

## Module 4

# Changes in Expressions of Cultural Identity in Greenland and Northern Europe

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## Course objectives

The previous modules of this course illustrated the changes in expressions of cultural self-determination of the indigenous peoples of the North American– and Russian Arctic while the first module of this course provided the theoretical background in relation to culture, identity and self-determination. This module examines the various ways in which indigenous peoples seek to express their identity through media, literary works, education, family and recreation and how this process developed over time in Greenland and Northern Europe. The objective is to show how living conditions, lifestyle, changes in population, and national policies have influenced traditional livelihood. Furthermore, the importance of language – especially mother tongue – is discussed and whether attempts to revitalize indigenous languages have

been successful. This module also illustrates the importance of education and recreation for cultural self-determination and how the family unit is understood by Arctic populations. The module sheds light on developments in Greenland and Northern Europe, defined as the northernmost parts of Finland, Norway, and Sweden. Iceland and the Faroe Islands are not included in this module since both were generally believed to be unpopulated when Norse settlers arrived in the 9<sup>th</sup> century and both currently have fairly homogenous population of people with similar backgrounds, carefully protecting their own languages.

Upon completion of this module, you should be able to:

1. understand how indigenous cultures in Greenland and Northern Scandinavia have changed over time and give examples of successful approaches to maintain the traditional livelihood;
2. define the states where the Sami people live and discuss how the borders affect the people living in this region;
3. compare the Sami people of Northern Europe with the indigenous peoples of Greenland and explain what is similar and what is different in their cultures;
4. explain indigenous world views in Greenland and Northern Europe and identify how these world views have changed until today;
5. discuss examples of art, media, and literature as a way to express cultural identity in Greenland, and Northern Europe and how these have changed over time;
6. explain the effects of major socio-economic changes on family life, recreation and education in Greenland and Northern Europe;
7. explain the importance of family, education, and recreation as social institutions for indigenous families;
8. explain the different ways in which ethical, spiritual and cultural values transfer within the indigenous family.

## **Introduction**

How people experience the reality of their existence is of great importance to how they relate to their own life and to the lives of others. Religious beliefs and experiences of human identity in the North have been influenced by the lifestyle and patterns of the people in the Arctic. It is

reasonable to believe that the identity developed by northerners through close interaction with the Arctic environment has made them see the world differently from people living in the South. Although the Arctic is an integrated part of the rest of the world, it represents amongst its inhabitants many distinct local traditions and cultural characteristics. As explained earlier, cultures are not static or frozen in time but are rather dynamic. There are, however, cultural aspects which do not necessarily change, but instead, continue as the core of the culture. What these aspects of culture are, will necessarily vary between cultural groups. For some groups, cultural identity is first and foremost connected to language, for others it may include how they interact with their environment, or how they constitute or value their family and community relationships.

In contrast to Iceland and the Faroe Islands, people have been living in the Northern part of Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Greenland since ancient times. Greenland is an autonomous state within the Kingdom of Denmark and as such discussed in this module (although geographically, Greenland is often considered to be a part of Northern America).<sup>1</sup> The indigenous peoples living in this region continue to maintain strong attachments to their traditional cultural identities, despite colonization and assimilation by outsiders.

Earlier, we concluded that languages, social institutions such as families and education, and media, arts and literary works are important tools to express and shape cultural self-determination. The media such as newspapers and the internet can have a negative impact on the cultural self-determination of indigenous peoples, for instance when storylines in the media portray them as ‘backward’ or ‘not civilized’; but the media may also serve as a medium to gain attention for indigenous concerns, such as in the Alta controversy. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, a plan by the Norwegian authorities for the construction of a hydroelectric power plant in an area in the Northern part of Norway considered by the Sami to be their homeland and frequently used for reindeer migration, led to a conflict of interest between the Sami people and the authorities.<sup>2</sup> The role of the media was essential in this conflict mainly because the message of Sami people and their sympathizers got worldwide attention from both national and international journalists, reports and TV-crews. Besides the

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<sup>1</sup> Although the name “Greenland” is used in this module, the indigenous inhabitants name their country “Kalaallit Nunaat.”

<sup>2</sup> There are many different spellings of the name Sami, including Sámi, Saami, Same, and Sabme. For the purposes of this course, “Sami” is used for general purposes in English context. Other spellings are used in proper names and titles, as appropriate.

media, indigenous peoples successfully present and represent their identity in many other creative forms, such as literary works, paintings and other forms of art, but also through education and family.

The Sami people live in a large area – called Sápmi – which extends from the Kola Peninsula to central Scandinavia (See fig. 1.1). Tensions between Sami and the settlers who have moved into the regions historically inhabited by the Sami are examples of where the demand for self-determination has resulted in conflicts between indigenous populations and predominant cultures comprising of people who historically have moved from southern parts of Europe into the circumpolar Arctic. Similar conflicts occurred between indigenous populations and southern migrants in the North American Arctic and in the Russian Far East.



Fig. 1.1. The area of the Sami people and Sami languages (source: Cartography by Thierry Gauthé, reproduced from Seurujärvi-Kari et al. 1997:5).

## Indigenous and non-indigenous northern identities

Language and identity are closely linked to each other. In fact, some argue that one of anthropology's most durable and perhaps necessary assumptions is the association between language and identity (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991). However, attempts towards standardization of language have often been conducted in the circumpolar region. In the United States (Alaska), Norway, Russia, and Sweden, national policy has been to have national language. In Finland and Canada the situation with two official national languages has been more complex. However, in both cases minority languages, such as those belonging to the Sami in Finland and the Inuit of Canada have not been thought of as equal to the official national languages. Greenland was a Danish colony and had a similar policy for many years. In all of these cases, minority languages have in periods faced discrimination and were systematically neglected. In recent years, however, national policies have changed and many non-indigenous citizens have begun to acknowledge the importance of local indigenous languages. The revitalization of native languages is not always an easy process. There are many Sami people, for instance, who – unfortunately – are not able to speak, write or read in their own language mainly because until the beginning of 1970s, the Sami language did not exist as a medium of instruction or as a subject in the education system. In 1851, the Norwegian Parliament established a special fund – the Lapp Fund – which included funding for teaching of Norwegian language in Sami schools (Minde 2003:356), but in fact, the use of Sami was discouraged and in some cases even prohibited, with poor language skills among the Sami population as the inevitable result. The Wexelsen decree, for instance, issued in 1898 prohibited the use of Sami languages at public schools and official events (Minde 2005:13).

