eager to share their observations and ideas about the celebration of the Sami National Day and the Sami community in general that I had to redirect the interviews back to the issues I was interested in. Later in analyzing these interviews I found a number of similarities in the outcomes from the researched topic and these observations became a significant addition to my research work.

Concerning the use of the second main method of my research, the text analysis, I actually faced one problem: sometimes I, as an outsider, and the author of an article as an insider, read the same text in different ways. Here my lack of background information (about, for example, the Sami movement in Norway) and – what is more important – its understanding from inside comes to the surface. This problem was discussed with my supervisor.

1.7 My Role in the Project

My main role in the project was the role of a researcher. As a researcher I represented the Master's Programme in Indigenous Studies, the Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education, the University of Tromsø, Norway.

Having read a number of articles and taken part in the seminars in "Methodology and Methods in Indigenous Studies", in my fieldwork I was aware of the following main ethical principles applied to a research:

First of all, I was entirely open with the participants of my research project and informed them in advance about "the purpose, methods and intended possible uses of the research, what their participation in the research entailed and what risks, if any, were involved" (Silverman 2010: 155).

Then according to the ethical rules, I guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity to the participants if they requested it. As I have already mentioned before, in my project I interviewed 20 people living in Tromsø, asking them to share with me their points of view regarding the celebration of the Sami National Day in the city and the Tromsø Sami community in general. As these issues are personal, arranging the interviews I guaranteed the confidentiality and anonymity to my informants. The other two interviews were given by officials representing different branches of Sami research at the university. These respondents did not need to hide their names as they expressed the so-called "official point of view" on discussed problems.

Furthermore, I asked my informants about their decision to be interviewed as "research participants must participate in a voluntary way, free from any coercion" (Silverman 2010: 155) and I tried to avoid any harm to the participants.

Moreover, according to ethical rules, my independence and impartiality as a researcher must be clear, and "any conflicts of interest or partiality must be explicit" (Silverman 2010: 156). All these requirements applied to me as a researcher on the academic level, and I discussed them in detail during consultations with my supervisor.

There was one more set of important requirements applied to me as a researcher on the personal level. Gerald Berreman shares with us his observations about the impressions researchers make on the participants and discusses their crucial role in gaining the participants' trust.

According to G. Berreman, as soon as a researcher appears in some community, the local people always try “to identify him as the performer of a familiar role” (Berreman 2007: 148). What is very important is that “the impressions he makes will determine how he is identified” (Berreman 2007: 148). So, according to the author’s observations, to gain the participants’ trust and respect, a researcher should be able to establish himself before them as “a friendly, tactful and trustworthy” person (Berreman 2007: 149).

In my own experience I was convinced of the crucial role of the trust between the informant and the interviewer: no trust – no sharing observations and ideas – no interview. To gain trust was not an easy task for me as an outsider in the Tromsø Sami community, especially in those cases when I addressed potential participants who did not know me well. In these cases, the recommendations of other my informants who trusted me were of great help in gaining others’ trust. Here Berreman was also right: “He [the researcher-outsider] is judged by those among whom he works on the basis of his own characteristics and those of his associates. He becomes identified with those social groups among his subjects to which he gains access” (Berreman 2007: 157). In my project I became associated with different social groups at the university - the students of the MIS Programme; students living in student hostels; foreign students who are friends of the Sami students and so on – and this gave me access to the trust of other representatives of the groups.

What was interesting is that in conducting interviews I experienced the same phenomenon of gaining the informants’ confidence as Berreman describes in his article: “As we learned more, more information became accessible. By being interested, uncritical, circumspect, and meticulous about maintaining their [the participants’] trust, we won villagers’ confidence” (Berreman 2007: 155). In my mind, this is a great success for a researcher-outsider.

Not being “one of them” and doing research on “them” is not an easy task, as the outsider faces a number of serious difficulties in trying to gain access to the community’s “inner world” as indigenous communities are rather vulnerable and afraid of outsiders as they often consider that outsiders may cause trouble for them. That is why indigenous participants are often not so eager to open their real life (especially concerning beliefs, rituals, identity and similar personal things) to outsiders. According to Berreman, “in a closed society the outsider may be prevented from viewing the activities of its members almost completely” (Berreman 2007: 148).

There can be a cultural gap between a researcher and the participants. “The impression that a given action will convey cannot always be predicted; audience reaction is hard to read

and performance significance is hard to judge” (Berreman 2007: 148). This can lead to misinterpretation and inadvertent disrespect that can have a very negative impact on the realization of the project. I did not face such a situation in my fieldwork. I guess it can be explained by the fact that both Russians and Norwegians (the second – “official” – identity of the Sami people I dealt with) belong to the European culture and have a great number of common social norms of behavior. Moreover, before conducting interviews I discussed the content of the questions and the way of asking them with my supervisor who is a specialist in Sami culture. Nevertheless, I am aware of that there could be some misunderstandings between my informants and I because of our different backgrounds, ages, occupations, and so on. Even the English language used during conducting of the interviews might cause some misunderstandings as it is a foreign language both for the informants and I.

Thus, in my project investigating Tromsø Sami identity I fulfilled the role of a researcher-outsider using an etic model of analysis which is “based on criteria from outside a particular culture” (Barnard 2002: 180) and overcoming the cultural difficulties via the dialog with the representatives of the indigenous community who knew me well. In other words, my fieldwork experience proved the idea that it is possible for a researcher-outsider to gain access to the “inner world” of the indigenous community and with the help of others to investigate the researched issues quite deeply.

1.8 Chapter outline

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the research topic. In it I formulate my research questions and provide an overview of the previous research on the topic. Moreover, I present the key-concepts and the theoretical framework of my thesis, the four levels of the acceptance of Tromsø Sami identity, and discuss them. Furthermore, in this chapter I provide information about my fieldwork and methodology. I present the data and methods I used to fulfill the research, discuss the success and challenges in the use of the methods and my role in the project.

Chapter 2 presents the background information about Sami people in general, paying special attention to Norwegian Sami. Moreover, in this chapter I analyze some key moments of the history of the Norwegian Sami that are significant for the analysis of the state of Tromsø Sami identity in the following chapters. Furthermore, in this chapter I introduce how the Sami National Day was established 20 years ago and present some key symbols of Sami Day.

Chapter 3 deals with the first level of my model: the way Tromsø Sami identity is accepted by the Sami themselves. Here, using the background information presented in Chapter 2, I mark the place of Tromsø Sami among other Norwegian Sami in terms of the city location, the number of population, language, traditional and modern livelihoods. I then analyze my research data concerning the way the Sami National Day was celebrated by Tromsø Sami at the beginning of the 1990s and the way it is celebrated nowadays. On the basis of this analysis I analyze the way Tromsø Sami identity has changed over 20 years and the way it is accepted by the Sami today.

Chapter 4 focuses on the second and the third levels of the model and investigates the way Tromsø Sami identity is accepted by the state and reveals itself on the level of Tromsø Sami organizations. Here I analyze the role of some Norwegian organizations and Tromsø Sami institutions in the promotion of Sami issues, paying special attention to the way the Sami National Day was celebrated by these organizations in the past and the way it is celebrated nowadays.

Chapter 5 deals with the fourth and last level of my model. I investigate the way Tromsø Sami identity is accepted by the local society, concentrating my attention on the issue of how the Sami National Day was celebrated by the city 20 years ago and how it is celebrated today. Of special interest is the analysis of the Norwegians' attitude towards the holiday and the Sami themselves.

Chapter 6 a conclusion of the thesis. In it I generalize my findings on the different levels of my model and analyze the way Tromsø Sami identity has developed for the last 20 years and the level of its development today.

Chapter 2. Historical Background

Introduction to the Chapter

Chapter 2 consists of three theme-based parts - background information about Sami people, the history of the Sami people of Norway, and the establishment of the Sami National Day – providing the context for the researched issue of my project and serving as a basis for the explanation of a number of the findings done during the research work.

The main aim of the chapter is the research of the way the Norwegian Sami identity changed from the period of assimilation to the period of revitalization. I am mostly interested in the changes of the attitude of the Norwegian authorities towards the Sami, and the people towards themselves. The analyzed material allows me to come closer to my research model and to show when and how it begins to function.

2.1 Background Information about the Sami People

In this part of the chapter I introduce the Sami as an indigenous people of four countries by giving my readers general information about the place they live in, the languages they speak, and traditional and modern livelihoods they have been practicing. All this information is mainly addressed to the readers of my work who are outsiders towards the Sami community, both foreigners and Norwegians; who know little about the people or, as Bjørklund notes in his book, “know little of Sami society beyond past lifestyles related to nature, reindeer herding, and ‘the wilderness’” (Bjørklund 2000: 2). The empirical material of my project also proves this background: for example, Informants 3 and 12, the foreigners who have been living in Tromsø for less than two years, still believe that the reindeer herding is the main Sami livelihood, that the people live in the remote districts of the country in rather primitive houses and can speak only Sami language. One of the aims of this part of the chapter is to ruin stereotypes and to clear up the situation about the discussed issues.

The Sami are an Indigenous people living on the northern territories of four modern countries: Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia (on the Kola Peninsula in the North-West of the country). This area is traditionally called Sápmi. “The Norwegian translation of this Sami

word is ‘Sameland’ – Sami land”, that means the land where Sami have been living since prehistoric times (Johansen, Petersen and Rapp 2008: 7).



Fig. 4 A Map of Sapmi

The Sami of Norway are usually divided into three groups: “the Northern Sami, who have traditionally lived in Finnmark, Troms, and the northern part of Nordland; the Lule Sami, mainly in the Tysfjord region of Nordland; and the Southern Sami who were to be found in the southern parts of Nordland, in North and South Trøndelag, and in the northern part of Hedmark” (Johansen, Petersen and Rapp 2008: 7). Nowadays the Sami live in many other parts of the country. A large number of them – some 5,000 people - live in Oslo (Lehtola 2004: 86). The number of the Sami population of Tromsø area registered for elections at the Sami Parliament of Norway is 737 people (Sandvik 2013 [electronic mail]).

What I need to note here is that there is no exact data about the number of Sami: the given number of the people varies from 50,000 to 80,000 (Solbakk 2006: 15; The Sami – an Indigenous People in Sweden 2009: 4). In my research I came even across the figure of 105,000 people (Robinson 2002: 4). These numbers give us a difference of +/- 55,000 people. Why do we have such a situation? Bjørg Evjen and Lars Ivar Hansen in their article “One people – many names: on different designations for the Sami population in the Norwegian county of Nordland through the centuries” explain this by the started changes in the Norwegian government’s viewpoint on the issues of race and nationality caused by the radical fascist ideology of the World War II: “The excess of a policy focusing on race and supposed

racial differences in the period before and during the Second World War led to a reluctance to use such categories in the post-war period. Consequently, there were no details about race or ‘nationality’ in the census for 1946” (Evjen and Hansen 2009: 234). Nowadays the Sami people have nowhere to register themselves as in the Scandinavian countries it is forbidden by the law to register the population according to political, ethnic, or religious points of view.

The given number of the Sami population in Norway is the largest: from 40,000 people (Solbakk 2006: 15; The Sami – an Indigenous People in Sweden 2009: 4) to 60,000 – 70,000 people (Salo and Afanasjeva 2013 [lecture]; Robinson 2002: 4).

The Sami people have their own language, the Sami language, that belongs to the Finno-Ugric group of languages and has common features with Finnish, Hungarian, Estonian, Mordvinian, Zyrian and Karelian (Hætta 2008: 39; Johansen, Petersen and Rapp 2008: 8). Although there are nine – alive - dialect groups within the Sami language – Northern Sami, Lule Sami, Southern Sami, Kildin Sami, Skolt Sami, Inari Sami, Pite Sami, Ume Sami, and Ter Sami (Weihe 2002: 4; Salo and Afanasjeva 2013 [lecture]) - “the Sami linguistic area undoubtedly constitutes a unit, as the immediate neighbouring dialects are mutually understandable” (Hætta 2008: 39). The four biggest Sami dialect groups are Northern Sami (about 85 % of all the Sami speakers, 16,000 – 18,000 people), Southern Sami, Lule Sami and Kildin Sami (about 600 – 800 speakers each) (The Sami Language – a Historical Mystery 2012 [internet based document]; Salo and Afanasjeva 2013 [lecture]).

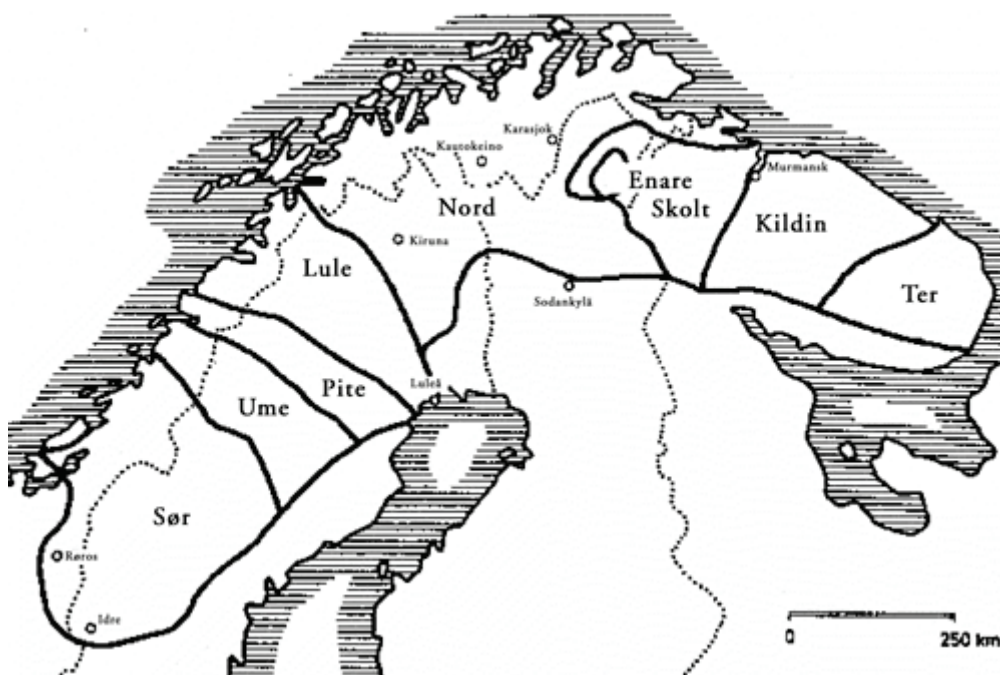


Fig. 5 A Map of Sami Dialects

The Sami people of Norway speak Northern Sami (about 9,000 – 10,000 speakers), Southern Sami, Lule Sami, Pite Sami and (formerly) Ume Sami (The Sami Language – a Historical Mystery 2012 [internet based document]).

