

Sámi Youth: Identity Complexity of an Indigenous Scandinavian People

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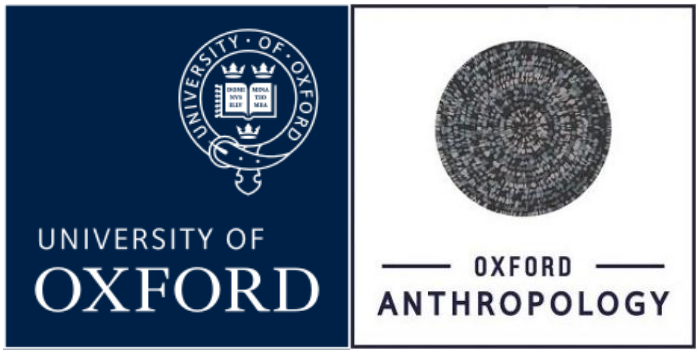
Michaelmas 2022
Kellogg College, Oxford



Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology, Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Oxford

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ABSTRACT

The Sámi people of Scandinavia are a group of indigenous people who for the most part reside within an area known as Sápmi where they engage with their traditional, social and cultural realities while also being full participants in the modern day Nordic existence. When it comes to the Sámi youth, they are faced with a perplexing, extraordinary and distinctive negotiation of figuring out who they are within the overall coexistence of their traditional and modern selves. This thesis seeks to understand, describe, analyse and conceptualise the complex identities of young Sámi indigenous people through a long-term, cooperative, cross-section exploration into the contextual reality of a group of young Sámi existing within a certain time and space in the heart of Sápmi. In this study more than two years worth of ethnographic data collected in the field with young Sámi participants is processed in order to conceptualise the findings into a comprehensive understanding of the Sámi youth complex, multifaceted and dynamic identities. This gave rise to the novel idea and theory of the identity prism and its functionalities as a way forward for discussing and comprehending human identity. The identity prism as a superordinate unit of understanding the self offers an in-depth exposition of the anthropological meaning of the individual identity as created by both the private thought of the self and the social meaning of the shared environments in a dynamic system of interactions, exchanges, reflections, refractions and self-continuity. As part of the overall power hierarchy, the prismatic understanding of identity in terms of the self and the other proposes a way of perception of the modern, multicultural, globalised reality by considering the complex, multifaceted and dynamic nature of human identity.

Key words: identity, Sámi, youth, indigeneity, identity prism;

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to begin my acknowledgements with a big thank you to my supervisor, Dr. Robert Parkin. You have always been so calm, collected and ready to give great advice and I have appreciated this highly for many years. We did it! It took some time, but this huge endeavour has finally come to an end and now you can enjoy your retirement. Thank you!

This whole process would not have been possible if it was not for the continuous, tireless and persistent support provided by my parents. Thank you for pushing me to do better and be better in every aspect of my life.

To Matt, another huge thank you for being very understanding and supportive for so many years. I really cannot picture life without you always having my back.

A big thank you to all the Sámi communities in Scandinavia that allowed me to experience their reality. It was not easy in the beginning but the more we got to know each other the more you opened up to me. I have so many names that I will keep dear to my heart for the rest of my life. Thank you for your participation in this research.

To all my professional connections within the UK, Scandinavia and the rest of the world, thank you for your guidance. To everyone else who has provided encouragement and support while I was undertaking this research: friends, relatives and acquaintances - Thank you all!

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. RATIONALE

“I yoik to express what it means to me to be indigenous.” Female South Sámi yoiker and music performer, aged 19.

An empowered, confident and sophisticated young Sámi woman, with a great voice and presence, stood in front of me. She performed with a great deal of passion, involving the audience with her strong yet humble presence and conveyed her indigenous message through yoiking, a traditional Sámi form of singing. The message she conveyed was about the power of being indigenous, about unity and the expression of identity. She elaborated that some indigenous people challenge policies, laws and lead court battles in order to stand up for who they are, while others choose to become involved by expressing their cultural, artistic and musical selves. Different methods, but the same message and equally important results. In my mind she is the perfect modern depiction of someone I had read about - a great Sámi representative, political activist, pioneer and equality advocate from the beginning of the 20TH century, Elsa Laula. Both use their strong convictions and adequately deliver them to a wider audience of their peers, with the only difference being that each chose to express herself through her preferred method, one using political activism and the other cultural advocacy, but both in support of indigenous self-determination and identity establishment.

This is Sápmi, the land of the Sámi, who are officially recognised as the only indigenous people in the European Union (Lehtola, 2004). This young woman is one of around 100,000 Sámi who are estimated to reside primarily in Sápmi, a strip of land in northern Fennoscandia subject to great meteorological extremes, spread across four modern-day countries, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia (Samer, 2020). In Sápmi, the Sámi live with the majority populations of these countries and make up a small percentage of the total population of the region. There is freedom of movement as within the EU/EEA and under the regulations of the Nordic countries, and with the exception of the Sápmi in Russia, the Sámi and everyone else who lives in and around Sápmi has no problem travelling, moving to or residing in and out of this area (Samer, 2020a). Sápmi is a cultural region, which has nine separate Sámi languages, divided regionally from the south to the north, with the most popular being North Sámi together with the rise of South Sámi in recent decades (Samer,

2020b). Traces of life in this very northern region can be tracked as far back as 9000 B.C., which coincides with the retreat of the ice in this area at the end of the Ice Age (Kent, 2014; Samer, 2020c). Historians and archaeologists argue that convincing signs of ancient Sámi culture can be detected in artefacts from 3000 B.C. (Kent, 2014; Ojala, 2009), which suggest the continuous presence of Sámi culture throughout the centuries, all the way to modern history (Ojala, 2009). The Sámi still reside within the region, but present-day Sámi identity has been influenced mostly by events in the last 400 years, and more specifically the last 150 years (Kent, 2014).

Academic research on the Sámi has been on the rise in the past couple of decades, with much of it focusing on history, archeology and indigenous rights and coming from within Norway, Sweden and Finland, where, thanks to governmental funding, there is more encouragement for such research. However, there still seems to have been a lack of modern anthropological studies in this or the last decade, especially research on young Sámi between the ages of 18 and 28. In a broader anthropological context, the study of adolescence, perceived as a restrictive and transitional phase with a lack of agency that just leads to adulthood, has transformed into the study of youth, which has shown that young people have agency and an identity of their own, influenced by globalisation and modernity (Bucholtz, 2002). The emergence of youth identities in multicultural settings is of particular interest in the current primarily interdisciplinary study of youth (Jeffrey and Dyson, 2008; Lloyd, 2005). The present thesis therefore aims to fill the gap in Sámi youth research and to document and analyse the agency of Sámi youth in the way this shapes identities, drawing on elements at the indigenous, local, national and international levels. Having previously worked with the Sámi, I was specifically interested in this influential age because of the complexity of identity development and negotiation with which the Sámi are faced in this time of fast technological, economic and social progress, which has had an immense impact on their way of life and decision-making. Sámi youth are faced with the challenge of building their complex identities based on the multilayered representation of both modernity and indigeneity through the different social, cultural and economic channels they are presented with on a daily basis. Their agency as young people takes shape through a complex negotiation with life, which so far has not been documented. This thesis offers a new and unique set of data and analysis that presents aspects of Sámi youth reality and identity-building previously not available.

1.2. AIMS

The aim of this thesis is to understand, describe, analyse and conceptualise the complex, multifaceted and dynamic establishment and development of the intricate identities of Sámi youth in Norway and Sweden on the personal, social and cultural levels through close ethnographic cooperation with some of their communities in order to demonstrate their evident indigeneity, agency and tenacious presence as Scandinavian indigenous youth.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The four main research questions that guide this study in achieving the aims set out above will be used to delve more deeply into the idea of Sámi youth identity formation. First, who are the young Sámi and what does it mean to be a young Sámi living in this decade? Second, how is the identity of Sámi youth established, constructed and developed based on social, cultural and personal influences on the indigenous, local, national and international levels? Third, how do young Sámi perceive, incorporate and develop parts of their indigenous realities in order to create their communal and individual Sámi identities? And finally, what role do social events and cultural engagements play in the negotiation of Sámi youth identity?

1.4. OBJECTIVES

In line with the four main research questions, the four main objectives of this research aim to achieve these goals. First, the research intends to observe, understand, describe and analyse who are, and what it has meant to be a young Sámi in Norway and Sweden in terms of personal matters, such as way of life, choices of career, lifestyle satisfaction, educational participation and family circumstances, together with cultural aspects of life and social engagements within the local and national Sámi communities and beyond. Second, this study documents and interprets main aspects of the private, social and cultural endeavours of Sámi youth as observed through various personal and social interactions and identifies overlapping patterns of identity development based on involvement at the indigenous, local, national and international levels. Third, this research aims to investigate how Sámi youth interact on a multiplicity of levels, that is, with each other, with other

ethnic groups in Scandinavia on the communal, local, national and cross-border levels, and with other peoples defined as indigenous. My ultimate objective is to present a theoretical framework and a visualisation of how the complexities of Sámi youth identity are created, developed and exhibited.

1.5. OVERVIEW OF MAIN CONCEPTS

Among the main concepts that will be discussed, analysed and developed throughout the whole thesis are identity, indigeneity and youth cultures. Below is my initial stand on these concepts, though they will be further developed in the next chapter, where an extensive literature review is presented.

1.5.1. Identity

There is a rich history of the literature on identity which discusses, conceptualises and theorises what identity represents. From all sides of the various social science disciplines and beyond, academics have produced work that addresses the omnipresent and highly debated concept of identity (Hogg and Ridgeway, 2003). In anthropological research, identity is often synonymous with ethnicity, especially when used with reference to people's culture and how and why specific cultures, communities and groups of people distinguish themselves from outsiders (Banks, 1996). This is enshrined in classic work on ethnicity by Barth (1969) and his contribution to the study of ethnic boundaries and the creation of ethnicity based on the negotiation of boundaries between populations. Barth outlines the main aspects of his approach to ethnicity in terms of interaction and the spawning and preservation of ethnic groups through their external boundaries. A primary focus is on the fact that ethnic groups are units of self-identification, categorisation and ambition usually initiated by those who belong to them (Barth, 1969). This gives rise to the characterisation of ethnic groups as a form of organisation which creates interactions between people (Barth, 1969). Interaction is vital, but it does not compromise cultural differences because these can persist despite close interdependence and/or ethnic contact (Barth, 1969). Barth shifts the investigation of ethnicity from the internal categorisation of fundamental principles to the external search for ethnic boundaries and how they are maintained. It is essential to mention Barth's view of how the term

'ethnic group' is understood by other authors in order to serve as a basis for the further elaboration of his theory and how he moves away from this general concept:

> *The term ethnic group is generally understood...to designate a population which:*
> *1. is largely biologically self-perpetuating*
> *2. shares fundamental cultural values, realised in overt unity in cultural forms*
> *3. makes up a field of communication and interaction.*
> *4. has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.* (Barth, 1969: 11)

The main focus of Barth's theory of ethnicity is the existence of social ethnic boundaries, which act as the definition markers of groups, and their maintenance in terms of conceptualisation. These ethnic boundaries constantly channel social life into internal and external group interactions (Barth, 1969). The recognition of people as members of the ethnic group and the dichotomisation of others as non-members requires boundary criteria, which make it possible to maintain cultural units and preserve these boundaries (Barth, 1969).

Many other anthropologists have also discussed ethnicity, such as Bromley (1974), Mitchell (1954), Gluckman (1958), Epstein (1958), Cohen (1969) and Eriksen (1993), most of them standing somewhere in the spectrum of the primordial versus the instrumental debate in approaches to ethnicity (Banks, 1996). The debate between primordiality and instrumentality seeks to resolve the motivation for the existence of ethnicity (Banks, 1996). At the very end of the ethnicity spectrum, on the primordialist side, anthropologists allege that ethnicity is an instinctive, intrinsic and immensely deep-rooted aspect of people's sociality, which must be recognised as an axiom: instead of explaining it, anthropologists must just describe it (Banks, 1996). At the other end of the spectrum, on the instrumental side, anthropologists assert that ethnicity is invented, constructed and skilfully utilised by people in order to serve them as a unifying tool helping them attain shared objectives (Banks, 1996). Primordialists defend the position that ethnicity has no justification, it just is, whereas instrumentalists argue that ethnicity's existence is prompted and kept alive by a purpose, i.e. it has a function (Banks, 1996).

There is also work on ethnicity in psychology, for example, by Tajfel (1982) and Tajfel and Turner (1979), whose social identity theory elaborates on the way people collectively categorise themselves in order to create a commonality, offering them both an identity that is different from

outsiders and that also boosts their self-esteem based on the fact that they will actively define their in-group as better than other groups. Erikson (1956, 1963) referred to the ego identity in connection with the sense of crisis in late adolescence, which could be rather outdated in the current sense of what youth represents and Erikson's view of adolescence as a highly liminal and transitional concept. However, his idea of the process of identity formation and the important involvement of the self together with the collective continues to be relevant. Another position is the development of socially influenced identity theory, which is contested between McCall and Simmons (1978), Stryker (1968) and Burke and Tully (1977), but reflects the great influence of George Mead (1934). These two strongly related identity theory variations here discuss on the one hand the influence of external social structures on the self and how this affects social behaviour, and on the other hand the influence of internal self-processes and their effects on social behaviour (Erikson, 1950; Stryker and Burke, 2000). Thus, identity theory can be divided into either the primarily external or internal dynamics of identity formation, but together these two aspects make up the general framework of a theory of identity where the self, social structures and social behaviour play major roles in the development of identity.

In terms of contemporary development of identity within anthropology, there has been a critical reevaluation of ethnicity's focal point of boundaries and ethnic group units. Brubaker (2004), Fenton (2010), Jenkins (2014) and Sökefeld (1999) have addressed certain issues with setting boundaries and differentiations, the redundancy of ethnic groups, the interactional understanding of identity and the role of the private self. Grossberg (1996), Baumann (2004), Schiller (2012) and Wimmer (2017) further discuss issues connected to the use of binary dichotomies and the move away from this way of viewing identity, together with the development of new processes of identity theorisations to fit within the modern context of identity's relational subscription. All these will be further developed within the next chapter.

1.5.2. Identity Prism

Nowadays, many academics have moved on from the discussion of identity, but there is still a general interest in this area and much work remains to be done to provide answers to some of the modern challenges already raised, such as how identity perception changes within a globalised society or how identity works within a multicultural setting (Stets and Burke, 2000). I aim to revisit

the concept of identity based on the fieldwork data I have gathered from and with the Sámi. Based on my data, I was not satisfied with any of the identity conceptualisations of previous work on identity and did not find that they related to the current Sámi situation; instead, my data revealed the emergence of a new concept of identity formation. My theory is influenced by a mixture of already existing identity theories, but it presents a new and modern approach in seeking to develop the idea of the identity prism. This prism represents the multisided character of human identity based on projections of the individual, refractions of society, perceptions of both the personal and the collective, interactions within and outside communities, and depictions based on various mediums. The identity prism offers a new and refreshing outlook at how Sámi youth identity is currently conceptualised.

As the framework for my identity prism uses ideas from both anthropology and psychology, it has a mixture of negotiation of projections, establishment of commonalities, development of contextual relationally and creation of agency in order to formulate and distinguish the 'I/we' from the 'others'. The framework will be represented through a prism, which means that it will have two identical bases and n amount of flat parallelograms for sides. The bases will represent the locale and dimensions through which the identity is represented, which will include a Venn diagram of the local, the national and the international, and a connecting triangle in the middle representing the online dimension of these locales. The n amount of the parallelogram sides, which serve as the walls of the prism, represent the intricate, multifaceted and dynamic essence of the prism via a number of personal, cultural, social, moral, economic, political and spiritual aspects define individuals. These walls will be part of the complex, dynamic and multifaceted self that every individual projects and has to negotiate in order to represent their own identity from the inside of themselves to the outside world. In addition, these walls will also be able to reflect the outside world and refract the outside world into the inside of the individual, which will further influence the individual's projections and perceptions of their identity. Each individual prism is situated amongst other prisms. Moreover, depending on the environment and what the other prisms reflect and refract into each other, the complex, dynamic and multifaceted internal identity projections will be in a state of continuous fluidity, development and change. In the case of the Sámi youth identity prism, I will develop and present throughout this thesis a custom-made sample of what a young Sámi person's identity could represent based on my fieldwork data and the observations I have

collected. I will avoid the over-generalising of the Sámi youth prism and will present a concrete representation of how the Sámi youth complex identity is constructed. A more extensive and comprehensive elaboration of the identity prism and the way it interacts will be provided in chapters three, four and five. A large part of this prism is dedicated to the Sámi's indigenous roots and their indigeneity.

1.5.3. Indigeneity

The concept of indigeneity has been on the rise concomitantly with the progress in indigenous rights. The discourse of indigeneity spans a variety of ideas and concepts connected to myriad indigenous communities and areas. Although indigeneity has been highly politicised, as a concept it is not absolute but merely a part of the larger field of the hierarchy of identities (Minde *et al.,* 2008). For some, among the aspects of people's identity that represent their indigenous selves is their indigeneity (Maaka and Fleras, 2000). For others, indigeneity bears a relationship not to being indigenous but to the concept of duality in terms of the local and the foreign (Minde *et al.,* 2008). Indigeneity does not provide answers but merely interpretations of a variety of concepts which span the larger hierarchy of a single polity or multiple polities and peoples (Minde *et al.,* 2008). In this sense, indigeneity has a ubiquitous influence over indigenous reality. As a result, I will be discussing it not only as part of the conceptualisation of the Sámi youth identity by means of the identity prism, but also in the way it plays a role in the social, political and cultural development of being indigenous in the 21st century.

In this research, indigeneity will be discussed at various levels based on the characteristics of my fieldwork data. On the personal and individual level, the indigenous identity of the people I worked with will be put into perspective using the identity prism. On the group level, the internal and external negotiations and social challenges which indigenous groups face together with their striving for self-determination and the politics of being indigenous will be discussed in terms of their communal, national and international involvement. I will also delve into the most modern of levels, namely the dynamics of the online indigenous presence, which transforms itself back and forth between the self, the group and the notion of the selfish group, which is how the use of hashtags as a representation of unity and commonality might be interpreted. Indigeneity plays a major role in

the way indigenous people perceive themselves, but it also affects how they believe they are perceived by outsiders, and to some extent it can also influence the way outsiders perceive them. This is why it is vital that indigeneity is discussed and analysed from a multitude of viewpoints and angles.

1.5.4. Youth Cultures

The study of youth cultures began developing early in the 20th century, starting out with a study of adolescence in one of the most iconic books in anthropology, Margaret Mead's (1928) *Coming of Age in Samoa.* Throughout the decades, the shift in interest from adolescence to youth has been exhibited in the way researchers view young people and what they represent. From the concept of adolescence being incomplete, transitional and merely a trajectory to adulthood to the current representation of youth as possessing its own distinct identity, agency and standing on an equal level with adulthood in terms of the gravitas of the social and cultural practices young people develop, the shift in the concept of youth is significant (Bucholtz, 2002). The economic, social and technological advances brought about by globalisation and modernity have had an immense impact on both the concept of youth and the agency of young people (Bucholtz, 2002). Moving away from the term "adolescence", which is highly suggestive of a transition, to the more inclusive and wider term youth/young people has created much greater space for manoeuvring (Bucholtz, 2002). Young people can enjoy more time to be young because they have the social, cultural and economic power to identify as young without the pressure to declare their adulthood. Vigh (2006) goes further by arguing that youth has the characteristics of both an entity on its own and a period of liminality and that its agency is not dependent on its liminality. Here the important point is that, like Bucholtz (2002), Vigh (2006) recognises the agency of youth, but also does not forget that youth has liminality. However, this liminality does not devalue the capabilities of young people and their power to exist in the here and now.

Youth is no longer just a matter of age but also of attitudes, convictions, social involvement and identity. The biological and psychological dividing lines between youth and adulthood have been blurred, and the concept of youth has the valuable ability to change with time and space. Depending on the community, country and region people live in, together with the century they

belong to, being considered young can have a variety of definitions, which include various ages, marital status and social participation. In my study, I have chosen to work with young Sámi between the ages of 18 and 28. My choice of this age-range is based on the people I met at most of the Sámi events that were planned for young people. People between these ages had independently decided to participate and were the most socially involved in these events, usually attending because they wanted to have social and cultural exchange with like-minded Sámi youth from various regions. I decided to go with this age-range based on how the Sámi view themselves as youth and how they identify themselves. Overall, my study begins with the assumption that youth cultures have their own agency, distinct identity and gravitas that exist on an equal basis with adulthood, but without forgetting the liminality of their culture.

My initial stand on identity, indigeneity and youth cultures was merely the beginning of many years of pondering, contemplation and discovery of what these concepts actually mean in terms of my fieldwork with the Sámi and how they can be developed into new, insightful and relevant notions that represent a modern approach to anthropological research of the indigenous youth identity. However, before I go any further into the ethnography, I will first discuss my methodological choices.

1.6. METHODOLOGY

From a methodological point of view, the strategies an academic follows when doing research with young people should not be considered to be that much different from other research strategies. Youth research poses the same challenges as any other research, such as gaining access, choosing your methods, selecting an appropriate sample and analysing one's data in a relevant manner (Heath *et al.* 2009). However, there are some unique features that are characteristic of youth research and of working with young people, which, when combined, create a very distinctive type of study that requires its own set of specific methodological choices (Heath *et al.* 2009). Undertaking research with indigenous people also requires a unique set of decisions and choices that need to be taken in order to produce a piece of reliable, objective and culturally sensitive writing (Smith, 2012). In this overview of the methodology of this research, I will begin with a description of how my data collection began and progressed before going on to address some of

the unique features of youth and indigenous research. I will end by elaborating on the methods I used in this particular study and how they map on to the individual research questions.

1.6.1. Initial Research Choices

When I first embarked on this research journey, my plan was to focus only on Sámi youth in Sweden. This was partially because of my earlier study with some Swedish Sámi, which I conducted for my Master's degree. I had already established some contacts in Sweden, I was familiar with parts of Swedish Sápmi, and I had Swedish language skills. The initial research location was planned as being in and around northern Sweden, which included, but was not restricted to, the Jokkmokk, Kiruna and Luleå municipalities in Norrbotten county and the Umeå municipality in Västenbotten county. As a primary plan this would have included close cooperation with high schools and higher educational institutions that serve Sámi youth in these areas, together with other organisations and societies that are frequented by Sámi youth. Initially, I was set on working with young people between the ages of 18 and 25, as I had my own understanding of what could be considered youth in a modern western society like Sweden. My plan was to create contacts in Sámi-frequented high schools, higher education institutions and youth oriented Sámi social organisation.

Once in the field, my target areas of contact with young Sámi had to change in order to accommodate the actual places where young Sámi within my targeted age-range gather and socialise freely. The problem with going to educational institutions to meet Sámi youth is that the environment is too official, and potential participants feel the pressure to represent themselves in a certain manner that does not necessarily capture their true identity. This is due to the presence of teachers and of peers who are not necessarily their usual friends, creating a stressful situation and altering their behaviour. Trying to have an open and honest conversation in this kind of educational environment was not going to produce reliable data, so I had to re-evaluate my points of contact and adapt myself to the situation I was in. I decided not to work with educational institutions due to the formality of the environment and the power relations that were implied. My status as a outsider and a researcher who is there to ask questions was not going to work and I did not want young Sámi to see me in this characterless persona of the generic researcher, who is there to do a job.

There was no trust in such a controlled and presumably short-term situation, and young Sámi could not connect with my personality, my intentions or my motives for being there and asking them questions. The stern and official environment that is an educational institution was not right for the kind of connection I was trying to build. Their answers were shy, staged and potentially less than honest. I quickly gave up on the idea of gathering data in educational institutions, as I did not want people to start associating me with the normal stereotype of a non-Sámi researcher, which for the Sámi carries a bitter taste based on historical events from the early 20th century when Swedish researchers were misrepresenting the Sámi.

1.6.2. Revised Research Choices

After abandoning my intention to gather data at educational institutions, I had to spend some time re-evaluating my tactics. I was set on being seen as an equal, as a peer, as someone who young Sámi could relate to, bearing in mind that I was in the same age range. I was aiming to be seen as more than just a researcher. I wanted young Sámi to realise that it was not only my job to be there, but that I wanted to be there and to connect with them as any other human being who seeks social approval, interactions and validation would have done. I needed to find a more open-minded and neutral point of contact, where they knew that I was a researcher but also got to know me as a person outside of my academic self. With these intentions clearly processed in my mind after my re-evaluation of the situation, I learned of the existence of multiple social events throughout Sápmi, that are frequented by Sámi of all ages, but in most cases included subsidiary events primarily targeting young Sámi. Later on, I decided to call this group of events “the Sámi social events scene”, which usually follows what I named as “the Sámi social calendar’.

I came across the Sámi social events scene by accident and initially not by invitation. Through a social media connection I had established with a young Sámi woman, I was able to see which event she was going to attend. After looking at the event’s details online, I realised that this was definitely an event I should attend if I wanted to mingle with young Sámi in a more open-minded environment. Through the use of social media, I could see when and where the event was taking place, so I took the initiative to go to it. I purposefully changed my point of contact with the Sámi youth in order to achieve a better outcome for my data gathering. It proved a successful decision

because I achieved what I aimed for, i.e. a more neutral and open-minded environment where I could freely interact with young Sámi within the age-range I was interested in and better understand what it means to be Sámi. My intention to pursue the Sámi social events scene led me to many other points of contact and helped me to establish a connection with many young people. The Swedish Sámi are particularly close to the Norwegian Sámi due to similarities of language and overall better historical connections. In this way, my research location included all the places within Sápmi that host Sámi events, and my target group was both Norwegian and Swedish Sámi youth. My target age-range also changed, and my upper boundary of 25 became 28 based on the age-range of people I interacted with at these events and beyond. I decided to extend the age-range, because this was how the Sámi themselves define being young at these events, based on their participation.

Once I had become familiar with the social events, I noticed a pattern to those who frequented these events. The group of people I started becoming familiar with were a good mix of young Swedish and Norwegian Sámi between the ages of 18 and 28. I would encounter the same group of 150-200 people at almost all events, with slight variations depending on how south or north in Sápmi an event would be. I started becoming more and more familiar with around 50-60 Sámi youth who live in various places around Sápmi. They represented a good mixture of South and North Sámi, and of reindeer-herding and non-reindeer-herding Sámi. The obvious drawback in my choice to focus on Sámi social events was the fact that only a certain type of people would frequent such events, people who are likely to be more outgoing, more sociable and more interactive than a slightly more neutral sample of people in, for example, an educational institution environment or other randomly selected sample. I therefore acknowledge the fact that the people in my sample did not represent all young Sámi across Sápmi and beyond, but merely a sample of young people who share a similar passion for social gatherings but otherwise still represent a good mix of various Sámi backgrounds. The significance of my presence was at times very obvious within their tightly knit community but after going to a few events and showing people my intentions to get to know them better, I eventually became more and more accepted. My research progressed with the help of social media, where I would keep up my connections by chatting online to the people I had met during the events and getting to know them better outside of the events. The use of social media really helped my research because I managed to see how Sámi youth express

themselves online and how they represent their lifestyle and day to day lives through pictures, stories and personal messages. I would eventually gain access to some of their homes by being invited to stay and experience some of their reality, which also lead to being invited within their local communities and smaller scale family gatherings. Overall, the choice to change my initial tactics and focus my entire attention on the social events was successful and created much more personal connections, with a good sample of around 60 young Sámi from Sweden and Norway. This group of people proved to be an excellent sample of young Sámi within the targeted age-range and helped me collect reliable data to represent an authentic sample of young Sámi within this age-range who live in Sápmi.

1.6.3. Youth and Indigenous Research Features

In this research I have had to combine the unique features of both youth and indigenous research methodologies in order to produce a study that is able to deal with all the possible challenges that arise from choosing to study young indigenous people. I have read extensively about various issues and aspects for consideration when dealing with youth and indigenous studies, and this has prepared me for many of the challenges I encountered throughout my fieldwork. Even though I was aware of the possible issues that could arise and the sensitivity with which I needed to go forward, I did not necessarily have all the answers. Below I describe some of the specific research features which are characteristic of youth and indigenous studies.

- *Youth research aspects*

❖ *With or about*

Thomson (2008) elaborates on the vital aspect of recognising young people's capability, credibility and their rights to participate in discussions which involve them, their surroundings and their realities. Young people should not be disregarded based on their age or capabilities and they should be given a voice (Thomson, 2008). The idea of giving a voice to those who do not usually have the opportunity to express their concerns is nothing new but it has existed in works on youth, the indigenous and many other social science research areas. Gugelberger and Kearney (1991),

Katz and Csordas (2003) and Edwards and Ribbons (1998) more notably, together with many others throughout the social sciences, have addressed the epistemological issues of the voices of the voiceless. However, what Thomson (2008) finds to be an absolute necessity when researching young people is to recognise and address the differences of doing research 'with' compared to 'about' young people. This is usually encouraged as much as possible to include the voices of young people in social science studies in such a way that the research is done with the young people and not only about them (Thomson, 2008). However, Lather (2007) warns that including too many such 'voices' can have a detrimental effect on the research and make it too romanticised, unreliable and more journalistic than academic. The aim of researching with young people is to reach the ultimate balance of representing them through their own voices, but within the greater context of their surroundings, realities and interactions.

I went to the field with the idea of doing research with young people. I managed to gather much data in their own 'voices' in the forms of stories, visual representations, ideologies and convictions, but this did not come easy. At the beginning of my research, before I was able to get access to the youth scene, my information was predominantly focused on what official representatives, governmental bodies and other adults told me about young people. These were adults, whose job is to inform about the Sámi, who have a good understanding of what is going on in Sápmi without necessarily being directly connected to young people or being young or Sámi themselves. I gathered important information from them and learnt much about the realities in Sápmi. However, I had to stop and re-evaluate my methodological choices because I realised that I had fallen into the trap of doing research about young people and not with them. I had already gathered enough data from adults talking about the young people and now I needed to gather some data with the young people. I was able to do that when I went to the various events in the Sámi social scene. After I started to frequent youth social events, I managed to hear much more of the young people's voices and their own representations of their realities. It was important for me to have the views of the adults about the young people, but my research would not have been thorough if I did not have enough youth voices as well because the best mixture of data is when the researcher can juxtapose what people say about young people and what the young people say themselves.

❖ *Age*

One of the most obvious features of youth research is age. Age plays an important part in the researcher's choice of methods, mainly because of the participants' ages, but also sometimes due to the researcher's age too. When speaking about the age of the participants, young people are easily divided into the institutional and spatial contexts in their lives (Heath *et al*., 2009). Young people are usually separated from other age groups in their day to day lives, whether in educational institutions or outside formal institutions, such as in leisure and free-time activities (Heath *et al.*, 2009). This results in young people spending most of their time with other young people and developing stronger bonds among themselves (Heath *et al.*, 2009). Researchers should understand the patterns that young people follow based on the participant's age and plan their study methods according to the specific environment they will have to work in. This should also include the consideration of the age-specific policies that young people have to abide by such as driving, drinking and voting laws (Heath *et al*., 2009), together with what Bennett *et al.* (2003) point to as understanding the responsibilities, emotional concerns and other highs and lows connected to being young. Researchers should be aware of the age-specific interests of young people in order to be able to work effortlessly with them. This should include general knowledge of what is modern or popular in the age bracket of the participants, their social characters, places where they hang out, their involvement in activities and overall interests. All these aspects of their lives are very much age-specific.

Once I changed my approach to gather data outside educational institutions, I had to focus my attention entirely on the leisure and free time part of young people's days and choose methods that would be successful in this new spatial context. During their free time, I noticed that young people feel more liberated, more expressive, more like themselves compared to when they are under the rules of educational institutions, which was the freedom of mind and attitude that I was looking for. However, I had to be able to capture their expressiveness in a way that was not influenced or restricted by my presence with them. This was done primarily through the chosen methods of long-term data gathering and open-minded communication styles, but a valuable advantage was the fact that I was in the same age bracket as my participants. This gave me the opportunity to go to many of the youth social events without being viewed as an intruder purely based on my age and

the fact I bear typical local physical characteristics. At the beginning, being a silent observer was my way forward. As time progressed, I communicated with more and more young people about who I was and what I am interested in and people started to recognise me and allow me to be more of a participant in their reality. Also, due to my own age matching my participants' ages, I was already very aware of the general interests of this age-range, and despite some local, national and social differences between myself and them, I did not have to change much in order to be able to immerse myself in the age reality of my informants. The careful selection of the primary methods of data gathering and communications that I chose based on my awareness of the age-specific feature of youth research was mainly responsible for the smooth completion of my fieldwork, but my age contributed greatly to the way people connected with me.

❖ *Power relationship*

Cieslik (2003) points out that when it comes to youth research, a key aspect to take into consideration when gathering data is the possible creation of power relationships, where the researcher holds most of the power. There is a need for careful deliberation on the part of the researcher concerning how to structure their study in order to employ adaptable and non-encroaching strategies to prevent the creation of a dominant relationship where the researcher uses their adult or other official authority to extract information from young people (Cieslik, 2003). Jones *et al.* (2003) stress how impressionable, defenceless and at times naive young people are, and this means that the researcher must be respectful and sensible when collecting data. However, there should also be a level of common sense where the researcher does not want to create the feeling of an overprotective, patronising or undermining relationship with the young participants, especially if they are over the legal adult age in that country (Jones *et al.* 2003). Kelly (2000) warns against sensationalising young people's stories, where, in an attempt to draw more attention to a specific issue concerning young people, the original data could end up being blown out of proportion in terms of its applicability and the extent and frequency of occurrence. This is still a sign of a dominant power relation because the researcher has not listened to or grasped the context of the young participants' stories, and that can lead to the sensationalisation of narratives (Kelly, 2000). Overall, researchers dealing with youth participants should be well prepared to address issues of power relations and attempt to avoid expressing a dominant approach to their

data gathering but aim for a more communicative and empowering approach (Percy-Smith and Weil, 2003).

Throughout my fieldwork, I had to use a variety of approaches to power relations depending on whether I was dealing with official adult representatives or young people, but mostly I settled for an overall communicative, friendly and negotiable style when it came to leading interactions and building empowering relationships. When talking to adult official representatives, I used a different power relation approach compared to when interacting with young participants. During communications with official representatives, I had to showcase my authoritative self and express my confidence in my knowledge as well as a willingness to learn more, especially from those with specialist knowledge. At times it only took one successful interview with a well connected official representative that would lead to many other connections within the community. Thus when dealing with adults, I was more authoritative, shared more of my academic knowledge and presented myself as a professional talking to other professionals.

As my fieldwork continued and I started connecting to more young people, my power relation approach had to shift. I could not show the same authoritativeness when talking to young people because as I experienced that just alienated them from me. I had to be much more humble, inquisitive and friendly in a way that did not show dominance or entitlement. Young people are more concerned about the type of person you are and if you are able to listen to them and appreciate what they have to offer in a conversation. For the purpose of consent, my researcher status was made clear, but this was done is a very non-dominant and non-authoritative manner as to preserve a relatively equal power balance within conversations. Expressing a sincere interest in them as people and not just in them as research subjects is a crucial factor of success within youth research. I was not only a researcher but a fellow young person who shares many of the same passions, interests and knowledge of popular culture. Being able to connect as equal human beings is necessary and this requires a lot of time and effort but also provides much more reliable data. Through this deeper connection I discovered much more about who they really are and not who they want me to believe they are if this was just a professional researcher/subject power relationship. Overall, I had to use a variety of approaches to power relations depending on the

situation and my interlocutors. However, I settled for a mainly communicative, friendly, negotiable and empowering style of connecting to people throughout my fieldwork.

- Indigenous research aspects

❖ *Decolonising the representation of the indigenous*

Smith (1999) passionately and openly addresses her discontent with and resentment of Western indigenous research, which in her view misrepresents indigenous people. She condemns all forms of Western research no matter whether done by scientists or curious adventurers, and brands it all as damaging to indigenous peoples, their knowledge and their cultural representation (Smith, 1999). In her second edition, Smith (2012) mentions that "people have commented how angry I must have been to write such a book" (xiv). She explains further that, even though her opinions have not changed very much from the first edition, her way of expressing her ideas has altered, and for her second edition she wanted to rewrite everything from scratch but instead just updated some of the data to include newer sources. Smith (1999) leaves an overall negative view of how Western research on indigenous peoples and cultures is considered negatively by indigenous people and how it does them more harm than good. One of her most famous quotes embraces exactly the type of passionate negativity Smith has towards what she described as highly colonised representations of indigenous people through unsuitable Western epistemology: "The word itself, 'research,' is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (Smith, 1999:1). Smith (1999) elaborates on historical events predominantly from the 20th century and before about how across various countries indigenous communities were taken advantage of through the use of unethical research techniques and how Western academics misrepresented indigenous people by branding them as primitive and unworthy based on what is now considered to have been unsuitable and insensitive epistemological data-gathering. Smith (1999) attempts to deconstruct Western scholarship but with the intention to build it up again in a way that uses the idea of "writing back" just like the post-colonial literature movement. The idea is to reach the "recovery of ourselves", as Smith (1999) puts it, with the ultimate goal of righting the wrongs of colonised research and reaching new rights of self-determination and indigenous representation

where indigenous people are not represented as inferior, nor through the views of the non-indigenous.

Similar, Battiste (2000, 2005) also addresses the issue of decolonising indigenous representation in current research. Battiste's (2000) edited book discusses various aspects of the decolonisation of methodologies, such as creating new standards for the sensitivity of indigenous knowledge and systems, in order to establish a new wave of indigenous representation throughout many research spheres. Denzin *et al.*'s (2008) comprehensive handbook of indigenous methodologies follows the decolonisation trend and provides guidance on how to deconstruct structures within academia that privilege westernised knowledge systems and epistemologies, how to adjust interpretive race and performance theories in order to work with the different settings of indigenous realities, how to develop culturally responsive research systems that comply with Western institutional guidelines but also respect and empower indigenous communities' knowledge practices, how to give back the power to indigenous people to choose their own voice of representation and identity building, and how to prepare outsiders to undertake indigenous research by being ethical, neutral, respectful and yet constructively analytical towards indigenous communities. All these guidelines provide necessary preparation for the successful planning and execution of decolonised indigenous research data-gathering, which produces valuable and reliable representations of indigenous people without the disadvantages of unsuitable Westernised epistemologies (Denzin *et al.*, 2008).

In my own methodology, I have incorporated many of these decolonising guidelines in order provide the right amount of sensitivity towards indigenous people and empower them to represent themselves without being subjected to colonised practises.

At first, I was overly conscientious about the way I interacted with indigenous representatives as I did not want to cross any boundaries that would suggest that I was being insensitive or misrepresentative in portraying them and their culture. This was done mostly out of fear of being rejected or perceived as the typical Western antagonistic researcher who does not consider the appropriate indigenous representation. In retrospect, my overly conscientious epistemological behaviour at the beginning of my fieldwork led to people taking advantage of my soft approach. Some indigenous representatives took me to be a naive person and gave me information I later

realised was illusionary, sugar-coated and romanticised. It was my fault for not being critically challenging enough at the beginning when talking to them due to my fear of access and information being denied to me. As time progressed and I developed better and stronger connections within these communities, I realised that my methods were sufficiently decolonised and my research style was suitably sensitive, neutral and respectful for me to be able to ask more challenging and analytical questions. I was still conscientious about my interactions but not overly so, and this showed up in the gathered data, as people were prepared to answer my more challenging questions, and the information I was presented with was more truthful and better represented the reality of these communities. The stories indigenous people shared with me became less sugar-coated or falsely adapted to soothe my outsider's tastes and more like everyday narratives they would share with someone from within their communities. I managed to establish the right balance of conscientious decolonised epistemology that was still analytically challenging and inquisitive, thus predisposing the indigenous communities to represent themselves in the most realistic, truthful and objective manner.

- *The non-indigenous researcher*

Smith (2012) continues with her adamant convictions that indigenous research brings no value and is of no interest to the indigenous people when it is done in what she considers to be the wrong, outdated, Western, colonised manner. Smith (2012) also believes that non-indigenous researchers do not bring the same value, insights and contribution as do indigenous researchers based on just this one ethnic or rather personal characteristic of not being indigenous. Evjen (2009) discusses the historical development of indigenous research and methodologies used among the Sámi by evaluating various studies and the evolution of types of actual researchers. Evjen (2009) shares Smith's conviction that overall, non-indigenous researchers do not bring the same value to indigenous studies as do indigenous researchers, based on her arguments that the point in time for research to be done by the indigenous peoples themselves has arrived in evolutionary terms and that this offers the indigenous empowerment and self-determination for purposes of knowledge preservation and dissemination. This dislike and disapproval of non-indigenous researchers is a reoccurring theme in several works by indigenous researchers. On the one hand, it encourages and supports the training, development and establishment of indigenous scholars by valuing their

unique views and knowledge that they can bring to the discussion. On the other hand, one should ask whether non-indigenous researchers should be faced with discrimination simply on the basis of personal characteristics, which have nothing to do with their ability as professional academics and researchers. Overall, however, some indigenous researchers strongly maintain the idea that being non-indigenous means that one cannot conduct a valued, modern, decolonised indigenous study based on their personal and ethnical traits and thus cannot produce esteemed, respectful and significant data or arguments.

Throughout my research, I have experienced the negativity, distrust and objectification of my abilities as a researcher based on my status as a non-indigenous scholar. This objectification was mainly done by indigenous researchers themselves and much less by the indigenous people from the communities I worked with. The communities exhibited the expected amount of distrust but predominantly based on the fact that I was overall an outsider and much less based on me being non-indigenous. I understand the historical significance of indigenous peoples' sufferings from being misrepresented, unethically treated and taken advantage of during academic studies in the past and I support the development of indigenous researchers. Certainly, there are benefits to being indigenous and an insider to the community you want to research, and there are many disadvantages too. The same is true for being non-indigenous and an outsider, which also comes with benefits and drawbacks.

1.6.4. Main Methods

The two main methods I have employed throughout my research are participant observation and interviews. After careful consideration and deliberation during my planning and while in the field, I concluded that these two methods are the most suitable for the task at hand. I approached both methods with the necessary amount of ethics, awareness and caution in order to accommodate the specific features connected to these methods, but also to be compliant with the particular aspects of youth and indigenous research, which I outlined above. Overall, the success of my data gathering is based on my preparedness to be flexible in the way I employ my main methods, but without losing sight of the unique features and aspects of youth and indigenous research and the

fact that working with different people at different settings requires preparation, patience and determination.

- Participant observation

Since the beginning of the 20th century, when Malinowski, Mead and Evans-Pritchard used participant observation as their main methods of data gathering in their anthropological studies, this method has become a staple in the world of anthropology. Throughout the decades, the fundamental meaning of the method itself has not changed much, though the way, dimensions and contexts in which researchers employ it at the present day has dramatically altered (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011). Participant observation is all about being present in a moment and being able to observe experiences, habits, practices, behaviours and conversations, but also knowing what role you play as a researcher in the settings you are observing in order not to disturb the balance of the moment and knowing how to interpret and analyse the observations in an objective and genuine manner (Bernard, 2006). A substantial aspect of participant observation is that the researcher has to be present at a specific happening in order to observe it. In the past, this would have usually entailed a one-dimensional meaning, such as being in a physical place and looking at what is going on. Nowadays, the observations are very much open to the use of technological advances and trends in order to achieve the ultimate and most relevant form of participant observation, which can also happen online. Participant observation does not start with the observation itself, it starts with the researcher's interests, choices of questions and the understanding of where to observe, together with what contextual differences there are based on the choice of places of observation and their dimensions, whether it is online, through a lens or in a physical place (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011). Bernard (2006) notes that participant observation needs to strike a fine balance between participating and observing and cannot just consist of pure observation or pure participation. If one is to become a pure participant, the analytical perspective is lost, while if one is to become a pure observer, one's own voice is lost in a way that is not viable in the immersive study of anthropology (Bernard, 2006). From the time Spradley addressed some of the key aspects of participant observation in 1980 to the present time almost 40 years later, the dimensions and the contexts in which anthropologists undertake participant observation have expanded but the basics have stayed the same.

In my research, I used participant observation as the most relevant way to connect to young indigenous representatives. I utilised this method primarily in person at specific physical locations, but I also engaged in a substantial amount of online interactions and observations. My preferred way of recording data throughout my participant observation was by keeping short notes while at the peak of my observations, taking pictures of people and places that I relate to specific experiences, writing longer journal-style entries after a specific event, and keeping a more personal diary of feelings, ideas and impressions. There were three main contexts in which I used participant observation: at specific social events, at smaller-scale communal or family gatherings, and on social media.

❖ *Participant observation at social events*

As a whole, in the span of more than two years, I was able to attend, observe and participate in approximately 20 different Sámi events around Sápmi, which I categorise as being the core of the Sámi social scene calendar that is popular with Sámi youth. These events are further subdivided into gatherings of musical, cultural, political, sporting or mixed content and, depending on the type and the place of the events, they are frequented by a specific mixture or subsection of young Sámi. These social events were a great way for me to be introduced to the Sámi social scene and to those who frequent it. Conducting participant observation at these events not only gave me the appropriate level of interaction with young people, it also proved to be the most relevant way of breaking down the barrier between myself as the outsider and themselves as a very tightly knit community. As Spradley (1980) outlines, there are five different types of involvement when employing participant observation, i.e. non-participation, passive, moderate, active and complete. Being aware of my ability to use different levels of participation during my participant observation, I was able to be very flexible in my choice of involvement in order to be culturally respectful of the way these social events are conducted and the people who frequent them. With the help of participant observation and the opportunity to choose the amount of involvement I would employ at any given time, I was able to conduct my research on an escalating scale of participation. First, I would be a passive, silent observer, which allowed me to test the ground, see how people react to me just being there, and evaluate the amount of friendliness and open-mindedness of the people

at the event. Second, depending on how the situation developed, I would then choose whether or not to continue just passively observing or to employ a more active approach. If I decided to go for the more active approach, I would then engage in light-hearted conversation and further evaluate my ethics, respectfulness and cultural appropriateness. Finally, if all goes well, I would continue with more inquisitive conversations, but not without presenting myself appropriately, seeking verbal consent and making people aware why I am asking them questions. These were my initial steps in conducting participant observation at social events, but after being at a few of these events, I started forming connections and people started recognising me, so I had to be more flexible in my approach and to assume a much more active position of involvement. The way I conducted myself in all encounters, no matter their scale, gravitas or situation, was consistent with the greatest respect to the most recent ethical approaches in anthropology, which will be discussed further below.

Step by step throughout my participant observation at these social events, I managed to reach the point where I was no longer just a passive observer. I reached the point when I engaged in a predominantly active role within my participant observation. The way my conversations were conducted was becoming much freer and more natural, and most people responded well to my presence, which led to my interactions increasing in frequency and quality. During my active participation role, I was involved with various aspects of young Sámi's reality, which led to more and more connections being established. I persistently led conversations and formed connections, which eventually led to me being invited by the Sámi to more events and more intimate, small-scale group or family gatherings where they could show me what it really means to be a young Sámi nowadays. I proved to the Sámi at these social events that I was not intruding into their space, I was not imposing or being authoritative and I really had a genuine interest in and intentions to understanding their reality without misrepresenting them. I was able to create a close relationship with many Sámi representatives and this removed most reservations, misinterpreted information or misrepresentation. In terms of my research questions, data-gathering through participant observation at these social events proved to be immensely useful when seeking answers connected to the formation of Sámi youth identity. However, I believe that at these social events I could not find answers to all my research questions because the type and amount of interactions that could exist at such events does not necessarily reveal the deeper meaning of

being a young Sámi. These events could be loosely defined as rituals where a certain manner of interactions, portrayals and personal performances would be expected, and this does not entirely reveal the complete meaning of the identity of young Sámi. These social events provided me with a great opportunity to establish connections and relations within the Sámi youth community together with the chance for me to be observed and evaluated by the wider Sámi community, which proved useful in showcasing my non-invasive and non-threatening self and gaining their trust. As such, the Sámi social events I frequented were a gateway into establishing deeper, more personal and more complete relations, connections and interactions with young Sámi that led to my participant observation within smaller-scale community and family gatherings. Overall, the participant observation at these social events greatly contributed to my understanding of parts of their complex, multifaceted and dynamic identity and helped to develop connections within their communities further.

❖ *Participant observation at smaller scale-communal or family gatherings*

Once I had become more familiar with certain people at these social events and established better relations with them, I was able to take my participant observation into a new contextual sphere. The context was that of small-scale communal or family gatherings. I was able to interact with a group of families in the more private and personal environments of their homes, their communities and their villages. My participant observation became much more personal, and this meant that I had to assume a different position as a participant in these very private situations. I quickly assumed a complete participation role in their environment. My complete participation role is not to be confused with the notion of pure participation: as Spradley (1980) elaborates the complete participation idea indicates that the researcher has managed to be viewed as a member of a group (even if for a limited time) yet still preserves the analytical and observational part of their character. During my complete participation role, I was exposed to an increased amount of scrutiny, and even the slightest mistake on my side in terms of my sensitivity, cultural appropriateness, respectfulness and ethical behaviour could have resulted in some serious consequences such as being outcast: in a tight community with a history of not trusting researchers, this could have been irrevocable. I continued to follow my established way of interaction by first being more silent and timid in order to evaluate the context of my hosts and of my presence there, and then gradually becoming more

and more communicative and inquisitive by engaging in more challenging conversations and asking more complicated questions. This was usually done within the theme of the flowing conversation of the room, as I did not want to act as the attraction of the gathering. I was there to observe, but also when the right opportunity presented itself, to ask questions relating to my research, or at least to try and steer the conversation in such a manner that my hosts would answer related questions. As my visits to certain communities or families would continue over days and sometimes weeks, I had to pace myself in order to get a gradually increasing understanding of their realities so that they did not feel as if I was suffocating them with my researcher presence. Using participant observation was much better suited in these situations than engaging in full interviews because of the way these small gatherings or family functions were very unpredictable, and I did not want to be the focus of people's attention in such a way that I would interrupt the flow of the gathering. Also, as there were young people present, going into an interview with them would have been too intimidating, imposing and inappropriate and would have severed the type of friendly and interactive relationship I aimed at establishing with them. I wanted them to feel comfortable asking me questions as much as me asking them questions, which would not have happened if I had engaged in more rigid interviews because our power relations would have shifted.

At these smaller-scale gatherings, the research questions I aimed to answer were more connected to the way their identity is built within a family and communal environment. I then moved on to how their view of being indigenous represents itself in the ideas of who they are in a more personal manner. I was able to ask much more personal questions and investigate the issues I was interested in more deeply due to this prolonged and calm method of interaction. The lengths of my conversations with them increased too because I was able to retain their attention for longer periods of time in this much more comfortable and personal environment. However, to repeat, even when I was in these small-scale gatherings, I was not constantly bombarding them with questions related to my research, nor even talking about it at all at times, this being exactly what participant observation is all about - being subtle in one's inquisitiveness and not overstepping the boundaries of being a researcher. I was always first me the person, and only secondly me the researcher. I genuinely connected with people first on a personal level and then on a research level because I wanted us to have equal power relations and for them to feel ready and honest about their answers

to my research-related questions. Throughout my participant observation, I continuously revisited the issue of consent, and all my informants were kept aware of this process of the negotiation of consent. The type of small-scale family- and community-based interactions took a lot of time and effort, but I am convinced that this type of long-term participant observation is much more reliable and is the best type of method for this particular research. A lot of my most reliable participant observation data are somehow connected to these small-scale family- and community-based interactions. As such, the social events I frequented were a gateway to me establishing these deeper connections with young Sámi. The collected data used in this thesis are therefore a good mixture of both, derived on the basis of these small-scale interactions and gathered within the reality of the social events.

❖ *Participant observation through social media*

The third context in which I used participant observation was in the sphere of social media, which was entirely an online dimension. Concurrently with going to events and smaller gatherings, I also engaged in online participant observation. Nowadays, the social media sphere plays an immense role in shaping and influencing young people's lives, and young Sámi are no exception. My participant observation via social media was undertaken across a few platforms, namely Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat and some selected blogs. I engaged in two forms of observation, one where I was a silent observer, and one where I was leading conversations and participating in exchanges of messages and pictures. My social media involvement began when, after going to a few social events, I got to add/befriend/follow young Sámi people across social media platforms. In this decade, it is highly likely that if two young people are in any way acquaintances in physical reality, then they will also be connected in one or many ways in the online dimension too. For me this was a great opportunity to see, experience, observe, understand and part take in how young Sámi express their reality, identity, emotions, behaviour and day-to-day lives in the online dimension. I was able to see what they deem important or valuable enough to be shared online, how they represented their identity based on the pictures and messages they posted, and how their identity representation online compared to their in-person expressions. Like any other community, young Sámi have many things in common with each other, but also many differences too. In the online dimension, just as in real life, they are able to unite around connecting aspects of their lives by

creating links, but they also have the freedom to differentiate each other based on other aspects. The difference in the online dimension is that it involves creating links such as one's own hashtags, online groups and campaigns, which can be instantaneously joined or shared, thus eliminating the need to meet or gather in person. Overall, social media provided me with the opportunity to continue my participant observation even when I was not at social events or other family and community gatherings and to enhance my data by providing another dimension of observation. However, I have to point out that gathering data online through this kind of social media involvement would not have been reliable if it had been done solely online. There was still a need for me as a researcher to go to social events, meet the young Sámi in person and build a picture of them from physical encounters with them. Only then can the researcher use social media to further enhance and create a complete outlook of the participant observation so that it has this dual dimension of the physical versus virtual reality.

- Interviews

My second main method of data-collection was through the use of semi-structured interviews. These interviews were only employed when dealing with official representatives from governmental, municipal, local and other Sámi-connected organisations. These official representatives were predominantly adults and were knowledgeable about Sámi affairs or Sámi youth events. As Bernard (2011) notes, in situations where the researcher only gets one chance to interview someone, the best choice is to undertake a semi-structured interview. This way the researcher is able to ask the main questions of interest and then allow the interviewee to have the freedom to steer the conversation in different directions connected to the initial questions, which proves to be very useful and revealing of various matters (Bernard, 2011). My strategy was to use an escalating approach of asking questions, starting with simple ones and continuing to more challenging, open-ended questions. I also employed freely what Bernard (2011) calls the "tell me more probe," especially if I could sense that some questions were being answered in a less focused manner. If I asked a question and the answer did not entirely focus on the actual question I had asked, I would later follow up with a 'tell me more about" request, where I would go back to my initial interest but without disturbing the flow of the conversation. My interviews were undertaken with governing bodies in Norway and Sweden, representatives of both the Norwegian and the

Swedish Sámi parliaments, EU officials, indigenous rights groups, and various other officials and organisations. My preferred way of recording these interviews was to take written notes, and only very rarely would I also do a voice recording. My choice to stick to writing their answers was purely based on the fact that I did not want to intimidate interviewees in this situation, as I know many people feel anxiety and discomfort when being voice-recorded. With me writing down their answers, my interviewees could, if they wished, at the end of the interview check what I have recorded very easily and change their answers if they did not feel they had represented themselves correctly, which would not be the case if it was on an audio file.

Here are just a few of the starter questions I had prepared and used at various interviews. Depending on who I was interviewing, the questions were altered to suit the situation, but here is a sample of questions: How would you describe the Sámi youth in this decade? What is your impression of the opportunities presented to young Sámi to self-determine? What changes have occurred in the past decade in terms of young Sámi's involvement with traditional and cultural indigenous affairs? Describe what is your perception of a typical young Sámi's identity, for example, from the place where you come from or of someone you know. How connected are the Sámi youth to their traditional and cultural roots in this modern day and age? How much are Sámi youth defined by their indigenous roots? I aimed to have enough questions or topics of conversation at each interview in order to conduct it for at least an hour, also allowing for the fact that my interlocutor might not be very talkative. The use of these official semi-structured interviews was somewhat valuable when dealing with adult representatives of a certain status and power because I was able to pose relevant questions and get comprehensive answers even in the short amount of time I was given to talk to them. However, as it turned out, these interviews were more valuable in the sense that they helped me establish even more connections with people within the general community, rather than being contextually relevant to my overall study. Many of the officials I interviewed have children or grandchildren within the age ranges we were discussing, and they would recognise me later on at various other situations, such as social events and gatherings, outside this very professional interview situation and this would create more opportunities for more casual, unforced and truthful conversations as part of my participant observation. Although I have used some information from official interviews in this thesis, most of the data further in the research was collected through my participant observation.

1.6.5. Ethics and Consent

Barnes (1979) discusses issues of ethical research practice in terms of “what is morally right or wrong” (p. 16) when deciding between two or more choices regarding a project. Ramcharan and Cutcliffe (2001) suggest that an incompetently designed research project is by default unethical but this does not mean that well-planned ones are by definition ethical. It is up to the researcher to design and execute a study which is both well-planned and morally correct in order to protect the participants from harmful invasion of their lives and privacy. One of the most important aspects of ethically conducted research is gaining informed consent from the participants (Heath *et al*., 2009). France (2004) argues that it is vital for young people to be adequately informed about the research they are involved in and to be given as much detail as possible of the probable outcome of the study. It is up to the specific researcher to decide what information is provided when, and whether prior to or during the study, in order not to undermine objectivity, but it is morally correct not to deceive participants and to keep them aware of the intentions of the research (France, 2004). Wiles *et al.* (2007) notes that in practice there are many different ways in which informed consent could be negotiated, suggesting that it all comes down to the specific study and the investigator’s research style. Another significant part of the moral conduct of research is the “process consent,” a term used to explain the issue of obtaining consent throughout a study (Heath *et al.*, 2009). This means that participants have the power to express their unwillingness to take part in specific parts of the research even if they have initially agreed to do so: process consent reminds the investigator that consent must be negotiated as an ongoing matter. Process consent is especially important when working with young people because it gives them a clear opportunity to exercise a degree of control over their involvement. When undertaking youth research, the investigator often has to deal with gatekeepers because the study is conducted in institutions such as schools, youth organisations and sports clubs (Heath *et al*., 2009). These gatekeepers have the responsibility for taking decisions on behalf of the young people involved in the specific institution and also have the power to grant or deny access to the youth they are in charge of (Heath *et al*., 2009). Nevertheless, Homan (2001) notes that the issue of assumed consent should be carefully addressed when working with gatekeepers. Assumed consent is when gatekeepers grant access to a specific group of people with or without asking them first and the researcher presumes that all the participants have consented, without checking this specifically with them (Homan, 2001). It is the researcher’s

ethical duty to ask for consent not only from the gatekeepers but also from every individual participant (Homan, 2001). If issues arise between the gatekeepers and the young people based on the latter's refusal to participate after the gatekeeper has agreed on their behalf, the researcher must ensure that there is a safe exit, such as respecting the right of the participants to submit blank questionnaires or to refuse to answer interview questions as a protest against participation. Anonymity is considered the default position with regard to most research, unless the participant expresses a willingness to have their names used (Heath *et al*., 2009). Including real names should be undertaken with due vigilance, especially with young people's participation. The researcher must use his or her best judgement to determine whether it is safe to include real names and, if the opposite is asserted, then the researcher has the full right to go against the participant's choice and not include their name (Heath *et al*., 2009). When it comes to confidentiality, it is difficult at times to protect it, especially when working with a small group of people from a very closed community. Only by describing the locale and the circumstances in which the research data were collected could this automatically reveal who participated in the study. Researchers must be aware of this threat to confidentiality (Heath *et al*., 2009). Leonard (2007) also warns that, especially when working with young people, it is a challenge to protect confidentiality bearing in mind the fact that young people share their experiences widely online and amongst friends. This makes guaranteeing confidentiality quite risky when conducting youth research (Heath *et al*., 2009). The issue of ethical incentives for participation by the young is open to interpretation depending on the specific research. Nevertheless, the most important factor is that these should be seen as incentives for participation rather than as bribes (Heath *et al*., 2009). On the whole, the issue of ethics must be treated with the greatest importance long before going into the field to collect data. Specific permissions must be requested as soon as possible, and all paperwork must be preserved for future referencing.

Every step in this research was handled by paying due attention to the highest standards of academic ethical conduct. The formulation of the title, aim and methodology of the research passed all the required ethics approvals by the standards of Oxford University before the start of ethnographic collection. The AAA Code of Ethics (2009) and the ASA Ethical Guidelines (2011) were followed throughout the research. During the primary data collection, all potential participants who could have been included in this research and who would interact with me, in one way or

another, were informed about their possible participation within the research. While doing participant observation at social events and gatherings, I would seek the permission of gatekeepers in order to be allowed access to certain events and would go on to seek personal consent from potential participants. If there were no gatekeepers and I was at a certain social event either invited by a Sámi connection or of my accord, I would always make it clear in interactions with other Sámi around me who I am, what my role as a researcher was and that I was there to experience their events with them without disturbing the meaning behind the gathering. Many of my Sámi connections would introduce me to their Sámi friends and acquaintances not only as a researcher as my main professional self, but also as me, the person that they know outside my professional capabilities. My professional role as a researcher was clearly communicated, but I also conveyed my personal involvement with certain young Sámi within some communities as such that I was not gathering data a hundred percent of the time I was at the events and I was personally experiencing these events in my capacity as a human being stripped of my occupation. When doing silent observation in large crowds at events, I would not necessarily let everyone in the room or social event know that I was a researcher because that would have influenced the behaviour of people and interrupted the ambiance of the social situations. There is also the lack of practicality of how I could possibly let everyone at a certain event know that I am a researcher when these are events frequented by hundreds of people and the chances are that I only interacted with a very small number of participants at any one event. However, it must be noted that, once I had started interacting with specific people at social events and possibly building a rapport with them, it was necessary to inform them of my research and ask for verbal consent before further engaging in any study-related matters. People with whom I have built a rapport and created closer relations at the personal and professional levels were always informed and aware of my role as a researcher. There is no doubt in any of the connections I have established that all the young people I have established a working relationship with were aware of my researcher role and I periodically revisited the issue of consent with them. As stated in the ASA Ethical Guidelines (2011) consent is not just a momentary end goal but a continuous process which should be revisited periodically, and this is exactly what I have achieved throughout my entire research. I also conveyed to people that if they did not wish to participate in my research, this would not hamper our personal relationship as two socially interacting people. I wanted people to know that I can

connect on two separate levels, professional and personal, and that just because they do not want to be part of my professional data gathering does not mean we cannot have a personal connection.

While doing the official interviews, I would always request consent before commencing the interview and I would also let my interviewees know that they did not need to answer all the questions if they did not feel comfortable with some of them. During interviews, consent was collected verbally, and I would usually make an indication in my interview notes that consent had been obtained. When working with young participants, I made it clear that all the data gathered will be used in a private and confidential way and that I would not put any names in my final report but could use circumstantial details, which to an audience of people aware of the community could possibly indicate who this person is. When working with adult officials, I usually said that I will put their names in the report, just for added effect of their authority, rank and position within certain organisations, unless they specifically told me not to put their names, which I respected. However, in my final report I decided not to use any names. Overall, no participant names or sensitive personal details have been mentioned in this thesis and all information included has been collected through the use of the highest academic ethical standards, as outlined by AAA Code of Ethics (2009) and ASA Ethical Guidelines (2011).

1.7. CHAPTER BY CHAPTER BREAKDOWN

Chapter two offers an extensive literature review of the main concepts within this thesis, such as identity, indigeneity and youth. Chapter three is the first of three ethnographic chapters. It presents a considerable amount of the identity prism theory, then it goes into the collected participant observation from two main Sámi social events observed in two consecutive years and this leads to the analysis of young Sámi through the complex, multifaceted and dynamic identity prism by revealing six of their identity prism walls. Chapter four continues the ethnography by further elaborating the prism theory of how individual identity prisms interact within a social system, then focuses on the overarching Sámi community by simultaneous analysing the seventh Sámi youth identity wall. Chapter five is the last of the ethnographic chapters and it presents the Sámi traditional livelihood of reindeer husbandry through two extended case studies together with the analysis of the eight and final Sámi youth identity prism wall. Chapter six offer a critical discussion of the identity prism, an overview of the Sámi youth identity prism and some conclusive thoughts.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW - IDENTITY, INDIGENEITY AND YOUTH

2.1. INTRODUCTION

*"*At times I feel like many of my peers who are not Sámi do not fully understand how challenging, confusing and even contradictory it is to navigate who I really am because of the fact that I have so many functions and roles to fulfil as a Sámi representative, as a Norwegian, as a daughter and beyond*."* Female Sámi with South and North Sámi heritage, aged 24.

To understand the complex, convoluted and truly perplexing concept of identity, one has to delve deep into the interdisciplinary labyrinth of identity theory development and progression. Identity theory spans a few centuries' worth of conceptualisations from a myriad of disciplines such as philosophy, psychology, sociology and anthropology. From as early as the Middle Ages, the Enlightenment era, the decades of the rationalists and empiricists, through to the modern foundation of identity theory in various academic disciplines around the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century and to further advances in identity conceptualisation divided between the private world of interior perceptions and the public world of social meaning, the concept of identity has a longstanding development. In the world of anthropology, identity is usually discussed in relation to people's collective identity, ethnicity and ethnic identity, which in itself is part of the overall study of identity theory. Many argue that even though anthropology deals mainly with the category of collective identity, people's social identity cannot exist without their individual identity and vice versa. In this sense, it is important to look closely at identity theory as a whole, both the individual and the collective side of the theory development and progression. For the purpose of this research, there is a need to explore certain aspects of the modern study of interdisciplinary identity theory, both in terms of the individual and the collective identity and then discuss further the specific anthropological side of the theory related to ethnicity. This will provide an abundance of theoretical background to support, justify and strengthen my unique conceptualisation of the proposed complex identity prism theory presented further in this thesis which serves as my main contribution to the anthropological study of identity.

2.2. IDENTITY PROGRESSION OUTSIDE ANTHROPOLOGY

2.2.1. Modern Formation of Identity Theory

A new era commenced at the end of the 19th century, when the study of the self branched out from philosophy into psychology, sociology and anthropology to become the study of identity. The most notable of the early modern founding theorists of identity are considered to be in the work of social scientists William James (1890) with *The Principles of Psychology* and George Herbert Mead (1934) with *Mind, Self and Society*. However, a few other distinguished mentions of contributions to the formation of modern identity theorisation must be made, including Emile Durkheim's (1897/1951) methodological exploration of the self influenced by society's moral guidance in the first of this kind of sociological work, *Suicide*, Sigmund Freud's (1900) psychoanalysis of the self in his *The Interpretation of Dreams* and DuBois' (1903) ground-breaking sociological work in African-American literature, *The Souls of Black Folk*. In terms of the most influential foundation theorists of identity, which have inspired and motivated the largest amount of future great theorists in the broad sphere of the social sciences (namely Erik Erikson (1950), Arnold Epstein (1958), Max Gluckman (1958), James Marcia (1966), Erving Goffman (1963), Frederik Barth (1969) and many more), it is generally agreed that James (1890) and Mead (1934) are the ones who deserve recognition as the founding theorists of modern identity development and progression.

William James' (1890) work was a turning point for the discussion of the self and marks the shift in the focus of theorisations from the purely philosophical private self into the socio-psychological self as the united understanding of the private, internal self and the public, social self. According to James the human identity seeks unity, coherence and continuity, the way of achieving this being to negotiate the interior and exterior experience of the self. James (1890) views personal identity as a "consciousness of personal sameness" (p.331). James' overall understanding of the self elaborates on the idea of the continuity of self-perception and self-sameness by focusing on the individual's internal cognition's ability to influence the external, social self. This postulate has given rise to the contemporary development of psychology and later on inspired the notion of the crisis in Erik Erikson's (1950) modern identity theory (Hammock, 2014). In James' theory of the self, there is a clear distinction between the "I" and the "Me" *(*1890). The "I" is what people experience as their own private sense of interior self (James, 1890). It is who they are in their own cognition, and the "I" is the subject of experience. James' "I" is a unit that preserves a certain freedom of

interpretation, cannot be further explored into parts and as such is understood to be the mind of the self. In James' theory of the self, the "Me" is the empirical object that is being constructed as having meaning and unity by the "I". The "Me" is the exterior, social understanding of the self influenced by memories, perceptions and encounters, and it is the object of experience (James, 1890). As such, James' "Me" is a social reflection of the whole self which can be divided into the material self, the social self and the spiritual self. The "Me" is the direct response to the outer world of social conduct and as such acknowledges the notion of others (James, 1890). As a whole, the "I" is the cognitive process that constructs the "Me", and this is one of James' main theoretical stances in the subject of the self: i.e. in the socially constructed order of existence, human identity is arbitrated in the individual's cognition (Hammock, 2014).

After this ground-breaking contribution to the theory of the self by James, it was George Herbert Mead's (1934) *Mind, Self and Society* that opened a new pathway of thinking about the self using some of the same theoretical strategies as James, but applying them differently. Mead (1934) also agrees that there is a clear distinction between the "I" and the "Me" when understanding the whole concept of the human self and that both of these meanings need to be discussed in order to construct the complete human identity. Where Mead's theory differs from James' is that for Mead society has the greater influence on the perception and construct of the self in individuals. This means that even though the "I" still preserves its explicative liberty, it acts in response to the position of others, which come from the "Me" (Mead, 1934). The "Me" holds the identity of the self as represented through the social shared experiences and perceptions (Mead, 1934). In a sense, for Mead, the "I" still has the agency to decide how to deal with a certain social situation, but there is a stronger influence of the social on the internal, individual cognition. The development of the self in relation to the public, exterior reality as theorised by Mead placed a major emphasis on the understanding of human identity through the constraints of social context and almost disregarded the individual cognition and consciousness of personal agency. After both James (1890) and Mead (1934) had presented their identity theories, the future academic discourse of the self in most of the social sciences assumed one of two stands: either the "I" (private) influences the "Me" (social) or the "Me" (social) influences the "I" (private). This means that in the modern broad social-science progression of identity theorisation there are two sides: one which focuses more on the importance of interior thought and its influence on the creation of the individual identity, and the other side

which focuses more on the importance of the community-based, symbolic meaning of the external social world and how that influences the development of the self. However, all modern academics writing on identity acknowledge that interior and exterior factors both play a role in the development of the human self, so being on one side of the argument or the other does not mean that they denounce either argument but only that they focus their attention more on which one plays a more important role in their own theories of the self. In more recent years, there has been also a third side where equal influence is being allocated to both internal, individual and external, social influences, and human identity is being discussed at even greater depths and in lengthier theorisations to include all sides of influential possibilities.

