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Duodji 2012
Riikkaidgaskasaš sámiid ja eará
eamiálbmogiid duodje-, dáidda-
ja hábmenkonferánsa

Duodji 2012
International Conference on
Duodji and Indigenous Arts,
Crafts and Design

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Ovdasátni

Sámi allaskuvla lágidii riikkaidgaskasaš sámiid ja eará eamiálbmogiid duodje-, dáidda- ja hábmenkonferánssa 24.–25. golggotmánus 2012. Konferánsii ledje bohtán sullii 100 oasseváldi miehtá Sámi ja muhtun oasseváldit maiddái Kanadas.

Duodji 2012 -konferánssa oasseváldit ledje duojárat, dáiddárat ja eamiálbmotduodje- ja dáidda-dutkit. Sámi allaskuvla háliidii dainna konferánsain čalmmustahttit eamiálbmogiid kultuvrralaš ovdanbuktimiid ja dutkama. Konferánssa čohkkii dutkiid, guhte guorahallet duoji, dáiddaduoji, hábmemma ja dáidaga eamiálbmotgeahččanguovllus. Konferánssa lei seammás deaivvadanbáikin duojáriidda, guhte besse buktit ovdan iežaset dujiid ja duddjoma čájáhusain ja bargobajiin.

Konferánssa fáttát ledje čuovvovaččat: duodji, sámi duodje- ja dáidda-metodologiijat ja eamiálbmot dáiddateoriijat. Konferánssa váldomihttun lei digaštallat eamiálbmogiid kultuvrralaš ovdanbuktimiid ja lahkondanvugiid fágaid rasttildeaddji geahččanguovllus eamiálbmotoktavuođain, muhto dattetge guovddázis lei sámi geahččanguovlu. Duodje-, dáidda- ja hábmenkonferánssa ulbmilin lei maiddái nanusmahttit eamiálbmogiid duodje- ja dáiddakultuvrra dutkiid dutkanfierpmádagaid ja fágasurggiid.

Konferánssačállosat leat dál čohkkejuvvon čoakkáldahkan, mas leat guhtta ovdasága almmuhuvvomin. Čoakkáldagas leat guokte oanit čállosa ja njeallje guhkebuš čállosa. Artihkkalat guorahallet eamiálbmogiid duodje- ja dáidda geavadiid ja metodajearaldagaid eamiálbmotgeahččanguovllus. Moai giite buohkaid, geat leat sádden artihkkaliid dán čoakkáldahkii.

Ođđajagimánus 2014

Gunvor Guttorm ja Seija Risten Somby

Introduction

The Sámi University College arranged an international conference on *duodji* (Sámi crafts), and indigenous arts, crafts and design on October 24th and 25th, 2012. The conference was attended by some 100 participants from Sápmi and also a few participants from Canada. The participants were Sámi craftspeople, artists, and indigenous researchers of crafts and art. Through the conference, the Sámi University College wanted to draw attention to indigenous cultural expressions and research. The conference brought together researchers who study duodji arts and crafts, design and art from an indigenous point of view. At the same time, the conference was a meeting place for Sámi craftspeople, who got the opportunity to present their craftwork and methods in exhibitions and workshops.

The topics of the conference were: Sámi duodji, Sámi arts and crafts methodologies, and indigenous art theories. The main goal of the conference was to discuss indigenous cultural expressions and approaches from a multidisciplinary perspective and in indigenous contexts, but with a focus on the Sámi point of view.

The conference also aimed at strengthening research networks among indigenous researchers of the culture of crafts and arts, and the academic field of crafts.

After receiving the conference papers, we now publish six of the lectures presented at the conference in this collection of articles. The collection contains two shorter and four longer articles. The articles examine indigenous practices and methodological issues in the fields of crafts and arts from an indigenous perspective. We want to thank all the authors who sent their papers to this publication.

January 2014

Gunvor Guttorm and Seija Risten Somby

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Aboriginography

A New Decolonized Aboriginal Methodology

Mary Longman

Aboriginography

A New Decolonized Aboriginal Methodology

Abstract: Researching and writing about Indigenous peoples from within a Western epistemological framework can conflict with Indigenous knowledge, methodology and quality of research. The history of colonial cultural imperialism over Indigenous knowledge has constructed disturbing patterns of recycling research on Indigenous topics from within Western frames of reference, which is then reiterated by the next generation of scholars, who reference these authors from within prescribed Western methodological frameworks of educational institutions. Ultimately, this recycling has resulted in generalized or inaccurate research that has hindered rigorous Indigenous scholarship.

Rather than waiting for the Western educational system to fully acknowledge and validate Indigenous knowledge, context, and research methods, this article takes a proactive stance and introduces a new interdisciplinary methodology for Indigenous scholars, entitled *Aboriginography*, which is a decolonized, Aboriginal-centred research methodology that integrates *Post-Colonial Critical Theory*, *Kaupapa Maori Methodology*, and *Narrative Inquiry*.

Epistemology

Epistemology, in general, refers to the theory of knowledge and is related to concepts of acquisition and transfer of knowledge. Epistemology is a key concept amongst philosophers and educators, who debate and analyse knowledge in relation to the context of cultural ideology, such as foundational truths and beliefs that condition assumptions, justifications and notions of intelligence. Educators analyze how this conditioning affects teaching and

learning, and they consider whether it is possible to teach from an objective position and how learners can see beyond the conditioned ‘norm’.

Central to the epistemological debate is the critique of the Western canon in education and its resulting ramifications of excluding other forms of cultural knowledge that matter to many people in our multicultural society. Many Indigenous scholars in the educational field have tackled this topic by publishing texts on Indigenous epistemology and pedagogy, initially arising from the political activism in the 1960s that sought to reclaim control over Indigenous education for cultural survival. The topic has since expanded to include Indigenous curriculum, decolonization of education and protection of Indigenous knowledge and heritage. Authors such as Battiste (1995, 2000), Castellano, Davis and Lahache (2000) and Barman, Hebert and McCaskill (1986, 1987) have been key contributors to the rise of Indigenous epistemology research.

Defining Indigenous epistemology and pedagogy is often ambiguous to many, although philosophically it centres on traditional teachings that are holistic in nature which state that true learning occurs within the entire context of that which is being studied. I refer to this concept as holistic contextualism, which considers all connected facets of the study to arrive at a conclusion, including an examination of ourselves within the context.

Traditionally, the transfer and acquisition of knowledge occurs through elders and community mentors who prioritize teaching the next generation. Elders, also referred to today as ‘traditional knowledge keepers’ (as age is not prescriptive to knowledge), usually teach in the areas of spirituality, ceremony, songs, history, language, plants and medicine. Other areas of specific expertise are passed on by community mentors, who train apprentices in areas such as art, music, dance, hunting, fishing, plant gathering, food preservation and so on. Today, Indigenous epistemology remains in philosophy and traditional customs, although mentorship has expanded to include a variety of community experts, such as in the legal, educational, archaeological, anthropological and ecological fields, to name a few, and the methods of transmission have expanded immensely, such as in publishing and the world-wide web, a reality of our bicultural context, educational institutions and the present technological age.

The model of Indigenous epistemology serves as a valuable template for researchers and teachers, in which the acquisition of new knowledge is achieved directly within the Indigenous context, through engaged cultural immersion in Indigenous communities, on and off reserve, through primary research data attained directly from Indigenous people, and through interviews or apprenticeships with Indigenous experts. This framework is necessary in order to decolonize Eurocentric patterns of educational dominance and to widen definitions of knowledge. Today, cultural imperialism and domination over Indigenous knowledge is no longer appropriate. Gone are the days when scholars can parachute into an Indigenous community for a couple of days, go back and write their dissertations or journal articles and self-assign themselves as Indigenous experts from there on in. Generally, informed Indigenous scholarship must begin with a foundational knowledge of the history and culture of Indigenous peoples and be directly engaged with the Indigenous community.

Fortunately, with the recent paradigmatic shift in educational institutions, Indigenous curriculum and faculty have had a greater presence in our schools and universities. Canadians are now asking what we can learn from the Indigenous peoples, how we can bridge this cultural gap, and how we can get culturally engaged and contribute to Indigenous cultures. I hope that this article will provide a compass for responsible research methods that will contribute to an educational transformation in Indigenous research.

Western Methodology Concerns and Alternatives

For many Indigenous graduate students, finding a validated methodology for Indigenous research, as defined by educational institutions, can be problematic for a few reasons. The prescriptive requirements for research methods, such as historical references for literature reviews and formats for data collection and analysis, are not conducive to Indigenous research. Historical references were often inadequate given that they were primarily written from the colonial perspective, reflecting racist ideologies of the time period and/or laden with outdated terms, generalizations and imposed theories.

These texts reflected minimal contact with Indigenous groups, given the long-term cultural segregation of Indigenous groups who lived on the periphery of urban centres on reservations. Even today, many Canadians do not have a close relationship with Indigenous people nor do they have a basic knowledge of Indigenous culture or history. The good news is that education is in transition towards prioritizing Indigenous curriculum for the current young generation. Indigenous scholarship is also moving in a steady transition towards autonomy, with more students graduating with master degrees and PhDs, and current scholars now being recognized as experts in Indigenous arts, culture and history. Consequently, there has been a rise in published texts amongst Indigenous scholars, although book publications are at a bare minimum.

Quantitative formats for data collection, such as survey calculations, lab analyses or isolated institutional studies, can also be problematic. Alone, these methods are disconnected from the Indigenous context and often reveal only singular, general conclusions. A qualitative research format that might include interviews, narration, storytelling, cultural observation and photos, to name a few, ultimately produce a more in-depth, humanistic and participatory approach within the cultural context, which is congruent with Indigenous epistemology. Other innovative types of qualitative data can be gathered using an interdisciplinary or a multimedia approach, which are becoming increasingly popular in Canadian universities. An interdisciplinary approach between subjects, such as art and archaeology, gives students the freedom to connect their areas of interest and at the same time bridges curriculum content between departments. The use of multimedia such as videos, photographs, poetry or art alongside text provides details and nuances that are often missed through interpretation of the text alone. Furthermore, multimedia recorded data can be valuable archives for future scholarship. Last, qualitative research can provide Indigenous scholars with the opportunity to validate their own voice and experience within a larger context, whether their narrative is based on personal lived experience or stems from professional practice or is a critique of colonization from the position of the colonized.

Aboriginography

‘Aboriginography’ translates to writing from the original and Indigenous source. It represents a dominant inclusion of Indigenous references and a primary research methodology that is derived directly from Indigenous people. The approach is to essentially prioritize Indigenous knowledge and voice over and above subjective interpretation and theories.

Aboriginography is ultimately concerned with attaining autonomy for Indigenous peoples, that is, creating independence and self-sufficiency in scholarship, where Indigenous cultures have the full power to represent themselves within their own cultural terms and as experts of their own culture. By producing rigorous, validated research derived from past and present Indigenous knowledge, scholars can contribute to propelling their communities forward. The specific principles of this methodology are the following:

- 1 It is Indigenous research produced by Indigenous people.
- 2 Indigenous people are the dominant voices in research.
- 3 Philosophical foundations are connected to Indigenous epistemology.
- 4 It is a holistic philosophy that encompasses a relational enquiry of the whole context: cultural, social and historical realities. Data is obtained within the societal or natural context.
- 5 Indigenous knowledge, voice and cultural experience are validated.
- 6 It strives for Indigenous empowerment through the resistance of colonial control and racism by acts of reclamation of history, identity and culture.
- 7 It seeks to develop Indigenous critical theory and research methods.
- 8 Its research contributes to the Indigenous community as well as to national scholarship.

Aboriginography takes a holistic, contextual approach to speaking about and from the Indigenous perspective and thereby utilizes an Indigenous epistemological view. Studying Indigenous peoples in isolation from their communities creates misrepresentations, and therefore a rounded contextual learning of historical, societal and cultural contexts is necessary to assist readers in understanding the full meaning of issues related to an Indigenous topic. Researchers must situate themselves in the centre, so that they can observe dynamics and patterns in context, inclusive of their position within

the context. In conventional academic terms this approach is similar to an extensive observation in the field, although from a relational and interpretive enquiry position, which is not passive observance, but instead participatory. Aboriginography is interdisciplinary because it must draw from several areas in order to provide a valid platform for the Indigenous scholar to speak from. This method is not intended to move in isolation from Western research, but rather it borrows from the best of Indigenous and Western epistemologies that will contribute to rigorous Indigenous research, documentation and publication. The three primary influential theoretical and methodological frameworks used in Aboriginography are post-colonial critical theory, Kaupapa Maori methodology, and narrative enquiry, which, when combined, satisfy the ideology of Indigenous philosophy and epistemology and at the same time make up a process of decolonization directed towards Indigenous autonomy.

Decolonizing Indigenous Research: Influential Theory and Methodology

Much of what we know about Indigenous peoples of North America has been largely informed by the research of non-native academics from the past and present. The text *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians* (1998), edited by Devon Mihesuah and written by prominent Indigenous scholars from the United States, provides diverse critical reviews on methodology, ethics and pedagogy as they relate to the research of Indigenous cultures in North America. Scholars challenge the monopoly of non-Native scholars and teachers who write and teach about Indigenous cultures without accessing primary and secondary sources, and without direct experience in the culture. Mihesuah states that the purpose of this text is to raise awareness in the educational community of ethical and responsible research methods of Indigenous cultures.

many Indians are not satisfied with the manner in which they have been researched or how they and their ancestors have been depicted in scholarly writings... [this text] offers suggestions scholars might use to produce more critical, creative and well-rounded interpretations of Indian histories and cultures. (Mihesuah 1998, ix)

The text challenges those academics who “have regarded themselves as definitive authorities on Indians” (in Deloria 1998, 82) and those who say they write from an Indian viewpoint because “... they may possess a modicum of Indian blood. But many of these ‘Indians’ do not even know which tribe they belong to and were not raised with a tribal connection” (p. 12). The problems that occur with such ‘experts’ is that they are not aware of the ‘inside’ realities of tribal communities; their research often does not include primary sources, and this ultimately perpetuates inaccurate information, myth-making, and treading on sacred information. Furthermore, ethnocentric academics will devalue Indigenous knowledge, such as oral histories, and not acknowledge or compensate community members who gave them all their valuable research (Mihesuah 1998, 9). Instead, they cash in their lucrative grants and run, not even giving the communities a review before they run to the publishers. Authors in this text have voiced their resentment of those who maintain their exclusive positions as experts only to take advantage of such motivators as a “degree, grant, fellowship, or tenure and promotion” (Mihesuah 1998, 8).

This critique of research methodology has been interpreted by some non-native writers as censoring their right to speak to public visual culture, or some have perceived it as a contest of knowledge rather than clearly hearing that it is the issues of cultural misrepresentation that Indigenous people object to. No one objects to non-native writers writing about Indigenous people, as there are many fine writers that have produced great research; rather, the critique is contesting those who do not conduct proper research, which must include direct primary research with Indigenous peoples. A scholar has the responsibility to present accurate, current research to the public. For non-native scholars, research also involves self-enquiry, such as being aware of the history of colonial acquisitions of knowledge of the colonized and being committed to an honest self-enquiry of one’s own position within the context, to avoid automatic projections onto the other culture, such as framing Indigenous culture within the Western theory.

Post-colonial critical theory

Post-colonial theory signifies a position against imperialism and Eurocentrism and employs a method of “a critical analysis of the history, culture, literature and modes of discourse that are specific to the former colonies of England, France and other European imperial powers” (Abrams 2005, 245). This critique seeks to deconstruct the power of Eurocentric ideology, in the ‘European Empire’ that is “said to have held sway over more than 85% of the rest of the globe by the time of the First World War, having consolidated its control over centuries” (Bahri 1996, para. 1). Post-colonial research also examines the interactions between European colonizers and the societies they have colonized (Bahri 1996; Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2000).

In addition to critiquing colonization, post-colonial discourse provides a valid platform from which the colonized can speak, either from the position of critiquing colonization or speaking from the experience of the colonized, or both. Post-colonial theorists have had to deconstruct the definition of the ‘Other’ in order to avoid perpetuating the very difficulties they seek to resist of dominating the representation of the ‘other’. ‘Other’ and ‘other’ are terms used in post-colonial theory primarily to define the colonized subject. In Jacques Lacan’s Freudian analysis of the formation of subjectivity, he defines the distinction between the ‘Other’ and ‘other’ as the ‘former as “the imperial centre, imperial discourse, or the empire itself” while the ‘other’ refers to “the colonized other who are marginalized by imperial discourse, identified by their difference from the center” (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2000, 170).

The rapidly growing discourse of post-colonial critical theory does not have a distinctive methodology; however, Abrams (2005) and Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (2000) identify five recurrent areas of critical analysis:

1. “The rejection of the ‘master-narrative’ of western imperialism – in which the colonial ‘Other’ is not only subordinated and marginalized, but in effect deleted as a cultural agency -- and its replacement by a counter-narrative in which the colonial cultures fight their way back into a world history written by Europeans.” (Abrams 2005, 245).
2. “An abiding concern with the construction, within western discursive practices, of the colonial and post-colonial ‘subject’ as well as the

categories by means of which this subject conceives itself and perceives the world within which it lives and acts.” (Abrams 2005, 245–246).