What is important to mention here is that the presented division of the Sami according to the dialects is done by scientists in a mapping way, meaning that in real life there are no such particularly shaped Sami areas. What is more, within these areas there are lots of Sami who do not speak Sami at all.

In the past a core Sami livelihood was reindeer husbandry. As Veli-Pekka Lehtola notes in his book, “reindeer herding has been an emblem of the whole culture even though that economic sector is historically rather recent, only “just” beginning in the 1500s” (Lehtola 2004: 10). I should note that the mentioned time is contested as according to other researchers who believe reindeer herding started in the Viking Age, around the 800s (Andersen 2008: 113). Other traditional Sami occupations were fishing, hunting and gathering.

Nowadays “more and more Sami are involved in tourism, food production and other sectors” (The Sami – an Indigenous People in Sweden 2009: 2). Most of the Norwegian Sami today – “perhaps as many as 95% - are involved in the full diversity of Norway’s daily economic life” (Bjørklund 2000: 2).

In many ways, Sami communities resemble other towns of their countries: the Sami people live in houses with all modern conveniences, drive cars, use computers and telephones, and so on. Therefore today most Sami live in the same way as the majority of the population: receiving (higher) education, doing ordinary jobs, and enjoying fishing and gathering as hobbies.

2.2 The History of the Sami in Norway

The history of the Sami in Norway is too long to be even briefly covered in such a short work, so in my research I will touch only on key moments of Sami history that are significant for revealing of the topic of the thesis and for explaining a number of findings discovered during the research work.

2.2.1 The Period of Norwegianization, or Assimilation

A key historical moment important for understanding the contemporary state of the Sami identity, the relations between the indigenous people and the Norwegian authorities, and

the attitude of the majority of the Norwegian population towards the Sami people of the country, is the period of Norwegianization, or assimilation, that can't actually be called "a moment" as it lasted more than a century: from "about 1850 up to approximately 1980", and represents "a separate era in Sami history" (Minde 2003a: 122).

"The beginning and the end of the period can be linked to two events, both of which had a material content, but which also had a powerful symbolic value. The first event was the establishment of *Finnfondet* [the Lapp fund] in 1851. This was a special item in the national budget established by the Storting to bring out a change of language and culture. The other was the *Alta controversy* of 1979 – 1981, which became a symbol of the Sami fight against cultural discrimination and for collective respect, for political autonomy and for material rights" (Minde 2003a: 122).

I do not agree with these time borders of the period as a number of historical events show us that the Norwegian authorities started rethinking their attitude towards the Sami people earlier than in the beginning of the 1980s. According to Regnor Jernsletten and Vigdis Stordahl, after World War II there was a significant change in the state's minority policy (Jernsletten 2002: 152; Stordahl 1993: 3). Stordahl explains it this way: "The German occupation of Norway, especially the scourging of the two northernmost regions (Nord-Troms and Finnmark) and the concomitant evacuation of the population created a sense of solidarity among Norwegians for the population of the north, including the Sami." "There were no longer favorable conditions for a policy that was based on the idea of superiority of one of the groups, namely the Norwegians," – continues Stordahl (Stordahl 1993: 3). What is more, in 1956, the Norwegian government appointed the Sami Commission to investigate the principle questions of the Sami situation in society and propose special economic and cultural actions to help the people to take fully part in the society. In 1959, in its report the Commission stated that there should be "mutual respect" between Norwegians and the Sami and that the Sami should be given "the opportunity to develop a sense of pan-Sami solidarity" (Stordahl 1993: 4). "The most provocative proposal," – as Stordahl notes – "was a proposal to consolidate a Sami territory, i.e. a geographically defined Sami region with special status for the Sami language in schools as well as in administration" (Stordahl 1993: 7). The last proposal was revolutionary for its time. Other evidences of the fact that the Norwegian authorities started changing their attitude towards the Sami people of the country earlier than in the 1980s is the state's financial support to the Norwegian educational establishments and museums in the 1960s aimed

towards the development of the Sami research and education, and the promotion of the Sami issues (read more about it in Chapter 4, Sections 4.1 and 4.2).

Coming back to the state's policy of assimilation of the Sami people, I remind the reader that the policy started in the field of language, culture and education when *Finnefondet* - the main aim of which was "to promote the teaching of Norwegian in the transitional districts and to ensure the enlightenment of the Sami people" (Minde 2003a: 126) – was established. The state took such an initiative as it considered the Sami to be "innocent children of nature who did not know what was best for them" (Hætta 2008: 42). The other main trend employed in the Norwegianization policy was "settlement and economic policy, aimed at establishing Norwegian agricultural colonization and farming, above all in the eastern parts of the Sami area" (Lehtola 2004: 44). At this time the state's actions were dictated by civilizing and nationalistic considerations: when the Norwegian national identity was built in the 19th century, the Sami, as a different group, stood out of the new national unit (Valkonen 2004: 99) which is why the state decided to try to make them as much Norwegian as the majority population. Concerning the Sami people themselves, the state policy of assimilation attempted to encourage them to become something they were not.

In approximately 1870 security policy became the state's priority, as Norway needed to strengthen its positions in its northern areas which were strategically important in the Norwegian state's relations with Russia (Lehtola 2004: 44; The Sami People 1990: 68). Consequently, "national considerations" became decisive to both objectives and strategies (Minde 2003a: 127). The Norwegian state's motto during the period of the assimilation was: one state – one people – one language and culture, in an attempt to have one homogeneous cultural country.

During the period of Norwegianization "all things "Sami" were regarded as beggarly, old fashioned, reactionary and – in many circles – heathen" (Minde 2003a: 123). The Sami people were strongly ashamed by many state and public organizations for being unlike the "civilized" majority of the population. Furthermore, the Norwegians' attitude towards the Sami people manifested itself as purely negative discrimination (Minde 2003a: 124). This created a situation where "the only way to save the 'Lapps' [another name for the Sami people] is [was] for them to merge into the Norwegian People" (Johan Sverdrup according to Lehtola 2004: 45). Most of the Sami people, being afraid of discrimination, tried to become "good Norwegian citizens" (Minde 2003c: 109), while others wishing a better life for themselves and their families in Norwegian society tried to be more Norwegian than the

Norwegians themselves (Minde 2003c: 109) (my own translation from Norwegian into English).

The result was a Sami ethnic cleansing: according to the data of the Central Bureau of Statistics, the number of Sami in the municipality of Kvænangen, Troms county, reduced from 44% to 0% in the period of 1930–1950 (Bjørklund 1985 according to Minde 2003a: 124). The Norwegian state and the majority of the population did their best to make the Sami people refuse the public use of their language and culture and, as a consequence, hide their indigenous identity, in other words, make it invisible to others. This also happened on the international level: most of the indigenous peoples of the world became invisible, as professor Elsa Stamatopoulou writes, up to the beginning of the 1970s: “In the early 1970s, the indigenous movement had basically just started in North America, Australia, and Nordic countries of Europe” (Stamatopoulou 1994: 67).

2.2.2 The Period of Revitalization

The period of revitalization of the Sami language, culture, and identity started within the time period of the assimilation process: directly after the end of World War II. What is more, the revitalization started within the international movement for indigenous rights which was an integral part of the international movement for human rights. I should note that professor Stamatopoulou, who worked more than 20 years at the United Nations dealing with indigenous issues, has a different point of view: after the end of the war this international organization started promoting human rights but it had nothing to do with the indigenous peoples (Stamatopoulou 2013 [lecture]). Only in the early 1970s, having received lots of complains from indigenous peoples, “states authorized the United Nations to conduct a “Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations” (Stamatopoulou 1994: 60). The study took nearly 13 years. When it was about to be completed, in 1982, “the Economic and Social Council created the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, as a sub-organ of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities” (Stamatopoulou 1994: 68). Therefore, it took the United Nations several decades to open its doors to indigenous peoples and their problems.

The modern system of human rights was worked out in the period after World War II, at the time when people and authorities came to conclusions about the terrible war and thought hard about how to preserve military, political, and social peace in the world.

At the same time the years after World War II “brought about a global industrial, technological, and welfare colonization of peripheral areas, which stretched from the tropical rain forests to the Arctic region” (Minde 2008: 52). These peripheral territories were mainly populated by indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples became most exploited by states, the aim of which was to assimilate them with the majority of the states’ population and by means of this to integrate them into the national states.

However the policy of the states contradicted basic human rights:

- a) The right to non-discrimination “entails not only that equal cases be treated equally, but also that different cases be treated differently” (Åhren 2007: 124). The second facet of the concept “non-discrimination” is also called “positive discrimination”. An illustration of this I take from the contemporary Norwegian indigenous policy, according to which Sami people have the same access to education in Sami as Norwegians – to education in Norwegian (Åhren 2011 [lecture]).
- b) The right to self-determination - which is considered to be “the keystone of all human rights, and a prerequisite for the effective enjoyment of other rights” (Åhren 2007: 125) – means that people have a right to determine the future of their societies.

During the postwar period (mainly, throughout the 1960s and 1970s) quite a large number of indigenous people received higher education, and with it the ideas of equality and the right to self-determination (Minde 2003b: 80) which they spread in their societies, thereby awaking their awareness of their rights.

The contradiction between the states’ policy and basic human rights gave rise to “re-emergency of indigenous peoples” (Minde 2008: 52) and their movement against racism and towards decolonization.

Gradually, the ideas about indigenous human rights appeared in Norway. “A new generation of Sami politicians were inspired by the ideas of equality and the right of self-determination, such as those set down in declarations of human rights and conventions, and those expressed in conflicts in the Third World and the Fourth World (by First Nation peoples)” (Minde 2003b: 80). The young Sami generation initiated the establishment of a number of Sami organizations headed by the Nordic Sami Council founded in 1956.

In the 1960s-1970s the change of attitude towards Sami as an indigenous people gave rise to the re-evaluation of their culture and the re-emergency of their language.

At the 1971 Sami Conference it was stated that the Sami were “one people with their own area of residence, one common language and their own structure of culture and society”.

The 1974 Sami Conference adopted a declaration of Sami rights and resource management. But what we should pay a special attention to regarding this conference is that it treated Sami not as “an ethnic minority” but as “an indigenous people” (Minde 2003b: 81).

One more thing I would like to draw your attention to here is that by the beginning of the 1970s the Sami people had undergone changes which made it possible for them to participate in political actions as a group. In Tom Svensson’s words, by the discussed time the Sami people had already “established a form of organization with considerable powers of action” (Svensson 1973: 227). According to Lehtola, the role in uniting Sami people included the concept of Sápmi, “especially when parts of the Land of the Sami were being broken into pieces regionally” (Lehtola 2004: 46). So the spacial socialization of the Sami happened on the basis of their traditional territory.

In 1973, the Sami for the first time appeared on the world scene by taking part in the Conference for Arctic peoples in Copenhagen. At the 1975 meeting of indigenous peoples at Port Alberni, Canadian West Coast, the Sami people’s status of indigenous people was recognized on an international scale (Minde 2003b: 85). By the end of the 1970s, the Sami, despite their rather small number, had “become a visible political agent – nationally but especially internationally – along with other indigenous peoples” (Valkonen 2004: 97).

However while being recognized as an indigenous people internationally, the Sami were not recognized as such in their own country. Moreover, in the society the attitude towards the Sami people continued as it had during the period of Norwegianization.

The breaking point happened in 1979-1981 when the world’s attention was drawn to the Alta case, which started as “a matter of power development” but ended as “an indigenous people’s issue” (Minde 2003b: 89).

The Norwegian government, that had succeeded at the 1978 United Nations conference against racism, having given indigenous peoples “the right to maintain their traditional livelihood and way of life” and “the right to have their land, land rights or natural resources taken away from them” (Minde 2003b: 89), obtained the status of a promoter of indigenous peoples’ rights on the international arena. That is why in 1981 in connection with the Alta case the Norwegian government recognized the Sami as an indigenous people and gave them corresponding rights as such (Minde 2003b: 91-95).

Moreover, to keep its status of the promoter of indigenous rights on a global scale, in 1987 Norway established a directly-elected Sami Parliament and in 1988 added a new graph concerning the Sami people to its Constitution (Minde 2003b: 92). Furthermore, in 1989 Norway was the first to adopt Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO)

– the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention - and contributed significantly to the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, signed in 2007.

The material presented above shows us that the dialog between the Norwegian state and the Sami people was not an easy one. According to Professor Henry Minde, the state *had to* recognize the Sami. But from my point of view, by the beginning of the 1980s, it had already been more or less ready to do it without any external force. The only big obstacle the state faced in recognizing the Sami as its indigenous people at that time was, in my mind, that fact that the Norwegian society itself was not ready for this shift (I analyze and discuss this issue in detail in Chapter 5 of the thesis).

2.2.3 The Establishment of Sami Rights in Norway: the Collaboration of the Official Authorities and the Sami People

Since the 1980s the Norwegian authorities, having recognized their policy of assimilation as unfair towards the Sami people, has been doing its best “to rehabilitate and strengthen the Sami community” of the country (Minde 2003a: 143). Every year the government gives sums of money to the promotion of Sami issues. For example, in 2012, the Sami Parliament of Norway got about 400,000,000 NOK to deal with Sami issues, and about 500,000,000 NOK were given to other establishments dealing with Sami issues (Henriksen 2013 [lecture]).

In this part of the chapter I would like to throw light on some key moments of the establishment of Sami rights in Norway that, no doubt, have become great steps in terms of the Sami political and cultural revitalization and a solid, legal, basis of the recognition of the Sami as a category by the state. The last one plays a crucial role in the process of the revitalization of an indigenous people’s identity as, according to Professor Einar Niemi’s point of view, “the category becomes a central tool in an indigenous people’s mobilization and a strong legitimisation of their claims” (Niemi 2006: 421).