In order to maintain native languages and local dialects, and subsequently identities and cultures, teaching native language in schools is essential. The use of the Greenlandic language in public schools in the 1950s and 1960s played a major part in the preservation of that language. The increasing use of indigenous languages in mass media – television, radio, newspapers, and the Internet – in addition to promoting the use of indigenous languages – has

also assisted in their preservation. The governments of Finland, Norway and Sweden began to support native languages by giving the Sami language official status.<sup>3</sup>

Not only is the mother-tongue crucial for a person's identity, but also the name of an individual is an important aspect of his or her identity. Names are considered to be of great symbolic significance. A double name system where indigenous people have a 'southern' name as well as an additional native name, has been used in Northern Europe and Greenland. Giving a person a "Christian European name" – instead or besides an indigenous name – has an impact on a person's identity. In the same way, the names we give to objects, animals, places, and natural phenomena are of importance. In northern Norway, for instance, debates in relation to the use of indigenous names on maps, traffic signs, landmarks etc. can lead to emotional debates because both indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants fear that their identity is threatened. Despite such loaded debates, or perhaps even because of such debates political and cultural self-determination is gaining momentum in Northern Europe and Greenland. As for non-indigenous peoples, it is important for minorities to determine their destiny and to manage their own affairs through various mediums, such as education, family, art and media. The latter will be discussed in the following section.

## **The impact of media on indigenous peoples**

The importance of mass media is pointed out from time to time to stress the relationship between national identity, culture, and the mother tongue – for nation states, minorities, and indigenous peoples alike. In addition to the traditional elements of the mass media – the press, radio, and television – there are new media, such as the World Wide Web. Access to different forms of media is considered crucial for the expression of identity. Identity is created and shaped through national media and indigenous media – media with a strong focus on indigenous issues but more important, available in indigenous languages. The latter is of tremendous importance for the survival of indigenous languages in the North as discussed previously – not only in Russia, the United States and Canada but also in Northern Europe and Greenland. According to the *Sámi Journalisttaid Searvi* [Sami Journalists' Association],

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<sup>3</sup> In Norway, Finland and Sweden, the Sami language is recognized as a minority language and may be used during communication with the authorities. Moreover, in Norway and Sweden, authorities of specified communities in the Northern part of both nations are obliged to inform the Sami people in their own language in matters that are considered to be of interest to them. Public schools in all three nations also offer Sami language courses to those who are interested in acquiring or improving their Sami language skills.

free and independent media are the cornerstones of Sami democracy and social development. Sami have the right of access to the media and a wide audience, which also means access to daily Sami newspapers. The media has frequently been used by indigenous peoples to gain attention for their concerns such as in the Alta controversy as explained in the introduction. Irina Bokova – Director General of UNESCO – also argued that the media has a role in informing and educating indigenous peoples but also to give them a voice when their interests are neglected.<sup>4</sup> Besides being a tool, the media may also have an impact on the identity of indigenous peoples when they, for instance, are portrayed as ‘backward’ or ‘uncivilized,’ or when the media emphasize different aspects of what non-indigenous people frame as a modern life.

## **Expression of identity and self-determination through media**

The first newspaper in Greenlandic, *Atuagagdliutit*, started publication in 1861 and is still available today. After the merger with *Sermitsiaq* in 2010, *Atuagagdliutit* is unfortunately the only daily newspaper in Greenland that sheds light on entertainment and news for Greenlanders. In Sweden and Norway, the establishment of Sami newspapers dated back to the period when Norwegianization policy, or assimilation policy, became more intense. The aim of the Norwegianization policy was to turn the Sami and Finnish/Kven-speaking people (the descendants of Finnish immigrants to Norway are called Kven) into Norwegian-speaking and Norwegian-minded people and so to lose their cultural identity. The first Sami periodical was published in Norway as early as 1873-75. After these years the printing presses fell silent for nearly 30 years and periodicals were not published again before the turn of the twentieth century. Only one of those early religious publications, *Nuorttanaste* [1898, The East Star], still exists today (Solbakk, Aage 1997:195 and Solbakk, John T. 1997:177), with subscribers from Norway, Sweden and Finland. The most important Sami newspaper at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, however, was *Sagai Muittalægje* [The Bearer of News], which was published in northern Norway from 1904 to 1911. It had a very clear aim: to promote the Sami identity and to increase political awareness among its readers. Anders Larsen was the editor-in-chief, and he had many contributors – for example, Isak Saba, the national poet and

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<sup>4</sup> For more information, see [http://www.unesco.org/new/en/kathmandu/about-this-office/single-view/news/indigenous\\_media\\_empowering\\_indigenous\\_voices/](http://www.unesco.org/new/en/kathmandu/about-this-office/single-view/news/indigenous_media_empowering_indigenous_voices/) (accessed April 14th 2014).



the first Sami member of the Norwegian parliament (1906-1912). The newspaper was a real Sami channel: there were heated discussions on the language and education policies of the state, and ordinary readers were taking part in the discussions. The *Sagai Muittalægje* was also outstanding in the field of Sami literature. It published the *Sámi soga Lávlla* [the Song of the Sami], which later on was chosen as the official national anthem, and a part of the then-forthcoming short novel *Beaiveálgu* [Daybreak - translated into Norwegian 1912], written by the editor-in-chief himself.

The birth of the Sami press goes hand in hand with the birth of Sami association activity. For example, the first Sami newspaper ever founded in Sweden, *Lapparnes Egen Tidning* [1904, The Sami's Own Newspaper] was owned by the national association of the Sami *Lapparnes Centralförbund*. Although mainly in the Swedish language, the newspaper discussed questions concerning the issues of Sami land rights and, at the same time, it wanted to give correct and true information to the non-indigenous population about the living conditions of the Sami. In Sweden a Sami periodical was founded as early as 1919, although it got a new name in 1960; this periodical – *Sámefolket* [The Sami People] – still exists today (Jernsletten 1999:12-18).

The history of the Sami press in Finland is shorter and more restricted than in Norway and Sweden. The first periodical in Finland, *Sápmelaš* [The Sami], after 1993 *Ođđa Sápmelaš* [The New Sami], was founded in 1934; the entire magazine was published in North Sami until 2001 when it was closed down for financial reasons. For decades, it was an important magazine for the Sami people in Finland, not only as a provider of news, but above all because it was the first forum in which many indigenous authors could publish their writings.