3. Disestablishment of “Eurocentric norms of literary and artistic values and [expansion of] the literary canon to include colonial and post-colonial writers” (Abrams 2005, 246).
4. “The study and analysis of European territorial conquests, the various institutions of European colonialisms, the discursive operations of empire, the subtleties of subject construction in colonial discourse and the resistance of those subjects, and, most importantly perhaps, the differing responses to such incursions, and their contemporary colonial legacies in both pre- and post-independence nations and communities.” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin 2000, 187).
5. An examination of “how people are perceived [which] controls how they are treated, and the physical differences [that] are crucial in such constructions.... Such prejudices were generated for economic reasons (see slavery) or to control Indigenous populations in colonial possessions by emphasizing their difference and constructing them as inferior.” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin 2000, 183–184).

These topics have been the focus of scholars such as Fanon (1952, 1961), Said (1978), Chakravorty Spivak (1988), Minh-ha (1989), and Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1989, 2000). Some of the most significant works in post-colonial studies include Fanon’s *The wretched of the earth* (1961), Said’s *Orientalism* (1978), Chakravorty Spivak’s *Can the subaltern speak?* (1988), Minh-ha’s *Woman, Native, other: Writing post-coloniality and feminism* (1989), Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin’s *The empire writes back: Theory and practice in post-colonial literatures* (1989), and the more recent McClintock, Mufti and Shohat’s *Dangerous liaisons: Gender, nation and post-colonial perspectives* (1997).

Representation is a key issue in post-colonial literature that critiques dominant colonial representations of cultural, racial or minority groups and also provides strategies of resistance. Edward Wadie Said, a Palestinian–American, was a highly influential scholar of cultural representation and was the founding figure of critical theory in post-colonialism. His

highly proclaimed book, *Orientalism* (1978), critiqued the Western study of Eastern cultures, particularly of the Middle East, stating that these inaccurate representations were political in nature and tied to the colonial agenda, coining the term ‘cultural imperialism’ (Said 1978). Early literature reveals that the basis of cultural imperialism is grounded in “the assumption that a truly effective colonial conquest required knowledge of the conquered peoples” (Sered 1996, para. 7). Colonial constructions of the ‘other’ were supported “with the unquestioning certainty of absolute truth backed by absolute force” (Said 1978, as cited in Sered 1996, para. 9). Said (1978) stated that representations can never be realistic and rejects “biological generalizations, cultural construction and racial and religious prejudices” (Sered 1996, para. 10). As an alternative, Said suggests using a ‘narrative’ approach rather than imposing a ‘vision’ for interpretation, suggesting that research methods and representation of cultural groups should occur with the process of the subject speaking directly from their own experience rather than researchers interpreting the subject through their own ideological lens.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak is an Indian literary theorist and professor born in Calcutta, India, and is known for her critiques of difference and representation of the ‘other’ under the hegemonic powers of the colony. Spivak coined the term ‘subaltern’ in her article ‘*Can the subaltern speak?*’ (1988), which in Latin is defined as ‘under other’, which refers to the self-representation of marginalized peoples under the hegemonic rule of the colony and dominant discourse. Chakravorty Spivak examines problems associated with the dominant group representing the other and with the other using dominant discourse in an attempt to produce a counter-narrative. She distinguishes these two forms of representation as ‘proxy’ and ‘portrait’. The former refers to ‘speaking for’ and the latter to ‘portraying of’ (Baldonado 1996, para. 6). In representing the other, Chakravorty Spivak demonstrates how the Western academy has ignored or obscured subaltern experiences by assuming the transparency of its scholarship by writing for the other. She questions the contradictory dilemma of the other speaking for themselves within the Western academy, essentially utilizing the same discourse that has subordinated their identity (Abram, 2005).

Trinh T. Minh-ha was born in Hanoi, Vietnam, and is a musician, film-maker, feminist and post-colonial theorist. Minh-ha’s post-colonial approach is

unique in that it purposefully rejects the dialectical act of reversal or debating difference, so as not to create another dogma or blanket representation:

To prevent this counter-stance from freezing into a dogma (in which the dominance-submission patterns remain unchanged), the strategy of mere reversal needs to be displaced further, that is to say, neither simply renounced nor accepted as an end in itself. Minh-ha (1989, 40).

Minh-ha (1989) explains this multi-angled approach in her work: “A writing for the people, by the people and from the people is, literally, a multipolar reflecting reflection that remains free from the conditions of subjectivity and objectivity and yet reveals them both” (p. 22).

Said, Spivak and Minh-ha have all produced ground-breaking work towards raising awareness of representation that subjugates the other and inspires decolonization strategies towards future research. Said revealed the connection between cultural representation and the colonial agenda, and ultimately stated that representation must come directly from the original voice, over another’s interpretation. Minh-ha and Spivak have sought decolonizing strategies for researchers to move beyond the critique of colonial representation and the debate of difference towards the important priority of creating research for the people. With their research, they have changed perspectives in academia immensely and have paved the way for new scholars to bring their own voices and experiences to academia.

Today, scholars on the periphery of Western academia no longer need to focus their research on topics such as exposing stereotypes or critiquing the ‘master’ text, as the ground has been opened wide by previous scholars. The questions now at hand are, ‘What is the contributing objective of the research and who will benefit from this research? Will this research directly contribute to the people and will it contribute to new knowledge nationally and internationally?’

Changing old semantics to describe the other is also key in the decolonization process. It is no longer necessary to copy or utilize negative terms that subjugate the other, such as ‘subaltern’, ‘subordinate’, ‘minority’, and even the term ‘other’, which refers to a secondary option. New terms are needed to define groups in a positive, strong manner, as they should have been in the first place. Indigenous people have never adopted colonial labels that are

demeaning because they have been acutely aware of the power of derogatory semantics in racial politics, thanks to the research of Afro-American scholars. Indigenous people have made a point of describing their overall nations as First Nations, Indigenous or Aboriginal, as a constant reminder of their unique position as original Canadians, who have existed in Canada for several thousands of years prior to the relatively recent European arrival. However, it is unfortunate that some Indigenous groups in Canada, and more so in the United States, still refer to themselves as ‘Indians’, although I expect this will change with the next generation, who are more informed with the historical context of the term.

Kaupapa Maori Methodology

Maori professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith challenges traditional Western research methodology in her book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples* (1999) and calls for the decolonization of methodologies and the autonomy of Indigenous-centred research. The Kaupapa Maori research position rejects the scientific paradigm of positivism that has its origin in empirical methods. Tuhiwai Smith (1999) states that the Maori have methodological and epistemological concerns in regard to positivism in both “the techniques of research and presuppositions about knowledge which underlie the research” (p. 169). The scientific methods of measurement, classification, representation and evaluation are said to be inappropriate for understanding human society and realities (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Western ideologies that underlie positivist methods conflict with cultural ideologies and epistemologies of the Indigenous worldview:

Western research is more than just research that is located in positivist tradition. It is research which brings to bear, on any study of Indigenous peoples, a cultural orientation, a set of values, a different conceptualization of such things as time, space and subjectivity, different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialized forms of language and structures of power. (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 42).

The ramification of positivist research methods is that it has distorted Indigenous realities and has left “Maori people within a cultural definition

which does not connect with either our oral traditions or our lived reality” (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 170). Essentially, with Indigenous autonomy in research, Indigenous people can truly represent themselves in a culturally accurate manner.

The Kaupapa Maori approach is multidisciplinary and holistic, drawing from frameworks such as epidemiological survey work, ethnography, qualitative studies, and critical theory, although it is not limited to these areas. Guiding principles of Kaupapa Maori research include: being related to ‘being Maori’, being connected to Maori philosophy and principles; taking for granted the validity and legitimacy of the Maori and the importance of Maori language culture, and a concern with the ‘the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being’ (G. Smith, 1990, as cited in Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 185). While the Kaupapa Maori methodology appears to be Maori centred, the principles can be utilized for any Indigenous group.

Narrative Enquiry

Tribal knowledge was not fragmented data arranged according to rational speculation. It was simply the distilled memory of the people describing the events they had experienced and the lands they had lived in (Deloria, 1997, p. 36).

Vine Deloria Jr. echoes the anti-positivist approach of the Kaupapa Maori and the long struggle of Indigenous people to have their experiences validated in academia and further, legally, as legitimate oral accounts of history. Deloria is a highly acclaimed Sioux scholar and was a professor of history, law, political science, and religious studies at the University of Colorado in Boulder. He has left an incredibly bold legacy of confronting Western myth-making with publications such as *Red earth, white lies: Native Americans and the myth of scientific fact* (1997) and *Custer died for your sins: An Indian manifesto* (1988). Deloria’s unique writing style alternated researched facts with his narrative of his Indigenous experience to explain historical and contemporary Indigenous realities. Deloria is viewed as a warrior of academia who inspired many Indigenous scholars to speak their truth in their research despite its contradictions with Western theories. Deloria explains

that the strong resistance to holding on to inaccurate theories is the attempt to resist the crumbling of the foundations of Western academia on which contemporary theory is built.

Narrative enquiry can be used in research in two ways: as a platform to validate one's own autobiographical account of life experiences as an Indigenous person and to validate the voices of other Indigenous people through interviews utilizing direct quotes. Jerome Bruner (1990) states that narrative strives to locate the experience in time and place, and Clandinin and Connelly (2000) suggest that all experience happens narratively. In autobiographical reflections by an Indigenous author, the original voice cannot be misrepresented, and their life story ultimately contributes within the broader social context and to the collective meaning of Indigenous people in Canada today. As indicated by Bruner (1990), Clandinin and Connelly (2000), and Said (1978), using the narrative format for representing the human experience can result in research that is meaningful and accessible to other people, and at the same time avoids misrepresentation.

In the past, Indigenous peoples and culture have been interpreted separately from individual identity, and therefore this methodology presents the Indigenous voice and locates it within the context of their historical, social, and cultural realities. The emphasis of this research is to give Indigenous accounts predominance to balance the scales of representation. This process is a collective effort in which Indigenous people voice their concerns together to deconstruct the ideologies of representation that have perpetuated myth-making, stereotypes, and racial discrimination. By sharing individual realities, scholars can contribute to the discourse of racial politics within the collective experience and move toward reclaiming their history, identity, and cultural perspectives.

In conclusion, Aboriginography aims to demystify methodology by providing a practical validated framework that has been constructed in an open, non-restrictive manner so that scholars, regardless of their fields, can utilize the Indigenous-centred approach. This framework can assist graduate students in writing theses or dissertations by providing a valid platform to write from, and it can also assist scholars to write from an Indigenous-centred position that validates Indigenous epistemology.

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Sámi duodjemetodologiiat

Gunvor Guttorm

Sámi duodjemetodologijat

Álggahus

Lean guhkit áiggi bargan duodjedutkamiin ja nu lean maiddái fárus hábme-min alit duodjeoahpu ja duodjedutkama. Erenoamážit lean leamaš mielde huksemin, jodiheamen ja ovdánahttimin alit duodjeoahpu Sámi allaskuvllas dan rájes go dat vuodđuduvvui, searválagaid earáiguin geat leat bargan ásahusas.

Dán artihkkalis guorahalan duodje- ja dáiddateoriija gažaldagaid ja mo čatnat dán guokte suorggi oktii eamiálbmotperspektiivvas. Ulbmil artihkkaliin lea suokkardallat ahte leago sáhka sierra ja čielga lahknonavugiin go hállat eamiálbmotgeahčastagain, ja buktit muhtun evttohusaid mo daid sáhtta lahkonit.

Artihkkala huksehus lea nu, ahte álggos váldit ovdan maid mearkkaša dutkansuorgái go duodji lea šaddan allaskuvlla ja universitehta fágan, man sápmelaččat ieža dutket ja go leat sápmelaččat geat duddjojit. Dasto guorahalan, mo eamiálbmotmetodologijat leat meroštallojuvvon ja man láhkai sápmelaš dutkan dies lea oasálaš, ja mo duoji daidda meroštallamiidda heiveha. Duodjedoaba lea dááán meroštallamis dehálaš oassi. Loahpas de divaštalan muhtun osiid das mo duodjedutkan, man vuodđun lea duddjon, sáhtta čadahuvvot dain vuolggasajiin.

Eamiálbmotmetodologijat

Eamiálbmotdoahpaga ja eamiálbmotperspektiivva geavaheapmi lea kritiserejuv-von, go dat sirre “min” ja “din”. Muhto mun in doarjjo dien kritihka. Go lea sáhka eamiálbmotkultuvrra iešmearrideamis, de deattuhuvvo ahte eamiálbmogat leat ieža 1960-logu rájes searvan iešdefineremii, iešmearrideami digaštallamiidda, ja leat nu positioneren iežaset politihkalaččat ja fágalaččat (gč. Minde 2007, 9–37). Eamiálbmotgeahčastat ovddasta eanet “min dárbbuid” go “sin dárbbuid”. Nancy Marie Mithlo čállá, ahte álgoálbmotdáidagis ii dárbbáš

vuohki ja sisdoallu leat deháleamos go vállje álgoálbmotgeahčastaga, muhto dat makkár ulbmiliin dahká dáidaga (Mithlo 2012, 92). Seamma láhkai sáhtta de maiddáid dadjat sámii dáiddalaš doaimmaid ja dutkama birra. Maid de oaivvilda ulbmiliin? Son čilge, mo eamiálbmotlahkonanvuohki galgá ovttašastatjuvvot eará servodagaiguin, ovdamearkka dihtii oppalaš dáid-daservodagain, muhto álgoálbmogiid iežaset eavttuiguin.

Eamiálbmogat barget ovdánahttin dihte iežaset álbmogin ja fidnet iežaset sosiálalaš ovdánahttima ja iešmearrideami (gč. Omd. Balto & Hirvonen 2008; Kuokkanen 2007; Hirvonen 2004). Iešmearrideapmi lea eanet go dušše juksat politihkalaš meari, čállá Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Tuhiwai Smith 2005; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Son lea fuomášuhtán eamiálbmotdutkan dán seamma suorggi geahčastagastis ja lea geavahan eamiálbmotmetodologiijaid deattuheami dihtii, ahte ii leat sáhka ovttá áidna vuogis. Son oaidná ahte ollu metodologiijat leat seammalárganat go oarjemáilmmis, muhto erenoamáš eamiálbmotdilis leat dakkár bealit go dekoloniseren, buorideapmi ja mobiliseren, mat sáhttet leat oktasáččat eamiálbmotmetodologiijain (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 116). Smith lahkoneapmi eamiálbmotmetodologiijaide lea áddet oarjemáilmmi dieđu, ja fuomášuhttit oarjemáilbmái mii lea eamiálbmotgeahčastat. Dan sáhtta dahkat mobiliseremiin, buoridemiin, ja sirdimiin. Dán Tuhiwai Smith oaidná dekoloniseremiin (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 176.) Graham Smith geavaha ovdamearkka das, mii lea dáhpáhuvvan Aotearoas. Son čujuha, ahte go olbmot heite vuordimis ahte juoga sidjiide galgá dáhpáhuvvat, ja ieža álge bargat dan ovdii ahte juoga geavvá, de rievddai maid perspektiiva. Dán oainnu son lohka lihkkaseapmin eret dekoloniseremis dihtomielašvuoda huksemii ('conscientization'), mii dasto bijai maoriid ja sin dárbbuid guovddáži (Smith 2003).

Vásáhusat leat eamiálbmogiin okta oktasáš bealli eamiálbmotmetodologiijain. Dát vásáhusat sáhttet leat persovnnalaččat dahje maiddáid eamiálbmotjoavkku siskkobealde. Sihke Margaret Kovach ja Shawn Wilson deattuheaba persovnnalaš vásáhusaid, dahje persovnnalaš sajáidahttima (Wilson 2008; Kovach 2009). Kovach čállá ahte dutki iešsajáidahttin (eang: selflocation) lea okta oassi eamiálbmogiid diehtohuksemis (Kovach 2009, 109–115). Son oaivvilda, ahte dát iešsajáidahttin lea go dutki juogada iežas gullelašvuoda muhtun joavkkuin (iešdovdu), dat makkár kultuvrralaš vásáhusat sus leat, dahje mo lea huksen iežas áddejumi eamiálbmotdiehtohuksemis (Kovach 2009, 110). Kovach deattuha dattege, ahte eamiálbmotdutkanis lea

iešsajáiduvvan dehálaš justa dan sivas, go dutki lea mearridan geahččat beliid eamiálbmogiid vuolggasajis.

Neumann ja Neumann (2012) čálliba ahte dutkamis lea ollu leamaš sáhka das, go iežas kultuvrra dutká, de čalmmehuvvá olmmoš. Soai baicce fuomášuhttiba ákkaid mat leat ovdamunnin, go dovdá birra maid dutká. Soai oaidniba ahte iešsajáidahttin eanet nanosmahtta go čalmmehuhtta dutki, dasgo ferte dihtomielaččat guorahallat iežas biográfalaš vásáhusaid mat váikkuhit bohtosa analysaide. (Neumann & Neumann 2012, 90–96.) Iešsajáidahttin duoji oktavuodas sáhtta mearkkašit ovdamearkka dihte dan ahte duodjedutki váldá vuhtii, ahte su dutkanberoštumi váikkuha dat, leago omd. ieš bajásšaddan Kárášjoga boazodoalodilis.