In 1987 the Sami Act was ratified. The purpose of the document is “to enable the Sami people in Norway to safeguard and develop their language, culture and way of life”. Moreover, it clearly states that “the Sami people are to have their own nationwide Sameting [Sami Parliament], elected by and among the Sami population” (Solbakk 2006: 172).

As I have mentioned before, in 1988 an amendment regarding Sami people of Norway was added to the Norwegian Constitution. Article 110a states that “it is the responsibility of

authorities of the State to create conditions enabling the Sami people to preserve and develop its language, culture and way of life” (The Sami People 1990: 187).

A year later, in 1989, the Sami Parliament of Norway was established. According to the Sami Act, the Sami Parliament “can take the initiative in all matters that it feels are of concern to the Sami population, and may also on its own initiative bring a matter before public authorities, private institutions, or other bodies. It has the power of decision insofar as this is laid down in the Sami Act or otherwise” (The Sami People 1990: 185). What is more, according to the Act, other public bodies should consult the Sami Parliament before they make decisions on issues that come within its scope (The Sami People 1990: 185). Although the Parliament has a high-ranking status and “may pursue policies that differ from those of the Norwegian government [but] (it) is not an official body that must be consulted” (Valkonen 2004: 101). In other words, the Sami Parliament has only advisory functions towards the Norwegian State Parliament. Nevertheless, “the founding of a Sami Parliament is a big step on the way to Sami self-government on issues which relate to the Sami” (Kuoljok and Utsi 2000: 57) as there is a close dialog between the state government and the Sami Parliament in order to build openness and agreement. The Sami Parliament and the representatives of the government have regular meetings during which they discuss different Sami problems; the Sami Parliament tries to explain to the representatives of the government the importance of these matters for the Sami people, and both sides try to work out decisions that satisfy both the Sami people and the Norwegian authorities (Henriksen 2013 [lecture]). No doubt, the establishment of the Sami Parliament played a significant role in the strengthening of the Sami collective identity as with it the indigenous people obtained representative rights.

What is also important to mention here is that in 1990 the Norwegian state was the first to ratify ILO Convention 169 which “deals with land title of indigenous minorities, particularly with respect to indigenous peoples that live off the land” (Sillanpää 1994: 159) and emphasizes the rights of indigenous peoples to determine their own culture and development (The Sami People 1990: 105). “While material culture ... is one of the fundamental principles on indigenous land title, the ratification of ILO Convention represented a major step forward towards having this principle clarified for both the Norwegian state and the Sami minority” (Sillanpää 1994: 160).

Another event significant for the strengthening of the Sami collective identity happened in 1992 when the Sami Language Act was passed in the country. The purpose of the Act – which actually echoes the purpose of the Sami Act of 1987 - is to make it possible for the Sami people in Norway to safeguard and develop their language, culture and way of life.

Moreover, the Sami Language Act states that Sami and Norwegian are equal languages and have equal status. It means that Sami people have a right to services in their native language. In this Act the state takes on the responsibility to “impose corresponding obligations on public bodies to communicate in Sami both orally and in writing and to provide information to the Sami population in Sami” (Magga 1995: 223). This became a most important for Tromsø Sami as I will discuss in Chapter 5.

The Sami Language Act was followed by the Education Act that was passed in Norway in 1998. It concerns primary and secondary education and training in the country. The Act is based on basic human rights and is aimed “to promote democracy, equality and scientific thinking” (The Education Act 2013 [internet based document]). Chapter 6 of the Act is of special interest as it deals with Sami education. The Act states that Sami pupils have “the right to receive their education both in Sami and through the medium of Sami” (here we can see the Sami Language Act of 1992 in action) (The Education Act 2013 [internet based document]). Concerning the content of the education, schools are required to provide education concerning the Sami people, their language, culture and civic life in conjunction with other subjects (The Education Act 2013 [internet based document]).

Another document important for the preservation of the Sami traditions and culture and, consequently, strengthening of the Sami identity was passed in 2005 under the name “The Finnmark Act”. The purpose of the act is “to facilitate the management of land and natural resources in the county of Finnmark” – that is traditional Sami area – “in a balanced and ecologically sustainable manner for the benefit of the residents of the county and particularly as a basis for Sami culture, reindeer husbandry, use of non-cultivated areas, commercial activity and social life” (Olli 2013 [lecture]). I come back to the Act in Chapter 5 discussing a conflict between Tromsø Sami and local Norwegians.

One more event significant for the strengthening of the Sami collective identity happened in 2007 when Norway became among the first to ratify the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. What is unique about the Declaration is that it sets out a supervisory system that “is clearly something new in this type of document and reflects the flexible approach of the Declaration to indigenous participation throughout negotiations” (Heinämäki 2004: 256). The Declaration contributes much to the development of the international legislation “at least in the sense that it clarifies fundamental aspects of the law within the fields of i) collective rights, in particular the right to self-determination, and ii) LTRs” [rights to land, territories and natural resources] (Åhren 2007: 219). Article 3 of the Declaration is a keystone of the document and states that “indigenous peoples have the right

to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development” (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007 [internet based document]).

The right to self-determination, in its turn, can be fulfilled by means of other rights the most important of which are: polyethnic rights, special representation rights, and self-government rights (Poelzer 2002: 22). The laws described above are evidence of the fact that nowadays Sami people of Norway enjoy the polyethnic rights (such as the Sami Act of 1987 and Article 110a of the Constitution) and representation rights (such as the establishment of Sami Parliament in Norway), although the described acts do not afford the Sami people rights of self-government.

We can make one more important conclusion from the events described above: the Norwegian authorities have really done a lot to rehabilitate the Sami people in their human and indigenous rights, safeguard their interests by law, and to create an appropriate atmosphere in the country for them to stand firmly on their feet and to feel equal with the majority of population.

One more thing I would like to draw your attention to is that all the above mentioned acts were worked out by the Norwegian State Parliament in a tight collaboration with the Sami people of the country. This means that the Sami people were represented as a group that had a clear political position.

2.2.4 The Interconnection of Political Power and Identity

According to Sanna Valkonen, “analyzing the political self-consciousness and rationale for action of different ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples is practically impossible without contemplating identity and its meaning for the development and action of the groups” (Valkonen 2004: 102). This statement means that indigenous peoples’ political actions are connected with their identity. What is more, this identity furthers indigenous peoples’ political development and actions. In the case of the Sami people of Norway it was their growing identity that made them so active in the fight for their human and indigenous rights presented and discussed in this chapter (Sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3).

In the previous sections of the chapter concerning the process of Norwegianization, the Sami revitalization, and the establishment of their rights, I have tried to show the way “the distribution of power” (Svensson 1973: 231) between the Norwegian authorities and the Sami

people changed. Nowadays, when enjoying polyethnic and representational rights safeguarded by the law, the Sami people of Norway have such a political power in their hands that the state bodies can't deny or ignore. "The Saami identity has become a significant political identity, the conflictive dimensions of which are shaking up the political arena and contributing to real changes in the position of Saami and in their local and global community" (Valkonen 2004: 97).

However the connection between political power and indigenous peoples' identity is not one-sided. According to Valkonen, "what is significant in political science is that identities are understood as constructed and as products of power, which does not, however, diminish the meaning of an identity to its bearer or its meaning as a political category" (Valkonen 2004: 102-103). Actually, the same idea is expressed by Nils Vasara-Hammare: he also considers that power plays an important role in the processes of identity creation (Vasara-Hammare 2002: 94) (my own translation from Norwegian into English). In light of the thesis these statements mean that the political power, in its turn, stimulates the strengthening of identity. Applying this idea to the researched issue, we come to the conclusion that during the period of revitalization and the fight for their rights, with every successful political action the Sami people gained more political power and, consequently, made their identity as a group stronger.

Nowadays more and more Sami people consider that the Sami community of Norway represented by the Sami Parliament has real power and can influence the state's decisions about the development of the community. Evidence of this is the fact that more and more Sami people reveal their identity and register themselves in the electoral register to be able to vote in the Sami Parliament elections: in 1989 the number of the people stated that they were Sami was 5,500 people; in 2012 – 14,000 people (Henriksen 2013 [lecture]).

2.3 The Establishment of the Sami National Day

A direct result of the political and cultural revitalization of the Sami identity is the establishment of the Sami National Day, a holiday that unites all Sami people.

The decision to establish and celebrate the Sami National Day was made at the 15th Nordic Sami Conference in Helsinki in 1992. The date, February 6, has a symbolic meaning: on that day in 1917 the first Sami National Assembly met in Trondheim, Norway, on the initiative of the Sami pioneer Elsa Laula Renberg, who became known through an outspoken

book in defence of the Sami, *Inför lif eller död?* (“Life or Death?”). It was the first time the Sami people gathered around common interests across national Nordic borders (Johansen, Pettersen and Rapp 2008: 23; Solholm 2013 [internet based article]; Lehtola 2004: 9, 46; Eriksen Lindi 1999: 27 - 29). What is interesting concerning the material analyzed in this chapter and the establishment of the Sami National Day is that during the period of revitalization the Sami people have been struggling for their legal rights but choosing the date for their day they went back in the history. The date of February 6 was chosen to be Sami Day not just because the first Sami National Assembly gathered on that day but because on that meeting the collective Sami identity was revealed openly in society, in other words, visualized by means of symbols. Therefore, the Sami National Day is a celebration of Sami identity.

Sami Day today is an official Flag Day in Norway and the Sami flag is flown on all official buildings of the country. The Sami flag was designed by the Sami artist Astrid Båhl, who was born in Skibotn in Troms county of Norway, and was formally approved at the Nordic Sami Conference in 1986. “The flag is for all Sami in Sápmi irrespective of the country in which they live” (Johansen, Pettersen and Rapp 2008: 22).

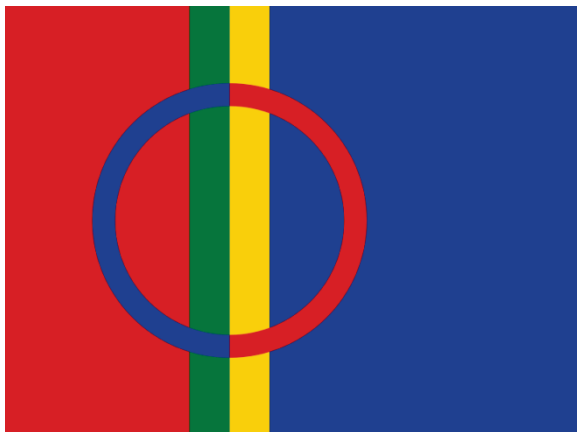


Fig.6 The Sami Flag

The Sami are often called “the people of the sun and wind”, and the flag symbolizes this: “the circle on the flag is a sun-and-moon symbol. The solar ring is red, the lunar ring blue. The flag is in the Sami colors: red, green, yellow and blue” (Johansen, Pettersen and Rapp 2008: 22).

One more integral component of the celebration of the Sami National Day is the Sami Anthem, “Sámi soga lávlla”, which means “Song of the Sami Family”. Originally it was a poem written by Isak Saba and published in the newspaper *Sagai Muittalægje* in 1906. In 1986 it became the national anthem of the Sami people. Arne Sørli set the poem to music, which was then approved at the 15th Sámi Conference in Helsinki in 1992 (Robinson 2002: 5).

The celebration of the Sami National Day has a number of other integral components and symbols which I present and discuss in the following chapters. What is more, for the 20 years of being celebrated, Sami Day has been growing in the number of its participants,

events and time. Nowadays the events concerning the celebration of the Sami National Day take place not only on February 6, but during the whole week.

Conclusion to the Chapter

In this chapter I have analyzed the period of assimilation and the period of revitalization, investigating their impact on the state of the Norwegian Sami identity.

Concerning the period of assimilation, I would like to point out that it consisted of the two types: a) the state policy of Norwegianization that took place in the Northern regions of the country and b) the negative attitude of the majority of the Norwegian population towards the Sami in the rest regions of the country. Taking part in the analyzed issues were three participants: the Sami, the official authorities, and society. In this chapter I have mainly focused on the change of the relations between the first two (as I have already mentioned before, the relations between the Sami and Norwegians are analyzed and discussed in detail in Chapter 5).

To some extent during the period of assimilation such aspects of the Sami identity as language and culture were considered to be a stigma: “Norwegian politics made the people believe that Sami-ness was something inferior, something connected with old days and poor days.” (Bjørklund 2013 [interview]). It was a realization of the Socio-Darwinistic idea that meant: the more civilized the Sami got, the more Norwegian they got. So “being modern meant being Norwegian; being old-fashioned, dirty and poor meant being Sami” (Bjørklund 2013[interview]).

Therefore the Sami had to hide their identity. However during the period of assimilation their indigenous identities did not disappear. In his article “When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma” Eidheim presents the results of his research work done around 1960 in Finnmark. According to his findings, the Sami identity was only expressed “in closed mono-ethnic Sami spheres” (Eidheim 1971 according to Olsen 2007: 75). This means that during the period of Norwegianization the Sami identity was invisible to the outsiders, being in its “dreaming” state – self-awareness.

During the period of revitalization when the authorities’ and (partly) society’s attitude towards the Sami people started changing, favorable circumstances appeared which allowed identity to “wake up” and be expressed openly. (I would like to mention that not all scholars appreciate the word “awakening” used to describe the change in the state of the Sami identity,

but in its use I follow Lehtola and Bjørklund [Lehtola 2004: 9, 46; Bjørklund 2000: 3; Bjørklund 2013 [interview]], as, in my opinion, it reflects the idea very brightly.)

However the appearance of favorable circumstances and the “awakening” of the Sami identity were not easy or simple. It took time for the state to change its attitude towards the people as recognition is not something that happens suddenly, it is quite a long process. As a result we have two processes running simultaneously since the 1960s–1970s: a) “the planned integration of Sami society into the nation state”, and b) the “ethnic incorporation leading towards the integration of Sami into a Sami nation” (Stordahl 1993: 3).

The main conclusion of the chapter deals with the change of the three participants’ attitudes towards the Norwegian Sami identity. From the period of assimilation to the period of revitalization the authorities’ attitude towards the Sami changed from the desire to Norwegianize the people, to the process of recognition of the people and acceptance of their indigenous identity. The Norwegian society’s view on the Sami identity changed from a negative attitude to partly positive. The state of the Sami’s identity itself changed from invisible, hidden from the outsiders, to becoming visible in public. Concerning the celebration of the Sami National Day; the social/political time was mature enough to accept it and work out its traditions.

