

## The Sami People: The "White Indians" of Scandinavia

HARALD GASKI

---

When the Great Creator created the ancestors of the Sami people, he laid down in the middle of the earth the living and beating heart of a two-year-old reindeer cow, so that when the Sami people are in trouble, they can put an ear to the ground and listen for the heartbeats from below. If the heart is still beating, this means there is still a future for the Sami people, and whatever problems they have can be solved one way or another. From the beating of the female reindeer heart deep in the earth there is a line to the beating of the Sami drum and to the ancient times when the songs of the people were developed and performed—the songs that tell the story and continue to renew the Sami people's belief in the future.<sup>1</sup>

The Sami form an indigenous ethnic group that settled in wide areas of Norway, Sweden, northern Finland and on the Kola peninsula in Russia. It is difficult to establish their number, because ethnic definition may vary, and the choice of identifying oneself as a Sami is an individual one. The current estimate, however, places the total population between thirty thousand and fifty thousand, most of whom live in Norway. The name *Sami* is derived from our own designation of ourselves as *sámit* or *sápmelaccat*; no one knows the real meaning of these names.<sup>2</sup> Formerly we were known as Lapps. Today the designation of *Sami*

---

Harald Gaski is an assistant professor in the School of Languages and Literature at the University of Tromsø, Norway. As a participant in the American Indian-Scandinavian Sami cultural exchange program, he visited a number of American Indian reservations. He has been instrumental in the emergence of Sami studies as an academic discipline in Norway and the Scandinavian North.

is coming into international use, due to the global cooperation between ethnic minorities, where the Sami have played an active part since the founding of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) at Port Alberni, Canada in the mid 1970s.<sup>3</sup>

It used to be customary to divide the Sami people into four main groups (sea Sami, river and lake Sami, forest Sami, and mountain Sami), according to their settlement and way of life, but this classification is falling into disuse. Today, the Sami community is as complex and many-sided as any other modern community, but, in its cultural and educational policy, it makes a conscious effort to retain links to traditional values, while shaping a new future. One example of this is the emphasis on trying to preserve a close relationship with natural surroundings. Lately, in a time of increasing environmental disruption and ecological disaster, there has been a growing interest worldwide in the traditional ways of life of indigenous peoples. The world's more industrialized nations are changing their view that these cultures are primitive and are looking to them for valuable information about ecological adaptation in technically based societies.<sup>4</sup>

The Sami language is divided into a number of major dialects, and, in fact, the differences between some of the dialects are bigger than those between the various Scandinavian languages. The differences between neighboring dialects, however, are so minor that mutual understanding is quite possible. For example, a message sent from the southernmost part of Samiland can easily pass through the entire Sami area to the northernmost and easternmost parts in Sami language, with only minor adjustments from one dialect to another. But the dialects at the starting and ending points of the route will not be mutually intelligible—they will, in fact, be as far apart as Norwegian and German.<sup>5</sup>

The Sami have always held their language to be of special cultural value; even the present official definition of a Sami is primarily linguistic. To be eligible for the Sami Parliament (Storting) and to be enrolled in the register for the election, a person himself or a parent or grandparent must have spoken Sami as his first language. Traditionally, such a definition insured that the person in question really was of Sami descent, because, in earlier times, non-Sami would not even think of teaching their children the Sami language, even if their families had been living in a Sami area for generations. One of the things that non-Sami bragged about was their own ignorance of the Sami language. My mother tongue had this low status for quite a long time.

The Sami language is rich in formative suffixes, a fact that simplifies the formation of easily recognizable terms for the many new concepts and objects of modern life. Sami language policy has been quite puristic, though; through the media and the schools, many new Sami expressions have been adopted into everyday usage in Scandinavian languages, permitting the Sami to avoid importing new words from Norwegian and other languages. From a historical point of view, however, many of the old words loaned from Old Norse are of great interest. The Sami language is extremely rich in words describing animal life, topographical features, snow, and other natural phenomena that have been important to fishermen and hunters. Some of these terms are now disappearing because the mode of life is changing.<sup>6</sup>

For the Sami, it has never been of vital importance to be full-blooded. What has mattered more is a person's attitude toward the Sami people, language, and culture. In my view, it has thus always been easier to be a Sami among the Sami people than, for instance, to be an Indian in many United States Indian tribes, where the degree of Indian blood is an important cultural determinant.