Sihke Wilson ja Kovach deattuheaba eamiálbmotmetodologiijain dáid beliid, ja Wilson gohčoda dáid oktavuotnan (*relations*). Son juohká oktavuodaid mángga dássái; olmmošlaš oktavuoda dássái, daguid ja idèaid dássái, olbmo, birra ja luonddu gaskavuoda dássái, ja loahpas univearssa dássái (Wilson, 2008, 80–97). Dát oktavuodat dagahit ahte dutki ii leat goassege okto. Go dál omd. čálán dán artihkkala, de lea mu vásáhus daguhan dan. Mu beroštupmi duodjedutkamii eamiálbmotdiehtun vulggii barggadettiinan duodjeváldofágain ja doavtterdutkosiin. Beroštupmi duodjái álggii juo árat, dalle go ieš oahpahallagohten duoji 19-jahkásažžan. Mearráduš álgit dujiin bargat lei iežan. Go de dutkagohten duoji ja go eanet ahte eanet sajáiduvai fágan alitohppui, de oidnen ahte ferte leat vejolaš geahččat ja lahkoniit suorggi duoji vuolggasajiin, ja ahte dasa lea dárbu. Allaskuvlla ásaheapmi lea maid hásttuhan mu geahččat duoji sámi vuolggasajis, dasa lassin leat ovttasbarggut eará eamiálbmogiid fágaolbmuiguin dahkan dan seamma. Wilson oaivvilda ahte dutkanmetodat eai dárbbas leat dat, mat mearridit mo juksat odđa vuolggasajiid. Wilsona cealkima sáhtta áddet seammá láhkai go dan maid Mithlo oaivvilda. dat mii lea mihttomearri dahje man ulbmilin čadaha dihto dutkosa dahje juo dáiddalaš barggu (Mithlo 2012, 188–205). Dat mearkkaša ahte eamiálbmogiid dárbbut leat vuodđun.

Iešsajáidahttin lea maiddá oahpis ee. feministtalaš dutkamis. Donna Haraway lea čállán, ahte dutki ieš ferte čatnat iežas dutkanbohtosiidda ja ahte diehtu lea fágalaččat sajáiduvvan, go dutki diehtá ahte diehtu lea čatnasan dan oktavuhtii mas lea vuolgán (Haraway 1988). Su sajáidahttindiehtu (situated knowledge) lea lihkestapmi eret eurosentrála geahčasteamis.

Duoji praksis vuolggasadjijn dutkamis ja dáiddalaš barggus

Duodji lea sápmelaš dutkanfáddán oalle nuorra, ja nu ii leat vuos suorgi nagodan hukset dutkanárbevieru, mii addá dutkamii iežas “iešdovddu”. Beroštupmi duodjái iešguđet dutkansurggiinlea leamaš ja lea ain, ja mii geat dál leat válljen geahččat duoji sámi perspektiivvas, dovdat bures ovdalaš dáiddahistorihkkáriid, antropologaid, etnologaid ja mátkkálaččaid, giel-ladutkiid ja eará dutkiid čállosiid. Lean iešge vaikko man dávjá lohkan ja guorahallan omd. Ernst Mankera, Knud Leema, Konrad Nielsena ja earáid čállosiid sámi duoji birra. Eamiálbmotgeahčastagas lea maiddáidárbu geahččat dáid čállosiid, erenoamážit go meroštallá makkár ideologalaš duogáš dain lea.

Rauna Kuokkanen váldá atnui eamiálbmotperspektiivva ja evttoha ahte dan sáhtta dahkat, go guldala ja gudnejahtta ja dohkkeha álbmoga oainnu iežaset kultuvrra hárrái (Kuokkanen 2009, 46). Jus dán jurdaga sirdá duodjedutkamii, de lea duodjepraksis vuodđun. Sii geat leat čállán duoji váldofága- ja doavtterdutkosiid mañimuš jagiid, leat maiddáidárbut (gč. omd. Johansen 1990; Dunfjeld Aagård 1989; Dunfjeld 2006; Guttorm 2001; Somby 2003; Eira 2004; Fors 2004; Triumf 2004). Dát addá maiddáid teoriija huksemii dihto “siskkobeale” (duojára) vuolggasaji.

Doahpágiid válljen

Lean dán rádjai geavahan sihke duodje- ja dáiddadoahpaga dainna oaiviliin, ahte leat guokte goabbatlágan doahpaga. Dát leat guokte doahpaga mat geavahuvvojit sihke bálddalagaid ja sierralagaid sámegeielas. Mii leat omd. Duodji 2012 konferánssas maiddáid geavahan duoji ja dáidaga doahpágiid, ja dás ovdalaš maid čállen, ahte mis leat oahput mas deattuhat jogo duoji dahje dáidaga. Sámi servodagas leat ollu duojárat, geat eai dovdda iežaset gullat dáiddapraksisii, ja nu eai gohčot iežaset doaimma dáiddalaš bargun, ja dáiddárat fas eai ane iežaset duojárin, vaikko mángii ii dárbbas leat jearaldat das, maid barget muhto man oktavuodas.

Duodjedoaba lea čilgejuvvon leat buot lágan ráhkadeaddji doaimma. Mañimuš logenar jagiid dat lea ožžon dakkár sisdoalu, ahte duodji lea

giehtabargodoaibma mas lea vuolggasadji sámi servodagas (Guttorm 2010, 13–41). *Dáidda* doaba lea ođđa doaba ja bođii atnui go oahppan dáiddárat 1970-logu loahpas háliidedje álggahit oktasaš sámi searvvi ja geavahedje suomagielat sáni *taide* vuodđun ráhkadit sámeviel doahpaga ja maid sáhtá álkkit jorgalit kunst/art sátnin (Guttorm 2010, 13–41) Sáhtá lohkat ahte maiddái dáiddadoaba lea badjánan sierra dárbbus. Čuolbma mii mu mielas badjana lea, go ii leat nu álki geassit čielga rájáid duddjon- ja dáiddalaš doaimmaid gaska, danne go goappašiin leat rasttideaddji doaimmat.

Mánnga eará eamiálbmotgielas máilmmis iige leat leamaš doaba, maid sáhtá jorgalit njuolga “art” sátnin. Dat dattege ii mearkkaš, ahte dain servošiin eai leat leamaš dáiddalaš doaimmat. Ovdamearkka dihte Howard Morphy fuomášuhtá, ahte austráialaš aborigiinnaid duddjon lea easkka gieskat juksan dáiddaárvvu, ja oaidná sivvan dan go oarjemáilbmi dáiddahistorjjálaččat ii leat ovdal čáhkkehan sin dáiddalaš doaimmaid oarjemáilmmi dáiddakategoriijaide (Morphy 2000, 129–140). Dan maid gohčodit eangalasgillii “art” gokčá sámeviela sániid duodji ja dáidda. McChesney oaivvilda fas, ahte go eamiálbmotdujiid leat álgán árvvoštallat individuálalaš dávvirin, de easkka leat geahččagoahtán daid dáiddan (McChesney 2012, 2–32).

Bruce Bernstein ja Gerald McMaster čálliba, ahte eanaš indiánagielain váilu sátni maid sáhtáši jorgalit eangalasgillii *art* (Bernstein & McMaster 2004, 37). Soai oaivvildeaba ahte ii leat leamaš indiánaid joavkkuin historjjálaččat ideologiiija sirret dakkár olmmošlaš daguid, maid sáhtá defineret *art* doahpahiin dan áddejumi mielde mii badjánii čuvgehusáiggis, ahte dáidda luovvana eallimis ja árgabeaivvis. Soai rahpaba vejolašvuoda geahččat indiánaid duoji muhtunlágan dáiddan, muhto ahte dain leat iežaset árvvut. Čábbodat, duohtavuohta ja riektavuohta leat áddejumi mat gávdnojit oarjemáilmmis, ja dat? de leat dálá dáidda-doahpaga vuodđun, muhto dat eai leat indiánaid kultuvrrain leamaš oassin (ibid.). Gerald R. McMaster lea ovdal maid čállán, ahte ieš doaba *dáidda* (kunst, art) lea seamma lánkai go estetihkka dutkanfáddán, čatnasan nannosit oarjemáilmmi ovdánanhistorjái (McMaster 1999, 81).

Steven Leuthold fas lea buorre mealgadii seamma oainnus go earát, geat oidnet ahte álgoálbmogiid dujiin ja duddjondoaimmain (dalle mun geavahan duoji dan oainnus ahte lea buot lágan duodji, maiddái dat mii lahkona oarjemáilmmi áddejumi mielde dáidaga) lea eará sisdoallu go oarjemáilmmi

dáidagis (Leuthold 1998, 46). Son oaidná dán hástaleaddjin, go teoriiat leat huksejvvon oarjemáilmmi dáidaga vuolggasajiin. Erenoamážit modernisma-áiggis, go dáiddaservošat guorahalle ja fáttmastedje eamiálbmotdujiid ja dulkojedje daid, válddekeahhtá vuhtii eamiálbmogiid oainnuid ja jurda-giid das, mo sii definerejit iežaset buktagiid (Leuthold 1998, 46). Son oaidná stuorra erohusa oppalaččat das, mii lea leamaš eamiálbmotdáidda ja oarjemáilmmi dáidda: eamiálbmotdáidaga kontemplatiivavuoha lea čadnon dávjá rituálaide, ávkkálašvuhtii, oktavuodaide, njuolggadusaide, ja oarjemáilmmi daidda fas friija, individuála dulkomiidda ja rituálaide (Leuthold 1998, 47). Son oaidná čoavddusin dan, ahte oarjemáilmmi dáid-dadefineren viiddiduvvo nu ahte fáttmasta maid eamiálbmogiid mitalusa mii sin mielas lea dáidda ja masa maiddái de čáhket eamiálbmogiid oainnut ja jurdagat (Leuthold 1998, 50). Son ja olu earát evttohit viiddidit dáid-dadoahpaga nu, ahte dat maid guoská daid ovdanbuktimiidda (dujiide) mat leat čadnon sierra kultuvrralaš oktavuodaide ja main lea čielga čanastat sierra doaimmaide ja njuolggadusaide, ja mat deattuhit ávkkálašvuoda ja rituálaid ja mat gáibidit kontekstuála áddejumi. Dat lea vejolaš čoavddus go deattuha, ahte maiddái dáidagis leat mánga parallealla historjjá, aistton Hanna H. Hansena (Hansen 2007). Leutholda ákkastallamis leat sierra vuolggasadji ja aktiivvalaš mearrideapmi das, mo juohke kultuvra galgá áddet iežas kultuvrralaš doaimmaid.

Duoji vuolggasadji sámi “juohkebeaivválaš oktavuodas”

Árbevirolaš duojis leat njuolggadusat, ja estehtalaš áddejumi leat hábmejuv-von juohkebeaivválaš doaimmain. Go mii dán áiggi hállat duoji birra, de leat mis mánggalágan duodjevásáhusat. Leat sihke duddjon- ja geavahanvuogit mat leat joatkašuvvan ja dasto leat práksisat mat leat riegádan individuála jurddašeamis ja duddjomis. Rájáid árbevirolaš dujiid ja odđa fuomášumiid gaska ii soaitte oppa fuomášitge go geahččá dujiid. Go čatnat árbedieđu duddjomii ja duodjái, de čatnat daid dasto maiddái dieđuide mat ledje dehálaččat árbevirolaš servodagas, ja maid leat gaskkustan, rievadan ja heivehan dálá áigái .

Dađistaga go eallinvuogit ja servodat lea rievdan, de lea duodjepráksis sirdašuvvan, ja duoji digaštallan lihkkasan. Nu guhká go duodji lea

čilgejuvvon olggobeal áiciid geahčastagas, de leat sii maiddái báinnahallan áiggi ideologalaš oidnui. Go duodji lea čilgejuvvon ruota-, dáro- dahje suomagiela doahpágiiguin, de guddet doahpagat nugo ”slöjd”, ”husflid”, hemslöjd”, ”folkekunst”, käsityö jna. historjjá ja govvejit áiggi ideologalaš oainnu. Go earágielagat go sámeagielagat leat čilgegoahtán duoji eará gielaide, de lea daid gielaide kategoriserenvuohki váikkuhan maiddái sámi duoji kategorisema, nugo omd. kunsthåndverk, ”slöjd”, ”konsthantverk”, ”husflid” (gč. Guttorm 2001, 22–44; Guttorm 2004, 201–211). Dát mielddisbukta ahte ii buot háviid leat váldon vuodđun dat makkár lea buvttá, muhto makkár árvu das lea dihto suorggis. Danne sáhtta muhtun muddui lohkat, ahte mii dál leat báidnašuvvan muhtun muddui dáid doahpágiid sisdoaluide, ja geahččat duoji dáid kategoriijaid vuodul.

Čuolbma maid oainnán go jorgala nuppi gielas sámegeillii, lea daid doahpágiid duogáš digaštallan dan giela kultuvrralaš hárvaneami ja árvvuid vuodul ja guottuid vuodul mat leat daidda čadnon. Lean vásihan go lean logaldallan eará eamiálbmotguovlluin ja geavahan duodjedoahpaga, de lean dávjá ožžon kommentáraid ahte sámeagiela duodjedoaba roahkka sáhtta maid



Govus 1. Joar Nango installašuvdna *Baggylavvu Jeans av lavvuduk*.
Govven: Sámi Dáiddaguovddáš, Kárášjogas.

gokčat daid doaimmaid mat leat eará eamiálbmotguovlluin, go eai doppe ge buohkat áibbas dovdda ahte lea riehta geavahit “art” sáni, go das leat dihtolágan konnotašuvnnat. Go mii geavahat duodji doahpaga dan sadjái go “slöjd”, “husflid”, “kunsthåndverk” jna., de leat maiddái váldán sámi geahčastaga, mii gáibida viidát geahčastaga, danne go duodjepráksisa de maiddái guorahallá seammás. Mii dalle maiddái hástalat digaštallat dan mii duodji lea dálá áiggis. Mu váldočuoččuhus lea ahte jus duodji galgá leat fága ja suorgi alit oahpus ja dutkamis, de fertet vuolggasaji váldit dán doahpagis ja dan práksisis. Ná sáhtá lihkaštittit sihke sajáiduvvan áddejumiid das, mii duodji lea sámi servodagas ja das, mo dat fas áddejuvvo olggobeale sajáiduvvan juhkui dáidaga ja ii dáidaga gaskka.

Muhtun duojára guksi sáhtá gártan dáiddan muhtun sierra dáiddalaš dilálašvuodas, omd. leat sihke Geir Tore Holm, Iver Jåks ja Folke Fjellström geavahan guvssi sierra dáiddalaš oktavuodas. Manne guvssit jukset dáiddalaš árvvu, ii leat danne go leat guvssit, muhto danne go leat oassin muhtun idéas/jurdagis mii dáid dáiddáriin/duojáriin lea leamaš.

I'm in lávvu nammasaš dáiddaprošeakta maid Sámi Dáiddaguovddáš čadahii dá muhtun jagiid dassá, lea maid buorre ovdamearka das, mas duodji ja duoddjon lea oasálaš. Dán prošeaktii searvvai dáiddár ja arkiteakta Joar Nango *Baggylavvu Jeans av lavvuduk* (sic) nammasaš instállašuvnnain, ja bovdii iežas prošeaktii guokte duojára, Ovlá Gaup ja Ánne Káre Kemi.

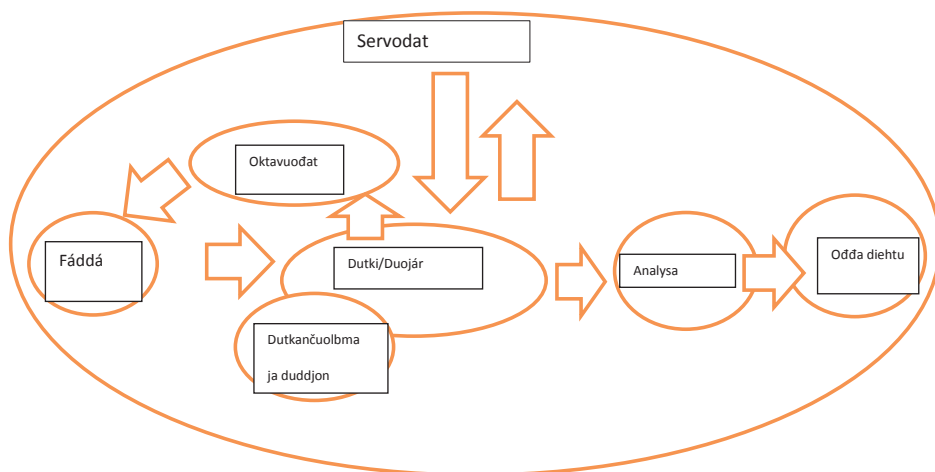
Dás lea dán guovtti duojáris čielga doaimma, soai galgaba duoddjot buvssaid ja čoarveboaluid, nubbi lea nappo buksagoarru ja nubbi boallodahkki, ja dát buvssat ja boalut leat oassin Joar Nango instállašuvnnas. Dattege jáhkán ahte soai juoganu láhkai leaba iežaska oasi ja jurdagiid bidjan bargui. Muhto seamma duojit sáhttet de sirdašuvvat ja luovvanit dan dáiddalaš instállašuvnnas ja šaddat bivttasin. Nie de lihkašta olles instállašuvdna ja oasit sirdašuvvet ođđa oktavuodaide, ja dát sáhtá leat dáiddára ulbmil ja mihttomearri ge. Muhto seammás badjánit ođđa geahččanvuogit. Mii de lea erohus duojis ja duoddjomis? Dajašin *I'm in lávvu* dáiddaprošeakta ja Joar Nango.