To lay this out as a loosely systematic representation, James' notion of the private cognition's negotiation of the self notably inspired future identity theorists (who generally address concepts of internal crisis and developmental stages of the internal self) such as Erikson (1950), Marcia (1966), Phinney (1989) Cross (1971) Helms (1984) and others, while Mead's notion of the development of the self within social, shared experiences influenced future identity scholars (who generally address concepts of social performance, assumed roles in society, interactional identities and social categorisations and classifications) such as Goffman (1963), Stryker (1968), Tajfel and Turner (1986) and others. However, it is important to underline the fact that all these identity academics developed their own unique theories about the human self, which were appropriate, relevant, and supported by research done during their years of active work and within their chosen demographic. They all pushed forward the study of human identity without dwelling too much on previous theories about the self and paved their own ways of understanding the human self as they saw fit during their decades of work. Bearing that in mind, it is important also to acknowledge that, thanks to the work of Erik Erikson, who many people consider the modern identity architect (Friedman, 1999), there was an increased interest in the study of human identity in the social sciences from the 1950s onwards, and later on thanks to Frederik Barth in the 1960s, that elevated attention also covered the sphere of anthropological thought in the exploration of ethnicity.

2.2.2. Modern Progression of Identity Theory

- Individual negotiation of identity development: internal self-perception

Erik Erikson's highly praised and valued contributions to identity theory have left their mark as some of the most influential modern writings in the social science study of the self. In *Childhood and Society* Erikson (1950) introduced his conceptualisations related to human identity in the form of developmental stages that happen in people's lives from childhood into adulthood. The world was introduced to the idea of the identity crisis, which has been a prominent concept in the study of identity ever since (Erikson, 1950). Erikson (1959, 1968) further discusses and progresses his concepts in *Identity and the Life Cycle* and in *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. In a way, Erikson started by challenging the Freudian notions of identity, which were and still are taken for granted, and in his own reality of post-war abundance explored how young people develop their identity into adulthood. As a clear branching out of the so far very philosophically and psychologically oriented notion of identity, Erikson takes his identity theory on to a very different path, where the self is seen as part of the process of human development. It is exactly this identity development, which people should ideally experience somewhere during their adolescent stages in their normal lifespan, that is central to Erikson's (1950) eight-stage model addressing the progressive advancement of human development. The pivoting moment in identity formation happens in the fifth stage of human progression, namely in adolescence, when the goal is to achieve internal continuity, sameness and self-cohesion (Erikson, 1950). For Erikson, adolescents have the immensely important task of going through a *psychosocial moratorium,* which means they openly search to establish new boundaries, self-understandings and acceptance of who they want to be as an adult in their own coherence and in the role they want to assume in society. There are two outcomes to this transient period: one the achievement of *identity cohesion*, which means that the adolescents have manage to create a certain amount of continuity in their identity, a cohesive understanding of their ego self and a self-satisfactory identifiable role comprehensible by the outside world (Erikson, 1950). The other outcome is *role confusion*, which means that the person is struggling to complete the *psychosocial moratorium* because they are unable to choose a path that suits their ego identity enough to provide them with a cohesive understanding of who they are, they are confused and unsure of their expected social role, or a combination of both these aspects does not match up in a comprehensive enough manner to provide certainty and sameness to satisfy the individual (Erikson, 1950).

Erikson (1959) further elaborated that, even though identity development should be undertaken and achieved within what he initially outlined as between 12 and 19 years old, this age range is very much not set. In the modern reality of the industrial world, humans need more time to develop vital skills that will be beneficial to their survival later in life, such as technical knowledge and specialised education. As such, people are more likely not to discover who they really are and who they want to be in their adult comprehension until much into their late twenties (Erikson, 1959). Identity development is also relative to other stages in the theorisation of development because some people are pushed to either a very early identity cohesion, a false sense of such self-understanding or a long-lasting confusion of roles due to circumstances such as finding intimacy and starting a family prematurely (in a sense, before they have comprehensively developed an identity). This means that the fifth stage is either rushed or skipped and they find themselves prematurely in Erikson's (1950) sixth stage, which could have further implications on one's identity later in life. Erikson (1968) also addresses the possibility of how the failure of the sixth stage of intimacy could potentially influence the fifth stage and one's perception of their self in relation to their inability to form relationships with others. As a whole, Erikson (1950, 1959, 1963) underlines the importance of understanding people's identity as a part of a larger progress in human development, and as such is neither just a transient cognitive event nor a socially influenced occurrence but more of a progression and a cooperation between the individual psychology and the world around the self. However, Erikson's (1968) identity theory is predominantly interested in the discussion of individual perceptions, psychological experiences and identifications made by the self and looking at the discussion of how the individual is being made by the "I" rather than the "Me". As such, the importance of the social world is noted as being part of the making of the self, but the central theory of identity development comes from the private identifications made by the individual perceptions of the human self.

After the immense contribution to the study of identity made by Erikson, James Marcia (1966) followed in Erikson's footsteps and dived precisely into the adolescent identity development stage of human development. Marcia's (1966) contribution in terms of the identity status theory is a direct response and follow up to Erikson's fifth stage of human development, namely the identity progression of the self, and as such it looked into expanding the theorisations about this vital period in people's lives. Like Erikson's theory, Marcia's theory represents a model with a linear

development of human identity in a stage-based phase progression. There are four stages, namely *diffusion, moratorium, foreclosure* and *achievement* (Marcia, 1966). Depending on the individual's low or high state of commitment or crisis during their identity developmental progression, the self can be situated in one of these stages (Marcia, 1966). When a person is in a state of *diffusion*, there is low commitment and low crisis, which means one is neither inquisitive enough to explore nor interested in committing to any options of life ideologies, understandings, orders or occupational choices (Marcia, 1966). This means that developing one's identity is not a priority at this moment. When a person reaches the stage of *moratorium*, where the commitment is still low but the state of crisis is high, it means that one is openly exploring options with regard to one's identity without being ready to definitely commit to the possible choices at this time (Marcia, 1966). During *foreclosure*, there is a sense of being ready to commit to certain identity choices, which might have been presented by someone else, but one has not experienced a crisis on a personal level so not enough exploration of wider range of options for their identity have happened (Marcia, 1966). The ultimate stage in Marcia's identity status theory is *achievement*, which means that the individual has explored a sufficient number of options during their crisis and they have decided to commit to their identity choices. In a way, both Erikson's and Marcia's type of stage progression of human and identity development is strongly connected to psychology, primarily derived from interviews with mostly male US college students in the fifties and sixties, and as such often does not address issues of the fluidity of cultures, the dynamics of character of the complexity of self-making (Urrieta, 2018). However, the value of these early stage-based identity theories today is the fact that they gave rise to tens if not hundreds of other studies related to identity theorisation through the lens of this new type of progressive identity development and further expanded identity studies to cover people of colour, women, minorities and indigenous people, which empowered, validated and improved the reality for many marginalised and overlooked categories of people (Urrieta, 2018).

❖ *Racial identity development*

With the start of the 1970s, the time had come for identity theories to look at a more diverse section of the population and focus on the topic of racial difference within predominantly white societies and the significance race played in the experience of people's identity development.

These new, emerging racial standpoints were still very much person-centred, psychological explorations of what people of a certain racial difference experience in the unjust and subjective hierarchy of race and ethnicity in the West. Inspired by Erikson's and Marcia's stage-based identity development, William Cross' (1971) contribution to the study of African American identity development marked the beginning of a more racially inclusive theorisation of identity formation. Cross's (1971) Nigrescence theory describing the process of becoming black has had an immensely positive and long lasting impact on the whole study of racial identity and specifically on the black racial identity theory. In his work *Negro-to-Black Experience*, Cross (1971) discusses the fact that due to the highly negative connotations attached to being a "Negro" in predominantly white America there is a need to transform this perception and transform this identity development into a positive experience of proud social self-identification of being a black person. The Nigrescence theory has the very familiar stage-based identity development postulate of the time, which included five stages, but according to Cross people can choose to repeat some of the stages in their lifetime, and this would not be seen as a regression of their identity, but rather a strengthening and reassessment of their selves. The stages include *pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, internalisation* and *internalisation-commitment* and they progressively explore what it means to be black and racially different from the predominant population (Cross, 1971). In *pre-encounter* and *encounter*, the person goes from not acknowledging their racial difference as important in their identity due to being raised with white perceptions or even a possible undiscovered black-loathing predisposition to being made aware of and awakening to their racial consciousness through a significant personal experience or event that has left a mark on their own identity recognition (Cross, 1971). In the *immersion/emersion* stage, in a sense the person almost goes through a purging experience where they might denounce all their previous white-centred influence, become functional black activists, express their racial inequality rage, show guilt for falling for the white trip in the first place and embracing their black pride through participation and interest in all things black (Cross, 1971). After this intense stage of high emotions and outbursts, Cross' (1971, 1978, 1991) Nigrescence arrives at the *internalisation* and *internalisation-commitment* stages, where the person's black identity has developed enough to stand firmly as a liberated, culturally awake and vocal advocate for black recognition and celebration, committed to this new blossoming black self and empowering others to do the same through social activism. In a further review by Cross (1991), the last two stages were merged together to eventually form the

Nigrescence black identity theory as a four-stage progression, where reaching *internalisation-commitment* did not necessarily require people to become black rights social activist in order to reach their full black identity potential. For Cross (1991) the importance of this four-stage theory was to make people realise their racial identity and fulfil their personal black journeys by shedding the negativity and embracing a positive black self-identification, which in the future has the potential to create a like-minded empowered black identity society. The importance of Cross' contributions in black identity theory has had a clear and long-lasting influence on the whole sphere of identity theory by enabling not only black people but all marginalised communities to use the study of their own identity as a self-certifying tool for validation, authority and power.

A very well-known criticism of stage-based models of identity development like those of Erikson and Marcia is the fact that they lacked the ability to be supportive and encouraging of racial or ethnic identity progression, which Cross (1971) specifically addressed in terms of his contributions to African-American identity development with his Nigrescence theory. Cross' advances further inspired other scholars to continue this diverse path. In the late 1980s, Jean Phinney (1989) continued the evolution of identity theorisations by specifically studying various ethnic groups to create a three-stage model of ethnic minority identity development. Inspired by Erikson's and Cross' stage-based development models, Phinney's (1989) study took a turn to include multiple ethnic groups in order to derive the most reliable result when it comes to the progression of ethnicity-related identity research. The three stages include first diffusion/foreclosure, in which the ethnic identity is not explored, second a search for the ethnic self, which is the most important part of the theory, and third the achievement of the ethnic identity (Phinney, 1989). It is in the second stage that the person experiences ethnic awakening, where, due to a shocking or unusual personal or social event in their life, they have decided to search for their ethnic affiliation (Phinney, 1989). The search for and exploration of one's ethnicity within a person's identity is an important moment of self-reflection, yet scholar's often criticise Phinney for not being specific enough when addressing how this process happens according to her theory (Urrieta, 2018). Phinney (1992) also developed the widely adopted MEIM (multigroup ethnic identity measure) survey, which, following a few revisions, has become one of the most widely used survey measures of ethnic identity when dealing with adolescents, young adults and adults. The MEIM survey assesses personal ethnic identity based on narrative procedures of understanding and evaluating a person's interest,

apprehension, affiliation, pride and commitment to a certain ethnic identity amongst other factors (Phinney, 1992). This narrative approach provides a much more complete understanding of a person's ethnic identity and produces a more vivid and content-laden representation of their complex connection to their ethnic identity (Hammack, 2014). As a whole, Phinney (1989, 1992) contributed to the study of identity development by moving the conversation forward to a place where various ethnicities and minorities are included in the mainstream study of identity.

After Cross and Phinney, the study of racial and ethnic identity arrived at the moment to engage in a rather overlooked place of how white racial identity develops. Janet Helms' (1984) contribution to the study of identity provided an insight that even though white people are the majority population and are not racially different, they can also develop a racial identity. Helms (1984) presented a six-stage model of white racial identity development (WRID) divided into two phases. In the first phase, the person abandons racism, and in the second phase, they develop their non-racist identity (Helms, 1984). Helms' intention behind the creation of this model was to make white people aware that it is through their identity actions that racism is maintained, so in order to end systematic racism, people have to acquire a better understanding of how it is created through privilege and authority. The first three stages of WRID proceed as contact (the lack of understanding of racisms), disintegration (the eventual guilt that arrives once white people comprehend the racial inequalities that are present in their realities) and reintegration (the slight regression that happens when white people put the blame for racism on non-whites) (Helms, 1984). Stages four to six are when the real learning and change towards the issues of racial power happens in the white identity of the person (Helms, 1995). These are pseudo-independence, which is when the white identity becomes genuinely curious and ready to change in helping to lessen racial injustice, immersion/emersion, when the person becomes committed to being anti-racist through the better grasp of their own identity, and finally the stage of autonomy, which is when the person actively strives for social justice, ethnic and cultural understanding and appreciation of diversity thanks to the achievements they have made to decipher their privileged white racial identity better (Helms, 1995). Helms' (1984) points out that, unlike the racial identity development that minorities and people of colour tend almost always to experience due to their struggles in their day to day lives, which are affected by prejudice and racism, for white people in America the racial identity development is optional, as they are the majority population and do not have to consciously develop a racial

identity. The contribution to racial identity made by Helms (1984, 1995) is an eye-opener to the fact that white people also have a racial self and that by exploring it they actively show their opposition towards racism, social injustice and racial inequality. As a whole, the theorisations made connected to the advancement of racial identity development have had an influential impact on the diversification and cultural fluidity of the study of identity and have also taken a certain amount of authority and power away from the grasp of the majority population and placed it in the hands of marginalised people of colour and ethnic minorities.

❖ *Narrative identity*

For many decades after Erikson's contributions, the stage-based approach to understanding identity was a very popular, convincing and functional way of theorising the human self. However, the time had come to challenge the neatly presented stages and propose a more open-ended, story-like idea of a narrative identity (Urrieta, 2018). Cohler (1982) moved the conversation to the life-long development of identity through the personal narrative of significant events and experiences that happen to a person in their lifetime. The idea of universal stages that every human goes through were challenged by the concept of a self-determining, free narrative development, in which individuals compose their notion of identity over their whole lives (Cohler, 1982). Identity as a narrative has much more to do with the interpretation of person-related events and shared experiences than the justification of universal stages (Cohler, 1982). McAdams (1988, 1990, 1996) further elaborates on the notion that human identity is in fact a progressive life story. As such, this narrative identity provides unity and clarity to the self and is a product of one's time in history, which means it can have various prospects, visions and significance to those living in different decades or centuries (McAdams, 1990). According to different periods of one's life story, the identity narrative changes its focus, and it is not until adolescence that the narrative starts concentrating on the ideological aspects of social realities (McAdams, 1996). Later in life, after the adulthood year of general events, experiences and contents of clarity and cohesion, the narrative turns its attention to reconciliation, peacefulness and eventually to a fulfilling conclusion of the life story (McAdams, 1997). In a way the narrative identity theorisation, described above by Cohler and McAdams' search for large-scale, complete autobiographical stories, is connected to James' and Erikson's concept of the private, internal negotiation of the self, but it also clearly associates and

elaborates on the socially constructed parts of the self by including the idea of events and experiences that happen to the individual mostly in the social, shared reality of life itself (Urrieta, 2018).

So far the discussion has been focused on identity theory development following scholars who were interested in the individual, stage-like identity progression of people, which almost exclusively happens within the private ego. These theorisations have been inspired by the followers of William James and Erik Erikson, but even though the social influence of the outside world has been acknowledged as being important, it was never the central focus of these stage-based identity development models, except in the slightly different narrative identity concept. Many of the criticisms of all these stage-based models have addressed their inability to explain how exactly the person is being affected through these stages by the social world of shared experience. In this next section, the discussion aims to understand the progression of theories of those who were primarily influenced by George Mead's idea that society and the interactions people have through shared experience have a greater effect on the individual identity development.

- Social influence on identity development : shared experiences and interactions

The self as an entity existing on this planet and within the reality of life as we know it can never be entirely separated from various social processes, interactions and shared experiences. As such, academics who were inspired by Mead's work dealing with the way the self develops on the bases of social interactions continued the conversation about how the social experience people have develop their individual identities. Erving Goffman's (1959, 1963) theoretical contribution to identity was focused on the idea that human identities can be seen as performances based on social interactions. In Goffman's (1963) discussion of stigmatised identities, he argues that people continuously have to manage their own identity during social interactions in a way that it becomes a performance of what people want others to experience as being them. Goffman explores the clear distinction between the ego, the personal and the social identity. As such, according to Goffman, the ego identity is the subjective self-continuity that people experience internally, the social identity is the social role people assume in communal interactions, and the personal identity is the available information about the self that people intentionally curate and put forward in social

interactions (1963). This means that in all the social interactions people engage in, a certain amount of information control and curation of which parts of the self to engage with occurs (Goffman, 1963). The three-fold identity, which Goffman constructs, is primarily engaged in the creation of social roles and the curation of relevant self-presentation in order to achieve a performance of the individual self (1969). As such, the identity theory Goffman proposes is predominantly socially oriented and commandeered by the social interactions people experience throughout their lives. In a sense, Goffman outlines human beings as actors playing various roles for an audience made out of all the people we interact with (1963). A criticism of this performance-based theoretical approach to identity is that if humans are just acting out their selves according to the social situations they are in, then there is a lack of depth to their psychological selves (Burkitt, 2011). If indeed their internal ego dictates many of their performances, then where is the discussion of the construction of that ego (Burkitt, 2011)? It is more likely that the internal conversations the self has while feeding information to construct the social roles and performances of the individual are actually the most important factors of our entirely social identities and in fact, the inner monologue people have is the stage when the performance starts (Burkitt, 2011).

Similar to Goffman's theoretical construct, McCall and Simmons' (1966) role-identity model is based around the idea that all human conduct is done in order to achieve a certain goal. As such, people are very methodical and precise in the way they perform their identities according to the social situation they engage with. The role-identity idea is central to McCall and Simmons' (1966) theory, and it deals with the concept of the established roles that every person refers to in similar socialisation processes, when they occupy a certain social position and perpetuate the already established meaning of the existing social categories. Role-identity theory is not dismissive of the established internal, private identity development that has so far been formulated and reinforced by other academics; however, role performances can only happen at the point of social interaction, and as such it is clear that role-identities cannot exist without significant social exchanges, categories and positions (Urrieta, 2018). This makes role-identity theory a foreshadowing of the future integrated version of the mixture of private and social identity conceptualisation.

The discourse of socially constructed identities progresses to Stryker's (1968, 1980) take on the role-based identity theory. Stryker (1968) discussed the notion that the various identities people

have within their self as their role-playing go-to performances for certain social situations are all ordered in a hierarchy of salience. As such, the identities that are ranked highest on the priority list would be those that people would be able to access most easily and use in some shape or form in various performances of the self (Stryker, 1968). Identity salience as described by Stryker is an important factor in the construct of identity because it is considered a behavioural marker. There is a certain amount of commitment that people experience in terms of their identity based on the hierarchy of salience (Stryker, 1968). As such, people seek out social situations where they will be able to perform the role-based identities that are highest on their individual ranks, which means that people are committing themselves to familiar social experiences, interactions and networks. In a way, this creates continuity for the individual, but it also limits the amount of exposure they can get from different social networks due to the created social structure that predisposes them to seek the familiar and follow their own identity salience hierarchies (Stryker, 1968). In his further contributions, Stryker (1980) underlines the fact that, depending on the identity roles people play in their social interactions with others, this gives them a very specific position in the greater meaning of social structures. This makes people's performance identities and internal self-cognition closely connected to the created social structures (Stryker, 1980). The theory of role-based identity evolves into the construct of structural symbolic interactionism, and Stryker (1980) views identity as personal self-awareness linked to certain roles assigned by social structures.

In terms of significant contributions to the socially influenced development of identity, the conceptualisation of intergroup prejudice revealed in the 1970s and the emergence of social identity theory (SIT) in the 1980s moved the conversation into the more cognitive yet still social sphere of categorisations. This was done by contributions made by Henri Tajfel and one of his students, John Turner. Tajfel (1970) explored the idea of intergroup bias based on studies of the randomised assignment of people to certain categories in order to understand the extent of the influence of group affiliation on human behaviour. Tajfel (1978) further discussed how the self and human behaviour in general alter in social interactions linked to assignment to social categories. The studies focused on the intergroup relations and prejudice that transpire in social interactions, and as such the idea stands that humans prioritise group categorisations as a form of affiliation and a cognitive desire to belong, which affects the self (Tajfel, 1978). Further to this work, Tajfel and Turner (1986) worked together on social identity theory (SIT), which focuses on how a

person's self-image is acquired on the basis of the social categorisations they believe they are a part of. The identity people derive from their social group membership and interactions are aligned with the principle of positive and negative connections, where the person strives to maintain an affirmative self-image in relation to their social identity and categorisation (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). SIT has implications not only for the development of identity theory but also for concepts such as conflict, racism and ethnocentrism (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Instead of being based on competition for resources, hostile connections and primal violence, conflict could be explained as a result of identity affiliations created by categorisations into social groups (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Equally, progressive social action and change could be related to SIT in the way that, in order for people to maintain their affirmative self-image within a certain group in relation to other groups, they will need to perform actions to improve, advance and ameliorate their social group so as to preserve their positive social identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Overall, intergroup prejudice and SIT deal neither extensively nor directly with the construction of a self-identity but do provide a certain amount of information on the topic of self-development in social interactions related to how a person's identity is influenced by social categorisations and as such can be understood as part of the Mead-esque influenced progression of identity.

2.2.3. Recent Identity Development

As times progressed, so did the concept of identity by moving away from a strictly philosophical and psychological exploration into more multifaceted discussions connected to sociology, anthropology, feminist studies, politics and even economics. Identity theory evolved to be more progressive, nuanced and intricate when dealing with issues from an array of spheres, and as such the truly versatile potential of identity became evident around the end of the 1980s. Contributions from Butler (1990), Gergen (1991, 1994, 2009), Hall (1996) and Holland *et al.* (1998) undoubtedly pushed the boundaries in their respective disciplines in terms of opening the identity conversation up to an array of directions for discussion. Even though, past the later 1990s, the topic of identity seemed to be in a state of academic exhaustion, it still continued to make slow but steady investigative appearances into the new millennium in the postmodernist reality of interdisciplinary research. Before going into an in-depth anthropological discussion of identity, ethnicity and the

collective self in the next section, a quick overview of some of the more notable contributions from an array of academic spheres from the 1990s is presented below.

Judith Butler's (1990) *Gender Trouble* opened up the identity conversation related to gender to a new level of analysis related to power, language, sexuality and the limiting binary views of society upon sex and gender. Butler's (1990) contribution to identity theory created a very controversial discussion about the performative nature of gender, which in itself influenced the illusion of the existence of the binary notion of sex. The argument Butler makes is not against the biological idea of anatomically assigned sex but designed more to deal with the oversimplified notion people have agreed upon in the human performative world of culturally interpreted gender and sex (1990). Even though Butler's research is often criticised within the academic sphere on a variety of issues, particularly in the way it questions feminism's necessity to unite over a shared binary notion of identity, *Gender Trouble* (1990) is a ground-breaking contribution in the sphere of queer theory and the dismantling of the oppressive, normative binary system of sex and gender.

As a postmodern theorist, Kenneth Gergen's (1991) *The Saturated Self* questioned the so far established cultural expression of the self and proposed a reconsideration of the presumed balance and consistency of identity. Due to the rapid changes happening in the sphere of technology, communications and the social world in general, Gergen (1991) suggests that the self as we know it has ceased to exist and that there is a new emphasis on the idea of multiplicity and the relational self. Gergen (1991) suggests that this is a significant historical transformation of the self because there is a saturation of potential expression and connection possibilities, people's identity has become a mere reflection of and self-referral to what used to be their original self. Gergen's (2009) later work, *Relational Being*, builds upon his already established notion of the relational self in his previous publication by introducing the ever more complex involvement of the online sphere to the already saturated representation of the self full of reflectivity, awareness and relational consciousness. The focus is on the relational connections between people as key factors in their complex individual development (Gergen, 2009).

In Stuart Hall's (1996) cultural study contribution to the theory of identity there is a move towards a more abstract, situational and strategic form of identification. Hall questions the need for any

further deliberation on the already very exhaustive and arduous topic of identity and suggests that because the concept cannot be abandoned altogether it needs to be reinterpreted in a new, decentralised way. This includes the rethinking of “the relationship between subjects and discursive practices” (p. 2) which leads to the idea of identification (Hall, 1996). Identification is a constructive process that is never complete, and as such it is a practice of articulation which is highly strategic and positional (Hall, 1996). Unlike the so far theorised identity, Hall’s (1996) identification is fragmented, subjected to historical influence and in a constant state of change, which makes it “a process of becoming rather than being” (p. 4). Through this identification, people create a narrative self, which is being constructed within a specific discourse, setting and practice. Moreover, Hall suggests that it is mainly through differences and exclusions that people create their identifications by constructing their articulations by leaving out unnecessary and irrelevant aspects of the outside. As a whole, the notion of identification encompasses the continuous constructive process of articulation and moves the conversation away from the idea of a complete, stable and methodical identity (Hall, 1996).

Another important contribution to the recent development of identity theory is the sociocultural publication by Dorothy Holland, William Lachicotte Jr., Debra Skinner and Carole Cain, *Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds* (1998). In the volume, there is an elaborate discussion and analysis of various scholarly movements and perspectives connected to the cultural theorisation of identity such as the debate between universalists and culturalists followed by the social constructivists’ stance and then a heavy reference to Soviet academics such as Vygotsky and Bakhtin together with remarks connected to Bourdieu (Holland *et al.,* 1998). A key focus of the book is to reconstruct identity as a liberating, dynamic, interactive and continuous construct, which takes place within figured worlds that place a certain amount of activity-oriented emphasis on the culturally developed idea of the self and others (Holland *et al.,* 1998). With various ethnographic studies from around the globe incorporated in the book to support the emergence of this new form of complex, positional identity, Dorothy Holland and her co-authors present an especially persuasive concept that ambitiously re-establishes the notion of identity at the end of the post-modernist era. Holland *et al.* (1998) incorporate the concept of relationally constructed identities, which are in a constant state of flux, both internally and externally created and also very much oppositional in the way they search for the differences rather than the similarities. The idea that identifications are tightly

connected to identity and that people's individual selves are a product of socially and culturally constituted historically contextual realities brings Holland *et al.* (1998) to a similar direction of other identity theorists of the time, yet with some bolder claims connected to the notion of figured worlds. The concept of figured worlds elaborates on how people determine who they are based on social activities in relation to others and also in terms of cultural and traditional recognitions (Holland *et al.* 1998). Overall, Dorothy Holland and her colleagues re-evaluated the concept of identity to match the progressions made within the sociocultural sphere and started the conversation about this new, complex, interactive, positional identity existing as part of the figured worlds of human reality.

So far in this chapter, the discussion has followed the development of identity theory as constructed within the private world of interior perception with influences from the individual and social contexts. This kind of person-oriented, internal identity conceptualisation has been mostly discussed within the areas of philosophy, psychology and sociology. As time progressed historically in the academic world and with the foundation and branching out of more and more social sciences, the concept of identity began being discussed in a myriad of ways, situations and contextual relations. Very early on in the ambiguous scholarly exploration of identity, a clear distinction was established between the notions of the individual and the collective identity. The main focus of identity development within anthropology has always been on the idea of collective identities. However, it is impossible to study collective identity without understanding individual identity and vice versa. This is why this chapter started with an in-depth exploration of the development of individual identity. It will now continue with an examination of the complex anthropological world of collective identity progression and theorisation.

2.3. IDENTITY PROGRESSION WITHIN ANTHROPOLOGY

2.3.1. Collective Identity

In the academic world of anthropological thought and meaning, the word 'identity' is one of the most ambiguous, abstruse and highly contested terms. As such, the notion of identity can be discussed in a variety of ways, but the general consensus within anthropology is that it usually refers to the idea of a collective, social identity. Even though throughout history the theories of

individual and collective identity and contributions have been kept separate, it is argued that it is better to combine the efforts from the theoretical and ethnographic justifications to create a more comprehensive and complete understanding of identity. The fact that human identity has always and will always involve and necessitate aspects of both the individual and the collective side of the argument is undisputed, so it is only logical to seek to understand the whole picture. So far, this chapter has explored the theoretical development of individual identity extensively. Now is time to look at the understanding of identity as a collective term.

Humans are irrefutably seen as social beings, and as such they are always going to be bound by shared values, culture and conduct. These shared aspects of their identity create a specific amount of collective understanding of who they are as a group and influences them in their comprehension of who they are individually. Historically speaking, anthropology as a whole is much more interested in who people are as a group rather than as individuals. As such, collective identities are discussed as explored under various social systems and an array of theoretical stances, from the functionalist through the structuralist and interactionist to the post-modernist. Based on the collective perception of character, people might exhibit either a primordial affinity or a more instrumental purpose in relation to their collective selves and continue with the traditions, culture and boundaries that are already in place. Before discussing the age-old debate over whether people are motivated or not in their affinity with their collective identity, in this section an exploration of the literature connected to the anthropological theory of collective identity is presented. This leads to a further discussion of how the fieldwork-heavy, non-Western exploration of the processes behind social systems came to focus on the formation of categories, boundaries and the notion of ethnicity. Overall, the focus of identity theory in anthropology revolves around the analysis of the construction of social identities within the created boundaries of ethnicity.

- Durkheim's social system and the beginnings of anthropology

Any account of the anthropological journey towards understanding collective identity has to start right at the beginning, namely with Durkheim's contributions in sociology with his notion of social systems. Marx and Durkheim both had a great influence on the development of social anthropological theory. This section focuses on the renowned sociologist and one of the godfathers

of modern social sciences, Émile Durkheim. Even though Durkheim is not considered to be an anthropologist, his contribution to the world of social science had a direct and profound impact on the early development of anthropological thought. Durkheim's notion of collective consciousness in *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893/1984) and his contribution, the first of its type, of the methodological social study of suicide rates in *Suicide* (1897/1951) steered the direction and conversation of the foundations of sociology and anthropology.

Certain aspects of the notion of human identity are addressed by Durkheim in these two publications by figuring out if the self is being constructed out of the individual consciousness or mostly through limitations created by society (1893/1984, 1897/1951). Durkheim focused on the fact that the emerging societies of the time were the main influences on people's identities. It is society that serves as a major provenance of moral and behavioural regulation to the individual (Durkheim, 1897/1951). As such, specific societies are not just a conglomerate of individuals but intricate systems formed on the basis of particular associations created within the system (Layton, 2013). People's identities are based on the social interactions they undertake in the systematic terms created by and for the specific social systems they exist in (Layton, 2013). Individuals have to perform and fulfil their duties as predetermined by the social system, and as such their behaviour is learned within the justification of social traditions (Layton, 2013). Durkheim's ideas were closely related to Marx's social theory, yet elaborated in way that is easier to understand and a widely applicable manner. In a way this is why, even though Durkheim's conceptualisations came decades after Marx's, Durkheim was the one that really sparked the conversation within the emerging sphere of anthropology.

Durkheim continued the conversation about the social system by introducing classifications within different types of society, from simple through compound to complex, and the discussion of the idea of the *collective consciousness* (1893/1984). The concept of the *collective consciousness* is the driving force behind transforming a compound society into a complex one, and as such it requires a certain amount of shared values on the individual level (1893/1984). People need to alter their individual consciousness on the basis of the *collective consciousness* in order to create *mechanical solidarity* which will transform society (1893/1984). It was Durkheim's influence and postulates that sparked the interest of the newly emerging anthropologists to look more deeply into

the internal processes of the social systems of various societies. Some founding anthropologists such as Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown and Boas wanted to understand the process behind the Durkheimian idea of social systems by exploring what they classified as primitive non-Western societies (Layton, 2013). As such, Durkheim's theories had a great influence on the initial functionalist-oriented movement within anthropology, and later on Durkheim and his nephew Marcel Mauss contributed to the establishment of anthropological structuralism (Layton, 2013). Overall, Durkheim's theoretical work on the study of social systems, collective consciousness and solidarity left a mark on the general understanding of the individual as part of the greater meaning of the social reality. However, the discussion related to the reasoning behind the existence of certain collective identities within a specific social context and how they might share similarities or differ compared to other societies happened later into the 1950s, mostly within the anthropological spheres of ethnicity and ethnic identity development.

- *Progression into ethnicity*

Up to the 1960s, sociocultural anthropology was mostly interested in exploration of the processes behind social systems and how non-Western societies and their communal structures operate, function and progress. It was through ideas connected to functionalism and structuralism that anthropologists explored how societies worked (Layton, 2013). Anthropologists would travel to an array of exotic places, mostly within colonial territories, and observe the natives in their compound, traditional social formations, which would be perfect to study as a unit. The consensus during that time was that each "primitive" society they studied was according to them just one culture. As such, each tribe has its own discrete culture which would be isolated from other societies and would be seen as a sociocultural unit (Munasinghe, 2018). More and more studies were being undertaken in various places, and the unit of culture was modelled on the assumption that each tribal society exists in equilibrium, within its own system and own culture, and that the anthropologist could understand them through their structure and functions (Munasinghe, 2018). However, with the advances and rapid changes of the world order in the 1940s and 1950s, the time of the static idea of culture tightly connected to each tribe and social system had to come to an end. It was no longer relevant to speak of the unit of culture and society in this rooted and motionless manner, and some crucial reevaluations and reconstructions had to happen in the study of sociocultural anthropology.

Before we come to the theorisation of ethnicity within anthropological thought, dominated by the contributions done by Frederik Barth, it was Barth's doctoral supervisor Edmund Leach who inspired, influenced and sparked this crucial reevaluation of the static culture unit paradigm. Edmund Leach's (1954) ethnography of the Kachin and Shan peoples of Burma, *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, questioned the conventional idea of rigid social structures based on his observations of the very dynamic interaction between the two cultures in the area. The Kachin and the Shan would not necessarily be bound to their own distinct presumed culture, and a certain amount of melding would occur between the two communities (Leach, 1954). Based on this, Leach postulated that not all members of a social unit necessarily share the same set of specific cultural features and that social systems are subjective when it comes to the process of acknowledging certain traits. However, this variety of cultural aspects does not always mean that there will be a distinctness in social systems. In areas where there are no defined boundaries and limits to the habitation of one group of people in relation to another, there will be established relations between the cultures within a possibly shared social system (Leach, 1954). With these observations, Leach set off the beginning of the end of the idea of culture being tightly attached to social units and started the conversation about boundaries. This was the reevaluation and theoretical reshaping that anthropology needed to undertake a clear and well-reasoned distinction between culture and society. The interactional process of social relations began being comprehended by the cultural differences in society.

- *Barth's ethnic boundaries*

Frederik Barth was the anthropologist who elevated the conversation over the negotiation of boundaries to the front of anthropological enquiry in the 1960s with his theory-heavy introduction to his edited collection of essays, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969). Barth's and his collaborators' contributions within the eight essays of the book pushed the development of the understanding of ethnicity. As mentioned above, until Leach questioned the notion of individual societies as representative of their cultures in a very discontinuous manner, anthropologists were only interested in the analysis of the function and structure of the said societies without paying much attention to specific ethnic groups within social systems. Frederik Barth no longer wanted to

tolerate this kind of anthropological thought, and he set out on a mission to investigate, define and elaborate on the concept of ethnic boundaries and ethnicity through the collection of anthropological essays by his collaborators from within a variety of fieldwork locations, including Harald Eidheim's Sámi-related ethnography. Even though some of the essays, including Eidheim's, currently read as very outdated in terms of their research choices, use of language and lack of contemporary cultural sensitivity, the theoretical contributions to the sphere of ethnicity that Barth made in his introduction based on these studies still count as a turning point in the modern understanding and reshaping of ethnicity theory in anthropology.

Barth (1969) begins with the postulate that ethnic groups are based around "ascription and identifications by the actors themselves" (p.10) and that there are a variety of continual processes that maintain ethnic groups based around "ethnic boundaries and boundary maintenance" (p.10). As such, it is central to the understanding of the process to comprehend what constitutes an ethnic group. For Barth (1969) an ethnic group is a self-perpetuating, culture-sharing unit, which engages in interactions and "identifies itself, and is identified by others as constituting a category" (p.11) that is different from others in the same social system. A primal focus of the ethnic group is the fact that people within it engage in self-identification and ambition towards it, which gives rise to the highly interactional character of ethnic groups (Barth, 1969). Barth's ethnic groups are not based on fleeting characteristics, nor just on organisational factors, but rather on the constant negotiation of boundaries through interactions. Interaction is key to the understanding of ethnic groups because even in the presence of close contact between various ethnic groups, this would not compromise nor liquidate cultural difference: on the contrary, interactions help negotiate social relations. Barth (1969) places the emphasis on the notion of interaction with the aim of negotiating boundaries as being vital to the recognition of ethnic groups and "not the cultural stuff that it [the ethnic group] encloses (p. 15).

The focus of ethnicity is the negotiation of boundaries, and as such this creates a constant consolidation of social reality as internal and external group interactions (Barth, 1969). The recognition of people as a simple dichotomy between members and non-members necessitates boundary criteria being used in a way that would maintain ethnic group distinctions. Distinctions in conduct sustain specific ethnic groups, and there is a need for particular criteria of identification

and structures of interaction to be present. When it comes to ethnic group interaction and boundary negotiation within the same social construct, this would be seen as a poly-ethnic social system (Barth, 1969). In this instance, Barth (1969) is adamant that “ethnic identity is superordinate to most other statuses” (p. 17), and as such people need to be able to execute and sustain their ethnic boundaries in order to prevent conflict. This leads to the conceptualisation of the type of relations ethnic groups can have with each other when two or more of them are in contact within the same social system. On the one hand, if ethnic groups share complimentary cultural features, this can lead to interdependence and symbiosis; on the other hand, it can lead to no interaction or interaction without allusion to ethnic identity (Barth, 1969).

In the event of established interdependence between ethnic groups, Barth suggests there are four outcomes of possible group dynamics within what he calls cultural ecology. The first type of interaction is the case of minimal completion for resources between groups, which would make for a trade- or ritual-related articulation. The second type is the monopolisation of certain territories which would require a politicised relation and the use of borders. The third type is reciprocal interdependence, which would necessitate the sharing of commodities and assistance. The fourth, which is also the most often encountered and most unstable type of ecological interdependence, is when ethnic groups that are scattered are in competition for the same specialised environment, and either the more persistent group displaces the other, or they both establish a superior complementary interdependence filled with compromises and sustainable politics (Barth, 1969). All these four types of ecological interdependence are examples of very narrow and specific type of relations, but in reality ethnic groups usually have a mixture of some or all types of relations and have to negotiate their boundaries, sustainability processes and politics through careful, ongoing conversations and interaction (Barth, 1969).

So far in this theoretical exploration of Barth’s contribution to ethnicity, the focus has been only on the interactions of ethnic groups of equal status, but this is certainly not the case in situations where minorities are involved. When an ethnic minority is involved in the equation of boundary negotiation within a host, majority population, various issues can arise. Barth (1969) brings up the most unequal of interactions when the minority is considered to be a pariah group and as such the majority population outright rejects it based on preconceived notions, taboos or negative

stereotypes. These kinds of minority ethnic groups are not given the chance to have the same interdependence, negotiation of boundaries and established normality with the majority ethnic group as other groups of equal status to the main group (Barth, 1969). What Barth postulates is that minority groups would not necessarily have the established intricacy of internal social validity as majority groups have, so in many situations people from minorities would choose to alter their identities by partially or fully adopting or faking a majority status in order to extensively participate in the host system, which offers better benefits to individuals. Barth offers an example of such a minority based on Harald Eidheim's (1969) chapter on the Norwegian Sámi, who were considered to be a pariah group back in the days due to being reduced to the status of an ethnically marginalised group by attempts of the majority population to assimilate them in the decades after WWII. As it stands, some of Barth's and Eidheim's views, observations and conclusions connected to minority group interactions within the majority group, and especially the example of the Sámi, were relevant and applicable to the discourse of the negotiation of boundaries within the limitations present in the Norwegian social system of the 1960s. However, going through Eidheim's chapter on the Sámi (Eidheim referred to them as Lapps, now a highly inappropriate and derogative term to be used) with the knowledge, cultural sensitivity and advanced theorisations that have happened since the book was published in 1969 makes it a very uncomfortable read. The observations obtained by Eidheim were accurate for the time, circumstance and social reality they were made in, but in hindsight what the chapter lacks is a deeper understanding why the Sámi expressed a need to hide their language, their traditions and felt they needed to be more Norwegian. It seems Eidheim only scratches the surface of the much more complex issue of the motivation of ethnic minorities to alter their identity. It is important to mention these observations, even if outdated, to showcase the contrast and development in anthropological research of minorities and indigenous groups that has happened since the 1960s. As a whole, Barth's conceptualisations on the greater topic of the negotiation of ethnic boundaries are still influential and relevant, even if some of the ethnographic studies from his edited book are outdated and irrelevant in the current discourse of modern anthropological thought.

When it comes to observations about possible alterations in ethnic identity across ethnic groups that are more equivalent in social status, Barth (1969) justifies these transitions on the basis of economic or political incentives, together with changes in personal or social circumstances. Barth

uses the example of Pathans becoming Baluch and the Fur of Sudan becoming Baggara Arabs. Even with these incentive-based changes to ethnicity, because ethnic identity to an extent involves a process of self-identification, people who have assumed a new ethnic affiliation have done so under their own free will (Barth, 1969). However, is this really a case of self-identification or a situational based inevitability? The main critique of Barth's emphasis on the free will of ethnic identity choice and determination, especially with the Pathans becoming Baluch examples, is whether this choice was made out of free will or necessity (Asad, 1972). The Pathan outcasts seem to have only one choice in the created situation, to become Baluch (Asad, 1972). Do Pathan outcasts have any other choice than to be incorporated into the Baluch social group? If ex-Pathans had the choice to be part of another group, would they still choose to be Baluch? The Pathans' choice about becoming Baluch is as much of a choice as was their 'choice' to be evicted from being Pathan (Asda, 1972). This seems to be another case of the whole story of the reality of what is observed not being told or accurately interpreted.

In his theory-heavy introductory chapter, Barth achieves his main goal of suggesting that, according to his concept of the negotiation of boundaries, ethnicity is an immensely interactive form of identification that is primarily occupied with setting and maintaining boundaries in relation to others in order for an ethnic group to progress towards a stable relationship within itself and with the outside reality. Barth makes the advanced theoretical shift in anthropological research from the existing conversation about simple, unit-based understandings of culture and society to a more complex conceptualisation of the recognition of boundaries and limits. Barth (1969) successfully presents the novel idea that a group's ethnicity is a continuous aspect of life that exists as a juxtaposition to those of others in a competitive, cooperative or conflictual manner with clearly established and constantly negotiated boundaries. As such this provides and preserves enough resilient cultural difference between people. Overall, Barth's contribution to the anthropological theory of ethnicity shifted the classic colonial paradigm of tribal identity into the new understanding of ethnic groups as determined by continuous interactions and the negotiation of ethnic boundaries. Even though some of the interpretations of ethnographic data in the edited volume *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969) are outdated, contested and products of their time, Barth's theoretical contribution to the study of ethnicity is still relevant and valued as one of the most significant contributions to the anthropological understanding of ethnicity.

- *Spectrum of ethnic identity analysis*

Many anthropologists have had to deal with the task of incorporating and explaining ethnicity in their works, leading to the creation of two marginalised opinions justifying the existence of ethnicity. In this section, the work of various anthropologists will be discussed in terms of their affiliation with either the primordial or instrumental side of the ethnicity argument. Only a few of them have a very explicit alliances, most being partially associated to one of the two sides. If the primordial vs. instrumental argument is presented as a spectrum of opinions and positions, some anthropologists will be clearly at the very end of either side, but a great number will be clustered around the middle, slightly drifting one way or the other.

The debate between primordialism and instrumentality seeks to resolve the motivation behind the existence of ethnicity (Banks, 1996). Why is it that humans associate themselves with a specific group of people, and what is the reason for sustaining such alliances? At the very end of the ethnicity spectrum, on the primordial side, anthropologists claim that ethnicity is an instinctive, intrinsic and immensely deep-rooted aspect of people's social abilities, which must be recognised as axiomatic: instead of explaining it, therefore, anthropologists must just describe it (Banks, 1996). At the other end of the spectrum, on the instrumental side, anthropologists assert that ethnicity is invented, constructed and skilfully utilised by people in order to serve them as an unifying tool to help them reach shared objectives (Banks, 1996). Instrumentalists see ethnicity as an artefact created by and for the people, whose existence is prompted and kept alive by a purpose, while primordialists reply that ethnicity has no justification, it just is (Banks, 1996). Below a few anthropologists are discussed in terms of their affiliation to one or other position on ethnicity.

❖ *Primordialism*

As a whole, the members of the Soviet anthropological school were distinctly primordial, and one of the most widely known scholars from the school, Yulian Bromley, was no exception. Bromley (1974) acknowledges the strong primordial views of his ethnos theory. The creation of universal statements based on historical evidence, influenced by Marxist social formations, rather than the

execution of specific fieldwork is how Bromley's ethnicity theory was predisposed to be primordial. Bromley (1974) defines the ethnos as:

a historically formed community of people characterised by common, relatively stable cultural features, certain distinctive psychological traits, and the consciousness of their unity as distinguished from other similar communities (p.66)

This is a very innate description of ethnicity. Bromley (1974) goes on to discuss the ethnosocial organism, which he describes as the main element of an ethnos, placed in a historical continuum affected by various external factors. This resembles Barth's theory of boundaries and contents, where the ethnosocial organism represents the continuously changing contents, and the external factors are the limits and boundaries affecting the ethnosocial organism. This means that consciousness of the ethnos is innate, but that the ethnosocial organism is historically affected by the boundaries, which are influenced by the ever-changing environment (Bromley, 1974). Bromley clarifies that the ethnos remains constant, but the ethnosocial organism could be divided by the very Marxist notion of class. Mostly criticised for this, Bromley disregards the possibility of changes to ethnicity through migration, as he does not believe that people who move can take on the characteristics of their host group because they will always be hindered by the physical and psychological differences based on differences in their ethnoses. Despite Bromley's primordial orientation in the depiction of the ethnos, he does recognise the influence of external factors on the shaping of ethnicity, which is de-emphasised by his Soviet-governed Marxist affiliation.

These next three anthropologists, Clyde Mitchell, Arnold L. Epstein and Max Gluckman, were all associated with the Manchester School and were mostly primordially oriented but definitely not as strongly primordial as the Soviet School. In their works, the discussion is still of tribalism rather than ethnicity, but they make a clear break away from the very basic notion of tribe towards the recognition of ethnic groups. Mitchell and Epstein have a similar notion of ethnicity, which is slightly more primordialist than Gluckman's.

Based on his fieldwork in the Copperbelt in Northern Rhodesia, Clyde Mitchell created his most famous work, *The Kalela Dance* (1956), where he follows a classical Gluckmanesque construction by first providing a description of an important cultural event, the Kalela dance, and then analysing it. This style of an extended case-study type of work was characteristically associated with the

Manchester School (Werbner, 1984). This dance was a big event, where people were able to express their tribal identities (Mitchell, 1956). Nevertheless, Mitchell describes the paradox of the event in terms of tribal affiliations. The dance itself proved to be a tribal dance, but the clothing of the dances and the language used in its songs were very much European and based on the urban experience of the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt (Mitchell, 1956). Mitchell questions the existence and persistence of the tribal identity of people in the newly created European mining towns in Africa. Mitchell postulated that tribalism "remains essentially a category of interaction in casual social intercourse" (1956: 42). This means that they use tribal labels in order to interact with other tribes in the novel European urban realities. Epstein (1978) later brands these tribal labels as capable of establishing 'cognitive maps' of the city scenarios (p. 11). Mitchell (1956) concentrates on this tribal social interaction but does not really describe why they still behave in this tribal manner. Nevertheless, Mitchell (1956) insinuates that this persistence of tribalisation even in this new, urban environment is because it provides psychological normality and stability for those who come from a tribal society. Most of the workers have been displaced from their hometowns because of the lack of employment and have travelled to the Copperbelt in search of better livelihoods (Banks, 1996). Mitchell (1956) hints at the idea of the innateness of these tribesmen, who are naturally predisposed to strive towards the establishment of that kind of group categorisation. This is a primordialist point of view, and Mitchell strongly defends the intrinsic orientation of humans in aiming at the social distinction of tribalism, which is later discussed by anthropologists in terms of ethnicity (Banks, 1996).

Arnold L. Epstein (1958) worked closely with Mitchell (1956) in the Copperbelt and contributed greatly to the study of African urban life during times of change but in terms of ethnicity, Epstein's (1978) *Ethos and Identity* refined matters connected to previously discussed issues about tribalism. When both Mitchell and Epstein consider tribalism, this is in fact the same term as ethnicity, but during their era 'tribalism' was considered to be the correct term. Epstein (1978) draws attention to the idea that tribalism has an objective and subjective aspect. In other words, people have two stances when considering their ethnicity, one related to their own internal psychological identity, the other to how the external society perceives them. Epstein supports the notion of a 'terminal identity, one that embraces and integrates a whole series of statuses, roles, and lesser identities" (1978: 101). Epstein's notions are influenced by a number of psychological movements of his time,

especially by Erik Erikson's views, from whom Epstein adopts the idea that a person's identity is equally influenced by internal and external factors. Here is where Epstein mentioned the cognitive maps based on Mitchell's idea of the innate tribal labels used as interaction categories. This undoubtedly places Epstein (1978) as a firm supporter of primordialism. Nevertheless, many people criticise Epstein's work based on its lack of clarity and analytical depth. Epstein's accounts seem to be overwhelmed by a purely historical succession of anthropological theories, which devalues his contributions (Werbner, 1984).

Max Gluckman is an important figure in the rise of the anthropology of ethnicity as a possible inspiration to Fredrik Barth, whose theory of boundaries seems partially prompted by Gluckman's work on tribalism (Werbner, 1984). Gluckman's (1958) *Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand* describes the opening of a bridge and then analyses the event in terms of the relationship between the Zulu and Europeans. The idea behind his exploration is that if it is possible for the Zulu and Europeans to cooperate in such a civilised manner during a celebration, then they clearly form a community (Werbner, 1984). This community has a very unequal relationship because the Europeans have acquired the dominant position and the Zulu have assumed the subservient state (Gluckman, 1958). It is exactly here that Gluckman hints at the establishment of what was later known as context and the conservation of social boundaries. In various situations, the Europeans and the Zulu exhibit different social attitudes towards each other and display ambivalent values and principles (Werbner, 1984). This can be seen as the rise of the Barthian idea of boundary maintenance. Gluckman defends the notion that individuals can have identity categories and recognise the differences between themselves and others (Werbner, 1984). By doing so, people form groups which progress solely on the basis of their ability to communicate and cooperate with other such groups (Gluckman, 1958). Gluckman does not go into any explanation for why such groups are formed, but just accepts it as a given. This is why he is considered to have a slight primordial orientation because, even though he does not clearly state that people's identity is innate, it is easily assumed from the way he conducts the rest of his arguments (Banks, 1996).

- *Instrumentalism*

Abner Cohen (1969) exposes his highly instrumentals views in his work *Custom and Politics in Urban Africa*. Cohen (1969) was involved with the Hausa traders of Nigeria, who were able to

augment their trading strategies by assuming different ethnic identities. Cohen's (1969) fundamental postulate is that ethnicity is highly instrumental and that this makes the reasons behind declaring and perpetuating a group's identity immensely political and economic. There are no deep psychological or unconscious aspects of ethnicity: it is all purely goal-oriented and cognisant human behaviour. Cohen's (1969) work with the Hausa proves his point by exposing their involvement in specific commercial activities and showing how their identities alter according to the required norms for a prosperous lifestyle. Non-Hausa can become Hausa for economic purposes if they wish as long as they can speak the language, are Muslim and have no strikingly contrasting physical features that could distinguish them from other Hausa (Cohen, 1969). Cohen rejects all primordialist views by branding the innate, unconscious and psychological justification behind ethnicity as fallacious and misguided.

Cohen (1974) quite openly criticises the theories of Mitchell and Mayer, his fellow Manchester scholars, and moves as far away from primordialism as possible. After his examination of the Hausa population in Nigeria, Cohen puts forward the idea of "political ethnicity" (1969: 27), where ethnicity is seen as a commercial, political and economic tactic rather than a deep-rooted, subconscious declaration of identity. In the Hausa case, Cohen (1969) suggests two reasons for the convincing presence of their ethnicity as the internal and external causes. The internal objective is to control the trade in kola nut and livestock which proves to be a very intricate business and requires a high level of trust, cooperation and established connections, which only a true Hausa can deal with. The external objective is to gain dominance over the political and economic affairs of the trade in their region. These two reasons, in combination with a period of harsh political and financial events, prompted the retribalisation of the Hausa (Cohen, 1969).

According to Cohen (1969), the Hausa's existence as such a group in the urban reality of the city of Ibadan is purely based on their determination to monopolise the market for kola nuts and cattle and to dominate the financial environment. It is all done in the name of economic interests and has nothing to do with the human innate predispositions that have an openly expressed identity (Banks, 1996). Cohen (1974) gets as far away as possible from any notions of a subconscious psychological form of ethnicity. Ethnicity is all well planned and purpose-oriented in order to serve a grand intention. Many criticise Cohen for not paying any attention to how the Hausa themselves

would view their identity if politics and economics had nothing to do with their lives (Banks, 1996). Cohen is often faulted because his lack of deeper involvement with the Hausa within their own families, outside the trade zone and at a more intimate level (Banks, 1996). Nevertheless, Cohen is still one of the most instrumental of anthropologists, if not the most instrumental.

❖ *Somewhere in-between*

Having explored both sides of the primordialist vs instrumentalist debate, now it is necessary to unveil what anthropologists in the golden mean have postulated. There are many anthropologists who have had mixed opinions about the justifications behind the existence of ethnicity, without a proclaimed primordialist or instrumentalist side. Carter Bentley (1987) presents his own take on ethnicity in his paper “Ethnicity and Practice”, where he challenges both primordialism and instrumentalism. Bentley introduces Pierre Bourdieu’s (1977) concept of habitus to the explanation of ethnicity by emphasising it as a focal point of ethnic recognition. It is exactly habitus that triggers ethnicity because it is based on practice, everyday activities and a set of socially learnt dispositions (Bourdieu, 1977). The main idea of habitus is that, even though it is unconscious, it is learned and not inherited, innate or instinctive (Bourdieu, 1977). People are not born with it, but rather grow into it (Bourdieu, 1977). Bentley (1987) defends the position that ethnicity is an unconscious part of life, such as habitus, so it cannot be considered instrumental. Nevertheless, ethnicity is not primordial either because habitus changes with generations based on alterations to economic and actual conditions (Bentley, 1987). Bentley’s ethnicity theory attempts to mediate a solution to the primordial vs instrumental debate by combining the two sides. He chooses habitus as the explanation behind the reason for ethnicity, which makes ethnicity unconscious yet dynamic and constantly changing because of altering political and economic environments. General theories and contributions made by Bourdieu will be further discussed in this chapter in relation to ethnicity as stated by himself. Bentley’s theory encounters some criticism, amongst which the main one is Bentley’s strong endorsement of content recognition and his obvious avoidance of the incorporation of Barth’s ethnic others (Banks, 1996). Too much attention is paid to the personal exhibition of ethnicity, but the reference to the boundaries created from other ethnicities is not discussed.

Thomas Eriksen is another anthropologist who rejects both instrumentalism and primordialism as single truths and focuses on creating a theory based on a mixture of contrasting ideas. “If we want to understand ethnic identity, we cannot a priori assume that ethnic categories exist by virtue of certain ‘functions’” (1993: 60). For Eriksen (1993), personal values are established through cultural deliberations at a private level within the family and in friendship circles. Only after this is achieved are these ethnic identities ready to be exposed to the wider group and then eventually introduced to the other groups. As with Bentley, Eriksen’s (1993) ethnicity is constantly being negotiated at a private level, but this also allows it to change based on external environmental factors. Eriksen states that “there is no simple one-to-one relationship between ideology and social practices,” which means that ethnicity is not solely set on the basis of ancestry but on a myriad of factors (1993: 69). Eriksen focuses on the progressive construction of identities together with the idea of preservation of significant characteristics for future generations.

Eriksen’s (1993) concept advocates the existence of a consensus between the psychological, innate identity moderated at a private level and the socially created, environmentally obtained ethnicity in the context of interaction. In his later works Eriksen and Schober (2016) continue on the same path of identity conceptualisation but in the context of a globalised reality. In the edited book *Identity Destabilised,* Eriksen and Schober (2016) offer a theory-rich introduction that binds together the ethnographic offerings from a variety of areas. As a whole, there is a strong feel of a follow up to the concepts Eriksen has already established in *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (1993) and also of Barth’s presence in the current theory offerings that discuss the “interplay between exogenous and endogenous forces” (Eriksen and Schober, 2016: 14). In a sense, this edited edition reestablishes the study of identity in this decade within the mixed notion of personal expression and social influence as affected by rapid global changes and instabilities.

- *Habitus and ethnic identity*

Away from the highly dichotomised conversation about the motivations behind the existence of ethnicity, Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice and concept of habitus offer a less deterministic understanding of the influence of social structures on individual identity. According to Bourdieu (1977), habitus is the complex, unconscious set of dispositions that reflect external social

structures, are preserved by the person and are influential in the individual's perception and behaviour. As such, the social structures that a person belongs to do not directly determine the individual's behaviour and identity, but there is a certain predisposition in effect, which would influence the self (Bourdieu, 1990). Habitus is learnt, and even though the dispositions are structured as reflecting the social conditions the individual is in at different periods of their life, with primary, childhood habitus being more influential than those created later in life, habitus is not innate, instructive nor inherited (Bourdieu, 1991). The pliability and modifiability of habitus is based on the individual perception, recognition and interpretation of social reality (Bourdieu, 1977). The individual's history in terms of social contexts and personal understandings also influences the habitus, making it a continuously changing system of dispositions and inclinations (Bourdieu, 1990). This makes habitus an improvisation rather than a selection of established rules (Layton, 2013). It is through actions and interactions that the habitus and overall meaningful individual reality is constructed (Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu's habitus within his theory of practice offers a way of understanding the negotiation of individual and collective identity through practical activity and dispositional processes.

Habitus triggers the negotiation of ethnic identity in individuals. Just like habitus, ethnicity is based on a certain amount of unconscious inclinations and dispositions, but it is also affected by actions and practices. This makes people's social identity a story of understanding the relations and results of the interaction between the dispositional and the reflexive sides of habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). When Bourdieu (1999) questions why some parts of the identity become reflexive while others do not, he states that this is due to the fact that "mental structures do not simply reflect social structures" (p. 513). Yet, in a sense, the reflective comes out as part of the dispositional identity when there is a certain prompt for it to do so (Bourdieu, 1991). As such Bourdieu offers a complex yet dispositional understanding in which the discursive construction and reflective projections of identity can work together within the limits of practice (Bottero, 2010). As a critique of the limiting idea of reflexivity within habitus and field that reduces agents very much to the meaning within their social location, Bourdieu's reflexivity is criticised for its overwhelmingly dispositional nature, and as such it is claimed that it does not offer enough substance to elaborate on the reflective aspect of identity (Bottero, 2010). Others acknowledge the limitations of the agents within practice and as a solution suggest that more reflexivity should be included in Bourdieu's theory (Sayer, 2004). The

issue with reflexivity seems to be the fact that it covers a multitude of meanings connected to conduct, self-accountability and interactional context, so it might be better discussed as an "intersubjective nature of practice" (Bottero, 2010: 12). In this way, reflexivity can be viewed as extending "beyond agents' predispositions, as the collective accomplishment of networks of various disposed agents" (Bottero, 2010: 12). Overall, reflexivity in identification is more suited to being understood as "a reflection on, not a reflection of, dispositional practice" which offers a more structured outlook on practice (Bottero, 2010: 19). There is a mixture of the dispositional, collective and reflexive sides of the self within the development of identity.

2.3.2. Contemporary Development of Ethnicity

In recent decades there has been a diminishing interest in the study of ethnicity as solely or primarily encapsulated within classical anthropological thought, yet there have been works that are critical of the focal point of boundaries and ethnic group units (Brubaker, 2004, Fenton, 2010, Jenkins, 2014, Sökefeld, 1999). The issues that many scholars have with setting boundaries and differentiations is the fact that often these are done on the basis of attributes that are presented as external to the self and offered by others (Fenton, 2010). These other groups often have a certain relation of power in play, such as colonial representation or majority group stakes, and as such they might not provide the most accurate and freed of social stratification meaning (Eriksen, 2010). Brubaker (2004) further develops the idea of ethnic categories as existing without the need for ethnic groups in the case of complex, diverse and pluralistic social orders. The notion that ethnic groups only exist as connected to the idea of their existence suggests that ethnic groups are unnecessary (Brubaker, 2004). However, there are consequences to such statements, one being the fundamental availability of rights for ethnic groups as entities within the international system. If ethnic groups are no more than just the notion of their existence, many people of a certain ethnicity would not be able to pursuit their right to self-determination. As such, Brubaker's (2004) lack of ethnic groups is destructive to the practical side of ethnicity in present-day reality. There must be a middle ground between the traditional and the constructivist approach to ethnicity.

Jenkins (2014) acknowledges that ethnic identities are ubiquitous and generic, yet a necessary part of life in order to create structure and order. This is nothing new in the long history of this topic.

Jenkins further argues that identities are interactional, based on the search for similarity and difference, together with the notion that external and internal identifications both play a role in the individual and collective development of identity and that these are all produced and reproduced within the context of their existence. In this way Jenkins puts together a well-rounded and applicable concept of ethnicity within modern thought in the social sciences as this fine balance between an internal and external dialogue (2014). Jenkins also addresses issues related to the reflexive self and its capacity to choose alternative categorisations. In this sense, human nature is in charge of parts of the reflexive identity, and the human urge to resist and respond differently to the organisational categorisation of membership is evident and applicable within the modern development of self (Jenkins, 2014). However, the choice to resist categorisation is applicable only if people are aware they are being categorised. This is immensely relevant in the current fast-paced security-inspired surveillance reality that people exist in despite often being unaware of the fact that they are being recorded and categorised by organisations in both the public and private sectors (Jenkins, 2014). Understanding the collective life and individual behaviour of people as part of their overall identity is turning into both a materialistic projection of capitalism and an idealistic representation of everyday categorisations.

Sökefeld (1999) starts by discussing the problematic nature of identity within anthropology, namely the fact that it is predominantly focused on shared realities and strongly detaches itself from the problem of the self. The literature on ethnic identity rarely mentions the notion of the self, and when it does talk about it, it does not go into great detail. What Sökefeld (1999) goes on to suggest is that there are no collective identities without the presence of the self, and he uses a case study from Gilgit in Pakistan to present his argumentation. The understanding of a plurality of identities is what Sökefeld points out is necessary when talking about the difference between ethnic, shared identity and the self. The ability to manage one's many identities is within the capability of the self. The reflexivity of the self is what distinguishes between the self and everything else (Sökefeld, 1999). Sökefeld connects the self to shared identity in a way that the self is the reflective superordinate constant that is able to distinguish between the plurality of identities. There is a further discussion of identity management that people engage with in order to create a certain loyalty with contradictory identities. This is where the notion of narrative identities comes into play,

yet Sökefeld (1999) notes that even these narrative selves cannot remain the same but must keep negotiating their stance within different contexts.

When it comes to the distinction between the concept of the cultural self and the actual self as an agent, anthropology has given much more importance to how people think of themselves, rather than to how they act (Sökefeld, 1999). This obsession with the conceptualised self has overshadowed the problem that might arise as to "who actually holds which concepts about whom" (Sökefeld, 1999: 428). Culture has become detached from the more fixed traditional meaning of belonging to an entity and has turned into a work-in-progress regarding the construction and reconstruction of social meaning and encounters. As such, what Sökefeld proposes is that the self should be viewed in the same universal way as culture. The self should be stripped of the more limiting aspects of its contents to arrive at the more ubiquitous understanding that "there is no human being without a self" and that anthropology should be more inquisitive regarding the self (Sökefeld, 1999: 429). As a whole, Sökefeld raises some critical questions with regard to culture, self and identity. Sökefeld does not necessarily offer any answers to the questions presented but puts forward the idea that the self should be viewed in a different light within anthropology so that it comes to be treated as an ubiquitous aspect of being human.

In Lawrence Grossberg's (1996) self-critical review of the notion of identity, he questions the over-exaggerated focus on difference when discussing identity. Coming from cultural studies, Grossberg suggests that many social sciences, including anthropology, should move away from the use of binary dichotomies and the strong presence of difference into a more open-ended discussion of the other. Grossberg's three points for moving the discussion of identity forward involve scepticism of singular identities, emphasis on the multidimensional idea of identity, and understanding identity-derived agency. As such, identities conflict in their multidimensional meanings with an interactional ascription developed by the private and the other, leading to a configuration of agency (Grossberg, 1996). On the basis of this progression of identity, Gerd Baumann (2004) connects the general advance in the sphere with the anthropological conceptualising of identity by detaching it from difference.

Baumann (2004) proposes a model of identity that showcases the capabilities of human identities to be about what one belongs to and what one does not belong to. Baumann's presents the idea that the three grammars of identity, or in other words the three ideas that people use in the process of selfing and othering, are orientalising, segmentation and encompassment. Orientalising is the simple act of spotting and pointing out disparities between one's own group and another group in such a way as to creating a feeling of superiority in terms of your own group, even if certain aspects are recognised as not entirely different (Baumann, 2004). Segmentation is the process of recognising where one's own group stands in comparison to another in terms of being foes, allies or both depending on ranking systems within contextual circumstances (Baumann, 2004). The idea of encompassment holds the meaning of making the others understand themselves more like yourself, where there is an inferred subjugation by accentuating sameness (Baumann, 2004). Using these three grammars, Baumann wants to move anthropology away from difference and into a new kind of understanding of identity. Throughout the edited book in which Baumann makes this conceptual contribution, there is a good variety of ethnographic evidence to cover a wide range of examples from where this theory has be derived, and special attention is given to conflict and violence. There is a strong analytical discussion that follows through in a fluid way in terms of the structure and agency of identity, yet more is desired from connecting the three grammars to violence.

Another recent contribution to identity studies is Nina Schiller's questioning of the persistence of binary notions within identity, which in a way is a similar query to what other academics have raised. Schiller (2012) addresses the fact that recent challenges within the globalised world cannot be rationalised through current understandings of identity and that as such a new way of thinking must be developed to explain some of the social and economic injustices around the globe. Schiller argues that by rejecting the binary identity conversation, a better understanding of the multiplicity, rationality and variety of configurations that current identities display within structures of power and social meaning will emerge. According to Schiller (2012), the notion of identity must be viewed "as constituted and constitutor of social life, which situates individual beingness with multiple simultaneous various connected interrelationships" (p. 527) together with the recognition of the unequal distribution of power that is linked to institutional meaning. To achieve this, Schiller proposes a focus on colonial powers that legitimise institutional systems and a discussion of the

imperialist meanings of contemporary forms of governance. The understanding of issues of “multiple and simultaneous socialities and identities” that are derived from displacement and uncertainty is also a key way of constructively continuing the identity conversation and taking it away from the binary era (Schiller, 2012: 528). Identity should be addressed within the dimensions of time, space and power, the end goal being to transfer some of its contents into the intersectional study of culture and power, yet within the meaning of personal, private identity formation (Schiller, 2012).

Wimmer (2017) discusses identity in terms of ethnic background and national pride. The general notion that demographic minorities tend to exhibit less pride connected to a national community than the majority population of that nationality do, is where Wimmer (2017) begins, but also builds upon with his contribution. He offers an exchange- and power-related model of national pride which does not necessarily support the idea of demographic size as a determinant of the level of pride. National pride is related more to political status, such that if ethnic groups are represented in the national government, then this will be more likely to generate a positive association within their national pride (Wimmer, 2017). In this sense, national pride is connected to the political, economic and representative distribution of power at the governmental level of a country. The study evaluates a large sample data from more than a hundred countries, which also collected people’s ethnic backgrounds (Wimmer, 2017). In this very systematic and data-oriented study, the results reveal that the less an ethnicity is represented at the political level of a country, the less this ethnicity will be proud of their nation. Pride is gained and lost depending on whether political representation is increased or decreased, demonstrating that “pride is produced by power, rather than the other way around” (Wimmer, 2017: 607). As a more systematic way of looking at identity through power and pride, Wimmer moves forward the discussion of identity, especially within minority-related circumstances, such that it is important to understand the value of the political representation of all ethnic groups in a national context. With this in mind, the conversation of this chapter moves towards indigenous identity.

2.4. INDIGENOUS IDENTITY/INDIGENEITY

2.4.1. Being Indigenous

Indigenous people from all over the world share a very similar story of a challenging past connected to colonial activities, the establishment of new nations within their habitual areas and their unfair treatment by a Western civilisation that was power-driven, land-hungry and in an accelerated economic development mode of operation. For many centuries, socially related understandings of what the human world is destined to naturally progress to often revolved around the ideas of assimilation, acculturation and the slow but steady decline of a variety of cultures, tribes and traditions in favour of a new, more powerful and more socially coherent comprehension of the human order (Clifford, 2013). This process did happen for many indigenous people, who were forcefully removed from their lands and silenced in their traditional ways of living, but this was not at all a natural progress but the enforced implementation of a self-made prophecy and also a very calculated power move (Clifford, 2013). However, what the colonial, power-oriented social structures of the late 20th century did not realise was that, even if the dominant human order satisfied its predictions to a certain extent, there were still plenty of indigenous people and groups that persevered, adapted and adjusted their traditional ways and took their culture forward into the complex modern reality (Clifford, 2013). In this sense, indigenous people of the 21st century have become who they are based on their robust cultural endurance, alternative pathway development and self-determination.

Indigenous as a term that refers to human beings started being used as a substitute for the more demeaning and colonial terms like tribal people, natives and primitive societies once the legal uprising of indigenous people began to take shape a few decades ago, around the middle of the 20th century, soon after the Universal Human Rights were established (Niezen, 2009). Indigenous people from across the globe started to actively seek their rights as recognisable societies with established boundaries of culture, traditions and the negotiation of distinct social complexities. For many the legalities involved in seeking rights meant that they had to put forward what they represented as a group of people, which required a deep reflective understanding of their identity. What is their indigenous identity, and how can they restore the validity of their communities and break the boundaries of the colonial systems that have oppressed and stripped them of their own

identity? Indigenous people started to self-identify and self-determine to recognise themselves as distinct and independent communities, with a certain formational flexibility, in order to show that their validity goes beyond the cultural and traditional aspects of who they are into a more special relationship with the lands connected to their ethnic heritage (Niezen, 2009). Self-recognition and self-determination proved to be an important step in the establishment of their decolonised indigenous identities, with a strong influence on the communal identities they share, but also with a deep understanding of the purpose of the self (Samson and Gigoux, 2017). As a whole, the international movement of indigenous people, which is often referred to interchangeably as 'indigenism' (commonly when dealing with politics) or 'indigeneity' (generally when addressing the topic of identity), gained power and recognition through a mixture of legal, moral and political campaigns together with a strong effort of performative ethnopolitics. One of the main tasks of indigeneity is to sustain, reify and further legitimise the distinctive character of indigenous communities around the globe in order to protect them from the anti-relativism of globalisation and decline of cultural distinctiveness connected to modernity. Indigeneity entered the 21st century with many achieved goals and successes.