Furthermore, most Sami villages are so small that it is always easy to be fully informed of people within that society, even to get to know the ancestry of an outsider on the basis of relatives, kinsfolk, and acquaintances from the part of Samiland that the outsider claims to come from. Aside from this method of social control, the Sami tradition has never been hostile to outsiders. There are even old Sami myths that express the positive side of mixing blood with other peoples through what might be called "extra-ethnic" marriages.<sup>7</sup>

## EARLY HISTORY

There are several theories concerning the origin of the Sami people, their ancestral homeland, and possible relationships to other ethnic groups, even physical anthropological studies to identify typical Sami characteristics. Ancient Sami myths refer to long migrations before the Sami eventually arrived in the land that today they call *Sápmi* or *Sámi eanan*. The most ancient of these myths ends at the time when the Sami started to believe in a shamanistic form of religion, the same religion that Christian missionaries would battle against at a later time. The myths tell

about two separate routes of migration to the land of the Sami, one from the north and the other from the south.<sup>8</sup>

The Sami of old were hunters and fishermen, as has been confirmed by archaeological excavations and by the oldest extant literary source of Sami history, i. e., Tacitus's description of the *fenni* in his *Germania* from A. D. 98. One of the oldest soil finds assumed to be Sami was made on the island of Kjelmo in southern Varanger in Norway and appears to have been a settlement used for seasonal fishing and hunting on the coast. A rich assortment of equipment for such activities has been found, with almost everything made from bone. The oldest cultural strata date back to the beginning of the Christian era. It is a matter of intense discussion today as to when the ethnic dispersion took place among the Sami and what kind of evidence confirms that one has found a Sami dwelling site in a given area.<sup>9</sup>

The old Sami social order was based on the *siida* system, with separate hunting parties joining together to form larger multifamily social units. These *siida* were run in a completely democratic manner. Settlement was based on ecological adaptation and resource-oriented migration; therefore, most *siida* moved between different seasonal habitations, utilizing the natural resources as they matured in each area. It may be assumed that the *siida* system was part of the reason why confrontations between Sami and Norwegians did not occur often, even when the process of colonization gained full speed. The Sami withdrew northward to one of their seasonal habitations to avoid strife, but this reduced their range of action and access to the type of catch that abounded in those areas that were abandoned.

Colonization by Indo-European-speaking Norwegians started on the coast and made its way into the fjords and up the rivers, step by step, gradually depriving the Sami of their autonomy in the process. The various Sami groups were so widely scattered and so weakly united that they never managed to mobilize any major opposition to the loss of their indigenous lands and water sources. Also, the intensive exploitation by Norwegians of available natural resources was followed by increased taxation. At quite an early date, the Sami were the object of raiding and taxation by neighboring peoples. As a matter of fact, some groups were periodically taxed by three different countries: Denmark/Norway, Sweden/Finland, and Russia. Soon colonization permanently decreased the importance of subsistence hunting as a traditional way of life.<sup>10</sup> It was replaced by a higher degree of occupational diversification, which

meant a narrower utilization of fewer niches, such as breeding of reindeer and farm animals, fishing at sea and in the rivers, and hunting and fishing in general. The new tendency was to concentrate on one major source of income instead of rotating between the various possibilities.<sup>11</sup>

It is known that the Vikings, among others, sailed north to raid and plunder but also to obtain boats and to consult the Sami shamans. The Sami on the coast were known from early Viking times as able boat-builders, and Sami shamans, the *noaidit*, have always been regarded with awe, even by the Norwegians. Innumerable stories tell about the exploits of these shamans, especially when it came to providing information about activities in distant places or using their magic powers. Shamans comprised an important institution in the old Sami society, since they were the ones who preserved and passed on the knowledge of myths and rites and presumably also were able to create new rituals.