Unfortunately, many of the early Sami newspapers or magazines were short-lived; their activity often ended because of a lack of money or because of anti-Sami circumstances and assimilation policy. Moreover, the press of a linguistic minority was in some cases perceived as a menace to the ruling culture and a threat to the unity of the state. The history of the newspaper *Ságat* in Norway is a good illustration. It was founded in 1956 and was first published in Sami, but quite soon its language of publication was changed to Norwegian. For its first 20 years, the paper enjoyed an undisturbed run; but after the paper hired a Sami editor-in-chief who wanted to change the editorial policy to incorporate a stronger Sami stance and to have Sami associations participate in the administration of the newspaper, the

paper was caught-up in dissension. The editor-in-chief was removed from the post, and a Norwegian majority was elected to the editorial board. In the late 1970s under its new management, *Ságat's* anti-Sami policy became harsher and during the Alta controversy when the Sami people demonstrated against the building of a hydroelectric plant on the Alta-Kautokeino river system, *Ságat* defended the interests of the Norwegian state. After the establishment of the Sami Parliament in 1989, however, its policy has become friendlier to Sami matters (Solbakk, Aage 1997:289-290; Solbakk, John T. 1997:176-177; Lehtola 2002:91-92).

The change in the editorial policy of *Ságat* was a starting point for a new epoch in the press history of Norwegian Sami. Two leading Sami organizations in Norway started to work for the independent Sami newspaper *Sámi Áigi* [The Sami Time], which was founded in 1978. Compared to the national media and *Ságat*, *Sámi Áigi* portrayed an alternative picture of the Alta struggle by conveying the opinions of Sami people and demonstrators (Solbakk 1997:176-177). More important, however, was that the newspaper was published in the Sami language, to be precise, in North Sami which is the main Sami dialect spoken and understood in Sápmi. Unfortunately *Sámi Áigi* went bankrupt at the end of the 1980s. *Min Áigi* [Our Time] was a continuation of *Sámi Áigi*. *Min Áigi* was also published in North Sami, but financial problems forced the newspaper to merge in 2007 with *Áššu* [Glow] to establish Norway's only newspaper currently written in the Sami language: *Ávvir* ['care' or 'attention' in North Sami].

According to the Sami Journalists' Association, one of the main reasons for the difficult financial situation of the indigenous media was insufficient financial support by the state. The journalists also pointed out that the Council of Europe's Charter for Regional and Minority Languages obliges the Northern European states to actively support Sami newspapers.<sup>5</sup>

Indigenous newspapers are essential because the national media reflects the views of the non-indigenous majority. Although Sami-related topics such as cultural events or positive

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<sup>5</sup> Article 11d of the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* states that 'the Parties...encourage and/or facilitate the creation and/or maintenance of at least one newspaper in the regional or minority languages: or to encourage and/or facilitate the publication of newspaper articles in the regional or minority languages on a regional basis.' Moreover, article 11 f states that Parties are obliged 'to cover the additional costs of those media which use regional or minority languages, whether the law provides for financial assistance in general or for the media.' Article 11 g, finally, states that parties need 'to support the training of journalists and other staff for media using regional or minority languages (Council of Europe: European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages).

attention to particular Sami persons are covered, the storylines in relation to issues such as land rights are often determined by the national media and are different from those in the indigenous media. Thus, the non-indigenous dominant society that owns the media also determines what is important and correct on indigenous issues. Unfortunately, only a few indigenous newspapers are currently available in Northern Europe and Greenland, making it difficult for indigenous actors to participate in a multicultural dialogue or to ensure that their voices are being heard.

The national radio began to cover the northernmost parts of the European states in the early 1930s and soon the idea of radio broadcasting in Sami was launched. As early as 1935, a Sami association in Karasjok [*Kárášjoga Johttisámiid Searvi*] sent an initiative to the Norwegian authorities to encourage broadcasts in Sami resulting in the first Sami program ever heard on the air a year later, which was a church service on Christmas Eve (Hætta 2003:20). Regular Sami broadcasts started in Norway in 1946, in Finland in 1947, and in Sweden in 1966. At the outset, the total broadcasting time was measured in minutes per week rather than hours. Today many Sami radio stations, such as NRK Sápmi in Norway, produce more than 150 hours of broadcasting per week (NKR Sápmi 2013) and the Swedish Sami Radio broadcasts nearly twenty hours of programming in Sami every week (SR Sápmi 2014). Sami radio stations were at first situated outside the Sami core area but moved to Central Sápmi in the 1970s. The main units of Sami Radio are currently situated in Karasjok, Norway (NRK Sápmi), in Inari, Finland (Yle Sámi Radio), and in Kiruna, Sweden (SR Sámi Radio) and have co-operated with each other since the very beginning. The radio stations can be received in all three nations. Both radio and television stations broadcast mainly in North Sami, but in the last 20 years, the needs of lingual minorities such as Inari, South, and Lule Saami have also been taken into consideration. For example, the Finnish Sami Radio transmits regular broadcasts every week in South and Lule Sami.

Although a few Sami programs were produced for television as early as the 1960s, in Sweden and Norway, regular Sami television production did not start before the early 1980s (Lehtola 2002:96). In Sweden, Sami television programs date back to 1982, and in Norway, back to 1990. In Finland, Sweden and Norway, Sami TV has its own weekly programs for children and adults and although the media units of all states cover the entire Sami area, there is still a significant lack of television programming in Sami. NRK Sápmi, the largest of all the

broadcast stations with 110 employees in 2013, only broadcast five hours of Sami TV per week in 2012 (NRK Sápmi 2013).

## **Expression of identity and self-determination through literary and visual arts**

Another way to express cultural identity besides through the mass media is through the creation of literary works: these were produced by indigenous northerners mainly in the period after the Second World War. Most of the early indigenous writers used northern folklore, traditions and oral stories as the primary sources for their literary works. Besides literary works and newspapers, cultural artifacts are another important way to communicate the character of northern culture to the outside world, and to express one's own identity. Fortunately, the art produced by the inhabitants of the North – whether in Europe, Russia or Canada – has today been acknowledged for its craftsmanship and beauty.

During the periods of colonization and assimilation, Sami art was hardly of interest to the majority of the non-indigenous southerners. Today, however, Sami art – like Inuit handicraft – is praised by both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples for its design and functionality. Sami art can trace its history back to the rock drawings of thousands of years ago. *Duodji* – traditional Sami handicraft – reflected the cultural identity of the Sami people and influenced many contemporary Sami artists.<sup>6</sup> *Duodji* art is known and appreciated for its special design but also for its functionality in terms of practicality and sustainability. Examples are the famous round-shaped drinking cups and Sami knives.