Concerning the model I use to frame my research work, the period of revitalization discussed above is at its starting point, the first level, as at that time the Sami identity changed from “sleeping” to “awakening”, becoming visible in society, and by this means gave us an opportunity to analyze it.

Chapter 3. The Acceptance of Tromsø Sami Identity by the Sami themselves

Introduction to the Chapter

In this chapter I work with the first level of my model and research the acceptance of Tromsø Sami identity by the Sami themselves. In other words, I investigate the symbols that make an individual Sami identity visible within Tromsø Sami community.

First, on the basis of Tromsø Sami interviews I conduct an investigation of the history of the Sami revitalization in Tromsø trying to find out its key moments. (This history appeared to be a good basis for the further research done in the chapter.)

Then I come to the research of the way the celebration of the Sami National Day has changed: I analyze the way Sami Day was celebrated at the beginning of the 1990s and the atmosphere of that period, and compare it with the way Sami Day is celebrated nowadays, paying special attention to the analysis of the role of the Sami National Day for Sami themselves.

On the basis of this analysis I research the way Tromsø Sami identity has developed over the last 20 years and the way it is accepted today by the Sami themselves.

3.1 The City of Tromsø

As I have already mentioned in the Introduction to Chapter 1, Tromsø is situated in the North of Norway, North of the Arctic Circle. The settlements on the territory of modern Tromsø have existed since the time of the last Ice Age. The first church in Tromsø was built in 1252. The status of a city Tromsø obtained in 1794. During World War II the temporary government of Norway was situated in the city (Tromsø 2013 [internet based article]).

Just a century ago Tromsø looked like a small fishing town. Nowadays it is quite a big city, the 8th biggest city of the country (Tromsø 2013 [internet based article]). The number of Tromsø population on January 1, 2012, was 69,116 (Statistics Norway 2013 [internet based document]). It consists of Norwegians, including Sami people, and immigrants that came to Norway to live there. There is one more big group of people living in Tromsø – students, both Norwegian and international. The international students make up around 10-15 % of the

university's students (University of Tromsø 2013 [internet based article]). They come to the city from all the corners of the world (as exchange students for a semester or two, as degree students for two to three years, as PhD students for three to four years). So the University is well-known not only in Nordic countries but also all over the world.

The University of Tromsø was established in 1968 (opened in 1972) and is the Northernmost University in the world. According to Coates, “political supports of the university argued that the creation of a full-service institution in the region would promote regional development, transform southern stereotypes about the North, and attract young people from throughout the region and the South to complete their studies in the North” (Coates 2002: 115).

There is one more very important reason that the city institution has a direct connection to the university – a big hospital and medical research center. The University of Tromsø and the hospital are two of the largest employers in the region (Coates 2002: 115).

Due to the great development of the educational and research centers, nowadays Tromsø has all modern conveniences and a well-developed infrastructure, including an airport. As far as I know, there are flights to Oslo (and other Norwegian cities) nearly every hour. So the community has an excellent connection with the “big land”. Most of the population live in their own houses, cottages, and have cars.

3.2 Tromsø Sami Community

All the Tromsø Sami I have interviewed consider that Sami have been living on the territory of modern Tromsø since the time first settlements appeared there (Informants 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 20 [interviews]).

The oldest Sami livelihoods practiced in this area were hunting, fishing and gathering. Then reindeer herding appeared. Nowadays most Tromsø Sami have ordinary jobs like other people in Norway. Informant 2 who is not of Sami origin but has a very close connection to the Tromsø Sami community (I discuss this case in detail later in the chapter) and has been working at the university for more than 20 years believes that most of Tromsø Sami this or that way are connected to the university: they are either students, or have been students, or work at the university. Nowadays hunting, fishing and picking berries and mushrooms are practiced not as livelihoods for survival but as hobbies. However, having a status of hobbies, hunting, fishing and gathering have a deep meaning for the modern Tromsø Sami community

as, according to Informant 6, a representative of the middle Sami generation, it is the way they keep their traditions. “It is just our way of living. We feel that that is how we want to live,” says Informant 7, a representative of younger Tromsø Sami generation. “I am also doing this stuff [fishing and hunting],” continues s/he. Consequently, nowadays the traditional Sami livelihoods are not just “still alive” in the society but also practiced with great enthusiasm. Concerning the reindeer herding, it is still practiced on the territory around the city: some herds stay there during summer time (Informants 10 and 14 [interviews]).

According to the Sami language classification presented in Chapter 2, Section 2.1.3, the Sami dialect spoken in Tromsø is supposed to be Northern Sami. Taking into consideration that fact that a lot of Sami have been coming to the city from other parts of Norway and other countries where the Sami language is spoken (nowadays, mainly, in order to obtain higher education at the University of Tromsø), other Sami dialects are spoken in Tromsø.

Informant 10, a representative of the middle Tromsø Sami generation and who has been working with Sami issues at the university for several years, has never heard about any kind of statistics concerning Tromsø Sami population. The reason for it is the antiracist policy taken by the Norwegian government after World War II and already presented in Chapter 2, Section 2.1.2. Therefore, nowadays “one may [also] observe a transition from objective to subjective criteria taken as a basis for expressing ethnic identity” (Evjen and Hansen 2009: 236). An illustration of it can be taken from the interview with Informant 14 who states that s/he is a Sami, but then clarifies that his/her mother’s family is Sami, but his/her father’s family is Norwegian. Consequently, it is the person who decides whether s/he is a Norwegian or a Norwegian Sami. What is more, the decision to reveal his/her identity to others is also taken by the person on his/her free will. On this basis the Norwegian Sami register themselves in taking part in elections at the Sami Parliament. According to Roald Andreas Sandvik, an advisor from the Sami Parliament, the number of Tromsø Sami registered to vote is 737 (Sandvik 2013 [electronic mail]).

3.3 The History of the Process of Sami Revitalization in Tromsø

Answering my questions – When did the process of Tromsø Sami revitalization start? And what was it connected with? – My Tromsø Sami informants expressed several points of view. What is important for the research done in the thesis is that on the basis of their answers

it is possible to distinguish the key moments of the process of Tromsø Sami revitalization that, in their turn, are a good background for the analysis of the way the Sami National Day started being celebrated in the Tromsø Sami community.

The history of Tromsø Sami revitalization started in 1917 when the first Sami meeting took place in Trondheim, Norway (I have already touched on it in Chapter 2, Section 2.3). A couple of years after this meeting there was another Sami meeting which took place in Tromsø. According to Informant 10, these two events have a direct connection to the beginning of the process of Tromsø Sami revitalization.

At the end of 1960s – beginning of the 1970s, there was the first wave of Tromsø Sami revitalization. As Informant 10, a representative of the middle Tromsø Sami generation, and Informant 8, a representative of the older Sami generation, note, it had mostly political character. At that time in 1969 the Sami Association of Tromsø was established. It was a “really strong” political Sami organization. “It was one of the strongest of the all Sami associations of Norway,” says Informant 8.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the Sami students entering the just opened University of Tromsø were inspired by the international indigenous movement to find out more about their Sami background, Sami history, and Sami language. “Both of my parents spoke Sami at home,” says Informant 8 remembering the middle of the 1970s, “So that was a home language, but it was a spoken language. I needed to learn the [Sami] language more theoretically and to write it correctly,” continues s/he. This again proves my idea that the process of the Sami revitalization started earlier than the end of the 1970s – beginning of the 1980s as Henry Minde writes. Another thing that this evidence proves is that the Sami identity has never been lost: it was invisible in the Norwegian society during the period of Norwegianization, but thoroughly kept within the closed Sami society.

The Sami students of the 1970s were so active that they started negotiating with the university: “We wrote a lot of demands to the university authorities and also supported the Sami language because there was only one professor in Sami language at that time. ... It was actually important to hold the university along in our fight because in its status, with all its institutions we argued that if the university agrees to do more for Sami language, education, then it will also affect the school further down, primary and secondary, high schools” (Informant 8 [interview]). This quote shows us that the young Sami generation was very serious about the revitalization of the Sami language and culture, and the promotion of the Sami education. They thought several decades ahead, taking care of the next Sami generations.

Informant 8 describes the process of Tromsø Sami revitalization of the middle of the 1970s this way:

“It was very natural to look at the similarities with other indigenous peoples. So it was actually from the mid of 1970s we started looking upon ourselves as indigenous. ... The indigenousness was a political movement. At that time we were really occupied in revitalizing the language, almost. But we needed the support of others in order to achieve that. So the political support from Norwegians and the national authority was important. So we spent a lot of time politicizing. In a way, the cultural movement very early also became a political movement”.

This proves Minde’s point of view that the Norwegian Sami movement developed within the international indigenous movement. Again, it points out that the process of the Sami revitalization had a political orientation: the Sami people at that time were fighting for their rights, both political and cultural. What is more, this quote also proves that in the middle of the 1970s there WAS a dialogue between the Sami associations of Norway and the Norwegian authorities.

In the 1980s, the process of Tromsø Sami revitalization continued. Informant 6, a representative of the middle Tromsø Sami generation and who was a child at that time, remembers that there was “a huge meeting, the World Council on Indigenous Peoples, with the indigenous peoples from all over the world” that took place in the city.

In the 1990s, another wave of the Tromsø Sami revitalization happened. It had a lot to do not only with the Norwegian Sami revitalization but also with the development of the Sami movement in other countries. “In the 1990s, the Sami people were more active taking part in indigenous meetings. In 1996, I was a part of the Sami Youth Organization and we arrange a huge indigenous youth conference. The conference was in Sweden, but it was clearly an indigenous issue,” says Informant 6.

Informant 14, who is middle-aged now, considers that the establishment of the Riddu-Riddu festival in 1991 played an important role in the process of Tromsø Sami revitalization. What is important for my research is that the festival appeared as a cultural festival of the Coastal Sami of Norway and took place in Kåfjord situated not far from Tromsø (Riddu-Riddu 2013 [internet based article]). At that time “many people started investigate their family relations because most people who were born in Tromsø had been Norwegianized,” continues the informant. I agree with this point of view and think that the Riddu-Riddu festival affected young people of that time.

Informant 10, who was also young in the 1990s, remembers that there was also a lot of Sami students coming from different areas and studying the Sami language at the University of Tromsø. They liked to collaborate with each other and there was “a very good collective spirit” among them (Informant 10 [interview]). The process of the revitalization at that time still had the political orientation. “We were active in the political activities at the university at that time. Maybe, it was more political in a way... Maybe, it might be a little bit more cultural at the university at least,” says Informant 10.

This was the atmosphere in which the Sami National Day was established and started being celebrated.

3.4 The Celebration of the Sami National Day by Tromsø Sami at the beginning of the 1990s

As I have mentioned in Chapter 2, the Sami National Day was celebrated for the first time on February 6, 1993. It is natural that it was rather difficult for the informants to remember what happened in 1993, 1995 or 1999. This is why I divided the timeline of the research into two periods: the past, the 1990s, and the present, the 2010s.

The celebration of the Sami National Day at the beginning of the 1990s had a local, non-centralized, character: the Sami people of Tromsø gathered together at some place (for example, at a café, the Arctic Gallery, or the University Museum of Tromsø) in the evening and had a party. The event was visited by other people as well, but most of the participants were Sami. “It was an informal, small, intimate arrangement,” remembers Informant 10. Informant 6 clarifies this by saying that at the first celebrations of the Sami National Day in Tromsø everyone knew the other participants of the event. Most of the Sami were dressed in *gakti*, the traditional Sami costume. They ate Sami food and also had some sweet things, such as cakes. Informant 6 comments on it: “the traditional Sami food is more often meat or fish, I mean, dinner. Sweets is more Norwegian tradition”. The participants of the celebration of Sami Day also sang the Sami national anthem and listened to the Sami children yoiking. Afterwards they had time to talk to each other and to enjoy themselves. “It was a good feeling, a good spirit,” concludes Informant 10.

Informant 6, who is a Sami activist, notes that in the 1990s the celebration of Sami Day was “more a political statement” than cultural.

What appeared to be very interesting in conducting and analyzing the interviews is that different Sami age groups had different pictures of the way the Sami National Day started

being celebrated in Tromsø. The one presented above belongs to the middle age group, the Sami people who were 20–25 year-old students in the 1990s. (The way Sami Day was celebrated at the University of Tromsø in the 1990s is researched in detail in Chapter 4.) The representative of the older Sami generation, who was about 35 years old and had children at the discussed period, told me a different story but with the same essence:

The Sami kindergarten of Tromsø was among the first Tromsø Sami organizations that started celebrate the Sami National Day in 1993. “The kindergarten was Sami. It was privately run for the first couple of years, then the municipality took it over. But it always had the Sami governing committee, and the council was run by Sami, and the teachers were Sami. And they were quite active and that was quite natural for them to do something about the Sami National Day. We even celebrated the Norwegian National Day, May 17, by having a Sami section in the Norwegian tåg [parade],” comments Informant 8.

It was the parents’ initiative to start celebrating the Sami National Day with their children at the kindergarten. “There wasn’t any tradition to celebrate the Sami National Day. But it was important for the Sami who came here [in Tromsø] to keep up the Sami language and Sami worldview, and values,” explains Informant 8.

At that time no Sami flags were officially produced, and the first flags were made by the parents. “It was actually an art piece of an art work used as a flag,” remembers Informant 8 with a smile and continues: “It was one of the Februaries in Tromsø when instead of snowing we got rain. So it was rainy, but we had that little tåg”.

In the preparation for the Sami National Day and its celebration both the adults and children took part with big enthusiasm. “It was great! A lot of activities! And the parents were really occupied,” remembers Informant 8.

Talking about the meaning of the beginning of the celebration of Sami Day at the kindergarten Informant 8 says: “I believe that all the kids that went to the Sami kindergarten are engaged in Sami things today. So it must have an effect”.

One more picture of the celebration of the Sami National Day appeared in the interview with Informant 7 who had just started school at the beginning of the 1990s. The informant remembers that it took long time to prepare songs to sing at the Sami Day celebration. Therefore, the schools of Tromsø also took an active part in the celebrations of the Sami National Day in the 1990s.