2.4.2. The Politics of Indigeneity

The development of human rights in the middle of the 20th century aimed to achieve an all-encompassing human virtue that would apply equally to everyone, everywhere. The very nature of the Universal Human Rights is that they seek universality and as such they are interested in protecting each and every human being as an individual. The goal is human equality, security and freedom, which can be achieved by following the principles of liberal individualism. Yet "individual human rights cannot exist in a vacuum" (Niezen, 2003: 131) so it is up to specific countries and states to determine how best to administer the universal rights to their own people. As such, human rights were never entirely just about the individual because the power that deals with the collective rights is in the hands of the representative state. States decide who qualifies as collective people with the right to self-determine within their own borders and this is where indigenous people have come to suffer under the rule of the modern states they belong to. The sole existence of individual human rights was never enough to protect the collective treaty rights of indigenous communities (Niezen, 2003). This is where the politics of indigeneity had to step in and protect the

indigenous people from their own states' destructive powers of assimilation and cultural oppression.

The core of the politics of being indigenous stands strong with the ideals of indigenism. "Indigenism is a social movement with a strategic focus outside of states that seeks to activate rights to autonomy within states" (Niezen, 2003: 136). In doing so, indigenous people aim to legitimise their right to self-determine as a group within their own states. This is often viewed as a threat to the existence of liberal individualism due to the fact that a self-determining group within a state could potentially endanger its members' human rights together with their liberties as individuals. Kymlicka (1989) points out that protection and encouragement is due towards cultures that provide environments of choice rather than definite and fixed practices. The presence of choice within cultural societies defuses the threat towards liberalism. Kymlicka (1995) addresses the issue of cultural membership within liberal societies and puts forward the notion of multiculturalism, which advocates for the provision of a specific amount of cultural recognition of certain minorities and ethnic groups within liberal states' policies. He argues that a proactive stance must be taken when addressing cultural membership because the protection of cultural groups is in a way an extension to the protection of the individual freedom of choice. Kymlicka points out that it is often within cultural communities that many individuals decide on their aims and aspirations in life (1989). As much as liberalism encourages and allows people to make their own decisions about their version of a satisfactory life, the presence of a cultural membership provides extra guidance and meaningful options for those who need it the most, which are usually the marginalised groups such as ethnic minorities (Kymlicka, 1989). In the suggested multicultural liberal societies, there must be external protection to ensure fairness between groups and a strong opposition against restricting group rights (Kymlicka, 1995). Yet, there is not one correct formula to deal with all cultural conflicts and self-determination claims but as a whole the recognition of and support for multicultural states is a good starting point. Indigenism is a form of the external protection that Kymlicka mentions is needed and it specifically deals with supporting, protecting and encouraging indigenous groups around the world. As such, "indigenism is…a political strategy that entails almost as much cultural transition as cultural preservation" (Niezen, 2003: 118).

The discourse of indigeneity covers a wide range of ideas and concepts connected to various indigenous communities and areas around the globe (Minde et al., 2008). As a highly politicised notion, indigeneity does not provide an absolute understanding of identification but is merely part of the overall search of identity (Minde et al., 2008). Indigeneity seeks to achieve much more than just fight for rights in the legal sphere and aims to entirely liberate, decentralise, decolonize and provide a broad spectrum of resistance towards the established and unchallenged modern agendas of nations and globalised capitalism (Clifford, 2013). In the 1980s and 1990s there was a strong and evident emergence of the indigenous presence in many areas around the world: from the USA through Norway to Australia, indigeneity was leaving its mark (Samson and Gigoux, 2017). The indigenous people who have struggled for extended periods of time in terms of a lack of land rights, cultural genocide and assimilation could now have a voice and openly address their issues within the systems they are made to abide by in pursuit of their traditional interests and to express pride in their heritage (Clifford, 2013). This eventually led to even larger and more substantial aspects of their lives being opened to the capacity for self-determination, such as indigenous political systems, their own educational opportunities and unrestricted language designation (Niezen, 2009). The power of indigeneity reached many people and gave hope for a future where the ongoing conversation and negotiation of boundaries could succeed in decolonising many aspect of the indigenous reality. However, this is not an ultimate and unrestricted power: the power of indigeneity still very much exists under the assumption of conformity and the partial acceptance of certain roles of the external social systems indigenous people have to exist in (Minde et al., 2008). As Clifford (2013) mentions, “being indigenous today is an aspiration supported by international institutions and NGOs” (p. 20) yet as it stands, indigeneity still has to conform with a multitude of realities ruled most often by an external power relation from above.

Indigeneity, as a movement, has managed to be successful because it has consciously chosen to abide by the laws and bureaucracy of the modern world and to adapt to the situations presented as part of the globalised social structure. As such, it has provided indigenous people’s representatives with a very valuable seat amongst decision-makers and power-holders and has continued to keep indigenous cultures afloat despite all the struggles. Yet, this has come at a cost and some of the traditional power distribution customs of certain indigenous people have had to change in order to participate in indigenism. This change is seen as an inevitable transitions. It is exactly this

inevitable transition that also applies to certain traditions and cultural activities that need not be outdated to still be indigenous (Gaski, 2008). Sámi reindeer herders need not herd by foot, skis or sledges when the world has moved to using motorised vehicles. The use of motorised vehicles to herd is still an equally valuable practicing of indigenous culture and traditions for the Sámi (Gaski, 2008). To adapt to the present yet to still choose to pursue the indigenous principles, culture and traditions is what makes indigenism a valuable political, moral and ethical instrument for carrying, conveying and supporting the indigenous standards from the past through the present and into the future. Indigenism, as a movement that plays by the bureaucratic rules of liberalism in order to achieve advancements for indigenous people, has been able to secure a certain amount of power by reaching a point in history where non-territorial autonomy (NTA) is a valid and valuable political option for the preservation and continuation of indigenous culture (Spitzer and Selle, 2020).

2.4.3. Indigenism and NTA

Just as much as indigenism has stepped in as an esteemed way to preserve, protect and propel into the future indigenous cultures, traditions and values, non-territorial autonomy (NTA) is seen as a highly regarded way of offering indigenous people self-determination backed by legislative powers yet stripped away from territorial advances. NTA is represented by an array of political dispositions that facilitate minority groups in their strive to self-govern without the need or want of territorial authority (Spitzer and Selle, 2020). The NTA currently present amongst the Sámi in Scandinavia serves as a great example of a functional solution that offers indigenous people certain self-governing opportunities, without the tension of zero-sum geographic authority. NTA eliminates not only the hostility of territorial advances but also the responsibilities for aspects such as defence and foreign policy amongst many others yet still provides people with an abundance of self-determination responsibilities (Spitzer and Selle, 2020). Norway, Sweden and Finland each have their own Sámi parliaments recognised as official legislative bodies of governance, which aim to provide cultural authority to the indigenous people within each national border. Known as the Sametinget in Norway and Sweden, the Saamelaiskäräjät in Finland and mostly referred by the Sámi by its Northern Sámi name of Sámediggi, all three parliaments are in charge of the Sámi cultural, lingual, educational, historical, economic, religious and recreational affairs and to a certain extend responsible for legal and health and welfare related matters connected to their indigenous

population. On top of the entirety of benefits of being a citizen of one or more of these Scandinavian countries, the Sámi also have the privilege of exercising a specific cultural authority connected to their indigeneity. All these Sámi governing bodies aim to serve, represent, protect and promote the interest of the Sámi people by following particular regulations as outlined by each country, however, with the exception of a certain involvement in the management of the Finnmark Estate by the Norwegian Sámediggi and some recent Sámi specific reindeer herding management of grazing lands, these self-governing Sámi bodies do not have authority over any specific territory and as such are perfect examples of NTA.

The issue still stands in relation to the suitability of NTA specifically when dealing with indigenous people, who usually have a principal, deep and ingrained connection to a certain territory or land. Spitzer and Selle (2020) discuss the two sides of the argument as presented by various scholars such as Nimini (2013), de Villiers (2014) Kymlicka (2007) and Nieguth (2009), some defending NTA as perfectly suited for indigenous matters and others opposing it as an insufficient solution. On one side, NTA offers so much in terms of indigenous self-determination and provides valuable freedoms in governing one's own indigeneity through suitable cultural, traditional and performative activities together with the provided security of financial support directly distributed by people who work closely and exclusively with the communities and are aware of indigenous specific needs and wants (de Villiers, 2014; Nimini, 2013). On the other hand, indigenous people have always been known to exist in a specific area, whether they are the Sámi, the Māori or the Ainu, all of these groups of indigenous people are connected to an area they call theirs and have a strong, unique relationship to their lands. This makes protecting their territories and their freedom to use their lands without hinderance a primary concern, yet NTA offers no such priorities and as such is not sufficient to provide the type of self-determination indigenous people really deserve (Kymlicka, 2007; Nieguth, 2009). Both sides of the argument make a valid point, and as much as NTA is an amazing opportunity for indigenous people to self-govern, it also holds some drawbacks. The point Spitzer and Selle make is that the important part of the NTA puzzle for indigenous people, as presented by the Sámi case, is the progress (2020).

In Scandinavia, the establishment of Sámi parliaments happened in the late 80s and early 90s, which means that a type of NTA has existed there for around four decades. Much has changed and

evolved in the way these parliaments work to serve the Sámi people. For many Sámi the Sámediggi is merely a puppet show where almost no decision-making power is given to the indigenous representatives (Minde et al., 2008). However, it is a step in the right direction and the more people achieve, the more they want to make sure they keep achieving and striving to reinforce their self-determination. Norwegian Sámi have already achieved a certain amount of territorial authority in Finnmark county thanks to the Finnmark Act, Estate and Commission, which would have been unthinkable at the beginning of their NTA journey. As times have changed, the Sámi NTA has progressed and developed and it is exactly this advancement and shifting of the dialogue towards a more territorial related self-governance that Spitzer and Selle argue to be immensely valuable for indigenous people. The more indigenous people fight for and demand change, the more they advance in their self-determination efforts. Indigenous people's continuous involvement with the political movement of indigenism is vital and a part of this includes the ethnopolitics of performance.

2.4.4. Ethnopolitics of Performance

The more indigenous people showcase their strong and flourishing presence, the more perceived power they acquire to decolonize and challenge the conversation about the agendas of modern social systems. This showcase is to a certain extend a type of an ethnopolitical performative identity that serves a power distributing and decentralising purpose. Already discussed as part of the development of identity theory, performative identities are theorised by Goffman (1959, 1963), McCall and Simmons (1966) and Stryker (1968, 1990). However, the ethnopolitics of performance that involves indigenous people nowadays has evolved to be "a kind of a self-marketing in systems of neoliberal tolerance" (Clifford, 2013: 46). The indigenous cultural and ethnic identity performance is designated for various audiences but after a certain amount of repetition it also becomes a performance for/of oneself. "Performance is reduced to interpellation. Persons or groups are "called" or "hailed" to perform themselves as authentic cultural subjects" (Clifford, 2013: 47). The more people repeat and reiterate their performative indigenous identities for outsiders but also for their own people at cultural events, the more these identities become profoundly politicised.

Such is the case, for example, with the relation the Sámi have with nature. The way the Sámi proclaim themselves connected to nature based on their cultural and ancestral heritage can be interpreted as part of the politics of indigenism (Valkonen and Valkonen, 2014). In turns, this politicised association of the Sámi and nature can be used as part of the politics of shame in environmental lobbying in efforts to affect decision making and power distribution (Niezen, 2003). It is beneficial for many to continue to "perceive indigenous societies as living in perfect harmony with the natural world" (Niezen, 2003: 179). However, this aspect of identity politics should not take away from the way individual Sámi representative might feel or indeed connect to local nature through personal experiences and their relational self, but it must be acknowledged there are heavily political elements interwoven in the Sámi - nature relation (Valkonen and Valkonen, 2014).

In some of the more private, family celebrations and gatherings, the relational self shines without the need for a performance. Many of the Sámi who choose to live a more traditional lifestyle based on their personal willingness to preserve their ancestral connections are indeed exposed to their local natural surroundings most of their lifetimes, so it is no surprise that they will have a more intimate association with their environment. Yet the recurrent politically convenient presumptions that the Sámi are characterised by this harmonious relation with nature in a static cultural representation is an over-exaggeration that serves a power disturbing purpose (Valkonen and Valkonen, 2014). Ingold and Kurttila (2000) suggest that the Sámi - nature relation is largely practical, based on gathered local experiences and learnt skills. The reindeer herding Sámi have a "multisensory awareness of the environment" within their local areas because they spend much time exposed to the elements and as such local nature becomes part of their identity (Ingold and Kurttila, 2000: 189). However, this private relation becomes ethnopolitical performance the moment it is used as a bargaining token in politically centred conversations addressing nature as a general concept detached from its locality (Valkonen and Valkonen, 2014).

As Clifford states: "Indigenous identities today are performative. Enacted for different audiences at different times, with varying latitudes of discipline and freedom" (2013: 48) yet "these public manifestations can make us forget the more private celebrations" (2013: 47) so it is important to remember that a considerable part of the indigenous identities destined for outsiders is a form of ethnopolitical performance but much of it is also genuine relational manifestations of the

identifiable self. In a sense, indigenous identities in current modern realities are very much performative, cultural expression-oriented traditions designated for various audiences in the shape of acts to display their heritage through dance, clothing, music, ceremonies, festivals, exhibitions, gatherings and many other forms of exchange. However, this multitude of exchanges holds a deeper meaning for indigenous peoples, constituting their fundamental claims for power, resources and recognition (Clifford, 2013). Often these performative acts make outsiders forget about the existence of the more private sphere of indigeneity, which is mostly achieved within the family and community unit. For many indigenous people, their indigenous identities are often built mostly through day-to-day participation in their realities, but these identities are reinforced, nourished and developed even more deeply through their participation in the performative side of their self-realisation. Their participation in the display of heritage creates a more complex and intense understanding of their indigeneity because identity is of personal, private comprehensions of the self and external, social interactions within the communal identity discourse (Niezen, 2009).

2.5. YOUTH AND YOUTH CULTURES

2.5.1. Youth

The concept of youth often lacks a precise set of pointers that would better define it within the social sciences. There is a discrepancy between the socio-cultural and chronological understandings of youth. This means that the biological understanding of youth is often overshadowed by the cultural understanding of youth. To avoid confusion when undertaking youth-related research, people prefer to use more precise terms such as teenagers, adolescants or young adults, which in themselves categorise the issue about age better. Economic circumstances and general population shifts, which could both delay the young adult's transition to the next stage in life, directly affect the way the category of youth is shaped (Bucholtz, 2002). Throughout history, the adolescence or youth stage has never been considered a highly important phase of life, but this has rapidly changed in the dominant capitalist reality, where young people are targeted as self-aware potential consumers and trend builders (Bucholtz, 2002). Even in contemporary, predominantly industrial societies, teenagers might not even experience that much of an adolescent stage because they will quickly be engulfed by the responsibilities of being an adult

because of unstable economic realities. It is a challenge to define youth precisely because it is highly susceptible to external forces, which can easily obscure it. This is why Durham (2000) suggests that the linguistic concept of a shifter (Silverstein, 1976) should be applied to the classification of youth. “Shifter” is a word that directly describes the context of speaking, its meaning being connected to the situation it is used in (Silverstein, 1976). Words such as *here* and *now* are perfect examples of shifters because they precisely specify the situation they apply to and are defined by it (Silverstein, 1976). Durham’s (2000) idea is to apply the notion of shifter to youth so that the meaning of youth is always connected to the specific situation, cultural context or social environment it applies to. As Bucholtz (2002) sums it up: “as a shifter, then, youth is a context-renewing and a context-creating sign whereby social relations are both (and often simultaneously) reproduced and contested” (p. 528). This means that youth cannot be generalised and cannot have a concrete definition that could suit all cultures. It is a concept that changes in time and space.

Sociology has been dealing with the notion of youth for many decades, considering it either as a subculture or as a class-based element aspect of society. In the social sciences, primarily sociology, there are two main conceptualisations of youth (Vigh, 2006). The first is when youth is studied as an entity in itself, where it is perceived as a subculture that has its own construction of ideas and practice (Vigh, 2006). It is viewed as a fully developed social and cultural entity and represents a complete cycle of concepts, ideas and values (Vigh, 2006). The second perspective of youth is when youth is defined as “a period of liminality within a larger societal order” (Vigh, 2006: 92). This means that youth is seen as a transitional period between the stages of childhood and adulthood where people are just “occupiers of a social position” (Vigh, 2006: 92). Vigh (2006) explains that “we need to see youth as both a social position and process...[it] is always both being and becoming” (p. 93).

As much as youth is a shifter, which entails a contestable and flexible categorisation in terms of the two concepts of youth just mentioned, namely as a social position and as a process, adolescence is a much more culturally universal concept both biologically and socially. Adolescence has a more precise presence, and the anthropology of adolescence constitutes a cross-cultural investigation of the biological, psychological and sociocultural features of this group. The anthropology of

adolescence in fact overlaps with the concept of youth as a form of liminality within a larger system. This means that adolescence only represents the liminal aspect of youth. There are quite a few anthropological texts dealing with adolescence, especially in terms of initiation ceremonies, symbolic life stages and transitional coming of age rituals. Margaret Mead's (1928) *Coming of Age in Samoa* is a classic example of such research focusing on the anthropology of adolescence. Schlegel and Barry's (1991) analysis of almost 200 societies in terms of their socio-cultural dimensions of adolescence also constitutes a body of knowledge in the sphere of the anthropology of adolescence. The Harvard Adolescence Project examines various adolescent societies in the context of cross-cultural multidisciplinary research (Bucholtz, 2002). This makes adolescence a much easier life-stage to be investigated because it is always considered to be a liminal position between the preceding and following life stages.

In this fast-changing modern world, which is often entirely ruled by the economic changes affecting everyday life, the anthropology of adolescence needs a shift from the quite limited study of adolescence to the more general study of youth. As Vigh (2006) states, youth is not only a liminal period but also an entity in its own right. Bucholtz (2002) points out that:

Where the study of adolescence generally concentrates on how bodies and minds are shaped for adult futures, the study of youth emphasises instead the here-and-now of young people's experience, the social and cultural practices through which they shape their worlds. (p. 532)

This means that in order to gain a more accurate understanding of the anthropology of young people, investigation should focus not only on adolescence or liminality, but on youth in general, with all its lack of precision and definition, and encompassing its liminality and entity. Both researches in adolescence and youth anthropology are necessary in order to grasp the perspective and practice of young people in their entirety. Vigh (2006) emphasises the fact that in order to conduct successful research within the area of youth anthropology, youth should be seen as both an entity and liminality, a social position and a process, a being and a becoming.

There are many anthropological studies that deal with youth both in its entirety and as liminality, works that have had a great influence on the recent theoretical development of the sphere (Cole and Durham, 2007; Dyson, 2008; Furlong and Cartmel, 2007; Geoffrey, 2014; Jeffrey, 2008; 2010; 2011; Jeffrey and Dyson, 2008; 2018; Jeffrey and McDowell, 2004; Lee, 2019; Lloyds, 2005;

Pratten, 2008). In the modern world, young people have become a force to be reckoned with in terms of their social, political, economic and cultural influence and agency. Gone are the days when youth was primarily viewed as an imitation of adulthood (Dyson, 2008). Young people have a certain amount of agency in the current globalised world, where their highly strategic and self-reflective roles have a great effect on the way they are understood and treated (Dyson, 2008). The idea of agency preserved by young people has been a focal point of the modern discussion of youth in the social sciences (Cole and Durham, 2007; Jeffrey, 2011; Katz, 2004). This new agency of young people has created changes in relation to the labour market, education, lifestyle choices and opportunities for independence (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). However, these changed relations are also a direct result of a certain amount of restructuring done in modern society connected to labour, education and lifestyle. In a sense, within the context of modernity, young people are being enabled to remain under the category of youth for longer periods of time compared to previous social orders (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). This has created a new set of problems for young people that were unknown to previous generations, one of which is an increased amount of uncertainty (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). Young people have to navigate through these uncertainties, yet they also have many more opportunities in terms of how to deal with such aspects of life compared to previous generations. This means that in the modern world, which to some extent is still ruled by the traditional sources of inequality and the newly created uncertainties, young people are able to negotiate their dynamic agency and strategic roles in a way that would be preferably beneficial to them individually and as a group (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007).

The present-day anthropological study of youth is interested in mapping out the ways in which young people are influenced by and do the influencing of the established and newly created social structures of the modern globalised reality. As such, there are various working definitions of what constitutes a young person depending on which study one refers to. In this thesis, data were primarily collected from the most applicable age range for young people as observed within the Sámi social structure and general Scandinavian reality, which is between the ages of 18 and 28. This compares well within other modern anthropological notions of youth, with Jeffrey's (2012) focus on childhood and youth in between the ages of 8 to 30, Jeffrey's (2008) emphasis on 16 to 30, Lee's (2019) numerous possible variabilities which might include anything between 15 to 30,

Vakaoti's (2011) choice of 18 to 35 and Lloyd's (2005) mapping of 16 to 30. However, in many situations, even though a specific biological age is required in order to narrow down the scope of one's research, the psychosocial individual subscription or affiliation to a certain group can also determine why some people perceive or position themselves amongst young people as equals, even if their age is below or above the threshold (Hopkins, 2010). There is a wide geographical variety of studies of young people from Pacific youth (Lee, 2019) through the lichen-collecting youth of the Indian Himalayas (Dyson, 2008) to the young Ainu of Japan (Kanako, 2019). Issues that are often discussed in the modern understanding of young people are aspects such as the aforementioned notion of youth agency, changes in social structures based around young people's mobilisation for the labour market, political change and economic disruptions, as well as broader understandings of how young people's delayed entrance into adulthood might influence future generations (Cole and Durham, 2007). This research looks specifically at the way young people's identity is built as a whole within the personal aspects and social realities they subscribe to, and as such it is much more related to the interdisciplinary social-science study of identity and ethnicity, which recognises the importance of adolescence as a key moment of change and development of identity, than to the study of youth. As a whole, in the past thirty years the sphere of youth research within anthropology has focused its attention on the way young people have dealt with the changes that globalisation has created in their realities and the opportunities that have been presented to them, but also the large number of uncertainties, which seem to influence their agency.

2.5.2. Youth Cultures

'Youth culture' is an immensely broad term, one which encompasses a myriad of meanings in relation to the background, social status, ethnicity, gender, ideology and many other aspects of the specific young people involved. When talking about terms, youth culture is often opposed to youth subculture, but the preferred term is 'youth culture' because it is a much more inclusive phrase and also avoids the confusion that might arise when talking about other subcultures within a youth culture (Bucholtz, 2002). In anthropological investigations, youth cultures must be researched within a number of contexts, which should exhibit how youth negotiate their cultural identity. The anthropological study of youth cultures is all about examining the specific in terms of geographical locations and societies, and discharging the generalisations created by other scholarly spheres. In

the sphere of youth culture, subcultures are particularly useful due to their ability to offer solutions to structural issues, their choice of cultural elements, alternative arrangements of social interactions and the resolution of youth dilemmas (Bucholtz, 2002). The subcultures are highly useful in the study of groups of less represented youth, which would otherwise not be included in studies of mainstream adolescence. Ethnically defined youth subcultures are one example.

Sámi youth in Norway and Sweden in fact form a subculture of respectively Norwegian and Swedish youth culture. They are still representatives of the adolescence population of Norway and Sweden, but in their own reality, they embody an array of differences when compared to the dominant group of Norwegian and Swedish youth. It is useful at this point to present a study made by Butcher and Thomas (2006) on the hybrid youth cultures in western Sydney, which can serve as a point of reference when addressing Sámi youth.

Butcher and Thomas (2006) look at the hybrid youth cultures of migrant-background adolescents. Even though they refer to the existence of a hybrid youth culture, it is clearly a subculture of the dominant Australian youth culture. The main aspects of this study outline the fact that this hybrid subculture helps these young people develop a sense of belonging or being in-between (Butcher and Thomas, 2006). When it comes to belonging, at times their ethnic background serves as a convenient strategy for creating a network of friends from the same ethnicity (Butcher and Thomas, 2006). This is when young people can feel strongly connected to and proudly represent their heritage. The family plays a major part in the creation of role models and in embedding a moral code of practice, often based on the beliefs and understandings they derive from their ethnic backgrounds (Butcher and Thomas, 2006). The spoken language in the household also creates a different environment. An association is created for life, which attaches the household language with feelings of togetherness, family and pride (Hendry *et al.*, 1993). This is why, even if the dominant language of the country is spoken freely in the household, usually the native language is used in more intimate situations and at a better level by the parents. Food is another aspect that creates this belonging to the ethnic background of the family (Hendry *et al.*, 1993). Meals at home are a big part of a young person's culture, and in a household of ethnic origins, the food served at home is usually traditional. This creates feelings, memories and tastes that will be entirely

associated with the adolescents' origin and sense of belonging to a specific background later in life (Hendry *et al.*, 1993).

When it comes to living between the dominant culture and the ethnic subculture, this becomes relatively challenging for the adolescents to juggle. When asked how a young twenty-year-old girl from a Turkish family living in Australia would describe her cultural background, she calls it a mixture, where she fits well into both (Butcher and Thomas, 2006). Nevertheless, she continues to explain the lack of representation of ethnic mixing in the Australian media, despite the high prevalence of various ethnicities in the country's reality. Being in-between means that one's identity can vary depending on the specific situation (Butcher and Thomas, 2006). As an eighteen-year-old girl from a Lebanese background states, "My identity shifts. Sometimes I think I'm too Leb to be Aussie, but sometimes I think I'm too Aussie to be Leb" (Butcher and Thomas, 2006: 65). Experiencing an identity crisis is also often encountered amongst adolescents from an ethnic background who are incorporated into the dominant population (Butcher and Thomas, 2006). They would be categorised differently by different groups of people, and this creates a sense of uncertainty and confusion, especially in younger representatives (Hendry *et al.*, 1993). Many ethnic youth subcultures prove hard and challenging for young people to navigate based on the fact that there are so many aspects of their realities they have to take into consideration in order to understand their own identity positioning in between the majority and the ethnic minority population. Similarly, indigenous people living in modern countries with unrestricted access to the majority population's social systems and realities are faced with the challenge of negotiating their identity between two truths, one being their indigenous roots and the second their majority nationality membership.

CHAPTER THREE: IDENTITY BUILDING AT/THROUGH EVENTS

3.1. INTRODUCTION

"The Sámi social events are an important part of the way young Sámi build relationships amongst each other and express their indigenous selves through longstanding traditions in our current predominantly modern reality." Male Sámi with South and North Sámi heritage, aged 27.

This young man was always very forward and honest in the way he would talk about what in his opinion it means to be Sámi, how people within his circles of Sámi friends would interact with each other at certain events and what the 'protocol' of these gatherings would usually entail. He enjoys taking part in the majority of the Sámi social events and has fond memories of doing so for many years, but also told me that for some of the specifically youth-oriented events, he thinks that he might be getting a bit too old to fully appreciate them the way he used to in his teens and early twenties. He is active in his involvement with various Sámi projects, from yoiking and acting to campaigning and language dissemination. When he is not involved with Sámi affairs, he has a standard Western lifestyle for a 27-year-old, goes to university and has many friends outside his Sámi circles. At the Sámi events, appropriately according to the customs of the gatherings, he was usually dressed in his traditional clothing, as were his brother and sister. Overall, by talking to him at many events and being introduced to his circle of family and friends together with all the other people I met, I got to experience and understand much better what these social events are all about.

In this chapter, first, the fundamental idea and shell of my concept of the identity prism as a means of theorisation and visualisation, which I have created based on the analysis of years of data collected amongst the Sámi, is presented. This includes a graphic representation of my conceptualisation of the prism, an in-depth discussion of its functionality, bases, sides and all its other sections, and a description of how the prism reacts, interacts and behaves when in an group environment or in general contact with other prisms. Second, my ethnographic data from my experience of the multitude of Sámi social events I frequented in a period of over two years are presented. This comprises an overall description of what these events represent and entail, together with an elaborate presentation and analysis of the participant observation I conducted with

a myriad of young Sámi representatives encountered during various Sámi social events and follow-up observations and conversations outside social events within small-size communal or family gatherings. Third, an analytical discussion of my ethnographic data seen through my identity prism theory is offered. This encompasses a discussion of how the events' influence and impact affect the development of the Sámi complex identity. This leads to an analysis in which the various influences from Sámi social events and related observations of the Sámi community started to shape the complex identity prisms of Sámi youth.

During fieldwork I managed to go to more than twenty separate social events in various contexts, which led to other meetings, conversations and interviews. Due to the fact that the Sámi are spread out in such a vast area over Scandinavia, they have a long history of creating gathering points to be able to meet, exchange goods and most importantly socialise with other Sámi outside their sometimes very closed communities. These events and meetings are spread throughout the year and create what I have called the Sámi social calendar. The events in the Sámi social calendar can be assigned to a few categories based on their contextual factors. They include music and culture-related events, policy-oriented gatherings, historically important events, language dissemination social occurrences and trading functions. However, most events are in fact a mixture of all categories, so people can expect to encounter a bit of everything, from music, culture and politics to remembrance of history, trading and most of all, these events are a safe social space for the Sámi to interact with each other and strengthen their overall group social dynamics and connections. What really unites all these events in the Sámi social calendar is the purpose of interactions, culture and language reinforcement, the inter-communal creation of relationships, and the building of a stronger Sámi identity.

Of all the events in the Sámi social calendar, I was mostly interested in gatherings that would attract young Sámi and where they would feel more open in expressing themselves. Technically speaking, all events are open to any Sámi of any age, but in reality the ones that attract the most young Sámi are those where there is a strong agenda of social interaction and relationship-building through, for example, music events and organised dance opportunities. Young Sámi, as with most other young people, are attracted to the opportunity to have close interactions with each other at events where people are happy to meet new people and interact freely. This is why, out of the more

than twenty events I visited, I have chosen to focus on two annual events from the Sámi social calendar, both of which I visited two years in a row and through which I gathered a significant amount of data and established a great number of connections. These two events proved to be the gatherings which attracted the most young Sámi from a variety of backgrounds and that were most revealing of young Sámi's identity-building and representation overall. These two Sámi social events are the winter gathering called Jåhkåmåhke Márnána (Jokkmokk's Market) and the midsummer celebration called Ankarede. Most of the main sections of this chapter will describe these two events. However, here I want to draw attention to four other significant Sámi social events, namely Riddu Riđđu, Kautokeino Easter Festival, Márkomeannu and Raasten Rastah. I have also visited, observed and interacted with many Sámi at these four events, and they are also large gatherings frequented by many young Sámi. However, once Jokkmokk and Ankarede have been thoroughly discussed and analysed in this chapter, and due to the limitations of the word count in this thesis, there is a sense of redundancy to discussing Riddu Riđđu, Kautokeino Easter Festival and Márkomeannu in depth, as they follow the general pattern of Jokkmokk and Ankarede when it comes to human interactions, social significance and identity-building implications. Discussing them would therefore primarily result in producing the same conclusive thoughts as discussing the two events I have chosen to focus on. In the next chapter, however, I will discuss Raasten Rastah, as it falls within a slightly different category of Sámi social events, which, on top of being a place of cultural exchange, also has a highly educational focus in that it inspires and introduces younger children to the Sámi reality through interaction with their older Sámi peers in a more structured way. Before I delve into the extensive amount of ethnographic data I collected at Sámi social events, I shall present my theory and visualisation of the concept of the identity prism.

3.2 THE IDENTITY PRISM

A summarised exposition of what is included in the notion of the identity prism will be presented before exploring in depth the concept called the identity prism, which is my contribution to the study of identity. In this thesis, identity is discussed as an interdisciplinary, complex, multifaceted, fluid and ever-changing, developing and shifting concept, created both as an individual, private matter of self-perception, self-understanding and self-sameness, and as a sociocultural, public comprehension of shared experiences, an interactional self-construct, relationality and social

continuity. As such, the human identity is both internally and externally influenced so that it is both affected by the private to create the social meaning and affected by the social to create the private meaning. Furthermore, the concept of identity is part of the larger form of social identification through the relational creation of meaning, the setting of community affiliations and the sense of belonging to a collective identity. As such, personal identities are highly interactional and seek out forms of relationship with others. The multifaceted human identity also has a way of interacting with aspects of life such as nature, the environment, history, cultural artefacts, music, religion and the arts, amongst many others, so as to create its own meaning and interpretation. As a whole, the concept of identity is immensely complex and cannot be explained within a single definition, which is why I have created a systematic, logical and visual representation of the human identity with my conceptualisation of the identity prism.

Figure 3.1 and 3.2. together with the text below depict the visualisation and conceptualisation of my contribution to the study of identity – the identity prism. The identity prism was created on the basis of an analysis of many years of ethnographic data I collected from and with young Sámi participants. Even though it has been devised on the basis of my work with Sámi young adults, I suggest that it has the potential to be applied to various populations, communities and people of different ages. By making certain adaptations to the prism, depending on to whom it is applied, it has the potential to provide a novel, modern and universal way of talking about identity.

Figure 3.1. Identity Prism

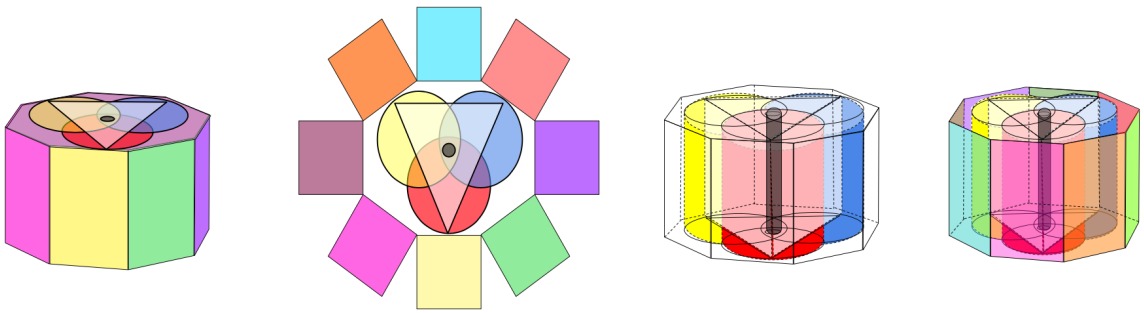
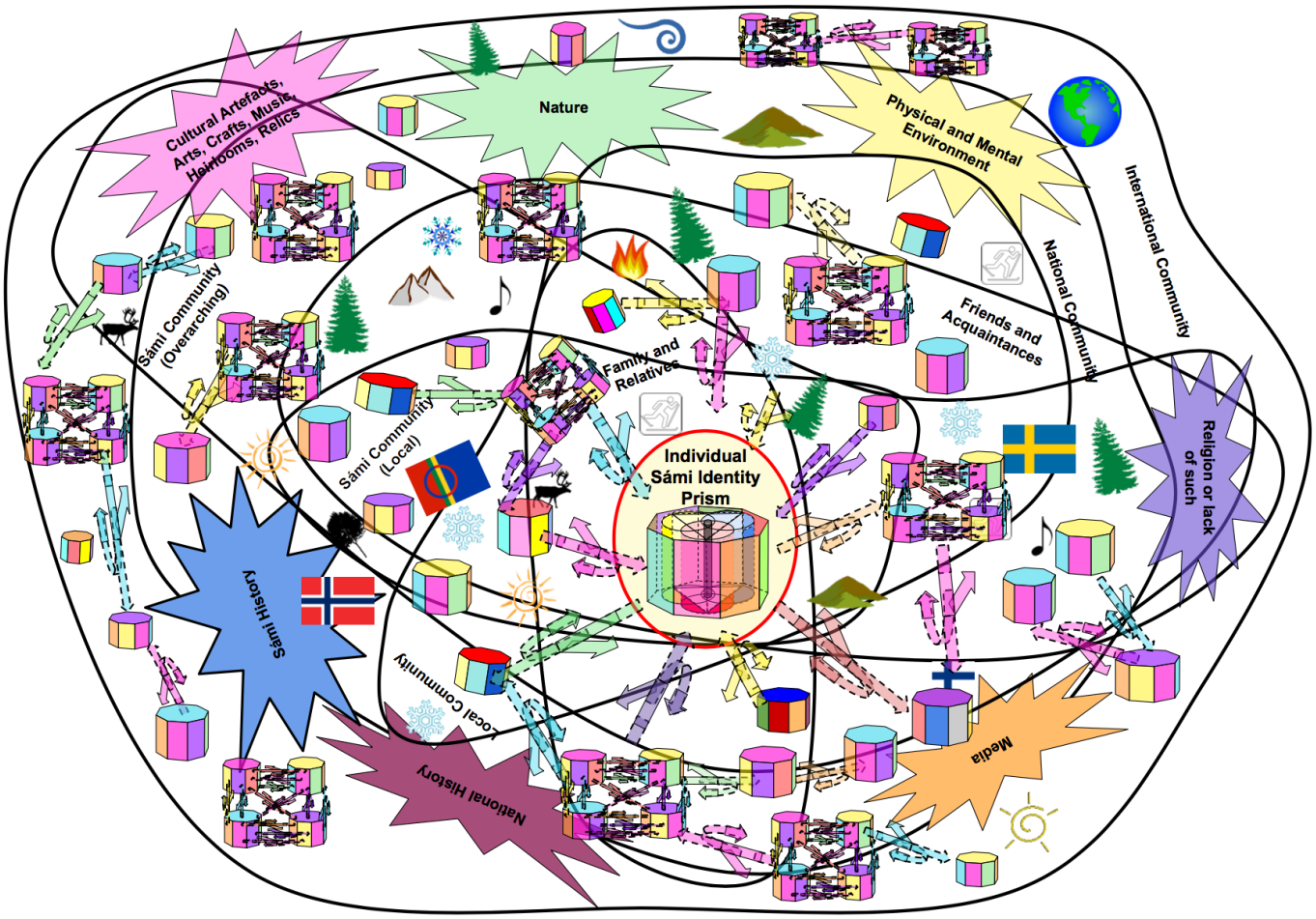


Figure 3.2. Representation of an Individual Sámi Identity Prism in the Social Reality

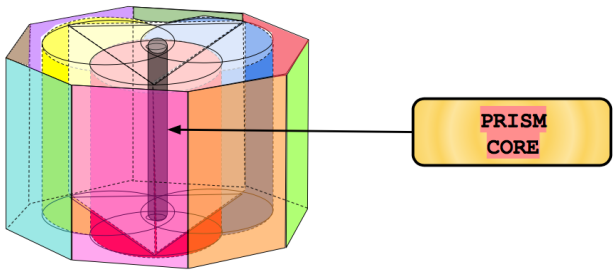


Each identity prism represents a human being and is thus unique to each and every one of us. The identity prism will never exist in isolation because it exists on this planet amongst nature, artefacts and other identity prisms, and in general, also within human society. As social beings, we can share many parts of our unique prisms amongst conglomerates of people under common denominators such as communities, families or groups of friends. The identity prism can exist in solitude away from social interactions if it chooses to as it does not need to interact with other humans to exist because its existence is not only based on social interactions but on other factors such as surrounding nature, history, the environment and the prism's own unique core. Each individual has a uniquely functioning core, their prism core, which will be explained further below. The basic rule of the identity prism is that it is complex, multifaceted, relational, dynamic and in a

state of constant fluidity, which means that changes are always possible, but the level at which they take place could exist at different speeds, depending on particular aspects of the prism. People are never born with a ‘clean’ or ‘empty’ prism, as from the moment they arrive in this world they are subjected to projections from all aspects of life. According to the prism, people are not born equal because, even before someone is born, their prism is already on the path to begin to develop on the basis of their parents’ prisms or the prisms of whoever will take care of that baby. This means that at birth parts of the individual’s prism are already somewhat predetermined for the first few years of their life based not only on the humans who will take care of that baby, but also on the nature, environment, circumstances and other external factors they are born into. However, the prism’s constant state of fluidity means that this identity can and will be reshaped as time passes and changes occur in the person’s surroundings.

3.2.1. Prism Core

Figure 3.3. Prism Core



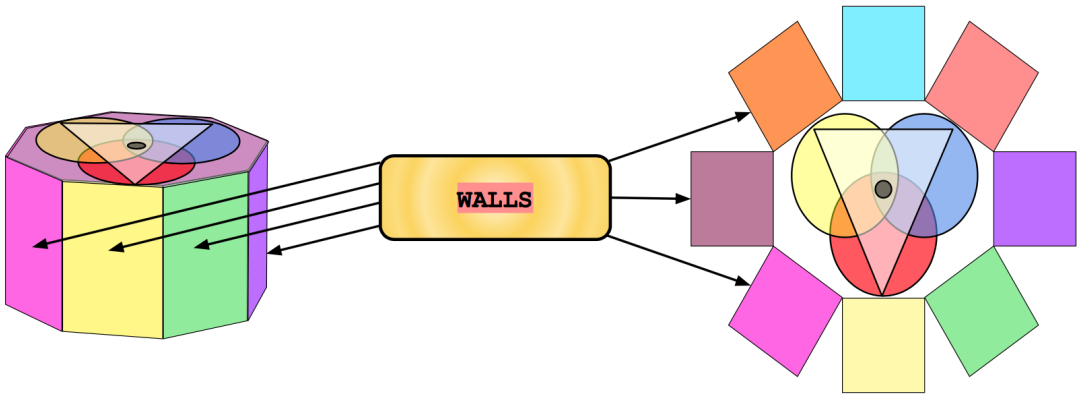
Each identity prism has a unique and highly individual core, represented by the grey cylinder in the visual depiction of the prism (Figure 3.3.). The prism core is the innate, indivisible, continual matter, which plays a limited yet immensely enigmatic part in how each individual identity prism is created around it. The core has an indisputable yet finite amount of influence in the way outside projections of information are absorbed, ignored, reflected and refracted by the individual identity prism. The core also has an undeniable yet limited impact on the conscious, preconscious and subconscious system in which the personal identity prism distributes, organises and allocates certain information once it is inside the prism and on the prism walls. The identity core can be loosely interpreted as a mixture of the id and ego in the Freudian psyche structure, but it is not necessarily exactly that. The main idea behind the prism core is that it is innate, instinctual and ambiguous and mostly has

an effect on the way the individual prism perceives certain projections. As such, the core's main function is to affect the individual's prism walls in the unique and highly individual way it transcribes information. However, the core has a secondary function, where it can also experience some change throughout the lifespan of a person based on the input of the walls back to the core. The identity prism's walls can influence the core in inexplicable ways, which would happen as a flux rather than as something expected, and as such this will be postulated as a perplexing constant. The core is responsible for the fact that even if two identity prisms were theoretically to have exactly the same upbringing, lifestyle, environment, experiences, social interactions, mindsets and so on, these identity prisms will still have a certain number of subtle differences in the way they are constructed throughout their lifespan. In the scope of this anthropological study, the identity prism core exists in every human being as a given innate matter, its main function being to have some inexplicable, unmethodical influence in the way projections from the outside are send through the core to then be systematically handled by the individual prism. It is possible for the prism core to be altered from the inside out, but this is not guaranteed to happen, and the core has some enigmatic characteristics that remain open-ended and subject to the readers' interpretation. This is left aside here to be discussed outside this thesis as a possibility for further research in the spheres of psychology and psychoanalysis.

3.2.2. Walls

Each prism has n amount of parallelograms as walls. Each wall represents a part of the person's identity or of the person's identity characteristics, which individually, socially, economically, culturally, morally and spiritually define individuals based on a countless number of aspects, such

Figure 3.4. Prism Walls



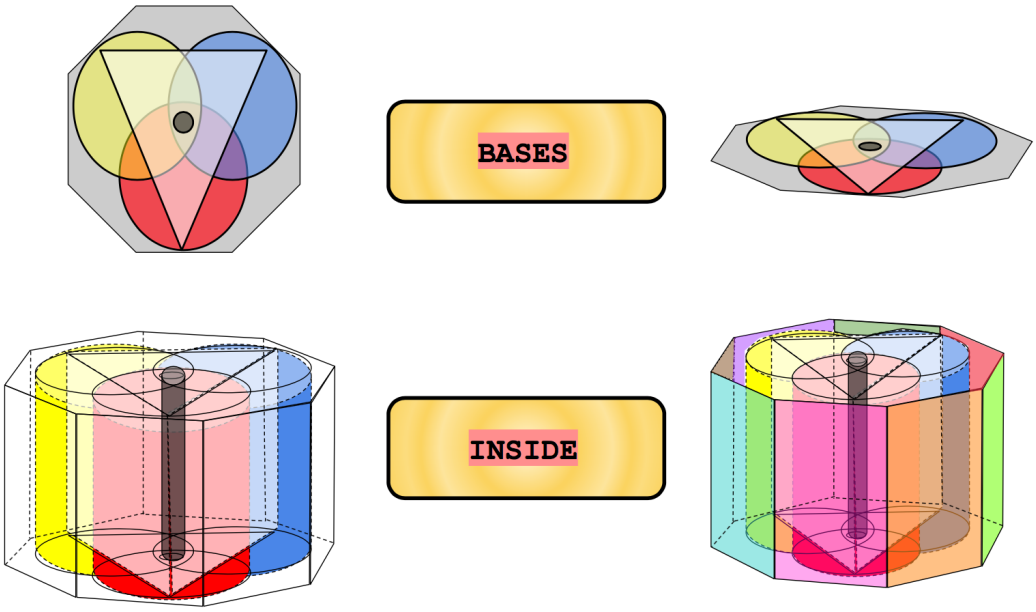
as their environment, social status, education, wealth, health, genetics, religion, hobbies and many others. However, each wall is more than just a characteristic, it is a part of the complex individual identity and as such a projection of that identity, which can be absorbed, reflected, refracted and ignored depending on the social situation or the environment people are in. This projection can also receive other projections and absorb them with different levels of success, again on the basis of reflections, refractions and ignorance, which can lead to changes to that wall. These walls also serve as the porous membranes of distinct compositions and thicknesses, which means that, depending on the individual, there are various amounts of outside influence that people allow to penetrate to their prism or to the way they form their prism; equally, various amounts of the inside of the person are allowed to reach the outside based on the structure of this membrane. The prism core has some preconscious and subconscious influence on the way identity walls are created and curated, but for the most part it is up to our conscious realities and interactions with the outside world that we navigate our own prisms in a deliberate way. The walls also stand for parts of our unique form of commonalities and relationalities, which every individual has to negotiate in life in order to represent their own internal identities to the outside world and achieve a certain amount of belonging to a socially constructed group. The walls are fickle and allow for permutations. They recognise and acknowledge what is inside and outside them, and they do not always live in harmony with fellow walls from the same prism or from other prisms. Clashes often occur on the personal and interpersonal levels when the representations of what different walls stand for do not bond well. It is possible to have contrasting walls in the same prism, which could create conflicting understandings and portrayals of internal and external identities. However, it is also possible for people to learn how to compartmentalise different parts of their identity prism in order to avoid these clashes and be equally satisfied with representing themselves in different ways depending on their various social and cultural surroundings. As seen in Figure 3.4., overall, the walls create part of the multifaceted identity complexity of each individual and, based on the amount and type of walls at any one moment of a person’s journey through life, people exhibit their specific identity state from a continuum of identity fluidity and negotiation.

3.2.3. Bases and Inside

The other parts of the identity prism are the two bases and the inside of the prism (Figure 3.5.). The two bases are identical and are connected with each other in tubular fashion. They represent

the various compartmentalised dimensions at which each identity prism can be influenced and portrayed. The bases contain a Venn diagram of the prism's local, national and international dimensions as the first three cylinders connected with a triangle in the middle representing the online dimension, which is the fourth cylinder and the fifth cylinder in the middle is the prism core. The idea behind the elements of the bases is that people usually compartmentalise their identity based on the dimension they find themselves in, which means that they can portray their complex identity in various ways depending on the situation, audience and locale, but they also allow certain influences from certain dimensions to affect their identity in these compartmentalised dimensions

Figure 3.5. Prism Bases and Inside



or at the points at which they overlap. This means that a person's complex identity can be portrayed in multiple ways; for example, if it is represented online, it will be based on how much of their local, national or international identity respectively is made up of the various walls of the prism they choose to let through. Equally, each person can allow various amounts of influence to affect their online identity based on outside absorptions, reflections, refractions and ignorances. In a way, these dimensions allow people to compartmentalise themselves according to the walls of their prism based on the dimensions they are most likely going to need. As discussed previously, the little grey cylinder in the middle of the prism is the enigmatic prism core, which plays a limited role in the way information is handled by the bases. The idea of a free space within the identity prism that is not covered by any dimension is that people always have the space in which to grow their identity and that their identity is never complete because of the constant state of fluidity of the

prism mentioned previously. The representation of the four perfectly identical cylinders portraying the dimensions is just an example, but in reality people very rarely have such an equilibrium, and usually one dimension is much more prominent than the others depending on the person's lifestyle. However, nowadays, whether by choice or not, people mostly express and build their complex identities at the intersection of all these dimensions based on the fact that we live in a fast-paced society of globalised media, pop culture and consumerism. Overall, the identity prism, its core, walls, bases and internal space provide a complete and logical representation of the complexities of human identity.

3.2.4. Interactions

Figure 3.6. Basic Prism Interaction

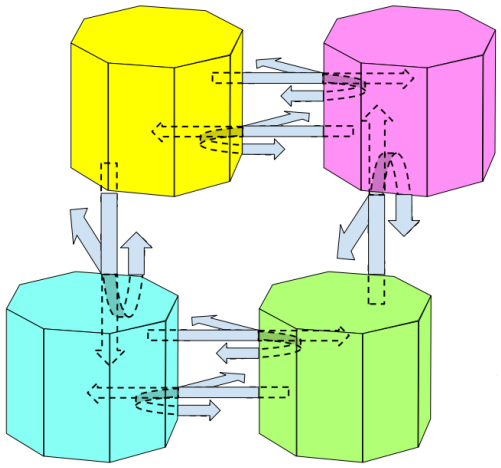
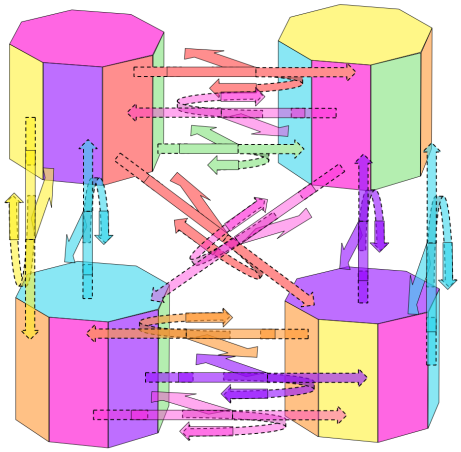


Figure 3.7. Detailed Prism Interaction in a Small Group



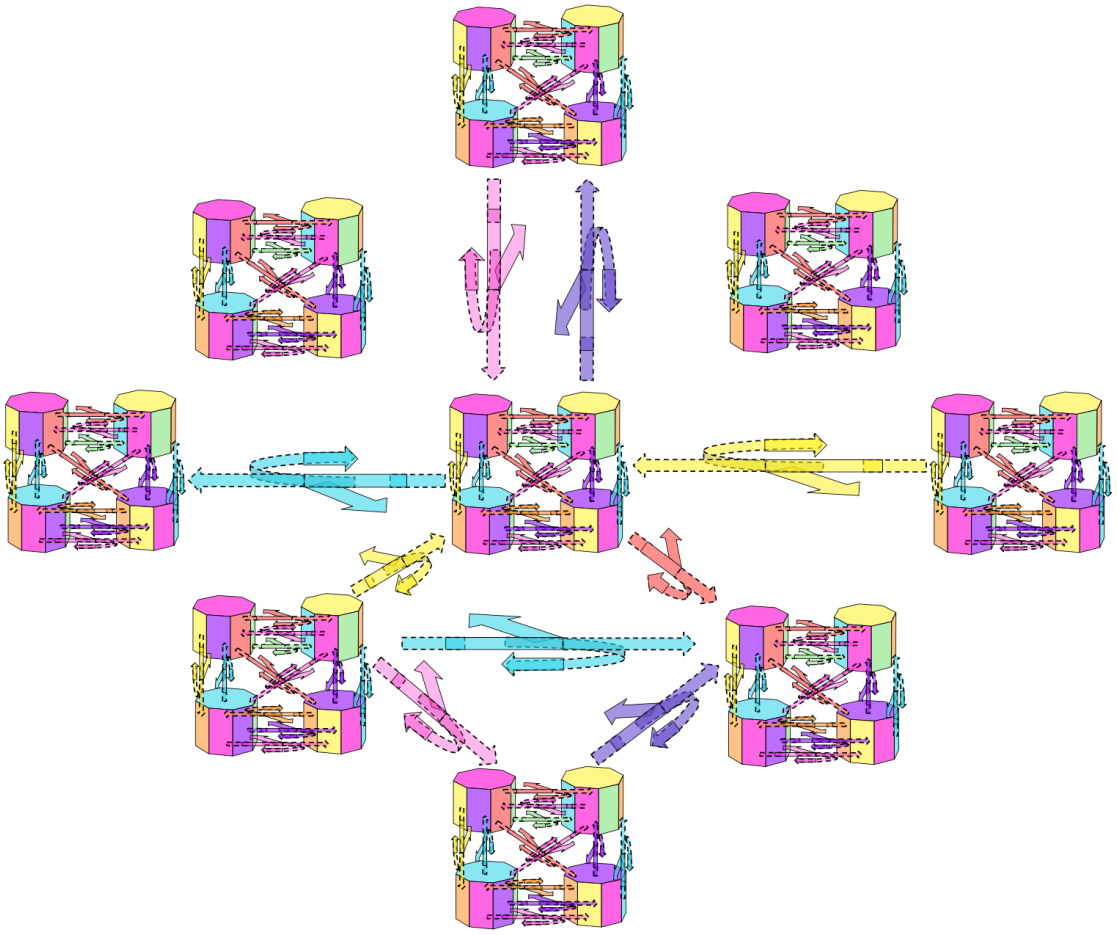
The identity prism does not exist in isolation and its highly relational self strives in social realities. For the most part, depending on the social situation and communal context, identity prisms consciously project information to the outside world by choosing which parts of its multifaceted, complex and dynamic self to exhibit. The prism negotiates internally which is the most appropriate projection for the given situation and projects it externally. This means that each prism projects parts of itself to the outside in every moment of conscious existence. This can be done verbally, physically, emotionally and through personal choices such as clothing, grooming and attitude. However, on top of the conscious projections there are a multitude of unconscious and preconscious projections that prisms can project such as non-verbal mannerisms, ingrained habits and inclinations. Many of the projections people emit are within their conscious control but many are also outside their control. In every moment in life the identity prism projects itself to the outside

world and depending on the situation and the other present prisms, these projections can portray a very different reality. When the prisms are involved in interactions, they not only emit but are able to also absorb, reflect, refract and ignore certain identity projections at various levels.

As we can see in Figure 3.6. from the arrows, the yellow prism can be affected by the pink prism's projections by absorbing them either as a direct influence or a refraction, reflecting parts of the pink projections back mixed with parts of its own yellow portrayal, or simply just ignoring the pink identity projections by refusing to let any of them influence it. Similarly, the pink can also absorb, refract, reflect or ignore the yellow prism's projections. However, prisms do not always interact with each other in equal ways. Sometimes one prism can be much more affected by another, while another is barely ever influenced by any other prism. In this sense the interaction between prisms can be one-sided or even non-existent. In Figure 3.6. the pink prism is much more influenced by the green, but the green is not equally influenced by the pink. In the case of the yellow and the green, even though they are in a group environment with each other, they do not exchange any identity aspects with one another. There are countless levels of how much one prism may be affected by another depending on various other aspects, such as the length of time in which they interact, what kind of negotiation of respect there is between them, what are the differences in superiority and status between the two, and many more aspects, including the already mentioned enigmatic influence made by individual prism cores, which also have a say in how much one prism might absorb or ignore from another prism in given situation.

Figure 3.7. is a more detailed yet not exhaustive visualisation of how prisms interact within small groups. The projections can be very detailed such as only some parts of the prism are projected in a given situation depending on the social interaction. Multiple contrasting projections can be emitted at the same time from one prism and depending on the walls of the prism, only some of these walls might be in constant use. The others walls might be kept as special projections only for certain situations. The multifaceted nature of the identity prism allows for an endless amount of projection variations to be emitted by a prism depending on the reality the prism finds itself in. However, the prisms tend to favour self-continuity, coherency and completeness in their representation in controlled, familiar social situations and this allows the prism to preserve multiple consistent, reliable and articulate identities within itself.

3.8. Large-scale Inter-group Prism Interaction

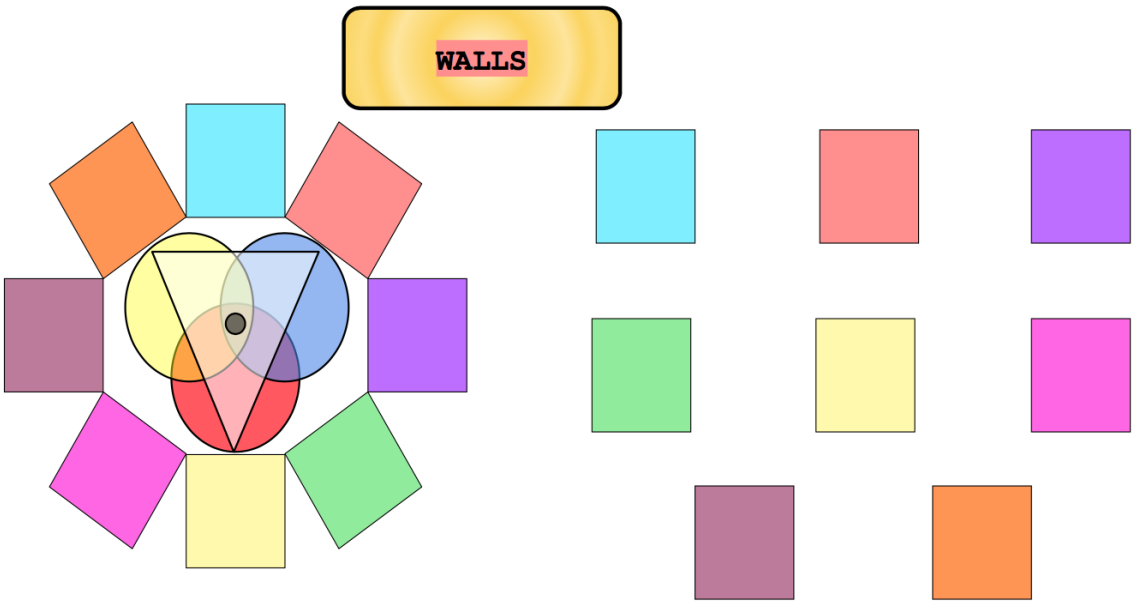


A factor to point out in large-scale inter-group interactions (Figure 3.8.) is that at a certain level, the identity prisms are not the ones to interact individually with the outside group. Instead the conglomerate of multiple prisms takes charge of the portrayal of what this group represents. This means that in large-scale inter-communal interactions where direct individual prism-to-prism contact is not necessarily a reliable or viable way to transmit communal influences and characteristics, the communities absorb, reflect, refract and ignore projections that are emitted by the fellow group en masse. In this sense, it is exactly this type of group prism interactions that produce stereotypes, skewed cultural observations, cliched imageries and categorisations which might not always apply to each and every individual prism within a community or which might be altogether outdated, inaccurate and flawed. A further explanation of how prisms interact with each other is presented in the next chapter, where a deeper understanding of the interactive capabilities of the prisms in community-based situations is discussed. The important idea to emphasise is that

these prisms are in a state of constant fluidity, which means that they are continuously affected by their fellow prisms, various situations, nature, the environment and life itself. The prism is inherently fluid, and the negotiation of one's identity is a lifelong challenge.

3.2.5. Wall by Wall Representation

Figure 3.9. Identity Prism: Wall by Wall



As mentioned above, each wall represents a different part of a person's complex, dynamic, multifaceted identity. In connection to each ethnographic chapter, I will present the walls that mostly relate to the material being presented, and in the final chapter of the thesis I will bring together all the various discussions of the prism to create the final outlook. This way, step by step, I will present an understanding of the complexities of Sámi youth identity by using my fieldwork data and my analysis of it, all through my idea of the prism. In a way, based on all the data, I piece together the individual parts of Sámi youth identity that I have observed in different situations through my idea of the identity prism and then present their complex youth identity, all culminating in a systematic analysis, explanation and understanding of what it means to be a young Sámi right now. I am also mindful that the Sámi youth prism does not represent any attempt at generalising for every young Sámi, but only deals with those with whom I have interacted, again leaving aside a

large degree of personality differences and a multitude of characteristics that could be dissimilarly portrayed in various individual young Sámi. However, I attempt to piece together the most common Sámi identity-related prism walls from all the young people I have interacted with, by doing so also leaving the door open to various options when presenting the prism walls. As mentioned in the walls section, each person can have n amount of walls, each wall illustrating a projection of the individual, which in an interaction can be absorbed, reflected, refracted or ignored depending on the situation and environment, making the possibilities for a personalised prism endless. What I will be discussing are the reoccurring walls, which I have observed to be present in many of the young Sámi I have interacted with and which are specific to their unique representation as a group, though as identity prisms go, the combinations of walls representing a part of a specific person's identity are infinite. In this chapter, I discuss the overall representation of the various sides of the young Sámi as observed at Sámi social events and some further confirmed during smaller gatherings and more personal interactions. This is done by systematically analysing parts of the ethnographic data and connecting that to parts of the young Sámi identity prism walls. In order to do this, next I offer the overall description and observation of the two main Sámi social events and then continue the analysis through the prism by presenting the first six Sámi youth prism walls.

3.3. JÅHKÅMÅHKE MÁRNÁNA/JOKKMOKK'S MARKET

Every year at the beginning of February, in the small, predominantly Sámi town of Jokkmokk in northern Sweden, occurs one of the biggest Sámi events in the whole of the Sámi social calendar. This is the so-called Jåhkåmåhke Márnána or 'Jokkmokk's Market'. The market is that event in the year which Sámi people from all age groups look forward to. The core of this event happens over a prolonged weekend from Thursday to Sunday, with the main youth-oriented events occurring on Friday and Saturday. Jokkmokk's market is a place where Sámi from all over Sápmi gather in order to socialise, exchange goods and celebrate everything that being Sámi represents. This event is said to have occurred for the past four hundred years, and as far as my experience goes, it is the only such Sámi event on this scale, which also attracts many tourists and non-Sámi visitors due to its open market and accessibility. However, the way the Sámi experience it and the way tourists and non-Sámi do are completely different. Jåhkåmåhke Márnána was one of the first Sámi social events part of my fieldwork and I chose to visit it two years in a row in order to gather a more

complete and accurate representation of its meaning for young Sámi. Below is the description and discussion of Jåhkåmåhke Márnána as observed during year one and year two (refer to Appendix A for visual representations of the event through detailed photographs taken at the market). Then I continue with the analysis of what the data reveal about the young Sámi complex identity building and how the various parts of their participation at this social event constructs parts of their identity. Based on Jåhkåmåhke Márnána, the first three Sámi youth identity prism walls are constructed.

3.3.1. Year One

-Daytime market overview

Jåhkåmåhke Márnána is a Sámi indigenous event that simulates a pop-up trading market place with outside and inside stalls selling goods, arts and crafts, organised social meetings, sections for music and dance entertainment and many more social occurrences. When Jokkmokk's Market takes place, almost all the internal and external spaces within the village centre's two main streets radius are occupied by market stalls, exhibitions, performances and a variety of social events. During the daytime trading a variety of trade goods consisting of typical Sámi items, such as reindeer meat products, furs and skins through crafts such as Sámi knives, Sámi-designed clothing accessories and Sámi-made jewellery to the more non-traditional and not at all Sámi-related tourist gifts from the area. Regrettably, parts of the outside section of the market have been somewhat transformed into a generic winter market, which, according to the Sámi, defeats the purpose of the tradition behind Jokkmokk's Market. However, by leaving the outside market roads and going into any of the many communal buildings in town, such as the town hall, the schools, the museum, the crafts gallery or even people's basements, a different side to the market is encountered. It is indoors that most of the authentic Sámi trading and Sámi sub-events take place. Inside the *Samernas utbildningscentrum,* a higher education institution for Sámi, is where many more stalls are set up for people to browse through real, authentic, Sámi-made items such as various forms of jewellery, crafts, arts and traditional items. There is also trading inside Västran Skolan, Ajtte museum and Sámi Duodji crafts gallery together with some afternoon performances in Jokkmokks Kyrka and Östra Skolan. Overall, during the daytime the Sámi were generally occupied with the events happening as part of the trading side of Jokkmokk's market.

Of all my official conversations during the daytime of my first visit to the Jokkmokk's Market, which was one of my first ever Sámi social events for this research, I had around 30 to 33 longer conversations with various Sámi craftsmen and women, music performers, artists and traders, all of whom were in a way part of the organised section of the market within a wide range of ages, many past the young adult stage in their lives. In hindsight, these conversations did not reveal much about the real identities of these Sámi representatives. Looking through my interview notes and the multitude of business cards collected from Sámi crafts people, it all sounded rehearsed and in a way was what they would want me, the outsider/researcher/tourist, to hear. Key words like Sámi pride, passion, indigenous culture and traditions, oppression, representation and traditional livelihood seemed to reappear in their romanticised and rehearsed responses. Recurrent answers seem to be made to my question "Why did you decide to be Sámi crafts producers/ be Sámi performer/artist/musician?". Many people explained that their parents/relatives were crafts people/ performers themselves or that because their parents/ relatives were not able to follow their Sámi roots during the years when the Sámi culture was more oppressed at the end of the 20th century, they now want to reconnect with their indigenous selves. Indigenous representation seemed to be a crucial factor. Self-perceptions of what one should represent in terms of being part of the Sámi community motivate people to become crafts producers/ performers and to become more deeply involved in the Sámi parts of their background.

Once the day's trading has ended, in the evenings Jokkmokk is transformed into a social explosion of interactions, music and dance. It also becomes very easy to recognise who is Sámi and who is not based on the fact that many Sámi choose to wear their traditional outfits in the evenings. From around 6-7pm onwards, the Sámi really embraced the market in the way I would see later on during my visits to other events in the Sámi social calendar. As I was told by a mid-twenties South Sámi informant during the second year at Jokkmokk:

During the days of the market I have time to look around, buy some things that I need, such as these traditional shoes, enjoy the atmosphere, and then in the evenings I put my traditional outfit on, I sit in the øltelt (beer tent), have a few beers, get to chat with friends and relatives, before I get ready for the dance.

-Evening events

The evenings are the time for the real social mixing event to commence, the part that most of the younger Sámi were really looking forward to and were excited about. The opportunity to have free and open social interaction amongst Sámi from all over Sápmi is what many of the younger generation of Sámi representatives are mainly interested in. The market suddenly becomes a social burst of interactions. The older Sámi, such as parents and grandparents, were as excited as the younger Sámi generations to be out in a social situation, to chat with their Sámi friends and relatives and to engage in social drinking and dancing. The younger Sámi were comfortable to drink in front of their parents and to be involved in more personal interactions with their peers. Sámi people of all ages were able to participate in this social event and have fun together without being uncomfortable in sharing experiences across the generations. As the evening events were unfolding, the younger Sámi seemed to suddenly become very animated, actively engaging in social interactions. They seemed to know many of their peers, even if they did not know them very well, and were able to engage in some sort of conversation related to someone they knew. There were many introductions where young Sámi would tell each other who they are related to or where they come from within Sápmi and then take it from there.

❖ *"You can tell in the evenings we are Sámi from our clothes"*

Even though this kind of social interaction is nothing new in terms of how young people interact nowadays at social events where relationships and conversations are quick to form, at this particular event the significant difference was the fact that people all shared this one very specific characteristic of identifying themselves as Sámi and wanting especially to interact with others like them. They were able to build and reinforce their own Sámi identity by interacting with other Sámi who share similar traditional values and beliefs as them, share similar experiences and struggles with growing up in their own Sámi communities, and in a sense have more in common with each other compared to the rest of the Nordic population. It seemed like the young Sámi had the comforting feeling of truly belonging within this Sámi environment and atmosphere. This was also shown by the choice of clothing they would wear in the evenings, which they did not necessarily have on during the day at the market. Many of the Sámi, young and old, would choose to put on

their traditional outfits for the evening's interactivities, especially the so-called Gakti or Gapta, the traditional Sámi outfit that consists of a dress for women and of a longer top and leather trousers for men. The traditional outfit is usually worn at special events, mostly ones that are Sámi-oriented, though people also choose to wear them to non-Sámi events. The significance of the outfit is based on its ornamentation and design, it being easily distinguishable from which part of Sápmi the person wearing the outfit comes and also certain ornaments reveal the marital status of the wearer (refer to the second half of Appendix B for visual representations of various traditional Sámi clothing motifs). People are happy and feel at ease to wear them at any event from the Sámi social calendar, but not everyone is comfortable wearing their traditional outfits at non-Sámi events because of the tradition of misunderstandings and marginalisation based on centuries of segregation and discrimination against the Sámi by the majority populations of Scandinavia. At Sámi events, especially at evening social interactions and festivities, the Sámi feel in a sense that it is their duty to wear a Gakti in order to display their identity and pride in their traditions and their belonging to the greater Sámi affinity. Younger Sámi in particular dress in their traditional clothes for the Samedans, which is the key social gathering point of the whole Jåhkåmåhke Márnána, where young and old Sámi can dance, interact, form and reinforce their social relations. This really presents itself as one of the main events in the Sámi social calendar that younger generations are particularly drawn towards.

❖ *Samedans*

The Samedans (Sámi Dance) is an evening event usually hosted in the restaurant and dancing area of the main hotel in town, and it is open to anyone from the age of eighteen and above. There are areas where one can sit down and talk at tables, as well as opportunities for music and dance. The Samedans is a pop-up club event that offers the Sámi a sheltered party atmosphere where being Sámi is the norm and the presence of non-Sámi is the exception (refer to Appendix A for photographs from the dance). This represents the created normality of the Sámi being in the majority at an event that mostly draws them to the dance, because it offers them the opportunity to represent themselves as they wish in front of people who understand, support and generally know what they stand for as a community. It is also no secret that the Samedans offers a great chance for younger Sámi to build relationships and establish friendships. As I was told by a twenty-year-old South Sámi woman the second year I was at the Samedans:

The Samedans is one of the biggest events for young Sámi like me. Everyone is excited for the dance, everyone gets dressed up in their traditional clothes and looks their best. I even have the courage to go ask my crush to dance with me because I feel confident in my traditional dress.

Another Sámi informant told me later on during my fieldwork that:

The dance is the one event that you want to be at if you want to find a Sámi girlfriend/boyfriend. This is when many serious relationships start, sometimes as mistakes, but still.