Johan Turi (1854-1936) was one of the first authors publishing in a Sami language and therefore often seen as one of the first pioneers of contemporary Sami Art. He illustrated his book *Muitalus sámiid birra* [*Turi's Book of Lapland, 1966*] with scenes from the life of the Sami. His animal figures continue the tradition of the drawings and engravings on Stone Age rocks and quartz slate, wood and bone objects, and later shaman drums. Turi's book, which is a truly classical work and an invaluable part of the Sami heritage, was also meant to correct the erroneous picture non-indigenous peoples had of the Sami.

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<sup>6</sup> Gunvor Guttorm, who is both an artisan and a researcher, has defined the concept *duodji* in her doctoral thesis as 'handiwork and creative work, which wells up from the Sami environment' (Guttorm 2001:22).

In addition to Turi, Nils Nilsson Skum (1872-1951), who had also left reindeer herding just like Turi to become a self-taught artist, displayed a natural talent for drawing. His first book *Same sita – lappbyn* [Sami Siida - samebyn] was published in 1938, including hundreds of drawings with stories of the nomadic life of the *siida*, or village, throughout the year. A third outstanding artist of Turi's time was John Andreas Savio (1902-1939). He attended an art and handicraft school in the 1920s. Savio was both a graphic artist and a painter, and is mainly known for his woodcuts that depict Sami landscapes and people (Hirvonen 1995:124-125; Lehtola 2002:116-117).

Contemporary Sami art is versatile, and there are numerous talented Sami artists. In 1979, the *Sámi Dáiddačehppiid Searvi* [Sami Artists' Association] was founded, organized with five other art associations under the *Sámi Dáiddaráđđi* [Sami Artist Council]. They include painters, sculptors, artisans, graphic artists, and photographic artists, and come from all over Sápmi. Some of the most prominent initiators of contemporary Sami art are artisan Lars Pirak (1932-2008), from the Swedish side of Sápmi, and artist Iver Jåks (1932-2007) from the Norwegian side of Sápmi. Both received several honorary awards. Their art is well known, both in the Nordic states and abroad, as their works have been included in many exhibitions (Hirvonen 1995:126-127; Lehtola 2002:117). Other members of the post-war generation who have attended art schools are, for example, craft artist and silver smith Petteri Laiti; craft artist, painter, and poet Rose-Marie Huuva; painter and textile artist Berit Marit Hætta; textile artist Britta Marakatt-Labba; painter and poet Synnøve Persen; painter and author Merja Aletta Ranttila; sculptor Ingunn Utsi, and graphic artist and author Hans Ragnar Mathisen. Sami photography is a newcomer in visual arts; it began to develop in the late 1970s when artists such as Niillas A. Somby and Harry Johansen started their careers as photographers for the Sami press. More recently, Sami photography has developed in a more artistic direction, and there are currently many gifted Sami visual artists, such as Marja Helander from the Finnish Sápmi (Lehtola 2002:121).

Theatre and film have also been an important form of cultural expression for the Sami people. Theatre can trace its history back to 1971, when the first Sami theatre group, *Dálvadis* [The Winter Camp], was founded in Karesuvanto, in Sweden. The Norwegian Sami theatre group *Beaivváš* [The Sun] was established in the late 1970s and, like *Dálvadis*, it now has the status of a permanent theatre. There are also amateur theatres such as *Sydsamisk teater* [The Ruff] in

the Finnish Sápmi in Utsjoki. Sami theatre troupes have not been content with merely copying their Western counterparts. Instead, during the three decades of their existence, they have searched and found a particular Sami form of expression. In their repertoires, they give priority to the Sami language as well as to Sami traditions and the works of Sami writers. Those working in Sami theatres founded their own association in 1980, *Sámi Teáhtersearvi* [Sami Theatre Association] operating under the Sami Artist Council.

Sami film is one of the newest forms of Sami art, although Sami people and Sami culture had already been the subject of many films by the beginning of the twentieth century. The year 1987 was an important milestone for Sami film. That year, a new Sami film, *Ofelaš* [*Pathfinder*], came out. The screenplay was written by the film's director, Nils Gaup, and is based on a Sami legend about the *čud̥it*, or evil marauders, whose violent deeds are put to an end by the cunning actions of the main characters. The characters spoke Sami, except for the *čud̥it*, who spoke an artificial language. Most of the actors were from the *Beaivváš* Theatre. *Ofelaš* was nominated for an Oscar in the 1987 Academy Awards (Lehtola 2002:124;). The Kautokeino rebellion from 2008 is another example of a Sami film directed by Nils Gaup. The film is based on the true story of the Kautokeino riots in Kautokeino in 1852 in response to the Norwegian exploitation of the Saami community. The music of the film was composed by Sami musician Mari Boine. Speaking of indigenous music, both Greenlandic music and expressions by Sami musicians have been developed from what many would call traditional folk music (singing and drums) to contemporary music styles influenced by non-indigenous rock bands and rap musicians. A good example of the latter is the *Nuuk Posse* who have even toured across various European nations. In addition to Gaup there are many directors and documentary filmmakers, such as Paul-Anders Simma, Johs Kalvemo and Anne Lajla Utsi. Besides television or movie theaters, there are other forums for Sami movies, such as the Sami film festival, held in April in Kautokeino in Norway each year since 1996 and the Indigenous people's Film Festival in Inari (Finland). Unfortunately, not many Greenlandic films are known outside of Greenland. *Nuummioq* (A man from Nuuk, 2009) – the first feature film produced entirely in Greenland – is an example of a drama film in the Greenlandic language, as is *Qaamarngup uummataa* (Heart of light, 1998), telling the story of a family in Greenland torn apart by the conflict between indigenous traditions from the past and the contemporary reality they live in.

Besides artcraft, books and films, the Sami people are known for their way of singing. One could say that *juoigan*, or yoiking – the original Sami way of singing – is the most unique and characteristic form of Sami art. In the past, Sami poetry was always recited in the form of a song, and this seems to have been true in all Sami communities. But the yoik is not just a form of singing. It is much more. The Sami writer Johan Turi has described *juoigan* as follows: “They call Sámi singing yoiking. It is a way of remembering fellow human beings. Some people are remembered with hate, some with love and some with sorrow. But the subject matter of these songs might also concern a landscape, animals, feasts, reindeer, caribou...And the Sámi term for this song is *luohti*” (Turi 1910 [1987]:163). In the culture of the Sami people the yoik is very important and reflects the soul of the singer or essence of the object of the song.