Oaivvildan ahte doaba duodji sisttisdoallá kreatiivvalaš doaimma, mas lea vuolggasadji sámi eallimis, ja go dan lokte alitoahppofágan (disciplin), de ferte maiddái dan doahpaga geahččat ođđa dilis ja bidjat ođđa sisdoalu. Alit oahpus vurdojuvvo ođđa diehtu dahje ođđa fuomášupmi. Danne ferte maid

dáidda-doaba ja ja dáiddalaš práksis leat oassin duodjeoahpus, ádden dihtii goappašiid beliid, vaikko deaddu lea duojis.

Duodji ja dutkan - dutkan duddjoma bokte

Dás loahpas guorahalan mo duoji sáhtá duddjoma bokte eamiálbmotgeahčastagas dutkat. Dat mearkkaša ahte duojár ja dutki lea seamma, duddjon lea vuolggasadjin ja dat lea guovddázis. Iešalddis dáiddalaš ovdánahttin ja dutkanbargu ii leat dušše duddjomis, muhto dat gávndno eará kreatiivvalaš fágasurggiinge sihke eamiálbmot- ja oarjemáilmmi servodagain. Norggas leat váldofáгат ja dál másterfáгат dáiddalaš fágain ja nu lea duodji oassin diekkár fágalaš birrasis. Nu sáhtáši lohkat ahte duodjedutkamis lea vejolašvuolta atnit ávkin daid lahkonaavgugiid mat dain fágain lea. Muhto nugo dán artihkkala álggus čállen, de dárbbáša duodji gávndat iežas saji dutkan- ja ovdánahttinfáddán. Wilson oavvvilda ahte go galgá dutkat eamiálbmotgeahčastagas, de lea dehálaš jearrat maid servodat dárbbáša. Son maid deattuha oktavuodaid, relašuvnmaid (Wilson 2008). Lean ráhkadan govvosa mas geahčan, man láhkai oainnán mo oktavuodaid čatnasan oktii. Vulobeale govvosis oktavuodát.



Govus 2. Govvosis oainná mo sáhtaši geahčat duddjondutkam go vuhtii váldá oktavuodaid.

Duojár ja dutki lea oassin servodagas. Servodat leat olbmot, ásahtusat ja sin ovtastallamat. Su mearráduosat dutkamii váikkuha das, makkár birrasis lea,

mo biras doarju su, makkár vuordámušat servodagas leat su ektui. Jus lean ádden Wilsona ja maiddá Kovach oktavuodaskovi riehta ja go geahččalan dan heivehit duodjedutkamii, de duojára/dutki iežas sajáidahttin váikkuha dasa makkár fáttáin vällje bargat. Maiddá su duddjonvásáhusain lea iežas leat váikkuheaddjit. Jus lea lea eallán árbedieđuin, de ii soaitte háliidit luoitit das eret ja duhtat dasa. Omd. son guhte lea sámegielat, soaitá sámegielain lahkonit duoji iešguđet teorehtalaš beliide eanet go dat geas ii leat sámegielat duogáš. Duddjomis oppalaččat oaidná, ahte oktavuodat čatnasit sihke báikái, olbmuide ja elliide. Son guhte duddjo gálssohiid, lea dárkilit välljen gápmasiid, ja nu oaidná daid duddjonproseassa dehálaš oassin. Son soaitá ieš njuovvan gápmasiid, ja nu lea njuovvan maid oassi duddjonproseassas. Dalle beassá oaidnit maid, leago boazu joliin vai váibbat, ja dalle čatná oktavuoda bohccuin iežas duddjonproseassas, ja dalle maid guvlui, ealáhii. Jus lea goarrumin eará go alccesis, de čatná maid oktavuoda dasa geasa lea goarrumin, nu de čuovvu son jurdagiin, son jurddaša mo sutnje heive duodji, mo galgá gálssohiid coggat, mo galgá daiguin čohkkát, makkár eará biktasiid galgá coggat.

Leuthold lea guorahallan, maid čábbodat mearkaša Navajo kultuvrras, ja čujuha, ahte čábbodat gávdno doaimmain (activities) iige dušše dávviriin, muhto oktavuodain dávviriid gaskkas (Leuthold 1998, 60). Dákkár oainnu gávdná de maid duddjonproseassas. Hálešteamit, geaiguin deaivvada, makkár duvdaga (doarjaga) oážžu, dat váikkuhit. Duddjonberoštumit, main oktavuodain lea hárlánan duddjot, geaid várás, maid háliida mitalit, buot dát váikkuhit. Dat fáddá maid de vällje mearrida maid, makkár lahkonanvugiid vällje. Oainnán ahte álggus dutkan-/duddjonproseassas leat dehálaččat oktavuodat ja lean ovttá oaivilis ahte iežas sajáidahttin lea oassi dán proseassas. Maiddá dalle go duddjo, de duojár doalaha lagasvuoda iežainis.

Lean iežan skovis bidjan suokkardeami dásis dutki okto, go dutkamis ja buot eará ge reflekšuvnnas boahá dan muddui ahte ferte gáidadiet iežas bohtosiin. Dát bealli lea hástaleaddji danne go duodjedutkan, seamma go eará visuála dutkan mas ieš lea sihke dutki ja dahkki/geahččaleaddji, lea erenoamáš go bargá vuosttažettiin dutkanmateriálain maid lea dovdan dadjat jo gaccaid gaskkas ja olles rumaš lea oamastan dan. Buot dát bealit váikkuhit de makkár teorehtalaš rámmaid siskkobealde bargá.

Loahpaheapmi

Duodjedoaba lea ráhkadus, mii lea čuvvon sápmelaččaid guhkit áiggiid. Duodjedoaba lea dađistaga go duodjepráksisge rievdan, ja ožžon maid ođđa mearkkašumiid. Oaivvildan, ahte duodjepráksis buktá ođđa dárbbuid das mo mii áddet duoji, ja seammás lea duodjedutkamis iežas vuohki mo dat doaibmá. Jus eamiálbmotdutkanis lea ulbmilin buoridit dili, váldit vuolggasaji das mii lea duoji váimmus, ja dutkan galgá leat ávkin servodahkii, de oainnán dán modealla oktan vuohkin. Oainnán ahte lea vejolaš geavahit duoji vuolggasadjin digaštallat sámi dáiddalaš doaimmaid, muhto dalle gáibiduvvo ahte sihke duodjepráksis ja dáiddapráksis sámi oktavuodasge lihcastit. Sámegeiela doaba duodji lea rievdan áiggiid čađa ja nu lea rievdi doaba, muhto oaivvildan ahte duojs lea siskkáldas árvu mii addá duodjepráksisii iežas árvvu, maid sáhtta atnit vuodđun go searvá duodjefágalaš dutkamii.

Nugo álggus čállen, go galgá geahččat sámi geahčastagas duoji, de lea dárbu geahččat duoji dan vuolggasajis mas dat praktiserejuvvo, ja nie sáhtta positioneret sihke fága iežas servodagas ja viiddit oktavuodain. Duodjesuorgi ferte gávdnat iežas fágalaš iešdovddu, ja nu šaddat iešheanalaš dutkamin – ja dáiddalaš suorgin, mii sáhtta fállat sullasaš surggiide ođđa geahčastagaid. Dalle sáhtta maid geavahit lahkonaŋvugiid maid gávdná eará surggiin dárbbu mielde. Nu váldá eamiálbmotperspektiivva atnui, ja dan sáhtta máŋgga láhkai dahkat. Mu oassi lea dát artihkal. Oainnán maid ahte dalle lea proaktiivvalaš nugo Graham Smith dajašii, ja aktiivvalaččat bidjá suorggi dárbbuid, oainnuid ja vásáhusaid guovddáži, ja atná dan vuolggasadjin. Nie lea álggahuvvon diskursa mas maid práksis lea oassin, ja duodji dutkanfáddán lea guorragohtán iešheanalaš bálgáid. Dattege dat ii mearkkaš, ahte duodjesuorgi lea nu erenoamáš ahte ii gávna sullalasuodaid ja ahte tearpmas ii sáhte gávdnat teorehtalaš vuolggasajiid eará sullasaš surggiin.

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Sámi Duodji Methodologies

Gunvor Guttorm

Sámi Duodji Methodologies

Preface

For many years I have worked in the field of duodji science, and I have been involved in constructing a system for higher education and scientific studies of duodji. In particular, together with my colleagues, I have been involved in constructing, developing and managing higher education in duodji at the Sámi University College, Guovdageaidnu, in Norway since this institution was established.

In this article I investigate theoretical issues in Sámi duodji and art and will connect these to the indigenous perspective. The purpose is to examine whether there is a clearly different approach we can take when we discuss this from an indigenous perspective. And if there is, what does it include?

The paper is constructed as follows: First, I present the impact of making duodji a topic for university studies. Next, I examine how indigenous methodologies are regarded and consider the extent to which Sámi research is a part of this. Finally, I discuss how the duodji research that is based upon duodji itself can be performed.

Indigenous methodologies

The criticism against the term ‘indigenous’ and the indigenous perspective is that their use creates a gap between ‘us’ and ‘them’. But I do not agree with this criticism; rather, I think that the indigenous approach and methodology are meant to make all people aware of this gap. It has been stressed that indigenous people have been engaged in self-definition and self-determination for some time strengthening their positions both politically and professionally (e.g. Minde 2007, 9–37).

The observation primarily displays ‘our needs’ rather than ‘their needs’. Nancy Marie Mithlo writes that it is not necessarily the means of creation or the content of the art that are most important when choosing the indigenous approach; rather, it is the purpose behind the art’s creation and presentation (Mithlo 2012, 192). So what does the word ‘purpose’ include? Mithlo explains how the indigenous approach and its prerequisites should be included in other societies and the broader art world. This can be done by “appropriation into the mainstream’s faults, that is, the incorporation and reworking of damaged images and portrayals of Natives by “non-Natives” (Mithlo 2012, 191). I agree with her here, but the reworking process takes time. As I see it, this is part of self-determination in an indigenous perspective.

Indigenous peoples are struggling to develop as peoples, to find means of developing socially and to achieve self-determination (e.g. Balto & Hirvonen 2008; Kuokkanen 2007; Hirvonen 2004). Self-determination involves more than just reaching political goals, states Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Tuhiwai Smith 2005; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). She has called attention to studies that take an indigenous approach and she has used an indigenous methodology, stressing that there are several to choose from. She states that Western methodologies are used in indigenous methodologies as well, but what is special in the situation of indigenous people are sections like decolonizing, improvement mobilizing and healing (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 116). Tuhiwai Smith approaches the indigenous methodology by understanding the Western world, and thus points out to the Western world what an indigenous approach contains (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 116). Graham Smith has another perspective; he uses the example of what took place in Aotearoa (New Zealand) and points out that when people stopped waiting for things to happen and started to act for themselves, things then started to happen. This perspective is moving away from the term ‘decolonizing’ in order to start conscientization, and this put the Maori and their needs at the centre and in focus.

Regarding indigenous methodology, the experience among indigenous people is common. These experiences can be personal or shared within a group of indigenous people.

Both Margaret Kovach and Shawn Wilson emphasize personal experiences or personal location (Wilson 2008). Kovach (2009, 109–115) states that the

self-location of the scientist occurs when the scientist shares her connection to a certain group that has had certain cultural experiences or that has built its understanding upon indigenous knowledge (Kovach 2009, 110). Kovach emphasizes that, within indigenous studies, self-location is crucial because the scientist has decided to conduct the study from an indigenous point of view.

Neumann and Neumann (2012) write that there has been much discussion about how, when studying another culture, one becomes blind, but they remind us about the advantage component of knowing the environment under study. In their opinion, self-location does not place a blindfold on the scientist, but rather, strengthens her. This is because it requires that the researcher deliberately scrutinize anything in her own biographical experience that might have an impact on the analysis (Neumann & Neumann 2012, 90–96.)

An example of self-location related to duodji would be the case of a researcher whose interest in this field stems from her own experience growing up in a reindeer-herding family in Karasjok. Both Wilson and Kovach stress, as I understand it, similar parts in indigenous methodology. Wilson describes them as relations. He divides them into several levels: relations with people, relations with the environment/land, relations with the cosmos, and relations with ideas (Wilson 2008, 80–97). The result of these relations is that the scientist is never alone. My writing this article now is a result of this. My interest in studying duodji as part of indigenous knowledge started when I was working on my masters degree in duodji and then continued during my studies for my doctoral degree. But my interest in duodji started earlier than this. I started to learn duodji when I was 19 years old. The decision to work with duodji was my own. When I started to study duodji and when this increasingly became a part of my higher education, I realized that it must be possible to approach and study this topic from the duodji maker's point of view, and that there seemed to be a need for this. The establishment of the Sámi University College also inspired me to study duodji from its earliest beginnings, and also to establish relations with other indigenous people in this field.

The term 'self-location' is frequently used in other fields, such as feminist studies. Donna Haraway has written that the scientist herself must connect to the result of her studies and that the results are professionally based

since the scientist is certain that the results are connected to their origin (Haraway 1988).

Duodji as a customary starting point

Duodji is quite new as a theme of study, and it has therefore not yet established its own solid scientific tradition. In an indigenous context it is necessary to ask about the content of the specific branch and start from there.

The interest in duodji in various fields of study has been, and continues to be, constant. We who have chosen to study it from a Sámi perspective are acquainted with the work of earlier art historians, anthropologists, ethnologists and geographers, linguists and other scientific experts. Over and over again I have been reading and studying the work of scholars such as Ernst Manker, Knud Leem, Konrad Nielsen and other written material describing the duodji of the Sámi. It is important to study these from an indigenous point of view also, especially when valuating the ideological perspectives from which they were written.

Rauna Kuokkanen uses the indigenous perspective and suggests that it is possible to do this by listening to and honouring the people, their viewpoints, and their culture (Kuokkanen 2009, 46). Transferring this idea to the study of duodji, the basis for this is practice in duodji. Those who have recently completed masters and doctoral studies are also practising duodji themselves (e.g. Johansen 1990; Dunfjeld Aagård 1989; Dunfjeld 2006; Guttorm 2001, Somby 2003; Eira 2004; Fors 2004; Triumf 2004); this also provides a theoretical basis for building an ‘internal’ starting point for the person practising duodji.

Selecting a subject

So far I have referred to duodji and art as if those were two different subjects. In a Sámi context these two subjects are used side by side and also apart. For instance, during the Duodji conference in 2012 we used the subjects duodji

and art; to emphasize that these two fields are equal in a research context. In the Sámi society there are many people occupied with art and duodji. Are they working with duodji or art? Often it is not a question of what they are working with, but rather what context they are acting in.

The term ‘duodji’ has been widely used in many sorts of preparatory work. But during the last decades ‘duodji’ has been understood as referring to a handicraft practised in the Sámi society (Guttorm 2010; 13–41). *Dáidda* is a new term that came into use when artists in the 1970s wanted to start a common Sámi league. They used the Finnish word *taide* and created a Sámi term which is easy to translate to the word ‘art’ (Guttorm 2010, 13–41).

One can also say that the word *dáidda* was created when a need for it arose. The obstacle for me is that it is no good to draw a strict border between the practices of duodji and art, because the two intersect.

Many other indigenous languages also lack a word that could be translated into the term ‘art’, but this does not mean that these societies have never practised artistic work. Howard Morphy reminds us that quite recently the duodji of the Aboriginal people in Australia gained the status of art. The reason for this, he thinks, is that previously the art historians of the Western world did not find room for this group’s artistic work in the art categories of the West (Morphy 2000, 129–140). Lea S. McChesney considers that only when indigenous handicrafts started to be viewed as products of individuals did they start to be evaluated as art (McChesney 2012, 2–32).

Bruce Bernstein and Gerald McMaster state that “the term ‘art’ is non-existent in many if not all American Indian languages” (Bernstein & McMaster 2004, 37). They are open to regarding Indian duodji as some kind of art, but would maintain that these works are also valuable in their own right. They continue:

All cultures create objects for different reasons and purposes: religious, spiritual, and practical. Regardless, as the object is created, it is imbued with the full measure of its culture and context: philosophy, language, environment, and time. (Bernstein & McMaster 2004, 37)

Gerald R. McMaster has written that the term ‘art’ is a matter of aesthetic studies. It is closely connected to the development history of the Western world (1999, 81).