What I would like to draw your attention to in this part of the thesis is that when Sami Day started being celebrated nobody knew how to do it (Informants 8 and Broderstad [interviews]). Therefore Tromsø Sami - which, in my mind, reflects the whole Norwegian

Sami society - started celebrating the holiday in the way they had been celebrating the Norwegian National Day, May 17, since 1814 (Norwegian Constitution Day 2013 [internet-based article]): gathering together, putting on national costumes, having a parade, flagging, singing a national song, focusing on children, eating something tasty and enjoying themselves. In other words, Tromsø Sami (as well as other Norwegian Sami) borrowed the framework of the celebration of their national day from the Norwegian National Day and filled it up with their own – Sami – content.

3.5 The Celebration of the Sami National Day by Tromsø Sami Nowadays

All my Sami informants note that the structure of the celebration of the Sami National Day has not changed a lot since the time the holiday started being celebrated: nowadays the Sami people and the friends of the Sami people gather together, sing the national anthem, listen to the children singing yoiks, eat, talk and enjoy themselves. What has changed a lot is the scale of the celebration: nowadays more and more people, both Sami and non-Sami, get interested in the Sami culture and join the event (Informants 6, 7, 8, 10, 14 and 20 [interviews]). “It is very different to go to the celebration because there are so many Sami that you do not know everybody. But it’s great. It [the celebration] is REALLY growing,” says Informant 6.

Two of my informants, who have been living in Tromsø for more than 20 years and are outsiders in Tromsø Sami community, consider that the celebration of the Sami National Day has grown significantly for the last approximately 5 years (Informants 17 and 18 [interviews]). Else-Grete Broderstad, the academic director of the Center for Sami Studies at the university, who has celebrated all the Sami National Days in Tromsø, sees the reason of the celebration is becoming so big and so popular in the joining of the municipality to the city into the preparations and the celebrations of Sami Days (Broderstad 2013 [interview]). Nowadays the celebration of the Sami National Day takes not only February 6 but the whole week around it. During the Sami week a lot of events take place: the celebration at the City Hall, exhibitions, public discussions, lectures, arrangements for children, a reindeer race on Sunday, and so on. Informant 14, a middle-aged Sami who was born in the city, considers that nowadays the celebration of the Sami National Day in Tromsø is so big that nobody can ignore it. “I think that it is the biggest arrangement of the year in Tromsø, and I am very proud

of it,” continues the informant. “That is nice actually with Sami Day that it obtains more and more attention. [Today] it is celebrated nationwide,” says Informant 8. The last quote shows us not only the increasing scale of the celebration of the Sami National Day but also the Tromsø Sami’s attitude towards it: they are glad and proud of it.

When conducting interviews I discovered that there is a group of people that are not Sami by origin but have very close connections to the Sami community, and they in a way have obtained a Sami identity. I call this group “the transition group”. I have met one representative of the group but I believe that their number is much bigger.

To my question - are you Sami or not Sami? – Informant 2, a middle-aged person who has been living in Tromsø for more than 20 years, answered: “That is a difficult question because when you come from the North of Norway, [and] if you look at your ancestors, you will find some Sami background. But in growing up I did not define myself as a Sami. But through my marriage I am now a part of a Sami family. So to say ‘yes’ or ‘no’ is really difficult. But if you are pushing it, I would probably say ‘no’.”

What is very interesting for the research of Sami identity is that, 20 years ago, being a Norwegian, the informant did not celebrate the Sami National Day. Nowadays, being married to a Sami, the informant takes an active part in the celebration of Sami Day. “We dress up in Sami costumes and we attend official celebrations at the university or the city center or both. ... We always have a very festive dinner at home, in the house, with family, where we cook the traditional Sami food,” says the informant (Informant 2 [interview]). Analysing this interview I pondered the question: why does this person, being a non-Sami, put an integral part of Sami identity on and go into a public place without feeling any discomfort? My informants from Tromsø Sami community do not see anything “abnormal” in it (Informant 10 [interview]) and explain the situation this way: “You wear that Sami costume that is traditional for the place you grew up. You use the gakti from where your parents are. The costume shows you belonging to the land and the family. [However] in some Sami areas it is quite usual that when you marry a Sami you can use the Sami traditional costume” (Informant 6 [interview]). Another Sami informant continues this thought: “It [wearing of the Sami costume by a non-Sami] is the way also connecting to the Sami identity of the family, for s/he to be a part of it, and also to show them that s/he wants to be a part of their culture. It could be a way of showing respect. Well, it’s quite natural for him/her to do that because it makes them more like the whole group. It makes their family a group. And it could be a way of showing solidarity” (Informant 10 [interview]). I agree with this opinion. Even the use of the pronoun “we” in the speech of the non-Sami informant who so actively takes part in the celebration of

the Sami National Day shows us that the person really identifies him/herself as being a part of Sami community. Concerning the children growing up in this family, I believe that in the future they will state with pride “I am a Sami”, because they are being brought up in the Sami traditions with respect to the Sami culture. Therefore, the numbers of the Sami population will increase, as well as the number of the participants in the celebration of Sami National Day.

Another thing that caught my attention analyzing the way Tromsø Sami celebrate their day and the way the transition group does it: only the transition informant makes Sami food at home and has a family dinner on the Sami National Day. Tromsø Sami, on the contrary, have a prepared dinner in some public place sharing it with their relatives, friends and/or colleagues (Informants 6, 7, 8, 10, 14 and 20 [interviews]). Nevertheless, there is a tendency among the Sami group to make some food at home on Sami Day. “If we were more like some early morning birds to get up earlier and to make a good breakfast, that would be nice. I have heard a lot about it because I spoke to some last year who DID that with her children. I thought: “Great!” shares his/her ideas Informant 10. This tendency shows us that the celebration of the Sami National Day has been obtaining its traditions.

Answering my question about the role of the celebration of Sami Day for Sami, all my Sami informants underline the importance of the Sami National Day in uniting the Sami nation and strengthening Sami identity:

“From my point of view, it’s a way to feel the collective spirit, to feel we are Sami in this place, in this world, in this society. It’s UNITING. It’s a day to feel the uniting spirit. It is nice to see that we are a group. The revitalization spirit... It is the day for the people, maybe, for the first time to put on traditional dresses, maybe, for grown-ups... It’s a day to feel proud, to feel being a Sami. Maybe, people were not grown up with this strong of Sami identity, and this day is a good way to join. And it’s a good day to feel being included”, says Informant 10.

The results of my research work contradict the results of Olsen’s research, according to which “Sami identity is in danger of being transmitted merely as a personal feeling, individual experiences and private symbols” (Olsen 2007: 93).

I would like to mention that nowadays there is a debate in the scientific and political world about what a “nation” is. In it there are two main groups of opinions. According to the first one, the concept “nation” is a synonym of the concept “nationalism”, which, according to Bård Berg, is “an ideology, and the aim of an ideology is to justify political power relations and social privileges” (Berg 2000: 3). What is more, “these days” – continues Berg – “it is usual to connect the expression “nationalism” with extremist right-wing movements” (Berg

2000: 3). The representatives of the other group of opinions understand the concept “nation” as “a more passive cultural solidarity that does not have to coincide with state borders or claims for political independence” (Berg 2000: 3). This interpretation of the concept “nation” is also called “cultural nation”. Therefore, in the light of my thesis I understand the discussed concept as presented in the last definition having nothing to do with politics.

One more thing I would like to touch on in this chapter is the future of the Sami National Day and the future of Sami identity. In the Sami tradition children are always the focus. They are the focus on Sami Day as well (Informants 6, 8, 10 and 20 [interviews]). However, as Informant 10 notes, “for them [today’s children] it [the celebration of the Sami National Day] will be different than for me, because I was grown up when it was started celebrating. But for the children nowadays it [the celebration] is natural: it has always been the celebration of the day. I think they will feel that that is THEIR day in a different way than for us even through it’s a nice day for us, grown-ups, as well”. Consequently, the next Sami generation will have a different attitude to the celebration of Sami Day which by that time will become an integral part of their life, culture and identity. They will have a different group identity as well. The identity will be much stronger.

Conclusion to the Chapter

In this chapter I have worked with the first level of my model and analyzed the acceptance of Tromsø Sami identity by the Sami themselves. I find that since the time the Sami National Day started being celebrated in the city, Tromsø Sami identity has become much more visible in the society. More and more Sami people have become proud of being Sami, stopped being afraid of revealing their indigenous identity openly, and joined Tromsø Sami community. The Sami who have never withheld their Sami identity and have been struggling for the promotion of Sami issues are glad to see that more and more Sami people are joining the community and are eager to obtain the Sami traditions. In both cases we deal with the definite strengthening of Tromsø Sami identity. The visibility and strength of the Sami identity prove that Tromsø Sami identity IS accepted on the first level of my research model, by the Sami themselves. This, in its turn, allows me to start investigate the researched issue on the second level of the model.

Chapter 4. The Acceptance of Tromsø Sami Identity by the Norwegian Authorities and the Development of Tromsø Sami Institutions

Introduction to the Chapter

In this chapter I focus on the second and the third levels of my model: the acceptance of Tromsø Sami identity by the Norwegian authorities and the development of Tromsø Sami institutions.

Within the first mentioned level I present and discuss the activity of such Norwegian organizations as the University of Tromsø and the University Museum of Tromsø (which was originally a separate organization with a history much longer than the history of the university) in terms of the promotion of Sami issues, describe the way Sami National Day was celebrated by these institutions at the beginning of the 1990s and the way it is celebrated today, and investigate the way Tromsø Sami identity is accepted on this level of the model.

The level of Tromsø Sami organizations can be represented by a number of Sami establishments located in the city, but in my work I concentrate my attention on the activity of the Center for Sami Studies and, especially, on its role in the celebration of the Sami National Day in Tromsø. My aim is to investigate the way Tromsø Sami identity is accepted on this level of my model.

The two levels are united in one chapter of the thesis as the organizations they reference refer to the University of Tromsø and nowadays are integral parts of this institution. Therefore the activity of the University of Tromsø concerning the celebration of the Sami National Day serves as a frame for this chapter.

To make my analysis more clear and understandable for the readers I structure the chapter in the following way: first I discuss the university's activity concerning the promotion of Sami issues in general; then I go into details investigating the role of the University Museum (the level of the acceptance of the Sami identity by the Norwegian authorities) and the Center for Sami Studies (the level of the development of Tromsø Sami institutions) in the promotion of Sami issues; at the end of the chapter I unite the two levels describing the way the Sami National Day was celebrated by the university in the past and the way it is celebrated nowadays. By means of this comparison I research the way Tromsø Sami identity has changed over the last 20 years, and the way it is accepted on discussed levels of my model.

4.1 The University of Tromsø and the Promotion of Sami Issues

As I have mentioned before, the University of Tromsø, established in 1968, is a key Norwegian organization the activity of which reflects the recognition of Tromsø Sami identity on the level of acceptance by the Norwegian authorities. What is significant for the analysis done in this chapter is that from the very beginning of its history the university has “a special responsibility towards the Sami people” - at that time towards “the Sami population” - especially within the fields of the Sami language and culture (Broderstad 2013 [interview]).

Up to the end of the 1980s the development of the Sami research was mainly linked to the four departments of the university: the Department of History, the Department of Language, Tromsø University Museum and the Department of Ethnic Relations and Sami Studies (that has become the Department of Social Anthropology) (Broderstad 2013 [interview]).

In 1990 a special center for Sami research and higher education – the Center for Sami Studies – was established at the university (I will touch on this department and discuss its activity regarding the promotion of Sami issues in detail in Section 2.3 of this chapter). Nowadays all the faculties of the university have Sami components in their study programs: the Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education; the Faculty of Biosciences, Fisheries and Economics; the Faculty of Health Sciences; the Faculty of Law; the Faculty of Fine Arts; and the Faculty of Science and Technology. Moreover, there are several research projects concerning different Sami issues running at the university today (Broderstad 2013 [interview]).

Furthermore, the campus of the university is a kind of live representation of the Sami language, and the traditional and modern Sami culture: all the signs and inscriptions on the territory of the university are written in both Norwegian and Sami;



Photo 7. Signs in Sami

the university has its own Sami cultural building, Ardna, which is a modern interpretation of the old Sami traditions; moreover, next to the Ardna there is a traditional Sami house presenting the way the Sami lived in the past; in the middle of the campus there is a composition with stones in the circle that reflects the Sami traditional believes; and other Sami things.



Photo 8. Ardna and the Sami Hut

The University of Tromsø has one of the biggest collections of the contemporary Sami arts in the world. Only on the territory of *Teorifagbygget* [the building for theoretical sciences] 26 artists and nearly 200 works are represented (Gjesvik, Grøneng and Ubisch 2008: 10 - 11). The university's aim was "to establish a broad scope of art, rather than cultivating a few types of expression or form. The public has the opportunity to dwell on the content of these artworks, to delve into their many levels of meaning, to gain an intellectual and emotional experience" (Ubisch 2008: 18).

Moreover, all the pieces of the contemporary Sami arts on the campus are open to all the visitors of the university: to "the university's own students and staff who live in the midst of the artwork on a daily basis", to "the art public in the City of Tromsø", and to "art lovers both in Norway and abroad"



Photo 9. B. Marakatt-Labba, Untitled, embroidery

(Kraft and Lønnum 2008: 8).

What is rather unusual for art exhibitions is that the artworks at the university are “mounted or hung in places that are not primarily created for displaying art. They are to be found in corridors, congregating areas, lounges and in the buildings’ various other common rooms” (Gjesvik, Grøneng and Ubisch 2008: 11).



Photo 10. M. Helander, *the Guide*, photography

As I have already mentioned, the collection is rich in content: “some of the content is abstract, some figurative, some tactile, political, humorous, etc.” (Ubisch 2008: 18). Furthermore, the collection is rich in styles and forms: “it consists of paintings, photography, drawings, graphic works, sculptures in wood, stone and rubber, embroidery with appliqués” (Ubisch 2008: 18).

In the collection there are works of such Sami artists as Marja Helander, Geir Tore Holm, Idar Ingebrigtsen, Arnold Johansen, Iver Jåks, Britta Marakatt-Labba, Kristin Tårnesvik, Arvid Sveen (who is not a Sami by origin but has been working within the field of Sami arts for all his life), and others.