The concept of the verb *juoigat* [to yoik] is known in the whole Sami area and far beyond (see Lehtiranta 1989:38), but there are differences between the East and North Sami ways of yoiking. Moreover, Sami yoiks can be divided into profane and religious yoiks, the latter referring to shamanistic beliefs. Owing to the Christianization of the Sami people, which began in the thirteenth century and continued until the eighteenth century, the shamanistic forms of the yoik have become obsolete. During those years, the Christian missionaries, mostly ministers of the church, had a tendency to see many features of indigenous religions such as shamanism as pagan. This was particularly true with regard to yoiking, which they considered to be an invocation of the old gods and a discourse with the devil (Beach 2000:230). Yoiks were labelled as something almost satanic and therefore prohibited (See Aikio et al. 1994:104-105; Hirvonen 1995:128-129; Gaski 1996:12-13).

Contact with European settlers dramatically transformed many elements of the indigenous’ world view – and not only yoiking – mainly by introducing a new religion based on different views (Christianity in Sápmi and the Danish Lutheran and the Moravian Church in – mainly Eastern Greenland) while simultaneously sanctioning the practice of native belief systems. Although there are differences between religious traditions, the native world views are characterized by their great respect for the environment in which they live, including the animals they hunt, the earth they live on, the importance of their soul and spirit etc. In Greenland, for instance, the Isertormeeq believe that each person has a personal soul (*tarneq*) and spirit (*inua*) When he, she or it dies, the soul becomes free and will travel to the land of the dead and settle there (Hovelsrud-Broda 2000:155). Similar to many of the other

circumpolar religions, the Saami and Greenlandic pre-Christian world views are known for their shamanistic techniques and trances to communicate with the spiritual world. The shaman (*noaidi* in Northern Sami, in Greenlandic called *angakok* or *angákut*) would beat on his magic drum and release his or her spirit – or the spirit of a sick person – to other spiritual worlds, and as such, for instance, heal the sick person in question.

By 1921, the majority of the inhabitants of Greenland were converted to Christianity (Hovelsrud-Broda 2000:155). Missionary activities, especially in Sápmi, had not only the objective to Christianize the population, but also to impose tax obligations on them, especially in a region where the northern borders were unspecified (as mentioned previously, the homeland of the Sami crosses four different nation-states). Not only did this limit opportunity to move freely within Sami territory, it also exposed the Sami people to different world views. The Skolt and Kola Saami on the Kola Peninsula in northwestern Russia, for example, came under the religious influence of the Russian Orthodox Church (Beach 200:229-230).

Fortunately, however, the original cosmology and native world view has not vanished entirely, either in eastern Greenland, or in Northern Europe. It was impossible to completely eradicate yoiking and profane forms of yoik singing have survived to the present day although, some Sami currently reject this as a pagan rite (using the vocabulary applied to them previously by the non-indigenous). The latest examples of such rejection in the twenty-first century come from one Sami parish in Finland, where the parish board and the minister have forbidden yoik singing in the church and in the parish hall. Hence, like other forms of Sami art, yoiking is developing over time and currently going through a renaissance not only in Sápmi, but also beyond its borders. The yoik-based compositions of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, Mari Boine or Wimme Saari are examples of the powerful heritage of Sami culture and its potential to produce spiritual nourishment even today (See Lehtola 2002:106-113).

Although in the Western world written language is by many considered to be one of the main measurement of civilization, in many aboriginal cultures, the oral tradition has been and still is the main means of storytelling. Yoik chants, fairy tales, sagas, and stories are conveyed more easily by word of mouth than through the written word and have always been handed down by listening, imitation, and memory. Oral traditions, however, were often the basis for the many literary works that were later published. The oldest known examples of Sami oral poetry – the yoiks *Guldnasas* [Reindeer, Trot Faster] and *Moarsi fávrrot* [Song for a Bridge]



– were published by Johannes Schefferus (1621-1679). They appeared both in the original Sami form and as a Latin translation in his book *Lapponia* (1673). These world-famous yoiks were related to Schefferus by the Sami Olaus Sirma when the latter was studying at the University of Uppsala. The artistic quality of these poems surprised Western readers, giving rise to comments such as “How can a primitive people, living in such extreme conditions, produce beautiful poetry like this?” Various translations of these two yoiks were published all over Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including in the London newspaper *The Spectator*. These yoiks provided inspiration for many poets, such as Johan Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718), and Heinrich von Kleist (1777-1811).

Pamphlets and memoirs were a frequently used tool against assimilation by southerners. As mentioned earlier, social action sprung up among the Sami in the early 1900s. The traditional Sami society was beginning to break down, and some Sami started to write pamphlets, memoirs, books and other literary works to describe the poor situation of the Sami people for the authorities. This political writing was clearly connected with the ethnic movement of the Sami and, simultaneously, with a new way of representing the Sami, at a time when national romantic ideas were sweeping through Northern Europe. The pride and self-esteem of the Sami was awakened, and they began to resist the attempts of the different states to assimilate them into the dominant population, with various results. Remember that the Sami population was spread over four different nation-states (Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia) for which access from Western Europe to one (Russia) in terms of influence and physical movement was limited during the Cold War period (1947-1991) – with all the impact this had on families and political- and cultural self-determination.<sup>7</sup>

Elsa Laula (1877-1931, later Elsa Laula Renberg), the first known Sami woman writer, was one of these early political activists. She wrote a pamphlet of 30 pages in Swedish, *Inför Lif eller Död?: Sanningsord I de Lappska Förhållandena* [Do We Face Life or Death?: Words of Truth about the Lappish Situation]. In it, she urged the Sami to demand their rights to their land and discussed how her people could survive the cultural assimilation policy of Sweden. Moreover, she described the situation of the Sami people as a minority wanting to change the majority’s policy to something more affirmative towards the Sami people. She felt that it was

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<sup>7</sup> There is no consensus among scholars with regard to the precise period of the Cold War (some even argue that a new period of Cold War is appearing as of 2014) but generally the period from 1947-1991 is regarded as a period of political and military tensions between the West and the East.

also important to encourage Sami women to work in support of organizations (Hirvonen 2002:11-13). Many of the issues she raised are still today not completely settled. Elsa Laula's college teacher Karin Stenberg (1884-1969) also wrote a pamphlet, called *Dah läh mijen situd* [This is Our Will], with the members of the Arjeplog Sami Association. This pamphlet was published in 1920. The aim of the publication was to provide more information about Sami people living in Sweden at a time when social Darwinist ideas were also influencing Swedish society. These ideas were concretized as racist opinions towards the Sami and threatened their traditional living conditions. Both Laula and Stenberg worked as social agents, criticizing both in public and in their pamphlets the rights of the majority to rule and subordinate minority populations such as the Sami (Hirvonen 2002:11-13). As we can see, these women were struggling against the ruling discourse and wanted the Sami people to represent themselves by means of their own associations, and at the same time by writing political pamphlets which were aimed at the majority.