Thus, this kind of staged opportunity for a close and personal, predominantly Sámi interaction at a party scene like the Samedans can be described as the modern version of how the Sámi have managed for many generations to continue their heritage by finding ways to meet and build relationships, despite the fact that they have always lived spread out in the vast area of Sápmi and as a historically nomadic and semi-nomadic population mostly represent a minority in modern history. It is gatherings like this that have helped protect the Sámi from being engulfed by the mainstream population by providing them with opportunities for interaction within a protected atmosphere, where in a sense they have an opportunity to partake in a social event amongst Sámi from all over Sápmi.

At the Samedans, the Sámi, men and women alike, were dressed in their traditional clothes, all made up and generally looking as if they had spent a lot of time preparing for this party, with well-presented traditional outfits, which included the Gaptas, Sámi jewellery, the reindeer skin shoes and other traditional accessories. As the Samedans is an open event that can be accessed by anyone, it was also quite obvious that tourists and non-Sámi were sidelined in terms of their involvement in interaction. The Sámi showed little interest in interacting with non-Sámi at this specific event. The Samedans is their party. It is their opportunity to not have to explain to anyone what they represent because it is their dance – it is the Samedans. The Samedans is a safe space for the Sámi to mingle and enjoy their own company. It only lasts a few hours, and young Sámi already have really big expectations of the event, in terms of building new relationships and friendships with Sámi peers and furthering existing ones.

During the Samedans, Sámi of all ages enjoyed themselves, dancing and having a good time amongst their Sámi communities. The older generations sat at the nearby tables drinking and talking, and some of them would dance too. They would also get up and walk around the tables

greeting friends and relatives, would sit down at different tables for a chat and then continue going around. The younger generations were more mobile, as they would be gathered in the bar talking amongst themselves, dancing and generally enjoying themselves. Based on the various different decorations on their traditional outfits, it was easy to recognise which region in Sápmi they represented. As a result it was very clear that representatives from almost all of Sápmi were at the Samedans, and people did not just sit or interact with those from their region. There was a lot of inter-communal interaction, and also people of different ages were happy to chat together. However, I also noticed that the older generations knew their boundaries and would not disturb younger people who seem to be having a good time together. As the night progressed, young Sámi would be quick to develop their new affections and friendships amongst a mixture of their old and new acquaintances.

- First meaningful contact with young Sámi representatives

As this was my first Sámi social event, I was mostly a silent observer of the Samedans and despite my few attempts to have a conversation during the dance with some of the young Sámi representatives, I was not successful. At the end of the Samedans, once outside the building, I came across two young men in their early twenties who were dressed in similar traditional outfits and engaged them in conversation. Introductions were made, and we talked about where they are from and where I am from, and I steered the conversation towards the Samedans. They told me they are cousins and come from Norway and that most years they come to Jåhkåmåhke Márnána with family and friends ever since they were children and they have enjoyed going to the Samedans every year since they turned eighteen. They said they have many relatives in Sweden and also that many of their friends and family from Norway had come to Jokkmokk too. One of them said:

I like coming to the events here in Jokkmokk because I have fun with my Sámi friends and relatives, some of which I don't see very often because of big distances.

I asked them if they had had a good time at the Samedans and they said that they had, but one of them told me, maybe jokingly, that he is a bit disappointed that his cousin did not find a new girlfriend at the dance. I asked him to tell me more about what he means, and he told me how he met his Swedish Sámi girlfriend during Jokkmokk's Market a few years earlier and that they are still

together, so he was hoping that his cousin could also find a Sámi girlfriend this year in Jokkmokk. It was very revealing to understand how at ease they both were in telling me this and how normal it seemed to them to come to Jokkmokk's Market to find love amongst Sámi representatives. The cousin kept talking and told me that in the small town they come from in Norway they do not have many Sámi friends who are not related to them, so for them coming to Jokkmokk's Market is a great opportunity to meet young Sámi who are not related to them and maybe to find love amongst them. A bit later I was introduced to the girlfriend, who seemed to be having equal amount of fun with her friends. Then the two men told me that there will probably be an after-party somewhere, and they invited me to come along, but for now they did not know where it would be. I decided to exchange social media information with them so that we could continue our conversation later. They were happy with that, and we then parted but said 'see you later' to each other.

This concluded my first Sámi social event and my first year at Jåhkåmåhke Márnána. I had the chance to have many conversations and interviews with Sámi adults during the daytime market events, which turned out to be unreliable in terms of their romanticised and rehearsed nature, and for the most part I was a silent observer of the youth-centric social events during the evenings. The most valuable connection to young Sámi I had was at the very end of the Samedans, which proved to be a very useful contact thanks to social media. This one connection to two individuals from the Sámi youth community created more opportunities for connections with other young Sámi throughout the years.

3.3.2. Year 2

- Build up to the event

A year later, and I found myself at Jåhkåmåhke Márnána again. However, this time much had changed in my own situation despite the fact that the market was almost identical in organisation, events and atmosphere. During the year that had passed, I had managed to go to many more Sámi social events, meet many young Sámi, befriend some of them, stay at some of their homes and generally dig much deeper into what it means to be a young Sámi compared to my first Sámi event. Many young Sámi knew me or about me from the multitude of interactions I had had with them in the past year. People within the Sámi communities within the various areas in Sápmi I frequented recognised my face, knew my name and understood my intentions. In a sense, I would

like to believe that in the eyes of many of them I was not an intruder but instead a welcomed outsider or even an active participant in their reality.

In anticipation of the Samedans the few days before Jokkmokk, I had helped one of my Sámi friends to finish sewing her traditional Sámi dress, which she wanted to have ready especially for the dance. For her, the preparation for the Samedans had started months ago, when she started sewing her traditional outfit. This gave me an insight into how important the Samedans is to young Sámi, how much people look forward to it. For young Sámi, Jåhkåmåhke Márnána starts many months before it actually takes place in February because people start their planning for it the year before, making arrangements regarding where and with whom they would stay at the Market, planning their outfits for the Samedans, asking around who is planning to go and who is not, and convincing each other to go even if someone has been too late in finding a place to stay, offering sofas and floors where their friends can sleep. It is an ongoing process of making sure all your Sámi friends make it to Jokkmokk's Market in this massive build-up of communal spirit and camaraderie.

This second year of attendance, I arrived at Jåhkåmåhke Márnána together with some of the Sámi peers I had build connections with and it did not take us long before we spotted people we knew. Even the simple walk down the main market road would take a very long time because of the number of times one stops to talk to people one knows. It is exactly this kind of communal, interactional reality that young Sámi expect and walk into when they go to Sámi social events. Compared to last year, when I spent most of my time exploring the market alone as an unknown outsider, this year I felt like I was never alone, as there was always someone I knew or who knew me. In a way, I was also part of the event as an active participant due to my association with many of the young Sámi. This time I was able to observe the true spirit of Jåhkåmåhke Márnána as a social event where the Sámi immerse themselves in interactions with people from the broader Sámi community. In a sense this saturated reality of interactions is overwhelming but also very much expected so Sámi people choose to come to these events to be part of this created Sámi reality that only lasts four days.

- Closer bond between parents/relatives and children/young people

During one of the days, a Sámi parent of a young Sámi person I had stayed with on previous occasions spotted me in the crowds and invited me to join her and some of her friends to lunch. I recognised some of the other parents, as I know their sons and daughters from other events. It is quite revealing about the kind of relationship and interaction young Sámi have with their parents due to going to such Sámi social events and the fact that I knew so many of their parents, even though I had not known the young Sámi for a long time. There is definitely a closer relationship between children and parents established though years of Sámi-based events, but also there is the respect of parents and children each minding their own business and keeping their boundaries in check, despite the fact that they are together at such events. Even though the parents had mostly come from the same places as their children, none of them travelled with or stayed in the same accommodation as their children. They said that Jokkmokk is experienced very differently by people of various ages and for them as the older generation, they like interacting with people their age and having a more relaxed time, still having a drink or two, but not partying as much as their children. They also explained to me that they prefer to let their children (which in all cases referred to young Sámi above eighteen years old) do their own thing, travel and stay with their friends and peers because they know the significance of the Market and the Samedans for young people and want them to experience it with a certain freedom; this cannot happen if they share the same accommodation with their parents or spend excessive time with them. They were also aware that most young Sámi spend very little time sleeping during the whole Market because usually after the Samedans there are multiple after-parties and many more opportunities for social interactions, so the older generation like to have more peace and quiet when they go home after the evening events at the Market. In a sense, Jåhkåmåhke Márnána offers the same type of relational social interactions for Sámi of all ages, but young Sámi experience it at a much more intense level of interaction saturation compared to the older Sámi. However, there was no strict separation between the age groups within the whole Market and people were free to join all types of social exchange as they pleased. The Sámi parents have a very good idea of what their children are up to at the Market and are more than happy to let them do their own thing, but also join them for some of the events while also keeping their distance and not interacting with them too much. The intricate relationship between Sámi parents and their adult children showcased the true spirit of the

Sámi close knit community, where certain limits have to be understood, established and sustained in order for the smooth, long-term operation of said community.

- Evening social interactions

During the evening events, when Sámi and non-Sámi are quite strictly divided in their interactions, I was invited to be part of the Sámi reality, freely talking to people from the community and having no problems being introduced to new faces, based on the fact that I was recognised and accepted as part of the general Sámi youth community. Even though I was not dressed in traditional clothing and people would still introduce me as not Sámi, I was no longer one of the tourists at the Market. I was accepted as belonging amongst the Sámi of this age group, in their early twenties, and this was mostly because people understood I am known and trusted amongst their Sámi peers. The Sámi seem to be very welcoming to their own peers and people their peers introduce as long as there is some Sámi connection to 'ground' an outsider, in which case most Sámi will be very accommodating, especially at such Sámi social events. The idea of open interactions within the broader Sámi community at Jåhkåmåhke Márnána is made possible by having some selectivity in terms of focusing on connecting mostly within the Sámi context. This is exactly what the emphasis of most Sámi social events is on, the opportunity for plentiful of interactions for the Sámi amongst their own.

One day before the Samedans, young Sámi did not have a predetermined plan of their evening but would mostly followed where their friends would go, visiting homes of friends, then back to the beer tent and then more walking around to visit people. As Jokkmokk is quite small, getting from one end to the other does not take more than thirty minutes. Most of the young Sámi did not want to exhaust themselves too much the evening before the Samedans. They preferred this evening to just walk around from place to place, to see who has made it to Jokkmokk and who has not, catch up on some of the gossip and have a very social yet more moderate celebration. However, even with this more moderate behaviour, many people still stayed up all night, talking, singing and generally socialising to the fullest in line with the idea of Jåhkåmåhke Márnána. After all, being social and interacting with fellow Sámi peers are two main aspects of this whole gathering.

❖ *Samedans Two - a story of community spirit and sharing of social space*

On the day of the Samedans, most young Sámi managed to express their excitement at the upcoming evening activities in one way or another. People would mention the Samedans all day: some asked when their friends would get ready, where they should meet or how early they should go and queue to enter, while others would reminiscence over stories from past Samedans and talk about whom they hoped to meet there. Overall their excitement was tangible, which was based on months of talking and planning for this event. Many people were happy to start their evening socialising very early on, possibly just after 4 or 5 pm by going around from one friend's house or accommodation to another. The consensus was generally that if you go to someone else's house to socialise, you will bring drinks and food for yourself and maybe for the hosts, so the person who provides the premises does not feel the pressure of having things to offer. However, if you came with nothing, they would not turn you away. People could also come and go as they wish, so there was no expectation of how long you are to stay. There were many houses to visit and many people would have an open-door policy, meaning that as long as someone you know has told you or your friends that they are happy to receive visitors for socialising, you can walk in, sit down and share some drinks and food with people around you. The whole of Jokkmokk is transformed into a big celebration of socialising amongst Sámi. Sámi from different regions would share their stories of the past year, talk about their local and communal news and be equally interested in knowing what their fellow Sámi from other regions have been up to. Many people told me that they would just pick up their conversations from where they left them either at the previous Jokkmokk's Market or at the last Sámi social event they were at. The very tightly knit community spirit was obvious. However, together with all the good that comes with a communal spirit, there are also many bad parts, such as disputes and disagreements, all part of this communal life. This is where their ability to share, their willingness to interact across generations and their general open-mindedness comes in handy, as the Sámi know that no matter what happens, unless they move away from Sápmi, the Sámi community will always be there so they will have to live with these people. Unfortunately, it is not all utopian, as I have witnessed many disputes and heard many stories of people becoming angry with each other, and I have even witnessed fights where the spark was rather mundane but the real reason behind certain outbursts of animosity lies deeper than the spark on a particular occasion. So despite me witnessing mostly the friendly and utopian version of

how the young Sámi socialise at these social events, there is a darker side to their community where people hold grudges and do not speak to each other based on years of disputes with family or friends over land, livelihoods, relationships and other day-to-day quarrels. However, this is all part of life in any community, and the Sámi are no different. When people share much of their social relations within their extended community, having a large number of Sámi occupying the same small physical space during a social event like Jåhkåmåhke Márnána, where their is a heightened amount of interactions and social exchanges, means that there will be an intensified version of their usual connection over the large distances of Sápmi, which has the potential to lead to disputes. However, for the most part, the Sámi are able to use their tight knit community relations to look past certain arguments and focus on the bigger picture of the cultural and social significance of these events.

At the Samedans, the atmosphere continued being elevated, socially centred and interactive. People would stand around and talk, there was loud music, the dance floor started off shyly at first, as people were not yet ready to get into the dancing, but it filled up as the night unfolded. Like last year, the older Sámi would mostly be in the restaurant area of the venue, where there are tables and chairs and chatted amongst themselves, whereas the younger Sámi would be more centred around the bar and dance area. This year, I recognised the older Sámi as the parents and other relatives of the young Sámi I know. They recognised me too and told me that some of their children had told them that I was there and they wanted to see me. The whole venue was filled with people dressed in their traditional outfits, young and old alike, with people sporting their best outfits for the night. I was one of the few who were not dressed traditionally, but unlike last year, this year I was dressed formally enough to show my respects to the gravitas of the event and be part of the Sámi reality.

From one group of young Sámi chatting to another, the same kind of social butterfly effect I noticed last year was happening this year too. The focus of conversations was mainly chatting about random topics, talking about what people have been up to, how they had been doing since the last time they met, getting to know new people and their lifestyles. Throughout the past year, I had realised that at these Sámi social events the most important thing for young Sámi was to start to build relationships with their Sámi peers. The valuable face to face introductions to new Sámi peers happen at the Sámi social events, but the deeper interactions are build later, after the events

had finished. This is exactly how young Sámi establish their close connections and relationships within the Sámi community. At these social events they are introduced to who their peers are, but later on, thanks to social media, technology and the existence of a variety of other Sámi social events throughout the year, they can sustain these connections and turn them into meaningful relationships.

❖ *Relationship oriented*

There is a lot of typical youth tensions connected with intimate relationships and exploring adult relations that happens during the Samedans. As the two cousins had told me the year before, many people come to the Samedans with the idea of finding love or building new relationships, so the tension is elevated. Some of the people I knew came to the Samedans with the idea of strengthening some existing relations they have and maybe transforming certain friendships into something more. For most younger Sámi, the Samedans is one of their first opportunities to explore the possibility of finding a Sámi girlfriend or boyfriend from a different region or country because in their day-to-day lives they are only surrounded by Sámi from their own community, who in most cases are their relatives. Some Sámi youth, even when from different communities, have known each other since they were children and were being taken by their parents to these Sámi events, but only to the daytime activities, or maybe through other Sámi youth gatherings and organisations where Sámi children from all regions are encourage to participate. So for many of them they do not necessarily meet new Sámi but meet their fellow grown-up peers in a new light, where sexual tension, alcohol and elevated social expectations are increased.

It is only natural at the these social events for youth oriented emotions such as heartbreak, flirtation and jealousy to unfold as part of the youth Sámi reality. Young Sámi are expected to part-take in and want to fulfil what many of their peers and older relatives have been doing for decades, namely building Sámi romantic relationships at events like Jåhkåmåhke Márnána. My observations revealed that it is an inseparable part of these Sámi social events to have this goal of building young Sámi relationships under the watchful eye of the Sámi parents, who, even though acting as silent and very understanding observers from the sidelines, were equally excited for their children to continue the Sámi line. This reminded me of the history books which described how, a few centuries ago, the Sámi would arrange meetings between unrelated families, either at such Sámi

gatherings, which were primarily trading-related, or of their own accord, to see if their young people would be a good match together and what agreement could be reached to unite the families. Obviously, nowadays, the Sámi are far from having their relationships arranged in this way and have moved towards a much more modern and open understanding of relationships, but the general idea of creating Sámi interactions at social events with the hope of Sámi love is still there, and the parents are there to witness it in a way too. Sámi social events have an extra level of meaning, and this involves the Sámi dating scene, which I discuss in more detail later in this chapter.

❖ *Dance, music and photographs*

During the Samedans, many people enjoy dancing. The Sámi do not have a specific traditional dance but engage in a type of folk dancing which is also common in this part of Scandinavia. It is a fast polka-kind of dance where couples dance together. Even though it is not necessarily a Sámi dance, this fast-paced folk dance is commonly referred amongst some South Sámi as the Sydisdans and is performed by people of all ages during social events. There is also live band and usually a performer who would sing and yoik, depending on the music. People show great respect to Sámi music performers. Many times the performer is a relative or a person they know closely, so they are usually very encouraging and respectful to artists. During the dance, taking photos and videos and posting materials online was part of the reality many people in the globalised world live in and was no exception for the young Sámi too. As this was at the time of the ‘selfie’ boom, it was significant that people were interested in taking pictures together. Taking selfies has become a way of warming up to someone in modern youth culture, and this is also true in the Sámi community. The act of taking selfies shows in a way this respect and willingness to know more about the person or group of people you want to take the selfie with. You want to memorise this exact moment in time, with these exact people. There is so much information and content that can be derived from group selfies, from the area where the Sámi come based on their traditional outfits, through the amount of effort they have made for this dance, to the general emotions people exhibit in that particular moment. All this and much more is packed into selfies, and this creates another level of context in an environment that is already fully packed with traditions, hopes and excitement.

- What does this all mean

During year one in Jåhkåmåhke Márnána, I was a mere silent observer who was viewed as an outsider and in a sense intruder to the Sámi reality. During year two, due to my connections and the fact that many people knew me, I was a full participant in the wider context of the Samedans, connected to many people and was much more aware of the environment and of what the Samedans means and represents in the wider sphere of Sámi social events. Together, the combination of both years of my participant observation from Jåhkåmåhke Márnána, allowed me to understand and appreciate the true meaning behind this social event. This event reveals much about Sámi youth identities in terms of young people's focus on their traditions, community spirit and development of their Sámi cultural awareness during these types of social events.

The end goal of attending these Sámi social events is of being and becoming more Sámi. Many of the hopes and expectations of young Sámi relied on the Samedans in terms of finding love, getting to know people better and fulfilling what they believe they want out of life as a young Sámi representative. The reason that many of them attend Jåhkåmåhke Márnána is to be able to mingle with their peers from near and far, to build up their identity as Sámi representatives, to support each other in this never-ending battle of defining who you are when you come from a minority population and to enjoy yourself in an environment where you are not judged because you have chosen to dress up in your traditional dress and are celebrated for this. The main emphasis is on the Samedans, but actually most meaningful interactions between young Sámi take place during the days at the market either in the privacy of people's accommodations, in the many public spaces that encourage interactions and socialisation or at the night-time events. The Samedans is just the climax where people have an excuse to ask someone to dance, to be closer to each other, to act in a more carefree and sociable manner than usual, all in the name of understanding who you are as a person, as a young Sámi representative in a life where people have to make their own meanings to get through reality. The Jåhkåmåhke Márnána, the Samedans and all the other events from the Sámi social calendar help create the complex, multifaceted, dynamic identity of young Sámi today. Through these Sámi social events the young Sámi build, manifest and embrace their complex identity.

From my first Samedans, through various other music and culture Sámi events such as Ankarede, Markomeannu, Kautokeino Easter festival, Saminuorra meeting, Funesdalen Cup, Riddu Riđđu, Raasten Rastah, Snåsa's South Sámi celebration, NSR political meeting and elections (some of which I discuss further in this and other chapters) to the very personal and revealing visits to Sámi homes, villages and countless online chats, I have observed time and time again how young Sámi progressively develop, build and reinforce their Sámi identities through interactions, social involvements within the overarching Sámi community and personal perceptions of their own idea of being an indigenous representative within their moral understanding of life. In terms of my identity prism theory, below I start to build up the contents of the various walls from the identity prisms of the young Sámi I have met.

3.3.3. From Participant Observation to the Identity Prism

In their complex and multifaceted identity composition, the Sámi are able to encapsulate and exhibit various components of their own personal connection to being a Sámi representative. Some people have longer lists of aspects that make them Sámi, such as their family history, their avid participation in Sámi social events, their connection to reindeer herding and other traditional livelihoods, their willingness to take part in Sámi politics, their openness about and acceptance of their indigenous roots, their local, national and international participation in indigenous affairs and many more, while others do not have that many Sámi components. However, it is not the number of aspects to their Sámi identity that counts, but the personal choice of how much each individual decides to make their Sámi-influenced identity aspects part of their overall complex identity and to portray more or less of their identity through these components.

A perfect example is when people become Sámi by marriage or adoption. If they come from non-Sámi backgrounds, by the power of law overnight they create and add this brand new Sámi aspect to their identity prisms. Now, even though they might not have much in terms of Sámi relation from day one of their legally becoming Sámi, they can choose to actively pursue their new Sámi identity by participating in social events, having a traditional dress made, campaigning for Sámi rights and so on to gradually adding more and more Sámi components to their identity. They can portray their Sáminess as part of their overall identity as they wish. They are allowed to do so by law as they are now recognised officially as Sámi, and as long as they want to participate in the Sámi

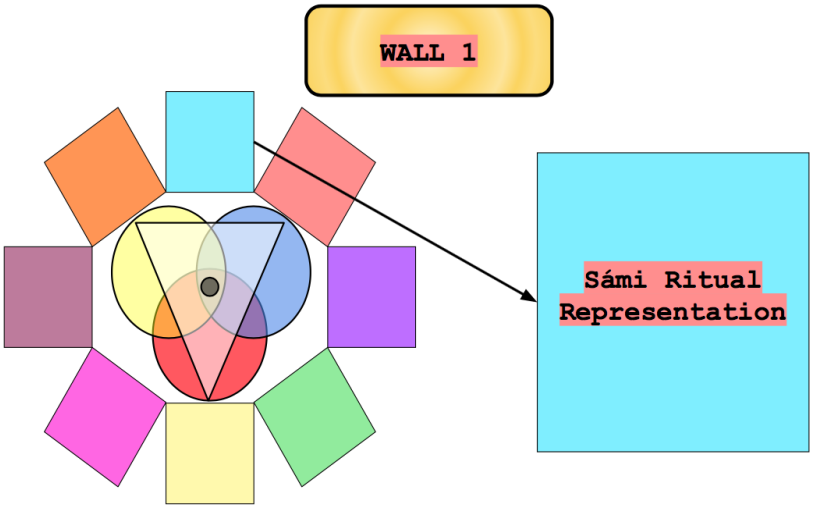
conversation and portray themselves actively as Sámi, they will be accepted by the Sámi community and will, for the most part, be considered equally Sámi as someone who has a family tree of Sámi ancestors going back centuries and who also portrays their Sámi identity avidly. Similarly a Sámi individual who comes from a big reindeer herding family, has lived her whole life amongst the Sámi community and has a long Sámi family history behind her can choose not to portray any of her Sámi identity in day-to-day life, never mention to outsiders that she is Sámi at all, never participate in Sámi social events and not have a traditional dress or choose to wear one. She will still have the Sámi part of her overall identity, but as she purposefully chooses not to portray any of her Sámi aspects, actively she identifies as less of a Sámi than the previous example of avid Sámi portrayal, despite the fact that in the latter case their Sámi background came through marriage or adoption. The identity prism allows people to have various parts to their identity and equally allows them to decide which parts they want to project, when and how strongly, and which ones they do not, or choose to project less. It does not matter how many Sámi aspects one has in one's overall identity prism, but it matters how strongly one decides to project and identify through these Sámi components, which makes their identity more or less Sámi.

It must be noted that there are a certain number of unconscious aspects that come into play in the prismatic complex identity representation, which might reveal parts of a person's identity that they might not want to project consciously. These unconscious aspects are usually connected to the features of the identity prism that cannot be controlled easily unless a serious reflective process is employed where the conscious tries to influence the unconscious. So in the unconscious sense of the prism, people are not as free to project their identity as they wish but the unconscious prism aspects take a much smaller part compared to what people control consciously in their prismatic identity representation. Overall, the majority of human identity is consciously developed, created and exhibited, yet some unconscious aspects are perpetuated, no matter how much people want to present their self differently. In this research, the main focus is on conscious identity development and representation, which at times is influenced by the unconscious aspects of the self. The identity prism provides a systematic understanding of the individual's identity development through identification via various walls and the possibility of projections, refractions, reflections and blocking of the self and the others through different levels of intensity. In the next

section, I would like to focus on the first wall of the Sámi identity prism, which is the Sámi ritual representation observed mostly at Sámi social events.

■ 3.3.4. Prism Wall One: Sámi Ritual Representation as Part of the Sámi Youth Identity ■

Figure 3.10. Prism Wall One: Sámi Ritual Representation



Most young Sámi who choose to go to Sámi social events and actively participate in them usually display and represent a saturated quantity of aspects of their Sámi identity more prominently during these events and do so in a very ritualistic manner. They have a go-to identity wall within their prism that encapsulates many of their fundamental projections, exhibitions and in a sense the performance-based Sámi-ness aspects of their selves that emerge during these social events much more than in their daily lives. In a way, these Sámi social events and being part of them falls under the category of a type of modern-day ritual on its own accord, and as such people understand what roles they play in this ritual and how to project and portray themselves accordingly. This happens partially as a reflection of their environment, partially as a refraction of what other Sámi do, and partially as a negotiation of their internal instincts of wanting to belong, be liked and understood by their peers. First, the environment at these Sámi social events is deliberately made to be immensely Sámi-philic, sparking emotions of respect towards Sámi history, traditions and customs, and generally creating a very welcoming atmosphere for anyone who identifies as Sámi. If you are Sámi, you are the star of these events because the whole event is a

celebration of being Sámi. People want to project their Sámi identity in a respectful manner in line with their environment. As such, they have to negotiate their expectations of these events within their own understandings of the connected ritual meanings attached to being part of these gatherings. This requires a personal ritualistic representation of the Sámi self to go hand in hand with the social and ritual meanings attached to these events.

Secondly, once people of various generations and from different parts of Sápmi are all in one place, as during these social events, everyone wants to put the best of their Sámi community on show and represent themselves and their area to the best of their abilities. People want to show their respect for their community and the area they come from by bringing, wearing and showing off their most highly ornamented traditional outfits, telling stories about their involvement with their Sámi community, their crafts-making or their traditional livelihood participation on the everyday level and inspiring others to be more active in various Sámi campaigns. In this kind of surrounding of Sámi individuals who are very prominent in their Sámi ritual representation of their amplified Sáminess, one absorbs much of their inspiration and enthusiasm and refracts it into one's own identity prism. Many of the young Sámi who are still not clear what their indigenous identity means to them or how to project it learn much about what it means to be Sámi at these events and are able to do so based on these ritual representations of the Sámi self in this very sociable and open-minded environment, where old and young have a platform on which to interact on an equal basis. These amplified representations of ritual identity serve the purpose of reinforcing the Sámi self not only for the individual but also within a communal meaning. Indigenous communities are highly reliant on ritual-based involvements because they are in a constant battle of reestablishing, defending and sustaining their claims to power within their usual existence within a majority population, which continuously questions their indigenous validity. As such, the Sámi's ritual representation of their exaggerated Sámi identity during social events is an immensely important way of transmitting indigenous information across generations and ensuring the survival of the community.

Thirdly, as young Sámi want to feel as if they belong, they have to negotiate their own identity in a way that is suitable at these Sámi events. They learn and build up their understanding of their Sámi identity from various interactions overall in their day to day lives, but it is specifically at these social events that they are able to absorb, reflect and refract much more about what their part of being

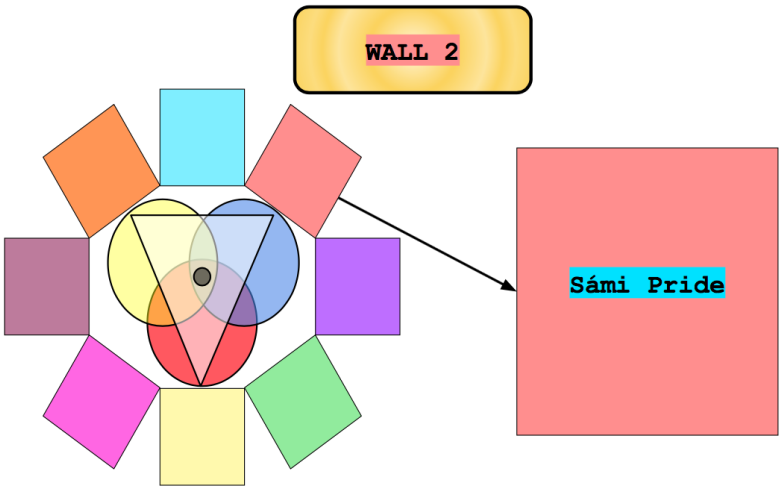
Sámi entails and how to portray and project their indigenous selves based on these ritual representations that people use during gatherings. From observations during social events, adult members of the Sámi community generally respond much better to young Sámi if they really embrace their ritual representations of their Sámi identity. This means participating in various traditional aspect of the events, wearing one's traditional Sámi dress, taking part in the support and appreciation of Sámi artists and musicians, respecting and interacting with Sámi elders by asking them for Sámi-related wisdom, showing interest in continuing the Sámi heritage by participating in relationship building aspects of these gatherings and generally involving and immersing oneself fully in the Sámi ritual meaning encapsulated in these events. In a sense, there is also pressure from Sámi peers to emphasise one's Sámi identity in order to be accepted at these social events. Young Sámi motivate, encourage and inspire each other to participate in these ritual representations of their Sámi selves. This youth support system that is created makes young Sámi feel much more at ease at projecting their amplified Sámi identity during social events because they feel that they are in a safe environment to do so. People are much more likely to participate in a certain aspect of their existing reality if they understand it, feel safe doing it and are presented with an encouraging environment that provides a sense of belonging and community. This is why Sámi social events are the perfect place to immerse yourself in practicing, developing and employing your Sámi ritual representation part of your identity.

All three aspects mentioned above contribute to this heightened understanding, portrayal, projection and performance of the Sámi ritual representation prism-wall part of young people's overall Sámi identity. Young Sámi display their complex identities with a much greater emphasis on their ritual representation wall at Sámi social events because this heightened portrayal can be seen as a necessary ritual in line with the meaning of the gathering, which provides the basis for personal and communal reinforcement of the Sámi's indigenous identity. It is also evident that this Sámi ritual representation prism wall of their identity is a way of their relational self to negotiate commonalities within various Sámi communities and the outside world in order to create a stronger power relation in terms of general recognition. A main aspect to emphasise within this first prism wall is the fact that there is a notable difference in the level of intensity of their choice of Sámi identity representation and performance at Sámi social events and outside them. This means that during Sámi social events, young Sámi are much more likely to use this first prism wall in their

identity representation of who they are than they are likely to use it at other non-Sámi events, environments or situations within their general day-to-day life. This ritual representation is reserved for use in ritual-based situations with an indigenous meaning. However, that does not mean it cannot be used in other scenarios, but the likelihood of this happening is lower compared to during Sámi or indigenous social events.

■ 3.3.5. Prism Wall Two: Sámi Pride as Part of the Sámi Youth Identity ■

Figure 3.11. Prism Wall Two: Sámi Pride



Sámi pride, projected as part of the Sámi youth identity, has a prime position in the way the majority of the young Sámi I connected with present their indigenous selves. Being indigenous at these Sámi social events is celebrated, cherished and nurtured as a valued and rare personal commodity. During the socially overwhelming few days at any given Sámi social event, the Sámi are encouraged to embrace their Sámi roots, culture, traditions and community as much as they can, not because they have to but because they want to, as it is part of the core value of who they are inside and out as indigenous people. The events in a way celebrate the development of Sámi pride. The pride in yourself as an indigenous person, the pride in your Sámi community, the pride in your culture, language, traditions, crafts and even the pride of being different and accepting that difference is good, but it also requires a degree of maintenance and effort to preserve. This is the overall Sámi pride of young Sámi, which I have put as one of the walls of the complex Sámi youth

identity prism and which I have observed to be present in so many Sámi youth identities. For different young Sámi this Sámi pride might have different aspects, as is perfectly normal. This is where the identity prism is excellently suited to accommodate these differences because in the Sámi pride wall individuals can make their own list of aspects that their Sámi pride preserves and then choose which of these to represent and project in various situations. Especially in interactive situations, individuals can choose which parts of their Sámi pride wall they wish to actively project, reflect, refract, absorb and ignore when faced with the decision of how they wish this part of their identity to develop or to be seen by others.

The issue with indigenous pride is that there could be disparities between the way the Sámi might feel on the inside, the way they portray their pride on the outside and the way certain projections of pride are exhibited, depending on others who may be around. At Sámi social events, the general feeling was that the Sámi had no problem exhibiting their Sámi pride, not only in themselves, as Sámi representatives, but also their pride in the whole of the Sámi community. People were at their ease in showing their pride in being Sámi at these events, to a level that sometimes felt rather exaggerated, but in a sense these ritualistic events are partially made with the aim of waking up and sparking this Sámi pride back into the many Sámi who might have forgotten their indigenous roots in their day-to-day lives. If there was a time to feel and show your Sámi pride, it is definitely at these Sámi social events. However, these events were a very enclosed and one-sided environment where I felt that if you were not proud to be Sámi, you could have been outcasted or at least given a good talking to about why you should be proud of what you represent.

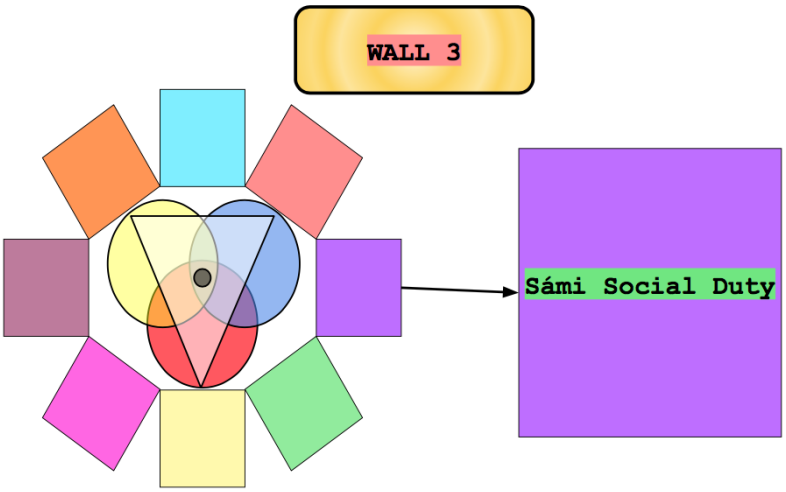
This is a recurring theme of Sámi social events, namely that they create this reality where being Sámi is celebrated and cherished. So people have no problems projecting the Sámi part of their identity, which represents the most pride in their roots at the event. They wear their traditional clothes with pride, they sing their traditional songs with pride and they speak the Sámi language with pride, but mostly these things only happen amongst themselves at these events. Being Sámi in front of other Sámi is a great way to build up your indigenous pride and identity. They feel safe in this social environment and know that now is the time to be proud to be Sámi, now is the time to project your ritual representation of your Sáminess as much as you want. However, what happens the rest of the time, when they are not in this fabricated safety blanket? What happens to their pride when they are faced with their daily lives in a city in Scandinavia where being Sámi, or just

being anything different from the norm, might not be entirely accepted? How do they negotiate their Sámi pride wall of their identity prism in various other situations? Based on observations, in many cases outside their tightly knit communities, young Sámi do not engage with their ritual representation and Sámi pride prism walls as much as they do during Sámi social events. This is entirely to be expected and understandable, bearing in mind that their ritual representation is mostly preserved for specific events, and their overt Sámi pride is in a way highly reflectable and refractable, which means it requires other Sámi's presence to be fully portrayed and projected.

From a multitude of observations, the fact emerges that the Sámi have mostly learnt how to adapt their portrayal, projection and negotiation of their identity depending on the situation and the people they are surrounded by. The Sámi representation of pride is more obvious during Sámi social events because the Sámi bounce this pride off of each other. One of the great aspects about identity prisms is that people can easily reflect and refract parts of someone else's identity through their own, and in many cases the similar parts of people's identity are reflected while the more different parts of someone else's identity are refracted or ignored. In this sense, during a Sámi event like Jåhkåmåhke Márnána, where there is an influx of Sámi people in general proximity, together with all the Sámi-related cultural happenings, music events and crafts, people cannot escape from the Sámi pride wall being on show either as a reflection of someone else's identity prism or as a pure emittance of one's own identity representation. Compare this to a small Sámi community living in a predominantly non-Sámi area in Scandinavia. The Sámi in this community would not be able to represent so vividly their Sámi pride as part of their identity prisms to the outside world, because they would not be able to reflect it in other people's identity prisms and also because they will feel the pressure to emit and reflect other parts of their identity, such as their Scandinavian traits, local characteristics and various other aspects more commonly reflected in the people of their locale. This indicates that even though each person has an individual identity prism, the way people choose to represent their identity to the outside world depends strongly on the environment they find themselves in. The important part is that the young Sámi are able to learn more about their Sámi roots and build up their Sámi pride wall as part of their complex, multifaceted identities during Sámi social events and then choose how to represent their Sámi pride as and when they need to.

■ 3.3.6. Prism Wall Three: Sámi Social Duty as Part of the Sámi Youth Identity ■

Figure 3.12. Prism Wall Three: Sámi Social Duty



To a great extent young Sámi learn the social part of what it means to have a Sámi identity among their Sámi peers at social events like Jåhkåmåhke Márnána. I observed that for the majority of Sámi who come from backgrounds with a strong Sámi family history, they would have been exposed to, taught and familiarised with what it means to be Sámi since childhood. Some of them have been taught by their parents and relatives, some have had the chance to go to Sámi schools, and some have been in a Sámi environment since birth, but many others have not had these opportunities. There is also an immense difference in the way one learns things depending on one's age and situation, so even the Sámi who have been taught their Sámi identity by their families when they were little might still lack the ability to portray and project it adequately in their young adult years in a social situation in front of their peers. Being able to familiarise oneself with what it means to be Sámi and to portray it in a social situation outside the people you know but still in front of one's Sámi peers implies an intense learning curve, which is best mastered at these Sámi social events. In a sense, it is young Sámi people's social duty to be exposed to, familiarised with and taught the general meaning of their Sámi identity, through these social events and from then on, each individual can decide how to personally experience their Sámi identity. Young Sámi learn from each other by observations, interactions and conversations. They pick up certain mannerisms and characteristics, which their peers might share, they become involved in the same

aspects of Sámi life as their peers, and they share stories from their daily lives, thus experiencing what it means to be Sámi through the eyes of others and then deciding for oneself how that translates into one's own life.

Young Sámi learn much from these social interactions with their peers, not only about their Sáminess, but also about their opportunities to express themselves in ways that might not have been possible in their own community. However, with all these Sámi social interactions comes the pressure of inclusivity. The issues of inclusivity and acceptance are not simply related to the Sámi, as they exist in virtually any community, where certain aspects of one's identity or portrayal of oneself might make one more widely included or liked than other aspects. This creates pressure amongst young Sámi, and many of them at times felt that, if they did not participate in all aspects of the social events, from the drinking, dancing and singing to the dressing in traditional clothes, story-sharing and gossiping, then they might be in a situation where they have alienated themselves from the rest of their peers. There is a fine line in negotiating one's Sámi identity, being happy with who one is and being included by one's peers or the complete opposite of just blindly following others in order to please them or to fulfil a certain social duty by doing things one might not enjoy. Many young Sámi have to learn for themselves how to differentiate between building their own Sámi identity and blindly following others just for the sake of following their Sámi social duty to participate in the community spirit.

Learning about being Sámi at these social events and fulfilling your Sámi social duty is more complex than expected, but it is only natural to assume that if you have put yourself into social situations like Sámi social events, then you have no problems in socialising or being included and accepted. However, there were a few Sámi I interacted with who, even though they had decided to come to these events, did not necessarily feel ready or willing to fully participate. This was either based on their personal, internal characteristics or their unwillingness to portray and project their ritual representations or their Sámi pride. They were there in a sense because they felt it was their Sámi social duty to take part or possibly because their family and friends had made them go in order to fulfil their indigenous duty and socialise more with the Sámi community. For young Sámi who were not ready or willing to participate in social interactions, opening up and learning from others could be slightly more difficult. Often they did not partake in all the activities or want to go to the dance, which in a sense could alienate them somewhat from the really sociable Sámi, but they

are still able to learn and build up their Sámi identity from the general environment at these events. There are so many different ways to negotiate one's identity, and sometimes just sitting in a room with people and observing them dancing, drinking and sharing stories can teach one much about who one is too. As I mentioned before, these events do not really correspond to this utopian version of them being this space where everyone can merrily interact with each other. There are the ups and downs of human interactions where some people feel better situated at these intense joint activities, whereas others prefer to sit on the sidelines. However, it should be stressed that no matter how involved you might be, just your presence there as a young Sámi can teach you much about how to negotiate your Sámi identity and enhance your own understanding of what being Sámi means to you. Just the fact that you can reflect and refract other people's representations of their Sámi identity without getting involved in all the aspects of the events builds up your own Sámi identity negotiation. The Sámi social scene is an important building block for young Sámi to establish their identity, and this leads me to my observations from my second main social event, Ankarede.

3.4. ANKAREDE

Just as Jåhkåmåhke Márnána is a traditional winter Sámi social event, which down the centuries has established itself as an important market and gathering place, a welcoming environment for all Sámi to celebrate their culture, traditions, crafts and language, and an opportunity for Sámi of all ages to engage in a social exchange, so Ankarede is a traditional summer Sámi event. Ankarede is a location deep inside the mountainous part of the northwest region of Jämtland municipality in Sweden, not far from the border with Norway, and next to where the Anker and Lejar rivers flow into the Stora Blåsjön lake. The summer event is named after the historically significant church of Ankarede, which has been an important Sámi gathering and burial site since the 19th century, located on the edge of the lake, surrounded by a few traditional wooden huts and tents and engulfed in the beautiful nature of the region. Ankarede, as a place, is considered to be a church town, but it does not have a permanent population, and it is difficult to find on the map, other than maybe a pin marking the location of Ankarede's church. The event called Ankarede takes place exactly next to that church, on the grounds around it, which many consider have great cultural value to the Sámi. The site of the event is around eight kilometres from the village of Stora Blåsjön, which has a permanent population, a town hall, a school and a shop. The Sámi come to Ankarede

to mark the celebration of midsummer in June with their own people, thus the Sámi summer social event is called Ankarede. As the social event uses the same name of the place, from now on, unless specifically stated, when speaking of Ankarede, this will imply the Sámi social event.

I have attended Ankarede in two consecutive years and my experiences of Ankarede were very similar in nature both years. This was due to the fact that by June of the first year I attended, I had already built a solid network of young Sámi whom I know and who know me too, so even at my first year at Ankarede I had the chance to experience the event more or less like an insider and an active participant rather than an outsider and this continued to be the case during year two too. I managed to acquire a great understanding of the human interaction side of the event in both years based on the plentiful information I gathered and the connections I had established. As a whole Ankarede provides a much more relaxed atmosphere and many more opportunities for meaningful conversations with Sámi participants due to the fact that it is focused on interactions over a long weekend. The two times I attended Ankarede complimented each other very well in terms of my data gathering. I was able to observe certain situations, notice particular behaviour patterns and specific Sámi youth identity aspects during year one and then during year two. During year two I mostly noticed the same situations, behaviour patterns and identity aspects, which confirmed my year one experiences (refer to the second half of Appendix A for visual representations in the form of photographs from Ankarede). This is why below I will discuss together my experiences, observations and understandings in both years I attended Ankarede, while also continuing my analytical discussion of the complex Sámi youth identity prism and will present three further Sámi identity prism walls.

3.4.1. Year One and Year Two at Ankarede

Ankarede happens every year and is a popular Sámi way of marking the tradition of celebrating midsummer in the middle of June. The celebration usually takes place over an extended weekend, starting Thursday during the day and finishing Sunday in the evening, with two main social dancing events happening on both Friday and Saturday evenings but with plentiful daytime opportunities for interactions, relationship-building and communication within the pristine nature of the Ankarede area. Ankarede is particularly popular amongst the young adult Sámi, especially in the ages of late

teens to mid-twenties. As midsummer is the celebration to mark the beginning of summer, it is highly suited for many young Sámi to come enjoy the event, develop their existing friendships, make new connections and possibly start new relationships. As with most Sámi events, Ankarede is a meeting place aimed to reconnect people over large and small distances and to provide them with socialising opportunities. To quote one Sámi representative in his early twenties, here is how he explained Ankarede to me before my first visit:

Ankarede is a popular South Sámi way to celebrate midsummer with friends and family. We socialise, drink, eat, camp next to the river and have a good time. Ankrede has a historic significance as a Sámi gathering place too. But many young people go to Ankarede with the hope of finding a summer fling amongst other Sámi…. Well, and of course, it is a great way to catch up with your Sámi friends whom you don't see too often.

As with Jokkmokk's Market, Ankarede also has a communal spirit where people plan their attendance months in advance and coordinate their arrivals with friends and relatives. However, it seems that many young Sámi are more likely to attend Ankarede without being too pressured into doing so because there is less of a commitment to it. There are fewer costs associated with the event because people camp outside, there is no market selling goods and no performances. This event is purely based on human to human interactions within a shared space surrounded by nature. There is an organised dance event on Friday and Saturday evenings in the nearby village hall, but because the dance aims to welcome a younger audience too, at the dance no alcoholic beverages are sold or served. Ankarede seems to attract mostly south Sámi from both Sweden and Norway and far less north Sámi, but that is primarily due to the event's relatively southerly situation and historic connection to the south Sámi communities of the region. However, it still presents a good opportunity for young Sámi to meet new peers who are not related to them and expand their circles of Sámi friends.

- Ambiance

Ankarede is a much smaller scale gathering than Jokkmokk's Market or music events such as Riddu Riđđu, Kautokeino Easter Festival, or Márkomeannu. If you are an outsider you cannot just blend into the crowd easily because the crowd is not that big. It is also the case that almost

everyone recognises everyone or at least recognises them as a friend of a friend. At this point it was beneficial that people recognised me based on my attendance at previous events and generally knew who I was in order not to appear as a threat or annoyance at their gathering. I had also already established sufficient south Sámi connections to fall easily into the category of a friend of a friend to many of the participants in this event. Conversations seem to flow easily around the campfires in the area, with people coming and going as they pleased, introducing new friends and relatives to their existing peers, forming bonds and creating an easy-going atmosphere. The solid constant in all these exchanges was the fact that almost 99% of the people were Sámi and the rest were friends of the Sámi from the nearby areas. Both during the day and at night people would enjoy spending their time just sitting outside, enjoying the weather and engaging in conversation. As this is the time of the year when the sun does not set, the ambiance of 24 hours of light a day really adds to the event. As a whole, people would spend most of their days in their normal, everyday clothes, but for the evening social interactions, they would change into their traditional outfits, so the ritual representation of their Sámi identity would be present at certain times of the day.

- Age-specific meaning

Ankarede is an event that you experience differently according to your age. When you are a child, you are taken by your parents with the purpose of recognising the historical significance and spirit of Ankarede to the Sámi. Families with children do not always take part in the more party-spirited evening events at Ankarede. The area where people camp and party is mostly all in the same open space, but there is also a more family-friendly section. However, children are not guarded or kept away from the true spirit of Ankarede, and they can still see and experience the friendliness, togetherness and cheerfulness of the whole event. Once these children reach their mid-teenage years, their parents let them experience the event in a whole different light. Young people would camp with their friends or relatives of similar age and mostly enjoy Ankarede for its party spirit. Ankarede for young Sámi is almost a coming of age experience as you get to build your own tent, make your own fire, and prepare your own food, all surrounded by your Sámi friends and peers. For many of them these are not new experiences at all, but the symbolism of them doing it without the help of their parents or adult relatives represents the fact that they are no longer children. As

with Jokkmokk's Market, at Ankarede parents are still at the event, but they keep their distance and let their now grown-up children experience the event alone amongst their similar aged peers. Parents understand that this is a rite of passage and respect their children's independence and chance to enter the adult world. They are happy to see their grown-up children enter the Sámi adult social sphere and navigate their relationships as appropriate for their age. Everyone minds their own business in their own age-specific circle of friends. This does not mean that people of different ages cannot party together: on the contrary, everyone is friendly and welcoming to people of different ages, but it is usually the case that the young Sámi would stick together and the older adults would do the same. There is almost an unspoken understanding to give each other space in order to socialise with age-appropriate peers. It all seems to work like a well-oiled social machine, and people find and make age-appropriate friends very quickly.

- Ritual representation, pride and duty

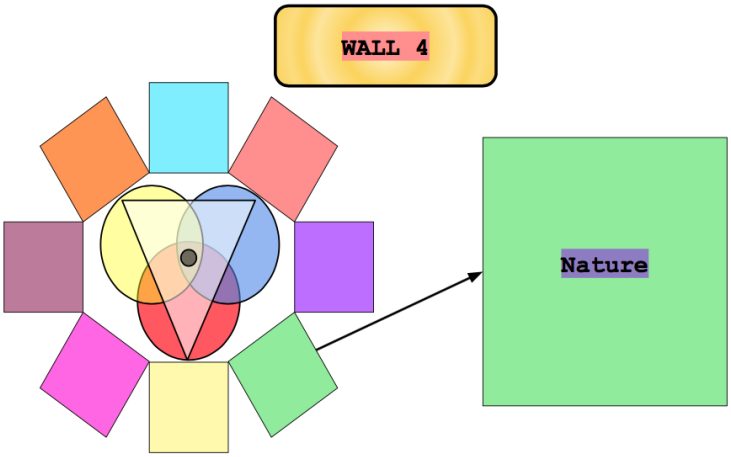
As already discussed and analysed in the Jokkmokk's Market section of this chapter, the first three walls of the complex, multifaceted Sámi youth identity prism are Sámi ritual representation, pride and social duty, which were all also observed during the events in Ankarede. As such, I will only briefly comment on these walls here in relation to Ankarede and talk more about the other prism walls that were prominent at this event. Ankarede is no different from Jokkmokk's Market when it comes to ritual representation, pride and social duty. In terms of the ritual representation, young Sámi had to have their first prism wall ready for Ankarede, especially during the evening events at the organised dance. Like the Samedans in Jokkmokk, Ankarede has a dance where people are expected to get involved in the ritual representation of their heightened portrayal and projection of their Sámi identity. People would dress up in their traditional clothes and engage with Sámi from all age groups in the same dance-based, interactional and symbolic situation as with the Samedans but this time in Ankarede. The young Sámi choose to represent themselves, not only as individual Sámi entities, but also as part of a larger group identity, where much of their own identity reflects and refracts that of what the present group of Sámi participants at an event represents, and this leads to this saturated ritual Sámi representation. Just like at Jokkmokk, at Ankarede it was also easy to spot the Sámi pride amongst their heightened portrayal and projection of their Sáminess. At Jokkmokk's Market, during the day people have the market and the communal spaces indoors

and outdoors, where many Sámi-related goods, commodities and crafts are traded in an elevated Sámi atmosphere that creates pride and belonging. In Ankarede, there is no market and no goods or crafts are traded, so the whole event's sole purpose revolves around the idea of enriching social interaction and developing the Sámi character and identity amongst this tightly knit community and heightened Sámi environment. Ankarede gives the Sámi the opportunity to explore who they are as Sámi representatives in a more casual atmosphere where there is less of a structure of how one should behave or what the expectations of others from the community include, but still enough content to create this sense of Sámi pride and a certain amount of social duty. However, it is all much more relaxed and less amplified in terms of the representation of Sámi pride and the social-duty aspects of their identity. In comparison, in Jokkmokk, the elder Sámi tend to expect the younger Sámi to present themselves in their best light, to go to the Sámi market, to purchase items from Sámi craftsmen and women, to be involved in all the cultural, musical and theatrical happenings and to go to the Samedans ready to mingle and make new connections. Because Jokkmokk is one of the very few Sámi events that is also frequented by outsiders, there is more pressure on the young Sámi to act in a certain way and develop parts of their Sámi identity that they might not engage with at other Sámi events, which take place only amongst their own. In Ankarede the pressure to become involved in so many various aspects of a single event is lifted because Ankarede is entirely focused on human interactions without any other side events. The ritual representation prism wall is still very prominent at Ankarede, yet the Sámi pride and Sámi social duty walls are less projected than they are at other Sámi social events.

Ankarede takes place at a piece of land of historical significance to the Sámi, but it is still very much part of a natural forest next to a river and a lake where people can camp freely. The pressure of being in a village or town environment is lifted, and people really connect much more to nature at this event than at Jokkmokk. Exactly this connection with nature unleashes a whole different set of Sámi identity representations which is slightly different from that exhibited in Jokkmokk but still follows the rules of absorbing, ignoring, reflecting and refracting certain aspects of group identity that are present within the Sámi community that has gathered at Ankarede.

■ 3.4.2. Prism Wall Four: Nature as Part of the Sámi Youth Identity ■

Figure 3.13. Prism Wall Four: Nature



Being close to and connected with nature plays a major role in the development and representation of the dynamic, multifaceted Sámi identity, no matter where they find themselves, but it seems to be even more vividly exhibited during Ankarede. As a whole, the location which the Sámi call their historic and for many their current home, Sápmi, is a vast area of land predominantly engulfed in nature, with very few medium-sized cities, some small towns and an array of villages. The reality of being surrounded by nature is part of who the Sámi are and also contributes to much of the rest of their identity building. Nature is present in the vast majority of the Sámi representatives' everyday realities, and Ankarede provides a heightened dose of nature to go with the representation of Sámi ritual identity during the event. Being close to and respecting nature are both aspects of the Sámi identity that have been engraved in their memories since childhood. The refreshingly cool air with a tang of pinewood, the crackling melody of a flowing river and the blistering sounds of the wind are all parts of the Sámi reality and a vital part of their identity. One South Sámi informants in his mid-twenties shared:

We have a deep respect for nature because without nature there will be no Sámi people. We, as Sámi, believe that humans only borrow from nature while we are alive, and then we should be able to return the land the same way we found it. I cannot envisage life without being close to nature.

Many other Sámi continued to tell me about being very connected to nature in a manner that is not only physical but also rather psychological. The notions of peacefulness, calmness and serenity reoccurred amongst the many Sámi I spoke to during Ankarede, especially when we were sitting around the fire in the grounds of Ankarede:

T*his here [hand gestures pointing around]. This is part of being us. Friends and family sitting here in Ankarede, outside, in nature and enjoying our time.*

(South Sámi male, aged 25)

Throughout my fieldwork, I got to spend a big part of my time in nature and started to understand this part of the Sámi identity. The Sámi have always had the benefit of this proximity to some breath-taking natural scenes. This is their reality, and as such it has become part of their identity. However, I wanted to dig deeper into what specifically about nature is so important when it comes to the Sámi identity because all the other non-Sámi from the area are also very closely connected to nature. As a matter of fact, Scandinavians all love nature and the great outdoors. The notion *friluftsliv* is deeply imbedded in all Scandinavians and translates as “open-air life.” For the vast majority of Scandinavians, being close to nature is part of who they are and part of their identity too. So is there a difference in the way the Sámi identify their connection with nature and the ways other Scandinavians do?

It is important to note here the fact that the Sámi share many identity aspects with the rest of the population of Scandinavia. The Sámi are Scandinavian, it is part of their identity, and as such it means that the rest of their fluid and multifaceted representations of identity will have a mixture of Scandinavian aspects. However, what distinguishes them from the rest of the typical Scandinavian identity are all the various Sámi aspects of their life, which non-Sámi do not get to experience. When it comes to the Sámi’s connection to nature as part of their identity representation, what makes it different from the Scandinavian connection to nature is the way the Sámi experience nature within their Sámi communities and the social interactions they have as a group within nature. It is mostly within the Sámi community that the Sámi’s identity connection to nature is developed, and as such it represents a myriad of aspects specific to the community within which the connection is matured. For some nature is part of their identity as reindeer herders, thus

making it a harsh condition, connected to hard work, restless hours of herding, taking care of the animals and eventually slaughter. For others, nature is connected to their Sámi identity as craftsmen and women. These Sámi use nature for inspiration for their traditional crafts, they collect wood, stone and other elements from nature in order to complete their crafts, and nature represents an endless creative environment. As a craftsperson, much of the time one works alone, but despite that there is a strong community of Sámi craftsmen and women who encourage and support each other by sharing, discussing and developing their traditional inspirations and their connection with nature. The transfer of skills and knowledge from elders to the younger generation is still the predominant way in which young Sámi learn about reindeer husbandry, traditional crafts and other Sámi-specific skills. As nature plays a big part in many Sámi-specific traditional and cultural activities, it has certainly become a major part of the Sámi identity, and the respect for nature has been transferred from generation to generation not only as part of their Sámi background but also as part of being a Scandinavian. Being close to and connected to nature together with this overarching respect for the great outdoors was definitely portrayed and projected in many of the young Sámi identities that I observed. The respect and awe of nature is definitely more strongly exhibited in the young Sámi's fluid, multifaceted identity representation here during Ankarede than at other events or in their day-to-day encounters.

I like being able to hear the wind and smell the fresh air. When I am in bigger cities it is as if a part of me is missing, but then I go back to nature and everything is how it's supposed to be. This is why I love Ankarede so much. We are here, in our beautiful and peaceful nature, with our community.

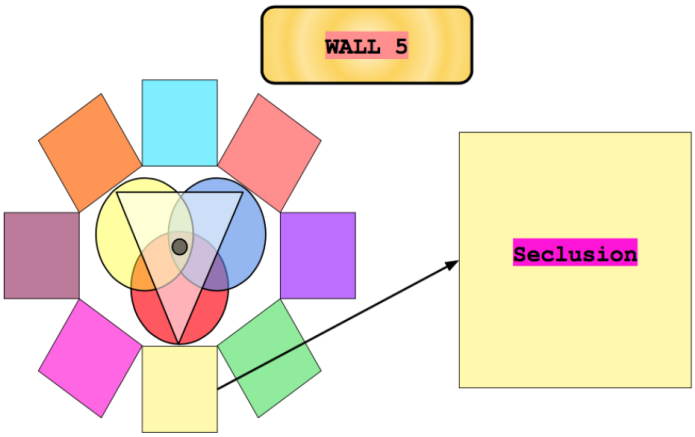
(South Sámi female, aged 22)

■ 3.4.3. Prism Wall Five: Seclusion as Part of the Sámi Youth Identity ■

It is clear that nature as experienced by the Sámi community represents a major part of the young Sámi's complex, multifaceted dynamic identity. Further to my observations about the respect for and connection to nature as exhibited by young Sámi, there is another part of the Sámi identity that seems to come from their natural surroundings, namely seclusion. The already mentioned notions of peacefulness, calmness and serenity that reoccurred when the young Sámi spoke about their connection to nature do not go without their related notions of loneliness, seclusion and detachment. The seclusion arising from the endless natural surroundings of Sápmi is the dark, cold

and isolated part of the Sámi connection to nature and their detached surroundings. Sápmi is a sparsely populated area, which, despite its breath-taking nature, can be a very lonely place when speaking about human to human connections and our ingrained need to seek companionship and

Figure 3.14. Prism Wall Five: Seclusion



interactions. It became obvious quite quickly after many of my conversations during Ankarede and Jokkmokk that one of the reasons why everyone is so excited, eager and ready to show off their ritual Sámi representation in the most heightened way is because, during the rest of their daily lives, these young Sámi live in a very different and isolated reality. The Sámi social events present a highly exceptional surrounding with many new Sámi faces, distant relatives and a variety of Sámi peers of the same age from far beyond the local borders, which contrasts severely with the day-to-day lives of many young Sámi, who are only used to being surrounded by a small group of Sámi relatives and local peers. These events are an escape from the lonely and secluded part of their Sámi identity connection to nature. Being close to and surrounded by nature is a cherished part of the Sámi identity, which brings joy and peacefulness, but it is equally a part of their identity that contributes to their personal loneliness, mental detachment and general seclusion. The Sámi are able to learn from very early on in life that being secluded is part of their culture and identity. A great lesson to learn as a human being is to be able to be OK with being alone with your own thoughts, feelings and ideas for extended periods of time whether it is at home, or outside in nature. It is OK to feel loneliness, but if things get too hard this is where the Sámi community steps up to offer support. The immediate Sámi community is always there to provide support and encouragement:

In my hometown, everyone knows each other because there aren't that many of us. It is definitely lonely at times, but also in a way it is not at all. Many of my immediate Sámi relatives live in the area, so everyone knows everything that is happening in people's lives, and this can be too much sometimes. I like when I come to Ankarede because I get to see people I have not seen in a long time, and this makes me feel happy.

(South Sámi female, aged 23)

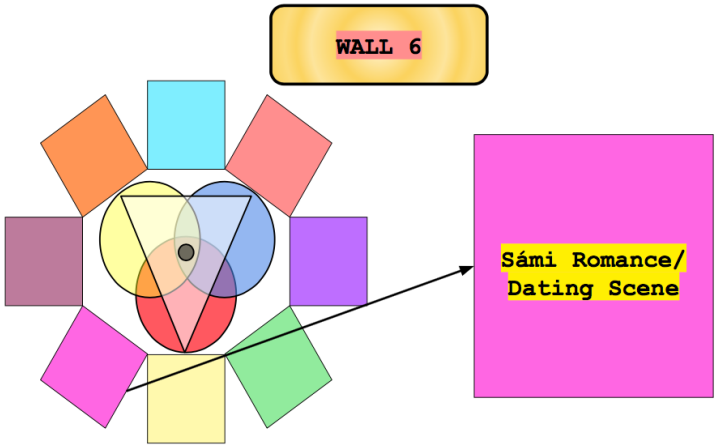
The Sámi community again seems to be a major contributor to the way young Sámi identities are built. It is there to guide people and even at times to push and encourage them to go to Sámi social events, as the elders know that exactly this kind of human interaction is what many young Sámi need, especially if they come from a small, close-knit community. Young Sámi need to experience the buzz, excitement and joy of being at a Sámi social event where there are peers of similar backgrounds, who might live hundreds of kilometres away from their village but experience the exact same reality of being a young Sámi in their own community. This provides them with a way to relate to people outside their local community and share certain thoughts and ideas that maybe usually they do not want to share. Social events like Ankarede give young Sámi a more complete picture of what the Sámi reality can be, and this provides them with new ideas of what they can aspire to achieve in life. Their peaceful yet seemingly secluded reality of living amongst their local Sámi community expands by meeting young Sámi people who come from various backgrounds, different communities and at times bigger cities. They see what makes other young Sámi happy, what others aspire to and how their peers present their Sámi identity, and this gives them new ideas, new motivations and a more complete outlook on life. Events like Ankarede nurture the Sámi connection with nature, but also keep at bay the part of their identity that represents their secluded reality experiences primarily amongst their local Sámi community in what seems like a no escape situation.

The environment in which the Sámi youth identity is developed represents factors such as serenity, peacefulness and also seclusion. However, young Sámi make sense of their dynamic, multifaceted identity with the help of their Sámi communities and through social events like Ankarede, and all these build and shape their complex identity prisms. The Ankarede heightened reality during the extended weekend it takes place shows how the peacefulness, calmness and serenity of their environment does not need to be connected with loneliness, seclusion and isolation. On the

contrary, it presents an environment of joy, lively social interactions, friendships and the presence of a much larger Sámi community than what most young Sámi are used to. The Sámi connection to nature as part of their self can make better sense to young individuals once it has been reflected and refracted through the many other identity prisms of their Sámi peers, elders and relatives in this communal environment and suppresses the negativity connected to the seclusion part of their identity. It is truly the overarching Sámi community that keeps young Sámi on the path to shaping their own unique Sámi identity by encouraging them to absorb, reflect, refract and ignore parts of the wider Sámi group dynamic.

■ 3.4.4. Prism Wall Six: Sámi Romance/Sámi Dating Scene as Part of the Sámi Youth Identity ■

Figure 3.15. Prism Wall Six: Sámi Romance/Dating Scene



As with most other Sámi events, for many young Sámi there is also an extra level of meaning to these events, namely the notion of finding romantic relationships within the extended Sámi community with the idea of preserving and continuing their Sámi identity into the next generation. With the typically ritual representation being projected by young Sámi, as customary at any major Sámi social event, at Ankarede it seemed that there is also more at stake in terms of finding Sámi romance. This is not to minimise the importance of finding romance at other Sámi events, but it

seemed that because of the timing of Ankarede, at the beginning of summer, young people feel more predisposed to seek out a summer fling:

It is not as if my priority in coming to Ankarede is to find a Sámi partner, but let's say in my mind I just want to see if it can happen. I'm here, I'm having a good time with family and friends – why not see if there is anyone there for me?

(South Sámi, female, aged 19)

Many of my friends, including me, look forward to Ankarede because now that school and university is out for the summer break young people have more free time, and people who live away come back to their homes and it is nice to catch up with everyone. Many times you see people in a different light here during Ankarede, and some friendships turn into something more.

(South Sámi, male, aged 21)

Every young Sámi person who has reached puberty is aware of what the Sámi social scene entails. It is only natural for young people to seek intimacy and relationships as they grow into adulthood, and within the Sámi community people are very open and encouraging about how this can happen. Parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles all encourage younger Sámi to go to these social events and tell them stories of how they have met their significant others at such events. It is part of the Sámi identity to seek relationships within their extended community at gatherings like Jokkmokk and Ankarede. This is how the Sámi culture has survived for so long, thanks to the organisation and frequenting of Sámi social events, and as such it is deeply engrained in their identity. Ankarede's laid-back event style provides an opportunity for young Sámi who want to try Sámi dating to explore the field:

We are such a small and community spread out over a vast area that it is really a miracle we have been able to survive as a society for so long. Nowadays, even though we have the advantage of social media, good road links and fast transportation that helps to keep the Sámi community in touch and well connected, these advantages also work against us because it has never been easier to book a holiday to Spain and leave Sweden's cold weather behind.

(South Sámi female, aged 24)

The Sámi dating scene is part of the Sámi youth complex identity. As such, the Sámi dating reality can represent various aspects of the Sámi identity depending on individuals, their personal connection to the Sámi reality and their specific age group. For the young Sámi at the lower end of the age spectrum, between 18 and 23, the Sámi dating scene is more of a recommended experience that they want to enjoy as much as they can, have a few flings with people their age and see if the Sámi dating scene is something they are interested in continuing to part take in with

the idea of mingling with Sámi peers in a romantic way, or whether they just enjoy the social events for their pure cultural benefits and to build their identity as Sámi representatives. In a way, though, amongst the young Sámi the dating scene is almost an inseparable part of the Sámi social scene, so many young people might not part take in the social scene if they did not feel comfortable taking part in the dating scene. However, there are always exceptions, and also the social scene is definitely more relaxed for older participants past their thirties who are already in relationships or have families and experience Sámi social events in a different light without the pressure of the Sámi dating scene.

For the young Sámi at the higher end of the age spectrum, between 24 and 28, there is slightly more at stake in terms of Sámi romance at these social events. If they are still going to these events as a single person interested in finding Sámi love, they are often more determined to do so and seemingly more pressured by relatives to do so fast in accordance with the general socially established expectations in the west that after a certain age one should look for long-term relationships and aim to build a family. By the time these young Sámi are 28, many have been around the Sámi social and dating scene as legal young adults for as much as ten years, and some young Sámi have been going to the Sámi social events since they were children being taken by their parents, so at this point in their life they know exactly what to expect from the Sámi dating scene, and in most cases they are familiar with almost everyone their age who frequents these events. For these young Sámi who are actively seeking partnership from amongst their extended communities, these events can become repetitive and in a way uninspiring and full of disappointment in terms of their opportunities for romance because after all these years going to these events, especially if one goes to their more local and nearby events, the crowd that frequents the social scene consists predominantly of the same 200-300 young people who are within the age group of interest. Of course these are not all the young Sámi there are, but these are the ones who actually go to these events at a consistent rate and the ones who might be interested in seeking out relationships within their extended communities. There are many happy stories of relationships being formed on the Sámi social scene, but there are also many disappointments. Here are two examples I observed of Sámi romantic relationships formed at these social events, how they continued to progress, and their impact on the development of the individual Sámi identities of the couples.

- Relationship one

Relationship one formed before I met the couple, from what I have heard at a Sámi social event, but it was still a very new relationship when I first met them. They are both from a long and proud tradition of South Sámi descent, born and raised in neighbouring Sámi communities within a radius of a hundred kilometres. Due to the proximity of their communities they share common relatives from the past and are technically fourth or fifth cousins on one side of their families. However, this is nothing unusual, and people within the Sámi community generally agree that everything past second or third cousins is safe and a viable relationship. When I first met them on my first visit to Ankarede, the woman was in her early twenties and the man in his mid-twenties. They were happy to be together, and the fact that they are a couple did not mean that they would not go to Ankarede – on the contrary, they were excited to show off their relationship in front of their friends and families. They made as much effort to represent their ritual Sámi identity during Ankarede as did other Sámi young people who might be single. They both had their best traditional outfits on, participated fully in the chats, mingling and festivities at the campsite, and then went to the dance in the town hall. They both enjoyed their time with their own and joint friends, and there was no exaggeration of their relationship, but they did make it clear that they were now a couple, so that if someone else was to make a move on either of them, they would know that they were taken. As a whole, for their age, they seemed to represent their relationship in a very mature way consisting of trust and security. There was no jealousy, there was no restriction to who they can talk or interact with: if anyone acted too flirtatiously with either of them, they would calmly address that by mentioning they are in a relationship, but overall it looked like they really match one another perfectly well in terms of personality, character and maturity.

Although my first visit to Ankarede was the occasion on which we met, I kept in contact with both of them in the years to come. A few months after my first visit to Ankarede I met up with both of them on different occasions and got to hear a bit more about their relationship. At that time they were still living in different towns due to their university commitments and were keeping their relationship going from a distance. The woman told me on one occasion when her partner was not there that

because she is still very young and still at university she did not want to plan too much about their joint future together.

I am enjoying our relationship with him as it is right now, we are having fun and enjoying our company. After I finish university, I want to see the world, travel a bit, and if he is also up to that it will be great to go together, but I am not ready to commit to a family just yet. But I really think me and him are a very good match, we have similar goals in life and come from similar Sámi families, and if it comes to it, I will be thrilled to have a Sámi family with him.