In the ancient Sami religion, the shaman, assisted by his magic drum with its painted patterns, could foretell the success of future hunting trips and predict the fate of his people, in a way acting as their spiritual guide. The central Sami deity was *Beaivi*, the sun, with lesser gods acting in support. Three other important mythological personalities are the Sami goddesses *Sáráhká*, *Juksáhká*, and *Uksáhká*, all of whom had certain functions related to the birth of children, in addition to being protectors of women and children. The Sami also made sacrifices to stone gods called *sieidi*, which might have a particular look or form or simply be the place or object through which the gods manifested themselves locally.<sup>12</sup>

The land of the Sami is and has been of central importance to the colonizers, both strategically and politically, on account of its geographical situation, its natural resources, and its ice-free harbors. In fact, it is surprising that the borders in this part of Europe have stayed so stable. In Sami areas, the border with Sweden was established in 1751 and with Russia in 1826. The Border Treaty of 1751 provides certain privileges to the Sami in an addendum known as the "The Lapp Codicil."<sup>13</sup> This document has been interpreted as an important legal acceptance by the national state of the rights of the Sami as a separate ethnic group, and it is important today in the ongoing work concerning Sami rights to land and water in indigenous Sami areas.<sup>14</sup>

## FORCED ASSIMILATION AND SAMI OPPOSITION

The Sami were the focus of Christian missionary efforts at quite an early date, but these efforts did not really take off until the eighteenth century, when Thomas von Westen formalized the missionary and educational work in the north. The basis of this activity was the emergence of what is called "the pietistic school of thought," but political considerations concerning the Norwegian nation and its security were also involved. In combination with the growth of "Laestadianism"—an orthodox diversion of Christianity developed in the north of Scandinavia that influenced the Sami congregations from around the middle of the nineteenth century—these missionary efforts gradually led to the total extinction of the ancient Sami religion. All but a few of the Sami "visionary" drums were destroyed, and the *sieidi* rock formations, with their sources of power, were dismantled and destroyed. All sources of traditional spiritual power were cut. One additional factor that caused the Sami to turn their backs on the old gods was the feeling of having been let down by them. When the Sami beseeched their gods for help to get rid of the intruders, no improvement took place. On the contrary, the Sami found that the colonists could steal votive offerings without divine retribution.<sup>15</sup>

With no help from their gods or support from the national authorities, the Sami had to rely on themselves. They still felt proud of their culture and their traditions and saw few benefits from assimilation. On the contrary, assimilation would be a betrayal of their forebears and their myths. Assimilation and extinction were exactly what the stories of the past had forewarned them about; now, in these difficult times, the stories were there to comfort and encourage the Sami people to believe in the future.

The Sami soon developed strategies for interacting with the intruders while upholding their own cultural identity. These strategies were mainly of an artistic kind, with the music of the Sami *yoik* as their basis. The *yoik* is a uniquely Sami form of music, resembling, in sound and structure, the American Indian's use of vocables and words to melodize a mood or state of mind. In former times, it is likely to have been used by the Sami in quite different contexts, in the practice of their shamanistic religion as well as in situations of a more intimate and personal character. The epic *yoiks* recorded in the early nineteenth century also contain clear-cut political views on the process of colonization that the Sami had been and still are subjected to by the countries in which they live.

There are several examples of *yoik* texts of this kind, in which the Sami are referred to as either the woodland people or the *noaidit*—the shamans. The shamans were the primary target of missionary attacks, a fact that the Sami put to good use when exploiting the dual role that art can play. They insulted the *noaidis* in their songs, evidently to please the ministers, while at the same time letting the *noaidis* represent Sami values.<sup>16</sup>

In the antiphonal song, the shaman admits that the thief has become master of the land of the *noaidis*; nevertheless, he ends his song in a kind of magic incantation meant to drive the thief away. This is a dimension of the shaman's song that the thief may choose to ignore because he believes he is superior, or he may simply fail to grasp its significance. This old dialogue is so modern in its content that one could almost believe it to be a dispute between today's Sami politicians and representatives of the central government unable to understand each other's views. Also, in its view of who, in the final analysis, really possesses power, the *yoik* is modern in the sense that the shaman is subject to the administrative and political supremacy of the thief. But when it comes to words and their influence, it is the shaman who most clearly demonstrates reliance on the power of arguments; that, too, is a truth that the minority clearly recognizes: "He who has the power has no need of arguments."

The subtle use of double connotation in *yoik* poetry makes it possible to communicate on two levels, so that one type of message was conveyed to a Sami audience and quite a different one to outsiders. Initially, this was made necessary by the fact that the most important political gatherings of the Sami were used quite early in the colonization process also by tax collectors, missionaries, and traders to exercise the authority of the majority over its new subjects in the North.