The Greenlandic language has been written in Latin script since the Danish colonization began in the 1700s. Like many indigenous literary works, Greenlandic literature was – and often still is – inspired by Arctic nature and its extreme climate conditions. The desire to tell a story or to make people laugh combined with the wish to express feelings resulted in many literary works that – unfortunately - are largely unknown outside Greenland (although some works are translated into Danish). Later on, during the period of colonization by Denmark (often referred to as the period prior to the establishment of Home Rule in 1979) literary works were largely influenced by a search for identity and the wish for political and cultural self-determination. As such they portrayed the changes of Greenlandic society since the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, and most importantly, described the history of Greenland from an indigenous perspective. Hendrik Lund (1875-1948) – the author of the national anthem – was one of the pioneers of the Greenlandic literature.

Regarding modern Sami literature, every year, a number of novels and poetry collections are published in several Sami languages, for instance by Davvi Girji – the largest Sami Publishing House. The first novel written by a Sami – Matti Aikio (*Kong Akab*, published under the name Mathias Isachsen Aikio) – came out in Norwegian in 1904; and the first novel written in Sami – by Anders Larsen – was published in 1912 (*Bæivve Alggo*). Even though the first works of literature in Sami were published as early as the 1910s, the real breakthrough did not come until the early 1970s, when an increasing number of books from poems to novels were

published. We can also compare the writing history of the two sexes: it was not until the beginning of the 1970s that the first Sami women fiction writers appeared. Since then, Sami literature has been characterized as strongly influenced by women (See Hirvonen 1999).

In addition to Matti Aikio and Anders Larsen, several other Sami authors are known outside the Sami world. For instance, Paulus Utsi, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, Kirsti Paltto, and Rauni Magga Lukkari are writers whose works have been translated into other languages (See Hirvonen 1995; Gaski 1996; Lethola 2002). Poet Paulus Utsi was considered one of the most prominent Sami cultural figures during the revitalization that began in the late 1960s (Gaski 1997:11). Multi-artist Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (1943-2001) started his career at the end of the 1960s, first as a yoiker, and later as a writer, composer, painter, photographer, and cultural politician. His first book, a pamphlet written in Finnish in 1971, called *Terveisiä Lapista* [Greetings from Lapland: The Sami-Europe's Forgotten People, 1983], criticized the Finnish policy against the Sami. With his collections of poetry, he lyrically touched upon the Sami's search for self-esteem, telling about the history of the Sami and the Sami way of thinking. *Ruoktu váimmus* from the year 1985 [*The Trekways of Wind*, 1994] and *Beaivi áhčážan* from 1988 [*The Sun, My Father*, 1997] are his most prominent works translated in the English language. An obvious milestone for Sami literature was the day when Valkeapää received the Nordic Literature Award in 1991 for his work *The Sun, My Father*. The first Sami female fiction writer, Kirsti Paltto, published her first collection of short stories based on the Sami oral tradition in 1971; this was the beginning of her versatile career as an author. Later, she also published poetry, novels, children's books, and drama. The poet Rauni Magga Lukkari is a lyricist who, from the beginning of her career, has analyzed the feelings of people, especially those of women.

The evolution of Sami literature from the 1970s to the present day reflects the changes associated with the position of the Sami as an indigenous minority. In many respects, as with pamphlets, writing novels was an ethno political defense of the rights of the Sami minority. For hundreds of years, there had been spheres in which it was forbidden to use the Sami language: for example, in the school (writing, reading, and learning), in singing (yoik), and in the church. These restrictions provided potentially traumatic experiences in the sphere of language, and many authors have described how these have followed them into adulthood. As an example, the artist, poet, and storyteller Kerttu Vuolab describes what happened when she and other Sami children went to school in Finland:

When we began school, our language ability was suddenly zero. Our language no longer had any value. It was not even enough to help us out. Our beautiful language was totally ignored. Our singing – yoiking – was forbidden, our phrases and poems were nonsense, our fairy tales were not worth to take any notice of, and our history did not exist. Most of us behaved well. Most of us forgot our singing, our fairy tales, our poems and sayings. Many people from my generation even agreed to forget our own language.

This generation...struggles to get back the richness of our culture. We make songs and records, stories and books, pictures, plays...and so on. I think this is the only way to make sure that our children get to experience the richness of the Sámi culture – the same richness that our parents and grandparents passed on to us through their oral storytelling. My grandfather with his stories educated me to become an author. At the same time, my mother and my grandmother trained me to become an illustrator (Vuolab 1992).

Literacy is also one of the main means of education in the formal school system. The following sections will discuss self-determination through education, and the impact the formal education system had on the indigenous peoples of Northern Europe and Greenland.

## **Family, education and recreation as social institutions for self-determination**

Family, education and recreation play an essential role in the process of cultural and political self-determination. Social institutions, such as family and education transfer cultural and spiritual values among individuals and societies. Prior to the arrival and expansion of southern settlers in the Arctic, the family was the primary socializing influence for indigenous cultures rather than the ‘outside’ world, which often was portrayed by non-indigenous peoples from the south. Family was so important for indigenous societies because they were the foundation for ethnic and individual characteristics. Furthermore, families defined the rights, duties, and responsibilities of group member which were – and often still are – integrated into a religion in which relationships between the land, natural resources, and human groups were inseparable as previously discussed. The education system of the indigenous communities of the Arctic was based on traditional knowledge that was transmitted from one generation to the other. Education and training – or its availability – will vastly shape the identity of an individual. Although differences exist among the indigenous groups of the far north, for instance in terms of religious or educational practices, nevertheless throughout the whole

Arctic region, it is uniformly the case that traditional knowledge is at the core of what education is transmitted to the succeeding generations by the family.