To a great extent Steven Leuthold shares this opinion, as do many others. They realize that the duodji of indigenous people and duodji practices (here I use the term ‘duodji’ to refer to all kinds of artistic works, even products that come closer to art as understood in the Western world) have a different content than the art of the Western world (Leuthold 1998, 46). He regards the fact that theories are built on the basis of art of the Western world as an obstacle, especially in modern times when art societies have scrutinized and embraced and interpreted the duodji of indigenous people. This was done without taking into account the indigenous people’s visions and their ideas about how they defined their products (Leuthold 1998, 46).

Leuthold sees a large gap between what once was regarded separately as ‘indigenous art’ and the art of the Western world: the contemplative part in indigenous art was connected to rituals, usefulness, belonging and regulations, whereas the art of the Western world was more open to individual interpretation and rituals (Leuthold 1998, 47). The solution for this in the Western world, he finds, is to expand the definition of art so that there is also room for indigenous stories about what art is; there should then also be room for opinions and contemplation (Leuthold 1998, 50).

Leuthold and others suggest widening the term ‘art’ so that it also includes the presentation of duodji – products that are connected to a certain cultural context and are strongly connected to certain activities and regulations, and that stress the need for rituals and also the need for an understanding of the context. This is a possible solution if, in the meantime, it is emphasized that art does include many parallel histories, according to Hanna H. Hansen (2007). To this I would add, so let us tell our stories.

Leuthold’s argument has a special starting point and an active decision on how each culture should understand its cultural activities. Regarding duodji, I do think it is possible to use duodji as a starting point for discussions about artistic activities among the Sámi. But this requires that the positions in the practices of both duodji and art, even in the Sámi context, be changed.

The base for duodji in ‘everyday life’ of the Sami

Duodji involves regulations and aesthetic understandings that are formed into activities of everyday life. When we discuss the topic today we all have different experiences of duodji, as a ‘handicraft’, ‘idea’, ‘piece of artwork’, ‘cultural heritage’ etc . On top of that, there are practices that are created from an individual way of thinking and way of carrying out. When studying duodji, one might not even be aware of the differences. When connecting traditional knowledge to duodji and the practice of duodji, then one also connects important traditional knowledge from the society, and what has been mediated, changed and adapted to present conditions.

As ways of life and the society have undergone changes, the practice of duodji and discussions about duodji have also changed. As long as it has been analysed from external observers’ point of view, duodji has been influenced by alien ideological standards. When it was analysed from a Swedish, Norwegian or Finnish perspective, terms like *slöjd*, *husflid*, *hemslöjd*, *käsityö*, *folkekunst* and so forth were used, presenting a picture of the prevailing ideologies at that time. When those other than Sámi have spoken about and explained duodji in other languages, then these languages’ ways of categorizing had an impact on, for instance, artistic work, *slöjd*, *konsthantverk*, and *husflid* (e.g. Guttorm 2001, 22–44; Guttorm 2004, 201–211). The result is that the form of the product has become secondary to the status of each branch. To a certain extent, we could be said to have ‘inherited’ the tradition of categorizing, for instance, folk art, handicrafts, artistic duodji and so forth, and the basis for this has been the tradition of judging in English and Swedish and the environment in which this has been done.

The problem I see when translating from one language to the Sámi language is that the cultural practices, values and arguments are also connected to the translation. When giving speeches in other indigenous areas, I have experienced that when I use the term ‘duodji’ I often hear comments that the term certainly also covers activities that are carried out in other indigenous parts of the world. This is because people there are not content with using the word ‘art’ nor with what it connotes.

The *I'm in lávvu* project, which was produced by the Sámi Center for Contemporary Art a few years ago, is a good example of how duodji and the production of duodji are involved in art. One participant in the project was Joar Nango with his installation *Baggylavvu Jeans av lavvuduk (sic.)* He invited two duodji creators to his project, Ovlá Gaup and Ánne Káre Kemi.



Figure 1. Joar Nango's *Baggylavvu Jeans av lavvuduk*. Photo: Sami Center for Contemporary Art.

Here, these two duodji makers have clear and specific functions, which is to make trousers and buttons made of antler. The first person makes the trousers and the other person makes the buttons. These trousers and buttons are a part of Joar Nango's installation. But I think that somehow these two duodji makers are also playing their own roles and have brought their ideas to the work. However, the same duodji that they made can also be extracted, be taken away from the installation and become simply pieces of clothing. In this manner the entire installation is transformed and parts of it are moved to make other connections. Possibly this was a goal that the artists (Ánne Káre Kemi, Joar Nango and Ovlá Gaup) had in mind. But in the meantime new perspectives are raised. What is the difference between duodji and art here? I would say it is the art project *I'm in lávvu* and Joar Nango. My argument

is that the value of the duodji remains unchanged, and what changes is the context. But how are they valued in the different contexts?

When we use the term ‘duodji’ instead of *slöjd*, *husflid*, *kunsthåndverk* and so on, then we have chosen to use the Sámi perspective, which is broader; this is because in the meantime we are investigating the practice of duodji. This also leads to a discussion about what the term ‘duodji’ includes in today’s society. My main argument is that if duodji is to be a branch and section in higher education and studies, the basic starting point must come from the term itself and from the practice of duodji. In this way the establishment of understanding of duodji in the Sámi society can be counted as relevant in a contemporary discourse and artistic practice.

Duodji and studies – study beyond making duodji

Finally, I will investigate how duodji, from an indigenous perspective, can be studied by the practical making of duodji. This means that the scientist and the duodji/artist are the same person and that the starting point is making duodji. I have chosen to stress this part here because making duodji was part of my own education, and it is both a valuable and interesting experience in my opinion. Creative development and scientific studies are not found only in duodji; there are certainly other creative branches, both in indigenous and Western societies.

In Norway both bachelor and masters degrees in artistic studies are offered. Thus duodji is one part in this professional environment. One could say that studies of duodji can take the same approaches used in other branches. But, as I stated earlier, duodji has to find its own place in the studies and development of artistic research.

Wilson stated that when studies are carried out using the indigenous perspective it is important to ask what demands the society has (Wilson 2008). He also stresses that relations are crucial. I have made an image where I clarify how I see the relations.

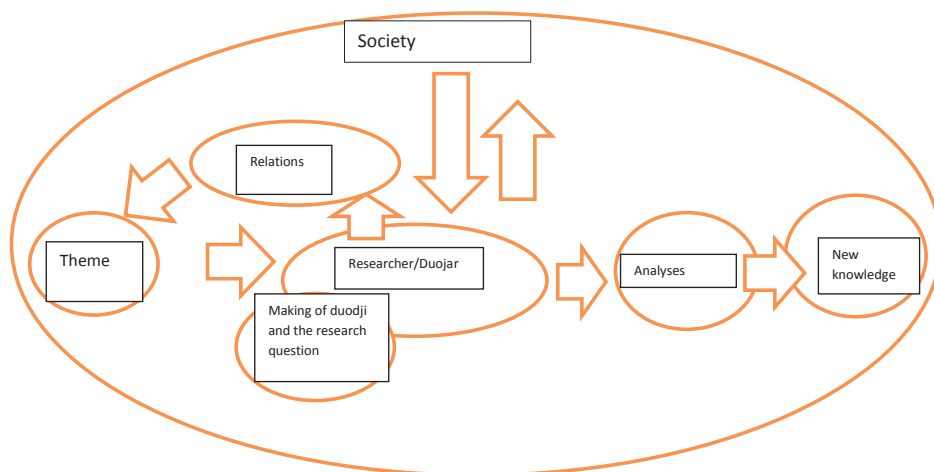


Figure 2. The figure shows how one may approach research through the making of duodji.

In figure 2 I have put the society at the uppermost level because the duodji maker/scientist is part of and influenced by the society of the environment in which he is acting, and by how the surroundings give support and set expectations. The society comprises people, institutions and so forth. If I have understood the map of relations by Wilson correctly, and I have tried to adapt this to the studies of duodji, then the experiences of the duodji maker/scientist himself will have an influence when he is establishing himself and deciding what themes he will work with. If he, for example, is closely tied to traditional knowledge, he will be reluctant to set that part aside; rather, he will be inclined to start from there. For a maker/researcher living in a Sámi-speaking environment, it might be relevant to put forward research questions in duodji by using the inherited knowledge of the Sámi language. In duodji as a whole, it is apparent that connections are made to the local area and to the people and animals living there. A person making trousers out of reindeer hide has made a very specific choice when selecting the material and regards this as an important step in the process of making duodji. He might have butchered the reindeer himself and cut the hide, and thus the butchering also becomes part of the process of duodjmaking. By doing this he can judge whether the animal is fat or thin and thus he connects to the reindeer in the process of making duodji, and also to the landscape and nutrition in the plants. When sewing for another person, one makes

connections to that person, who is following the process in her mind. She might think of how the trousers (the duodji) fit her, how to wear them, how to sit in them and what other clothes she can wear with the duodji product.

Leuthold has studied the meaning of beauty in Navajo culture and points out that beauty is in activities, not only in material things, and in the connections to these (Leuthold 1998, 60). The impression can also be found in the process of duodji. Discussions, people one meets with and the kinds of support received all have an influence. The interest in duodji and the circumstances in which it was learnt, the purpose for which it was made and what it is intended to express also have an influence. The theme then chosen determines the approach taken to it. In the beginning I see that studies/processes of duodji are essential connections, and I do agree that one's own position making is a part of this process. And while occupied with duodji, the person working in this process stays connected to herself.

When the researcher starts to analyse her/his work, one takes a step apart from other relations. This is because, when researching, a point is reached at which it is necessary to alienate oneself from the result. This is a challenging aspect because the research of duodji, like other research of visual themes when one is both the scientist and the producer/test person, is special since it involves engaging personally with the creation process on all levels. Therefore, the last part of the research process, the interpretation and the analyses of the results, requires some distance.

Conclusion

The term 'duodji' is an invention that has been used by the Sámi people for centuries. Over time, as the use of 'duodji' changed, the content of the term also changed slightly. The duodji praxis gives rise to new needs in order to understand duodji, as the duodji science has its own mechanisms of functioning. If the goal of indigenous studies is to improve things, and if the studies are to benefit the society, I think this would be a model that could function.

As I mentioned at the beginning, when studying Sámi duodji from a Sámi perspective, it is crucial to take into account the environmental context in which it is practised. Doing so makes it possible to pinpoint its position, both as a subject in its own society and also in a wider perspective.

Duodji as a subject must find its own professional position and become a liberal science – and as an artistic branch it can offer new perspectives to other, similar branches. This makes it possible to borrow different approaches that are used in other branches if necessary. Thus the indigenous perspective is used, and this can be done in many different ways. This paper is my contribution to this. I also regard this as a proactive move, as Graham Smith (2003) would have put it. Thus a discourse that includes practice has started, and duodji as a branch of science has begun to blaze its own trail. This does not mean that the duodji as subject is so special that there is nothing to compare it with, and it might be possible to find similar theoretical starting points in other branches.

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The Role of the Scholar in Research into Indigenous Art

Svein Aamold

The Role of the Scholar in Research into Indigenous Art

“all inquiry is both political and moral”
Paolo Freire, *Pedagogia do Oprimido*, 1968.
English edition, 1970: *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

The contemporary

This paper raises some pertinent questions about how works of art challenge our common or preconceived conceptions of our surroundings and ourselves, and asks us to start reconsidering them afresh. In the following I want to draw on examples of both indigenous and non-indigenous contemporary art in Europe. Two questions provide a good starting point. What are the requirements the critic and scholar on indigenous art should comply with, and how should fundamental ethical problems be handled within the broad contexts of contemporary art? Most of the issues raised here are, of course, relevant to all humans. Still, some important questions are specifically and radically linked to indigenous peoples' interests and struggle for self-government.

Is it possible to say that the work of art is a privileged kind of enunciation in our cultures? If so, in what ways should we understand such an enunciation? On the one hand, this leads to the question of *representation*. How should we investigate representation in contemporary art? One could, tentatively, understand representation as a sort of mirroring activity, the work of art as a way to show what, in some way or another, is already there. But representation may also go into what is not yet there, be that metaphysical ideas, memories, experiences as related to our environments, or the material world, for example as understood by the Marxist concepts of economy and work. In this vein the work of art is a comment on current situations, political

or otherwise, or it is an opening up of possibilities for a future world. Still, the problem of relating to the work as *privileged* remains to be solved.

Modernism in art was, with regard to its firm institutionalization towards the middle of the 20th century, geographically located in a limited number of grand Euro-American cultural centres. As a set of ideas and values, modernism had tremendous impacts on the production and reception of art, from its practices or techniques to its theoretical concepts of autonomy and aesthetic or formal qualities. In its views and relations to the rest of the world, modernism worked, to put it in a simplified way, as a continuation of the Euro-American project of Enlightenment. Taken as a set of assumptions and convictions, this historical epoch's focus on the concept of reason was based on the idea that European knowledge, art and culture had developed into more advanced states than could be found anywhere else in the world. Since then, and in our present, post-colonial world, these beliefs have been replaced by a new 'world order' encompassing different and multiple concepts signalling discursive, not fixed, ways of understanding and change. There is today, as the Australian art historian Terry Smith (2009, 1-2) formulates it, a "pervasive sense that the great, sustaining narratives supplied by modernity, including roles for art as mirror, leisure, or licensed dissent, have had their day."

Art of today seems to lack any common denominator. Its wide-ranging scope of uses and functions are at work in many and heterogeneous contexts from local to global levels. It has become almost impossible to adhere to narratives of history, nation and people in terms of a coherence or unity grounded on thinkers like Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Johann Gottfried von Herder or Wilhelm von Humboldt. What, then, is contemporary art? The answer might not be as easy as stating that the preceding alternative, based on the Kantian idea of aesthetic pleasure, is gone. The question then becomes one about aesthetics and how these work in our present situation. I hold that it is possible to argue that a concept of beauty does apply to some contemporary art, as it does, for instance, to the painting of the Sámi artist Synnøve Persen. Still, as we shall see, Persen's paintings cannot be satisfactorily understood as autonomous art.

In general, art in our time might be better understood as questions rather than answers, as inquiries rather than results, as hypotheses rather than

conclusions. In order to be taken seriously by critics and the public alike, art can no longer rest on historical answers. On the other hand, practices of art are in some way related to historical conditions. The central task is not so much to say what these conditions are like, but to investigate how they work, what they do and what they mean to us today.

In its aspirations, modernist art sought to gain global control. Practically no such possibility exists for contemporary art, due to its ways of working in local or regional contexts, and to the changing global economy and political order. The most common forms of art today are, in the words of Terry Smith (2009, 2), “[p]rovocative testers, doubt-filled gestures, equivocal objects, tentative projections, diffident propositions, or hopeful anticipations”. Instead of providing final answers and historical guarantees, art may at most hint at or provoke ad hoc solutions and provisional expectations. In order to achieve greater understanding of today’s art, one should therefore investigate how it inquires into, questions and challenges a wide range of matters, some of which extend globally. The examples are abundant, such as art that deals with problems of ecology and nature, of human sovereignty and the law, etc. These issues urge scholars not to step aside in the process of research. Their ideas and convictions, roles and positions are part of the processes of interpretation and understanding.

In sum, contemporary art has moved beyond formerly approved areas of competence, such as aesthetics, iconographic narratives, and tradition. Today’s art could rather be likened to a nomadic practice in which the work, the artist and the beholder/critic are equally important for its interpretation. How is it possible for the critic or scholar deal with this shift?

The British architectural historian Jane Rendell (2010, 1) suggests a solution by focusing on the relationship between the artwork and the critic as a “site of engagement”. She terms the dynamics of this relationship “site-writing”, thereby stressing the importance of the location as a constituent part in a process of knowing and understanding. Her starting point is an examination of the interrelations between location, identity and knowledge. Strange as it may seem, she does not put the artwork as such at the centre of interest, but the “material, emotional, political and conceptual” sites “of the artwork’s construction, exhibition and documentation, as well as those remembered, dreamed and imagined by the artist, critic and other viewers”. As we shall

see, Rendell thus adjusts to recent indigenous methodology and the idea of the researcher as an active part of a discourse in which the sites or locations from which we speak are central to a proper understanding of our actions, values, social systems, etc.

Confronting the work of art both perceptually and conceptually, the scholar or critic must activate his/her own, specific cultural identity. The proper role of the critic should be investigated in terms of geographical location, the use of language and terminology, emotional responses and ideological biases. It is no longer possible to imagine the adaptation of an ideologically neutral and static outsider position. Instead, the focus is directed critically toward relations, how the scholar is interfering and from where. Thus criticism may include several voices as well as one; it may intend to be “objective and subjective, distant and intimate” (Rendell 2010, 18), focusing on details as well as what is taken in with the general glance. According to Rendell, then, criticism is understood as comprising the multiple tasks of self-analysis, a close-up focus on the artwork, and discussions of the site and of contexts in terms of material as well as mental, ideological and political variables.