Once government officials had acquired an elementary knowledge of the Sami language, the Sami changed some meanings but not the sound of the language. Metaphor replaced metonym as the medium of intercultural dialogue. Therefore, any direct political appeal by Sami leaders, such as for opposition against colonization, would be understood only by native-speaking Sami, not by the colonizers. Thus the Sami avoided severe punishment from the state for disobedience.

The Sami depended on being able to exploit their language to convey hidden messages and coded information through symbols and figurative meanings. From this point of view, *yoik* poetry may

also be considered an oppositional form of art. In addition, it provides knowledge important to understanding later literary means of expression in verbal Sami that was opposed to outside influence. Moreover, the *yoik* as such has become an important symbol of the distinctive character and independence of the Sami.

*Yoik* poetry has also been an important source of inspiration for modern Sami writers.<sup>17</sup> This applies to the old epic songs as well as to the personal, animal, and nature *yoiks* of today. In a sense, the language in the various types of *yoik* has not shown a great deal of variation; understatements and culturally determined figurative meanings play an important role in all of them. The reason why personal *yoiks* have survived whereas epic songs have well-nigh disappeared may be that the personal *yoiks* have functioned as an important medium of social integration within the Sami community. In this respect, they have come close to being the most intimately cultural and personal possession one could have.

The middle of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of an educational and cultural policy regarding the Sami—and all Finnish-speaking immigrants—that developed an increasingly pronounced form of “Norwegianization.” The national education acts dating from the end of the nineteenth century emphasized that all instruction was to be in the Norwegian language. There even was a system of rewards for the teachers who were the most successful at Norwegianizing their pupils. This national language policy was enforced until after the Second World War.<sup>18</sup>

There were a number of reasons for the Norwegianization effort. Farming as well as fishing in Norway and the entire North became more intensive and required more capital, which led to the Sami’s finding themselves outside the national economic system for administrative reasons. This contributed to an economic crisis in Sami agriculture and fisheries in several areas, which, in turn, paved the way for a tendency to downgrade Sami culture in its entirety. The mass immigration of Finns to the northern areas of Norway during the twentieth century doubtless provided ample justification for pushing Norwegianization in order to ensure national security,<sup>19</sup> while attitudes based on social Darwinism legitimized the ranking of Norwegian culture above its Sami counterpart. During the early part of the twentieth century, a certain degree of opposition existed among the Sami toward Norwegianization; it was at this time that politicians and writers began to focus on the rights of the Sami as a separate people inside the borders of the Norwegian nation-state. In 1906, Isak Saba was



elected a special Sami member of the Norwegian Parliament, thanks to the active mobilization of the Sami people, especially through the columns of the newspaper *Sagaiv Muittalaegje*, masterminded by teacher and author Anders Larsen. The emergence of a national labor movement, however, soon swallowed the entire ethnically based mobilization within the wider issue of social solidarity, reducing the Sami issue to a question of social justice and equality. Organized Sami activities did not flourish again until after 1945.<sup>20</sup>

The years following the Second World War saw the development of a more considered view of the rights of the Sami as an indigenous ethnic and linguistic minority. Universal ideas about human worth and the rights of small nations crystallized into concrete reports and statements concerning the position of the Sami in Norway. In 1959, the foundation of a broadly based debate concerning the principles governing the future of the Sami in Norway was laid out by a national committee set up to report on Sami questions. The basic attitude of the committee was that the Sami ought to be integrated into the social and economic structure of the nation, with a view to achieving equality in society in general. It also advocated a consolidation of areas settled by Sami and proposed certain special administrative arrangements and measures to protect their culture, thus making it possible for them to continue as carriers of a minority culture within Norwegian society. On the whole, the national government accepted the views of its expert committee and gained support in the Norwegian Parliament (May 1963) for the committee's proposals. The Parliament worked out guidelines in a series of measures involving the school system as well as public health and social services, higher education, basic research, and cultural activities.<sup>21</sup> In addition, since 1963, the Sami have become more deeply involved in voluntary organizations and public executive bodies. Sami organizations are becoming stronger as more and more young Sami complete higher education programs and enter the political and occupational arenas on a par with civil servants and other persons representing the national authorities.