## **Indigenous families: the impact of assimilation processes**

Hence, the family is an essential link in the transfer of traditional knowledge to future generations and to give its members pride of place. A family is a unit of people responsible for the care and welfare of those closest to them (e.g., mother, father, and children). However, family might also be understood as a group of people related through blood or by the agreement of having a certain kind of relationship. Historically speaking, many communities have had a tradition of the informal adoption of children and of people living in relationships not registered as marriages. Similarly, many children have been born outside of marriage. The point, however, is that family as defined by law is not necessarily the same as the idea of family accepted by the people in the family.

The family unit of the Sami and Inuit of Greenland is more of an integrated part of the larger community than in non-indigenous societies. One example is the Sami villages or kin groups called *siidas*, which functioned as a unit deciding how to share natural resources. In many ways, *siidas* functioned as an extended family. Owing to a number of factors, among them the influence of national law and changes in economic structures, the *siida* unfortunately, no longer exists as it did in earlier times (Bjorklund and Eidheim 1997). However, some of the traditions of the *siida* remain and influence the function of the extended Sami family. Moreover, traditions of marriage and family structure are far different from the European norm (Kjellström 1973). One of the strong indigenous traditions includes sharing of children and informal adoptions. Those traditions still exist to some extent. Regardless of how it is defined, the family has always been the backbone of Greenlandic and Northern European communities. Children have been raised by their parents and have received from them their first lessons in socialization – social norms, ways to behave – and lessons in the skills of surviving and living within the family and their local community. The family units of the Sami and Inuit – as with other indigenous families across the Arctic – have been greatly affected by harsh policies imposed by outsiders who removed children from their families,

educated them in “national” languages, and did not allow them to use their own language resulting in a loss of languages and cultural identity, as well as a loss of pride (Millroy 1999). Children not only lost their own language, but also the ability to communicate with their own parents and elders, as the example of the Sami children of the boarding schools illustrated (Minde 2005:15). Others argue that the loss of language among Greenlanders and the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic was less noticeable because many of those children were still able to speak their native language (Freeman 2000:xiv).

The previous modules illustrated how demographic changes (forced settlements in the Canadian Arctic, collectivization and boarding schools in Siberia) influenced the family structure in the circumpolar world. Although those particular patterns did not occur in the European North, this region has also experienced demographic changes that have impacted their indigenous and non-indigenous populations. Fairly typical changes – such as aging populations, young people migrating to urban centers – and a lack of young women – have resulted in lower birth rates. Such changes also have far-reaching consequences for indigenous families.

## **Education systems: indigenous concerns vs. educational practices**

Historically speaking, school systems have been important tools in creating national identities (as opposed to local identities). Most often, creating national identities has meant imposing a vision of all people in a nation sharing one common language and culture. Thus, minority languages, like that of the Sami in Norway, have been consciously ignored, and quite often suppressed, while the national language has been promoted. In Norway, this process had its heyday from the last part of the eighteenth century until the late 1960s. The contemporary education systems in all of the Arctic states have largely replaced this narrow focus by emphasizing and appreciating different cultures and identities. Some parts of the old structures and ways of thinking, however, remain. In the same way, attitudes towards education systems, challenges in terms of availability of academic works in native languages and a lack of qualified teachers limit the opportunities to educate indigenous children in their own language and/or environment. Thus, groups of people who consider the education

systems to be colonial, repressive, and imposed by outsiders are likely to be at the very least skeptical towards those systems even long after they have changed. Yet, an increased willingness to support indigenous languages is demonstrated by Norway's Sami Language Act of 1992, whereby the principle of bilingual education is supported, and the Home Rule Act and self-government referendum in Greenland in 2008, making Greenlandic the sole official language in the country.

It is several different regional authorities that usually implement education policies in Northern Europe. Their national authorities each have their own standards and their flexibility to meet local and national demands varies. Still, the basic skills needed to function in contemporary society are taught in schools: reading, writing, arithmetic, and basic social skills and values. Historically, both Christian religious values and national ones have been taught in the schools. In the Soviet Union, for instance, communist political values were taught. In the case of Greenland, the focus was on teaching the Danish language, Christian values, and communicating the values of Denmark, resulting in a curriculum that was similar to the one used in Danish universities that trained the teachers. Although the Greenlandic language regained its priority after the 1979 Home Rule and the referendum of 2008 – and even gained the status as the sole official language – education in native languages remains a concern due to a lack of teachers who speak Greenlandic and insufficient written material. Children in higher classes are, for instance, often forced to make use of material in a non-indigenous language (EU Commission 2013). Positive signs, however, are that the level of education of the population of Greenland has increased significantly – especially among women – whereas the number of people who have not achieved any kind of education has reduced from 2652 in 2002 to 2375 in 2012 (Statistics Greenland 2012).<sup>8</sup>

It remains the case, moreover, that distances in the remote North are great. As such, many people will have to travel long distances in order to pursue higher education. In some cases they will even have to go outside their own country. In many cases, inhabitants of Greenland have to move to Denmark to pursue an advanced education. Fishers, farmers and Sami reindeer herders of northern Norway face similar experience as do the nomadic families in the Russian Arctic when it comes to dealing with residential school systems. Because of long distances from the often small settlements in the North to the education centers, children (or

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<sup>8</sup> Greenland had in 2012 a population of 56370 individuals.

students) are forced to spend long periods away from their family and, hence, do not always acquire the skills necessary to live their traditional life. Furthermore, the school systems provide certain kinds of knowledge such as reading, writing and languages, that are important in order to function in the greater society and to gain access to further education and certain parts of the labour market, but most often that kind of knowledge is not required in order to participate in traditional local activities.

Still, education has put those local activities into a wider perspective, both in terms of national and cross-national scenes. One result has been the creation, to some extent, of a shared identity among the indigenous peoples of the North, with shared values. In the Nordic societies, one of the shared values seems to be to follow an extreme policy of equity (Nordkvelle 1999; Graubard 1986). In the Norwegian school system, an “extreme policy of equity – geographical, social class-wise, and in the last 30 years – gender and multiculturalism” has been pursued (Nordkvelle 1999:1). Such a policy might have benefited from adaptation to local cultural traditions in just the opposite order. Equity according to national norms and definitions might have actually undermined local culture.