This implies that the old-fashioned thought of division between the critic and the work of art is abandoned in favour of the idea that there is “no position outside the work from which the critic may judge it”. The critic “must find moments of externality within the work – those moments where the work exceeds itself, where it abuts on experience”.¹ Criticism, therefore, interferes with the work of art. Rendell even suggests that we should exchange the idea of writing about art for the idea of *writing art*. She quotes the contention of art historians Amelia Jones and Andrew Stephenson that writing or talking becomes “a kind of performance of the object” because “as a mode of communication[,] meaning is a process of engagement” which cannot be fixed to any one place.² Rendell (2010, 7) points to a basic problem here:

1 Howard Caygill, *Walter Benjamin: The Colour of Experience*, London: Routledge, 1998, 64. Quoted from Rendell, 2010, 5.

2 Amelia Jones and Andrew Stephenson, “Introduction”, *Performing the Body/ Performing the Text*, eds. Amelia Jones & Andrew Stephenson, London: Routledge, 1999, 8. Quoted from Rendell, 2010, 5.

If criticism can be defined by the purpose of providing a commentary on a cultural work – art, literature, film and architecture – then criticism always has an ‘other’ in mind. The central task of criticism might then be considered as addressing the question: how does one relate to an ‘other’?

The engagement with the work of art, and the turning away from the idea of writing *about* the work of art to writing *as* it, are important points of reference in Rendell’s concept of site-writing. This creative approach should, I think, be included in our discussion of research into indigenous art.

In a Sámi context, contemporary art is taking part in relations within and between an array of social and political entities. Therefore we must ask if we are talking about one or several Sámi cultures and artistic trends. Further, what are the conditions under which Sámi institutions, politics and communal life find themselves today? And how do the Sámi relate to surrounding communities, such as the Norwegian society? Two episodes may shed some light on the specific conditions of the relations between Sámi culture and its neighbour, the Norwegian society.

The first incident tells us that there are, unfortunately, several examples of discrimination, even violence, against Sámi people in Norway. One occurrence took place at a bar in Trondheim in 2012 when a young woman was badly harassed, including an attempt to set her on fire, according to the press coverage, allegedly because she was Sámi. Another episode took place when the Norwegian Minister of Culture, Hadia Tajik, on Sunday 7 October that year appointed the Sámi musician and artist Mari Boine as government scholar. This act gave rise to many and horrifying anonymous comments of protest, anger and disgust on the Internet, although Boine also received substantial support. Hadia Tajik had, as a Muslim, herself been a target of intolerance and racism after being appointed Cabinet Minister on 21 September (Holstad 2012).

On the positive side, Boine and Tajik stand as promoters of collaborative efforts that involve crossing the borders between cultures. Boine’s cooperation with indigenous artists and musicians from Africa is one example. Tajik’s political activism across ethnic, religious and cultural borders, and her raising of questions related to immigration is another.

How is it possible to clarify the potentially active relationship between the scholar and the object or phenomenon of investigation? As we have seen, one trivial but important part is that the critic should explain his/her position. Most of my own research in art history has been oriented towards European and American art and theory since World War II, while other parts focus on earlier, classical art and folk art. A wonderful opportunity to widen the scope of my investigation arose in 2005 when, as lecturer of art history, I was asked to undertake the planning of the very first Sámi art history course at the University of Tromsø¹. There was, however, a huge lack of textbooks and art historical research on Sámi art. The best exceptions had actually been written by our small art history section – specifically, the doctoral theses by Eli Høydalsnes (1999), Maja Dunfjeld (2002), and as external scholar, Gunvor Guttorm (2001). These publications were important when, four years later, we were able to commence an ongoing research project on Sámi art, SARP,² funded by the Research Council of Norway and the Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education (University of Tromsø). This pioneering project aims to establish proper knowledge of Sámi art as well as to contribute to academic and critical discourses on art, both ‘indigenous’ and ‘Western’, its a priori premises, locations, practices, ideologies, etc.

SARP is based on a double interest. First we want to imply critical, indigenous methodology in our investigation of mainly contemporary art made by Sámi artists. Second, our objective is to contribute to a critical discourse on the basic or paradigmatic concepts and attitudes in art history as an academic ‘Euro-American’ discipline. The latter may be understood as a highly critical, perhaps subversive potential within the project.

Indigenous or critical methodology

What is indigenous or critical methodology? According to Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, editors of the *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, it is “research by and for Indigenous peoples,

1 In August 2013 the name of the university was changed to UiT – The Arctic University of Norway.

2 SARP homepage, <http://uit.no/hsl/samiart>

using techniques and methods drawn from the traditions and knowledges of those peoples”. The aim is to achieve common insights that embody “the cosmologies, values, cultural beliefs, and webs of relationship that exist within specific indigenous communities”. The scholar in critical theory links research with “explicit political, utopian purposes, a discourse of critique and criticism, a politics of liberation, a reflexive discourse constantly in search of an open-ended, subversive, multivoiced, participatory epistemology” (Denzin & Lincoln [eds.] 2008, x, xiv [note 5]).

Denzin and Lincoln ([eds.] 2008, xi) believe that “non-indigenous interpretive scholars should be part of this project”, but that the implementation of the human disciplines in indigenous contexts “should be determined by indigenous peoples”. Like myself, they are “outsiders to the indigenous colonized experience” (Denzin & Lincoln [eds.] 2008, 6): “We write as privileged Westerners”, they explain, “At the same time, we seek to be ‘allied others’ [...], fellow travelers of sorts, antipositivists, friendly insiders who wish to deconstruct from within the Western academy and its positivist epistemologies. We endorse a critical epistemology that contests notions of objectivity and neutrality. We value autoethnographic, insider, participatory, collaborative methodologies [...]”

Research on Sámi conditions must be performed within the rights of indigenous peoples set out in the International Labour Organization’s (ILO) 1989 Convention C169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples. A report on Sámi research, *Langs lange spor – om samisk forskning og høgere utdanning* (*Guhkes bálgáid mieldde – sámi dutkama ja alit oahpahusa birra*; the title might translate as “Along extensive traces – on Sami research and higher education”), commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, was delivered in June 2012. It states that research should be based on the need for knowledge about the Sámi society, and should inspire the recruitment of Sámi researchers. When planning such research, one should bear in mind the situations of language and culture in the Sámi society. The Sámi parliament, it is maintained, should promote collaborations between Sámi and other research institutions in the country and across borders between countries. The proposal maintains that specific ethical regulations should exist in order to avoid the historical experiences of research on the traditional concept of the ‘other’. It contains, however, only a short reference to art as part of traditional Sámi knowledge:

In brief, indigenous peoples' traditional knowledge and customs regarding [...] handicrafts and immaterial activities (including art, music, chanting songs of the Sámi people etc.) should be preserved, pursued, rendered visible to the public administration, which must then recognize these in its decision-making. (Langs lange spor. 2012, 39; my translation)

In this context, the word 'art' means 'traditional art', implying a somewhat different function and context from the ones I am concentrating on here. Still, the report does give interesting import to the discussion of how research on Sámi art may be performed. It does not, however, quite meet with the specific problems raised by investigations about contemporary art that may or may not interfere with traditions, issues of ethnicity, identity, culture, etc. The contemporary work of art communicates on multiple levels and is perhaps best understood when seen as interfering with ongoing cultural, political, social, economic, ecological and other practices. Further, these issues do not refer strictly to the local, nor to the ethnically specific, but slip over into concerns of greater regional, even global impact.

The transgressive and the ethical

The term 'transgressive art' was coined in the 1990s as, in the words of the British lawyer and critic Anthony Julius (2002, 111), art that breaks with "socio-consensual, but importantly non-legal, taboos".¹ It brings into the open, or even violates, "certain under-articulated or unspoken sentiments and beliefs to which their audiences may be taken to adhere." The Irish philosopher Kieran Cashell (2009, 2, 1) uses the concept transgressive in the wider meaning of "a general 'oppositional practice'", or even an "act of violation presented under the alibi of art".

Cashell argues that the Kantian aesthetic view on art, based on the concept of disinterestedness, is not suitable if one seeks to understand contemporary, transgressive art. The reason for this is that the aesthetic view does not

1 As an alternative, the American art historian Claire Bishop suggests the term *participatory art* in her book *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*, London and New York: Verso, 2012.

include the beholder's *interest* in the work of art. This means, Cashell argues, that the broader meaning of the work of art, such as its social, political or activist aspects, risks being lost in favour of the disinterested aesthetic view.

I will argue that the positions that have been outlined above constitute some of the essential points for the role of the scholar. The focus here is on contemporary art, both indigenous and non-indigenous. I want to test some of these issues with respect to four examples: Tracey Emin's *My Bed* (1998) and *Everyone I Have Ever Slept With, 1963-1995* (1995); Synnøve Persen's *Red Landscapes* (1993) and Svein Flygari Johansen's *Schizotopi* (2005).



Illustration 1. Tracey Emin, *My Bed*, 1998, mattress, linens, pillows, various memorabilia and travel bag, 79x211x234 cm. Installation as shown at the Turner Prize exhibition, Tate Gallery, London, 20 October 1999 – 23 January 2000. Photo: Stephen White. Courtesy Jay Jopling/White Cube London. Retrieved from website accessed 12 May 2013, <http://propagandum.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/tracey-emin-my-bed.jpg>. © Tracey Emin/BONO 2013.

Tracey Emin's installation *My Bed* (1998) literally confronts the beholder with the artist's own bed, removed from the safety of her own bedroom into the public sphere of the exhibition. The dimension of privacy is ruptured and turns us as spectators into voyeurs, a position oscillating between the titillating and the offensive. It awakens a feeling of shame. At the same time, as an object the bed is utterly familiar. It is where most of us spend one third of our lives. It encompasses, so to speak, the beginning and the end, conception, birth and death. In our beds, whether set or temporary, stationary or mobile, we seek relaxation, comfort and safety, alone or in company. As such, the bed is secluded but also utterly vulnerable. We may be there for caressing, making love, talking, reading, sleeping, etc., but also for the sufferings of anxieties, illnesses and sleepless nights. The art historian Mandy Merck stresses the latter aspects. In her view, Emin's *My Bed* qualifies as a work of anxiety: "Hers may be a double bed, the bed for the couple and coupling", she writes – but "that only makes it a more potent figure of longing and abandonment."¹ Upon seeing Emin's installation, we are confronted with deep desires, sometimes comforting, sometimes painful.

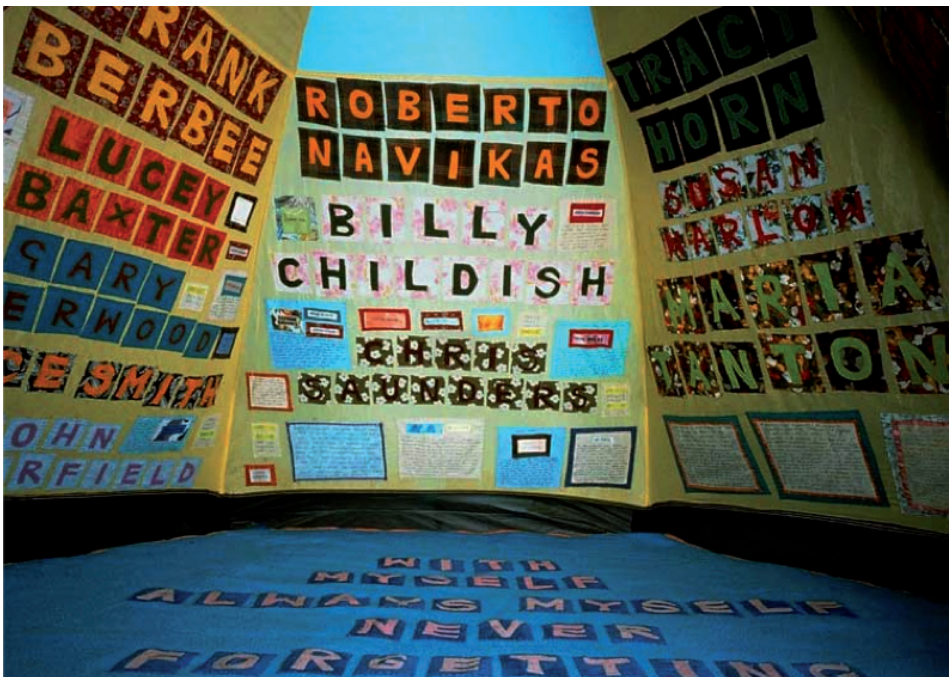
Over the years, Emin has made changes in the ways *My Bed* is exhibited, and to the debris surrounding it. Later versions include travelling suitcases bound with chains and padlocks. This brings in, as Kieran Cashell remarks (2009, 132), the demonstration of a "nomadic existence". To him, the work is about "a preoccupation with the privacy of sleep and the ultimate solitude of the self" and about an "anxiety that originates in the fear of abandonment". Emin's installation is transgressive in its insistence on connecting to the artist's own life and turning this into confrontations into which the spectator is drawn.

Everyone I Have Ever Slept With, 1963–1995 (1995, destroyed in a fire in 2004) consisted of a commercial lightweight tent mounted on the gallery floor. The tent's entrance was opened up so that the spectator could peer into the interior and the mattress on the floor. Here, Emin had sewn patches forming names and sentences. On the mattress one read "With Myself Always Myself Never Forgetting", and on the tent canvas 102 names were

1 Mandy Merck. *Bedtime. The Art of Tracey Emin*, eds. M. Merck & C. Townsend. London: Thames & Hudson, 2002, 128. Quoted from Cashell, 2009, 132.



Illustrations 2 and 3. Tracey Emin, *Everyone I Have Ever Slept With, 1963-1995*, 1995, appliquéd tent, mattress and light, 122x245x215 cm. Destroyed in a warehouse fire in east London in 2004. Photo, above: Stephen White. Photo, below: unknown. © Tracey Emin/BONO 2013.



given. Many spectators saw this as a reference to an active sex life. But the tent, according to Emin, was not about sex, but “about sleep, intimacy, and moments” (Cashell 2009, 131). This makes sense, since the names date back to her birth year, 1963, thereby including the time she was living inside the womb with her twin brother. Dramatic incidents are remembered in ‘Foetus I’ and ‘Foetus II’. They refer to Emin’s miscarried child in 1990 and an abortion in 1992. Others are names of her friends and lovers. As in *My Bed*, we are confronted with the personal life of the artist, with positive, even happy as well as sad, even tragic, references.

But there is more. The sentence on the mattress also suggests, according to Cashell (2009, 135), “that amnesia is tantamount to a loss of identity”. To him, the tent “signifies a performative memento that bears witness to the anxiety of loss and separation and the fragility of memories now emphasising [...] not only the insecurity of the self but also the vulnerability of identity”. In his view the work has a therapeutic dimension. On the background of tragedies and loss Emin is alone, continually fighting for her own identity, her own self, and for keeping the memories of the momentous experiences that constitute her own life and keep her going.

The richness of the meeting with the other, of knowing yourself through the other, is the contrasting dimension emerging from these two works. Emin’s autobiographical project is not about her life as it actually was – that would have been an impossibility – but about how she remembers it. In this, her project is reminiscent of Edvard Munch’s adaptations of his own experiences in paintings loosely connected under the title ‘Frieze of Life’. Marcel Proust is another example, described by Walter Benjamin as a ‘monomaniac’ who self-consciously combined the description of “not a life as it actually was but a life as it was remembered by one who had lived it”.¹ This self is constituted, as the literary scholar Gerhard Richter insists, “only in, and as, another, an alterity”.² If one’s life comes into its own as alterity, exposed in vulnerability, Cashell (2009, 129) argues, “the self in Emin’s work is best

1 Benjamin, Walter. On the Image of Proust. Trans. H. Zohn. Benjamin, Walter. *Selected Writings: Volume 2*. Cambridge, MA & London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999, 237-8. Quoted from Cashell 2009, 129.

2 Gerhard Richter. Acts of Self-Portraiture: Benjamin’s Confessional and Literary Writings. *The Cambridge Companion to Walter Benjamin*. [Ed.] D.S. Ferris. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004: 221. Quoted from Cashell 2009, 129.

conceived as an ethical subject in the sense given to this concept by the French philosopher Emmanuel Levinas”.

According to Levinas, the precise significance of human subjectivity is *subjection* to the appeal of the other person, in the words of Cashell (2009, 135–136):

Levinas identifies such subjection to the other with the very possibility of the ethical relation. This *ethical subject* represents a conception of the self as radically opened up by an otherness that transcends any effort to assimilate it. Subjectivity is marked in its internal make-up by subjection to alterity, a subjection expressed in a “vulnerability and passivity towards the other”.¹

This double-sidedness in subjectivity and alterity is for Cashell the central point for understanding Tracey Emin’s tent and bed. There is an insistence that she was not in control, based on her choices in life, of what she became during her years as a teenager. Others have “a constitutive part in shaping her sense of self”. The self is, therefore, not to be understood as coherent identity, but as heterogeneity. What Emin’s works suggest is that “[m]eaningful intimacy is possible”. The relations with other persons do take part in the possible development of “independent self-fulfilment” and at the same time break away from the thought that oneself is the only real basis for cognition (Cashell 2009, 136). Our involvement in Emin’s work, one might say, opens up for a historical, personal and dynamic experience, Levinas’s ethical subject.