Photo 11. I. Jåks, *Myth*, wooden sculpture

In this part of the chapter I have given a very brief and rather generalized overview of the university’s activity in the promotion of the Sami issues, but even through it is possible to

see a great scale of the university's attempts that have been done in different spheres of knowledge to bring the Sami issues closer to the society and everyday life of each of us.

In the next part of this chapter I continue analyzing the university's contribution into the promotion of the Sami issues on the example of Tromsø Museum.

4.2 The University Museum of Tromsø and the Promotion of Sami Issues

As I have mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, nowadays Tromsø Museum is an integral part of the University of Tromsø. Moreover, it is the area where the results of different research projects run by the university are visualized and opened to the general society. The history of the Museum is much longer than the history of the university: the Museum was established in 1872, and only in 1976 did it become a part of the university. In this light the Tromsø Museum can also be seen both as a separate research center and an integral part of the university.

What makes this story even more interesting for the analysis done in the thesis is that the Sami research started at the Museum in the middle of the 1960s (Bjørklund 2013 [interview]), when the organizations functioned as separate, independent, state research establishments. This fact once more proves the idea I expressed in Chapter 2 of the thesis: there are no strict, clear, historical border between the end of the state's policy of Norwegianization and the beginning of the state's policy of the rehabilitation of the Sami people. If we follow Minder's point of view, the second officially started after the Alta case, in 1981, but the establishment of different research projects within a number of state scientific organizations directed on the investigation of the Sami issues, the presentation of the uniqueness of the Sami culture and the creation of the atmosphere of positive discrimination shows us that the Norwegian authorities started changing their attitude towards the Sami population much earlier than at the end of 1970s – the beginning of the 1980s. What is more, this change of the state's point of view, in my opinion, was not a sudden decision, a forced measure taken to calm down the public's anger aroused during the Alta case, as Minder presents it in his works, but a process, and, as any other process, it was gradual and took time. Therefore, by the time the Norwegian authorities officially recognized the Sami as its indigenous people having right to self-determination, the development of their different, but unique, language, culture and way of living, they had become ready to accept the Sami people as they were.

The Sami research started at the Museum in the themed-1960s resulted in the opening of the exhibition “The Sami Culture” in 1973. This exhibition, “inspired from displays of contemporary ethnographic museums in USA and Europe, described the range of Sami cultural traditions (in terms of technology, forms of subsistence, housing, handicraft etc.) as well as the depth of Sami cultural history back to prehistory by means of material objects, extensive texts and dioramas of scenes from traditional reindeer pastoralism” (Eidheim, Bjørklund and Brantenberg 2012: 103). According to Professor Ivar Bjørklund, the exhibition was “big, modern, and very radical” for its time as, at the end the 1960s – beginning of the 1970s, “nobody knew anything about Sami culture, not at all. And there were hardly any museum exhibitions [about the Sami people]. There was a very small one in Oslo. So there was no Sami culture in any museum” (Bjørklund 2013 [interview]). The exhibition not only opened Sami culture for the society but also brought up a generation of future Sami leaders who took part in its creation (Bjørklund 2013 [interview]).

In 2000, Tromsø Museum opened another exhibition called “Sápmi – Becoming a Nation”. Ivar Bjørklund, one of its founders, comments on the event this way: “We thought: ’30 years have passed and the world today is not it was 30 years ago. What is special with the Sami situation today is not how they dress, or what they look like, or what they eat, and all these material things. The special dimension of the Sami life today is the ethno-political dimension. It’s a struggling for Sami identity. And that is the Sami culture is about these days’ ” (Bjørklund 2013 [interview]). The exhibition covers the time period from the end of World War II up to nowadays. It is divided into three parts: the period from the war to the 1960s; then the revival period from the 1970s to the 1990s; and, finally, the current situation: “the situation of today, where you find the Sami Parliament, and indigenous issues. And, actually, we are still there, I mean, nothing has basically changed,” continues Bjørklund (Bjørklund 2013 [interview]).

“In planning the presentation, we did not intend to produce a historically representative account of the Sami movement. It was meant to be a ‘comment’ or ‘argument’ from the museum - an institution with a long history in the Sami-Norwegian discourse – on the wider discursive field; not just to be experienced in the presentation in the museum, but also as a comment that visitors could take with them back into their respective social worlds” (Eidheim, Bjørklund and Brantenberg 2012: 97). Therefore, through the presentation of the Sami movement in Norway after World War II up to the present, the new Sami exhibition at the museum creates a dialog with its visitors, making them think about the issues and come to their own conclusions about them.

4.3 The Center for Sami Studies and the Promotion of Sami Issues

At the beginning of the 1990s when the Sami National Day was celebrated for the first time, it was the Center – in collaboration with the Sami Association of Tromsø – that arranged the celebrations of the Day not only on the university level but across the whole city (Broderstad 2013 [interview]). Moreover, most of the Center’s staff are Sami who know the Sami situation in Tromsø and who have been working on the promotion of Sami issues for many years. These facts allow us to consider the Center to function as some kind of Tromsø Sami institution - along with, for example, the Sami Association of the city - and to investigate its activity regarding the promotion of Sami issues – particularly, the celebration of the Sami National Day - on the next level of my model, Tromsø Sami institutions.

The Center for Sami Studies was established in 1990 as the result of a discussion that was going on at the university at the end of the 1980s. The question raised in the discussion was: what should the university do regarding the Sami and indigenous research and higher education? (Broderstad 2013 [interview]).

The main aim of the Center became “to promote Sami research and higher education, and that also includes indigenous-related research at the university” (Broderstad 2013 [interview]).

Nowadays The Center for Sami Studies “runs several of its own research projects, is responsible for the Master’s Programme in Indigenous Studies, contributes to the development of higher education in the field of the Sami culture, works out strategies and measures to meet the national responsibility for indigenous-related research, education and mediating activity, including the national responsibility for Sami-related research” (Strategi for Sesam 2010 – 2013, 2013 [internet based document]) (my own translation from Norwegian into English).

There are four main directions of the Center’s activity: *forskning*/research, *studier*/studies, *formidling*/mediating activity and *urfolksuniversitetet*/indigenous university (Senter for Samiske Studier 2013 [internet based document]) but in the thesis I touch only on the first two.

The research is represented by a number of projects, for example: *Skuvllas*, a research project regarding Sami content in education; *PITE*, a research project dealing with encounters, environment and migration in the Pite Sami district of Norwegian and Swedish sides; *Favllis*, Sami fisheries research network; *Hunters in Transition*, a research project aimed at investigating hearth row sites, reindeer economies and Sami society from 800–1300 AD;

Finnmarkslandskap, a research project dealing with the activity of the organization *Finnmarkseiendommen (FeFo)* – responsible for land and resource management in Finnmark, the traditional Sami area - and people's attitude towards it; and others (Skuvllas; PITE; Favllis; Hunters in Transition; Finnmarkslandskap 2013 [internet based documents]) (my own translation from Norwegian to English).

The main educational programme driven by the Center is Master's Programme in Indigenous Studies which is “based upon the accumulated research and knowledge at the University of Tromsø regarding the Sami and other indigenous peoples within the social sciences, humanities and law” (Indigenous Studies – Master 2013 [internet based document]). The curriculum of the Programme includes classes, methods, levels of knowledge and other educational issues that are similar to any other – “Southern” - higher educational programme. What is different is that although the programme focuses on the investigation of the indigenous peoples of the world, a clear emphasis is made on the Sami people. Moreover, the absolute majority of the articles the students are supposed to read within the programme are written by scholars from the University of Tromsø. I, as a MIS student, who experienced the programme myself, consider it to be an excellent idea for education, as this way of presenting things from the inside provides vital connections between the theory and real life.

Furthermore, the Center for Sami Studies runs a number of separate educational courses concerning different Sami issues (Sami Educational Courses 2013 [internet-based document]).

Moreover, the Center for Sami Studies collaborates with a number of foreign organizations representing indigenous peoples in different parts of the world, for example: Russia, the USA, Canada, China, and others. Every autumn, the center organizes the Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples which is “a meeting-place for researchers, development workers and Sami organizations engaged in cooperation with indigenous peoples in the South” (Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples 2013 [internet-based document]).

Moreover, the center regularly holds scientific seminars, workshops, guest lectures and other events regarding indigenous research and education. All these events are open to general society.

A lot of projects and other kinds of activity concerning different spheres of the Sami research and education fall under the umbrella of the Center for Sami Studies; on the one hand, reflecting the university's – and that means the state's – great interest in the promotion

of the Sami issues and the great interest of the Sami themselves in developing their society, on the other hand.

4.4 The Celebration of the Sami National Day at the University of Tromsø: How was it Twenty Years Ago?

One of the duties of the Center for Sami Studies at the university is to arrange and hold the annual celebration of the Sami National Day on February 6.

For the analysis done in this chapter it is significant to note that the first celebration of the Day, was mainly organized by the university, the Center for Sami Studies: “In 1993 the Sami Center took the initiative and arranged the celebration, because in 1993 it was the first time and there was nobody with experience on how to do this. So we were the first, and we cooperated with the Sami Association in the city” (Broderstad 2013 [interview]). Moreover, as I have already mentioned before, the whole Tromsø – not only the university - was invited to take part in the celebration.

The celebration of the Sami National Day organized by the center “was quite nice from the beginning” (Broderstad 2013 [interview]). The first celebrations took place at the University Museum and were visited by the mayor of the city. This was the time when the good traditions of the celebration of Sami Day were set: from the very beginning the children from the kindergardens and schools were present at the event; there was the speech for the Day, singing of the Sami national anthem, some food and drinks for entertaining the guests and “just people enjoying themselves” (Broderstad 2013 [interview]).

“It is important to emphasize that it [Sami Day] is a day when everyone is invited to celebrate, not only the Sami. And it was, actually, from the beginning: a lot of people celebrating it. And that, I think, is great in Tromsø that Sami invite others to join, and that has been the case from the beginning” (Broderstad 2013 [interview]).

As I have mentioned in Chapter 2, Section 2.3, nowadays the Sami National Day is an official day for flagging. But according to Broderstad, “that was not a case in 1993”: only “institutions like Tromsø Museum and University, of course, had the Sami flag” (Broderstad 2013 [interview]). But another informant who has been working at the university for many years stated very clearly in the interview that five years ago there was no flag at the University Museum (Informant 17). Actually, the situation presented in the last statement was possible: according to Informant 8, a Tromsø Sami of the older generation, during the first years of the celebration of the Sami National Day, there were no Sami flags officially

produced, and the people had to make them themselves. Therefore, even if the staff of the Center for Sami Studies made some flags on hand for the celebration, I do not think that they dared to raise any of these flags over the building of the museum. Then, some years later, the official celebration of the Sami National Day at the university was transmitted from the museum to the main campus of the university.

4.5 The Celebration of the Sami National Day at the University of Tromsø: How is it Today?

Nowadays the main celebration of the Sami National Day at the university takes place in Ardna, the Sami cultural building - situated on the university's campus near the administrative building – “because that is really the place for it” (Broderstad 2013 [interview]).

The celebration starts at 12 o'clock with the speech for the Day by the head of the Center for Sami Studies and the rector of the University of Tromsø. There are some guests at the event that can also greet the public and say some words about the Sami National Day. Another traditional moment is that everyone takes part in the singing of the Sami national anthem. Furthermore, the tradition of inviting children from the kindergartens and schools is preserved: they sing traditional Sami yoiks. One more element of the celebration that has become a tradition is combining both cultural and academic moments in the event. This year, for example, the center has had a book launching. “And that is something, I think, a good idea and something, I think, that we should try each year”, says the academic director of the center (Broderstad 2013 [interview]). (I should note here that there are some other professors at the university who do not agree with that.) The official part of the celebration ends with the traditional entertainment of the guests with some cakes and other sweet things, and drinks. Afterwards the guests can enjoy themselves by talking to their friends and other guests, congratulating each other on Sami Day and discussing Sami-related issues.

As you can see, most of the traditions of the celebration of the Sami National Day at the university have been kept for over 20 years since the first time the Sami National Day was celebrated in 1993. “At the university, I think, we have an OK way of doing this. I don't think we should have ambitions about making it bigger. It is OK as it is today, and for a couple of hours people can join. It is for everybody”, says Broderstad (Broderstad 2013 [interview]).

This year I visited the celebration of the Sami National Day at the university and I was surprised: there were lots of people, Ardna was full. Sami people, most of whom were dressed

in their traditional costumes or, at least, had some attributes of the Sami belongingness in their clothes; Norwegian people; and lot of international students related and not related to the indigenous studies were there. “And that is a good development. But I think that has been the case since the very beginning. To be inclusive is important [both] for the Sami and others that want to join us,” continues Broderstad (Broderstad 2013 [interview]).

Conclusion to the Chapter

In this chapter I have worked with the two middle levels of my model: *the level of the public acceptance of the Sami people*, represented by the two Norwegian state organizations: the University of Tromsø, and the University Museum of Tromsø; and *the level of Tromsø Sami institutions*, represented by the Center for Sami Studies which is an integral part of the university, but in the light of the thesis is investigated as a Tromsø Sami institution.

As the above analysis shows, both the Norwegian authorities and Sami organizations have been doing a lot in terms of the promotion of Sami issues. They are interested in the strengthening of the Sami language, culture, education, and rights.

The Sami National Day has been celebrated by these institutions from the time it was established, in 1993. Since that time the celebration has been uniting not only Sami people, but also anyone who is interested in Sami culture. What is more, the number of the participants of the celebration has been growing, and the celebration itself, though having the celebration of the Norwegian National Day as its model, has been working out its own traditions, becoming an integral part of the modern Sami culture. Consequently, the celebration of Sami Day by the organizations plays an important role in the strengthening of Sami identity.

All these facts testify to the acceptance of Sami identity on the second and the third levels of my research model. This – the active part of the Norwegian authorities in the strengthening of Tromsø Sami identity and the good development of Tromsø Sami institutions - allows us to continue the research on the next level that deals with the acceptance of Tromsø Sami identity by the local society.