However, it is important to acknowledge the challenges of modern society and the need for up-to-date education. One of the problems today is the standardization of modern societies, which does not take into consideration the particular needs of local people. The involvement of experienced people – such as indigenous elders – in the education of indigenous children has, for instance, often been neglected. Incorporating such practices into the education system has not only helped children to acquire necessary skills, but has also helped a generation of grandfathers and grandmothers, fathers and mothers to regain their pride and prestige by making them important in the upbringing of their next generation.

## **Recreation**

In general, we experience recreation as time off from activities connected with earning money, or from chores necessarily performed in order to maintain living standards and taking care of others close to us. As through family and education, various types of recreation activities have been developed as a social framework to transfer indigenous cultural values from one generation to another. Like other Arctic cultural aspects, recreational activities are



flexible and change over time. Sport activities or cultural events (or both) have strengthened the bonds between individuals, families and their communities, but also fostered their pride and identity. In the circumpolar Arctic, activities connected with survival in the past have often turned into today's recreational activities, for instance *Finnmarksløpet* (the world's northernmost sled dog race in Sápmi in Northern Europe), or hunting and fishing festivals that were necessary in the past to obtain food and to avoid starvation.<sup>9</sup> Still, it is important to realize that such activities are of cultural significance, even if people are no longer dependent on them for survival. From that point of view, these activities are important arenas for socializing indigenous children into the cultural heritage of their own culture. Today, many of these recreational activities are developed into commercial activities that target both tourists and locals (Smith 1989; Hall and Johnston 1995). Hence, what for some people has become a recreational activity has remained for others a traditional activity connected with survival and work. Fishing, for example, may be one person's main source of income, while it is a recreational activity for another.

In sum, although the Arctic is no longer isolated from the rest of the world, its local cultures still have their specific Arctic characteristics. Family structures, art works, and other traditions are distinct to local cultures. This is particularly true for the indigenous cultures of the Arctic. The Arctic environment also plays an important role – with its darkness, cold, weather, low winter light and temperatures, but also its political environment. Family structures, patterns of education and recreation are all influenced by these factors. Whether one studies Sami art, mass media or literature it is obvious that all are somehow connected to the political, social, and cultural activity among the Sami people. Starting in the 1970s, the Sami people struggled against the ruling discourse and wanted to represent themselves by means of their own associations, newspapers, and literature, and by writing political pamphlets aimed at the majority population.

Education practices and family, moreover, play a crucial role and have created and more importantly – shaped – cultural identity and ethnic consciousness among the indigenous peoples of the European North and Greenland. Modern Sami and Inuit artists and writers belong to a generation that has gone through the bitter experience of being cut off from an

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<sup>9</sup> As with identity and culture, food cultures develop over time. Trade with southerners, for instance, has introduced species and new food traditions to the inhabitants of Greenland such as the sheep farming culture that has developed in the twentieth century (Freeman 2000:xviii).

otherwise secure environment by the educational system. The school tore them away and alienated them from their roots. This often meant that a child lost his or her native language, identity and self-esteem. Sami and Inuit authors describe these harsh experiences in words, while many Sami and Greenlandic painters and visual artists express the same in pictures. In visual arts, the motifs are portrayed as symbols against the background of the landscape of Sápmi, and the works of art often attempt to express contradictory feelings concerning the past, the present, and the future, as well as the conflict between the minority and the majority such as in Aka Høegh's work. However, the various ways to express cultural identity, whether we speak of activism at the Alta river, the writing of pamphlets or Greenland's demand for autonomy, all have in common that they have contributed to the ethnic revival of indigenous cultures in Northern Europe and Greenland.

## Glossary of terms

<b>education</b>	<p>The word “education” is mostly used about methods of teaching and learning in schools or institutional environments. Still, it is important to acknowledge that important parts of socialization are achieved outside of education facilities and that important skills are taught outside of schools. Thus, it is possible to separate formal education in schools and by professionals called teachers, from informal education by others, often by doing things together. The latter has been the dominant model for some of the most important skills, necessary for survival and for living in many Arctic cultures.</p> <p>Formal teaching is often divided into categories. Primary and elementary education is for children aged from about 5/7 to about 11/13 and provides the most basic education. Secondary education lasts to about age 18/19; students who complete their secondary education have about 12 years of school experience altogether. Higher, or post-secondary education is offered by colleges and universities.</p>
<b>family</b>	While kindred united through bloodlines are related and can be

	called an extended family, the family unit is thought of as a household unit with mother, father, and children: the nuclear family. However, there are different models for how separated one household might be from another. In some cultures, the mother, father, and child unit represents a more flexible unit than in other cultures. Many indigenous Arctic cultures do have more flexible family units than those of the urbanized western societies. The family unit is an important unit of socialization and in many cases of learning skills necessary for survival and living, as has been the case for many cultures centred on activities like fishing, hunting, farming, and herding.
<b>identity</b>	an individual's conception of his or her reality.
<b>Inuit</b>	<i>noun</i> a word meaning "the people." Any of several Aboriginal peoples inhabiting the Arctic coasts of Canada and Greenland. <i>adjective</i> of or relating to Inuit people or their culture or language.
<b>Inuktitut</b>	The language of the Inuit.
<b>language</b>	<b>1</b> the method of human communication, either spoken or written, consisting of the use of words in an agreed way. <b>2</b> the language of a particular community or country, etc. <b>3.</b> any method of expression (e.g., body language; sign language).
<b>Norwegianization</b>	assimilationist policy towards national minorities (such as Sami and Kven) with the aim to eliminate their cultural identity and to create uniformity within the country.
<b>profane</b>	not relating to that which is sacred or religious, secular.
<b>recreation</b>	the word recreation comes from Latin <i>recreation</i> – <i>recreation</i> which means restoration to health and from <i>recreate</i> which means create something new or refresh. In daily language it has come to mean time off from work and chores – or time for pleasurable challenges, experiences and "playing."
<b>Sami</b>	the traditional population of the northern part of Finland, Norway, Sweden, and the Kola Peninsula of Russia. In the late twentieth century, the official members of Sami were 6,000 in Finland,

	40,000 in Norway, 20,000 in Sweden and 2,000 in Russia. Traditionally, reindeer herding and nature-based activities like fishing, hunting, and small-scale agriculture has been the most important part of the Sami economy. Today, Sami are very much part of the modern economy of their home countries. However, nature-based activities remain both culturally and economically important. The name Sami is also spelled “Sami,” “Saami,” “Same,” and “Sabme.” The indigenous population of the extreme North of Scandinavia are sometimes called Lapps, but they often prefer the name Sami.
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