## SAMI ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS

In 1947, Sami who were involved in reindeer breeding established the National Association of Norwegian Reindeer Breeders, which

has played an important part in the relationship between the national administration of reindeer breeding on the one hand and the Sami's own influence on the management of this traditional occupation on the other. There are now annual negotiations between this organization and the authorities for a separate agreement concerning reindeer breeding similar to those entered into by the agricultural organizations. On the whole, the National Association of Norwegian Reindeer Breeders plays a central role in the development of modern reindeer breeding based on factors of technology and economy. It is also actively involved in the inter-Nordic cooperation between Sami established by their organizations through the Nordic Sami Council.<sup>22</sup>

Since 1968, the National Association of Norwegian Sami (NSR) has, on a broad, idealistic basis, set out to unite the Sami and to work for improvements in their cultural, social, and economic conditions. The NSR has been working actively for Sami political rights and, among other things, played an important role in getting work started on reports that were delivered by the committees for Sami culture and for Sami rights. Despite the promptings of the NSR, however, the government did not establish these committees until the uproar that followed the government's decision to build a hydroelectric plant in Alta, a traditional reindeer herding area. This outcry compelled the authorities to take the question of Sami rights seriously. The combined interests of Norwegian conservationists and the Sami united a large number of people in a series of demonstrations against the development of the Alta-Guovdageaidnu River. Sami from various organizations formed a group that pressured the authorities, for example, by staging a highly publicized hunger strike in Oslo, the capital.<sup>23</sup>

The National Association of Sami (SLF) is the third major Sami organization in Norway. It came into being as a protest against what were felt to be too-radical Sami demands which, if met, would create special privileges for the Sami and thereby pave the way for friction between the different ethnic groups in the North. The SLF, among other things, opposed the creation of a separate, directly elected Sami legislative organ. Ironically, the government and the national Parliament have since decided to establish such a legislature.

Another institution established in the 1970s is the Nordic Sami Institute, which functions as a center for research and information about the Sami. The institute, located in the northern city of

Kautokeino, is financed jointly by the Nordic countries. The board has a Sami majority, where the Sami organizations, among others, are represented. In 1989, the town of Guovdageaidnu became the home of yet another important institution when a Sami regional college was established there, primarily funded by resources transferred from the former Sami Department of the Alta Teacher Training School.<sup>24</sup> The college trains teachers and sponsors research and development work. The universities in Tromsø and Oslo have their own Sami departments, where several members of the research staffs of current Sami institutions were originally trained. The Sami Educational Council in Guovdageaidnu has the task of making available to the school system such teaching aids in the Sami language as are required.<sup>25</sup>

#### OFFICIAL REPORTS AND THE ROLE OF THE ARTS

The national committee set up to report on Sami rights presented the first part of its report in 1984, discussing the legal basis in national and international law of Sami legal status in Norway. The report concluded with a recommendation to pass a special Sami law and to establish a separate, democratically elected Sami body—a Sami parliament. In addition, the committee suggested that the Norwegian national constitution be changed through the insertion of a statement that the Sami are entitled to develop their own language, culture, and community life within the borders of the state of Norway. The Storting enacted this change in the spring of 1988 and also voted to arrange the first election for the Sami parliament at the same time as the elections for the Storting in 1989. Norwegian authorities as well as Sami organizations hope that this organ will prove to be truly representative of the Sami in Norway and will be able to voice their concerns.<sup>26</sup>

The government committee reporting on Sami culture has completed its task, and the Norwegian Storting has passed a separate Sami language law to strengthen the legal standing of the language and improve its status. The law also exerts an important influence on Sami educational policy. Today the Sami language is threatened from several quarters, not only by the massive influence from outside but also because so many Sami rural districts have become Norwegianized. The effect is a continuing shrinkage of the areas in which the Sami language is actively used, a process that, in turn, may limit the possibilities of using the language.

The 1970s saw the emergence of a greater breadth in Sami art as more young people acquired formal training and found the courage to experiment with form as well as content. Political issues of the day are reflected in Sami art, and the practice of traditional arts is being extended into new areas. Sami arts demonstrate continuing cultural strength. Contemporary artists feel the pressure that the Sami culture is being subjected to and understand the need to counteract the sense of inferiority and hopelessness among their own people. Also, art is an active cultural factor in shaping a viable minority community that is trying to withstand the massive influence of the national and international media and the entertainment industries.<sup>27</sup>

The Sami press and radio must also be mentioned as important institutions for upholding Sami language. They have been strengthened during the last decades, and the programs broadcast in Sami have, for a long time, constituted one of the most important institutional supports for the native language. In Norway, Sami broadcasts began shortly after the Second World War and still form the major source of Sami language news for Sami listeners. Sami Radio has its own premises in Kárásjoh, in the northernmost part of Norway. It produces mainly radio programs but also some television.