Fast forward to the present: both have finished university, she managed to travel and explore parts of the world, and she has already landed a full time job, and they now live together in their own house, engaged to be married. This certainly is a success story of a Sámi youth relationship formed at a Sámi social event in the midst of the Sámi dating scene that withstood the challenges of life not only within their Sámi communities but also in terms of modern day struggles. Throughout their relationship, they were both free to understand and develop who they are individually as Sámi representatives and as a Sámi couple. They supported each other through various personal hurdles and did not stop each other from pursuing what each of them wanted out of life. The woman was personally interested to pursue her interest in indigenous activism and rights protection, and her partner showed support to this part of her Sámi identity development. She wanted to go and experience another culture and lifestyle abroad, and he was again there to support her and waited for her to come back. Now they are both happy and in sync with their lives and have developed their identities and life goals to a stage where they are ready to commit to a Sámi future together.

- Relationship two

Relationship two formed in front of me and had loads of ups and downs along the way. The couple were also born and raised in proud South Sámi families, but more distant ones in relation to each other's communities. They were younger than the first couple, the woman being in her late teenage years at the beginning of their connection and the man in his early twenties. When I first met them, they were not together as a couple. I got to meet them first as individuals, learnt their own stories of what it means to them to be Sámi, and then I also witnessed their relationship and how they are

together as a Sámi couple. For both of them Sámi dating was very much part of who they are as Sámi individuals because they both believed that their partners should have this internal understanding of what it means to be Sámi for themselves so that they would be more understanding of what that means to their partner. Sámi dating is part of both of their complex Sámi identities.

❖ *She on her own*

When I first met her, she was still coming to terms of who she is as a Sámi young adult. She had a great interest in everything Sámi but at first did not exactly know how to channel this enthusiasm and in a sense wanted to show off her ritual Sámi representation to her friends, family and relatives in everything she did just to prove that she is Sámi. She enthusiastically took part in many Sámi social events, participated in showing off her talents and gradually became an inseparable part of the core Sámi youth community. Throughout the years I've known her, she managed to channel and really established her Sámi identity predominantly by being surrounded by the extended Sámi community, frequenting social events and developing Sámi friendships with young Sámi from across Sápmi. She learnt how to represent her Sáminess by participating in social events, activism rallies, talent events and mostly thanks to the bonds she created with other Sámi from various Sámi communities. She is a confident and outspoken individual, and this really helped her to develop her unique Sámi complex identity. She was clear that she wanted to find a Sámi boyfriend.

I *have been in a relationship with a non-Sámi, and I really think in many situations non-Sámi do not understand what it means to be Sámi and do not get our family relations, community spirit and overall identity. My ex (non-Sámi) was not very supportive of my Sámi identity, and this was a deal breaker for me. So this is why, now I am confident that I want to look for a Sámi boyfriend.*

I wanted to dig deeper, because maybe the person she was with before was just not a nice human being and the problem was not that he was not Sámi but more that he was not supportive of her. So I asked her to explain further why she thinks it is better for her as a Sámi to be in a relationship with a fellow Sámi.

I want to find a Sámi boyfriend because he will know what it means to have a Sámi identity, and this will be a great thing to connect us. It is good when a boyfriend has this deeper understanding of how much it means to me to be Sámi because I am very proud of my background, so I will be happy and feel more secure if he also shares his Sámi identity pride with me. Also for the future, I want to raise my children as Sámi, within the Sámi community, and it will be much easier if both parents are Sámi. But yes, this can be achieved with a non-Sámi partner too, but it will be much harder. So in a sense for the goals I have in life, I am making my life easier if I get a Sámi boyfriend.

She really believes that for her own journey in life as a proud Sámi representative and for her own identity development, she prefers to have a Sámi who shares the same values in life to be her partner. So with that goal in mind she really was ready to take part in the Sámi social and dating scene. I watched her develop her Sámi identity down the years, step by step from the first time I met her at a Sámi youth meeting, through the time she made her own traditional dress by herself for an upcoming Sámi social event, all the way into her twenties, when she got in and out of relationships with Sámi boyfriends. For her it was really all the various connections and relations she created throughout this time within the Sámi social and dating scene that really established and moulded her complex, multifaceted Sámi identity into what it is today.

❖ *He on his own*

When I met him, he was already part of the Sámi youth social scene, had great friends within the extended Sámi youth community, and many people knew well the family he comes from. As a person, he was much more timid and self-doubting in comparison to her when it came to his Sámi identity or his representation of it in front of others. He was in his early twenties, and even though he had been a proud part of the Sámi social and dating scene for years, he was not too confident in himself, which I later found out was due to some form of bullying when he was younger. Nevertheless, he did say that he feels much safer and much more understood when he is amongst the Sámi community and can truly be himself when he is amongst the community. He would always take pride in wearing his traditional clothing at social events, and these events were also a chance for him to work on his confidence as a person, to approach people and to talk to them. He did not have many expectations in terms of finding Sámi romance but certainly wanted to give it a try. I could tell that for him it was more important to first work on his own confidence issues at these

social events and then think about finding Sámi romance. When I asked him if it was important to him to find a Sámi partner, he confirmed that it was:

For myself it will be better if my girlfriend is Sámi or someone who really understands and appreciates the Sámi culture. Personally, I think we will have much more in common, in terms of experiences in life, connection to our family and community, and overall our identities will be similar.

As a person, he was also interested in pursuing his career in his field of interest, which he was able to do anywhere he wanted to due to the nature of his career choice, but he was specifically interested to pursue it locally or at least within the extended Sámi community. He could not imagine living a life without the Sámi community, and even though he did want to travel and expand his skill set for the sake of his career, which he did, there was no doubt in his mind that he wanted to stay close to home and the Sámi community. Overall, as an individual, he was on his own journey to establish his unique complex Sámi identity, and the more he was exposed to the social scene and the extended Sámi community the more he developed himself as a proud Sámi representative. Sámi dating was certainly a part of his identity.

❖ *She and he together*

The Sámi identity journeys of both these people became intertwined when they met and quickly formed a complicated on and off relationship. They met in Ankarede. I was there when they first met as adults. When I later asked them if they knew each other as children, they were not sure but thought it was possible due to the proximity of their communities that they saw each other years ago, but at this stage this was their first meeting as adults at this social event. The conversation between them was flowing and easy going. They socialised much around campfires at the Ankarede grounds and connected very quickly. It was certainly a clash of personalities, as she is much more confident and outspoken, and he is more on the shy and timid side, but this helped their relationship overall because she was not scared to lead the conversation, and he was happy to follow her lead. During the long weekend of Ankarede, both felt that they connected at a level classified as more than friendship, but with the end of the event, they had to go their separate way. The standard procedure in this day and age of staying connected after such meetings where you

know you live far away from each other is through social media. Within the Sámi community there is no difference. Sámi youth rely heavily on social media to keep their connections and friendships going, especially when these connections are established within the larger Sámi community, which spans over thousands of kilometres across four borders. As Ankarede was coming to an end, both of them exchanged their social media information, and from then on their social connection had to be developed predominantly online until they met again at another Sámi event. She lived more than 500km away from him, so it would have been very easy for this connection to fall apart, but they both wanted to keep in touch so as to take things further. Through message after message on social media, they learnt much more about who they are as people, and their friendship grew. They certainly had much to discuss when it comes to their joint connection of coming from Sámi families and their interest in embracing their Sámi roots. It was not long after Ankarede he invited her to visit him in his parent's house in the heart of his Sámi community.

❖ *Meet the Sámi parents*

She was very nervous about her visit, as she wanted to present herself well in front of his parents. They were not officially in a relationship, and she was being invited only as a friend, but still she knew that if things were ever to go further with him, the approval of his Sámi family would mean much to her. She told me further that there are two things her mum (also Sámi) had told her that from the perspective of a Sámi parent would be very important in making a good first impression for a potential partner for their child, one being entirely under her control and the other not. The first thing many Sámi people do when they invite you over to their home is to offer you coffee, and it is common courtesy to accept the coffee, drink it and enjoy it by complimenting whoever made it. Then it gets a bit trickier, because she was anticipating that his parents would expect her to make coffee somewhere during the time of her visit, and she felt that she really had to impress them. This was one of the things her mum told her that she has to know how to make a good cup of coffee and to offer to make coffee for people as a gesture of good will and gratitude for their hospitality. Depending on the household, people would have various methods of making coffee, but the core skill is to be able to make coffee as if you were making it outdoors. This means with just a heat source, a pan, water and coffee. She made sure to practice at home, and then the first appropriate opportunity she had while she was at his parents' house she offered to make coffee for

everyone. This was received very well by his parents. The second thing her mum told her will definitely happen is the almost ceremonial look at the family tree, which was entirely out of her control. It is seen as a must for every Sámi family to have some sort of a family tree, which they usually bring out when new relationships are established amongst the younger Sámi generation. People need to know for sure whether or not the two potential partners, who both clearly come from solid Sámi backgrounds, are too closely related to marry. Due to the fact that they both come from a long line of South Sámi descent, examining the family tree is even more imperative, and indeed it happened almost immediately after she arrived at his family house, just after the coffee. She had to come prepared and knew parts of her family tree, and then they would look at his family's tree. If his family were to find out that the two young Sámi shared too many common relatives, then they would certainly dismiss any chances of the relationship progressing further than friendship. The ceremonial scrutiny of the family tree established that her family history was certainly not part of their extended family history and that they do not share any relatives, at least not in the past hundred or so years. The potential for this relationship to progress further was therefore confirmed, and this served as an initial seal of approval from his family to her. In the Sámi culture nowadays, the family does not really have a say in who their children are supposed to date or not, but they certainly want to make sure that if they choose to date within the Sámi community, the two partners are not related at a level closer than second or third cousin.

❖ *Are we serious?*

As time progressed, she quickly came to be adored by his family and relatives due to her likeable personality, passion for her Sámi roots and enthusiasm for getting involved with the Sámi extended community, but it seems that he was not that much attracted to her romantically as she wanted him to be. She was ready to be in this relationship and fulfil her priority of having a Sámi partner, but he was not ready for this commitment at this point of his early twenties. They hanged out as friends but if people would ask, he would not say that they are in a relationship. He wanted to keep his options open for now in terms of not being publicly in a relationship with her because he wanted to explore his new found confidence amongst the Sámi social and dating scene and she wanted to experience a committed Sámi relationship. The problem here is that, like many other young people who hang out amongst a shared group of people, once a rumour goes around that two people are

together in a committed relationship, then everyone within the community will soon know. News travel even faster within the Sámi community due to families' and relatives' constant social exchanges. For him this chain reaction was unwelcome. He was not ready to be in a relationship and he wanted to explore further his newfound confidence and social connections. He wanted to try out Sámi casual dating with other people. In contrast to him, she wanted to experience a serious Sámi relationship. At this early point of their connection, they were just on different pages of their own life journeys, so they had a few years of casual contact without any commitment.

- Community-based gossip

It was not only he who had this fear of information about his possible relationship getting to the ears of the community: I observed this fear with other people too. Many young Sámi, men and women, but in the light of my experience mostly men, fear that they might be linked to someone romantically and the news might spread too quickly within the extended community, thus diminishing their chances of creating romantic relationships with others in the near future. It seemed like young Sámi men prefer to explore the Sámi field extensively first before they really commit to a relationship where they both announce that they are an item together. This fear of commitment is not a new phenomenon in youth cultures, but it is very obvious within the Sámi communities, due to the fact that everyone within the extended community is very closely knit, and gossip travels easily from mouth to mouth and from social media account to social media account. It is in a sense a double fear: the fear of commitment and the fear of gossip within the community. This fear is usually present amongst the younger members of the Sámi youth community between their teens and early twenties: after their mid-twenties people are more open to being publicly in relationships, as they have this socially accepted perception that it is time to aim at settling down. So after this initial period of a fear of commitment and especially the fear of gossip being spread within the community comes a period in their life where young Sámi eagerly want to be linked romantically to someone so that the rumours that they cannot get a partner do not spread. In a sense the fear of gossip is still there, but now it is a different fear of unfortunate gossip being spread that there is something wrong with them because they cannot find a partner and especially a Sámi partner. The time when young Sámi are really eager to proclaim their more serious relationships to their communities is in this sweet spot of their mid-twenties, the years in life that

seem most socially acceptable in the Sámi community to really commit to a Sámi relationship in order to make it work out for the future. After a roller-coaster of emotions, changes in priorities and desires through their early twenties, when single Sámi approach their mid- to late twenties, their relationship priorities switch drastically into the idea that settling down would be preferred as soon as possible in order to avoid even further disappointment to their families and sometimes pity from Sámi friends who are already in relationships.

This is exactly what happened to relationship number two: after a few years of non-commitment in his early twenties, by the time the male partner was in his mid-twenties, he was happy to openly proclaim his relationship with her and, luckily for him, she was happy to accept this after so many years of casual non-commitment, which would have definitely chased away and alienated many other females. This worked for them because they had developed a solid friendship over the years, and she was very much adored by his parents and community, so in a sense it was just a matter of time in her head that he would want a serious relationship with her. So for a while, they proudly declared within their communities, families and friends that they are in a committed and happy Sámi relationship. However, after some time together with plenty of ups and downs, relationship two had to come to an end romantically, although their friendship and her connection within his extended family still stand.

- Unsuccessful Sámi romance

On the notion of unsuccessful relationships, there are plenty of Sámi on the verge of hitting their thirties, mid-thirties and older who throughout the years of active Sámi social involvement are not successful in finding Sámi love on the Sámi social and dating scenes, which creates a general aura of scaremongering amongst family and relatives, who are quick to say that young Sámi should be careful not to end up old and alone like these people. Once the Sámi have hit their late twenties and early thirties and no relationship seems to exist either within the Sámi social scene or outside it, then these young Sámi can become desperate, indifferent and/or fearless. Some desperately go to Sámi social events in order to recapture their youth, but by this time in their life the people they used to go to these events with now come along as families with children, and the rest of the singles market may be filled with far younger people in their teens and early twenties,

who as mentioned above are still in the fear of commitment stage. For many single Sámi in their thirties there is no point of going to these social events as they are predominantly aimed at younger people in their teens and twenties to mingle or for older generations to come as families to see relatives and enjoy the festivities as families with their children. The Sámi dating scene for the older single Sámi can be very narrow at this point in their life, and this can be rather daunting not only for themselves as people who wish to establish a Sámi romantic relationship, but also to their family and relatives, who, even though they mostly maintain that they are perfectly fine with the possibility of their children not getting a Sámi partner as long as they are happy with their life choices, certainly had such hopes for them.

However, the thirty-something Sámi singletons have also acquired a certain amount of indifference and fearlessness which they certainly lacked in their younger days. At this stage in their life they do not fear community gossip regarding their relationship status so much and have established a much thicker skin when it comes to their family, relatives or the community asking them when they are going to find a Sámi partner. Many who would have been more inclined to look mainly for a Sámi to be their partner have also by now realised that they should not shun the rest of the population within their area. Even more popular nowadays amongst older single Sámi men (above 40-45), as well as many older single male Scandinavians, is to look for a partner from Southeast Asia, in particular from Thailand and neighbouring countries in a transaction similar to obtaining a mail-order bride. However, there are many stories within the Sámi community about those who end up importing a Thai wife and the potential disastrous outcomes of such forced relationships between people who in most cases have very different ideas of life. This is yet another aspect of the older generation scaring the younger generations within the Sámi community, especially at Sámi social events and the connected Sámi dating scene, as a way to encourage younger people to embrace the Sámi dating scene and find a partner while they still can in their youth unless they want to end up old, alone or with a Thai wife. On another note, the very accessible and user-friendly online dating apps that have emerged in the past five-ten years that provide large-scale access to local contacts have in a way prevented the need to import wives in recent years.

- Overview of Sámi romance

Overall, people in the Sámi community want to make sure that Sámi youth get involved in the Sámi social and dating scenes in an effort to prevent loneliness for the youngsters in their old age and the possible difficulties of being on the road to loneliness once it is too late to participate fully in the Sámi dating scene. The Sámi dating scene and the connected possibilities for romance are definitely part of many Sámi youth complex identities. As observed through the exploration of a few examples, the Sámi dating reality can represent various aspects of Sámi identity depending on the individuality, complex personality and specific age of people. Young Sámi can choose to participate in the Sámi dating scene and make it part of their Sámi identity, and most of those in the sample of young Sámi I interacted with were fully involved with the Sámi romance part of their identity. However, as mentioned before, every individual Sámi has the choice not to participate in the Sámi dating scene or exhibit any Sámi romance aspects to their identity based on the fact that they can choose not to represent their identity through the Sámi romance wall. Individuals can decide for themselves whether or not Sámi romance is for them, but as with other walls from their personal Sámi identity prisms, some of their individual decisions will be influenced by what they reflect, refract, absorb and ignore from their environment. At times, the Sámi community advice and examples that many young Sámi have to live with might be absorbed and reflected to a greater respect, which might influence their personal decisions more than they would like to admit. The complex composition of the identity prism is the perfect example of how, for much of each person's individual journey through life, more than we want to admit are reflections, refractions and absorption of the environment we live in and the other people we interact with.

Throughout the analysis of the first six Sámi identity prism walls, there has been the reoccurring aspect of the prism being influenced by the overarching Sámi community. The observed overarching presence of the Sámi community in the lives of young Sámi will be further explored, discussed and analysed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: IDENTITY BUILDING THROUGH THE SÁMI COMMUNITY, SOCIAL MEDIA AND YOUTH CAMPAIGNS AND MOVEMENTS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

"The extended Sámi community within the whole of Scandinavia can be seen as this big influential mechanism that affects how many Sámi individuals are shaped based on the influence it has in people's lives at different times of their being." Male South Sámi, aged 28.

The more time I spent in and around the various Sámi communities I had got to know, the more I would observe and understand how the young Sámi complex identities are built based on all the factors that influence them. After attending some of the Sámi social events favoured by both young and old, as described in the previous chapter, I was able to build upon the connections I had created, which led to my observations of the Sámi communities outside the Sámi social events scene. I was able to delve into the local, national and international factors that affect various Sámi communities in their day to day lives. Moreover, I observed how the overarching Sámi community and tight-knit Sámi family relationships and bonds influence Sámi youth's complex, multifaceted identity prism. On top of this, young Sámi, as members of the general 21st century Westernised reality and environment, are also influenced by other trends, such as various types of social media and activism. These can be added to their identity prisms by creating more sides to their complex identity representation.

In this chapter, first an introduction to the overarching Sámi community is presented together with an explanation of how the Sámi youth identity prism is situated within the communal reality. This leads to the graphic representation of the whole system of social influences and factors that have an effect on the individual identity prism, with a variety of communal outlines and external aspects of impact. Second, there is a further discussion of how individual prisms process, order and manage information within their structure by receiving and emitting projections based on the interactions that happen all around the prism. Third, the seventh prism wall part of the complex Sámi youth identity is introduced as the cultural duty and activism wall and is followed throughout the rest of the chapter based on Sámi youth's experience with examples, observations and case studies from Raasten Rastah, Sámi role models, music, social media, the pressures created by modern society and how all these influence the complex, multifaceted Sámi identity development.

Then, an examination of the rise of Sámi youth activism, campaigns and movements is presented together with an elaboration of how these further add to the complex identity-building. As a whole, this chapter will continue to build on the concept of the identity prism by presenting more examples from my extended fieldwork and by discussing how all the different aspects of the Sámi reality aim to create a complete identity.

4.2. INTRODUCTION TO THE OVERARCHING SÁMI COMMUNITY

For many centuries and notoriously arduous decades at times, the Sámi identity has been able to survive based on a myriad of factors. However, an effective component in the survival of the Sámi as a group is the overarching concept of the Sámi community as a sturdy Sámi vessel carrying knowledge, empowerment, courage, advocacy and approachability to those who need it, but also a certain amount of aloofness, remoteness and harbourage away from the mainstream communities in Scandinavia. At times, it is difficult to speak about the Sámi community as a whole because of the multiple levels that divide the community. These are the language-based and locational subcategories, most prominently the South and North Sámi together with the Norwegian and Swedish Sámi communities, and Sápmi is further divided into nine Sámi language-based groups. Despite all these subdivisions and location-based specifics, which are certainly an important factor for the individual building of the Sámi identity in young people, the overarching Sámi community has been able to strive as a powerful, culture-oriented, unifying conglomerate of local, national and international Sámi factors derived from countless individual Sámi identity prisms of different ages, social statuses, locations and livelihoods. In a sense, the overarching Sámi community is a constantly changing entity of its own accord, which, much like individual Sámi identity prisms, is in a state of perpetual fluidity but which also carries centuries old cultural and traditional aspects of the Sámi identity to be passed to future generations. Even though some of the overarching Sámi community's building blocks are made out of individual Sámi identity prisms, in asking which came first, the Sámi community or the Sámi individual, the Sámi community stands its ground as having a life of its own. The Sámi community is represented and preserved not only in the myriad of human identity prisms but also in other tangible and intangible factors such as location, nature, weather, traditional clothing, crafts, jewellery, history, artistic depictions, singing styles, dance, story-telling, mythology, archaeology, emotional expressions and representations, together with many other aspects of life that do not necessarily have to be human-centric.

From years of observations, the Sámi community not only assumes the position of a standard, lenient community, it has a more powerful and influential feel together with a certain amount of forcefulness to it. This is to be expected to a certain extent, having in mind it has survived so many centuries and has still managed to preserve its indigenous core. The Sámi community can be seen as a vessel that carries indigenous knowledge, advocacy, belonging and kinship for all the Sámi ready to let it in their lives. However, its intensity and assertiveness also seems to cross many personal boundaries not only with willing participants of the community but even with certain Sámi who do not necessarily want to be prominent members of the Sámi community or its activities. Sámi individuals are aware of the interventions that the Sámi community is expected to make in people's lives. These could be anything from the more evident interventions in peoples' relationships and lifestyle choices to the more concealed pressures of exaggerated expectations of cultural representation and guilt-related insistence on following traditional livelihoods. The overarching Sámi community is a force to be reckoned with, and many Sámi do not have any choice but to live their lives according to its general expectations and beliefs if they want to get along within their local areas, especially within the really tight-knit and intimate surroundings of villages and smaller towns all around Sápmi. Observations reveal that if you are a Sámi young person, a substantial amount of your identity prism is certainly influenced by the overarching Sámi community, which includes not only the human members of the community such as parents, relatives, neighbours and peers, but also the ideas, perceptions, history, emotional connectedness and feel of what being Sámi represents. This can be confusing at times, but it also gives young people an extra push to find their real indigenous identities and build their unique Sámi prism by providing enough knowledge and support to satisfy inquisitive young minds in their search for their understanding of what it means to be Sámi.

4.3. THE SÁMI COMMUNITY INFLUENCE ON THE INDIVIDUAL AND HOW IDENTITY PRISMS INTERACT AND ORDER INFORMATION

In previous chapters, there has often been a reference to the overarching Sámi community and how it has an impact on young Sámi's development and nurturing when dealing with various important Sámi-related events or evolving paths in their lives. This has led to the inevitable need for further explanation in terms of the theoretical sphere of how the community influences the individual. When it comes to representing the overarching Sámi community in terms of the identity

prism and how the community influences the individual identity prisms of young Sámi, it comes down to the complex way in which identity prisms interact with each other and within a group situation in the broader prismatic system. This section will elaborate on the theoretical representation of the Sámi community and how the individual identity prisms within the Sámi and other communities function. The exploration of how identity prisms receive, order and emit information is additionally discussed now that the overarching influence of the Sámi community has been added to the equation. The identity prism has a relatively straightforward yet complex system to process information.

4.3.1. Individual Prism and Sámi Community Situation in the Prismatic Social System

As mentioned above, the broader Sámi community is a unifying conglomerate of factors, which partially includes past and present Sámi individuals and their own identity prisms, but also incorporates aspects such as history, nature, physical and mental environment, cultural features and other factors which can stand alone outside human identity prisms. For the purposes of this visual representation within the theorisation of the identity prism, the overarching Sámi community and other communities are represented via unevenly shaped circular outlines that are able to encompass many identity prisms, their interactions within personal, communal and inter-communal systems, which are prismatically visualised, and a few external factors that have an impact on the prisms but are not directly related to the human identity and are denoted via the spiked shaped clouds.

As represented in Figure 4.1, the individual prism that is being influenced is situated in the middle of the visual representation of many communities, which have overlapping aspects. In an everyday situation the individual prism is part of multiple communities at the same time, firmly surrounded by other prisms and external factors. Figure 4.1 and the zoomed version in Figure 4.2. show the individual prism belonging to numerous overlapping communities, multiple prismatic interactions and various external factors of influence. For the purposes of a more consistent and concise systematic representation, there is a certain notion of physical proximity of the identity being closer to some communities than others in the schematic models below. However, in real life the individual’s subscription to various communities is certainly not based on physical proximity, as

Figure 4.1. Representation of an Individual Sámi Identity Prism in the Social Prismatic Environment

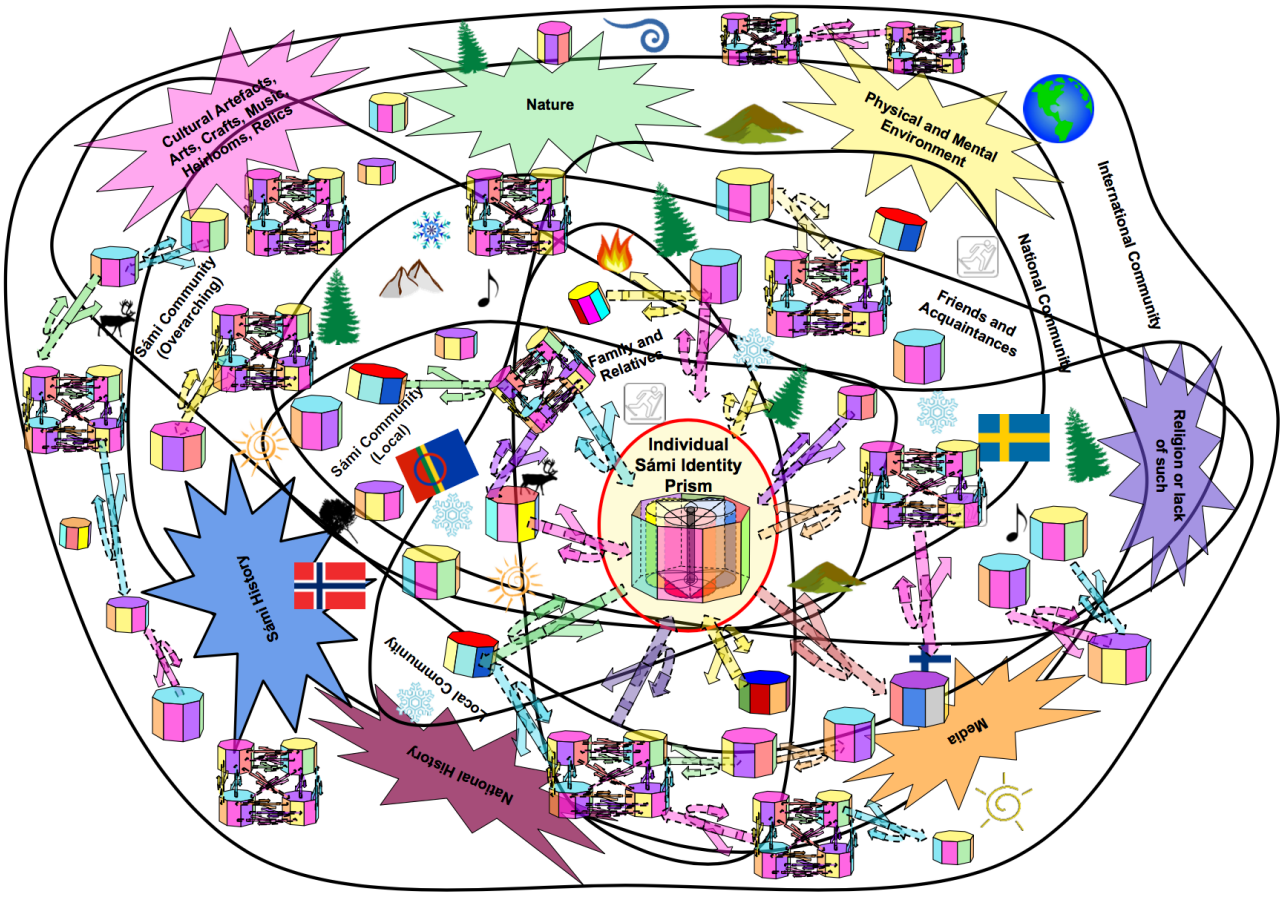
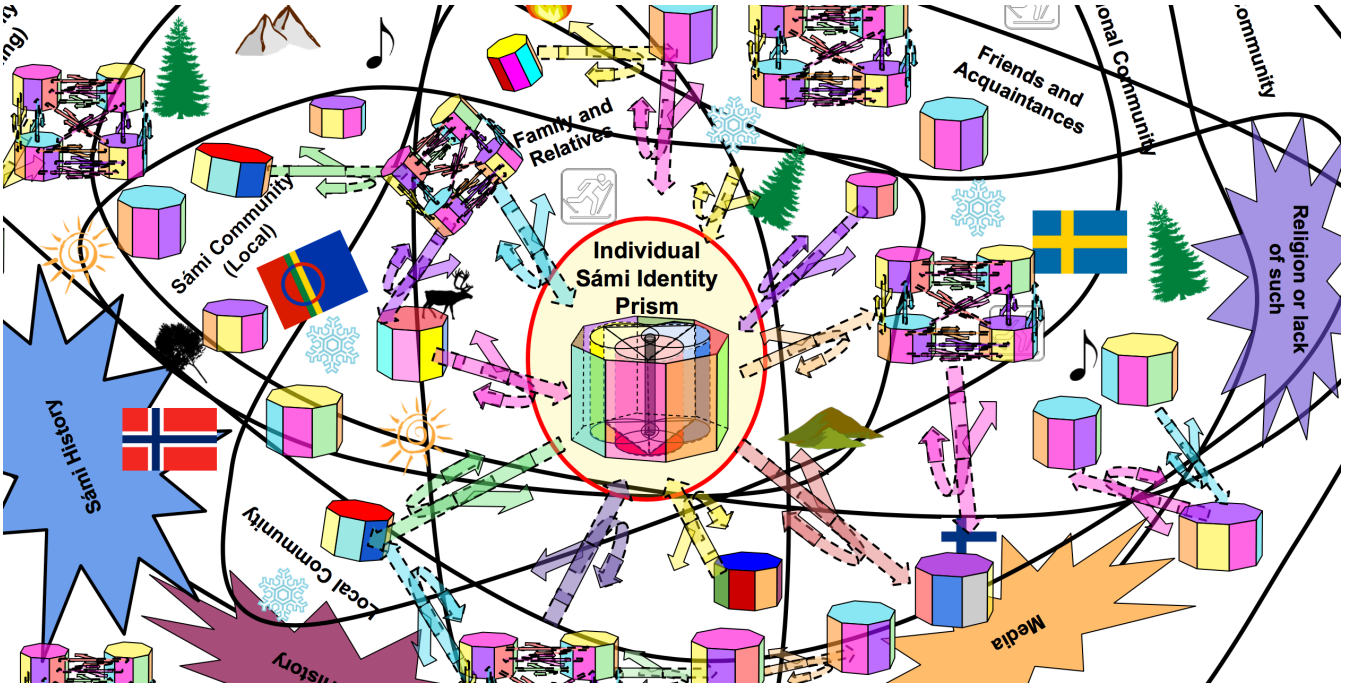


Figure 4.2. Zoomed Version of Figure 4.1.



individuals might feel much more connected to an international community, which they access via their online presence, than they might do their local community, with which they have the closest

physical proximity. Distance in this chart represents the physical location of the individual compared to the physical location of a community, but this physical distance does not account for the emotional, mental and identity connection people have with certain communities, which might not be physically present but are otherwise available through the online sphere.

Figure 4.3. Outlines of Communities

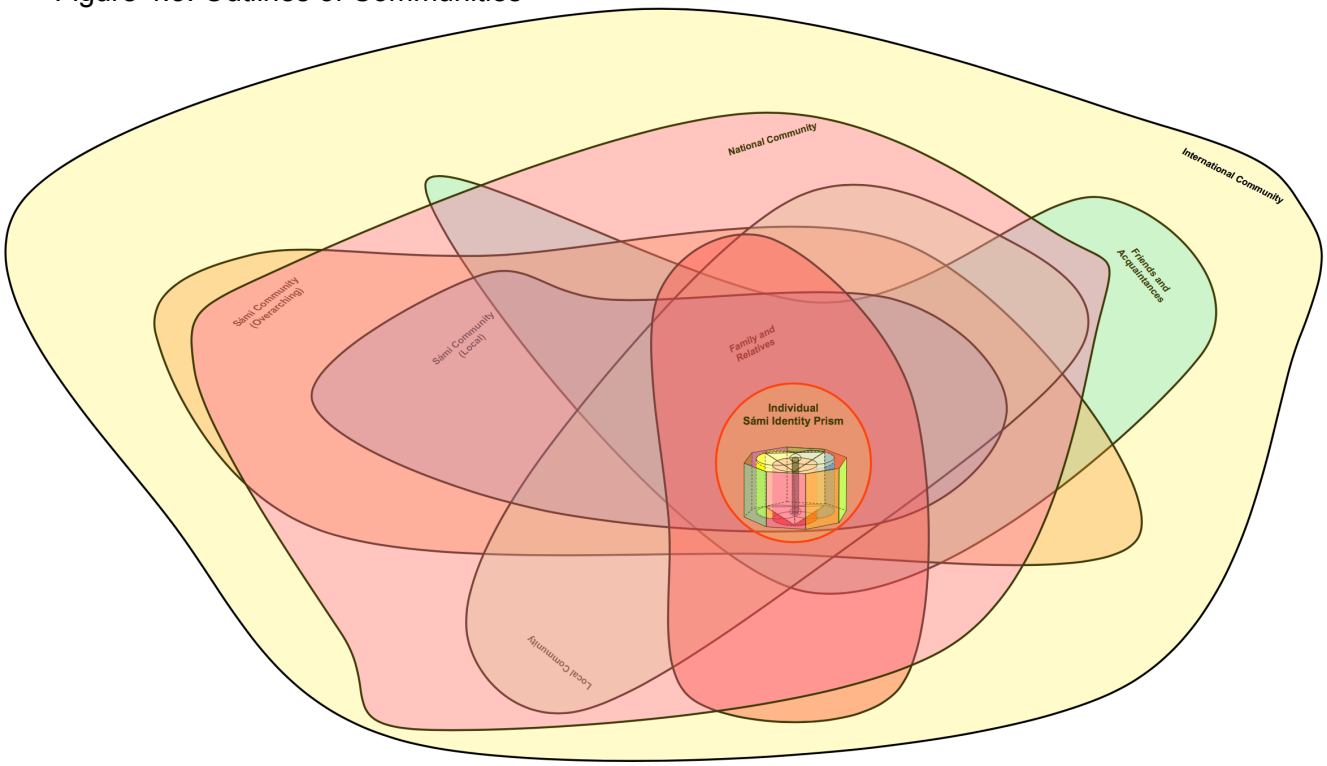
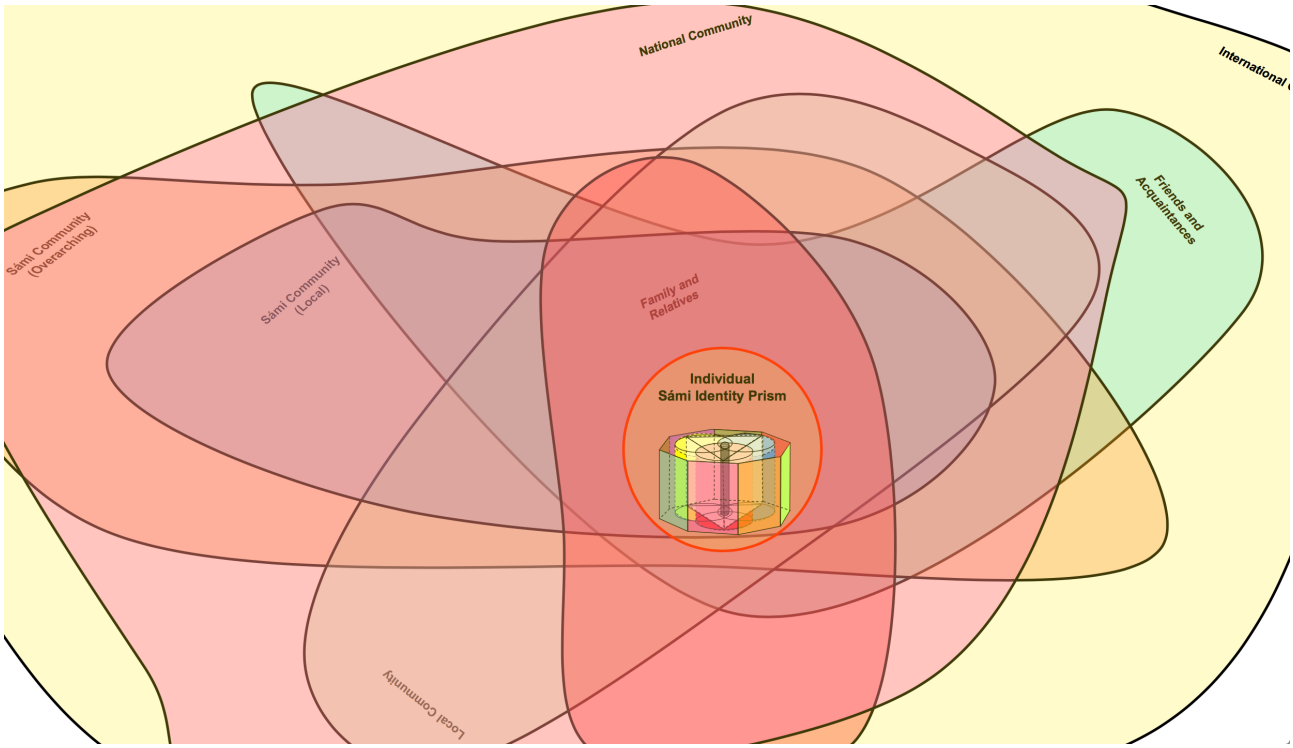


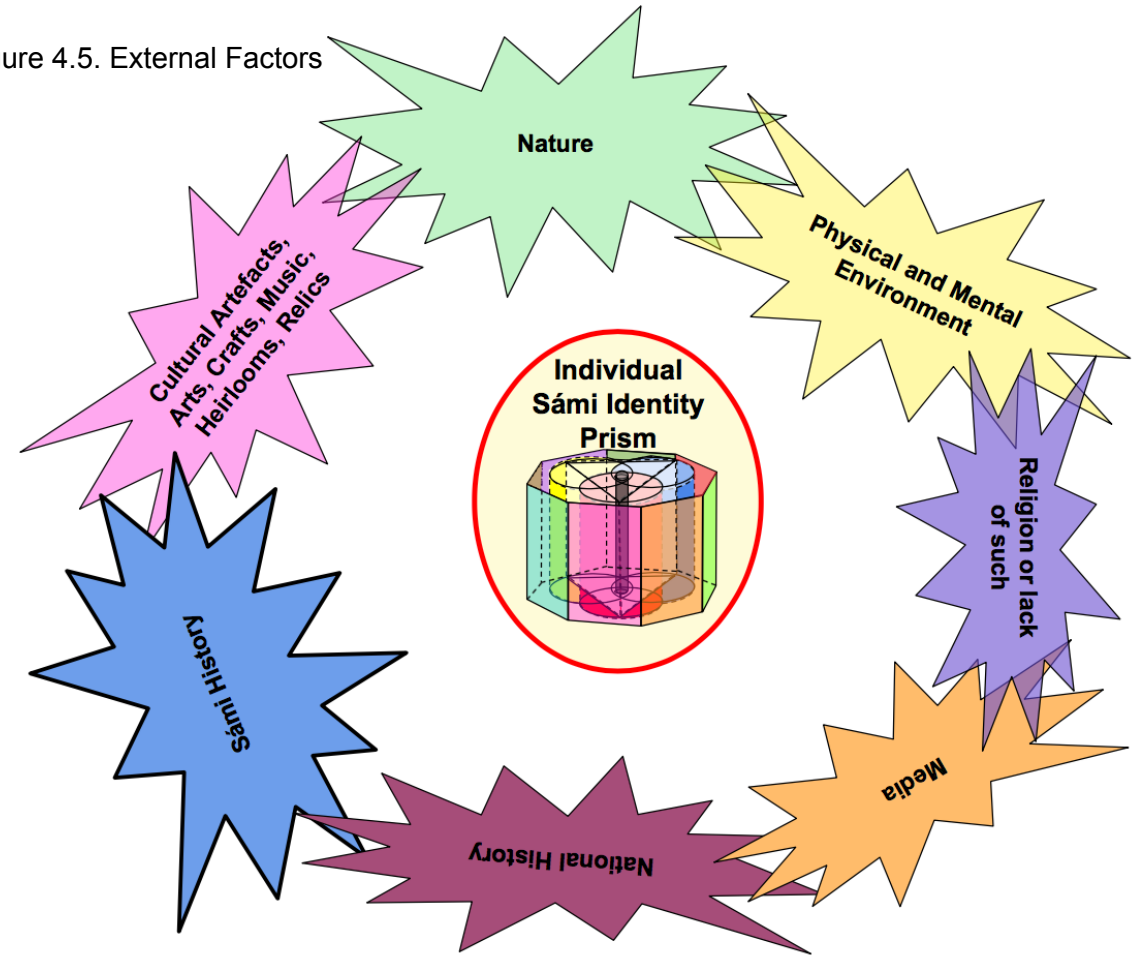
Figure 4.4. Zoomed Version of Figure 4.3.



In Figure 4.3 and the zoomed version in Figure 4.4., the communities are outlined on their own and include, from the centre outwards: family and relatives, the Sámi community (local), friends and acquaintances, the local community, the Sámi community (overarching), the national community and the international community. As mentioned before when discussing the representation of the Sámi youth identity prism, this is an overall sample representation of possible communities a Sámi young person can belong to. This should not be taken as a conclusive, extensive or exclusive list that applies to all young Sámi, but as a mere representation of the general sample of people observed in this research.

In Figure 4.5., the external factors and aspects of life that have a direct influence on the individual prism are outline on their own in their spiked shaped cloud visualisation. In this visual representation, these factors are not prismatic because they are not individuals but are larger aspects of life itself that can have an immense impact on human beings. They exist everywhere,

Figure 4.5. External Factors



and even though many people do not want to admit how influential these circumstantial aspects are, they play a substantial role in how individual identity prisms are developed.

Altogether, the overall prismatic system is a layered interactional arrangement of communities, external factors and a multitude of relational exchanges in which individual identity prisms exist, develop and cooperate in order to create culture, meaning and understanding of life. This can be seen in Figure 4.1. The idea of this complicated visual representation is that it mimics the intricate, at times chaotic, confusing and overwhelming reality of the constant bombardment of projections towards the self. The individual identity prism exists in this complex system and is discussed as a developing, fluid, multifaceted, shifting concept, created both as an individual matter of self-perception, self-understanding and self-sameness, and as a sociocultural comprehension of shared experiences, interactional self-constructs and social continuity. As such, the individual identity is both internally and externally influenced so that it is both affected by the private to create the social and by the social to create the private meaning.

4.3.2. How Identity Prisms Interact and Order Information

Figure 4.6. Bases, Inside, Walls

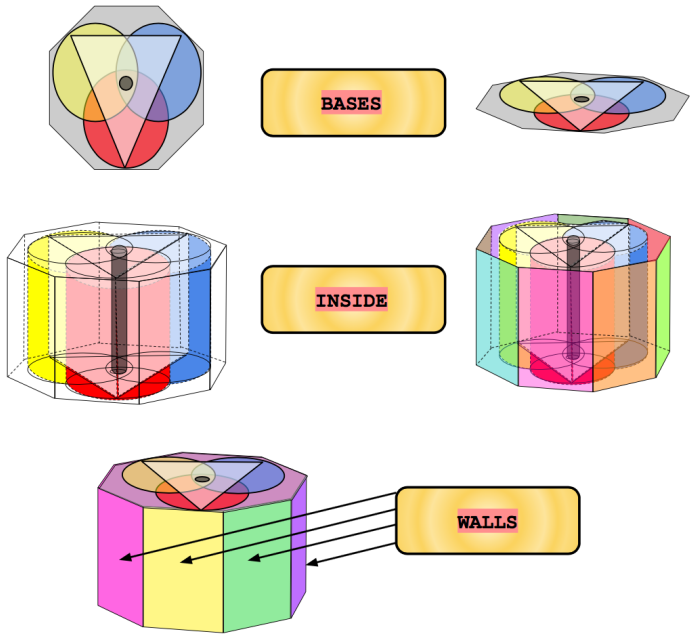
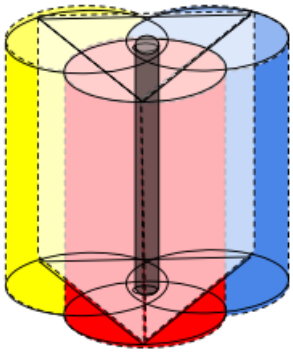


Figure 4.7. Five Cylinders Inside



Before an in-depth exploration of the various community-based influences on the individual human identity prism through Sámi-related fieldwork examples and case studies, there is a need to elaborate further on how the theoretical structure of this chart works in terms of the theory of the

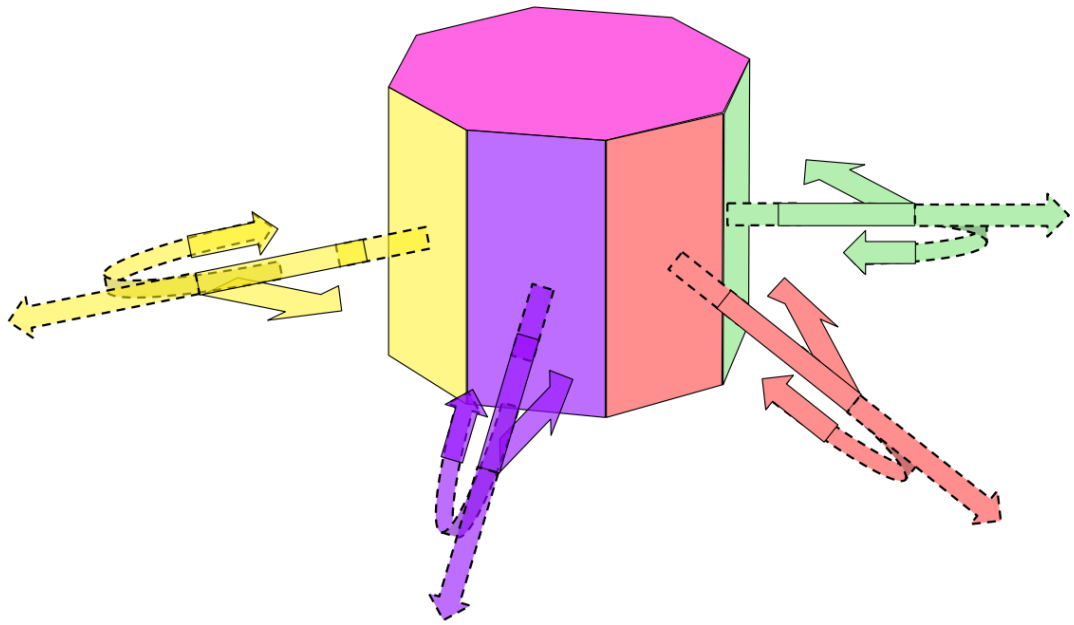
identity prism, more specifically in terms of the walls and bases of the various prisms. In previous chapters, the explanation of how identity prisms work and interact with each other in terms of the projections they emit based on the various walls they preserve and how these projections are absorbed, reflected, refracted and ignored has been addressed. However, there is still the need to focus in more detail on how the information from the projections is ordered after it is received and specifically to elaborate further on how the bases and the walls of individual prisms interact with the bases and walls not only of other individuals but also of various communities. The identity prism theory is highly reliant on the fact that individuals do not exist in isolation and that most of people's identity is based on interactions with people, objects, nature, history, knowledge and many more factors. One of the basics of the identity prism, on top of the prime facts that it is multifaceted, dynamic and in a constant state of fluidity, is that it continuously emits and receives information. As such, the identity prism has a hierarchy of just how it processes information via its primary and secondary designated emitters and receptors. It should be recalled here that in an identity prism the sides are made of n amount of walls and that each one represents a part of an individual's identity. The top and bottom of an identity prism are made of two bases that are identical to each other and tubularly connected. The bases connected with five cylinders represent the various compartmentalised dimensions at which each individual can be influenced and portrayed. The bases contain a Venn diagram of the local, national and international dimensions as the first three cylinders connected with a triangle through the middle that represented the online dimension, which is the fourth cylinder, and the fifth cylinder right in the middle that represents the enigmatic, innate prism core (Figures 4.6. and 4.7.). It is important to note that nothing in the identity prism is perfectly shaped and that there is a certain number of empty spaces which designate the room for growth, change and fluidity in one's identity. So, despite the perfect-equilibrium diagrams represented here, in real life a person's identity is not as clean cut as the diagram suggests, though this illustration certainly helps to build an understanding of how the complex human identity is constructed.

- Prime Emitters

After this succinct reminder of what the identity prism consists of, below is a further explanation of how identity prisms interact within a community and how the walls and the bases of an individual identity prism process, order and output information. In terms of their projections, each identity

prism emits information based on and through the outside of the walls they preserve. This makes the walls of a prism the prime emitter of identity information. Through their prism's walls, each individual can emit the relevant and irrelevant projections they hold within to the outside world. Whether individuals are in a community situation or not, they are constantly emitting conscious and subconscious information. From even the slightest of non-verbal mannerisms like the way someone moves, dresses, walks and carries themselves to the various ways an individual verbally expresses themselves, their intellectual opinions, cultural background, beliefs and many other aspects of their lives, all this information is being emitted through the individual identity prism's walls. These same walls that make up an individual's complex identity from within are the prime

Figure 4.8. Prime Emitters



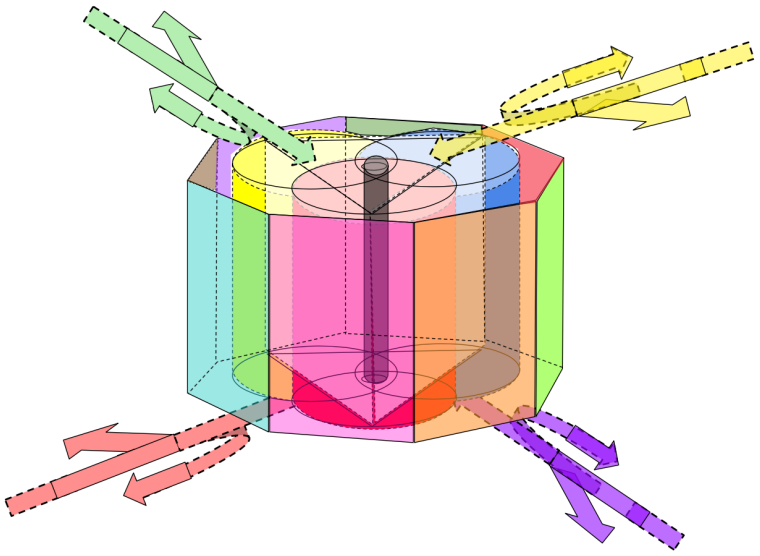
emitters of the projections of a person's identity. As prime emitters, the walls constantly emit conscious, preconscious and subconscious identity-related signals to the outside, but this does not necessarily mean that all of the walls have to emit all of the time. People have control over most of the conscious identity-related signals they emit, but not so much the subconscious and preconscious, yet it is possible to alter even the subconscious and preconscious over time. Because of this control over how people can choose to present themselves based on the identity walls they already preserve, in various situations one's identity could be represented in various ways, yet it is still part of one's own identity prism. In certain circumstances some walls will emit more information than others, and this is often based on whether or not the individual wants to

blend in and belong to a certain social situation. If belonging is the desire, a person can adjust how they project their identity through their prism walls based on as much information as they could pick up in the form of reflections and refractions from the projections of other people's identity prisms. This way a person can adjust their identity to be more similar to that of their current social environment in order to feel and emit a sense of belonging. This is particularly true in situations where similar walls and parts of walls exist in different individuals in social situations because people who want to belong have the tendency to reflect and refract information from each other's matching walls. Individuals are very good at picking up similar parts of their identity in other people exactly because their similar prism walls feed off each other. However, if there is no desire to connect to the presented environment at a given situation, individuals can adjust the conscious information that they emit through their prism walls and choose not to belong. This could be successful, but it depends on various factors. The way people emit information is not always as straightforward as described here because there needs to be a certain amount of experience of how one represents parts of their identity. The more life experience people gather, the more they are able to have better control over their identity representation to build up a more complex form of their identity prism and over how they emit certain parts of their walls. So, with time and age, people are more likely to be set in their ways and to choose to ignore much more of the emitted information from other people's prisms or environmental factors. The more we age, the less likely we are to try to belong to a community or a situation that might not be our usual one or within our comfort zone. This has to do not only with the way we emit information but also with how we receive it. This leads to the next subsection where I look in depth at how identity prisms receive and process information.

- Prime Receptors

Now that the prime emitters of projections are revealed, we need to clarify how the identity prism receives information. Identity prisms are in a state of constant fluidity, which means that, through many outside factors, our prism walls often alter, evolve and grow in various directions. So in various situations, whether we belong to the community around us or do not have anything in common with the current environment we are in, we are being bombarded by the emissions of other prisms' walls. Our own prism will consciously, pre-consciously and subconsciously absorb, ignore, reflect and refract information that has been emitted by other prisms and the environmental

Figure 4.9. Prime Receptors



factors around us. Some of the readily available information around us, which we might recognise or relate to, will be reflected and refracted through our own walls almost instantaneously through our prime emitters that also serve as secondary receptors, i.e. the walls of the prism themselves, but much of the information that is new, unrecognised or unique to our prism will first need to be processed by the primary receptors, i.e. the bases of the identity prism. The prime receptors of projections are the bases of the identity prism. Through the bases, individuals receive projections from communities, the general environment, nature, history and the many other factors that surround them. The bases are the prime receptors, and as such they can absorb and/or ignore projections from outside. A certain limited role in the receiving process plays the innate prism core. The projections the bases absorb are then organised according to the dimension they are received from, namely from the local, national, international or online sphere, and then certain aspects of them are further organised on the various identity walls of the prism. This means that information is stored within the cylinder it belongs to as well as within the prism wall it is applicable to.

Not all information that is received through the bases will necessarily affect a person's identity in the long term or even be of any significance to the prism due to the various factors including the influence of our prism core. Much of our identity prism's build up is largely affected by the frequency of encountered information. This is especially true when it comes to subconsciously gathered information, but also to some of the consciously received projections. The more people are exposed to certain projections from around them, the more likely they will gather some of these

projections and process them through their bases and make them part of their identity prism walls. This is especially true when it comes to young people, who are still very much at the most crucial stage of building up their identities. A large part of young people's very fluid identities is easily influenced by their environments. The more young people experience some environments, the more likely they are to adapt to them over time due to the frequency of interactions between fellow prisms and other community factors. However, there are always exceptions to this rule. The time and intensity of the projections around a prism do affect it, but if a person is not receptive of their environment and they block much of the information, possibly due to the influence of their unique prism core, then they can ignore many of the conscious, preconscious and subconscious influences. People have control over what conscious projections they want to receive within their identity prisms most of the time, so their identity is not just a reflection of their community and environment, and for the preconscious and subconscious projections, the prism core plays a certain role. There are also the more unique circumstances where a particular situation or event only happens once or very rarely, but because it is highly memorable and influential, it leaves a big effect on someone's prism and could even change much of their identity. As a whole, frequency of exposure does contribute to an increased chance of certain identity projections being received and processed by people's prisms, but the prism core and the age of the individual also plays a part in the receptivity and malleability of their fluid identity prisms.

- Secondary Emitters and Receptors

The prime emitters of an identity prism are the walls and the prime receptors, the bases. New information arrives through the bases and is organised according to the dimension within the prism. Then, if this information leaves an impression on the individual, it becomes part of a prism wall from the inside. Once an individual prism has the wall information within the inside of the wall, this means it is part of a person's identity and can be projected from the outside of the walls to the person's environment. This is the basics of how an identity prism receives and projects information. As mentioned above, there are also secondary emitters and secondary receptors. The secondary receptors are the walls from the outside because they can receive, reflect and refract relevant information that builds on things that already exist on a certain prism wall and require less ordering compared to brand new information. The bases as primary receptors receive new or more complex information which cannot immediately be associated with only one wall but needs a further internal

organisation and more time to be understood before it can possibly become part of a new wall or a relevant part of a wall. The walls as the secondary receptors are quicker to comprehend readily available information and as they are the primary emitters, emitting what they already preserve and receiving a certain amount of relevant information in connection to what is emitted. The secondary emitters are the bases of the prism. In a sense the bases can emit certain parts of one's identity which might be temporary within the prism and have not yet made it to a long-term identity wall or never will make it onto a wall. The bases as secondary emitters only emit information which might be in passing or in a state of uncertainty, for example, if the prism core is involved. When the bases emit information as secondary emitters, it is most likely that there is a sense of the current environment being copied as a coping mechanism of belonging rather than of a reflection of the person's real identity. As a whole, the bases very rarely serve as secondary emitters but are much more likely to actively serve as blockers of what information might come into a person's prism. Compared to the walls' secondary receptor function, which is invoked often, the bases' functionality as secondary emitters is not that active. Overall, in an identity prism the walls are the primary emitters of information, the bases are the primary receptors, often the walls serve as secondary receptors, and on vary rare occasions, the bases server as secondary emitters. Figures 4.10 and 4.11. visualise a prism-to-prism interaction with the exchange of information in a small group and a larger community .

Figure 4.10. Small Group Interaction

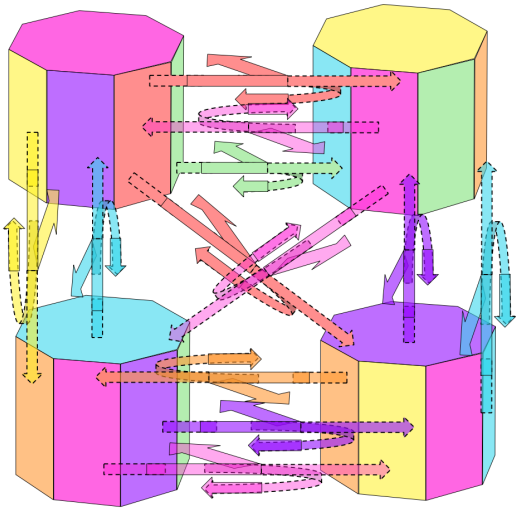
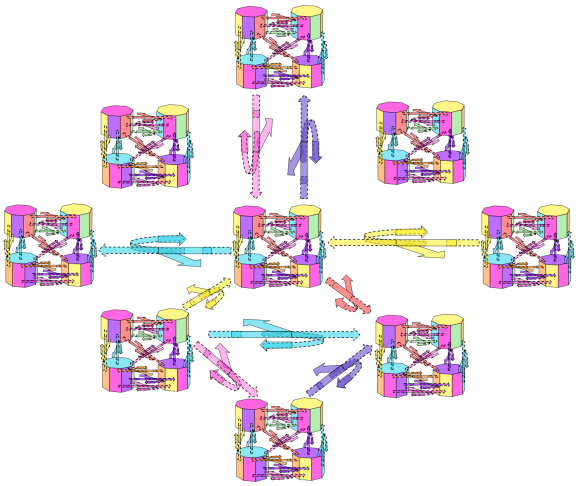


Figure 4.11. Large-scale Inter-group/communal Interaction



4.4. THE OVERARCHING SÁMI COMMUNITY

Now that the theory behind the interaction of identity prisms has been discussed, it will be applied to the overarching Sámi community analysis. As seen in Figure 4.1., the overarching Sámi

community is made up of a multitude of prisms. Similar to how an identity prism has n amount of walls, in a community there are n amount of prisms and other factors that create the concept of a community. Even though for the purposes of this depiction there is an outline that creates what seems like a boundary where the community limits itself, theoretically there are no concrete outer limits to a prism-represented community because, much like an identity prism, it is in a constant state of fluidity and change of span in terms of what it represents and incorporates. However, for a community to exist and be denotes as such, there must be a constant exchange of identity-related interactions, with continuous absorption, reflection, refraction and obstruction of the projected identities of individual prisms and external factors. It is the continuous interactions between the prisms that primarily define the community in terms of this theoretical frame. These do not have to be face-to-face interactions and can happen in any shape or form. Nevertheless, there should also be the secondary criteria present for a community to exist, and these are a certain number of shared external factors and internal identity prisms walls or parts of walls. These can be factors such as general location, background, cultural beliefs, traditional motivations, nature, history, common hardships, shared celebrations, cuisine and many others open to interpretation.

This idea of a suppositionally limitless community seems counterintuitive when it comes to the knowledge that the Sámi, as an indigenous group and according to the law, are a body of people defined by certain criteria like language-based ancestry, voting rights and traditional livelihood connection. As many are very protective of their Sámi background and community, outsiders and intruders are generally not welcomed. However, after enough interaction has been achieved within the Sámi community and enough prisms within see that a certain individual has absorbed, reflected and refracted many of their own identity factors, notions and beliefs, then an individual can in a way be accepted as part of the community. This is definitely not to say that the individual can assume they are now Sámi, as long as certain legal criteria are not addressed to make one Sámi, but the individual can at least feel they are part of the Sámi community. This is the difference between the strictly legal definition of the overarching Sámi community and the current theoretical representation of the Sámi community through the use of the prism discourse.

4.4.1. Being and Becoming Part of the Community

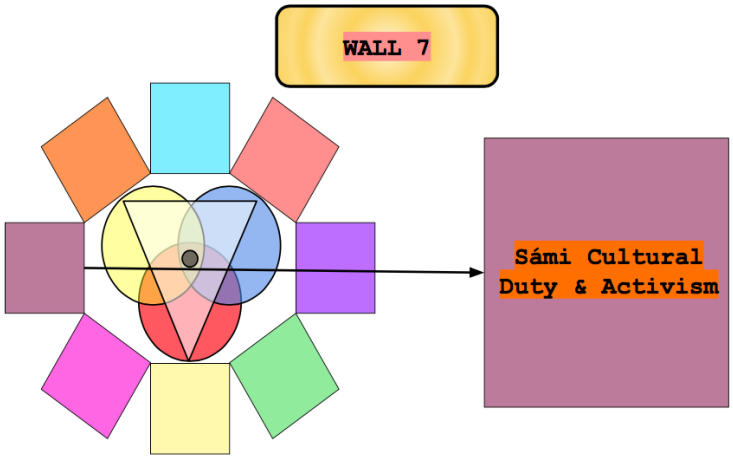
Here are a few examples observed from within the Sámi community of how the prism theory works in terms of how a new member is accepted within their community in various situations. The easiest to describe is when a new person is born within an already established single or pair of Sámi community member/s, then this new person is accepted within the theoretical prism represented Sámi community intrinsically even before that person can agree or disagree with their status (per association). In this case, the person will also be legally associated with being Sámi as long as one or both parent community members can prove a certain language, livelihood or voting rights. The same scenario applies to community members who have adopted a person, and thus this new member will be perceived no different to a born offspring, will become a part of the prism discourse of the Sámi community and will also have been legally made Sámi. The recognition of adopted people as legally and identity-wise Sámi is an aspect that really makes a strong point about the Sámi overarching community and its acceptance of new members. In terms of the identity prism-based interactions, there is no doubt that an adopted person will be influenced by the presence of the Sámi community and be part of it, but what is more noteworthy is the fact that in the official laws of who is recognised as Sámi in Scandinavian countries, there is a specific subsection that addresses adoption. This is quite a modern, forward way of thinking about indigenous legal matters, which is immensely commendable and in a sense eliminates the bloodline association of Sámi only through nature and focuses more on Sámi through nurture and the identity interactions of individuals within the community.

A slightly different example is becoming Sámi by marriage. The Sámi community is widely accepting of new members coming into the Sámi community, who might not have any previous associations with them, through marriage. When a new person is introduced into the Sámi community through marriage, they do not legally become Sámi, yet if they choose to be part of the Sámi community in terms of their chosen prism interactions, they will be perceived in the prism community discourse to be no different from legally recognised Sámi. One does not need to be legally considered Sámi to be part of the Sámi community as represented through the prism theoretical discourse. This is where the prism community theory differs from the legal Sámi definitions. The overarching Sámi community, as represented through prism interactions and not through legal formalities, is much more open to new members. As long as there are enough continuous interactions, respect and generally a type of an identity exchange occurring within the

connection, then the community can be seen as a limitless representation. It is a matter of the negotiation of interactions between prisms and external factors rather than the more Barthian idea of boundaries. This becomes a connection deeper than just a social interaction because there is continuous identity absorption, reflection, refraction and obstruction. The Sámi community and any other community understood through the prism discourse requires to have these identity prism interactions in order for a new member to be accepted as part of the community. When a person marries into the Sámi community, they can actively decide whether or not to interact within the community and choose how much of their identity they would like to alter so as to fit in with or be accepted by the Sámi community. This can happen gradually based on interactions within the community, but unlike people who are born or adopted into the Sámi community, many times people who marry into the community are not expected to become active members of the Sámi reality. Many outsiders who marry into a Sámi family at times only become an active part of the Sámi community for the sake of their offspring so that their children can experience their rightful belonging to the Sámi discourse. Depending on their background and parents' association within their local or national Sámi communities, Sámi children have the chance to learn much of what it means to be Sámi not only from their home environment but also through the rich variety of Sámi cultural gatherings, events and resources provided and notably through interaction with other Sámi members within and outside their extended families.

■ 4.5. PRISM WALL SEVEN : SÁMI CULTURAL DUTY AND ACTIVISM ■

Figure 4.12. Prism Wall Seven: Sámi Cultural Duty & Activism



The seventh prism wall as part of the overall Sámi youth identity is connected to the Sámi cultural duty and their striving for indigenous activism. In the coming sections, there will be examples and case studies from participant observation and interviews with various young Sámi within the community and how they have become involved with their cultural duty of preserving Sámi knowledge, passing it on and exercising their indigenous rights by participating in activism-related realities. This cultural duty and activism wall comes as an attempt not only to continue the dissemination of Sámi cultural heritage but also as a way to pursue their right to indigeneity. The more young Sámi fulfil their cultural duties of preserving and disseminating Sámi knowledge, traditions and skills, the more they, as indigenous people, manage to self-determine by actively participating in decentralising and destabilising the power hierarchy of institutional and colonial powers that have long been suppressing, oppressing and working against the notion of indigenous people. The coming sections connected to the prism-based analysis of the young Sámi cultural duty and activism as part of the multifaceted Sámi youth identity will be marked by the subsection title beginning of “Prism Wall Seven” followed by a specific elaboration of the meaning of the paragraph.

4.6. RAASTEN RASTAH

4.6.1. Family-Oriented Cultural Enrichment Through Knowledge and Entertainment

The Sámi overarching community, as described previously, is a sturdy identity-carrying vessel which is there for all who need it but that also has this harbourage quality where people from within the community can escape their mundane Scandinavian lives and immerse themselves in the Sámi reality at certain specially designed events to encourage the preservation and appreciation of the Sámi culture amongst them. One such event is the Raasten Rastah Sámi culture festival. This event was not discussed in the chapter about events due to the fact that Raasten Rastah comes under a slightly different category of culture-enriching Sámi events, as will be discussed further below. Raasten Rastah happens once every two years in the town of Røros, in the south of Trøndelag county in the middle of Norway, close to the border with Sweden and in the South Sámi cultural region. Unlike the other Sámi events I have discussed, which for the most part but not exclusively serve the adult and young adult Sámi community in terms of trading places, music gatherings and historically significant meeting points, Raasten Rastah has a specific focus on

catering for the needs for cultural enrichment of children and young people, as well as providing constructive and educational traditional activities the whole family can enjoy together. There are special classes, seminars, debates and events throughout the festival that focus on letting children and young adults try various Sámi-oriented crafts, theatre performances and arts. There are also Sámi exhibitions and various workshops. This festival is mostly focused on the idea of educating and providing a safe space for children to learn about Sámi history, current affairs and traditions, to try their hands at Sámi-related crafts, which are taught by the older generation in a structured yet amusing and mind-grabbing manner, and to see what the older members of the Sámi community who are into their teens, twenties and thirties are doing in terms of their Sámi development and different ways of being connected to their Sámi identity even after leaving their family homes. Raasten Rastah is a form of culture transfer through educational and entertaining activities and exposure to the Sámi culture in a more child-friendly way, which is not always possible at some of the more adult-oriented Sámi social calendar events.

4.6.2. Cultural Experience for Sámi Children

Raasten Rastah also has a specific focus on South Sámi culture and traditions. The festival was established within the last 20 twenty years, so it does not possess any of the historical significance of other Sámi events, but it provides a great starting place for Sámi children to become interested in Sámi culture, especially the South Sámi children from the region, who might not have access to many other sources of Sámi culture. People want to expose their children to a variety of sources of information, which can inform them about what it means to be indigenous, a minority, and to teach them the value of cultural heritage and traditional belonging. For many of the younger South Sámi children, Raasten Rastah is their first experience of a Sámi social event, which introduces them to the larger Sámi community and to many new Sámi peers. It is a great way to expose them to the notion of what being Sámi means outside their family life and how other Sámi children their age understand their own identities. All this is done in an entertaining, engaging and accessible way to suit their ages with the idea of sparking a real curiosity and interest in their Sámi heritage, together with providing this great meeting point for the children to make life-long friendships and connections with other Sámi children from near and far. The idea of continuing to create connections between Sámi children is what keeps the Sámi community going. Parents take time off from their daily lives so that their children can participate at these cultural events, and this helps

to continue the Sámi community for generations to come, as well as giving their children the chance to start building their complex Sámi identities very early on in their lives by being exposed to the Sámi community and to knowledge about their indigenous selves.

■ 4.6.3. Prism Wall Seven: Cultural Duty of Sámi Role Models ■

Quite a few of the South Sámi young adults I had been interacting with at previous Sámi social events were also present at Raasten Rastah, not only as participants who were there to mingle with their peers, but also as role models for the younger children. These Sámi young adults provided their experience and knowledge of being Sámi to the next generation by teaching them certain crafts, talking about what it means to them to be part of the indigenous community, and sharing their arts and performances with the younger children. They were actively fulfilling their cultural duty of disseminating knowledge and skills to the next generation. This transfer of identity is vital for the preservation of the Sámi community, and what makes it noteworthy is the fact that although these young adults are still very much in the midst of building up their own complex, multifaceted Sámi identities, they are still happy to share their knowledge and experience with the younger children. One South Sámi female in her mid-twenties, with whom I had spoken at other events, was at Raasten Rastah to present a seminar to a group of children about how to make specific South Sámi traditional ornamentations and also to talk about some of the Sámi history from her area. She mentioned that she is more than happy to help to continue to build the Sámi pride and indigenous spirit that her community has given her and pass it on by being seen as a role model for younger children from the South Sámi community:

It makes me incredibly proud to be here with the task to pass on my ever-growing traditional knowledge to these youngsters and teach them what I know about life as a young South Sámi representative. As a community, we need to support each other and to share our experiences with the future generations. I want these children to understand that being Sámi is something to be proud of not only within the community but also outside it. When they are older, I want them to believe in and protect their indigenous rights, not because someone told them to, but because they understand why they should do it by comprehending the history that came before them.