1 Cashell quotes Simon Critchley. The Original Traumatism: Levinas and Psychoanalysis. *Questioning Ethics*. [Eds] R. Kearney & M. Dooley. London & New York: Routledge, 1999, 235.



Illustration 4. Synnøve Persen, *Røde Landskap* [Red landscapes] I, II, III, 1993, oil on canvas, each 150x100 cm. Troms County Council (I); RiddoDuottarMuseat, Kárášjohka (II and III). In the foreground (details): Aslaug Juliussen, left *Hornbærer* [Horn carrier], 2006, reindeer horn and reindeer fur; right *Hornrose* [Horn rose], reindeer horn and linen. Photo: Svein Aamold, from the exhibition 'Being A Part', Tromsø Centre for Contemporary Art, September 2010. © Synnøve Persen/BONO 2013.

Quite a few contemporary artists have interpreted the vast plains, the fiords and varied coastal areas of Finnmark. The painter, poet, cultural and political activist Synnøve Persen brings us parts of this landscape in abstract compositions in the triptych *Red Landscapes*, which seems to be incomparable to Emin's personal confessions. But I want to suggest that they have something common in their references to the personal, the intimate, the self, and Levinas's concept of alterity. If understood as expressive of immediate experience, *Red Landscapes* could be interpreted as meditations over an inner, mental vision, or a sensory and physical adventure of being situated in, or perhaps wandering in the landscapes of, Finnmark. This is a part of nature that the artist knows intimately. I suggest that both interpretations take as their point of departure the artist's individual, even private, visions. This view is supported by an interpretation of Persen's poetry. An example

is a short poem from her first published poetry book, *alit lottit girdilit* (Blue Birds Fly) (1981, 51; the poem has been translated by Kaija Anttonen, in Hirvonen 2005, 111 [the last line altered]):

snow between the trees, again light
 I remember
 my first love
 playing

Vuokko Hirvonen, professor of literature at the Sámi University College in Kautokeino, has interpreted Persen's poem as indicative of an intimate relationship between the person's inner emotions and events in nature. This is reflected in the printed book, in which one finds Persen's own simplified blue landscape drawings. These landscapes and the poems of "the burning and dying of love" constitute, as if mirroring each other, what Hirvonen (2005, 111) sees as similar movements in time:

In terms of its structure, *alit lottit girdilit* is cyclic and at the same time like a circle, as it describes the feelings of the poetic ego from spring to spring. [...] In Persen's production, nature is the interpreter of a person's inner emotions, which means that the feelings of the poetic ego are linked with events in nature, as in [the poem above].

We notice in interpreting *Red Landscapes* the importance of situating the work of art in the overall production of the artist. The points of reference in her life in different ways come into being in contexts of landscapes and memories. Metaphorically, therefore, these landscapes are connected to her own personal experiences of love and loss, of birth and death, and thus, of finding herself in the face of what and who she is confronting, and are sometimes closely connected to for as long as memory can (re)activate it.

Landscape, we learn from the interpretation of Persen's work, is not only a passive environment or background to our lives. Landscape connects to our memory and experience in ways that are central in the shaping of our individual selves. As an active constituent in these works of art, the landscape seems to be always changing, never the same. This is evident within the production of Synnøve Persen, and perhaps more so when we turn to another artist, another life with different experiences, traumas and memories.



Illustration 5. Svein Flygari Johansen, *Schizotopi*, 2005, installation, as shown at the artist's exhibition in Tromsø Centre for Contemporary Art, 31 August – 30 September 2012. Photo: Svein Aamold, 2 September 2012.

Svein Flygari Johansen is, one might say, a Creole. He grew up in Alta. His parents were smallholders, his father also a hunter and fisherman. His family background is mixed (Sámi, Finnish, Norwegian, and Roma). In public, however, he has often been regarded as a Sámi artist. In an essay published in 2009, Flygari Johansen states that as a point of departure this identity has proved impossible. To him, it represents a sort of genetic enclosure that becomes insignificant if we want to encourage collaboration and development. On the other hand, he connects to Emin and Persen in stressing the importance of his individual signature in his works of art, as an “origin of the history being told” (Johansen 2009, 80, my translation). Some of his projects are about chance; some involve the direct impact of others. In comparison with the discussed works by Emin and Persen, some of his artworks invigorate a more immediate and perhaps direct type of

interference in communal life. They raise questions as to what it is that connects us and what it is that drives us apart as social beings.

Flygari Johansen's installation *Schizotopi*, originally constructed and exhibited in 2005, was shown anew in September 2012 at the Tromsø Centre for Contemporary Art. It consists of roughly constructed letters forming the invented word 'schizotopi' and two photos showing a fence with a gate straight across a cart road at Joatka, some 25 kilometres southeast of Alta, in Finnmark, Norway. For the people in Alta and its environs, the gate is the old entrance to 'the Finnmark Highland', the open mountain plateau with its sub-arctic climate, flora, water systems, and wildlife. It is also the core area of the Sámi reindeer herders living in Norway. Flygari Johansen traded a part of the old, handmade, artisanal fence and gate from its owner, a Sámi farmer, and removed it. The installation was then made of the parts, consisting of old, local wood; metal nails, wires, rods; and some recently mended pieces of impregnated wood. In accordance with their deal, the artist had a new fence and gate erected for the farmer at the same site. Significantly, the new gate to the Finnmark Highland was not handmade but industrially produced. As part of the installation the photos respectively show the old fence as seen in the summer and the new fence seen in the autumn. In both pictures the closed gate and fence run horizontally across the whole width, thus emphatically barring access to the landscape beyond.

We may think of a landscape not only in terms of its physical qualities but also as what we carry with us perceptually, emotionally, mentally, and in our memories. Landscapes undergo changes, however, both naturally, through concrete interventions, and with regard to our personal experience. This is what Flygari Johansen (2009, 80, my translation) refers to when he maintains that the landscape that he once knew, living in Alta, was open and accessible to everyone, but that this has now been altered. It has been "parcelled out bit by bit", he laments, "privatized by the new legislation that is meant to favour one particular ethnic group". The basis for this change is the Finnmark Act, approved by the Norwegian and the Sámi parliaments in 2005, the same year that he first made the installation. The interests of the Sámi people have been particularly protected in the Act, Section 5, which states that through their "prolonged use of land and water areas, the Sami have collectively and individually acquired rights to land in Finnmark."



Illustration 6. Svein Flygari Johansen, *Schizotopi*, 2005, details, installed anew at the artist's exhibition in Tromsø Centre for Contemporary Art, 31 August – 30 September 2012. Photo: Svein Aamold, 2 September 2012.

Thus, the Finnmark Act introduced new layers of regulation of the landscape, although it looks very much the same as before. But it is this mental change that affects Flygari Johansen. “The political regulations”, he writes, “have turned [this landscape] into something partly unknown to me” (Johansen 2009, 80, my translation). To him, it is a question of personal loss. He adds, however, that the change also offers new possibilities and new narratives. As an artist now living in Oslo, he believes that the change may lead to reconciliation, an experience that points to his own works. The concepts of art, ethnicity and identity have never been fixed – they are nomadic. On the one hand, Flygari Johansen’s story is about memories. On the other, he raises the work of art as a counter-cultural, counter-legislative story of different perspectives, different landscapes.

Flygari Johansen refers to Joatka as an entrance to the plateaus of eastern Finnmark. He feels closely connected to these areas, he spent much time there as a wanderer, gatherer, fisherman and hunter. What do we make of his invented, but strangely evocative word ‘schizotopi’? The term ‘schizo’ may hint at a division, or perhaps an abbreviation of ‘schizophrenic’, defined by *The Oxford English Dictionary* (second edition, 2006), as “the mental disorder involving a breakdown in the relation between thought, emotion and behaviour, leading to faulty perception, inappropriate actions and feelings, withdrawal from reality and personal relationships into fantasy and delusion, and a sense of mental fragmentation”. The last syllable, ‘-topi’, evokes the meanings of ‘topic’ or ‘theme’, “subject in a conversation, a discourse, a lecture”, etc.; or perhaps better, ‘topology’, the study or theory of place, of

Illustration 7. Svein Flygari Johansen, *Campfire*, unknown date, photography exhibited at the artist's exhibition "Am I Making Up What Really Happened?" Beaconsfield Gallery of Contemporary Art, London, 11 November 2011 – 12 February 2012. Photographer unknown. Retrieved from South London Art Map website, accessed May 15, 2013, <http://www.southlondonart-map.com/events/beaconsfield/873>



locality. If we accept the latter, the invented word seems to refer to a division of land that has some kind of anomaly, even morbidity, attached to it.

Flygari Johansen's installation is about the politics of land in Finnmark. "I am very against what is happening there now", he told the interviewer of the daily BBC Radio arts programme 'The Strand', broadcast on 24 November 2011 during the artist's exhibition titled "Am I Making Up What Really Happened?" at Beaconsfield Gallery of Contemporary Art in London (11 November 2011 to 12 February 2012). Johansen laments how Sámi reindeer owners have been pushing to make it private land. It used to be common land, he says, for fishing, hunting and gathering.

In the London newspaper *The Guardian* in December 2011, Flygari Johansen's project is explained with reference to his background in Alta: "As a boy, he campaigned against the Norwegian government's controversial plans to build a power station and dam on the local Alta-Kautokeino river. It proved a formative experience, focusing his attention on conservation and the age-old culture of Norway's indigenous Sami, whose land rights were thrown into question by the government proposals" (Johansen 2011). The photograph titled *Campfire* seems to refer indirectly to his experience of nature as undisturbed by the divisions, perhaps anomalies, hinted at in *Schizotopi*.

Taken together, *Schizotopi*, *Campfire*, the artist's text and the interview rest on Johansen's personal experiences, impressions and memories. The latter are in some way connected to the projects of both Emin and Persen, but they also differ. In addition, Flygari Johansen (2009, 80, my translation) evokes the wanderer, a well-known figure in the romantic landscape painting, poetry,

etc., of the early nineteenth century. He laments the political processes and the implementation of the Finnmark Act, which in his view also signals that the old story of the ‘wandering monk’ has long since been forgotten. In *Campfire* we may imagine the artist there, like a wanderer in a peaceful state of harmony, in communion with nature, or perhaps a hunter, a fisherman on the plains of Finnmark. But for him this is also a source of art, of the unspeakable, and what he terms ‘the sublime’.

It is hard to pinpoint the references to the wandering monk and the sublime based on Flygari Johansen’s text. Perhaps one may infer that the wanderer epitomizes the artist and a search for knowledge and enlightenment, a profound understanding of nature as a creative and controlling force, which affects humans and our surroundings. Memory is also invoked as a collective force in line with these associations and their hints at historical dimensions. Further, Flygari Johansen alludes to being a romantic in his desire that everybody have free access to the mountain plains of Finnmark. This is, of course, highly conflictive when seen from the reindeer herder’s point of view. The artist’s desire for freedom is not very compatible with the farmer’s wish to secure the land for his animals.

Art and the scholar

What do these examples tell us about the role of the scholar in research on indigenous art? Two things, perhaps. First, the ethical problems are most pertinently present in the choices we make for our concepts, analyses, and interpretations of works of art as site-specific. Other responsibilities, such as towards the artist and his/her community, will depend on these decisions. Second, the work of art should intrinsically be understood as based on a concept of freedom: freedom to express, in whatever medium available to the artist, in artistic as well as aesthetic terms, a human experience, a human condition, a human discourse, regardless of their transgressive or non-transgressive nature.

The art critic and scholar writing interpretations of contemporary art will inevitably be confronted with the private and personal, the political and jurisdictional in matters that are often controversial. There are no common

guidelines to help us deal with such situations. Rather, I argue that in order to reach an understanding we need to confront the work of art in its proper environment, as a site-specific enunciation grounded in layers of information that are at best perceived in contexts of the local and regional. In the case of Flygari Johansen, this takes us to his personal background and his thoughts on the recent legal protection of the Finnmark plain. It also involves the social, political, jurisdictional and other common issues in the area. The access to the Finnmark plains is at stake. Who should be allowed to live off that land? Reindeer herders? Fishermen, hunters, gatherers? Mining companies? Tourists? There are no simple solutions to these questions. Further, these issues are of global relevance.

The rights to land are central to indigenous peoples around the world. The Sámi can demonstrate that they are the first known human culture to live in their area. Today Sápmi is, like all regions in the area, multi-ethnic. Flygari Johansen's *Schizotopi* cuts into what has become a complex situation and becomes transgressive. By questioning what to many seemed the right solution when establishing the jurisdiction over the land in Finnmark, he is able to show that opinions vary according to cultural, ethnic, political and economic factors. There is no final answer.

The artworks discussed here activate landscapes, a bed and a tent. They are potential movers in our efforts to understand our own lives in terms of individual emotions and experiences with the other, what Levinas calls alterity. And again, the bed, the tent, and the landscapes encompass a beginning and an end, conception, birth, and death. They are locations of our stationary or temporary homes, of being connected to a site, as well as our nomadic movements. In these locations we seek relaxation, comfort and safety, alone or in company. As such, they are secluded but also utterly vulnerable.

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Rituálalaš rupmašat

Sámenuoraid čijadeapmi konfirmašuvnnas

Seija Risten Somby

Rituálalaš rupmašat

Sámenuoraid čiŇadeapmi konfirmašuvnnas¹

Sámi gákti šearrá ivdnin konfirmašuvdnaseremoniijas sáme guovllu searvegottiin. Gákti ovttasta girkoveaga ja dahká das visuálalaš ollislašvuoda. Buot kultuvrrain olbmo rumaš lea gárvvohuvvon dahje gokčojuvvon man nu láhkai. Olbmo rumaš lea dego kultuvrra speajal, mii visualisere guovddáš jurdagiid, doahpágiid ja klassifikašuvnnaid, mat leat mihtilmasat kultuvrii (Burton 2001, 26). Bivttas ja gárvodeapmi dulkojuvvojit eanet aht' eanet rumašlašvuoda ja identitehta geahččanguovllus. Evangelaláš-luteralaš konfirmašuvdna lea davvi sámeservošiin dehálaš sosiála ja kultuvrralaš dáháhhus, man alimus idiheapmi lea sámegávttiid presentašuvdna girkus. Artihkkalis kárten sámegávtti mearkkašumiid, mat huksejit kultur-identitehta dán sirdásanriittas.

Sosiála duohtavuodas leat viehka uhcán dilálašvuodas, main olbmo rumaš lea áibba álás. Olbmot gárvodit goruda gokčama, iktima, čiŇaheami dahje suddjema dihte (Lönnqvist 1979, 20–21; Utriainen 2009, 35). Bivttas lea gitta olbmo rupmašis, go dat guoskkaha olbmo liikki ja lea dan láhkai olbmo mus gitta. Bivttas sáhtta leat rupmaša joatkka dahje oalát liigeliiki, go rumaš dovdá biktasa. Seammás dat ihtá olggobeale olbmuide, ja nu das lea guovttebealat mearkkašupmi. Biktasis leat dan persovnnalaš, morálalaš ja sosiála dimenšuvnnat, mat meroštallet ja muddejit standárddaid ja rumašlaš geavadiid, mat laktásit dasa. (Entwistle 2001, 45; Renne 1995, 4; Utriainen 2009, 52–53.) Bivttas doaibmá rupmaša rádján, dat ráddje olbmo mu saji. Bivttas lea maiddá materiála, mii coggojuvvo, nullojuvvo, oidnojuvvo ja dulkojuvvo sosiála dilis. (Entwistle 2001, 47–49; Utriainen 2009, 53.) Guorahalan dán artihkkalis sápmelaš² nuoraid gárvodeapmái laktáseaddji gažaldagaid kultuvrra, historjja ja identitehta geahččanguovllus. Mu artihkkala vuodđun leat jearahallan- ja gažaldatmateriála, gieddebeaivegirji ja oassálastináicamat konfirmašuvdna- ja rihppaskuvllas³, girkus ja konfirmašuvnna čuovvu ávudemiin Suomas Ohcejoga ja Norggas Kárášjoga searvegottiin. Materiála laktása mu doavttirgádadutkamuššii, mas guorahalan duodjekultuvrra

mearkkašumiid konfirmašuvnna oktavuodas Suoma Gáregasnjárggas ja Norgga Kárášjogas 2005–2010. Dutkamuššii leat oassálastán oktiibuot 34 konfirmašuvdna- dahje rihppanuora juogo jearahallama ja/dahje gažahallama olis. Nuoraid váhnemiin leat 13 mielde, geaid lassin lean jearahallan guokte duojára ja golbma searvegotti bargi.