The Sami are proud of their own history. In the epic tradition of the Sami, some of the songs trace Sami ancestry back to the sun. This is especially true of the epic poems that a Sami minister, Anders Fjellner, recorded during the middle of the nineteenth century. The Daughter of the Sun favors the Sami in particular; she brought them the reindeer and is always ready to offer them protection. As for the Son of the Sun, he sets out on a year-long voyage to find himself a wife, ending up in the Land of the Giants. There he falls in love with the daughter of a giant, fleeing with her to the sunny part of the country, away from her angry brothers. After she becomes more Sami-like, he marries her. Soon she gives birth to strong, sinewy sons—skilled hunters and the inventors of skis. These brothers become the ancestors of the Sami. At their deaths, they are lifted up to heaven, where they can be seen to this day in the constellation Orion's belt.<sup>28</sup>

Such epics make it clear that the Sami possess a mythical past to which they can refer in times of need. Perhaps the time is approaching when the Daughter of the Sun will have to appeal to the Supreme Power again, and the Sami people will feel the need to put their ears to the ground to listen for the heartbeats from below.

Influences and pressures from the outside world—from modern mass media and the entertainment industry—are so overwhelming that one hour a day of Sami radio broadcasting, one Sami newspaper a week, and ten Sami novels a year hardly can counteract them. But the heart of the reindeer cow is still beating, is it not?

## NOTES

1. A reworking and reinterpretation of old Sami myths based principally on information given by the Sami minister Anders Fjellner to different sources in the middle of the nineteenth century. See, e. g., G. von Düben, *Om Lappland och lapparne* (Stockholm, 1873); O. Donner, *Lieder der Lappen* (Helsingfors, 1876); J. Fellman, *Anteckningar under min vistelse i Lapmarken II* (Helsingfors, 1906); V. Lindholm, *Solsönernas Saga* (Göteborg, 1909). See the part about the myth in H. Gaski, "The Free Sounds of the Joik in Writing," *News from the Top of the World, Norwegian Literature Today* no. 1 (Oslo, Norway: NORLA, 1988).

2. See, e. g., M. Korhonen, *Johdatus lapin kielen historiaan* (Helsinki, Finland, 1981), 42.

3. See Aa Solbakk, ed., *The Sami People* (Karasjok, Norway: Sámi Instituhtta / Davvi Girji o. s., 1990), 78. See also D. Sanders, *The Formation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples*, IWGIA document no. 29, Copenhagen 1977.

4. Conf., e. g., M. Johnson, ed., *LORE, Capturing Traditional Environmental Knowledge* (Hay River, NWT, Canada: Dene Cultural Institute, 1992), 3–23. Conf. also the UNESCO program "Man and the Biosphere" and their publications on ecological sciences, e. g., *Sustainable Management of Common Property Bioresources, Research Program* (Tromsø, Norway: Norwegian National MAB-Committee, August 1990).

5. See O. H. Magga, "The Sámi Language in Norway," in *Arctic Languages, An Awakening*, ed. Dirmid R. F. Collis (Paris: UNESCO, 1990), 419–20.

6. See K. R. Helander, "Suoivandievás Beaivvásvárrái—báikenamat sámi máilmmis," in *cafe Boddu*, essay-coakkáldat no. 1, ed. H. Gaski (Karasjok, Norway: Davvi Girji o. s., 1991).

7. See, e. g., A. Fjellner, *The Solar Son's Courtship in the Land of the Giants* (Guovdageaidnu, Norway: Beaivváš Sámi Teahter, 1990).