She continued to explain that by being there carrying out her cultural duty as a role model for the younger Sámi children, she wants to share her knowledge in a fun and approachable way so that the children have amazing memories of this event and look forward to participating in many more Sámi events in the future. Getting young Sámi interested in their cultural background and

traditional ways is part of how the Sámi community has survived for so many centuries despite all the adverse situations they have been through. This constant exchange of identity information and communication is what continues to keep the Sámi community strong and thriving.

- Sámi children's introduction to being Sámi

These sorts of events give young children a sense of belonging to the larger Sámi community, which is very important for many of the children coming from smaller villages and towns where sometimes you can feel trapped or restricted in terms of opportunities and have a limited exposure to peers of the same age, background or interests. The children get to meet new friends from within the national and Scandinavian Sámi community, who might live very far away from them or even in a neighbouring country, but this bond stays with them for years to come thanks to the current use of social media. This helps them later on in their teens and twenties to go to other, more adult-oriented events from the Sámi social calendar and enjoy their time with people they share aspects of their identity with and have grown up knowing, despite the often large distances between different Sámi communities. Thanks to events such as Raasten Rastah, which focus on the introduction of Sámi children into the world of Sámi cultural heritage and indigenous significance through engaging interactions and entertaining activities, these children are able to build up a home away from home community of friends and acquaintances, which makes growing up with an interest in their Sámi background more compelling and meaningful. In a sense, these children get to create a group of Sámi friendships outside their normal circle of friends from their own living areas, and this leads them to develop new aspects of their complex identities thanks to this exposure. Sámi children, like the rest of the Sámi community involved in Raasten Rastah, not only benefit greatly from their exposure to knowledge about local and national indigenous issues and current affairs, they also get to listen to and learn about international indigenous aspects at certain seminars and talks at the festival.

4.6.4. Sámi as Part of the Global Indigenous Reality

As I have been to Raasten Rastah not only as an observer but also as a participant in terms of giving a lecture about global indigenous rights treaties and declarations, I was able to understand how much the Sámi community cares about gathering knowledge not only about their own culture but also about other indigenous cultures from around the world. Amongst the Sámi community,

there is a sense of belonging to the global indigenous space, and people want to be aware how other nations from around the world address the indigenous discourse. The Sámi community is able to build up its understanding of local, national and international indigenous affairs and make it part of their identity through their participation in such educative events. The Sámi do feel connected to other indigenous people from around the globe.

- Traditional music performer on a mission of indigenous empowerment

One particular person who expressed her opinion on the matter of the global indigenous family is a twenty-something Sámi woman, who is also a traditional music performer. She revealed that she has performed in various countries around the world, visiting other indigenous communities from Africa to Asia, and that she always enjoys learning new traditional knowledge from what she called "the global indigenous family". She further explained:

For me, the connection I experience when visiting indigenous communities in different countries is magnificent and deeply personal. We might not speak the same language, look the same, nor live similar lives, but there is a connection on a more subliminal level. We are all dealing with our own life struggles and successes, but we also deal with very similar problems such as discrimination, marginalisation and a lack of indigenous rights. I am just happy to tell my story through music and listen to what other indigenous people have to tell me about their lives.

It was humbling to hear a young woman talk so passionately about her connection to her Sámi culture and traditions and the way she feels connected to other indigenous people as part of her identity. What really interested me in her identity connection to the global indigenous discourse was that she said learning new facts about how indigenous rights have progressed globally was empowering her in making her feel even more connected to other indigenous people based on the fact that they are fighting the same battle as she is. She continued to explain how her passion for representing and protecting her Sámi heritage and indigenous background inspired her to become a Sámi traditional musician.

I use music as my way to represent, protect and disseminate knowledge about Sámi culture, traditions and heritage. My fight for my indigenous rights is done through music. My continuous efforts are focused on ensuring that people from the Sámi community are aware of the beauty of our heritage, and the people outside the Sámi community are aware that we as a community are going strong and that our fighting spirit to ensure our indigenous rights are protected and respected is not going to end.

■ ❖ *Prism wall seven: Music as indigenous activism* ■

Music as a way of fighting for your indigenous rights is what this young Sámi woman has decided to pursue as her calling in life. She uses her talent not only for her own benefit but also in the context of the greater cause of representing who she is a young Sámi female locally, nationally and internationally. She continued to explain that she wants to portray her true indigenous self when she performs and to inspire other indigenous people to be brave enough to stand up for who they are and what they represent, no matter whether the laws are against them or if people are discriminating against them. She elaborated that she feels as much Scandinavian as she feels Sámi and that this is normal and nothing to be ashamed of.

When I am on stage I embrace my Sámi side and showcase it through my music. But I am not only Sámi, I am also Scandinavian, and for most Sámi in Scandinavia this is a duality they have to understand early on and managed it in their identities. This is the great thing about us: we have different sides to our lives, and it is important to know how to manage this complicated reality.

The way she has built up her complex, multifaceted Sámi, indigenous and Scandinavian identity represents a powerful mixture of aspects of her life she has encountered under various situations, experiences and events. There are sides to her that she brings out only during her performances, but also others that she keeps for more personal encounters. Music is her outlet to being a "warrior" for indigenous people, and she performs with that in mind. I encountered her at a few events while conducting my fieldwork, and she was always very outspoken about her goal of altering people's perspectives about indigenous people for the better and telling stories through her music. I had the chance to speak to many other Sámi music performers, and it seems many of them come into the music scene with the aim of representing their indigenous roots and in a sense fighting for the indigenous cause. Sámi music performers are not only continuing to keep alive the traditional Sámi yoik customs as a musical endeavour linked to cultural enrichment, they also create awareness of other indigenous issues through their music. Some music performers also keep the Sámi languages alive by producing music using their regional Sámi language. Many Sámi musicians use indigenous music production and performance as a way of standing up for the Sámi community and indigenous people across the globe. As such, for many young Sámi indigenous

music performance, production and dissemination form part of their prism wall of cultural duty and activism (refer to Appendix B for visual representations of Sámi music performers).

❖ *Global indigenous music performance as activism : Riddu Riđđu*

A perfect example of how music raises awareness of global indigenous issues is the annual festival called Riddu Riđđu. Held in northern Norway, it prides itself not only as a Sámi music festival but also as a global indigenous gathering place where the goal is to bring artists, guests and performers from indigenous backgrounds from around the world. Riddu Riđđu is an event which unites indigenous people from various countries, and by having these people together, the festival shows solidarity, unity and strength in the global campaign for protection, respect and appreciation of indigenous cultures, traditions and heritage. After observing this festival, it was obvious that the messages from all the indigenous performers, no matter which country they came from, had a great similarity in their aims. The global indigenous community seems to struggle with very similar sorts of problems, which mostly revolve around discrimination, a lack of rights and a general sense of unfair treatment. The indigenous performers want to unite people through their music, art and productions and ask people to continue their fight for their indigenous rights, no matter what the hurdles. At Riddu Riđđu there is a clear sense of an international indigenous community. At this event, many of the young Sámi get their first face to face experience of interacting with indigenous people from other countries, and this really sparks a whole new area of interest in how their Sámi realities fit into the global discourse about being indigenous. This first-hand interaction delivers a very powerful influence for the young Sámi and their perception of global indigenous matters. Being more aware of international indigenous issues, lifestyles and cultures expands the Sámi youth's complex, multifaceted identity prisms by providing a broader sense of belonging to a greater cause, the cause of the global indigenous movement. It also makes the Sámi more appreciative of what they have already achieved in terms of indigenous culture preservation and progress in their communities and countries. However, this appreciation does not lead to them resting on their laurels, but instead motivates them to strive to achieve even more, and possibly not only for their Sámi communities but for other indigenous people too. This incredible identity-building opportunity happens thanks to the created interaction space of Riddu Riđđu, where music, art and artistic productions represent centuries worth of heritage, traditions and cultural perseverance from around the world.

Riddu Riđđu is a place for the global indigenous family with a focus on music and cultural exchange in a more adult-oriented atmosphere just as much as Raasta Rasten is a place for the South Sámi family with a focus on the younger members of the Sámi community and their introduction to the world of Sámi social events. In a sense parents want to ease their children into the complicated world of Sámi social events and indigenous history by taking them to this sheltered and very child-friendly gathering in Røros, where learning is done through entertaining performances, seminars and craft tasks. The fact that younger Sámi children are also able to interact with Sámi teenagers and young adults outside their family reality contributes to the development of their character and indigenous awareness not only in their community lives, but also as an introduction to the world of social media and online-based presence.

4.7. SOCIAL MEDIA

I have observed that within the Sámi youth environment, use of social media and online-based platforms for communication is the norm, and people are more likely to be using such services rather than not using them. This is quite normal and understandable for a Westernised, digitalised and highly modern Scandinavian community such as the Sámi. With the ever-growing normalisation of technology as an inseparable part of everyday life, children come into possession of some sort of smart device younger and younger, and with this comes the use of the online dimension as an extension to one's identity. Younger children see older teenagers using certain types of applications on their devices, and it is only natural for them to want to participate in this created Sámi online dimension where people can express themselves, their Sáminess and their overall complex identity to a wider audience outside their immediate community.

4.7.1. Social Media Representation as an Extension of the Self Online

The online presence of young Sámi has become a major part of their identity-building and has been on the rise just as much as in other Western and Scandinavian communities. Younger children observe, mimic and interpret the behaviour of their older peers and are quickly introduced to the online presence of the Sámi community. As it stands, a major part of the modern development of the individual youth identity is the way in which young people decide to depict themselves online. This online representation of their selves can be a mixture of possible ways of how people choose to be seen in the virtual reality. In most cases, young Sámi create their online

depiction of themselves as a continuation of their individual identity prism from their day to day lives. In a sense, they want to create an image for the online space that represents who they are in the so-called ‘real (non-digital) life’ as they perceive themselves based on their own identity prism. However, there are other variations in how people choose to be seen online, and this can be as a new level of their identity depiction, which they might not be comfortable to exhibit in their non-online lives, as a more vocal space for parts of their identity prism they do not depict too often in real life, as their best selves in terms of only depicting the exciting or unusual events in their lives, as a focused presence with the idea of standing for their beliefs, as a more relaxed usage of the online social space with the idea of participation just for the sake of not missing out what their peers are doing, and the many other possible variations of how young people choose to use the online space to represent themselves. Usual identity depiction online is at times a mixture of all possible variations, but from observations it has been determined that most Sámi youth primarily create a true online image of their selves as a continuation to their real life identity with certain exaggerations, emphases and a Sámi community-centric focus, together with the created norm of social media, which at times portrays only the best version of themselves online. The online Sámi community is a continuation of the Sámi community throughout Scandinavia and brings Sámi young people closer to each other with the possibility of daily interactions within the digital space.

An important aspect in terms of the connection between the online space and the human identity is the fact that young people’s identities in the virtual reality have become an extension of how they portray their identity prisms in real life. That is, nowadays it is almost impossible for young people, especially in Westernised and highly digitalised realities, to be able to convey their identity prisms only in the dimension of real life, face-to-face connections. The online sphere has become the other dimension in which people also have to live as individuals of a certain identity. As mentioned before in the theoretical section discussing the identity prism, the online locale is already a part of the identity prism’s base, and as such it is a primary receptor of information for the individual. So to continue the cycle, people receive information from the online space through the bases of their identity prisms while also conveying information online through their prism walls. In the same way, young people convey their identity prisms in the real-life dimension by using their prism walls, as well as convey their identity through their prism walls in the virtual dimension. In the digital sphere, people can use the same way they express their identity to other people as they do in social, face-

to-face interactions and translate this to their online identity. Choosing certain walls of your prism to portray online is just an extension of the way you exhibit your identity to the world, whether the digital or the non-digital world. The same rules of prism interaction apply anywhere you present yourself as an individual. The major difference that might occur is the fact that, unlike face-to-face interactions, the online sphere is less direct. As an individual, one can choose to be more deceptive than usual without the same consequences that apply to real-life interactions. However, in the current research situation, I have observed mostly the digital identities of Sámi youth I have also interacted face to face with, and they mostly represent themselves online as their true selves.

4.7.2. Social Media as a Tool for Communication

In the Sámi communities I have observed, for many of the young Sámi their online presence is a convenient way of continuing, enhancing and furthering their connection to the broader Sámi community, especially with people their own age. Of all the young Sámi I have encountered to a degree of meaningful conversation status, the majority of them were present on one or more social media platforms. This includes but is not limited to Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat and Twitter. It is exactly through social media that I also managed to keep up many of my connections with various Sámi individuals in between face-to-face meetings. The usual cycle I have observed of how young Sámi establish and develop connections with other Sámi youth from outside their immediate communities is as follows. There is usually a face-to-face meeting when people are initially introduced to each other. Typically, this is at one of the Sámi social calendar events or through family gatherings with Sámi people from outside their area. Once the initial meeting has been held, people request contact details so that they can keep in touch, the popular options when my fieldwork was taking place being Snapchat, Instagram and to some extent Facebook. In a sense, as a young Sámi you have to have some sort of social media available if you want to keep in touch with your peers who often live large distances away from you, and if you also want to be involved with what other Sámi are up to in terms of social events, gatherings and parties. The social media option also proved to be more popular than regular texting or emailing, especially when it comes to connecting with peers who are more like acquaintances than very close relationships. In many instances where young Sámi are connected with other young Sámi from different areas, people have to have a better idea of who you are from your online presence much more than from face-to-face meetings, which might not be possible on a regular basis due to the long distances between

various Sámi communities. The young Sámi who want to participate in the general Sámi youth community create an online snapshot of who they are so their peers can get to know them better. They start sharing online aspects of their lifestyles, beliefs, day-to-day routines and many times of their Sámi oriented identities through images, text and other types of media.

■ 4.7.3. Prism Wall Seven: The Use of Social Media to Fulfil Sámi Cultural Duty and Activism ■

For the Sámi youth community, the use of social media is a way not only to stay connected within the vast distances presented within Sápmi, but also of fulfilling their cultural duty of knowledge dissemination and continuation of traditions, showing their pride, joy and involvement within the Sámi reality and expressing their self-determination by supporting certain activism-related matters. For many of the Sámi who are active in the Sámi social scene and frequent Sámi events, social media provides them with a continuous space to create their own indigenous dialogues, imaging and creativity, all by sharing their important milestones in their lives or just presenting images and videos of how they see their own Sámi identity in their day to day lifestyles. Even for those Sámi who do not choose to participate actively in Sámi social events, social media are an important source where they can interact with other Sámi and present their own identities through cultural representations without facing pressure to become involved in the Sámi social scene. Many people also choose to use hashtags to go along with their images as a way of expressing their unity within the general Sámi community. The hashtags are Sámi community-specific and create a sense of cultural unity, pride and connectivity. At various youth gatherings I have participated in, there were event-specific hashtags to be used across multiple online platforms in a way of encouraging unity, communication outside the event and creating the chance for a connection outside the time-limited event. Once an image is posted as viewable by all and with a hashtag related to the event, then other Sámi could connect with you online, even if they might not have had the chance to connect in person at the event, and even people outside of the event who know the hashtag can also join the conversation. In a sense hashtag use within the Sámi community is a way to create conversations, continue topics, express cultural knowledge and pride in certain issues and join the larger Sámi community. Hashtags can also be seen as a way to express one or more of your identity prism walls, and in a sense the person chooses which part of their identity prism to present in a picture or

a post online and then uses the hashtag to seek other people who share this specific identity aspect as a way of creating connections over similarities in the self.

■ - *Prism wall seven: social media hashtag use as a sign of cultural unity* ■

Some examples of popular hashtags that were used at the time of the fieldwork and are still used by young Sámi connecting on social media are #mittsápmi, #gapta, #gákti, #sápmi, #sámi, #samisk, #samekofter, #samekofte, #duodji, #samiskdesign, #sápmipride, #sámásmuinna, #saemesthmunnjien, #snakksamisktemæ, #sápmipower and many more, together with more seasonal hashtags depending on what time of the year in the Sámi social calendar specific hashtags are used such as #jokkmokksmarknad, #ankarede, #sáminuorra, #márkomeannu, #kautokeino, #raastenrastah, #ridduriddu and others with increasing popularity. These hashtags are immensely symbolic of the connection young Sámi want to establish with other Sámi peers through the representation they choose to make of their selves in the online social space. The hashtags listed above help people express their feelings of cultural duty via representation, showcase their indigenous pride and seek belonging and emotional connection with other Sámi who share the same type of content. Overall, these hashtags help to unite the various representation of parts of the Sámi identity prism by using imagery in the online dimension. The translation of some of the hashtags includes key words by which people choose to connect, such as ‘my Sápmi’, the traditional Sámi dress called *gapta* in South Sámi and *gákti* in North Sámi, Sámi traditional dress in Norwegian and Swedish called *kofte/kofta/kolt*, the name for the Sámi crafts called Duodji, the saying ‘speak to me in Sámi’ in the various Sámi languages and Norwegian, which is part of an official government campaign to support people to learn their local Sámi language, and the Sámi pride hashtag encouraging inclusivity, kindness and understanding towards everyone in the community, no matter what their sexual orientation or gender representation. All these hashtags help to build up and sustain the connectivity of the Sámi online community and encourage young people to represent their identities as they wish in the online dimension.

■ - *Prism wall seven: social media as a concise representation of the Sámi cultural duty to self-determine* ■

Young Sámi often choose to display their Sámi identity online through the use of images in which they wear their traditional attire and thus by showcase their indigenous side together with an accompanying short text expressing what they were feeling, where they were wearing it to or just a generic message to express various feelings and inspirations. This media representation is a way for young Sámi to fulfil their cultural duty to self-determine, disseminate information and traditional knowledge through the use of the online dimension. In the online dimension it is often much easier and more accessible to express your identity through a picture and a short text rather than long explanations. Short videos are also a popular choice of identity representation online as a way of capturing a moment in time that might represent who you feel you are or who you want people to think you are. This can include prominent parts of your identity such as what and how you are saying it, a specific way of clothing you are wearing or a characteristic event you were at all in the form of a short clip. Traditional Sámi attire is a popular way of representing your Sámi identity, as the clothes very clearly speak for themselves, not only displaying your Sámi affiliation, but also the specific Sámi community you belong to based on the ornamentation, and also revealing information such as marriage or social status based on the amount and prominence of the ornamentation. Group photos of multiple people wearing their traditional attire are also popular in the online dimension and create a sense of unity, connectedness and affinity to a specific Sámi community or inter-community solidarity if people in the photo are wearing Sámi clothes from various regions. Nowadays, young people spend more time online and enjoy posting content online as a way of having some sort of social interaction to make up for the possible lack of frequency of face-to-face, real-life interactions, so most of the photos posted are usually from their day-to-day lives. However, young Sámi usually only wear their Sámi clothes for special events, such as those from the Sámi social calendar, or at weddings, confirmations, graduations and similar celebratory affairs. This means that their wearing full traditional attire is not an everyday aspect of their lives, representing another popular choice of identity representation online that young Sámi often make to showcase aspects of their traditional lifestyles such as their involvement in producing crafts, reindeer husbandry and general enjoyment of the surrounding nature in and around Sápmi.

❖ *Nature as a media representation of Sámi identity*

A big part of the Sámi identity as recognised in previous chapters is their connection with nature. Nature and the way people respond to it has a distinct effect on the Sámi youth identity and is part of the Sámi youth's identity prism. The Sámi as a group have been historically connected to nature as a community that lives, strives and relies on nature as part of their lifestyle. This is still true but not as exclusively as it once was, and nowadays the Sámi do not necessarily have to rely on nature for their livelihoods or general well-being, but they certainly are very much connected to the surrounding nature of Sápmi. Imagery of nature is a very popular choice of Sámi youth's identity representation online, one that features often on their online profiles. It can represent many aspects of their identity, not only as Sámi but also their Scandinavian affiliation, as nature also plays a big role in the general identity of Scandinavians. The idea of *'friluftliv'* has already been discussed in previous chapters, and it also applies to the Sámi online representation of their identity prisms.

❖ Ancestral media representation as cultural duty

Another popular choice of representation in the online sphere is when people post pictures of their ancestors, such as photographs from the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth century of Sámi relatives dressed up in their traditional outfits, usually as a family photograph. This not only showcases their pride in their Sámi heritage, it also displays a strong affinity to the historic element of Sámi indigenous development down the decades. These types of old family portraits are often posted online with a story about what the young Sámi have heard about their ancestors, and this usually includes a story of some sort of struggle in their lives. In a sense, this sentimental part of the Sámi youth identity representation through the historical imagery of their backgrounds is related to the general Sámi struggle for recognition, self-determination and anti-discriminatory actions.

■ - *Prism wall seven: from cultural duty to activism* ■

It is well known and historically documented that the Sámi have been through centuries facing negative attitudes towards them from the dominant population in their countries. Not only as a minority but also as an indigenous group, historically the Sámi have had to fight for their rights to exist legally, culturally, linguistically and sentimentally. Nowadays, young Sámi live in a different era of Sámi existence, where even though there are still struggles, people are freer, more independent,

less discriminated against and generally happier with their opportunities for self-determination as a community. However, that is not to say that no injustices are still happening, because this would be incorrect. There are many instances where legal and moral discrimination still occurs together with the painful topic of the lack of application of indigenous rights, for which many of the Sámi youth's ancestors have fought in the past. Part of young Sámi's identity prism wall seven denotes involvement in indigenous activism activities in their communities, countries and even internationally. This part of their identity is often portrayed online though the use of imagery, text and involvement in protests, campaigns and debates.

4.8. SÁMI ACTIVISM

■ 4.8.1. Prism Wall Seven: Sámi Activism as a Way to Decolonise and Decentralise Power ■

Many young Sámi are involved in various Sámi movements of cultural activism, and this has become a part of their complex, multifaceted identity prisms, specifically in prism wall seven. These activities can vary in their scale and amount of involvement, but it is almost expected that young Sámi will not only contribute to their cultural duty of Sámi dissemination of traditions, crafts and history, but also embrace the fact that as indigenous representatives there is always a worthy cause that they could support in order to ameliorate their lives and those of fellow indigenous people. Indigenous activism is also a way of decolonising, decentralising and destabilising the power hierarchy of institutional and colonial powers. This is part of indigenous people's pursuit of indigeneity. After learning about the history of their Sámi communities, many young Sámi feel the obligation to continue to represent the fighting spirit that their ancestors have had for centuries by standing up for their rights as indigenous members and opposing the injustices that are often perpetrated on indigenous people. In a sense, the Sámi already know that when it comes to injustice towards indigenous people, in Scandinavia they, as a group, are one of the most fortunate indigenous representatives. The Sámi and the countries they come from have achieved much in terms of protection, development and preservation of their indigenous people, history, culture and rights. Nowadays, people in Scandinavia have realised the cultural importance, social enrichment potential and heritage value of indigenous people, their traditions and what they represent in the wider sense of being a human being, which has changed to some extent how people perceive and

address the discourse of indigenous issues. There are new laws, conventions and rights in place that are supposed to protect the interests of indigenous people and their lands. The fight for better preservation, treatment and the encouragement of indigenous people and their culture, traditions and customs is going in the right direction, but at a pace that is nowhere near satisfactory or able to counteract the continuous issues that keep undermining indigenous people, such as conflicts over land.

Young Sámi want to be part of the conversation when it comes to rising up against injustice to indigenous peoples. Some do it more actively, such as going to and staging local and regional protests, helping with research connected to issues involving Sámi communities and even working nationally and internationally to tackle existing problems and controversy involving the global indigenous population. Others choose a more relaxed approach of bringing awareness to matters that they feel connected to, and even the active choice to learn their local Sámi language, which is often not used in everyday speech, is in a way an activist action in protecting Sámi traditions and is part of fulfilling their cultural duty. Young Sámi do not feel that there is a right or wrong way of showcasing the social activism and cultural duty parts of their identity prisms because even just by talking and getting involved in conversations about certain aspects of the indigenous life that are unjust, they participate in the fighting spirit of what it means for them to be part of their Sámi communities (refer to Appendix B for visual representations of activism related posters and music performances).

■ - *Prism wall seven: Music, online presence and hashtags as indigenous activism* ■

The personal identity striving to participate in indigenous activism as a way not only to develop your own identity but also to pursue self-determination as a group is very much part of the young Sámi prism wall seven. As observed through the example of the young Sámi musician, for her as a Sámi traditional musician and indigenous artist, she is already exercising her cultural duty and social activism spirit and representing the feisty part of her indigenous self by raising awareness of issues she feels strongly connected to through her music. Music is her activism, and though her performances and her online presence she showcases this part of her identity prism. Many other young Sámi who do not have a large literal or metaphorical platform, like the Sámi musician,

choose to demonstrate their activism in their online identity representation by using hashtags connected to issues they are concerned about or sharing imagery and text related to matters that worry or distress them. They participate in local and national campaigns in support of their Sámi heritage, culture and language preservation. This can be done in person or by sharing content online. It is usually small actions that make many young people feel they are achieving progress. In this way they raise awareness and share their thoughts and feelings about matters that often, as young Sámi, they do not feel they have the power or influence to change. They channel their seeming helplessness into a more productive course and use the online dimension to act upon their cultural duty and engage with others as a sign of their involvement in social activism and their personal indigenous identity development.

This often leads from just an online action to a more concrete real-life activity of staging a protest, an awareness campaign, a speech, a performance, or even becoming involved in legal actions. Examples of such online activism actions taken by young Sámi are reflected in the hashtags #kallok, #gállok, #repparfjord and #fosenforfolket. These are all activist actions taking place in Sweden and Norway, with the first two opposing mining in Sámi reindeer lands in northern Sweden, the third one fighting against the dumping of mining waste into a north Norwegian fjord, and the last dealing with a wind turbine farm built upon Sámi reindeer pasture lands. Young Sámi showcase the activism part of their identity by joining and supporting such activities, speaking up, having a voice, and making sure their opinions and disagreements are heard when it comes to actions that involve the improper or opportunistic use of lands in Sápmi by corporations for the sake of profit. In a sense, in the Scandinavian region, young people are lucky and privileged to be able to exercise their rights freely and without fear of being prosecuted or detained unjustly. This gives them the power and motivation to keep being active in their cultural duty of preserving, continuing and ameliorating the rights of their Sámi communities. Young Sámi have even taken part in activist actions in other countries where indigenous communities have been endangered. One such instance was the event at Standing Rock in the United States involving Native American communities. Young Sámi showed their solidarity and support with the hashtags #standingrock and #noDAPL, and some travelled to the disputed site and became involved in the active protests there. Even though this specific protest was highly publicised and supported by many people around the globe, not only by indigenous communities, the young Sámi felt particularly connected

to the unjust way their indigenous counterparts in America were being treated. Being indigenous gives young Sámi a deeper basis for connection with other indigenous communities from around the world. The Sámi as a group are seen as one of the more advanced indigenous communities in terms of having more rights, more freedom to self-determine and better opportunities in life, and other indigenous communities around the globe often strive to be as liberated as them. Yet, the grass is not always greener on the other side because, even though the Sámi are aware of the privileges they exercise as indigenous people living in Scandinavia, they also have certain issues they have to deal with in their own communities. This is why young Sámi continue to be active in their cultural duty to protect their freedoms and rights by participating in activist activities locally, nationally and internationally. In the following section, a young Sámi woman's journey to protect her community and area is discussed as an example of how her identity prism's activism and cultural duty wall represents itself in her actions and showcases this part of her complex Sámi identity.

4.8.2. Activism as an Indigenous Right to Self-Determine: Case Study of Storheia Vindpark

The story of the Storheia vindpark (Storheia wind farm) has become intertwined with the activism of many Sámi from the Trøndelag region, and specifically with one young Sámi woman, who has been opposing the construction of these wind turbines since the inception of the project. Situated in the South Trøndelag area in Norway, Storheia vindpark is one sixth of a larger project called Fosen Vind. Fosen Vind aims to create one of the biggest wind-turbine plants in Europe, and Storheia vindpark is planned to have 80 of the total of 278 wind turbines. Even though the Storheia area might seem like an empty, windy mountainous region in South Trøndelag, which would be perfect for these wind turbines, it is already in use as part of the winter pasture lands of the indigenous reindeer-herders from a few extended families from the South Sámi population in Norway. Many Sámi were and still are entirely against the use of Storheia as an area for wind turbines, but there were also some Sámi who have agreed to the construction of these ecological wind energy generators. As it stands in 2020, all the turbines have already been erected and are now working, so in a sense the hard work and persistence of the Sámi's activism related to this project, which I have monitored for a few years, has been in vain. Nevertheless, the story of their indigenous fighting spirit, organisation and passion as part of their complex indigenous identities should be told. Here this story is presented through the eyes of a young Sámi women, who is directly affected

by the wind turbines. Our conversation took place before the wind turbines had been erected or were working, so she was still full of hope, determination and devotion that she could alter the plans of the corporation wanting to take over Sámi reindeer pasture land by constructing wind turbines, and this involved various forms of activism, protests and legal action.

I fight for my rights every day of my life. I actively fight for my rights as a human being who comes from a long line of indigenous heritage, and at the end of each day, after all my efforts, I can only hope that change will happen.

This young South Sámi representative explained how the herders from her area and their reindeers rely heavily on the Storheia lands for their winter pastures. These lands offer winter nutrition for the reindeer, which means that thanks to these pastures, the herders can continue engaging in their traditional livelihoods and continue enriching their cultural development and identity building by allowing the current and future South Sámi generations to experience their ancestral customs, language and practices.

If we lose Storheia, we will need to reduce the numbers of reindeers we have, and this will result in some members having to quit herding and never allowing their future generations to become involved with herding. I might never experience being a full-time herder.

Reindeer herding for the South Sámi is a much different affair than herding amongst the North Sámi communities. This will be discussed further in the next chapter. The important point here is that South Sámi herders have smaller herds than the North Sámi and need all the numbers of reindeer they have in order to continue to participate in this traditional livelihood. For the South Sámi even the slightest loss of numbers in an extended family's herd will mean that there will be a significant effect on the number of people who can make a living out of herding, endangering not only the livelihood of people, but also the transfer of skills, language, traditions and knowledge that all comes with herding.

It is breaking my heart to think about all the consequences that will come from the Storheia wind park…it is not only herding that will be affected…. We practice our language and culture and exchange knowledge while we herd, and it is all part of what makes us Sámi. The wind turbines will not only take away our reindeer but also part of our culture.

She continues to explain that the Storheia wind park will significantly affect the winter pastures for many of the South Sámi herders in the area, not only because of noise and novelty of the turbines,

which are proved to disorient, stress and scare reindeer, but also from the planned construction of 62km of roads, which adds to the confusion for the reindeer.

Reindeer are simple animals, they get easily stressed, confused and scared, so when such an immense novelty as the wind turbines, the roads and all the construction work is introduced to the peaceful Storheia area, they will not be able to follow their instincts to migrate to their usual winter pastures, and many will not make it through winter. Our herd numbers will be reduced.

Storheia wind park is a disaster that will directly affect more than forty people from her extended family and another forty to sixty people from the near proximity, but morally it already affects the whole of the South Sámi community and beyond. Even if it does not sound like a lot of people being directly affected, she tells me that this is the number now, but what about all the future generations. Herding will be lost for a significant proportion of the South Sámi's future generations because of these wind turbines. She further explains that it is not only about the human cost, loss of culture and traditions, but also the environmental cost. She believes the wind turbines and all the construction involved with them will ruin the land in the area forever. According to what the Storheia wind park representatives have told her and the community, the construction is supposed to be undertaken under the strictest forms of environmental preservation and consideration, on top of a promise that the wind park will only be there for twenty years. However, many people, including herself, are sure that the natural habitat in that area will already have been destroyed by then and there will be no turning back for the herders. Being a herder is something that is passed on from generation to generation or through marriage, and it is unheard for someone to come back to herding after a long pause because there will be no one to pass on the knowledge or approve of your position within the herding hierarchy. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Storheia wind park is a disaster for us. They just do not understand us. They do not understand the full extent of how much damage their wind turbines will create for the South Sámi, for our customs, for our culture.

She also explains that even though her extended family, which has pastures in the south of Storheia, has not agreed to the wind park's building plans and is locked in legal battles against Fosen Vind, another South Sámi extended family, which has pastures in the north of Storheia, has agreed to the wind turbines under some sort of settlement. This is what makes things slightly more

difficult, namely that due to personal preferences and different outlooks upon life, the South Sámi herders that occupy the extended Storheia/Fosen area are in disagreement amongst themselves.

It is unfortunate that the other South Sámi extended family from the area did not choose to fight against the wind turbines, but they are free to make up their own mind. They have their own priorities, and we have ours. For me and my extended family, our priority is to preserve the land, to have enough grazing area for all our reindeer and to continue with our herding traditions.

She said the extended families tried to work together at the beginning, but it became clear early on that some families wanted to accept the compensation and others did not. She and her extended family stand firm on their decision to protest against the building of the Storheia wind park and to fight for their winter pastures and their right to practice their customs, traditions and language through herding.

We, as an extended family, are not interested in compensation. Money is nothing. Money cannot replace the reindeer and cannot give us our customs. As long as I can, I will fight against the Storheia wind park.

In this day and age of active environmental politics and campaigns supported by many young people, she said she is well aware of the renewable energy movement and supports it:

I am a supporter of green energy. It's the way forward. However, the companies that build such projects must do better when researching and planning their wind parks. They know how the turbines will affect the reindeer but do not fully understand the consequences for the herders, their families and the dissemination of their customs.

What the wind turbines will create is mayhem for the reindeer that have pastures there. The reindeer will not want to return to these pastures with the wind turbines there and will eventually starve to death. This will create a ripple effect on the Sámi who herd them, creating a loss of customs, traditions and language, leading to the possible decline of the South Sámi identity and community spirit. There is also the environmental doubt that any reindeers will ever go back to that area even after the site is out of use in a few decades, which also will alter significantly the natural habitat of the area.

I feel stepped on. They are taking part of my identity and my culture away from me by building these turbines. I am no expert, but they can build the turbines in the sea, probably for a bit more money, but at least they will give to the Sámi the respect we deserve.

This case study is an example that aims to represent young Sámi's activist spirit and cultural duty as part of their complex identity prism. I have personally come to know and observe this person as part of the group of young Sámi from the South Sámi community in Norway. On top of her cultural duty and activism prism representation, she has various other identity walls in her complex identity prism that she exhibits, such as showcasing her Sámi pride, participating in Sámi social calendar events, taking part in the Sámi dating scene, being close to nature, partially having a traditional livelihood, and being active in preserving the Sámi culture through language learning, activism and general solidarity for Sámi development. It is important to remember that these are walls of the overall identity prism of people and manifest themselves more at certain times and much less at other times. In this example the young Sámi projects her activism and cultural duty identity wall most by representing her deep connection to the Storheia issue she feels very passionate about. This is exactly what the concept of the complex, multifaceted identity prism achieves in terms of an explanation of what it means to be Sámi. Young people know when to showcase various parts of their complex identities depending on the situation they are in, and all the different prism walls make their identity a complete structure.

Overall, young Sámi have the ability to build their complex, multifaceted identity prisms within the strong overarching Sámi community by reflecting, refracting, absorbing and ignoring certain aspects from within their local and national communities, as well as using outside sources to increase the depth of their identities. In this chapter, prism wall seven, related to young Sámi cultural duty and activism as part of their dynamic, multifaceted identity prism, was discussed and analysed. The question of what it means to be a young Sámi turns into an exploratory answer of a complex identity construction based on multiple identity prism walls and bases within the theoretical framework of the existence of the dynamic identity prism and their interactions with other prisms, historical events, cultural artefacts and environmental factors. In the next chapter, the ethnography continues with information related to how traditional livelihoods affect on the young Sámi identity prism.

CHAPTER FIVE: IDENTITY BUILDING THROUGH REINDEER HUSBANDRY

5.1. INTRODUCTION

"Being a reindeer herder is what is in my blood. Most of my relatives and many of Sámi friends are involved in herding so I do not think I could have imagined life differently for myself." Male South Sámi reindeer herder, aged 25.

Reindeer herding within the Sámi communities in Norway and Sweden varies in importance depending on specific regions and families' involvement in this livelihood. Herding is definitely not the main distinguishing feature of being Sámi: indeed, it never has been and never will be because the Sámi are such a diverse group of people that this one livelihood cannot portray their whole array of indigenous traditions, customs and culture. Being a reindeer herder certainly does not make you more Sámi than those who have never been involved in this livelihood. I recognise that herding is an important part of the life of only a proportion of the young people I have worked with, and this is why I am dedicating only one chapter to this topic. As a whole, reindeer husbandry has some effect on the development of the complex, multifaceted identity prisms of a proportion of young Sámi and as such it is important to discuss it.

In this chapter I incorporate a very brief legal section that includes an explanation of who can become a Sámi herder in Norway based on official documents by which Norwegian Sámi herders have to abide. I present the eighth and final Sámi youth identity prism wall, the Sámi traditional livelihood, and certain sections within this chapter analyse the influence of reindeer herding on this wall that is present in many Sámi complex identities. I offer an analytical discussion of my experiences within the reality of Sámi reindeer husbandry based on my ethnographic data focusing primarily on two case studies from Norway. This includes the presentation and analysis of the participant observation conducted within herding families and their extended family members, various conversations with herders from different ages, and the overall feeling of what it means to be a herder and more specifically a young herder nowadays. The question of how young people get involved in herding is discussed alongside issues about belonging, community-based affinity and the continuation of this traditional livelihood.

5.2. LEGALITIES OF HERDING IN NORWAY

In Norway, reindeer herding is primarily regulated by the Reindriftslov, the so-called Reindeer Herding Act. With the help of the regulations in the Act, the government and the reindeer-herders can enjoy enhanced cooperation, which produces beneficial results overall for the herders in particular and their livelihoods in general. The Act is based on the cultural, social and traditional ways of reindeer husbandry, which means that it preserves the values of the Sámi herding communities. This is why the Siida (traditional social organisation of herding communities typically consisting of family members and close relatives), as an element of great importance, recognition and traditional appraisal, occupies a central place in the Act. Overall, the Reindriftslov is an important legislative document for Sámi herders (refer to Appendix C for a full discussion of the Reindriftslov). Below I present a couple of key facts about herding, such as who can herd reindeer and what is a Siida. As this legal document is only available in Norwegian and Sámi, I will make translations of its sections into English as necessary.

5.2.1. Who Can Herd Reindeer

In Norway, it is only the Sámi who have the right to herd reindeer within the Sámi reindeer-grazing areas (*samiske reinbeiteområdet*), which represent the majority of grazing areas. This exclusivity has been defined as a Sámi right based on '*alders tids bruk*", 'usage since time immemorial'. However, there are more clarifications connected to who exactly in a Sámi community has herding rights because this is not a livelihood open to every Sámi.

Paragraph one of §9 continues further to §4 by stating that: "Only people who have the right to a reindeer ear mark, ref.§32, have the right to own reindeer in the Sámi reindeer grazing area" (Reindriftsloven, 2007: §9). Thus, these are the Sámi who are able to use their immemorial use rights. A reference to §32 is made in order to explain who can have an ear mark. In section 32 there are three main requirements covered in the first paragraph and a few more special cases covered by the other paragraphs. Here is what the first paragraph of section 32 states:

§ 32. Right to reindeer marking

The right to a reindeer mark belongs to people of Sámi ancestry who

1. *By the Acts effectiveness had reindeer herding as their main livelihood in the reindeer-grazing districts in accordance with the Act from 9 June 1978 nr 49 about reindeer herding §4 ref. §3, or*
2. *Have parents or grandparents who have had reindeer herding as a main livelihood, and who*
3. *Are included in the Siida or should be included in the Siida after a decision in accordance with §10 second paragraph or juxtaposed recruitment part in accordance to §§11-15.*

...

(Reindriftsloven, 2007: §32)

Overall, §4, §9 and §32 clarify the rules about who has the right to be a herder, have an ear mark and own reindeers. The right to a reindeer ear mark is the key element to being a reindeer herder in Norway.

5.2.2. Siida

As stated in paragraph two of §9: “It is a condition for owning reindeer that the reindeer are part of a Siida share or a sideline recruitment share being run by an responsible leader under §§10 and sequence” (Reindriftsloven, 2007: §9). The Siida is the social, cultural and traditional institution grouping herding families into a herding collective within the Sámi communities. A Siida usually consists of a few Siida shares, each share led by its own responsible leader. Usually the Siida consists of shares that belong to related families such as parents, siblings and cousins. In other words, a Siida has a few Siida shares, and as long as one belongs to a Siida share with a responsible leader and is entitled to an ear mark, then one can own reindeer. Usually a Siida and all its Siida shares herd together and keep the greater reindeer herd as one until it is time to separate Siida share herds for various activities, such as vaccination, slaughter, and movement from summer to winter pastures.

In the system of the Siida, the Siida share and the sideline share, most of the decision-making power is left in the hands of a group of people who are relatives. As with any relatives, some people get along together better than others, which inevitably leads to many disagreements and misunderstandings. Adding also the increased competitiveness in the reindeer herding business in

recent times and the harsh conditions for pursuing husbandry, many communities I have worked with raised the concern that it is almost impossible nowadays to get into herding unless your family has good connections within the Siida and has been herding as their livelihood for many years, including oneself from a young age. Even if one is entitled to a ear mark by law, getting into a Siida, trying to establish a Siida share within a Siida or being made a leader of a Siida share's sideline share is a task that many fail at unless they have the backing of many of their relatives and years of participation within their family's Siida.

5.3. THE FAMILIES

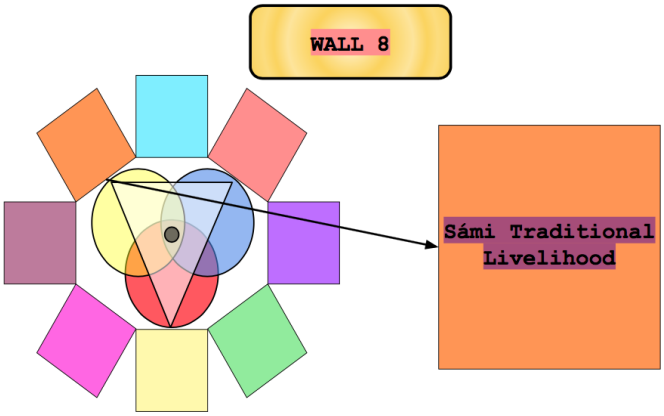
I will present two specific extended case studies of herding families and a few more examples from within the Sámi communities, including non-herder opinions too. For my two main cases, I have specifically chosen to work with herders from two quite different places. One herding family and their Siida are located in Finnmark, the northernmost county in Norway, and thus part of the North Sámi herding communities, while the other herding family and their Siida are located in Nord-Trøndelag, which is part of the South Sámi herding communities of Norway. The two herding areas are geographically very different to each other, and the herders have to deal with diverse issues depending on their area's features and climate. Another difference is the competitive edge of herding within these regions. Within the case studies, based on my data, I will explore all aspects of the herder's life.

5.3.1. Prism Wall Eight: Sámi Traditional Livelihood/Reindeer Herding as Part of the Sámi Youth Identity

For many young Sámi, their traditional livelihood has a certain influence on their overall Sámi identity. In this chapter, reindeer herding is discussed as part of the creation of the eighth prism wall in the complex, multifaceted Sámi identity. The traditional livelihood aspect of their day to day realities has a varying influence on young Sámi's overall identity and as such is viewed through the case studies of a few young herders. In this chapter reference to this identity wall is made throughout the discussion and analysis of the participant observation and conversations with the herders. The sections connected to the prism-based analysis of reindeer herding as part of the

complex Sámi youth identity will be noted with the subsection title beginning of “Prism wall eight”, followed by a specific elaboration of the meaning of the paragraph.

Figure 5.1. Prism Wall Eight: Sámi Traditional Livelihood/Reindeer Herding



5.3.2. The South Sápmi Family From Nord-Trøndelag

- Introduction to the extended family

To begin with, I will introduce the first case, which will discuss a core family, a secondary family and some other people closely related to them within the area of Nord-Trøndelag in the south of Sápmi. I look at how reindeer herding has affected their lives and their attitudes to the future. Being a Sámi herder does not necessarily mean that this is your only livelihood. As the law states, in order to have the right to an earmark, husbandry has to be your, your parents’ or your grandparents’ main livelihood, but it does not have to be your or their only livelihood. The earmark is a personal symbol that people are assigned and that is cut into the ears of the reindeer that belong to them. In order to be allowed to herd reindeer, you have to have an official earmark. In most cases, being primarily a herder would usually mean that this is what you spend most time doing, but in more than 90% of cases you will have another occupation too. This is part of being Sámi and one of the traditional ways of being not only a herder but also a hunter-gatherer. In modern times this means occupying

yourself differently during the quiet time of the year when less work is required with the herd: reindeers are semi-domesticated, so they roam freely most of the year, and the secondary occupation also provides some well needed income. As such, when I speak of a person being primarily a herder, this includes people who might also have some side jobs, and when I speak of being involved in herding part-time or on a more casual basis, this includes people who still qualify for an earmark and are still part of the Siida according to the law, but who might not spend as much time or effort in being primarily a herder. This means that a lot of the Sámi young people who come from strong herding families and have already secured an earmark and a place in a Siida based on their parents' or grandparent's involvement in herding can enjoy being involved with husbandry without necessarily taking the final decision to be primarily herders. Many young Sámi herders are not primarily committed to herding, but as long as they have an earmark, stay within the Siida and are involved with their herds on a regular basis, they can still be herders. This provides young Sámi from herding families with the opportunity to practise husbandry on a more casual basis.

- Nord-Trøndelag herding

Nord-Trøndelag is a area in south Sápmi with mountainous terrains, milder temperatures compared to northern Sápmi locations, and an extensive Sámi herding community and social system which is less competitive overall when measured against northern Sápmi husbandry reality. In terms of herding, there is a certain amount of competition between families within the area when it comes to grazing lands and the availability of food for their reindeer, but overall the situation is quite stable and favourable for the animals well-being compared to many herding places in the north of Sápmi. This means that Nord-Trøndelag reindeer are well fed, of good size when fully grown and generally more profitable for the herders compared to reindeer in the north of Sápmi, which are in much greater competition for resources and grazing areas. From my observations, herding in Nord-Trøndelag is very different compared to herding in Finnmark, where the second case study is based. This is important to mention, as this first case study represents the reality of people involved in husbandry in the south Sámpi region of Nord-Trøndelag and as such is not to be confused with the much harsher reality for herders occupying the more extensively studied area of Finnmark and northern Sápmi. This is not to say that husbandry in the south is easier, but it might not present all the harshest, most competitive and unfavourable realities that many herders

in Finnmark experience who are often the focus of research when speaking in general about husbandry in Norway. As a whole, Nord-Trøndelag has a smaller proportion of the overall reindeer husbandry industry, a better climate and fewer problems of overgrazing lands compared to what will be shown to be the situation from north Sápmi in Finnmark later in this chapter with the second case study. Nord-Trøndelag reindeer husbandry has also been much less academically studied, not only in anthropology but also related social sciences.

- Meet the family

The core unit in the herding family in Nord-Trøndelag consists of four family members, mother, father, and two sons. Both parents are in their early to mid-fifties, one of the sons is in his early twenties and the other in his mid-twenties. The parents have been together and married for more than twenty years. The father is originally from the local area and from a long South Sámi line of descent of reindeer herders. The mother is from a North Sámi origin, also from a line of herders, but moved to Nord-Trøndelag to be with her husband. This means that the sons have both North and South Sámi heritage, with relatives in both areas. However, as they have been born and raised in the South, have acquired a South Sámi surname through their father's side and have been heavily influenced by their South Sámi relatives, they have generally been accepted as South Sámi for all purposes, including their traditional clothing. The sons have always been primarily dressed in South Sámi clothing. The sons have been raised within the family unit, in a very tight Sámi community and in a scarcely populated mountainous area. The father's main occupation is reindeer husbandry. The mother is a herder too but also has a job at the local municipality office. The sons have been involved with herding since a young age and particularly took an interest in herding in their late teens. The family has a long and proud history of reindeer herding within their region. In this area, and especially within the herding communities, people are more likely to be relatives of some sort than not be related at all. The family lives on the same road as part of their extended family. Most of the herders from their Siida, who share a few of the very typical surnames for that area, are either direct descendants, or have married a direct descendant of a brother and sister who lived two hundred years ago in the same stretch on Nord-Trøndelag.

- The cousin bond

Down the generations, the bond between cousins has been one of the strongest supports in this family, and this is still the case today. Kinship plays a big role in all Siidas. A particularly strong connection exists with this family and another family that shares the same ancestry, surname and Siida and live on the same road. The secondary family for this case study consists of five members: father, mother and three children, two sons and a daughter. The parents are in their late fifties, the sons in their mid-twenties, and the daughter is in her teens. The parents are also of mixed descent, the father from a South Sámi reindeer heritage and the mother with North Sámi origins. As in the case of the core family, here the children have also been raised as primarily South Sámi despite their North Sámi connections. The parents are passionate herders and the children are involved in husbandry to some extent too. The father from the core family and the father from the secondary family are cousins, their fathers were cousins too, and their grandfathers were brothers. This would technically make them second cousins, but in the Sámi community most people who are related in a cousin-type relationship and feel close to each other would usually just say that they are cousins, without specifying distance. Together, the fathers found their wives in the North during their youth and it is possible, but not confirmed that both mothers are also cousins. The notion of cousins from the South marrying cousins from the North is not novel. It is a frequent occurrence and further cements the fact that the cousin relationship is one of the strongest ones amongst the Sámi family relations. As the fathers have been herding together and have been very close friends for years, their sons have also created a tight bond amongst themselves, which goes beyond just a family connection. The sons' bond has been observed predominantly more in a sense of convenience and age similarities, but also on a more familiar and deeply personal level of affinity and belonging.

The focus of this case study will be on the younger generation, i.e. the sons from both the core and the secondary family. The four sons from the two families are not only closely related, they are also great friends who have grown up together and have known each other their whole lives. They are technically third cousins, but they would never reveal the actual distance of their cousin relationship because they feel much closer to each other than what that distance would suggest. In social situations, when I would see one of them, there was a high chance I would see some of the

others too. The four sons, two from the core family and two from the secondary family, have established such a close relationship amongst themselves that they would considering each other altogether as brothers. There has been a tighter connection two by two between the similarly aged sons from the two families, i.e. the cousins who are in their early twenties would stick together and the other cousins, in their mid-twenties, would do the same. This would mean that most of the time, in situations outside of the home or herding area, the cousins would spend more time with each other than with their siblings. This could be explained by the fact that due to their age, when outside of their house, they would have gone to school together, probably in the same classes, and then would have formed a group of friends within the same age range. This would result in the younger cousins being more connected in social situations to each other than to their actual brothers, but this is not to disregard the fact that they all respect and look up to their older siblings. There are also other factors to this close cousin relationship, one of them being the variable of social events and girlfriends. The older cousins started being more independent, going to Sámi social events and having girlfriends earlier in time compared to the younger cousins, so the affinity and belonging grew stronger between similarly aged cousins. The younger cousins have only recently started being more interested in Sámi social events and participating in the Sámi dating scene. This means that the younger cousins stick together more and so do the older cousins. Now that this older and younger cousin pair relationship has been established, here is a detailed account of their lives when it comes to herding.

-Herding as part of the sons' reality

The four sons, both from an extremely strong reindeer herding backgrounds, have approached husbandry in slightly different ways, yet they are all currently involved in husbandry, have ear marks of their own and are all part of a Siida. This technically means that they are all full-time herders, but some of them participate more in this livelihood than the others. In each family, one of the sons is more involved in herding than the other, which in a way ensures that the tradition will be passed on for at least a further generation. As a whole, questions arise as to the reasoning behind the inclination to pursue herding at all, either as a full-time occupation or as a more casual affair. Is it a choice based on affinity, social identity and belonging, or is it more of an inevitable and predetermined duty based on created family meaning? Does the overarching Sámi community

influence on the individual identity prisms of members of Sámi herding related families really have such a strong influence on predetermining the outcome of what people do with their lives? The sons who are primarily herders and those who are slightly less involved in this mode of livelihood must have had different processes, understandings and influences in terms of their reasoning behind certain life choices or inevitabilities that have created their outlook on what their future might be. Below I trace their steps into herding and analyse how this relates to their individual identity prisms information

The four sons have been involved with helping out in their family herding since their childhood years and have been raised as proud members of the South Sámi herding community. For them herding is a way of life, the way of life their parents chose or was chosen for them, and possibly a way of escaping the reality of normal modern life and embracing their indigenous roots if they wish to do so. But did they really have the freedom to choose? If you come from a family that is so focused on their own traditional livelihood, which can be traced back hundreds of years, do you really have the choice of deciding for yourself whether you want to herd or not?

■ *Prism wall eight : Emotional connection to herding* ■

First of all, the four sons have grown up being part of the herding community. All the time while growing up there has been some talk about reindeer. Also, as the children of herding parents, the sons have been taken to spend time with the herd, willingly or not, especially during key moments of the herding season like ear marking, vaccination, separation and slaughter. As such this traditional livelihood has been part of their complex, multifaceted identity prisms since birth. Herding has always been in their conscious realities and has created a significant influence on their overall identity prism.

One moment I have observed that many parents see as a necessary step for the children to be introduced into herding is ear-marking. This is the time in the year when the new reindeer are marked with the official ear mark. Each reindeer within the Sámi grazing areas belongs to someone, and because herding is done by Siida, you have to mark your own reindeer so that you know which ones within your Siida are yours. In the South, ear marking is usually done in late May,

June and July depending on the Siida, and this is the perfect time to get the whole family up in the mountains, where the herd and the proper facilities for marking are, and do some work together. On top of the purely herding-related function of marking one's reindeer, which is vital in any herder's job, ear-marking can be seen as a type of social bonding experience with one's parents and the rest of one's Siida. People would spend days in the remote areas where the herd is and where they have built specially designed corralling areas so that they can guide the herd into them and get the animals marked. For small children, teenagers and even young adults, this is a character-building experience because they have the freedom to be within an area where life goes differently compared to home and get to interact not only with the animals in a more personal way but also with the rest of their Siida, i.e. their extended family. This develops their herding prism wall in such a way that they not only connect it to a certain event but have an overall experience, immersion in a different reality and a degree of detachment from day to day life.

Being in the mountains to undertake herding specific tasks is like being in a whole different organised reality, social order and understanding of time and space in a more traditional manner, yet still surrounded by modernity in terms of material items. Being part of this herding reality in the mountains is most beneficial to children and teenagers because they are allowed to experience a certain amount of freedom, while also developing responsibilities related to the establishment of their maturity and the progression of their reality into the more adult world. While in the mountains, they are given more adult-oriented tasks to perform compared to their day to day life. Children and teenagers are being taught how to safely mark reindeer, how to treat and respect the animals while cutting their own ear-mark and this presents them with an exposure to the adult world of herding. The ear-marking involves making special patterned incisions with a knife on the ears of the reindeer so that they are forever marked as yours. This has been the traditional way of marking herds for centuries, and people still follow it today. As a whole, participating in the process of ear-marking as a child or a teenager presents young Sámi with a very strong emotional connection to herding on the basis of experiencing a different type of reality up in the mountains where creating bonds with the extended family and tending to the reindeer is seen as this intimate, character-building practice that many Sámi deeply cherish. Herding parent interest and involve their children in husbandry via a very personal and experience-based process of creating connections to a tradition through social interactions and physical tasks. From the observation and stories of the two

extended families in Nord-Trøndelag, this is how husbandry started being part of the sons' reality and personal prism identity at a very young age. I will further evaluate how children are involved in the herding when presenting the second case study.

■ *Prism wall eight : Parental influence* ■

Given that there has been this emotional connection to herding since a young age, once children grow up they have a certain amount of power to interpret their experiences as they wish within the reasonable understanding of what constitutes free choice and independent self-development. Each on their own would have a mixture of feelings, thoughts and emotions about what it was like for them to participate in herding. This would be their own personal, internal influence commandeering and ordering perceptions and understandings within the self through use of the herding identity wall in their individual prisms. However, as the self cannot be separated from the external influence of social meaning and progression, the internal understanding will to some extent be subjected to the external meaning. This is a key point that the identity prism puts forward in representing the personal as belonging to a certain amount of interaction and influence within the reality of the social, yet the prism also has the ability to decline particular external forces and refract others in a way that would be acceptable to the self. In a sense, children who have grown up in very herding-oriented environments do not necessarily have to have a very prominent traditional livelihood identity wall, but the chances are that, based on many other factors, one of them being parental influence, they might.

The way the family would encourage or discourage younger people from pursuing husbandry is key to young Sámi's development of their herding prism wall. In this instance, the family influence is still seen as an external force, but because of the closely knit connections people have within their core and extended families within the Sámi reality, at times the family agency can feel very much part of the internal meaning for young people. The children's own impressions, convictions and observations of what it is like to be a herder in adult life are a partially decisive factor, but the family and the communal imposed pressure to continue the centuries-long traditional livelihood is certainly not to be underestimated. After all, if herding is stripped away from its emotional, cultural and traditional meanings, it is technically an entrepreneurial business of looking after animals for

profit and should be treated just like any other livelihood. However, it is exactly this extra layer of meaning that reindeer husbandry preserves that causes the most anxiety, uncertainty and confusion to younger generations of Sámi who have grown up in a mixture of the modern Norwegian reality and the traditional Sámi social structure.

- Profit and state of mind

As part of both modern Norwegian and traditional Sámi spheres of life, young people in herding communities have the extremely perplexing task of navigating their own perceptions, emotions and logical thinking about what they see themselves doing and being when they enter the world of adulthood. As herding is not a very profitable business, and even nowadays, herders are highly dependent on the subsidies from the government, the aspect of money making also has its impact on young people's decision whether or not to become herders. It is common knowledge amongst Sámi communities that most herders also have other jobs because, given the average size of herds, it is impossible to sustain yourself and your family only on the money made from husbandry. In this sense, young people are aware and understand that being a herder is more of a full-time emotional status providing personal satisfaction and fulfilment, cultural meaning and enjoyment, but together with serious amounts of hard, physically and mentally draining work, rather than a full time job as understood through Western criteria of profitability mixed with personal fulfilment within the social structure of modern, office-based employment opportunities. Herding is a way of life that many people enjoy, but when it comes to making money, not many herders are known to be affluent. Husbandry is a state of mind that provides fulfilment, enjoyment and freedom of the spirit, but when it comes to money, it is not a profitable business. Moreover, because there are long periods of time when there is less to be done with the herd, people fill their time with other jobs within the area, which they have been doing for many years. Here is what I observed about each of the sons' involvement with herding and that of some of their other non-herder friends and relatives.

- Youngest son, core family

The youngest son from the core family can be seen as the most detached from herding, but his age could possibly still be influencing him to try out new things and not settle for husbandry as yet.

As he has just entered his early twenties, which means that he has recently finished high school, he is less likely to have his future livelihood figured out. He seems to have a few passions in his life, one of which is winter sports and the other carpentry. The first few times I was introduced to him, he never mentioned that he was a herder or that his family had such a long history within husbandry. Whenever I asked the youngest son from the core family: “What do you do for work?”, he would always say “I am a carpenter.” He studied carpentry at high school as his trade and has done apprenticeships in the industry. He would also speak fondly about his passion for skiing. It was only later on that I learned he has been involved with herding since a young age due to his parents’ livelihoods. On further investigation, he had his own reindeer mark registered when he was fourteen years old, which is quite late compared to the other sons, who all got their own marks either at or a few years after their birth. He is currently part of his parents Siida share, which means that in their share it is only those three, with the father being the responsible Siida share leader. This makes the youngest son an active herder, but it also gives him the possibility not to be primarily a herder, as he is not the Siida share leader. The way husbandry is conducted, there are periods of time in the year when there is not much to be done, but in contrast when it is time to work with the herd it is very intense.

The youngest son is very proud to be Sámi and to come from such a strong reindeer husbandry family, but when it comes to actually becoming primarily a herder, I do not believe that this is what he wants from life right now. It could be something that he can fall back to if nothing else works out, but I cannot say that he aspires to be primarily a herder at present. He is definitely helping with his family’s herd whenever they need him and is being an active member in his Siida, but when asked, he does not identify as being primarily a herder. Nevertheless, there are many young people who herd part-time and have other jobs the rest of the year. This still keeps them part of the Siida and preserves their right to be herders, but it also allows them to pursue other passions too. This seems to work on the basis of ‘it is better to be in than out’ because as long as you are part of a Siida and do some herding every year, you can still preserve the right to stay within the Siida. This alleviation from the younger son’s husbandry duties could be due to the fact that his older brother is more involved with herding. Even though my information on the older brother from the primary family is more limited than my observations of the other members of the family, the older brother has already established his name as a herder in the past few years and is a Siida share leader. For

a person in his late twenties, the older brother and first-born son in that family seems to be closely following his father's footsteps into continuing the family's long tradition of husbandry, and he seems to have already chosen his main livelihood and decided to stick to herding. His earmark was registered when he was a little boy, comparatively much earlier than his younger brother. There might have been more pressure on him as the first-born son to continue the business, thus influencing his decisions, but bearing in mind that today's youth are very much aware of the world and all the possibilities around them, many people make an informed decision that herding is the right job and way of life for them.

- Youngest son, secondary family

In the case of the younger brother from the secondary family, based on my observations and interactions with him, his choice to undertake herding was established very early on in his life and was understood to be the most enjoyable for him as an option that outweighed the other possibilities present. He was never too involved with school, and the standard path of finishing secondary school or possibly doing some vocational training and then getting a job within established spheres of modern employment was never part of his plans. School is not always the best option for everyone, so as soon as he had finished his legally obligatory education at around the age of sixteen, he decided to become involved entirely with herding. From the official records, his reindeer mark was registered when he was a little child, suggesting that from the very beginning of his life his parents wanted to influence him to see the good in herding and become more and more involved. But then a new question arises: if this option of herding was not possible or if he was not as involved by his parents in herding as he was, would he have had different outlook on school and other possibilities in life? Would he have tried harder at school or maybe been more passionate about choosing a vocational training option that he enjoys, like his cousin? At such a young age, was he able to fully understand the implications of his choice to be a full-time herder and forgo other opportunities and options for his adult life?

■ *Prism wall eight: Herding as an indigenous achievement in the modern reality but with a catch* ■

Being part of the herding reality has one of the biggest influences on young children from herding families, as they always know that whatever happens with their lives in the modern society they live in outside their family and traditional Sámi social system, they can always decide to stay with their internal indigenous roots. This ability to celebrate, cherish and practice your indigenous livelihood and cultural affiliation with your ancestors and still be able to survive in the modern reality is definitely a great achievement in the world of indigenous rights activism and must be applauded as a milestone in the political system of Scandinavian countries. On top of that, the hard work, persistence and perseverance of indigenous people in their fight for their rights in general and specifically for their right to a traditional livelihood should also be celebrated as an even greater achievement in terms of their success at preserving their culture, traditions and ancestral practices. However, there are a certain number of limitations in the indigenous practice of herding that are still present despite all the achievements done for and by the Sámi. The possibility to continue herding even in the current uncertainties of modern living is a great accomplishment, but also an obligation for some based on historical and traditional factors, which in a sense makes it a possible burden in disguise. Herding offers much in terms of personal fulfilment, connectedness to nature, continuity of character and overall great enjoyment for many who prefer the free spirited reality of herding compared to the constraints of modern life. Nevertheless, herding also comes with disadvantages in term of a lack of profitability, the large amount of hard, physically demanding and mentally exhausting work connected to it and to a certain extent the problem of isolation, all aspects of this traditional livelihood that might not appeal to many of the Sámi within the herding community. So when parents exert their conscious and subconscious influence on the younger generation by enticing them with the fun activities children can take part in when they are introduced to herding, like earmarking the reindeer and at times even days spent away from school, children will create this positive connection with the notion of herding that might not present the full story of the reality. The younger son from the secondary family would always speak fondly about his time with his herd and proudly show off on social media that he is a herder. For him, this seems to be his calling in life for now, but the future seems uncertain because he is still quite young, does not have a family of his own yet and still lives in his parents' house. The path into husbandry for younger people is a type of escape from the competitive ways and possibly some of the burdens of modern society, but an escape that brings them into the even more competitive world of reindeer herding and complicated family relationships within the herding communities.

■ *Prism wall eight: Traditional livelihood's hardships* ■

Husbandry comes with many obligations, hardships and loneliness. Even though it is a social trade subject to Siidas and Siida shares, most of the work that herders have to do during the year is very lonely. On a day to day or weekly basis, herders have to go on their own or with people from their Siida to check up on the herds, which means traveling big distances in the mountains on snowmobiles or quadbikes. This detaches them from the social life they might have in the area where they live. Being up in the mountains or in the field with the reindeer is described by many of the herders I worked with as 'a lonely affair' in both positive and negative ways. Most of the interaction you have will be with relatives, and that sometimes would not be that different from the areas where they usually live, which are generally scantly populated and very family-oriented. Even though herding as a trade becomes very intense at specific moments in the year, such as slaughter and calf marking, there are plenty of responsibilities connected to herding even in the quiet times of the year. Checking on the herd, monitoring the herd's migration routes and predators' actions, and even sometimes in harsher winters feeding the herd are all obligations that come with husbandry. This is work to be done alone during the calmer periods, but at the peak times of herding, such as slaughter and calf marking, the communal work can be overwhelming. All of the Siida gathers at specially designated places for these more intense activities, and work continues almost constantly for a week or two. It is a very hard livelihood not only physically but also mentally because of the constant pressure and stress connected with this kind of intense work and work-related environment. Somehow people cope and have learned to take it easy, be patient and brush off minor setbacks in order to preserve their overall composure during such an intense work period, but such hardships do affect their identity in terms of their satisfaction with life choices and the fulfilment of personal character. The loneliness, isolation and mental challenges connected to herding that affect individuals have an overall effect on their complex identity development. The hardship aspects of this traditional livelihood are an inseparable part of the herding wall of their identity and add a certain negativity to their overall complex prism. However, the herding wall also adds many positive aspects to their identity in terms of the personal satisfaction of following your indigenous roots, enjoyment of being in nature and overall connectedness to the Sámi reality.

- Older son, secondary family

A good example of how a young herder juggles more than one job at a time but still stays true to his husbandry tradition is the older son from the secondary family. He is in his mid-twenties and has also been helping out with the family herding since a young age. He decided to move away from his home in Nord-Trøndelag and to live hundreds of kilometres further north across the border in Sweden in order to work in one of the iron-ore mines and live with his girlfriend. Despite the move, he still has his reindeer within the family Siida and often comes back to take care of them. This means that he commutes almost every other week hundreds of kilometres by car in order to be able to keep his name on the Siida register and preserve his right to own reindeer. He also takes his days off from the mine in order to go work with the reindeer. This is both physically and mentally exhausting, and when I asked him why he does it he said:

For now, I am OK doing both jobs. It is hard work, but if I only worked with the reindeer I would not have much money to buy things. The mining job gives me much more money to buy fun stuff that everyone my age has, and the reindeer I herd because I like it. One day when I am older, I want to just work with reindeer because I like living there [in his home area in Norway] and being in the mountains.

He knows that if you decide to give up your reindeer but then change your mind later in life, it is almost impossible to go back to herding despite your family connections. It is well known within the community that many people who started herding based on their family rights to reindeer possession, but who could not take the physical exhaustion, the mental pressure and the lack of money connected to herding and gave up their herds, now cannot go back to this livelihood even if they express a strong willingness to do so. According to the law it is possible to do so, but in reality it does not happen often due to the social system and organisation of the Siida. The people from your Siida and the neighbouring Siidas would know that you have left and would not view it as acceptable for you to return, so they are usually the factor preventing people from returning to herding once they have quit. Under certain circumstances, it would not be totally impossible, yet still people do not want to take the risk of leaving unless they are extremely dissatisfied with herding and entirely convinced that they will never want to go back to it. For now, the oldest son from the secondary family is happy with his decision to have the job in the mine and to go back to his herd as often as he can. This not only provides him with more income, which he enjoys

spending on his hobbies and entertainment, it also allows him to live with his Swedish Sámi girlfriend. He told me that they tried living together in his home town in Norway, but the opportunities for jobs with better incomes for both of them were quite limited there, so they decided to go back to her home town in Sweden, which is much larger and provides more opportunities for a better income. After many conversations with both of them, I believe that their long-term plans for life together would be to have their own family and try to become full-time herders as much as possible because that is what they enjoy doing, but still if they need more money they would never shy away from having multiple jobs to provide better income.

■ *Prism wall eight: Livelihood passion as part of indigenous resurgence* ■

It is exactly this passion for husbandry that I noticed occurring within many of the young people I interacted with from herding families across Sápmi. In recent years, with all the Sámi movements that promote their culture, language and traditions, the emerging youth, who are just now deciding what to do with their adult lives, have a strong urge to embrace their Sámi background and enjoy the freedom to practice their traditional livelihood and undertake herding. They want to continue their indigenous livelihood and be as much involved with their roots as possible. There is definitely a resurgence of young Sámi across Sápmi who are becoming more and more involved, interested and willing to embrace their traditions, especially their traditional livelihoods. The past decade, particularly the past five to eight years, have seen many young Sámi speaking out, campaigning and fighting for their herding rights. With the help of social media and many other modern technological advances, it is much easier and faster to get their voices heard. Nowadays, Sámi youth from all over Sápmi, from the far south to the far north, participate and embrace their indigenous and herding rights. The scale of this resurgence is reaching new heights and the husbandry market is becoming so saturated that the entry point into becoming a herder is not always accessible to young Sámi without a strong historic family herding connection. This is why the ones who have already obtained entry into the herding business are doing all they can to stay within it and possibly sacrificing too much just so that they are not expelled from it. This proves their passion for herding, but it is also evidence that some young Sámi might be put in a situation where they are trapped between their duty as indigenous herding people and their free will as modern Norwegian or Swedish citizens. They are active participants in both their representation of

an indigenous group with a strong herding connection and of a modern Western society. Being an actor in both these ‘memberships’ can prove more difficult to deal with than expected. This is where their herding identity prism wall comes in play, and many young Sámi have a very strong connection to this part of their identity. However, many of them also have a very strong connection to the modern Scandinavian identity wall part of their prism, and in many ways these two walls often clash with each other while the young Sámi negotiate their overall, complex identity. To understand further how the traditional livelihood prism wall influences young reindeer herding Sámi, it was important for me to interact also with young Sámi who are not involved with herding and who come from families that traditionally have no immediate connection to reindeer in order to be able to understand better this passion for herding from a more neutral Sámi point of view.