Chapter 5. The Acceptance of Tromsø Sami Identity by the Local Society

Introduction to the Chapter

In this chapter I deal with the fourth and last level of my model and research the acceptance of Tromsø Sami identity by the society.

I start with a comparative analysis of Norwegians' participation in the celebration of the Sami National Day in the 1990s and nowadays. Moreover, I discuss the role of the municipality of Tromsø in the celebration of Sami Day and the Sami's attitude towards it.

Conducting the interviews I found out that there was some tension in the relations between Tromsø Sami community and the local society. In the chapter I present the issue, analyze different points of view concerning it, try to find reason behind it, and explore possible solutions to the problem.

At the end of the chapter I make a conclusion about the acceptance of Tromsø Sami identity by the society.

5.1 The Participation of the Norwegian Society in the Celebration of the Sami National Day

As I have already mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, the first celebrations of Sami Day were arranged by Tromsø Sami organizations, for example, the Sami kindergarten, the Center for Sami Studies, and the Sami Association of Tromsø. Although since the first celebration of the Sami National Day the whole city has been invited to attend the event (meaning the celebration that took place in the University Museum of Tromsø), in the 1990s the celebrations were mostly attended by the Sami people. The Norwegians and foreigners that came to the event were mainly students and scholars from the university who dealt with Sami issues (Informant 6 [interview]).

Nowadays, as I have also presented in the previous chapters, the outsiders' interest towards the celebration of the Sami National Day has been growing. According to Broderstad, the reason for this is the involvement of the municipality of Tromsø in the preparation and celebration of Sami Day which means more activities and more participants (Broderstad 2013 [interview]).

Nowadays on February 6th there is always an arranged celebration of the Sami National Day at the City Hall. The event is attended by so many people that the City Hall seems to be too small for it (Informant 10 [interview]). Concerning the interviewed Sami people and Informant 2, the representative of the transition group, some of them visit the celebration every year (after the celebration at the university), others have visited it several times (Informants 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, and 20 [interviews]). Concerning the Norwegians I interviewed, they do not attend the celebration at the City Hall every year, but each of them have visited it at least once (Informant 4, 5, 9, 17, 18 and 19 [interviews]).

At the ceremony in the City Hall the mayor – who is not Sami - holds a speech congratulating Sami on their day, and the guests are invited to try Sami food. These facts (further discussed in Section 5.3) in my mind, show a positive attitude of the Norwegian authorities towards the Sami community.

As I have mentioned in Chapter 3, Section 3.5, nowadays with the participation of the municipality of Tromsø the celebration of Sami Day is not actually only on February 6th, but takes place during the whole week. A number of non-Sami kindergartens and schools have joined the celebration, although, as Informant 11, a foreigner from an European country who has been living in Tromsø for about 15 years and would like his/her children to learn more about the Sami culture, says, “it could be done more” by these organizations.

One of the brightest events of the Sami week is the reindeer race which started being held in Tromsø in 2005 (Smigiel 2013 [newspaper article]) and takes place in the main street of the city on Sunday. It attracts many people; as Informant 16, a foreigner from a non-European country who has been living in Tromsø for less than 2 years and saw the race for the first time in his/her life, notes, there are lots of international students and tourists visiting the events. In my research all the foreigners who have been living in Tromsø for less than 2 years or so, appeared to be deeply impressed by the race. They express lots of emotions describing the event and saying that it is “interesting, nice, exciting” (Informants 1, 3, 12, 15 and 16 [interviews]). Informant 12 considers the race to be “strange” meaning that “the national sport of Italy is football, the national sport of Canada is hockey, but here – reindeer racing!..”

The Norwegians I interviewed appeared to be indifferent to the race, expressing no emotions and actually having nothing to say concerning this topic. Informant 5, a Norwegian who has been living in Tromsø for about 10 years, considers the reindeer race to be “boring”.

Tromsø Sami also do not express any emotions discussing the race, although in general they have positive attitude to it. Informant 6, a middle-aged Sami who was born in Tromsø, comments on the event this way:

”I have been there some times, but not every year. Maybe, my attitude is a little bit double because very often this reindeer race and the people participating in it are mainly from Finnmark, from Kautokeino or Karasjok. Yes, it’s nice but I think it should be more natural to emphasize the local Sami identity, from this area. But also, maybe, more kind of Sami identity like it is today. So then more people can identify [themselves] with it. So it is kind of double because this is not a very central part of my identity, even if my forefathers were reindeer herders, I mean, that was a long time ago”.

Actually, conducting the interviews with the Tromsø Sami, I obtained a feeling that the reindeer race has a little to do with Tromsø Sami identity as reindeer herding is not so actual for the community as it was many years before.

Therefore, the reindeer race is a lot like a visit card of Tromsø. It is more like an amusement, attraction for tourists and foreigners who, as the results of my research show, associate Sami with reindeer herding. “Reindeer herding is the first that comes to your mind when you hear the name ‘Sami’,“ says Informant 11, a foreigner from an European country. As I have already mentioned, the reindeer race in Tromsø appeared to have little to do with Tromsø Sami identity.

5.2 The Problems Tromsø Sami Face in the Norwegian Society

In my research I was not supposed to raise the issue of discrimination. I did not even ask about it. However, two of my informants started talking about it during the interviews. Informant 16, a non-European foreigner who has been living in Tromsø for less than 2 years, says that s/he several times has watched scenes where Norwegians expressed their “bad attitude” towards Sami people. One of the stories is about a Sami girl who came to study at the University of Tromsø and has an accent that indicates her belonging to a Sami community. Norwegian young people when they hear her talking start imitate her way of speaking and laugh at her. Therefore, the Sami student tries not to appear in the public places where she can meet such unpleasant Norwegians (Informant 16 [interview]).

Informant 16 several times has experienced the negative attitude of young Norwegians towards the Sami issues on him/herself: “When [the Norwegian] people learn that I am studying indigenous issues focusing on the Sami people, they react very negatively”. I am also a foreign student at the university researching Sami issues and answering the same question quite often (“what do you study?”) but I have never experienced any kind of negative reaction by Norwegians on the topic of my research work.

Nevertheless, another foreigner who has been living in Tromsø for about 20 years, shares other stories about Sami discrimination in Tromsø. “When people see the [Sami] hat on a bus, they start laughing. Or when people see them [the Sami] in [the Sami] dress there will be some negative comments as well”, says informant 13. Being a Russian, I can understand why Russian students – the number of which in the city is big as the University of Tromsø collaborates with a number of universities located in traditional Russian areas: Murmansk, Petrozavodsk, Arkhangelsk, St. Petersburg, Moscow, and others – start laughing when they see a Sami hat. In the Russian culture there is a personage called Petrushka, it is a person or a “doll” that participates in a performance and is supposed to make the audience laugh. What is important for the research done in this chapter is that Petrushka, or the Russian clown, has a hat that resembles the Sami hat. In this case the Russians’ laugh has nothing to do with Sami discrimination as they see the hat that people associate with Petrushka. Furthermore, in the Russian culture the image of Petrushka has a positive connotation.



Photo 12. Petrushka's Costume



Photo 13. Traditional Sami Costumes

According to the informant's point of view, as soon as a foreigner from a non-European country comes to Tromsø, he or she obtains "a negative focus" concerning the Sami people because the way they are presented is "like a group creating a lot of troubles" (Informant 13 [interview]). These troubles, continues the informant, are mostly connected with reindeer herding (Norwegians want Sami to reduce the number of their animals, and the Sami refuse as they do not want to lose the job the whole family takes part in) and environmental issues (such as, for example, natural resource extraction on the traditional Sami areas). Therefore, the word 'Sami' is associated with "problems, problems, problems," says Informant 13. "When we [foreign students] come here [Tromsø] with too little knowledge about Sami, we are dominated by this negative focus from people, media, not understanding what this all is about," concludes Informant 13.

Among four other non-European foreigners whom I interviewed, only one did not know anything about the Sami people before coming to Norway. However, it is Informant 16 who has faced several cases of discrimination against Sami.

The other three non-European foreigners learned about the existence of the Sami people living in their own countries. Informant 1 learned about the Norwegian Sami by reading a newspaper article about the Sami movement for their indigenous rights. Informant 3 learned about Sami by watching a TV programme about reindeer herding. Informant 15 learned about the Sami people of Norway from his/her friend who was a former MIS student. Therefore, before coming to Tromsø these foreigners had some – not negative - picture of the Sami people. I should note that all these informants are indigenous-related, meaning, they are indigenous by origin or had been working with indigenous issues before coming to Tromsø. Consequently, at the time of coming to the city, they were aware about the tension that often exists in the relations between indigenous peoples and the majority of population.

Although the material Informants 1 and 3 learned about the Sami people via mass media had nothing to do with "the negative focus" (I think it can easily be explained by that fact that no country wants "to wash its dirty linen in public" and to spoil its international image) Informants 9 and 17, Norwegians who have been living in Tromsø for many years watching the development of Sami–society relations, note that "every time Sami appear in [the Norwegian] mass media, the case is connected to a scandal" (Informant 17 [interview]). The topics of the "scandals", the informants mention, are the same as named by Informant 13: reindeer herding and environmental issues (Informants 9 and 17 [interviews]).

This negative tension in Tromsø society between the Norwegians and the Sami was silenced until the elections of 2011 when one of the parties decided to support the idea of including Tromsø into the Sami Administrative Language Area.

5.3 The Sami Administrative Language Area Conflict

According to Informant 9, “what happened in Tromsø [in 2011] was that the left side, the socialist party and the social democrats, said: ‘Let us make Tromsø a part of the Sami Administrative Area because then we will get money to make Sami signs, and to improve the education’. Then the right wing took the opportunity of battling against this suggestion as a central part of their election campaign. This opened a flow of aggression towards the Sami”.

According to Informant 7, a young Tromsø Sami activist, the Norwegian people of Tromsø believed that being included into the Sami Administrative Language Area meant the Sami of Tromsø would obtain more privileges. “Yes, the Sami have the Norwegian Parliament and the Sami Parliament. So in a very stupid way you [a non-Sami] can say: ‘Oh, you have two Parliaments! I just have one!’ In a very stupid way they [Norwegians] think that that is a privilege. One more argument that appears all the time is that the Sami pastoralists get so much from the government, and I [a Norwegian] do not get anything. And this is a misunderstanding of this Finnmark Act also. Many Norwegians think that all the Sami have the right to kick us [Norwegians] out now because of the Finnmark Act. But that is not the situation at all,” says Informant 7. However, some Norwegians became so angry about the discussed issue that they stated that the Sami should leave Tromsø and go back to the mountains (Informant 7 [interview]).

Concerning the privileges, “this is never a case in Norway,” says informant 9. Informant 17 has the same opinion. As my readers will remember, both informants are Norwegians that have been living in Tromsø for many years watching the development of the relations between the Sami and the society. “Even in Kautokeino, where 95% of the population are Sami speaking, the Norwegians have all the services in Norwegian. They have all schemes in Norwegian, while the Sami have half of the schemes in Sami. So they even don’t have as many privileges as Norwegians. So that was not a question,” explains Informant 9. However, stating that both Norwegians and Sami have equal rights in the society, Informant 17 contradicts him/herself saying that if you are a female and a Sami, you will have a brilliant career in Norway. In this case being a Sami works as a privilege.

Coming back to the conflict, I should note that Informant 9 does not like the idea of including Tromsø into the Sami Administrative Language Area: “I think it would be counterproductive; it wouldn’t do much good to have all the municipality papers in Sami, but it would be very bad because those who are sympathetic to the Sami will see the curriculum for the Norwegian children written in Sami [and say]: ‘Au! I didn’t want to have Sami issues that close!’ So we don’t know how it will turn around,” clarifies Informant 9.

Informant 17, on the contrary, did not mind including Tromsø into the Sami Administrative Language Area, as according to him/her, documents and signs in Sami will exist along with documents and signs in Norwegian. This means that Sami will get services in Sami, while Norwegians will have them in Norwegian. If this is the right understanding of the issue, then I am also in favor of it. However, taking into consideration the essence of the Sami Language Act discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3, including Tromsø into the Sami Administrative Language Area will result not only in the appearance of the documents and signs in Sami, but also in the loss of jobs by Norwegians that can’t speak and write Sami and, consequently, can’t provide services for the Sami population in Sami.

Concerning Tromsø Sami themselves, they would like Tromsø to be included into the Sami Administrative Language Area as they think that it would strengthen the Sami language situation: “We would have Sami signs - which we already have at the university and hospital - but still it would be much more visible,” (Informant 6 [interview]).

What is very interesting is that two years before this Sami Administrative Language Area conflict, the social democrats - without any protests from the side of Norwegians - used the Sami language on the logo of the Olympic Games. “At that time Norway competed against Russia for the Olympic Games 2014 and also for the next Olympic Games. In both of those campaigns, the Sami name of Tromsø, Romsa, was a visible part,” remembers Informant 9. “The point is that at that time not a single person in Tromsø was against having the Sami name for Tromsø on that very visible logo. Everyone understood that to gain a chance to get these Olympics we need to have this sort of ethnic twist like they did in Vancouver. They [Norwegians and authorities] understood it and played the Sami card in this internal discussion,” continues Informant 9. This last quote shows us that the Norwegians’ attitude to the Sami people has a double character: when the Norwegian society needs the Sami’s help to gain something good, it recognizes the indigenous people as an equal part; otherwise, the Sami people are those who create problems for the Norwegian society.

The cases when the majority population needs help of the minority are rare; therefore, the negative attitude towards the Sami people prevails in the society. This, in its turn, explains

the situation when a Norwegian “having some Sami drops in his/her blood” is completely ignorant to the Sami community, does not know anything about it and does not want to know anything about it (Informant 19 [interview]). This means that the informant does not want to be associated with the Sami so as not to be discriminated against by other Norwegians.

In my mind, this negative attitude of the Norwegian people to the Sami people is a “heritage” of the process of Norwegianization described in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1. Just 30 years have passed since the Alta case when the Sami were officially recognized as an Indigenous people of Norway, while the assimilation policy in Norway was enforced for about 130 years (the 1850s to the 1980s) (Minde 2003b: 121). The Norwegians still have a habit of seeing the Sami as “aliens”, and even those who have Sami roots feel ashamed of them.

5.4 Some Positive Moments in the Relations between Tromsø Sami and the Local Society

According to Informants 9 and 17, the Sami National Day is, perhaps, the only day in the year when Sami appear in mass media in the connection to some positive events.