8. See J. Fellman, *Anteckningar*, 239–53.

9. See, e. g., K. Odner, *Finner og terfinner: etniske prosesser i det nordlige Fenno-Scandinavia* (Oslo, Norway: University Press, 1983); B. Olsen, "A Norwegian Archaeology and the People without 'Prehistory,'" *Archaeology Review from Cambridge* 5:11 (1986); Odner, "Sami (Lapps), Finns and Scandinavians in History and Prehistory. Ethnic origins and the processes in Fenno-Scandinavia," *Norwegian Archaeology Review* 18:1–2 (1985), and comments from B. Olsen, I. Sachrisson, K. Bergsland, and K. A. Moberg; Olsen, "Comments on archaeology into the 1990's," *Norwegian Archaeology Review* 22:1 (1989): 18–21.

10. See, e. g., H. Tegengren, *En utdöd lappkultur i Kemi lappmark*, in the series *Acta Academiae Åboensis Humaniora* 9:4 (Åbo, Finland, 1952). See also Ø. Vorren and E. Manker, *Samekulturen* (Oslo, Norway: University Press, 1976), 195–200.

11. Vorren, "Some Trends of the Transition from Hunting to Nomadic Economy," *Circumpolar Problems*, ed. I. G. Berg (Oxford, England, 1973); Solbakk, *The Sami People*, 32–49; K. Nickul, "The Life of Lapps Adapted to the Geographical Environment," *The Lappish Nation*, vol. 122 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1977).

12. H. Mebius, *Värro. Studier i samernas förkristna religion* (Uppsala, Sweden: 1968); E. Manker, *Lapparnas heliga ställen*, Acta Lapponica 12 (Uppsala, Sweden).

13. NOU (Norges Offentlige Utredninger) 1984: 18, Bergen 1984, 169–73.

14. *Ibid.*, 173–200. C. Smith, "Om samenes rettslige stilling," in *The First Nations, Indigenous Days '84*, ed. H. R. Mathison (Tromsø, Norway: Keviselie Productions, 1986), 99–119; *idem*, "The Sami Rights Committee," IWGIA document no. 58, Copenhagen, 1987; R. Paine, *Dam a River, Damn a People?* IWGIA document no. 45, Copenhagen, 1982.

15. See Fellman, *Anteckningar*, 195, 198, 231–34.

16. See H. Gaski, *Med ord skal tyvene fordrives, Om samenes episk poetiske diktning* (Karasjok, Norway: Davvi Media, 1987), 46–57, 112–14 (appendix 2, "Summary"). See also *idem*, "The Free Sounds."

17. See Gaski, "Like a Ski-Track across the Open Plains: The Tenderness and Strength of Sami Literature," *Minority Languages—The Scandinavian Experience* (Oslo, Norway: Nordic Language Secretariat, report no. 17, 1992), 136–39. See also N-A Valkeapää, *Ruoktu väimmus* (Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT o. s., 1985) and *idem*, *Beaivi, Áhcázan* (Guovdageaidnu, Norway: DAT o. s., 1989). You will find Valkeapää in English translation, e. g., in *writ 23/24*, 1991–92, ed. R. Greenwald (Toronto, Ontario: Innis College, University of Toronto), 5–41.

18. Solbakk, *The Sami People*, 121–29; Gaski, *Odda vugiiguin loktemin sámii iesdovddu*, in *Sátnedáidu*, ed. P. Jalvi and A. Larsen (Karasjok, Norway: Davvi Girji o. s., 1992), 5–15.

19. K. E. Eriksen and E. Niemi, *Den finske fare, minoritetspolitikk i nord 1860–1940* (Oslo-Bergen-Tromsø: University Press, 1981).

20. H. Eidheim, "Stages in the Development of Sami Self-hood," Working Paper no. 7, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Oslo, Norway, 1992.

21. NOU, 1985: 14, Oslo-Bergen-Stavanger-Tromsø, 1985, 54–72, 123–27. See also NOU 1987: 34, 144–50.

22. See Solbakk, *The Sami People*, 79–81.

23. Paine, *Dam a River*.

24. *The Whole Pole Catalogue of Exemplary Programs in Circumpolar Education* (Chelsea, MA: Roger Lang Clearinghouse for Circumpolar Education, 1992–93), 29–32.

25. NOU 1985: 14, 212.

26. O. T. Brantenberg, "Constructing indigenous self-government in a nation-state," in *The Challenge of Northern Regions*, ed. P. Jull and S. Roberts (Darwin, Australia: North Australia Research Unit, 1991), 66–128.

27. S. Persen, "Dáiddárcalmmit sámii servodahki," in *cafe Boddu*, 13–19.

28. See note 7.