-Non-herding Sámi reflections about herding

In this specific example, the cases of two Sámi families that I have closely interacted with over a prolonged period of time, who are traditionally not directly connected to herding, provide excellent information about what herding means to young Sámi who have no pressure to be involved in husbandry as a livelihood. The two families are connected because the mother from one is the sister of the father from the other, which makes the younger generation first cousins. The mother’s side of one of the families and her brother’s side of the other family originate via their maternal side from the same typical herding South Sámi surname for the area in Nord-Trøndelag, descendants of the same brother and sister from two hundred years ago, but unlike the herding families I discussed above, with these two families the herding link was severed many generations ago after various marriages to non-herding representatives, and their surname was changed to another typical South Sámi surname from the area usually not connected to herding. Both spouses come from non-herding North Sámi descent lines. This means that all the current young Sámi representatives of these two families, have no direct connection to herding. In total, there are five cousins, a brother and sister in one family and two brothers and a sister from the other. In the first family, the son is in his late twenties and the daughter in her early twenties, while in the second family the two sons are in their mid-twenties and the sister in her early thirties. They have never been officially connected to herding, and under the current herding laws, they are ineligible to practice herding, making them non-herding Sámi. This means that there is no pressure on them at

all to pursue husbandry, and the only way they could ever become a part of a Siida officially would be to marry into a herding family. After interacting with them, mostly with the son from the first family and his cousin, the younger son from the second family, I realised that they are as proud of their Sámi roots as any of the other herding youth. They also go to many Sámi events, have their traditional clothing and are friends with many of the herding and non-herding Sámi in the area. At various times in their lives they have been involved with herding with their herding cousins, so they are aware of how it all happens, the hard work and the many joys and troubles of herders. One of them has expressed his views on herding many times. Here are a few quotes from casual conversations we have had, some of which have been reconstructed based on notes taken during or after some of our conversations. All of the quotes and the reconstructed quotes preserve the original meaning of the dialogues they were taken from:

MP (Me): Why do you think that now so many young Sámi from herding backgrounds want to become herders?
NH (Non-Herder): It is all driven by emotion, it is irrational.
MP: What do you mean?
NH: I know many young herders, and I am related to many of them too. They are conditioned to like the industry of husbandry. Since they were little they have been involved and made to believe this is the best lifestyle, but everyone knows there isn't any money in the business and it is really hard work. It is all an emotional decision and it is not rational at all.
MP: Are you just saying this because you know that you can never be a herder yourself unless you marry into it?
NH: No, I really think this. I am not just bitter. I have been involved in it [herding] many times with my relatives. I know what the work is, I know what the fun parts are and what the problems are, and I know how much my herding friends suffer from a lack of money. If it wasn't for the subsidies given by the government, there will be no herding, and even now with the subsidies, they are not enough for a normal living. Being a full-time herder is almost impossible financially, you need a side job as well.
MP: If you had the opportunity to herd, would you do it?
NH: No. I would not choose to do it intentionally. Yes, I do like parts of the lifestyle of herders, being in the mountains, being amongst nature, having some sort of freedom, but no, I would not do it. It is not a financially safe option. It is not rational.

...

MP: Did you enjoy herding when you were little?
NH: Yes, it was fun. As a child when you go herding you have a lot of freedom. You get to spend time with family members, you get shown how to work with the reindeers. It is real fun. I enjoyed it, but of course it was hard work as well, but when you are a child the adults do not make you work too hard.
MP: When did you start having a more adult outlook on herding?
NH: It is when you are a teenager and you think about life choices, I started questioning herding. I was not as strongly connected to it as my other relatives. I was not pressured into doing it for a living. I was not so emotionally connected to herding, and this allowed me to see better that actually in terms of being a viable choice of employment, it would not be at all profitable.
MP: But people usually say their life choices are not based on how much money they will make but on what they enjoy doing...
NH: Yes, that is very true. I guess I was never as emotionally connected to herding to really consider it as the one thing I would love to do as a livelihood. But I still stand by my statement that

young Sámi do herding nowadays because of the emotional connection they have been made to have with herding. In some cases they know no better. I cannot judge them, everyone is free to choose what they want to do, but I personally would not herd for a living.

...

MP: Are you proud to be Sámi?
NH: Yes, of course.
MP: As much as your relatives who practise herding or other traditional aspects that you do not necessarily get involved with too much?
NH: Yes, even though I am not as active in some of the Sámi traditional aspects and events does not mean that I am not equally as proud to be Sámi. Being a proud Sámi has nothing to do with your life choices. It is a state of mind.

...

MP: What would make you want to do herding for a living?
NH: I do not think that at the current state of herding I would ever want to be involved in it full time, but I guess if we speak theoretically, a reconstruction of the profitability of husbandry could transform it into a lucrative opportunity. Now herders live much below the average national wage for Norway, close to the lowest levels for the whole country. Herding has the potential to be a great way to both allow indigenous people to practice their traditional livelihood and to be able to live at least at the average level of income of Norway if herding is slightly reconstructed. Husbandry should not just be seen as this indigenous livelihood but also as a modern business, and every modern business needs to have modern business solutions to keep it profitable. This has not been done with herding.

From many of our conversations with the son from the first non-herding family, I realised that because he is not tightly emotionally connected to herding, he is more able to speak openly and rationally about the joys and hardships of husbandry. Compared to the four cousins from the herding families, the cousins from the non-herding families were never emotionally connected to herding, and this lack of an emotional layer has prevented them from getting lost in what the idea of herding represents in terms of its symbolism. They are more clearly able to understand what herding is in terms of its literal and at times more rational meaning. The son from the second non-herding family has also spoken on many occasions what he thinks about herding. He also shares the views that herding is an extremely emotional, hard and challenging livelihood and that you really need to love the lifestyle in order to become primarily a herder. There are also perks from being a herder, but again even if he had the opportunity to be a herder, he would not choose that as a primary occupation based on what he has seen from herding relatives and the ways their reality within the herding community is constructed. He was involved in herding as a child, just like his cousin, and on top of that has even worked within the herding industry on the more operational side of meat handling. He has told me about the intense working hours of the time in the year for slaughter. It has proved to be more than overwhelming to butcher the massive number of reindeers that all come at the same time and all need to be processed in a fast and efficient way. However,

during the rest of the year when it is not time for slaughter, he cannot be employed by the butchering business because there is nothing to butcher, which makes his experience with herding extremely seasonal and does not provide him with a secure income. It is exactly the same with the herding Sámi: it is only at certain times of the year that you make money, and the rest you do not. Both cousins from the two non-herding families are devoid of a more emotional connection to herding and seem to be able to give a more rational description of husbandry without mentioning anything about the passion or feeling of being a herder. However, they are still proud members of the Sámi reality and preserve all the other Sámi prism walls that have been mentioned so far, such as their Sámi ritual representation, pride, social duty, connection to nature, seclusion, romance and cultural duty and activism.

5.3.3. The Meaning of Herding

Sámi herders and non-herders are both the holders of their own convictions about husbandry, and there is no right or wrong understanding of herding. I have purposefully insisted on being exposed to both sides in order represent both sides of the coin. One side really seems to be very emotionally driven but definitely not exclusively emotion-led, and the other side seems to lack some of the emotional layers but again, is not purely lacking in emotion. It is this representation of different opinions that is able to build the bigger picture of the development of reindeer husbandry nowadays. The non-herders have never had a strong passion for herding, but this does not make them any less Sámi or less involved in the general resurgence of Sámi traditions, culture and language. Their non-herding roots allow them to look at herding in a different way compared to herding Sámi, and it is exactly this detachment from husbandry that could provide them with a more objective mind about this livelihood. However, this does not make them more right or more wrong in their opinions, it just makes them more emotionally detached. The herders have always had strong, passionate relations with husbandry, which also gives them a different outlook on the industry, again not more right or more wrong than anybody else’s, and it is exactly this passion that keeps them going forward with this livelihood.

■ Prism wall eight: Herding as being and becoming ■

For different Sámi, herding represents various things, which can be enjoyable, unenjoyable and/or a mixture of both. Herding is a way of life, a passion, a part-time job, an emotional burden, a family tradition, an emotional representation of centuries of family history, an enjoyable lifestyle, a full-time job, a way to escape modern reality, a mentally and physically exhausting job, a way to represent indigenous pride, a way to fight for indigenous rights and a personally satisfying livelihood. Being a young herder does not necessarily mean that you have to commit to this being your primary occupation right away. Similarly, being a young herder does not mean that your identity is primarily a projection of the traditional livelihood prism wall. There is an opportunity for younger people to be involved in herding on a more casual basis, but as long as you have an ear mark and protect your place within the Siida, you can call yourself a herder. Exactly this mentality of 'I have more to gain than lose' in terms of being in a Siida and undertaking some effort and time with your herd is why an increasing number of young people prefer to preserve their place as herders. Due to the fact that there is no one way to view herding, the real question here would be why more and more young people from herding families from across Sápmi are now wanting to become involved in herding, mostly part-time, but some full-time as well?

One possible answer to this question could be the fact that, due to a combination of the revival of the Sámi traditions, culture and language in recent decades across Scandinavia, together with the elevated levels of global indigenous rights campaigns and the rise of social media, as well as greater accessibility to information, this has led to the creation of the perfect environment for young Sámi to feel safe and comfortable enough to practice their traditional livelihoods. After years of campaigns for better herding conditions, we have reached the place and time in history where subsidies significantly ease the husbandry business by providing credible financial possibilities that were just a distant dream in the past. These subsidies are a tangible way of representing the hope that so many Sámi have had in the past. This hope is that their countries will acknowledge them as meaningful members of society and as proud representatives of an indigenous group and provide them with the support they need in order to preserve their traditions. It is the parents and the grandparents of the current youth that have experienced some of the worst conditions for the Sámi during the early and middle decades of the last century. Many of them lost their language and their

traditions during those days, but now in the past couple of decades, with the rise of indigenous rights, there is a bright light at the end of the dark tunnel. So they would want their children to take advantage of this possibility as much as they can and encourage them to be Sámi and stand for what they as parents and grandparents could not do in earlier days. Having in mind the progression of modern history in the past few decades, now is definitely the time to be proudly, overtly and extensively Sámi by participating in as many Sámi opportunities as possible. There are still many hurdles and challenges, but compared to other times in the past century, the present is the best time to be openly indigenous and fight for what is rightfully yours. Herding is on the rise, young people are willing to sacrifice more than ever in order to be able to practice their traditional livelihoods, and their sacrifices are ultimately not in vain. It makes sense why the South Sámi herding brothers and cousins want to be involved in herding, some full-time, some part-time, and to show off the amount of passion they possess for this livelihood. All the cultural revival movements, the indigenous rights campaigns and the publicising of indigenous struggles have made people believe that the time for an actual change has come and that their sacrifices could lead to an even better future. Or at least this is what they want to believe. Whatever the truth is, the fact is that many young Sámi have this traditional livelihood prism wall as part of their overall identity, and the more they develop this wall, the more they are likely to feel, seek and further their involvement with herding. From a young age they are emotionally introduced to the livelihood, and throughout their childhood they are able to establish a certain relationship with herding, which later in their young adult lives has an impact on how they develop their overall identity as a Sámi representative.

7.3.2. The North Sápmi family from Finnmark

- Introduction to the area and family

The second main case study in terms of reindeer husbandry is from the very heart of where the majority of herding is conducted, the north of Sápmi. In many respects this case confirms numerous of the already observed specificities from the first case, but also provides an excellent opportunity for an identification of the contrasts between south and north Sámi herding issues. In this case study, I provide a more narrative elaboration of what exactly herding consists of and later contribute an analysis of the human aspect of this livelihood. This is slightly different from the way I

presented the first herding case study, but this discrepancy in methods allows a better and wider understanding of what herding really is and how it relates to the individual identity building of young Sámi.

This family is located in Finnmark, which, compared to Nord-Trøndelag, is considerably different geographically in terms of its natural area features and climate. An example of how much more different husbandry is in Finnmark, up in the very north of Norway, compared to the relatively southern area of Nord-Thrøndelag, is the fact that the amount and quality of the available food for the reindeer is much less in terms of grazing areas, climate and competition for territory. This means in the north, with the extreme temperatures and geographical features, reindeer have a harder time finding sufficient food because the husbandry market is already very saturated in those areas. Competition for husbandry resources in Finnmark is strong. As a proportion, there are many more herders in Finnmark compared to other places in Sápmi. Tensions are high between herders, who have to work within a limited grazing space and to make sure they keep their herd in check so that it does not graze in other people's lands. Herds are bigger in size but reindeer are smaller in weight due to lack of food. The competitive spirit of herding in Finnmark brings a certain amount of animosity, conflict and ruthlessness to the table that was not obviously present in the reality of the South Sámi husbandry in Nord-Trøndelag.

The family in Finnmark consists of two parents, two children, many relatives within their Siida and their reindeer herd. The woman I establish contact with is a reindeer-herding advisor in Karasjok at the main Norwegian Sámi Parliament building. She invited me to join her, her family and her Siida during a busy week of work with the herd when they were vaccinating the animals, separating some of the herds to get prepared for their winter pastures, and choosing which reindeer to send to the slaughter houses. The place where this specific herding endeavour happened was around sixty kilometres north of Alta, up a relatively inaccessible hill away from the main roads, where she, her two boys under the age of ten, her husband and at least another forty to fifty members from her Siida were staying in huts that they only occupy when working with the herd (refer to Appendix C for visual representations of the herding reality during this busy week of work with the reindeer).

The children seemed to be excited to be part of the herding reality. Learning by doing is one of the great things within the Sámi communities, especially when it comes to educating children, because people really stand by this. The two boys were allowed to make fire, wander around, be amongst the fast-moving herd, and drive quad-bikes. The parents did not seem to worried about letting their children be so free in such a manner at that young age. It is because they were in a type of controlled environment and were never too far away from a relative within the Siida. No matter what would happen to them while they were outside, there will always be someone to help them if they required assistance. This is part of the camaraderie of a Siida. People are incredibly closely knit within a Siida as a whole but are even closer to each other during these intense herding weeks. Children bond with their cousins, aunts and uncles, while everyone gets involved with herding. People share food, provisions, water, electricity and anything else one would need while undertaking the work. Everyone knows everything about everyone. The work with the herd continues for many hours during the day and even at night. As my hosts said: *"We work while there is work to do: no matter what time of the day it is, the work has to be done."* The more challenging work with the reindeer is done while there is daylight, as it requires people to be able to see their own reindeer amongst the herd. After sundown, there are plenty of other tasks to be done which can involve loading and unloading materials, taking care of perishable goods and preparing for the next day's work. It is usually a week of intense work every few months, the tasks depending on the time of the year and what needs to be done for the reindeer.

- Working with reindeer

Below I explain further what exactly our working days consisted of during this specific early autumn session. As it was the end of September, in the north parts of Sápmi this is the time to start preparing for the winter, and within this specific Siida, they were doing three things: separation, vaccination and slaughter. The first aspect of the work, the separation, meant that this Siida's herd had to be taken to a specific place where the work area is in order to execute a few tasks with the reindeer before they are directed to their winter pastures. This area is on top of a hill and within the pasture areas for the reindeer. The Siida's herds had to be directed to this area because of the important sun-like wooden structure that exists there. This is a type of a large pen, with a circular core and multiple entrance and exit pen areas resembling rays. The middle of the pen, the main

area, is a circle surrounded by wooden fencing with a diameter of no more than fifteen to twenty metres. This is where the main work is done. In order to get the reindeer to the core, they first have to be herded to one of the side ray-resembling pens that has an entry point to the core. The reindeer are herded to one of the side pens with the help of quad-bikes, helicopters and other people on the ground, and this usually happens a few days earlier or along the way during the working week. Once the herd is in the side pen, then a few people from the Siida will enter this pen and with the help of a large, long, rectangular sheet held by some of them, they would separate and direct parts of the herd into the core by making noises and surrounding them with the sheet. Depending on how successful the people are with the sheet, they ultimately want to direct enough reindeer into the core pen so the main working area is neither too full nor too empty. On average for this core pen, around forty to sixty reindeer was a good number, which allowed the herders to have enough space to conduct their work efficiently. When the section of reindeer are in the core area, all the entrance and exit points must be closed off so that the reindeer stay in this pen. In the main pen, people from the Siida take care of their own reindeer by recognising them based on their ear marks. The second and third tasks are now carried out, namely the vacation and the decision of which animals to slaughter. Each family looks out for its own reindeer and decide which one they will send to be slaughtered, and the rest they vaccinate and mark with a bright animal spray. The animals they decide to slaughter are then taken out of the circular main pen into a different side pen. The vaccinated reindeer are released into another side pen and are later be directed with the rest of the processed herd into their winter pastures. It is important to note that the vaccinated reindeer are purposefully marked with a spray in case they get mixed up with the reindeer separated for slaughter, as the meat of the vaccinated animals is not suitable for human consumption for at least a few months. So this means that there is one core circular pen and at least four or five side pens, each of the latter holding reindeer destined for a different place. In this case, one of the side pens held reindeer which have mistakenly become part of this Siida's herd but are actually part of another herd. They were temporarily held there and later on returned either to the area of the other Siida depending on how far it is or members of the other Siida were called to come and take care of them.

This very simple but ingenious system of pens to process the herd and to carry out specific tasks with the animals seemed to work rather efficiently. At other times of the year, the same sun-like pen

conglomerate would be used to process reindeer during the marking season and other slaughter months. On occasions during this working session in September, a few of the most dominant male reindeer were castrated and their antlers were cut down. This is done to prevent the herd from becoming inbred and allows some of the other, less dominant male reindeer to inseminate more female reindeer. Also, a few of the calves that might not have been ear marked during the previous months would be marked now. People would still be able to recognise which their mother is because they usually still stick to her side and, depending on who the mother belongs to, the calf belongs to that person too. The work in the central pen requires much stamina, both mentally and physically. As the reindeer are ushered into the central pen, they quickly start running in a circle, which is a result of the fact that they instinctively follow their fellow animals. Each follows the other, and as there is nowhere else to go, they keep spinning in a circle. They do that in the other pens too, so it is not related to the circular shape of the core pen, but as a whole this is their behaviour when they are faced with an enclosed space such as a pen. The core pen resembles a bullring: people wait inside the pen by the fence for the reindeer to come in, and once they are in they begin their quest to recognise which reindeer is theirs. When a person sees one of their reindeer, based on the ear mark, then that person has to confidently walk into the fast-moving circle of running reindeer and try and grab it. This part is rather dangerous. Usually the reindeer will go around you even if you are inside their running circle and will not push you down, as they are scared of people, but some of the bigger animals with their large antlers do not always go around, and some of the other reindeer are just so fixed on following the reindeer in front that they do not see you. You can easily fall down, and once you are down you can get trampled by the animals. Despite all the risk of working with fast-moving, large animals with sizeable antlers, children were allowed inside the core pen and were confidently helping out their parents. The concept that I have been told so many times in Sápmi of ‘learning by doing’ was visible once again. There were children as young as three or four years old inside the core pen. Obviously their parents were very aware of the possible danger, but this did not stop them from showing their children how the work is done and definitely involving them in the process. The tasks done inside the main pen were not only very physical but also mentally exhausting. People would be there for hours at a time, in the mud, surrounded by fast-moving animals at temperatures that are usually below freezing. The herders have to use brute force to keep the animal from moving after they grab it in order to vaccinate it or to check if it is theirs. Then, after they have decided what they will do with the animal, they will have to move it

to the right side pen, which also requires strength. Both men and women work side by side, and the herders as a community are definitely very open-minded and respect everyone who works hard, no matter what their gender. After a few hours of working in the main pen, you feel drained from being in this very physical and interactive environment.

■ *Prism wall eight: Physical and mental exhaustion as part of herder's identity* ■

This exact mixture of physical and mental exhaustion is what makes herding a challenging endeavour. The Siida as a group must decide when to take a rest. This sometimes means that you are stuck in the main pen processing the reindeer without a break for much longer than you would want because if you leave the pen and the work keeps going, you will miss the opportunity to sort out your own reindeer. Even during the breaks, there are still issues to be sorted, and the close proximity that you have to spend with all your relatives from the Siida sometimes gets too much. One aspect that you cannot escape while working with the Siida is the pressure, interest and inquisitiveness of people that want to know everything that is happening within your personal life. As everyone in the Siida is related in one way or another, there is definitely no room for romantic relationships building up while there, but there is plenty of time for your relatives to be interested in what is going on in your life outside the Siida. This can become rather intrusive at times, and bearing in mind there is a lot of work to do with the Siida throughout the year, it can also feel repetitive and uncomfortable for those who might prefer a more private life. This sort of family gathering, which is also part of your working life as a herder, abolishes any boundaries that people might usually be able to keep in other livelihoods where they separate their personal, private life from their work-related social life. In a way, this closeness that has been established in the Siida reality is an important part of the survival of Sámi herding and provides a lot of socialising opportunities that people of all ages cherish, but it can also be a daunting experience for some. In general, many of the Sámi adults in the herding realities I have been exposed to are outspoken people, not intimidated to ask uncomfortable questions, and maybe this is one reason why herding still exists. They say what they think straight out and understand that for herding to continue they do need to be persistent in involving the young Sámi from the herding families and keeping them within the livelihood. Working within the Siida encompassed a lot of exhausting physical work out in the elements, but it also exhausts you mentally in terms of the interactions and socialising involved.

The Sámi have centuries worth of experience with this sort of reality, and even though they are subjected to types of stress, anxiety and community-based pressure, they also know that outside the times people gather for the herding work, many people actually live very isolated and lonely realities scattered in villages around a vast area. So in a sense, this intense socialisation is a necessity to fill the gaps in the rest of the year, which is usually a much more lonely experience. Just like the Sámi social events, the Siida's weeks working together is the time to really get to know what is going on in people's lives and keep the community united.

On the one hand, during their work within the Siida people are never alone, but on the other hand, some of them are very lonely in general. Many young Sámi enjoy spending time with their cousins and more distant relatives while they are working with their families and the reindeer but for the rest of the year they might feel disconnected and lonely based on their day to day realities. General loneliness is also a reality for some of the slightly older herders, who might not have been as successful at building a family as some of their peers. They are in this limbo, where they are still young at heart but are not of an age where they would find it comfortable to mingle with the young Sámi who frequent the other Sámi social events. This means that many of the herders who were not successful at starting a family while they were younger would now be left slightly disappointed and lonely. Together with the exhausting work they have to do while herding and dealing with various challenges throughout the days of intense labour, sometimes this herding reality becomes too much to handle. When you have so many issues to think about and then you are surrounded by relatives who keep on nudging you about why you are still single and interrogating you about all your life choices, herding becomes a real mental burden. If you decide to spare yourself some of the mental exhaustion by not interacting so much with your relatives, then people start being offended.

A more joyful experience is when younger families with children get involved with the Siida's work. All members of the Siida are usually very attentive and cater for younger families. The children bring joy to the older generations and also to their parents, and as such the parents want to present their children with the best version of herding, with loads of fun activities but also some work. This is a great opportunity for young families to bond together, and despite all the hard work involved, they still find the experience rewarding when they see their children enjoying themselves.

All in all, herding at busy times for the Siida is a give and take process of complex patterns of interaction combined with hard physical work, and the reality of working with relatives can sometimes become too much to handle for some people. This is all encapsulated in the traditional livelihood prism wall of many young Sámi and has truly become part of their identity.

- Working with reindeer continues

To continue with my observations of the working day, after the Siida has decided that they have done enough work done in the main pen, usually once it gets dark and people can no longer safely conduct their tasks there, they have some free time to get some food in their own huts. Yet again, you are never left alone, as there will always be a relative who will come over for dinner, a cup of coffee or just for a little chat. Even after dinner, the work never ends. The mother of my host family had to go out again in order to load the already sorted reindeer from one of the side pens that are going to the slaughterhouse on to a truck. It was already nine o'clock in the evening, and the father had the task of getting the children ready for bed, clearing up after dinner and possibly helping with some of their homework. It is important to mention that this was a school week, but the children were excused from school on the basis that it is their indigenous right to follow their traditional livelihood and learn from their parents how to herd reindeer. They would not be penalised for missing school during that week, but they still had to catch up with the other children. As every Siida agrees their own time for doing the work, children in that area are expected to be off school at different times for the purpose of herding, which is seen as a learning experience, but still the national curriculum has to be followed. In that particular part of Finnmark, most Sámi children go to Sámi schools where all subjects are taught in Sámi. Their first language would be Sámi, and some of them do not even get to learn written Norwegian before they start learning it at school as a second language. But this is more the exception than the rule for Sámi children. The children in this family have had all of their education so far in North Sámi, and that is the language they speak in their family, with the occasional switch to Norwegian. They understand Norwegian well given that most of the TV programmes, games, kids' shows and comic books are in Norwegian. There was a definite preference to speak mostly Sámi to their father and a mixture of Sámi and Norwegian to their mother, but the fact that they go to Sámi school makes them much more likely to speak Sámi with their peers openly and freely compared to what South Sámi children would do, given that in

the south of Sápmi it is not common to go to Sámi schools, which are not easily accessible. After a quick look at their homework, the children were ready to go to bed while their mother was still working outside. It was past midnight when she came back. The following morning, all the same tasks had to be done with a new batch of reindeer.

Overall, being a herder is definitely not an easy job, but people are passionate about continuing their traditional livelihood despite all the hurdles. The majority of herders cannot sustain their families only from herding despite it taking so much of their time and effort. Many of the herders have other full-time jobs too, and in this case, the woman has an office job in the Sámi parliament. This means that she has to take time off work in order to tend to the reindeer. With the children, it is easy to have them out of school for a week to fulfil cultural obligations, but in the adult reality there is no such excuse. The woman told me that she had taken some of her holiday in order to be here with the reindeer now. She joked about how this was not really Greece or the south of France and she would prefer to spend her holidays lounging on a beach, but the reality is that she had to exhaust herself even more during this herding week than during her normal office job. Nevertheless, she also said that she would still prefer to have her reindeer and would not give up herding just so that she can go on holiday abroad. It means much more to her, to her husband and to her children to be together with their Siida, despite all the ups and downs, to look after their reindeer and to make sure her children have this valuable opportunity to experience Sámi traditions. She said that whatever her children choose and whether or not they decide to continue herding, she would at least know that as proud Sámi parents, they have exposed their children to all things Sámi and have transferred the knowledge they have about what it means to be a herder. From then on the children are free to choose what they want to do as they go through life, but they should always know that herding is definitely an option that requires a lot of commitment but has a lot of rewards too. She continued to explain passionately that as long as her children put a bit of effort into herding while they grow up, they will be able to keep their position in the Siida, but they should also know that if they decide to quit herding, it is very hard to get back into the Siida. This led me to think much about what kinds of pressure there are for children of such young age.

■ *Prism wall eight - Children and young people in a herding reality* ■

From what I have experienced, the parents do not confront their children directly about the importance of herding and do not say that they must do it when they grow up, but whatever is not said upfront is definitely implied through actions and solidified through experiences. Just as the South Sámi family has introduced their now grown-up children to herding through years of exposure, the children in this family are currently in this very impressionable stage in their life when they are building up their character and their likes and dislikes. The parents try their best to show them the true face of herding, with all the hard work involved and all the sacrifices. But whether the children understand that is impossible to grasp. They are only able to see mostly the fun part of herding. They are allowed to roam freely outside, drive quad-bikes and dirt bikes, play with their cousins from the Siida, build fires and also work with the reindeer. As they are children, they are not expected to spend all day in the main pen helping out, so they are free to join in whenever their parents call them over. If the children do not want to participate on a certain day, they are allowed to stay behind in the hut as long as there is someone to watch over them there, which is never a problem within the Siida. For them this week of intense herding is actually a week out of school filled with interactive activities outside. They get to bond with their family and Siida, and to interact with the reindeer and learn new skills, this being a good way to learn about their culture and traditions through measured exposure. Both children seemed to be having a very enjoyable time during this herding week. But once they start growing up, they will begin to understand what lies on the line in terms of their family's herd. They will be faced with the reality that when their parents are no longer able to look after the reindeer by themselves, they will need their children's help. They will also realise that if they are not there to help when they are needed they will inevitably be excluded from the Siida, and that once they lose their position, it is almost impossible to get it back. This leads to the children being probably in their teens when they acquire a mixture of on the one hand very fond memories of their herding days spent with the family, and on the other the reality of what they want to do with their lives, which might not always fit in with the herding duties they have so far very much enjoyed. Here, it comes down to precisely what the non-herding informant talked about, the choice between making an emotional or rational decision: according to him, most herding comes from emotion-led decisions.

In a sense, these important decisions young people take are informed by what has been deeply and progressively engraved into their Sámi identity, namely their very interactional, personal and highly emotion-oriented prism wall of their identity connected to herding. At the point of decision making connected to herding, young Sámi have to engage in a certain amount of self-reflection, self-understanding and negotiation of what they believe their identity is at that moment in time. Do they see themselves mostly through their herding prism wall? Are they ready to commit to this part of their identity to become a rather large projection of their overall identity prism? Has this continuous and persistent involvement within the Sámi herding reality really had such an immense projection onto their own prism that they now see it as an inseparable part of what they believe the future holds for them?

Personal self-continuity, emotions and self-perception do play an important role in the herding industry. Nowadays, more and more is being achieved for indigenous people and their traditional livelihoods nationally and internationally, and it seems that channelling your identity and emotions into the pursuit of herding is a stand for what your Sámi indigenous self represents in the striving to continue the centuries-long tradition of reindeer husbandry. There is inevitably a lot of emotion when it comes to preserving cultural heritage and continuing a tradition, but these are also not just blind emotions but are backed up by the rational struggle for indigenous people's rights and protection. There will always be some form of pressure, whether intentional or not, from every parent to induce their children to follow in their footsteps. The question here is how this pressure is exerted and whether it harms or limits the life choices and identity development of Sámi children from strong reindeer-herding backgrounds.

5.4. REINDEER HUSBANDRY AS A CONSTANT

5.4.1. Herding as a Balance Between Connecting and Disconnecting With the Indigenous

In all of the above-mentioned cases and other casual contact with young Sámi herders that I have been exposed to, I conclude that there is definitely some parental and communal pressure on them, both intentional and unintentional, to continue husbandry, which also plays a certain role in establishing young people's herding prism wall as a notable part of their identity. However,

emotions aside, historically speaking this is the best time for young people from across Sápmi to pursue reindeer herding in its social, economic, legal, environmental and cultural aspects. Nowadays, young Sámi adults come from herding families have the opportunity to continue their traditional livelihood with the financial, political and social assistance of the governments of the countries they live in, which is a monumental achievement for the recognition of indigenous rights. The governments of Sweden and Norway have reached a great milestone in the past decade where adequate support is provided to herders across Sápmi in order for them to be able to practice their traditions. Hope might have kept herders in the past from entirely abandoning their traditions, but now their hope has transformed into concrete actions, they are more than happy to encourage the next generation of herders to continue with husbandry. This should not be seen as a limitation for the young prospective herders but as an opportunity. The pressure of the parents is there, but is it not what all parents do in order to stimulate and encourage their children to find what is best for their path towards adulthood. At times it is true that they have no other option but to help their parents and their Siida out at the very busy herding times, which is when they are pushed into herding. However, as with any chores that children and young people are set by their parents, herding can be seen just as a task they have to do to help out their family. It is just part of who they are and what their family represents, but it is not the only option in their life.

5.4.2. Livelihood is Not All That Their is to a Person

Another point to consider is the fact that because indigenous right campaigns and actions have achieved much in the past decade, now herding Sámi are much freer to combine their modern lives with their traditional duties without the fear of being discriminated against or threatened. As Sápmi is mostly comprised of rural areas, with some excellent infrastructure that allows people to never be too far away from a relatively big city, people can choose to have a modern occupation and still have the opportunity to herd and be part of a Siida. It is exactly this combination that is the modern way of the Sámi following their traditional lifestyle of having seasonal tasks and occupations just like their ancestors. They know how to handle different occupations at the same time, depending on the season. Many times during various conversations with multiple Sámi people all over Sápmi, I have come across the concept of what the word ‘career' means to them. It is not always as clear cut as some of the modern western ideas of a career. The Sámi manage to

compartmentalise both their modern and their traditional realities very well by creating this concept of a mixed career. Yes, some of them are lawyers, some of them are academics, some of them are bankers, IT specialists and office workers, and some of them are carpenters, but that does not mean that this is their defining and finite career description. For many, their career is a mixture of occupations collected under their main pride of being Sámi. The focus of the word “career” for many Sámi is the fact that they are Sámi, and they prefer their identity to be their defining aspect of themselves, rather than just being defined by an occupational choice. Some of the people I spoke to do not believe in such a narrow idea of a career. One particular Sámi person in Sweden said:

For us [the Sámi], there is no such thing as a career. I am many things, and I am not only defined by one job. You could say I am a builder, but that does not define me and that is not my career. I spend a few months of the year mainly building houses, but in between I do many other things. In the summer I hunt, I fish, I pick mushrooms, berries and herbs and take care of my reindeer. In the winter, I can do more house-oriented work, I do traditional crafts, I dry food and make sure the reindeer do not starve if it is an icy winter. But I can also be very busy with building houses and be on a project for many months. My lifestyle is very typical of many Sámi, and that is why we do not like being categorised by careers.

I encountered various people sharing this broader concept of a career which is not defined by your main occupation based on the fact that many Sámi have multiple occupations. It is exactly this mixture of combining modern jobs with traditional livelihoods that captures the best representation of a contemporary Sámi person. It is well accepted that one can be both a modern member of society and a proud representative of one’s Sámi background. It is all about surviving in the best way possible, but still making sure that you keep true to your traditions. Nowadays, this concept of being both modern and traditional proves to be much easier to accomplish and more widely acceptable. This is why many of the young people who have the opportunity to continue herding are not willing to give it up entirely. They go to extreme lengths to make sure that they get the best of modern living, but without endangering their place within their traditional circles. Just like the older son from the secondary family in Nord-Trøngelag, he tries to get the best of both worlds and is not willing to give up on his herd and his traditional aspects, despite his desire to afford modern pleasures because he believes that happiness comes from various places.

5.4.3. Herding As an Identity Projection That is a Viable Way Forward

Young people definitely see the long-term potential of staying within the herding industry, and this is another reason why they are happy to continue their membership of their Siida and to continue to develop their herding prism wall. Young Sámi nowadays have more to gain than to lose if they stay part of their Siida, even if they decide only to herd reindeer on occasion and not have husbandry as their main occupation. It is all about continuing one of their traditions and by doing so people are empowered. Young people's herding prism walls are highly influenced by their communal and family-based experiences, but also very much affected by the individual self-understanding of what they imagine their future to be. Nonetheless, while the Sámi are younger and more impressionable in terms of the absorption of projections from their lives, the time comes when they have to make a conscious decision if they see their identity as mostly connected to herding. Their herding prism wall might be very prominent at representing their overall identity at specific moments in time, but as with any other of the prism walls, human identity is multifaceted and in a state of constant flux, so what one projects are their identity today might be different from what they project tomorrow. Young people understand that there is change and uncertainties within their selves, and as such many decide to postpone taking a final decision on their livelihood involvement with reindeer. Equally, even if a decision is made, this does not mean that this will be a final decision forever. In this modern reality of general uncertainties presented to many young people, it is understandable that many Sámi prefer to have this herding prism wall as part of their overall identity in order to create enough variability to their self to be better prepared to face life's uncertainties in the 21st century.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.1. IDENTITY AND THE IDENTITY PRISM: WHAT DOES IT ALL MEAN?

After many years of research within the Sámi social context and countless interactions with people from all ages who are part of the proud overarching Sámi community within Sápmi, the endeavour to understand, describe, analyse and conceptualise the complex, dynamic and multifaceted Sámi identity has prompted me to propose a new way of understanding our identities through the lens of the identity prism and its interactive functions with life and social systems. All of us can be conceptualised as individual prismatic agents within the broader meaning of social interactions and shared environments. The human self as comprehended through the prism is able to stand its ground, and by means of various reflexive processes, interactional efforts and the search for self-continuity, it succeeds in establishing a coherent, logical and ubiquitous awareness of itself that has an influence not only on itself but also on others. The prism as a superordinate unit of understanding the self offers an in depth exposition of the anthropological meaning of the individual identity as created by both the private thought of the self and the social meaning of the shared environments in a dynamic system of interactions, exchanges and self-reflections.

It is often mentioned in various social studies that people's individual identity cannot exist without their social identity and vice versa, yet when it comes to anthropology there is a predominant interest in arriving at a coherent understanding of community meaning. I suggest that this anthropological era of communal identity has reached its end and that the time to open the conversation out into a larger systematic interpretation of the interdependence, relationality and negotiation of nature and nurture has arrived. In this sense, nature is represented by parts of the private self, and nurture is represented by social meaning and human existence in its contextual significance. The prism as a superordinate unit of self is able, through its own understanding, to process, consider and organise the projections of other prisms and life as represented by numerous situational circumstances while at the same time also engaging in projecting its own meaning to others and in certain situations back to itself. The prism is a relational entity, and as such it creates meaning through interactions at various levels by processing influences through its own substance. The prism can create, project, develop and comprehend itself both from the inside

out and from the outside in. The prism continues to be dynamic and in constant flux for the duration of human existence, and as such it seeks continuity through self-reflexivity, personal perceptions of satisfaction, completeness and content, as well as social participation in the given circumstantial time and space. The dynamic aspect of the prism accounts for the possible reconfigurations of the self that might occur during a person's lifetime. It is finely balanced between seeking continuity and the ability to create new meaning within the relational understanding and self-reflection of who one is as a person in different situational contexts and various age-related mindsets. Relationality and reconfiguration are key aspects within the comprehension of the dynamic prismatic self.

The prism is always multifaceted, and as such it is not afraid to engage in oppositional, confrontational and antagonising interactions with itself while negotiating its meaning within various contextual situations inside the self and outside into the social reality. The prism exists as a representation of the comprehension of the multifaceted self with numerous simultaneously interrelated aspects, which acknowledges that relatedness does not mean equality in expression nor equilibrium in understanding or representation. As the superordinate unit of conceptualising the self, the prism legitimises itself according to the influences of the internal self as presented within the social contexts of interactions, yet it preserves a certain amount of continuity so as not to become detached from the existing and continuously created personal meaning. This functionality of the prism contributes to the development, use and management of multiple ethnic identities and the negotiation of diverse identities within similar social contexts and addresses the possible identity changes at different stages in life. The prism is managed by the conscious, preconscious and subconscious personal meaning created by the self for the self, yet influenced by the self and the others. The prism offers a personal structure which is inseparable from the meaning of social realities. As such, anthropological thought can start being more inquisitive of this personal structure of the self as part of the larger framework of ethnic identity interpretation and awareness. The superordinate unit of understanding the self, the prism, is seen as creating and being created by the social meaning.

The prism does not dwell on nor preoccupies itself with differences and binary dichotomies. It has moved away from this two-dimensional understanding of sameness and difference into the three-dimensional idea of the self through multifaceted projections, the relational creation of meaning,

self-reflexivity, reconfiguration and agency, all within the contested reality of power hierarchies. One prism is not to be the same as or different than another but is said to be in the process of creating contextual relational multiplicity within the self-reflexive meaning of agency which develops cultural validity within the greater power-hungry social order. The identity prism is able to capture and represent the multiplicity of human life as a continuous process, which starts in the self and creates and is created by social meaning.

The contextual relational nature of the identity prism, not only applied towards the other but also with a variety of factors present in human life, creates cultural meaning, which in turns establishes stronger bonds within an ethnic understanding. The prism as an understanding of the self can also exist outside a contextual comprehension as much as to be seen as a theoretical representation of the grandiose meaning of the notion of self, in order to gain a certain amount of universality. The prism is a necessary mediator of the private and shared meaning in the way it contributes to culture creation, construct and fulfilment. When discussing a group of prisms in a multiplicity surrounded by the symbolic representations of life, the prisms together create culture in a prismatic system of existence. The prismatic system is a layered interactional arrangement of prisms, communities and external factors in which individual identity prisms exist, develop and cooperate in order to create culture, meaning and understanding of life. Creating culture as part of the prismatic system's process of development of the self and the other is connected to the pursuit of belonging, recognition and relational affinity. Individually prisms construct and convey meaning for themselves and others, yet together within the prismatic system they conduct, manage and transmit culture through each other.

The agency of the identity prism is generally trapped within the broader notion of external hierarchies of power. As such, identity development, recognition and verification historically started as a trap created by centralised power in order to perpetuate the existing status quo of institutional power distribution. However, what began as a trap was transformed into an organisational tool of empowerment, the decentralisation of power and the disruption of normality. The ability to create shared meaning, significant interactional substance and interconnectedness amongst various prisms existing at multiple levels of social structures configures and transfers single agency into the complex formation of a power-disturbing and decentralising compound mechanism. The

prism's ability to create meaning within a shared environment and challenge the contextual nature of power distribution in social life gives the prism's agency a new way of configuring individual agency into power. This new compound power of the prism still exists within the reality of the external institutional power hierarchies, yet what it lacks in independence it makes up for in its ability to play and succeed in the game of contesting power away from mainstream rule. This can be understood as a great success for the agency of the self together with the other as a moving force of shared power, but with power comes responsibility, the establishment of a new order and the negotiation of practices that require a comprehensive look into the future shared prism reality. This means that in order to continue being successful in the decentralisation of power, the collective meaning of the prism should maintain its formation, progression and strength even after it achieves its initial goal of disturbing the unfair reality and needs to evolve and grow towards a more universal dependability. Often this next step, after the disruption of power has occurred and a new order is required, proves to be most difficult to achieve for the collective prism-owned power. At times humans hide behind the ideological notion of disruption of power as a way of empowering personal agency, yet they are not aware or do not necessarily want to admit that this disruption does not always equate with the disruption of the deeply engrained organisational meaning of contextual social structures. As part of the overall power hierarchy, the prismatic understanding of the self and the other proposes a way of perception of the modern, multicultural, globalised reality.

Figure 6.1. Identity Prism

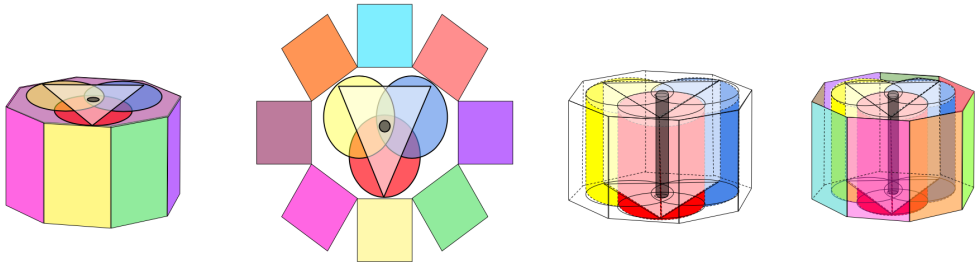


Figure 6.2. Prism Walls

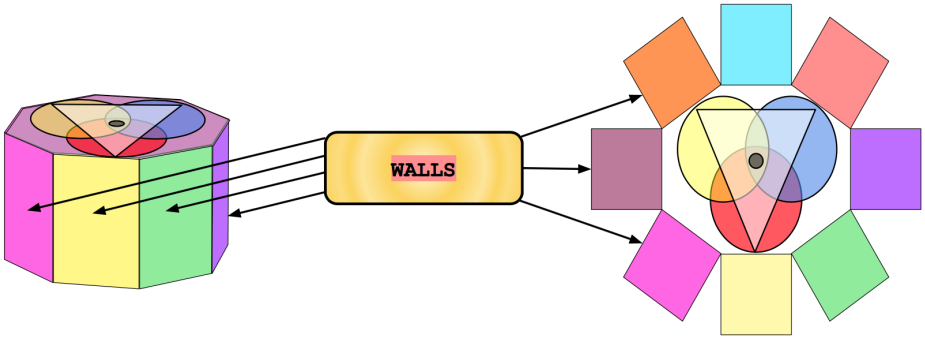


Figure 6.3. Prism Bases and Inside

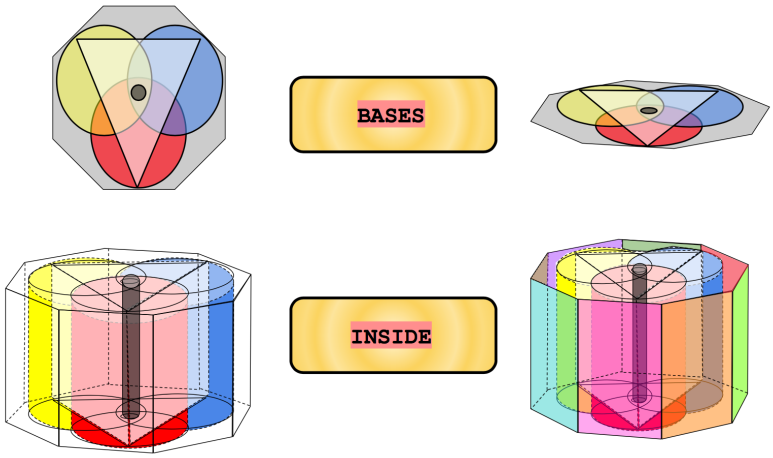


Figure 6.4. Basic Prism Interaction

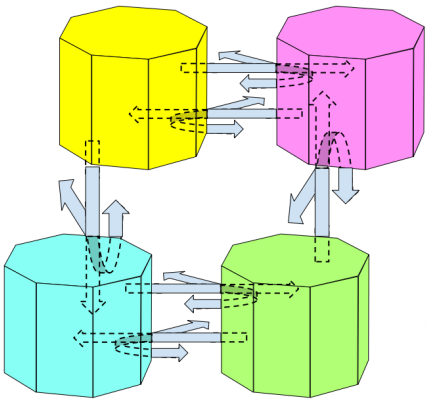


Figure 6.5. Small Group Interaction

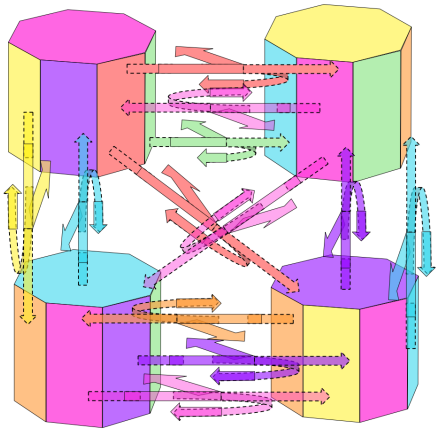
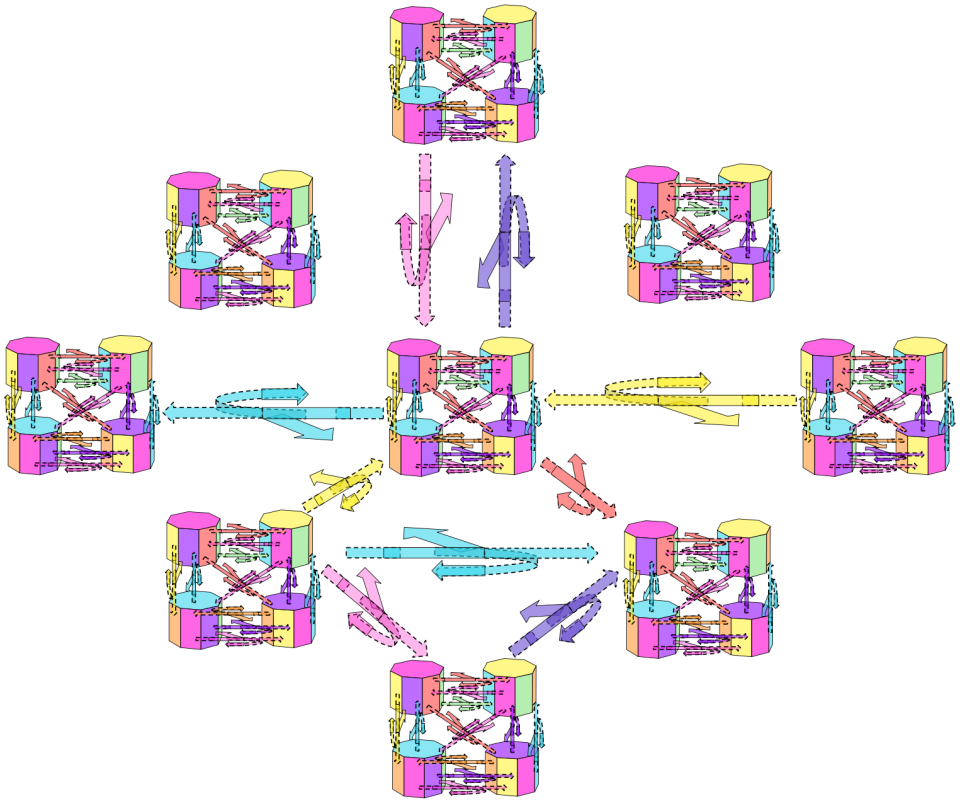


Figure 6.6. Large-scale Inter-group/communal Interaction



6.2. THE YOUNG SÁMI IDENTITY PRISM IN CONVERSATION

From the observed Sámi indigenous population within the scope of this research, the Sámi youth identity has been conceptualised to represent a variety of contextual multifaceted projections within the relational creation of meaning as part of the shared reality of self-reflexive agency that creates and is created by social, cultural and personal validity. The prism as a universal, superordinate and ubiquitous unit of understanding the self proposes a way forward for the anthropological study of identity by focusing on the self as constituted and constitutor of shared environments and culture. In this thesis the choice of exploring the identity creation, development and progression of young Sámi has allowed the prism to be showcased as a versatile vessel of meaning during the years when humans are experiencing the most obvious, fast-paced and significant amount of identity construction, as noted by several theorists within social sciences. However, the capabilities of the prism allow it to explore the construct, development and reconfiguration of identity in any human age, with the idea that past the young adult stage of life, people are less likely to significantly alter their identity, although drastic change can still occur right up until death, depending on circumstantial and contextual meanings.

The identity prism that has progressively been developed within this study is the result of my predominant use of participant observation together with more personal, communal interviews with a wider group of young Sámi from Norway and Sweden at a certain span of time within a few years in the late period of the 2010s. The data acknowledges its contextual and circumstantial manner, as does the developed identity prism. Regarding the idea of the prism, identities are very much contextual and a product of time, space and circumstantial meaning. The young Sámi identity prism that has emerged here is a core version of the endless possibilities of permutations, variations, multiplicity and multifacetedness of the identity prisms of young Sámi throughout the overarching Sámi community. For the scale and purpose of this study, following the progression of a core version of the young Sámi prism proved to be the best option to showcase the functionality of the prism. This core version has been established based on observations made within the highly politicised and performative indigenous resurgence scene of Sámi social events but also based on some more personal interactions and family oriented environments and relationships. This is not a stereotypical representation of young Sámi and it should never be viewed as such, but a

systematic, cross-sectional examination of identity based on a specific group of young Sámi, who are very active in the overarching Sámi communal meaning in participating at Sámi social events and willingly engaging with parts of their indigenous identities that are at certain times ritualistic representations and ethnopolitical performances of identity and at other times are more personal self-reflexions, perceptions of completeness and recognitions of continuity within the private and social context. As such, this identity representation does not apply to all young Sámi, does not apply to all time and space, and does not apply to all indigenous communities. However, the ability of the prism, as a superordinate unit of understanding the self detached from contextual meaning and recognised as a universal representation of self as it creates and is being created by social environments, can be applied in all situations as long as long-term, reliable ethnographic data are collected within a certain existence, time, space, meaning and so on. To understand the prismatic identity of a given social environment, it is necessary to spend enough time in said environment to avoid misrepresentations, over-simplifications and unreliability.

Figure 6.7. Representation of an Individual Sámi Identity Prism in the Social Prismatic Environment

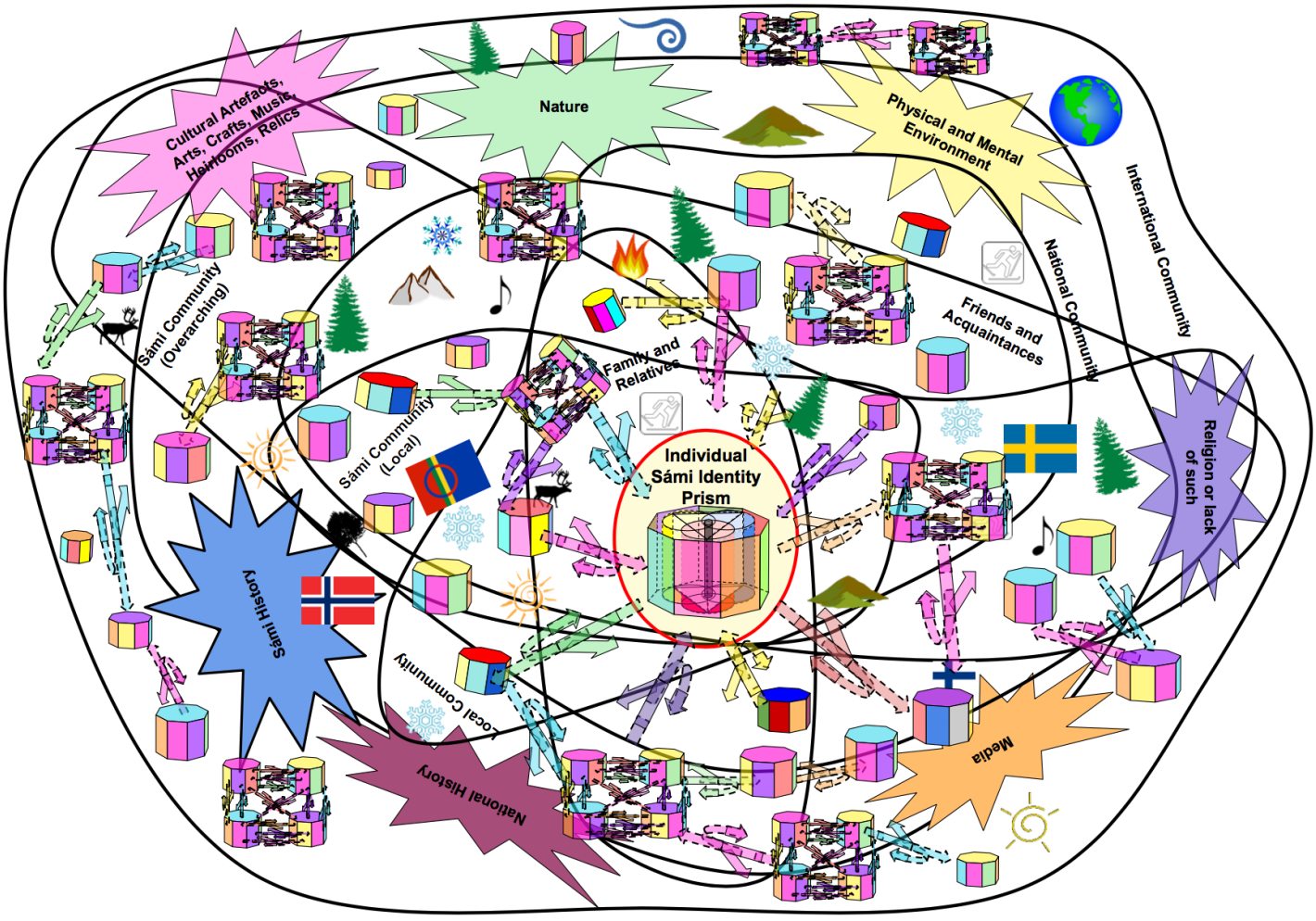


Figure 6.8. Zoomed A

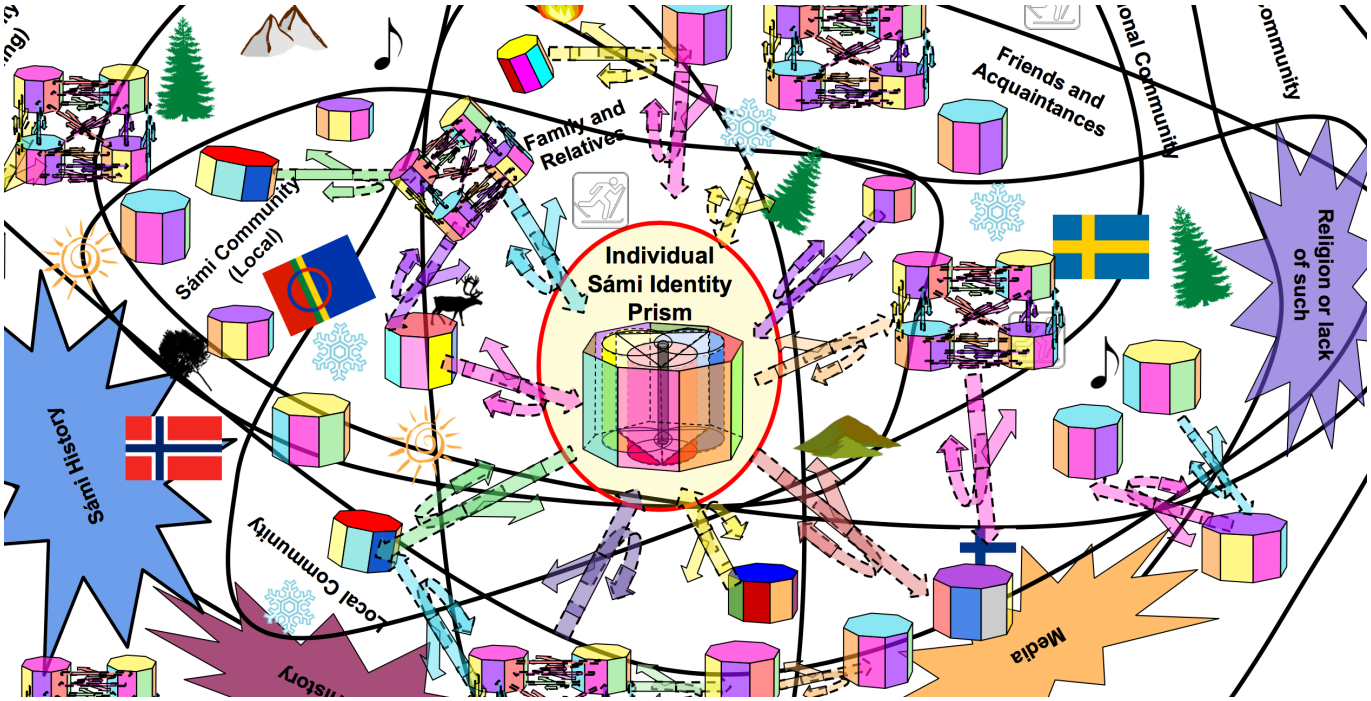


Figure 6.9. Zoomed B

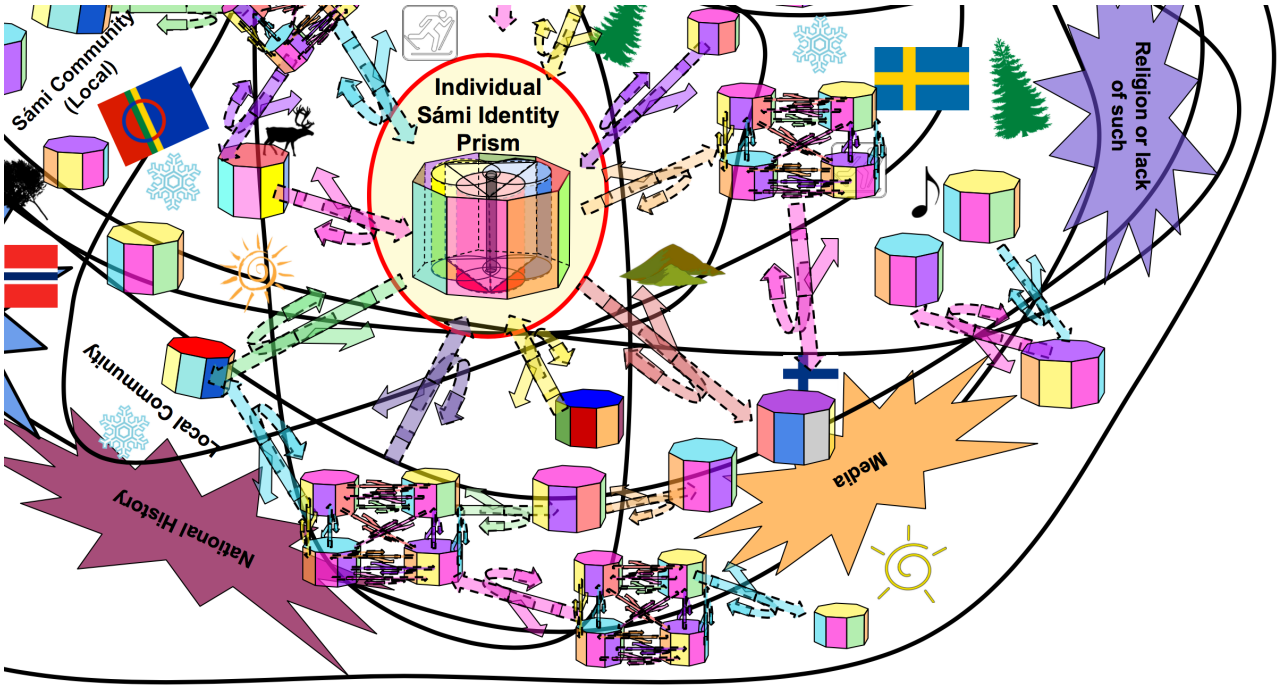


Figure 6.10. Zoomed C

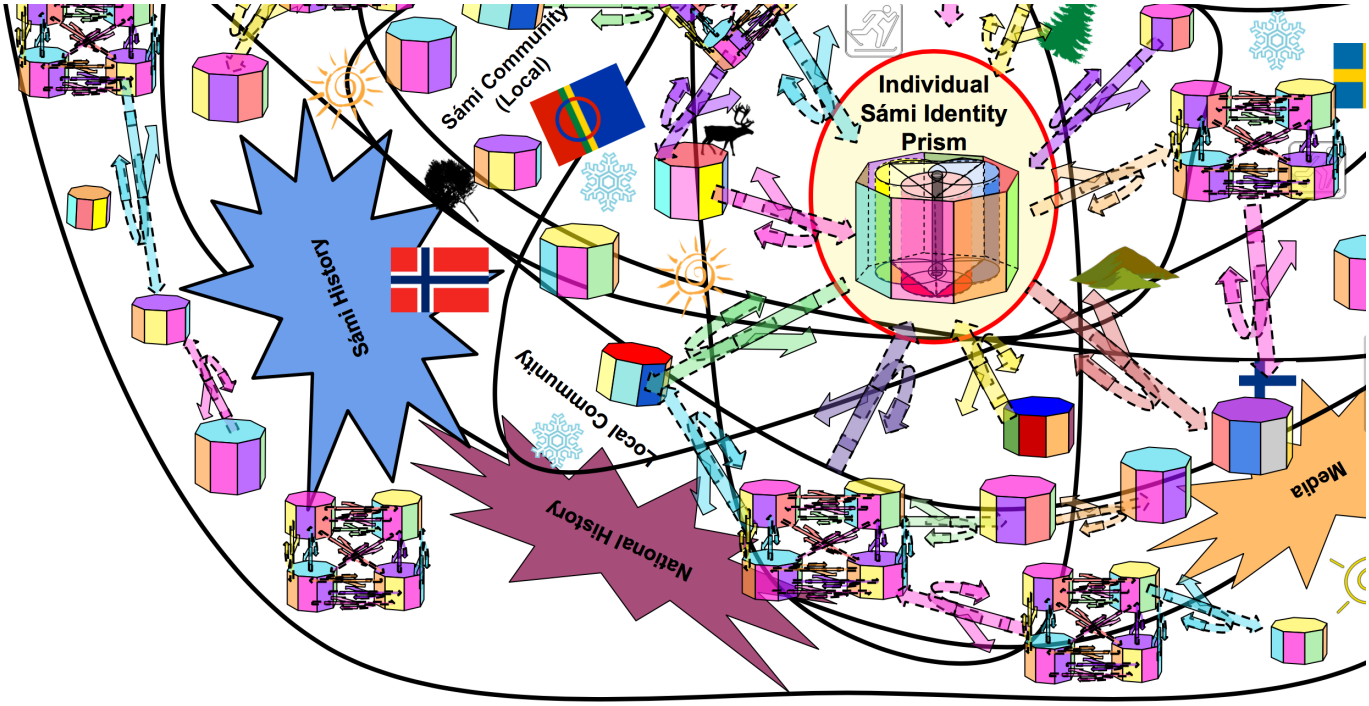


Figure 6.11. Zoomed D

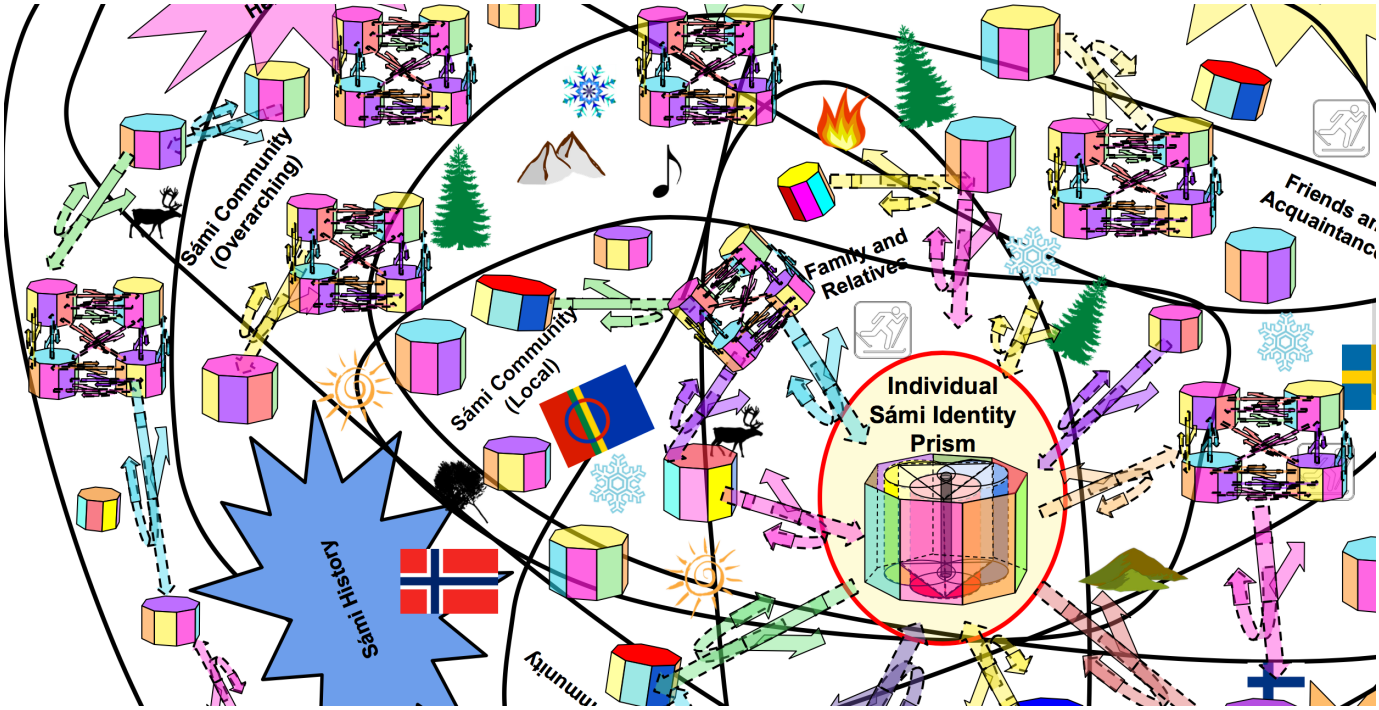


Figure 6.12. Zoomed E

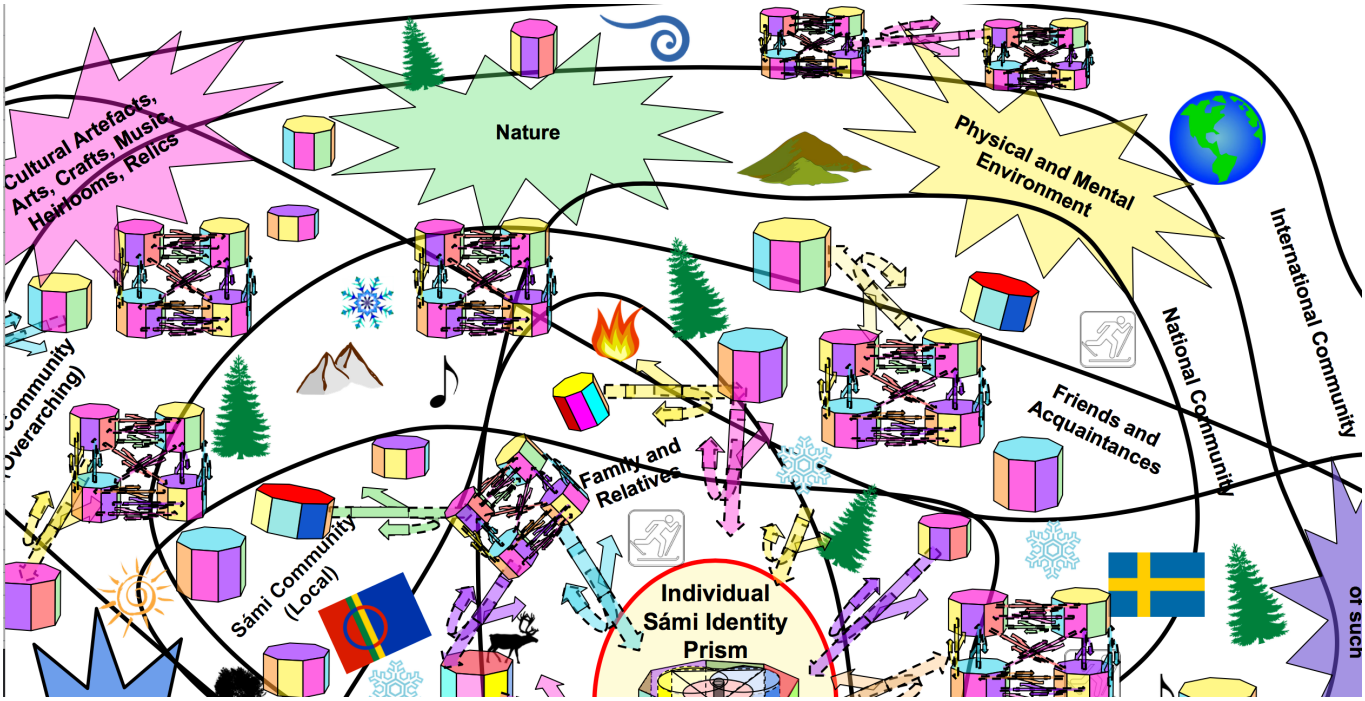


Figure 6.13. Outline of Communities

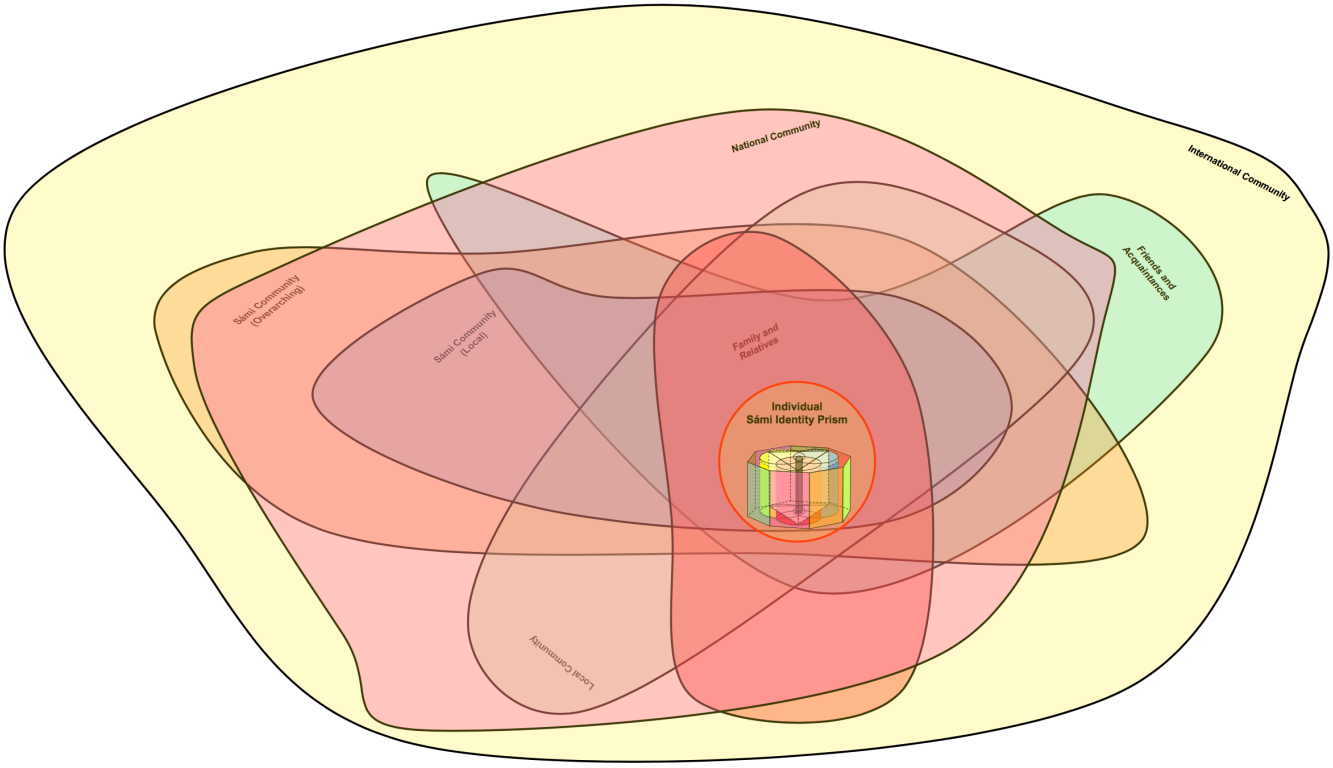


Figure 6.14. Zoomed Version of Figure 6.13.