In spite of the Tromsø Administrative Language Area conflict where the authorities of the municipality took the side of those who were against including Tromsø in the area, on the Sami National Day the mayor – who, as I have mentioned before, is not a Sami - addresses Tromsø Sami community in the Sami language (written for him) wearing the traditional Sami costume. I consider the mayor’s language and costume used for greeting the Sami people to be a sharp detail in the negotiations between the society and the Sami community. I believe that with the help of this detail, the mayor, as a representative of the Norwegian authorities, wants to show his respect to the Tromsø Sami community, his positive attitude towards them and the will to collaborate. Informant 17 considers the detail to be not only sharp but also strong: by using it “you bind yourself to the case”. “It is a dangerous symbol [as well],” continues Informant 17, “because it is something which will be remembered: ‘You, guy, put on a Sami costume and said nice things!’ I mean it is strong, very strong. It is dangerous if you don’t follow it, and do something afterwards. You have to remember”.

Informant 6, a middle-aged Tromsø Sami activist, on the contrary, criticizes the mayor’s action: “There is something very double about being in that building [the City Hall] because yes, in a way it shows respect, but why does then he say ‘no’ to Tromsø being a part of the Sami Administrative Language Area? He is only saying that his attitude [towards Sami]

is very positive. Yes, it's good. I am glad about it but what I would like to hear is: 'Ok, what is Tromsø municipality REALLY doing and going to do politically about Sami issues?'. Actually, the informant is right: nice words will not be able to improve the Tromsø Sami situation.

Concerning the mayor's speech and the arrangement of the celebration of the Sami National Day at the City Hall, Informant 6 says: "I think it takes too much of a place, because it's in a way our day. I do not mean that we should exclude other people from attending, but it should be the Sami people and the Sami guests. He [the mayor] puts himself in the center and says: 'Ok, these are the frames and you can do the celebration there'. And, maybe, for me it's very important that we kind of define the framework ourselves". I do not agree with this point of view as only with the involvement of the municipality in the arrangement and celebration of Sami Day the holiday became popular and attracted numerous participants, including the Sami people who decided to join Tromsø Sami community. In my mind, the involvement of the municipality in the celebration of the Sami National Day has a good effect on Tromsø Sami identity.

Conclusion to the Chapter

In this chapter I have dealt with the fourth and last level of my model and researched the acceptance of Tromsø Sami identity by the local Norwegian society. I found out that during the celebration of the Sami National Day, which nowadays takes the whole week, a lot of positive things are done by the municipality of Tromsø in terms of the support and promotion of Sami culture. Moreover, the events are visited by Norwegians, the number of which is slowly growing.

However, as another set of the results of my research shows, in everyday life most Norwegians are ignorant to the Sami and Sami issues, while others express their negative attitude towards the indigenous people. The reason for this, in my mind, is the remnants of the policy of Norwegianization that is still kept in the minds of some Norwegians. I should mention that the results of my research work can't reflect the whole Norwegian society; they can only show some patterns of its development. For example, the words of Ravdna Buljo Gaup, a representative of NRK Sami Radio and Television, show us the existence of a different pattern in the Norwegian society: nowadays the highest ratings are obtained by

programs about Sami culture in Norwegian. What is significant for my research is that the main listeners of these programs are Norwegians (Gaup 2013 [lecture]). This means that there ARE Norwegians that are interested in learning more about the Sami people and their culture.

Having researched the situation concerning the relations between Tromsø Sami community and Norwegians living in the city, I have come to the conclusion that the symbols of Tromsø Sami identity are not totally accepted by the local Norwegian society, in other words, Tromsø Sami identity has reached the last level of its development (according to my research model), but it has not covered it yet. An indicator of this is the big Sami Administrative Language Area conflict that happened in Tromsø in 2011 and revealed the inner tensions between the local Norwegians and Sami. This event that is still being debated in society shows that there is still some tension between the groups. I believe that it will take long time for the local Norwegian society to recognize the Sami as equal.

Chapter 6. Concluding Remarks

Generalizing the findings done on all the levels of my research model, I can conclude that Tromsø Sami identity is accepted on the first, second and third levels of the model. At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s Tromsø Sami started taking a very active part in the process of revitalization of their language and culture, and fighting for their indigenous rights (in the thesis I have touched, for example, on the rights to education and the right to language). They strengthened their collective identity so much that they (and those Sami who joined the movement later) stopped being shamed, or even afraid, of revealing their identity in the Norwegian society. An evidence of this is the establishment of the Sami National Day in 1993 and the Sami's celebration of it in public. Of great importance here was the active participation of the Norwegian authorities in the support and promotion of Sami issues, and the establishment of Tromsø Sami institutions that are well-developed nowadays.

Concerning the celebration of Sami Day in Tromsø, it has been growing in several directions. First of all, the number of Tromsø Sami taking part in the celebration has increased significantly from its beginning when "at the celebration a Sami knows everyone" to now, when "there are lots of Sami that the Sami does not know". This means that more and more Tromsø Sami are eager to join the Sami community and reveal their indigenous identity openly in society. Secondly, more and more Norwegian organizations show solidarity towards the Sami people and organize celebrations of the Sami National Day within their walls (primary Norwegian kindergartens, schools and other educational establishments). Another important thing I should mention is that the celebration of Sami Day - though having the celebration of the Norwegian National Day, May 17, as a model - has been filled up with its own content and symbols: Tromsø Sami and non-Sami who are interested in Sami culture gather together in some public place, congratulate each other on the Sami National Day, sing the Sami National anthem, listen to Sami children singing yoiks, eat Sami food and enjoy themselves. Other symbols of the Sami identity revealed on the day are, for example, the Sami National costume and the Sami National flag.

The changes in the way Sami Day has being celebrated in the city show us, in their turn, the way Tromsø Sami identity has changed over the last 20 years. No doubt, it has become much stronger, and what is more, it continues to become stronger. All the mentioned things prove that Tromsø Sami identity – visualized by means of Sami symbols - is accepted by Tromsø Sami themselves, by the Norwegian authorities, and Tromsø Sami institutions.

According to the results of my research work, the symbols of Tromsø Sami identity have not yet been totally accepted by the local Norwegian society. This means the development of Tromsø Sami identity has reached the fourth and last level of my research model but needs time to settle in it. In my mind, the impediment to the local Norwegian society in accepting Tromsø Sami identity is the long process of Norwegianization that still has its consequences in society. Paraphrasing Beate Hårstad Jensen (Minde 2003a: 121), I can presuppose that if it has taken 100 years to Norwegianise Sami, then it will perhaps take another 100 years to make Norwegians accept them as equal. The participation of the Norwegian authorities and Sami institutions are of great importance in terms of the promotion of information about the Sami people and their culture into the greater society.

Another concluding remark regards the interconnection between the celebration of the Sami National Day and the revitalization of Sami identity. Diachronically, it was Sami identity that appeared first (by this I mean the revitalization of the Sami identity in the years following the end of World War II) and pushed the establishment of Sami Day in 1993. Synchronically, it is the celebration of the Sami National Day that pushes the revitalization of the Sami identity.

Concerning the model used to frame my research work, I can say that it has been of great help not only in terms of structuring my thesis, but also in terms of conducting the analysis. It helped me to divide the material into parts and to research the way Tromsø Sami identity reveals itself within Tromsø Sami community and Tromsø Sami institutions, and in the negotiations with the Norwegian authorities and the Norwegian society. This allowed me to analyze the development of Tromsø Sami identity from different angles. Moreover, having a chronological character, the model helped me in researching the way the identity has changed for the last 20 years and the level of its development today. I should note that the expression “the identity has changed” is not accurate, as identity is a notion that is always in the process of changing (Eriksen and Neuman 2011: 7; Lehtola 2004: 86).

As I have mentioned in the introductory chapter, to analyze the gathered material more precisely I divided my informants into three groups: insiders, or Tromsø Sami, a transition group, and outsiders, Norwegians and foreigners. My interest was to research what Sami think about the celebration of the Sami National Day and about other Sami issues, exploring what Norwegians and Foreigners think about the celebration of Sami Day and other Sami issues.

The transition group appeared to be a discovery for me as a researcher: this person - who is not Sami - does much more in terms of the celebration of the Sami National Day than Sami themselves. What is more, the person is one who actually creates Sami Day traditions.

(For example, that fact that the transition informant has a tradition of making a special holiday dinner at home, while Sami are just joining the pattern.)

Further division of Tromsø Sami into younger, middle, and older generations helped me in researching the way Sami revitalization happened in Tromsø, in reconstructing the way the Sami National Day was celebrated in the past and the way it is celebrated nowadays, and, consequently, in analyzing the way Tromsø Sami identity has changed over the last 20 years.

The division of Norwegians and foreigners into indigenous related/not related, and according to the time they had spent in Tromsø by the time of my fieldwork, along with the further division of the foreigners into European/non-European, helped me in analyzing the gathered data and understanding the informants' points of view. For example, Informants 9 and 17, both Norwegians who have been living in Tromsø for more than 10 years, are related to indigenous studies and have been observing the development of Tromsø Sami community for many years, and have played the role of experts in my research project, helping me in understanding the Tromsø Sami situation. The foreigners, who by the time of my fieldwork had lived in the city for less than two years, have given me the possibility to reconstruct the way the celebration of Sami Day is seen by newcomers. I want to note that the more indigenous-related a person was, the more details concerning the celebration s/he observed. Some of my European informants - through not indigenous-related – appeared to be interested in learning more about Sami culture as they live next to the indigenous people. Therefore, they also have a habit of observing the Sami situation in society.

I would also like to remind my readers that my research work has a limited character as I have interviewed just a few people related to Tromsø Sami community. Therefore, the results of the research can't reflect the whole society, but they show some patterns.

In the thesis I have used quite a lot of quotes, especially in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, where I deal with the material I obtained via interviews. I have done this on purpose to allow my readers to judge the analyzed issues by themselves, agree or disagree with my conclusions, and work out their own point of view about the Sami National Day as a prism to Tromsø Sami identity.

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Figures and Photos:

Cover photo. *Tromsø Reindeer Race 2013* (2013, February 1) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.msm.no/samisk-uke-i-tromsoe.41450.no.html>.

Figure 1. *The Hierarchy of the Used Methods*. The scheme was drawn by the author of the thesis.

Figure 2. *Informant Groups 1*. The scheme was drawn by the author of the thesis.

Figure 3. *Informant Groups 2*. The scheme was drawn by the author of the thesis.

Figure 4. *A Map of Sapmi* (2012, December 7) [on-line]. – URL: <http://thedailygeographer.tumblr.com/>.

Figure 5. *A Map of Sami Dialects* (2012, December 8) [on-line]. – URL: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/25/Sami_languages.png.

Figure 6. *The Sami Flag* (2012, December 8) [on-line]. – URL: http://nn.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fil:Sami_flag.svg.

Photo 7. *Signs in Sami* (2013, May 16). The photo was taken by the author of the thesis.

Photo 8. *Ardna and the Sami Hut* (2013, May 16). The photo was taken by the author of the thesis.

Photo 9. *B. Marakatt-Labba, Untitled, embroidery* (2013, May 16). The photo was taken by the author of the thesis.

Photo 10. *M. Helander, the Guide, photography* (2013, May 16). The photo was taken by the author of the thesis.

Photo 11. *I. Jåks, Myth, wooden sculpture* (2013, May 16). The photo was taken by the author of the thesis.

Photo 12. *Petrushka's Costume* (2013, April 26) [on-line]. – URL: [http://www.google.no/imgres?imgurl=http://www.ikolyaski.ru/userfiles/images/kostyum_petrushki_detskiy_petrushka_karnavaliya\(1\).jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.ikolyaski.ru/index.php?mtype%3Dshop1%26mid%3D493&h=560&w=280&sz=79&tbnid=SZkFtV53d65k9M:&tbnh=92&tbnw=46&zoom=1&usq=_185zXXLCtoiE-5dcNkgdXxby41I=&docid=62IFA59K8wODKM&sa=X&ei=IOw7Up3EFOjY4QTvvIHQBQ&ved=0CFIQ9QEwDA&dur=515](http://www.google.no/imgres?imgurl=http://www.ikolyaski.ru/userfiles/images/kostyum_petrushki_detskiy_petrushka_karnavaliya(1).jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.ikolyaski.ru/index.php?mtype%3Dshop1%26mid%3D493&h=560&w=280&sz=79&tbnid=SZkFtV53d65k9M:&tbnh=92&tbnw=46&zoom=1&usq=_185zXXLCtoiE-5dcNkgdXxby41I=&docid=62IFA59K8wODKM&sa=X&ei=IOw7Up3EFOjY4QTvvIHQBQ&ved=0CFIQ9QEwDA&dur=515).

Photo 13. *Norwegian Sami Costumes* (2013, April 26) [on-line]. – URL: http://www.google.no/imgres?imgurl=http://www.norvegia.ru/FileCache/PageFiles/371249/samefolketsdag.JPG/width_650.height_300.mode_FillAreaWithCrop.pos_Default.color_White.JPG&imgrefurl=http://www.norvegia.ru/ARKIV/News-and-Events/Politics/News/-----/&h=300&w=650&sz=37&tbnid=rgrM4U6oIusPqM:&tbnh=49&tbnw=106&zoom=1&usq=_IFQXx4Y1keOg5cP1VTpPvlQO8_Q=&docid=D9OSnEXEUH4gdM&sa=X&ei=FO87UvKBO42Q4ASWw4HICw&ved=0CFkQ9QEwDg&dur=63.

Appendix

List of Informants

Informant Number	Tromsø Sami + age group	Norwegians	Foreigners: European/Non-European	Indigenous-Related	Time Spent in Tromsø: less/ more than 2 years
1			Non-European	+	less
2		Norwegian		+	more
3			Non-European	+	less
4		Norwegian		-	more
5		Norwegian		+	more
6	middle				
7	younger				
8	older				
9		Norwegian		+	more
10	middle				
11			European	-	more
12			European	-	less
13			Non-European	+	more
14	middle				
15			Non-European	+	more
16			Non-European	+	less
17		Norwegian		+	more
18		Norwegian		-	more
19		Norwegian		-	less
20	older				