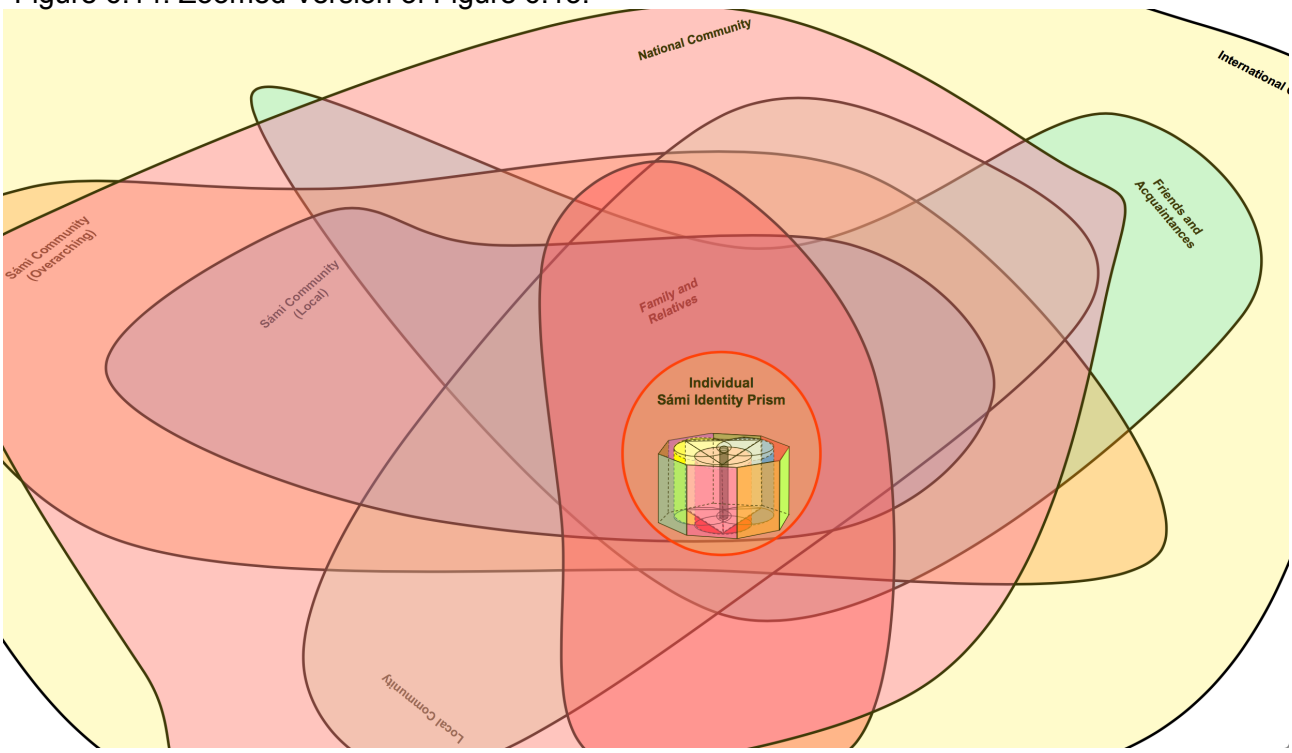
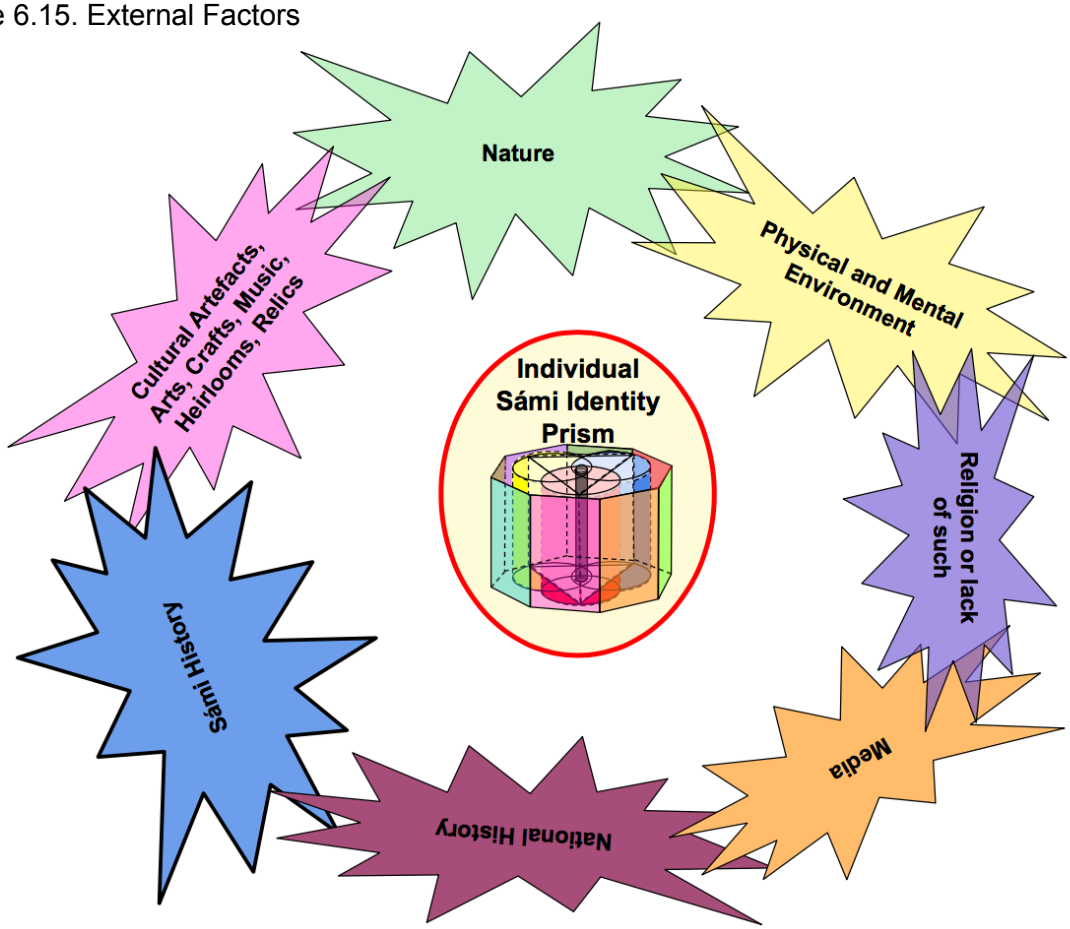
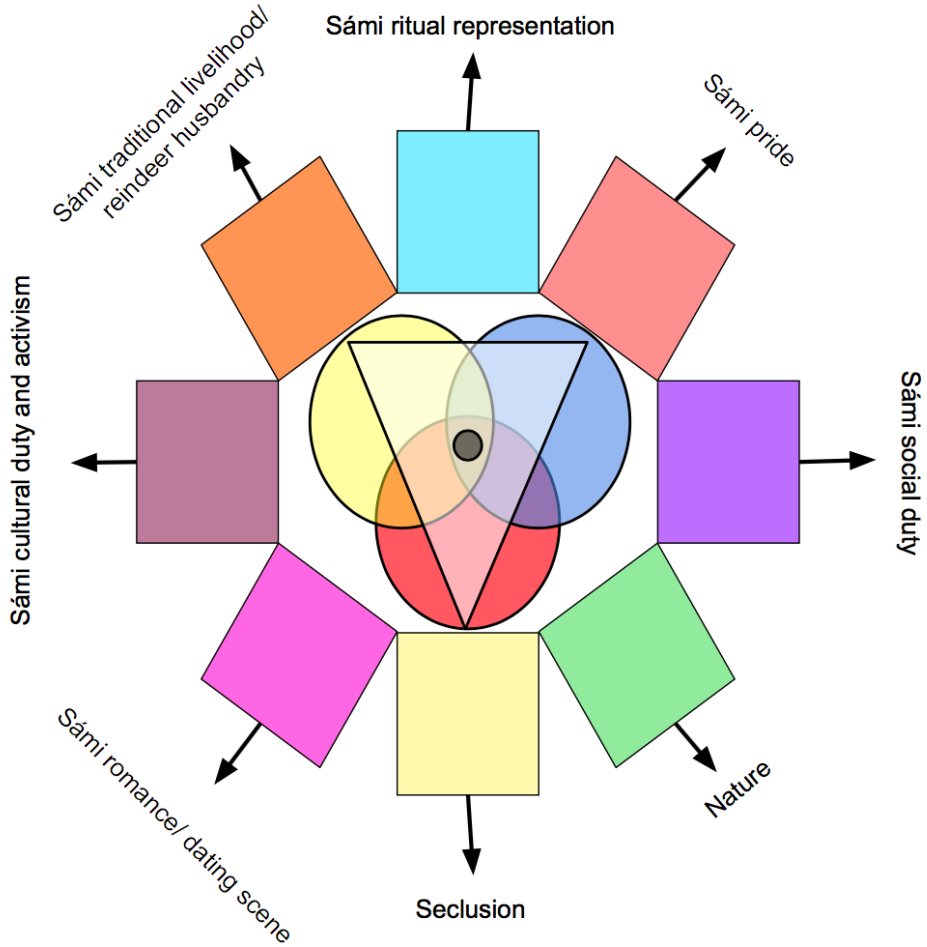


Figure 6.15. External Factors



Below are the eight Sámi youth identity prism walls that I have observed within the identity of the participants in this study. The fact that they are numbered from one to eight within the discussion in this study is not intended to order them according to superiority nor prominence. They are only numbered within the reality of this research to assist in creating a more comprehensible and user-friendly process of presenting the multifaceted nature of the identity prism. As mentioned earlier, the prism consists of n amount of prism walls that can be projected as part of the overall private identity in any way, intensity and variation that the person to whom the prism belongs wishes according to the given shared reality. As such the proposed eight walls are presumed relevant only in this research within the observed reality of the group of Sámi participating in this study.

Figure 6.16. Sámi Youth Identity Prism



6.2.1. Ritual Representation as Ethnopolitical Performance

The first is the Sámi ritual representation, which is a part of the Sámi identity that comes out at specific events and circumstances as a way of projecting a saturated form of indigeneity. These ritual representations encapsulate a heightened version of many of their fundamental projections, portrayals and performance-based aspects of Sáminess in a way that provides personal and communal reinforcement of their indigeneity. The ritual representation also plays an important role in the way the Sámi negotiate their multifaceted, relational and coherent understanding of themselves as present within various Sámi communities and the outside world in order to preserve, strengthen and improve their power relations as an ethnic minority, specifically an indigenous minority, in terms of the general distribution of power within the Scandinavian reality and overall between indigenous peoples and the rest of the world. As the Sámi do not have a set of more traditionally exhibited rituals that showcase their cultural context (though it is debatable whether Sámi social events are not exactly that), it is through the saturated representation of the indigenous self as created by and creator of shared Sámi identity that they transfer knowledge, develop their own context and continue the Sámi reality through time and space.

Clifford argues that this kind of ethnopolitical performance is vital when it comes to the indigenous navigation of complex social and cultural systems of the 21st century. In a way “cultural subjects discover themselves and make themselves legible for powerful audiences” by giving a performance of their identity (2013: 47). People repeat and reiterate their indigenous performative identities not only for outsiders but also for themselves and this helps them to get a stronger sense of who they are in a social process of continuous negotiation and construction of self. Clifford positions ethnopolitical performance as part of the three main processes essential for native resurgence movements, the other two being cultural and political articulation together with translation, which deals with generational communication (2013). Because tradition as a concept is politically saturated, the strive for self-determination requires a certain amount of ethnopolitical performative involvement (Briggs, 1996; Clifford 2000). To declare “ “We exist,” “We have deep roots here,” “We are different.” ” through cultural and social ritual performative representations is an immensely dynamic political move which also creates societal meaning (Clifford, 2013: 223).

Gaski (2008) addresses the need for ethnopolitical performance as part of the Sámi indigenous recognition by referring to the reifying practices mentioned by Brubaker (2004) as necessary in the process of legitimising ethnicity. By engaging with performative identifications, as noted in my observations of the first identity prism wall, the Sámi aim to "both sustain the distinctive character of the Sámi nation and to legitimise its demands for further autonomy" (Gaski, 2008: 234). Gaski focuses on Stuart Hall's (1996) concept of identification when discussing indigeneity, which brings the attention to the continuous construct of political context. In this identification process, the Sámi have to continue the discourse of dichotomies, the distinction between indigenous and non-indigenous, oppressor and oppressed, having culture and not having culture and this is done "to secure certain rights to protect culture" (Gaski 2008: 234). The question stands if and when indigenous people will no longer need to perform their ethnicity in this ethnopolitical battle for status yet still enjoy the recognition of being different.

6.2.2. Sámi Pride Builds Resilience

The second Sámi youth identity prism wall is the exhibited Sámi pride. In a similar way that the first wall was presented, the second wall also emerges most prominently at certain events and within specific communal meanings. The Sámi pride is exhibited in its strongest and most prominent way during Sámi social events where people's prismatic natures can easily bounce this pride off of each other in the process of projections, reflections and refractions within an already saturated Sámi-philic event. However, the Sámi pride representation is not part of the heightened Sámi ritual representation but a separate identity aspect that is also present in many other circumstances. The way people negotiate their projection of their Sámi pride according to the shared reality they are experiencing is evidence of the ability of the self through the usage of the prism to manage the multifaceted and pluralistic ethnicity of the Sámi. Young Sámi can consciously choose how, when and how strongly they represent their Sámi pride depending on the social situation they are in, but this does not mean that when they choose to be less prominently proud of their Sáminess they have lost or have undermined their indigenous roots. It is just a part of the functionality of the multiplicity of the relational identity prism, and overall the Sámi identity does not suffer a loss when young Sámi choose to represent their Norwegian or Swedish pride more than their Sámi pride.

When it comes to ethnic pride, multiple studies across a variety of demographics have demonstrated that young indigenous people who engage to a considerable degree with their cultural self in the process of enculturation develop more protective factors against problematic behaviour and succeed at being more resilient into their adulthood (Fleming and Ledogar 2008; Lalonde, 2006; Wexler, 2009; Whitbeck *et al.*, 2001; Zimmerman *et al.*, 1998). As part of the broader concept of enculturation, ethnic pride is an important element which could predispose to higher self-esteem and could provide a certain amount of defensive effects against serious emotional and behavioural issues as observed in young Native Americans (Zimmerman *et al.*, 1998). Research done by Kvernmo and Heyerdahl (1998, 2003) and Bals *et al.* (2010) amongst the Sámi youth population delving into the relation between ethnic identity development and mental health outcomes has produced mixed results, yet a strong relation between Sámi communal cultural support and the establishment of resilience factors has been observed consistently. Thus the portrayal and nourishment of ethnic pride within the self and the community amongst young Sámi, observed in this second identity prism wall, is an important factor in the overall enculturation that encourages the development of resilient adults.

6.2.3. Social Duty to Aim Towards Enskilment

The third Sámi youth identity prism wall is the Sámi social duty that often comes as a direct projection from within the family and communal Sámi environment. Young Sámi feel the presence and the pressure of this overwhelming notion that it is their social duty to be exposed to, familiarised with and taught the general meaning of their indigenous identity at and through social events, participation in the local and overarching Sámi community, and their pursuit of indigeneity. It is their social duty to be indigenous, to learn from each other through interactions, observations and conversations, and this duty has been engrained in their identity almost as a self-constituted constant, yet it is clear that the aspect of duty has been created by the shared reality, mostly within the family contexts of young Sámi who come from long lines of Sámi heritage. There is a fine line between the negotiation of one's Sámi identity as a way to achieve self-continuity and establish a coherent understanding of the self, and the forced following of the shared reality in order to fulfil a certain social duty towards the other. Many young Sámi are faced with the social duty part of their

identity very early on in their young adult lives and manage to successfully differentiate and navigate their social duty through their own personal meaning of indigeneity.

Ingold (2000) makes an important distinction between enculturation and enskilment and in the discussion about social duty related to the continuation, development and protection of cultural and traditional indigenous knowledge, this distinction proves to be vital in realising that cultural transmission has lesser value up until the moment of its application within its designated environment. Ingold states that “the transmission of cultural information must be distinguished from the experience of its application” (2000: 36). This differentiates between social and individual learning where social learning is absorbing knowledge from the communal environment and individual learning is applying said absorbed knowledge. In the meaning of enculturation and enskilment, the former is “education of attention” (p. 37) and the latter denotes that “learning is inseparable from doing…in a practical engagement in the world” (Ingold, 2000: 416). Beach (2007) takes the idea of enskilment further by creating a classification system of who could be recognised as indigenous based on a mixture of ancestral (genetic) and cultural (enskilment) factors in order to “help strengthen Sámi cultural values, satisfy the desire for dynamic cultural integrity…and promote trans-ethnic sympathy and unity” (p. 23). The Sámi should promote their own meaning of who should be considered indigenous not only through ancestry but mainly by enskilment efforts in order to protect their cultural wealth (Beach, 2007). In the case of Sámi social duty, young people often feel the pressure that participating in enculturation is not enough to satisfy their communities and families and they are left with no choice but to actively take part in enskilment even when they are still unsure how this enskilment will affect their multifaceted, relation and coherent understand of self.

6.2.4. Local Nature Connection Need Not Be Performative

Wall number four of the Sámi youth identity prism is the Sámi connection to nature as developed within the physical space they occupy at present and have historically occupied since records of them began, but also within the communal meaning of nature as present in many of the traditional aspects related to participating in the Sámi cultural space. Being with and surrounded by nature, using materials and resources from nature to fulfil traditional crafts, arts and other livelihoods, and

the communal encouragement to seek inspiration, calmness and continuity are all parts of the Sámi identity. It is acknowledged that there are politicised elements to this Sámi - nature relationship, yet this should not take away from the way individual Sámi representatives feel and connect to local nature through personal experiences, their relational self within the family context and their intimate association with their immediate environment. This same nature part of the prism is also very much part of the general Scandinavian identity, and in fact this is one of many prism walls that the multifaceted Sámi identity prism has as a shared aspect with the overall Scandinavian identity. The theory behind the prism recognises, acknowledges and celebrates the multiplicity and plurality of human identity and the ability of the prism to manage, negotiate and project aspects of a plural identity in a coherent manner to participate fully into the shared reality. What the Sámi add on to their nature prism wall is the fact that much of their connectedness with nature is in relation to the local communal Sámi meaning of life, but numerous other aspects that make up the nature prism wall of the Sámi identity are contextually relevant to the Scandinavian relatedness to nature.

Already discussed in chapter two as part of the ethnopolitics of performance, the Sámi - nature connection not only has a highly politicised, power disturbing agenda, part of the politics of shame in environmental lobbying, but is also widely used as an over-exaggeration of a presumable harmonious static representation of culture in order to imply legitimisation of territorial advances (Niezen, 2003; Valkonen and Valkonen, 2014). Gaski explores how this overemphasised link is utilised as the normative statement when addressing territorial issues and as such the Sámi "relationship to territory is considered more natural and sacred" (2008: 228). However, looking beyond the ethnopolitics of performance and into the more habitual and personal interpretation, Ingold and Kurttila acknowledge "people's practical engagement with the environment" (2000: 192). The Sámi are connected to the local nature in every day practices, especially reindeer herding or crafts producing Sámi, who not only work within the outside environment but also take inspiration from it (Ingold and Kurttila, 2000). As such, in the search of identity coherence, self-continuity and relational completeness, the Sámi cannot ignore the local nature and establish a connection with it in a way that is not just cynically theorised as ethnopolitical performance. The strong human - nature relationship is not only a Sámi phenomenon, but also a general

Scandinavian exhibited bond, discussed further below, due to the existence of plentiful local outdoor environment that offers nature-based recreation (Beery, 2013).

6.2.5. Seclusion Is the Standard

The fifth wall of the Sámi youth identity prism is seclusion as part of the Sámi living environment. Connected in a way to the presence of nature within the Sámi identity, seclusion is representative of the environment in which young Sámi within Sápmi exist and create part of their relational and self-reflexive meaning through the self. So much is this the case that this environmentally presented and communally recognised aspect of seclusion is present in the way many people choose to identify. The notion of seclusion is present in everyday life within the Sámi reality in the way that the Sámi are not that numerous a community and are spread out over vast areas of land that they never exist in an overcrowded situation. This is how it is now, and this is how it has been historically, so in a sense seclusion is part of the continuity of Sámi reality that projects itself on to Sámi identity prisms. Even with modern technology and the very tight-knit local Sámi community spirit, young Sámi might rarely be alone, but many are lonely. However, this is where the Sámi community continues to create meaning by presenting opportunities for young people to be in relational interactions where together they can make sense of their experiences of seclusion. Most young Sámi have accepted seclusion as part of who they are, and even if they are not always satisfied with its presence, they have learnt to live with it by creating meaning for it through their prism with the help of the communal interactions. It is also important to mention that the seclusion wall of the Sámi youth identity prism can also be viewed as part of the Scandinavian identity: as such, seclusion is part of the Sámi plural identity representation.

Nature and seclusion are not exclusively part of the Sámi identity but also part of the general Scandinavian identity prism. This supports the pluralistic identity representation of the identity prism and also addresses the habitual connection humans have with the presented natural and social environment. Social seclusion exhibited as loneliness is a public health concern usually associated with older adults but in recent decades more young adults experience the condition (Osborn *et al.,* 2021). This could be due to the reduced quantity of face-to-face social relations young people establish in favour of online connections but also due to the lack of quality of

personal interactions (Osborn *et al.*, 2021). Studies across the USA, UK and New Zealand have found that loneliness in young people leads to a variety of mental, emotional and physical health issues (Goosby *et al.*, 2013; Lasgaard *et al.*, 2011; Matthews *et al.*, 2019). A correlation between ethnic minorities and increased rates of loneliness is often established and an example is that amongst the indigenous Māori population, loneliness is more prevalent compared to their non-indigenous New Zealander counterparts (Lay-Yee *et al.*, 2021). Measures need to be taken to counteract loneliness and social seclusion in young people, especially those part of ethnic minorities and this is where the relationship with nature plays to the advantage of the Sámi and Scandinavians. Beery (2013) discusses the relationship between the popular Scandinavian outdoor recreation concept of “open-air life”, i.e. friluftsliv, and environmental connectedness. The quantitative research proves that a human - nature relation exists within the given sample of Swedish adults and that the cultural concept of friluftsliv predisposes people to be more environmentally connected with their natural surroundings (Beery, 2013). Fernee *et al*. look into how friluftsliv in the form of individual or group wilderness therapy is successfully applied as a treatment method for a variety of mental health issues, especially in adolescents (2015). Interacting and being within a close relation with the natural world promotes beneficial mental and emotional outcomes and is conducive to healthy development in young people (Selhub and Logan, 2012). In a way, the Sámi could be in a better position to withstand and combat the effects of loneliness because they have a very healthy, close and extensive connection with local nature.

6.2.6. Self and Society as Experienced Through Relationships, Activism and Livelihoods

The last three prism walls predominantly deal with how the individual engages with a variety of social processes when it comes to relationship building, activism and traditional livelihood engagement by participating in the overarching Sámi community. The Sámi identity prism focus within these three more social walls is on negotiating and constructing a relationship between the self and society. When dealing with these walls of the Sámi prism, the conceptual prismatic discourse will be put in conversation with the works done by Holland *et al.* (1998), Holland and Lave (2001), Lave and Wenger (1991) and Lave (1996), which address notions such as ‘figured worlds’, ‘history in person’, ‘communities of practice’ and ‘crafting identities’ respectively.

The sixth Sámi youth identity prism wall is the Sámi dating scene as part of the continual development of Sámi meaning within the relational realities of the overarching Sámi community. Participation in the Sámi dating scene can be viewed as a more practical way of ensuring the continuation of the Sámi cultural meaning by physically creating a dating bubble where, by putting people together in a way that their prismatic selves will interact with and reinforce each other through their projections, this will develop, sustain and create more Sámi meaning for this and the next generation. The dating scene is also a historically important aspect of continuing Sámi lines of heritage and descent by ensuring the availability of suitable partners. Through this dating scene, young Sámi are able to engage in reflexive processes and interactional efforts and satisfy their search for self-continuity by establishing connections with the broader Sámi youth community. This is an ingenious way of presenting a highly interactional environment in which young people are happy to participate on the basis that they have just started to discover certain aspects of life such as their sexuality, lust and intimacy desires, together with their search for relationship building, all while participating in exchanging Sámi-related meaning.

Wall seven within the Sámi youth identity prism is the cultural duty and activism that comes as a direct attempt to decentralise and destabilise the power hierarchy of institutional and colonial powers that indigenous people fight against as part of their pursuit of indigeneity. In recent decades, many young Sámi have had increasing pressure put on them from within their own communities, as well as from the overall worldwide indigenous movement, to exercise their indigenous rights by participating in activism-related endeavours. In a sense, to validate to yourself and others that you are engaging sufficiently with your indigeneity, the Sámi are expected to become involved in their cultural duty of protecting their indigenous roots via activism-related actions. This is part of indigeneity that is on the move to decolonise, decentralise and destabilise power in order to redistribute it in favour of not only the indigenous reality but also other minority or underrepresented social groups. Nowadays, activism can be exhibited in various ways and is no more related just to disturbances, violence or public disorder. Being an indigenous activist can mean participating in traditional crafts, art or livelihoods, educating yourself and others about the importance of cultural representation within the sphere of human behaviour and understanding, and actively participating in the Sámi relational and interactional reality as a way to transfer knowledge to the next generation of Sámi youth.

The eighth Sámi youth identity prism wall is the exploration of Sámi traditional livelihoods, and in particular reindeer husbandry, as a way of creating a deeper emotional connection with the Sámi related lifestyle in the day-to-day life of young Sámi. Through participation in a few traditional livelihoods that the Sámi recognise as part of their historic and current representations, such as reindeer husbandry, crafts and art production, hunter-gatherer pursuits and fishing, young people are being attached to these occupations on multiple levels of meaning. Many young Sámi create an emotional connection with certain traditional livelihoods that their parents or grandparents are active in, based on strong, conscious and unconscious influences from within their family or local Sámi community. In a way, the young Sámi are both willing participants and subject to unwilling influences, who cannot detach themselves from the shared meaning, so it becomes part of them. Through years of creating contextual relationality and self-continuity on the personal, family and communal levels, the point at which young Sámi decide to become reindeer herders might equally be seen as a moment of free personal choice made through the self-reflexivity of the identity prism and as an aspect of the impact of shared reality that has overwhelmed the self and forced it into compliance. Another point of influence from the outside in, which is also a calculated inside out move, is the overall willingness of some young Sámi to engage with their indigeneity. A logical way of doing this is by participating in indigenous livelihoods as recognised by national and international laws and rights. As such, traditional livelihoods have multiple levels at which they create meaning for the overall young Sámi identity.

Already briefly addressed, the figured worlds of Holland *et al.* (1998) examine the social construction of the self in a relational exchange of collective positional practices, where significance is assigned to encounters and activities in an effort to conceptualise personal agency and consciousness. Holland *et al.* (1998) positions identity as a dynamic, interactive and continuous construct within the figured worlds where emphasis is put on shared encounters and activities related to the culturally developed notion of self and others. Figured worlds place a certain importance on artefacts, which are the “means by which figured worlds are evoked, collectively developed, individually learned, and made socially and personally powerful” (Holland *et al.,* 1998: 61). It is with the helpful mediation of artefacts, as inspired by Foucault’s discourse, that individuals are able to position the self within the broader developmental histories connected to the present (Cole, 1996). Holland *et al.* (1998) accept that social encounters hold a certain magnitude

and with the influence of cultural artefact arbitration, which “applies equally to objects and to people” (p. 62), individuals are able to position the agentic self within the figured worlds.

In terms of the prismatic understanding of identity as presented in this research, there are a few postulates that overlap with Holland *et al.*’s ample identity discussion. The prismatic self is a dynamic, relational, interactive and continuous construct just like Holland *et al.*’s vision of identity. The prismatic system as a whole deals with identity prisms’ relational interactions within a number of overlapping communities and a variety of external factors of influence, which include the presence of artefacts amongst many other factors such as history, environment and nature. In a sense, Holland *et al.*’s artefact definition and discussion could include a variety of these external factors all under the general umbrella of artefacts. The agency of the identity prism is situated within the notion of external hierarchies of power and so is the self within Holland *et al.*’s figured worlds. To a certain extend the prismatic system presented here that includes the relational prisms interacting within communities and influenced by external factors could be interpreted as a sort of a figured world.

When it comes to Holland and Lave’s later work on ‘history in person’, it deals with the concept of struggle and the “relations between subjects’ intimate self-making and their participation in contentious local practice” (2001: 5). However, the aspect of struggle goes beyond the local practice and also encompasses the inner struggle of the dialogic self-process of differentiating between self and others. Daniel Linger’s chapter about a man with Japanese heritage and Brazilian immigrant status, who struggles with his identity based on contentious ethnic-related relational practices he encounters in both countries, addresses the issue that “ethnic and racial identity are built around histories of [one’s] relations to particular others” (p. 14) and the struggle to negotiate this becomes one for the internal dialogic self (Holland and Lave, 2001).

This inner struggle addressed by Holland and Lave (2001) relates to the Sámi struggle to negotiate their own prismatic self in a individualised equation of managing how much of their Sámi or Scandinavian identity is reflected, refracted, absorbed or ignored in their prismatic understanding. Because of the way the identity prism is constructed, it provides the benefit of a fluid, multifaceted, reconfigurable self that searches coherence, personal satisfaction, self-continuity and

completeness. The prism is able to create new meaning and multiple consistent, reliable and articulate configurations but also adapts to the variability of the contextual relational practices of the shared reality. Holland and Lave's inner struggle does exist within the prismatic identity theory and it is systematically accommodated for.

Lave and Wenger's (1991) theory of learning focuses on the aspects of social practice and on the idea that "increasing participation in communities of practice concerns the whole person acting in the world" (p. 49) such that identities are conceptualised "as long-term living relations between persons and their place and participation in communities of practice. Thus identity, knowing and social membership entail one another" (p. 53). The interpretation of 'communities of practice' through the social practice of learning creates a solid building block for understanding identities as being crafted within the communal participation rather than within the internalised self (Lave and Wenger, 1991). In the later work, Lave (1996) explains: "crafting identities is a social process, and becoming more knowledgeably skilled is an aspect of participation in social practice" (p. 157). From 'communities of practice' to 'crafting identities', Lave reaches a postulate that identity formation is indeed participating in communities of practice. Lave (1996) focuses on the concept of teaching and how learning in classrooms is the "identity-making life projects of participants in communities of practice" (p. 157) where the ability of teachers to produce great teaching that involves more than academic lessons is what creates identity learning practices for students.

Learning and building knowledge through communities of practice is a vital aspect of the Sámi overarching community and the cultural survival of indigenous people. The Sámi social events scene is inherently a place of learning by practice where individual Sámi prisms are predisposed to create relational bonds amongst each other on top of interacting with tradition and culture building artefacts, history and meaning. Even thought the social events focus largely on relationship building amongst people, most Sámi events have specific aspects of them that are educational in nature, which include exhibitions of arts and crafts, personal story telling, music promotion and overall creating an amplification of cultural transmission and understanding. The young Sámi are able to craft their identities within the communities of practice part of the Sámi social events scene. They further develop their identities throughout space and time by following up on the relationships they have created at the social events and this prompts more curiosity to explore the Sámi cultural

environment in terms of enskilment into traditional livelihoods or participation in activism related endeavours. The Sámi case presented in this research supports Lave's (1996) postulate that identities are crafted within communities of practice.

Overall, these are the eight walls of the core version of an endless amount of variations, multiplicities and fluidities of the multifaceted nature of the prismatic understanding of identity of the young Sámi who have participated in this research. As mentioned earlier, this is not to be taken as a final account of Sámi youth identity representation, but just a mere cross-section exploration in the contextual understanding of Sámi identity within a certain time and space meaning. These ethnographic data have been able to support the proposed notion of the identity prism and showcase the multitude of functionalities of the prism within the personal, private reality of the self and the social, shared meanings of communal systems.

6.3. CONCLUSIVE STATEMENT

In this research, ethnographic data was gathered amongst parts of the Sámi youth indigenous population in Sweden and Norway in an endeavour to confront the complex notion of identity. This gave rise to the novel idea of the identity prism and its functionalities as a way forward of discussing and comprehending human identity. The prism as a superordinate unit of understanding the self offers an in-depth exposition of the anthropological meaning of individual and communal identity as a continuous process, which starts in the self and creates and is created by social meaning. The multifaceted, dynamic and complex identity of the sample of young Sámi that participated in this research was elaborated on, conceptualised and systematically outlined through the prismatic understanding of identity. The prism theory and its functionalities have the possibility to be widely utilised in the conceptualisation of a variety of social groups and situations. As such the identity prism can be proposed as a universal way of understanding and mediating the private and shared meaning of the self and as a contributor to cultural creation, construction and fulfilment.

APPENDIXES

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APPENDIX A

JÅHKÅMÅHKE MÁRNÁNA/JOKKMOKK'S MARKET PHOTOGRAPHS

Road to Jokkmokk



Jåhkåmåhke Márnána
- The outside market space








OTTO






Valkos



A small procession with reindeer and an iconic Sámi person who appears on many postcards and photographs from Jåhkåmåhke Márnána.








NYBAKADE
MUNKAR

Sámi art, crafts and handmade products
- Art pieces



- Sámi traditional knives





- Sámi jewellery (the circular silver brooch is called a Risku and is popular in North Sámi traditional outfits to be pinned the way both ladies are wearing it, just below the neck)





- A mixture of various Sámi crafts such as bracelets made out of leather and silver/tin coil, purses, bags, gloves, a Sámi drum, which was used for pagan rituals hundreds of years ago, and pieces of art made by Sámi artists depicting abstract scenes and traditional motifs;



- Sámi leather and silver/tin coil bracelets with traditional patterns





- Reindeer skin shoes part of the traditional outfit for the Sámi from all over Sápmi









- More trading stands with a mixture of handmade Sámi items








STYREFORS
FINNS PÅ
VÄSTRA SKOLAN
MED KNIVBLAD

Showcasing of reindeer racing to the public (even though the real reindeer racing happens without the wooden sleighs, with people on skis being dragged by a reindeer)

















Evening events begin with a performance by the local Sámi higher education institution





- Beer tents where people hang out before the Sámi dance





Sámi dance (held in the main hotel hall in Jokkmokk)



























ANKAREDE PHOTOGRAPHS

Gathering place in nature



The grounds with some wooden tents that are always there (and could be rented) and some temporary fabric tents, which are brought by visitors for the event.



People usually share bigger tents with friends and family







Socialising during the day happens outside with food, drinks, music and in everyday clothing.




harman/kardon



Later in the afternoon people start dressing up in their traditional clothing getting ready for the evening social events



In the evening it does not get dark as typical for midsummer in Scandinavia. People can be seen wearing a variety of traditional Sámi outfits from different regions ready for the Ankarede dance.

















The Ankarede dance in the near by village hall











Outside the village hall during the Ankarede dance.



The last day of Ankarede, there are activities for all ages during the day such as lasso throwing







The Ankarede grounds where people camp and gather are right next to the Ankarede church





APPENDIX B

RAASTA RASTEN, ACTIVISM AND TRADITIONAL MOTIFS PHOTOGRAPHS

Sámi music performers at Raasta Rasten









Sámi traditional music performers from various events as forms of youth indigenous activism
















KORG

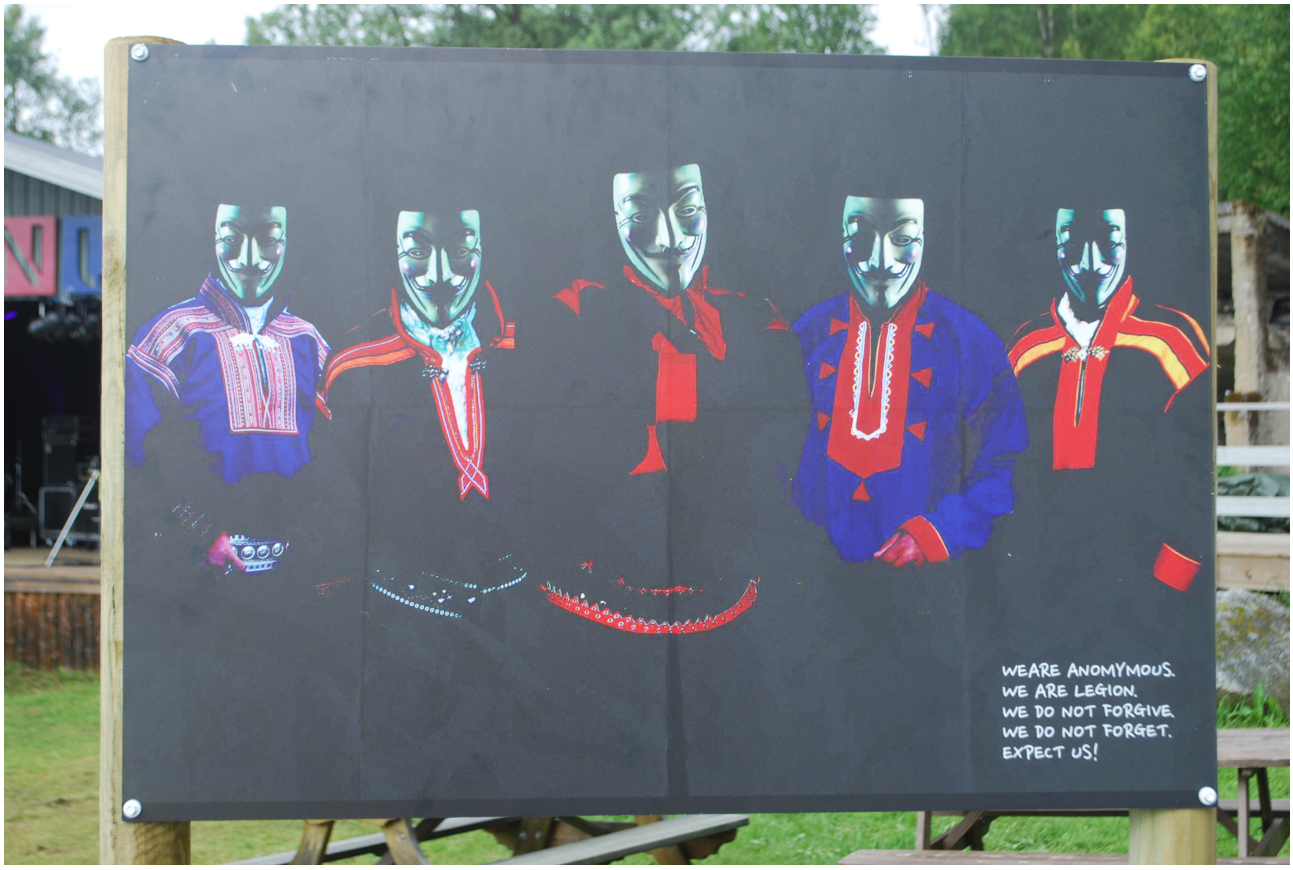

KORG


KORG





Activism related posters from a Sámi music event






i am
proud
to be an
Sápmelaš


Kaivosalue
Asiattomilta
pääsy kielletty
Edvard Munch feat. swampanterror


TARGET
Scoring and Threat Assessment
10 pts Fatal - Very Low Threat
8 pts Low chance of survival - Low Threat
6 pts Chance of survival - Threat
0 pt Survivable - High Threat
# of hits
Zone Score
Misses
Total Score
Shooter
Scorer's Initials
Range Officer
Match#
Target #
Relay #
Stage #
just shoot me !
suohpanterror
Enjoy Colonialism


1%
SONS OF SÁPMI
SUOHPANTERROR**
1LO 169


SÁMEEATNAMA
DIAMÁNTA
THE SÁMI DIAMOND
SUOHPANTERROR
SNØVIT
FÁLESNUORRI
JUOVLAVUOTNA
GIRKONJÁRGA
OHCEJOHKA
GUOVDAGEAIDNU
ANÁR
NIKEL
EANODAT
GIRON
MERTAINEN
KAUNISVAARA
KOVDOR
KIROVSK
GÁLLOK
SOADEGILLI
APATITY
JIELLEVÁRRI
RAAVREJOHKE
STIHKENJOHKA
Sámeeatnama riggodagat
Natural resources of Sámiland / Mine
Boazolihkku
Reindeer luck / No mining
Sámeeatnama rievvárat
Resource robbers of Sámiland


whoops!
Problem
Solved


MUN·MAID
NATURAL SÁPMI
RAISINS


SÁPMI SUGAR SKULL

This poster depicts the multifaceted reality of modern young Sámi lives. As humans, they are faced with the task of existing in the modern reality but also of representing their traditional background and fighting for their rights as indigenous representatives.



Traditional motifs. Various ornamentations from Sámi traditional clothing. All made by hand from within the extended family of the wearers.




















BÁLKKÁSUPMI
SPURTPRIS











































APPENDIX C

ANALYSIS OF REINDRIFTSLOVEN AND REINDEER HUSBANDRY PHOTOGRAPHS

In Norway, reindeer herding is primarily regulated by the Reindriftslov, the so called Reindeer Herding Act. The most recent Act is from 2007, which was a long awaited update to the previous Reindriftslov from 1978. The newest Act is an extensive, modern and innovative tool that is able to sufficiently provide guidance and measured autonomy to reindeer herders combined with an ample opportunity for a governmental involvement regarding sustainability and resource management. With the help of the regulations in the Act, the government and the reindeer herders have the possibility to have an enhanced cooperation, which equates to overall beneficial results for the herders in particular and their livelihood in general. The Act is based on the cultural, social and traditional ways of reindeer husbandry, which means that it preserves the values of the Sámi herding communities. This is why the Siida, as an element of great importance, recognition and traditional appraisal, takes a central place in the Act. After many years of challenges in the legislative world of reindeer herding, it is a great achievement to have the new and updated Reindriftslov developed and then officially established in 2007. As a legislative Act that addresses issues connected to a livelihood exclusively connected to an indigenous community, it also has to follow other national and international regulations connected to indigenous rights. The Act satisfies most of the obligations Norway has to ILO 169, but it does not cover the topics of land rights and herders land possession. Another note to be made is the fact that this Act was put in force before Norway's ratification of the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People, which chronologically happened later in 2007. Overall, the Reindriftslov of 2007 is an important legislative document and has a direct connection to the way the Sámi in Norway undertake their reindeer husbandry and this is why its discussion and analysis is a vital part of the general comprehension of Sámi herding. As this document is only available in Norwegian and Sámi, the further translation of the sections into English will be done unofficially by me.

The Reindeer Herding Act of 2007 consists of 83 sections divided into twelve chapters and it facilitates the successful undertaking of reindeer husbandry in terms of ensuring the social, cultural, economic and ecologic welfare of the herders and the wellbeing of the animals. The Act begins with a few introductory sections outlining its scope, area and applicability. Even though this is an official legislative document that is not considered to be an indigenous rights or indigenous oriented testimony, in section one the importance of reindeer herding to the Sámi culture, tradition and customs is frame-worked as the basis of husbandry: "...Reindeer herding shall be preserved as an important basis for Sámi culture and society..." (Reindriftsloven, 2007: §1). In Norway, exclusively only the Sámi have the right to herd reindeers within the Sámi reindeer grazing areas (samiske reinbeiteområdet), which represent the majority of grazing areas, but outside of these areas, other people can herd reindeers with the special permission from the King of Norway. All, except a couple, of the sections in the Reindeer Herding Act only apply to the Sámi reindeer grazing areas and the Sámi way of herding, i.e. the use of Siida as a social conglomerate, ear markings, district boards and hunting/fishing rights. The Act does address briefly in section 8 the issues of reindeer herding outside of the Sámi grazing areas. For the purpose of this research, a clear distinction will be made between Sámi and non-Sámi reindeer herding and the so called caribou/wild reindeer areas. However, after this distinction is made, the rest of the research will only be interested in the Sámi reindeer herding. Below is the very explicit section 8, which is the main section within the Act that focuses entirely on herding outside the Sámi reindeer grazing area, i.e. non-Sámi herding:

§ 8 Reindeer herding outside the Sámi reindeer grazing area

Outside the Sámi reindeer grazing area reindeer herding cannot be exercised without the special permission from the King. Such permission may only be granted to those who can present a written consent from the landowners and right-holders or in other way dispose of sufficiently sized and suitably restricted reindeer grazing areas. Permission should not be given for caribou areas. There should also be displayed caution when giving permission for areas located too close to other reindeer grazing areas that may create conflicts. Permission can be granted for a limited time and under no circumstances apply after the pasture has lapsed. There can be set further condition for operation...

...

With the King's approval, the commons board can grant permission for up to 10 years at a time of reindeer husbandry in rural commons outside the reindeer grazing area, if reindeer herding can take place without significant loss or inconvenience to the usufructuary.

(Reindriftsloven, 2007: §8)

Looking into the semantics, the basic term 'reindrift', which translates to 'reindeer herding' is what is standardly used when talking about and dealing with Sámi reindeer herding. Only occasionally a further clarification of 'samisk reindrift' (Sámi reindeer herding) is being made but for the most part by saying 'reindrift' a Sámi connotation is presumed. The so called "tamreindrift", which literary translates to 'tame reindeer herding', is what is used to refer to reindeer herding outside of the Sámi reindeer grazing area. Technically anyone can be a "tamrein" herder as "tamrein" and "rein" refer to the same animal, but the fact is that with time the term "tamrein" has taken an entirely non-Sámi connotation mainly due to the fact that within statistical data representations the only non-Sámi reindeer grazing area is called "Tamreinlag" and from there 'tamreindrift' has adopted a non-Sámi meaning. Given that section 8 is followed, anyone in Norway can become a 'tamrein' herder, but in reality there are not that many "tamreindrift" participants and there is currently only one dominant area where the majority of "tamreindrift" is undertaken, in central southern Norway. With this distinction made, it is clear that the standard word for reindeer herding ("reindrift") is implying a connection to the Sámi and the exception to that would be the herding that takes place outside the Sámi grazing area which would require the request of multiple special permission from the King. Section 8 also addresses the issue about caribous or wild reindeer ("villrein"), which are classified as freely roaming, non-semidomesticated reindeers and are not to be herd. The caribous in Norway primarily occupy areas in the central southern Norway, live freely and are the only reindeers in Norway officially allowed to be hunted during hunting season. (villrein.no) According to §8, people cannot request to herd reindeers within caribou areas and by standard definition from the Wild Reindeer Board, people are not allowed to herd caribous. This means that when it comes to non-Sámi reindeer herding, special caution has to be paid when choosing the grazing area not to clash with caribou areas as both "villrein" populations and "tamreindrift" take place in an area that is closely connected. This creates an even further confusion for many people within these areas because some of the south Sámi grazing areas, the "villrein" areas and the "tamrein" areas are in an incredibly close proximity to each other. The main point behind §8 is to clearly make the differentiation between Sámi and non-Sámi reindeer herding and to stress on the fact that reindeer herding is in its right an almost exclusively Sámi oriented livelihood. From now on, unless otherwise stated, when mentioning reindeer herding, this will refer only to Sámi reindeer herding within the Sámi grazing areas. The exploration of reindeer herding within Norway continues with the

multiple sections of the Act, which specifically address the issues of who amongst the Sámi has the right to herd and how this is officially executed.

Section four states that the Sámi population has the right to exercise reindeer herding within specific parts of the country which are defined as Sámi grazing areas. The more fascinating part of this section is that this has been defined as a Sámi right based on 'alders tids bruk", which translates to 'immemorial times usage'. For a legal document to refer to immemorial rights could be seen as a way of escaping from a rather difficult position of having to define a specific moment in time when reindeer herding became a staple within some Sámi communities, which within the Sámi history is rather hard to pin-point. However, there are more clarifications connected to who exactly from the Sámi communities has the right to herding because it is definitely not a livelihood open to every Sámi person.

Paragraph one of §9 continues further to §4 by stating that: "Only people who have the right to a reindeer ear mark, ref.§32, have the right to own reindeer in the Sámi reindeer grazing area (Reindriftsloven, 2007: §9). Thus, these are the Sámi that are able to use their immemorial usage right. A reference to §32 is made in order to give an explanation to who can have an ear mark. In section 32 there are three main requirements covered in the first paragraph and a few more special cases covered by the other paragraphs. Here is what the first paragraph of section 32 states:

> *§ 32. Right to reindeer marking*
>
> *The right to a reindeer mark is had by people of Sámi ancestry who*
> 1. *By the Acts effectiveness had reindeer herding as their main livelihood in the reindeer grazing districts in accordance with the Act from 9 June 1978 nr 49 about reindeer herding §4 ref. §3, or*
> 2. *Have parents or grandparents who have had reindeer herding as a main livelihood, and who*
> 3. *Are included in the Siida or should be included in the Siida after a decision in accordance to §10 second paragraph or juxtaposed recruitment part in accordance to §§11-15.*
>
> *...* (Reindriftsloven, 2007: §32)

The first part of this section refers back to the immemorial usage rights and to the fact that if you have been a herder at the time of the Act from 1978, then you have the right to have a reindeer mark. This is more of a retroactive law because whoever had been covered by the previous Act at that time, would have already been given an ear mark in order to successfully conduct herding. However, it could also be connected to the second part, especially if one's children or grandchildren are now seeking to get a mark. If a person can prove that they have been a herder back almost 40 years ago, then their children and grandchildren can easily take advantage of number two from section 32. The second part is the most widely used connection that can prove one's right to an ear mark. Herding is primarily based on family connections and the family's history of being in the herding business. A person who is a part of a very strong tradition of herding within their family has the prove that they are entitled to an ear mark. If one's parents or grandparent have been herding in the past or still herd in the present, then their offsprings have the right to an ear mark. In many of the communities I worked with, people prefer to put forward the documents for their children to have a specific reindeer ear mark soon after their birth. I will further discuss this later on when I get more into the case specific information. Looking at part three of §32, the family connection is not enough for the mark, as a belonging to a

Siida is also a necessity. The Siida plays a major part in reindeer herding and is one of the most traditional aspects that did withstand time and external pressure to be preserved and to continue to be the typical Sámi social structure within the herding environment. A better explanation of the Siida structure and the multiple ways to be included in a Siida will be discussed later in this chapter. Now, it stands clear that so far section 32 only outlines a straight forward family connection up to a second generation reference, i.e. being born into a herding family, that would entitle a person to an ear mark. This is definitely not the case as there are four more paragraphs to §32 that address such issues like being adopted or married into a herding family.

Paragraphs two, three, four and five in section 32 discuss the issue of reindeer ear mark when it comes to subjects like adoption, marriage, termination of marriage and negotiation within the Reindeer Board. For all intents and purposes, a child adopted by a Sámi family is given the same rights to reindeer marks and herding as if it was born in the family. It does not matter what the child's background, race or heritage is, once it gets legally adopted by Sámi parents, it has the same rights as any other Sámi child. For the purpose of this Act, the adopted child becomes of indigenous Sámi origin and as long as it is able to prove that it qualifies for an ear mark in terms of the first paragraph of section 32, then it has the right to herd reindeers. Paragraph three addresses marriage and states that a person, who by him/herself does not qualify for an ear mark, but marries a 'responsible leader of a Siida share', will be allowed to have a mark. To clarify, here the term 'responsible leader' refers in accordance to §10 to that person in the Siida share that has the power to determine who gets to have reindeers in that share and how many reindeers they have. Paragraph three applies even if the 'outsider' is only a partner/cohabitant with the aforementioned responsible Siida share leader as long as paragraph four of section 13 is followed, which mentions situations when the unmarried pair have had children together, have been married previously, or have been living together in a marriage-like relationship for at least two years. This means that a non-Sámi person or a Sámi who is not under normal circumstance entitled to reindeer rights under §9 is in a serious relationship or married to a reindeer herding responsible Siida leader can have an ear mark, thus own reindeers and be part of a Siida. This person also becomes a co-leader and thus a co-responsible Siida leader in accordance to §13. But this co-position should be differentiated from the role of an independent responsible leader, because as per §13 only spouses and cohabitants that under §9 have the right to own reindeer can become independent responsible leaders.

In the case of termination of a relationship or marriage, paragraph four states that the person who has been entitled to the reindeer mark only through the now ended relationship, will still be able to continue to herd reindeers with their own mark and stay within the Siida ONLY if they remain a responsible Siida share leader. For this to be a straight forward case, the termination has to be due to death of the original Siida share leader and then the other person remains the only responsible Siida share leader. However, if the relationship has been terminated by anything else but death, this person looses the co-responsible leader position, which according to paragraph four of §32 would mean that they also loose the reindeer mark. Further to that, §14 mentions that at certain situations, depending on a discreet agreement, the now ex-spouse/cohabitant can still own some reindeers within this Siida share (despite loosing their mark) or even can be given an independent responsible leader position of a Siida share, which would preserve their ear mark. This is obviously a matter of choice and depends if that person wants to continue such a close interaction with the Siida of their ended relationship. However, paragraph four of §32 also states that if this person is kept as an responsible Siida share leader, they are not allowed to bring in other '"outsiders" within the Siida share, thus any new spouses or

cohabitants to that person are not entitled to a reindeer mark as per paragraph three of §32.

Clearly all these regulations can create quite a few misunderstandings, unfair decisions and general Siida disturbances. This is where paragraph five seems to give a solution to any possible misunderstandings as it gives the power to the Reindeer Board to grant the right to a reindeer ear mark when this will provide for a smoother, more orderly husbandry. This paragraph is quite open to interpretations and gives power to the Reindeer Board to freely give away the right to an ear mark to individuals in the interest of the good of a peaceful and harmonious reindeer husbandry. On one had this is an excellent way of having the possibility to deal with exceptional cases but on the other, this power given to the Board could by itself create further disagreements within some Siidas. Overall, §4, §9 and §32 clarify the rules about who has the right to be a herder, have an ear mark and own reindeers. The right to a reindeer ear mark is the key element to being a reindeer herder in Norway.

After discussing the main requirement for herding reindeers, i.e. getting an ear mark, now is the time to look at the second requirement for herding, being part of a Siida. As stated in paragraph two of §9: “It is a condition for owning reindeer that the reindeers are part of a Siida share or a sideline recruitment share being run by an responsible leader under §§10 and sequence” (Reindriftsloven, 2007: §9). To make it more clear, there is a difference between a Siida and a Siida share (“siidaandel”). As explained in §10, a Siida share is a family group or individuals who are part of a the bigger social structure that the Siida represents. The Siida is the social, cultural and traditional way of grouping herding families as a herding collective within the Sámi communities. A Siida is usually made out of a few Siida shares, each share led by its own responsible leader. Most of the time the Siida is made out of shares that belong to related families such as parents, siblings and cousins. In other words, a Siida has a few Siida shares and as long as one belongs to a Siida share with a responsible leader and is entitled to an ear mark, then one can own reindeers. Usually a Siida and all its Siida shares herd together and keep the greater reindeer herd as one until it is time to separate Siida share herds for various activities, such as vaccination, slaughter and movement from summer to winter pastures. Section 10 further pin-points the Siida share responsible leader as the one who determines who from their share owns what proportion of the share’s reindeers, thus can put their personal ear mark on which reindeers. It is also important to mention that a responsible Siida share leader can only be the leader of one Siida share and is not allowed to own reindeers in more than one share. However, underaged children of separated parents can have reindeers in both the Siida shares of their mother and of their father.

Section 11 continues with a more specific explanation of how Siida shares are established. Within a specific Siida and its existing Siida shares, an unanimous decision must be reached before a new Siida share, with a responsible leader, is to be created. An important factor in §11 is that this new Siida share does not threaten the “ecological, economic and cultural sustainability of the Siida” (Reindriftsloven, 2007: §11). Section 12 also mentions the possibility to establish a so-called “sideline recruitment share” which is a subordinate section to a Siida share. Each Siida share only has the right to have one sideline share and the leader of this sideline share can only be the child, grandchild or another member of the younger generation of the responsible Siida share leader’s family. The sideline share leader must be of legal age, eligible under §9 to own reindeers and must have been involved in herding together with the Siida share leader for at least three years. This puts the sideline share leader in an excellent situation where they could later in life be rewarded for their work by being able to have their own Siida share or by becoming the new

responsible leader for the Siida share they were in. Another important regulation is §16 which addresses the issue of Siida share liquidation, particularly paragraph four, forced liquidation of a Siida share. If a Siida share (with or without a sideline share) has had less than 50 reindeers for five years in a row, it will be forcibly liquidated after a notification is sent during the forth consecutive year of under 50 reindeers. This regulation is mainly applied in order to guarantee that the Sámi who have moved away from the idea of being herders and have found more mainstream jobs do not just keep their Siida share only for the sake of a provision of an easy access to herding for their future generations. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that having just above 50 reindeers (or anywhere between 51-100) in a Siida share, which consists of one or more members, does not require that much time to manage and is definitely not a full time job, so it is done while having another job. Most of herders do not have reindeer herding as their main livelihood. Section 16 is a good way of regulating and sieving out the really involved and the not so involved herders and Siida shares. Section 18 is the last section from chapter two of the Act and it addresses the fact that Siida share leaders must annually notify the county about the number of reindeers in their share and what proportion belongs to who within the share. This is particularly useful to know in terms of the following discussion about subsidies as outlined in the Act and later on as mentioned in the yearly reindeer herding agreements.

With the system of the Siida, the Siida share and the sideline share, most of the decision power is left in the hands of a group of people who are relatives. This means that on top of the strictly business related decisions, there is a lot of emotional and personal decisions being made too. As with any relatives, some people get along together better than others, which inevitably leads to many disagreements and misunderstandings. Adding also the recent days competitiveness in the reindeer herding business and harsh husbandry conditions, many of the communities I have worked with raised the concern that it is almost impossible nowadays to get into the herding business unless your family has good connections within the Siida, has been doing it as their livelihood for many years and you have been part of herding from a young age. Even if one is entitled to a ear mark by law, getting into a Siida, trying to establish a Siida share within a Siida or being made a leader of a Siida share's sideline share is a task that many have failed unless they have had the backing support of many of their relatives and years of participation within their family's Siida. Further examples from various Sámi herding communities will be presented later on in the chapter.

Chapter three from the Act addresses the rights that come with reindeer herding. In order for herders to successfully conduct their animals, there are certain privileges that they have to be allowed to exercise. Section 19 discusses the pasturing rights and it outlines what kind of areas the reindeers are allowed to graze in and on. Paragraph one of §19 mentions two main types of grazing areas, i.e. mountain terrains and uncultivated land areas. This means that reindeers should be herd appropriately by the Sámi so that the herd does not go into cultivated areas or other crop lands. The King however retains the right to restrict the access to certain areas for ecological or environmental reasons. The use of fences and other constructions to ensure that the herd is kept within the allowed territories is allowed as long as it does not contradict with other laws or with the landowners interests. Section 24 extensively addresses the use of fences and other facilitating constructions and underlines the fact that if any of them are to stand for more than one season, then a special permission is required. So technically the Sámi are not allowed to permanently fence off areas for the good of the herd but more use these temporary fences and constructions to ease the seasonal movement of reindeers from various areas. Section 21 focuses on the right to posses a cabin or a hut in the area or areas where the herding takes place even if the land does not belong to the herders. The

purpose of this small sized property is solely and entirely for the benefit of herding, so this cabin or hut cannot be used as a permanent living arrangement. It can be used for storage of materials necessary during herding, as a food storage for the reindeers and/or as a shelter for the herder while they are herding in this area. People who are not herders are not allowed to have such properties within areas that cannot be proven to be theirs. Section 23 allows reindeer herders to use motorised vehicles within grazing areas for the purpose of herding and further, §62 specifies that the use of the appropriate vehicles has to be regulated by different districts depending on the districts terrain and accessibility. It has to be mentioned that as a big part of the herding mountainous terrain falls under the regulations for national parks and privately owned land not belonging to the herders, people who are not reindeer herders would not normally have the right to use all-terrain vehicles, snowmobiles or other motorised transportation devices within these areas.

Chapter three continues with sections 25 and 26 which address the issues of foraging, hunting, fishing, trapping and the use of firewood. Within their herding areas, the herders are allowed to gather and use various trees and shrubs for their own personal benefit or for the benefit of their herd in order to build fires, fences, sheds, and parts of huts. However, this is only allowed to be dried wood, fallen branches, bark and other tree and shrub material which have already been discarded by nature. Fresh deciduous wood or shrubs are not to be cut down or used unless there is none of the appropriate material mentioned above available within the area, and in such cases, the herders can be charged by the landowner for the use of these fresh materials. When it comes to hunting, fishing and trapping in Crown areas of no particular land registry inside the reindeer grazing areas, the Sámi herders have the right to practice these activities with the same rights as all other permanent residents of that municipality, village or larger area, which would usually include special licensing. When it comes to forest and mountain routes that do belong to a specific land registry but are still within the reindeer grazing areas, the reindeer herders have the special right to exercise hunting, fishing and trapping there as it has been set out from “immemorial times”. All other residents would not normally be allowed to hunt, fish or trap in land registered forests. The Sámi herders are also allowed within reindeer grazing areas to use special, traditional equipment for fishing. Depending on the King’s decision, the permission to fishing in particular lakes might be exclusively kept for herders. This in most cases would mean that within some reindeer grazing area some lakes are more valuable to the Sámi herders than others and an exclusivity for them to be the only people to fish from such lakes would make a big difference in their successful herding experience.

Overall, in chapter three there is a concrete establishment of special rights for the herders in order for them to be able to conduct their traditional livelihood easier. The sections within this chapter are also very closely connected to some of the issues indigenous rights documents have addressed. In a sense chapter three of the Act most obviously focuses on special rights that only indigenous people who practise herding in Norway are allowed to have. Even thought these are small aspects of day-to-day life, such as having the right to hunt and fish is areas where no one else would be or using motorised vehicles in otherwise forbidden places, the Reindeer Herding Act has never claimed to be an indigenous rights document but it does have the obligation to follow other indigenous rights documents that have been ratified in Norway. The very sensitive issues of land rights and land possession have not be directly tackled within this Act. However, it is good to see that there are specific sections that address the fact that herders and their herds are given the right to freely use lands they do not own, even in the cases where these are areas specifically under the landownership of other people.

Chapter six of the Act has very specific sections addressing the core regulations behind the organisational power of reindeer herding within the district and the Siida. Section 42 focuses on the division of the reindeer grazing lands into reindeer grazing districts depending on customary use and natural boarders. As mentioned before in §4, all the Sámi reindeer grazing areas fall in the counties of Finnmark, Troms, Nordland, Nord-Trøndelag, Sør-Trondelag and Hedmark. Furthermore, the grazing areas within each of these counties is divided into herding districts, the so-called 'reinbeitedistrikter', which provides a better organisational system for the herders and their Siida. Where possible, within each districts there should be grazing areas that are suitable for all the herders needs, such as pastures that cover all seasons. However, if that is not an option, then seasonal grazing areas of one district can be spread over several other districts, which stresses the importance for cooperation and peaceful interaction between districts. Moreover, as paragraph three of §42 states: "The division into districts is not an obstacle to cooperation between herders across districts boundaries...[It] is not an obstacle to the use of grazing in another district when this follows the special legal rules." (Reindriftsloven, 2007: §42). Chapter six continues with more regulations about the establishments of district boards and the related district boards' responsibilities, authority and finances. What is important to remember is that the district has the power to acquire and distribute funds from the government to the Siidas. Later on, a further discussion of the various yearly distributed governmental funds will focus on the availability of money, their importance and use within the herding communities.

So far, the grazing areas have been divided into counties and more importantly into districts. The next division is to have the districts broken down into the traditional Siida organisation so that within each districts there are multiple Siidas. Chapter six from the Act, further to the already discussed chapter two, continues with the clarification behind the Siida system. As mentioned before, each Siida usually consists of a few families, which are closely related and keep their herds together, and the Siida is divided into Siida shares, each with its own responsible share leader and a further possibility of a Siida sideline share. The law distinguishes between summer and winter Siidas but it is important to mention that all districts have summer Siidas but not all districts have winter Siidas. This is not to be confused with summer and winter grazing areas as any Siida can have summer and winter grazing lands or have a more all-season approach to their herding depending on the climate of their county. Within each district, the summer Siidas have the responsibility to choose a Siida Board, which will provide for the successful communication between the Siidas and their district. However, according to §53 if such a Siida Board is not established then at the annual Siida meeting a representative must be chosen, who will be the main contact between the Siidas and their district. This is again extremely important when it comes to the appropriate distribution of funds from the government through the districts and finally to the Siidas.

After having addressed some of the basic sections within the Act, the rest of the document deals with aspects such as general rules of herding, formalities about registration of reindeer marking, districts plans, liability for damages and various other provisions. A few of the more important sections within the rest of the Act are discussed below, starting with §57, which addresses the usage rules of districts. Each district has the task to establish rules applicable within this district regarding grazing area use, reindeers numbers, use of vehicles, management of funds, distribution of duties and maintenance. Each district also has to have a district plan, which according to §62 will provide an overview of what the district is dealing with in terms of pasture management and herd mobility patterns. Districts have to set out an individual upper reindeer number for all summer Siidas according to availability of grazing areas within each Siida vicinity and sustainability legislations. Where

applicable, an upper reindeer number can also be established for winter Siidas based on the same principles. If these numbers are exceeded, a proportional reduction plan should be implemented within affected Siidas and if any disagreements occur amongst the Siida shares, then a possible upper number of reindeers per Siida share can be put forward. The number of reindeers within districts has been a huge issue in recent years in some of the areas I conducted my fieldwork in and a lot of disputes have arisen, which I will discuss later on.

Section 71 focuses on the Reindeer Herding Board, which is a public administrative body, where four members and their deputies are appointed by the King and three members and their deputies are appointed by the Sámi Parliament. The Board has a variety of tasks to execute but probably the biggest goal of the Board is to help the authorities to meet the goals set by the government for the reindeer herding communities. The distribution of power within the Board is a clear indication that the Norwegian government compared to the Sámi Parliament has an advantageous control over the decision making abilities of the Reindeer Herding Board with four against three appointed members. Another point to be made is the fact that since July 2014, the newly established Agriculture Agency (Landbruksdirektoratet) part of the Norwegian Ministry of Agriculture and Food has taken control over the management tasks and personnel for the activities of what was previously known as SRF, the Governmental Reindeer Authority (‘Statens reindriftsforvaltning’) and SLF, the Governmental Agriculture Authority (‘Statens landbruksforvaltning’). This means that now the reindeer herding authority is directly in the hands of the Agriculture Agency. The abolishment of SRF can been seen both as an advantage and a disadvantage. On one side, the centralised organisational power and resource management that is being brought could lead to more efficiency and less conflicts within reindeer herding. On the other side, the upper most managerial responsibilities of the reindeer husbandry business are now directly just a part of the Agriculture Agency, which has eliminated a certain level of reindeer herding specific authority.

Overall, the Reindeer Herding Act of 2007 is an important and innovative legislative document able to provide ample legal guidance and measured autonomy to reindeer herders. The focus of the Act is to establish a connection between the cultural, social and traditional ways of reindeer husbandry and the modern day Norwegian requirements for legislative guidance within any operative industry. This is done by preserving the traditional values of the Sámi herding communities and incorporating them within a legal document. With the help of this Act, the herders have the opportunity to have an enhanced cooperation with the government, which would equate to a greater amount of beneficial results for reindeer herding in general.

REINDEER HERDING PHOTOGRAPHS

Reindeer being gathered on a hill top in Finnmark during vaccination and slaughter time for a few Siida families and their animals around end of September.



Reindeer just outside the main pen



Reindeer being rushed into the main pen



Reindeer in the main pen being vaccinated and sorted for slaughter
Weather conditions change quickly in this area, from sunny to a snow storm in a matter of minutes





Vaccinated animals where marked with a paint spray in order not to be slaughtered













Some of the male reindeer with larger antlers deemed as dominant males in various herds, had to have their antlers cut down. This helped other less dominant males to stand a chance in inseminating more females in order to prevent too many females being inseminated by the same dominant male and future genetic problems for the herds.





Some of the larger dominant male reindeer needed a few people to be able to be handled









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