Álggos guorahalan sámiid girkolaš gárvodeami maŋŋekolonialisttalaš ságastallama geahččanguovllus. Dasa lassin suokkardalan rumašlašvuoda antropologalaš gieddebarggus ja áicovásáhusaid olggosbuktima etnográfalaš čállimis. Mun lean beroštuvvan maiddá das, mo sápmelaš konfirmašuvdna- dahje rihppanuorat konstruerejit iežaset gárvodemiin iežaset kulturidentitehta máŋggakultuvrralaš servošis. Ulbmilin lea čielggadit, maid gákti mearkkaša nuoraide girkolaš konfirmašuvdnarituálas. Mo gárvodeami vásáhusain šaddá kultuvrralaš diehtu? Loahpas suokkardalan, mii lea konfirmašuvdna- dahje rihppaskuvlaahkásaš nuoraid árbevirolaš gárvodeami mearkkašupmi viidát sámeservodagas.

Konfirmašuvdna sirdásanriitan ja bivttas symbolan

Mu artihkal gullá antropologalaš nuoraiddutkanárbevrrui. Oassálastán antropologalaš ságastallamiidda, mat gusket sámenuoraid (omd. Hovland 1996; Stordahl 1994), muhto maiddá daid ságastallamiidda, mat lea mannamin Suoma eará unnitlogujoavkkuid nuoraid etnikkalaš gárvodeami birra (omd. Isotalo 2006; Markkanen 2003; Peltonen 2005). Lahkonan konfirmašuvnna sirdásanriitan ja kollektiivvalaš rituálan. Konfirmašuvdnarituálain oaivvildan formálalaš doaimmaid ja olggosbuktimiid duodalaš presentašuvnna, man konfirmašuvdnanuorat čájehit ovttas searvegottiin konfirmašuvdna- dahje rihppaskuvlla loahpahanseremoniijan (gč. Rappaport 1996, 428–429).

Konfirmašuvdna- dahje rihppaskuvlii oassálasti nuorat devdet seamma jagi áigge 15 jagi. Nuorravuoda doaba lea hui viiddis: máŋggain nuoraid kultuvrra ja identitehta gieđahalli dutkamušain lea dábálaš, ahte nuorravuodakategorijas váilu čielga meroštallan. Muhtin dáhpáhusain dat vuodđuduvvá buorebutge oktagasa sosiála diliide go kronologalaš ahká dahje kultuvrralaš sajádahkii. (Bucholtz 2002, 526–528.) Saarikoski (1994) mielde nuorravuoda meroštallama vuodđun sáhtá leat ahkerádjá, ahtanuššanmuddu

dahje dihto eallinmuddu. Ollesolbmo oppalaš stáhtusa olaheapmi leage čatnagasas ásahuvvon ahkerájáide ja eallima dihto sirdásanmuddui dego konfirmašuvdna- dahje rihppaskuvlla vázzimii. (Saarikoski 1994, 160–161.) Go geahččá historjjálaččat, de dálá guhkiduvvon nuorravuolta guođđá mánnávuoda vássán áigái ja eallin ollesolmmožin givnnjarda easka gos nu boahttevuodas, muhto dattetge min kultuvrras orru leamen dárbu sierralágan sirdásanriittaide (Mäkinen 2002, 106).

Van Gennepa (1960) vuodul jurddašan, ahte servodat ođasmahtá iežas sirdásanriittaide lágan rituálaiguin ja olbmot ožžot rituálain ođđa stáhtusiid servodatráhkadusa rievddakeahtá. Sirdásanriittaide ulbmilin lea integreret oassálastiid servodahkii (Turner 2007). Turner (omd. 1997, 2007) deattuha rituálaid symbolaid mearkkašupmevuoda, mánggajienatvuoda ja daid kontekstii čatnaseami ja čujuha, mo dat seammás bajásdollet servodaga ja fáallet vástádusaid gažaldagaide, mat gusket eallima ulbmila (Eriksen 2004, 185).

Gávtti duddjon lea áigeovuodilis iešguđege kultuvrralaš dilálašvuodain ja eallinmuttuin, dego gástta, konfirmašuvnna, heajaid ja hávdádusaid ovdabealde. Eanaš olmmošservošiin mearkkašahtti eallinmuddonuppástusat čájehuvvojit almmolaččat organiserejuvvon ja kultuvrralaččat kontrollerejuvvon rituálalaš dáhpháhusain (Burton 2001, 69). Sirdásanriittat leat dain ain dovdamis earenoamážit girkolaš eallimis čielga, servoša bajásdoallan rituálan (Mäkinen 2002, 107). Rumaš lea rituálain sentrála doaibmama čuozáhat, danin go dat lea dehálaš vásáhusaid sadji, ja seammás maiddái dahkamušas birrasiin (Turner 2007, 90).

Sihke gákti ja čiŇadeapmi gullet sámenuoraide sámeovuollu konfirmašuvdna- dahje rihppaskuvllaid loahpahanávudeapmái, konfirmašuvdnii, go sii cogget árbevirolaš gávtti liturgalaš alba dahege meassobáiddi sadjái. Dábálaččat gehččojuvvo, ahte biktasii dasa lassin gullet olbmorupmašii giddejuvvon lasáhusat (dego biktasat, gárvvut ja čiŇat) ja dakkár doaibma (dego kosmetihkka ja vuoktagiidbidjan), man ulbmilin lea rupmaša hámi rievddadeapmi (Roach-Higgins & Eicher 1992). Čujuhan dás biktasa doahpágiin sámiid árbevirolaš biktasii, gáktái, mas guovddážis lea gieđain duddjon, luondduávdnasat ja iežaslágan estehtalašvuolta.

Eanaš nuoraide konfirmašuvdnii duddjojuvvon gákti sáhtá leat vuosttas gákti, mii sis goassige leamaš badjelis dahje lea jur sidjiide mihtuid mielde

gorrojuvvon. Ovdalis gákti sáhtii lean luoikkahuvvon dahje oappážagain árbejuvvon. Konfirmašuvdnagálssohat ja -čiehgahpir johtet bearrašis dahje sogas konfirmašuvdnagárvun. Gálssohiid hearvvat ođasmahttojuvvojit juohke háve dihto konfirmántii, ja dalle dat leat persovnnalaččat, muhto maiddái áiggi mohta mielde. Bivttas lea dehálaš go guorahallá oktagasa ja servoša gaskavuoda, go dat lea intiima oktavuodaš rupmašiin. Bivttas sáhtta almmuhit sohkabuolvvaid ja sohkabeliid gaskasaš gealdagiid, muhto dat symbolisere maiddái oktagasaid ja servodaga gaskasaš gealdagiid. Konfirmánttaide konfirmašuvdnagákti lea dehálaš etnisitehta symbola. Sámenuorat vásihit, ahte sii iežaset činademiin leat maiddái kulturguoddit ja boahttevuođas kultursirdit čuovvovaš sohkabulvii.

Suruhis gákti mañjekolonialisttalaš ságastallama geahččanguovllus

Mañjekolonialisttalaš proseassain lea guovddáš sajádat eamiálbmogiid dutkamušaid ságastallamiin (omd. Smith 2002; Kuokkanen 2002; 2007). Mañjekolonialisttalaš lahkonanvuohki dahká vejolažžan kolonialisemma váikkuhusaid čielggadeami ja koloniserenproseassaid gárgema. Eamiálbmogiid kultuvrraid luohkkájuogut ja dulkomat leat bohciidan eanaš earáid kultuvrraid geahččanguovllus, nuppeláganvuoda presentašuvdnan. Eamiálbmogiid kultuvrrat dutkangieddin meroštallojuvvojedje nubbin, eksotalažžan dahje gáiddusin earenoamážit árat dutkamušain (Atkinson ja earát 2001, 2; Nygren 1997, 159).

Eamiálbmogiid siste dekoloniserenteorijja njunušdutki Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, 38, 66–67; gč. maiddái Kuokkanen 2002) buktá ovdan, ahte buot dieđasurggiin juste antropologijja lea eanemusat laktojuvvon nuppeláganvuoda dutkamii ja primitiivavuoda meroštallamii. Mánnggat vuosttas eurohpaláš deaivvadeamit ovdamearkan Amerihká, Afrihká ja Jaskes ábi eamiálbmogiiguin ledje ekspedišuvnnaid ja kártasárgumiid oktavuodaš. Danin ii leat nu hirmástuhtti, ahte eatnamiid lassin maiddái olbmuid rupmašat gárte mihtideami ja kártema vuložin, vai sáhttet gávdnat sin saji eurohpaláš *Mappus Mund* olis. (Howes 2003, 4.)

Antropologat atne iežaset rationálan ja sin dutkančuozáhagaid vildaolmmožin, go mihtidedje “primitiivvalaš” álbmogiid rupmaša osiid ja bidje lohku áicofuomášumiid dárkivuoda (Howes 2003, 5). Eurohpalaš kultuvrras oaidnu ja gullu laktojuvvojedje árbevirolaččat intellektuála doaibmamii, go fas smáhka, dovdu ja hádja laktojuvvojedje ealliláganvuhtii, nuppiiguin sániiguin “primitiivvalaš” áiccuide (Classen 1993, 405). 1800-logus lei juo dábálaš, ahte dutkamušain govvidedje “vildaolbmuid” dovdoestetihka dahje spiehkaseaddji návccaid haksit. Dalle rupmašiid mihtideapmi bođii maiddái Supmii, ja sámiid rupmašiid dutke oassin suomelaš nálledutkamušša (gč. Isaksson 2001). 1920-logu antropologalaš dutkanprográmmas sámiid geahččaledje meroštallat vuolibun dahje primitiivvalažžan.

Sámiid jorgaleapmi “primitiivvalaš” luondduoskus risttalašvuhtii beavttálmuvai 1600-logu rájes, nu ahte rihppaskuvllas lea guhkes árbevierru sámiid gaskkas (gč. Kylli 2005; Schefferus 1979). Kylli (2008) mielde álggos báhpát ledje beroštuvvan sámiid nuppelágan gárvodeamis, go deaivvadedje singuin. Sámit čoahkkanedje jahkásaš márkaniidda, gos lágiduvvojedje seammás girkolaš doaimmahusat. Risttalašvuohta ja dasto maŋŋá læstadialaš lihkadus (omd. Haetta & Baer 1993; Lohi 1995; Pentikäinen 1995) leat váikkuhan sámiid oskkolašvuhtii, sosiála ja kultuvrralaš eallimii juo mánggaid čuohtejagiid ja sohka buolvvaid áigge.

Evangelalaš-luteralaš girkus lea šaddan sámeservošiidda dehálaš sosiála báiki (gč. Sarre 2003), vaikko dat lea historjjálaččat kolonialisttalaš institušuvdna. Eanaš davviriikkaid sámiin gullet evangelalaš-luteralaš girkui, nuortalaččat gullet ortodoksa girkui. Davviriikkain konfirmašuvdna- dahje rihppaskuvla lea oassi árbevirolaš nationála kultuvrra ja dat lea maiddái dehálaš oassi evangelalaš-luteralaš girku bajásgeassinvuogádaga. Girku bajásgeassinstitušuvdnan oassálastá iežas bealis nuoraid servodatlaš ja kollektiivvalaš sosialiseremii. Lea váttis áddet dálá sámi servodaga, jus ii ádde vássán áiggi. Go risttalaš oskui gulai geo-politihkalaš vuolušteapmi, man lassin oskkoldatlaš ja politihkalaš kontrolla ledje čatnasan kolonialisttalaš njuolggadusaide ja váldiid mearridan gildosiidda, de dihtolágan gárvvuid atnimis ledje politihkalaš dego teologalaš čuovvumušat. (Meisch 2000, 65.)

Dihtolágan gárvodeami ja olgguldas láhttema bokte olbmot sáhttet čájehit oskkoldatlaš navdámušaid, árvvuid ja miellaguottuid. Lars Levi Laestadiusa (1800–1861) vuodđudan morránanlihkadus lea ain ealli mu dutkanguovllus,

ja dan váikkuhus gárvodeami kontrollii orru seilon girkolaš oktavuodas. Lestadiánalaš gárvodankultuvrii orru gullamin dihto vuollegašvuohta, goargahisvuohta. Nuoraid konfirmašuvdnagárvodeami ja girkolaš gárvodeami kontrolla fas čiekŋu árbevirolaš gáktái, mii galgá meroštallot girkus dohkkehuvvon bivttasin.

Laestadiusa sárdneteavsttain ledje olu bivttas- ja álásvuodagovvadásat, maid ulbmilin lei kontrolleret earenoamážit nissoniid rumašlašvuođa, gárvodeami ja dan mii lea heivvolaš (Utriainen 2006, 144–165). Räsänen (2001, 44) lea rehkenastán duodjediedalaš dutkamušastis, ahte ain ovttá sártni guovdu leat guokte ja bealle gárvodan- ja bivttasčujuhusa. Laestadius anii menddo goargadit čijadan nissonolbmuid suruheapmin, jus sin gáktehealbmi lei menddo lotnjái dahje silkeliidni lei menddo ivdnái. Earenoamážit nissonolbmuid ládjogahpir šattai lestadiánalaš báhpaid sártniid fuopmášumi vuollai. Ládjogahpira geavaheamis ii jur leat seilon njálmmálaš árbediehtu. Ohcejoga ja Anára searvegottiin lei 1819–1932 báhppan Jacob Fellman (1906), ja son lea sártnistis jáhkkan ahte ládjogahpira “čoarvvi” siste orru beargalat, bahá vuoigŋa. Teologalaš ruossalašvuođaid ja báhpaid fasttášemiid dihte sámenissonat gárte heaitit geavaheamis suruhis ládjogahpira 1800-logu loahpas.

Utriainen mielde Laestadius oaččui sártniinis fiidnát olbmuid dovdat iežaset “álásin”. Dihto dilálašvuođas olmmoš sáhtta dovdat iežas álásin dahje earát ožžot su áddet dakkáražžan, jus sus váilu dihto bivttas. Dákkár sosiála álásvuhtii lei álki bidjat suruhisvuhtii laktáseaddji miellagovaid. Laestadiusa sártniin sohkabeale juogu mielde dahjege nissoniid ja albmáid gárvodeami giellagovat leat sierraláganat. Earenoamážit nuorra nissoniid heivvolaš dahje eahpeheivvolaš gárvodeapmi heivehuvvui dihto seksuála ja rumašlaš norpmaid ja vuordámušaid sisa. Dasa lassin biibbalis ruossalas gárvodeapmi, dahege gárvodeapmi nuppi sohkabeali gárvvuide, lei “fastivuoha” Ipmilii. (Utriainen 2009, 88, 93, 250.)

2000-logus sámi konfirmašuvdnanieiddaid gáktehealmmat lodnjájit eanet aht’ eanet ja čijadeamis giddejuvvo fuopmášupmi earenoamážit silbačijaid ja silkeliinniid goargatvuhtii, man Laestadius lea dubmen sártniinis suruheapmin. Nuorra nieiddat lodnjás gávttiiguin dahket rumašlašžan ođđalágan nuorraneidavuoda, mas nissonvuoda mihtilmas iešvuođat, dego čijadeapmi, adnojuvvojit láhttemin, mii fámuidehtá ja beastá dološ læstadiálaš dogm-

mas. Sámenieiddat representerejit čielgasit iežaset kulturidentitehta nanosít árbevieruide čatnaseaddji gávttiin dálá modearna máilmmis. Dávjá modearnavuohta ja árbevierru biddjojuvvojit vuostálágaid, muhto daid galgá áddet buorebutge proseassan. Kuokkanen (2009, 163) fuomášuhttáge, ahte modearnavuođa ja árbevieru gaskasaš dikotomii ja lea oarjemáilmmi modearnavuođa paradigmma ja lineára jurddašemi boadus.

Etnografija rumašlašvuohta

Dutkkan iežan, alccen lagaš kulturfenomena oahpes ruovttubirrasis (gč. maiddái Suojanen 1997). Mañimuš vihtta jagi leamašan gieddebarggus measta juohke pálbmasotnabeaivve ja mihcamáraid, goas lean oassálastán konfirmašuvdnameassuide girkus. Konfirmašuvnnas konfirmántanuoat čohkkájit ovdabeaŋkkain dahje leat áltár guoras, man várás sii leat hárbhallan ovddalgihtii seremoniija jođu ja lihkademiid. Coffey mielde etnográfalaš dutkanprosessii lea mihtilmas, ahte searvvuš, mii lea dutkančuozáhahkan, áicojuvvo persovnnalaš rumašlaš vásáhussan. Dattetge maiddái dutki rumašlašvuohta lea eahpitkeahhtá mielde, go son lea dutkanbáikkis, dutkangi-ettis. Etnográfá vásiha iežas rumašlašžan šaddan doaibmin, go gieddebargui gullet earenoamážit rumašlaččeat báikki alde leahkin, áiccadeapmi ja áiccut. (Coffey 1999, 59, 62.) Lean váccašan girko-álbmoga siste kámera giedas ja gárvodan iežan guovllu gávttiin.

Iežan gávttiin lean dovdan, ahte lean “oaidnemeahtun” ja mu dutki rumaš jávká earáid sisa (gč. Palmu 2003, 15). Oktii lean gárvodan oarjemáilmmi biktasiin Kárášjoga konfirmašuvdnagirkui, goas muhtin boarrásut fuolkealm-mái fuopmášahtii mu. Dulkon, ahte su cuiggodeapmi laktása áddejupmái oarjemáilmmi nissonolbmo rumašlašvuodas, mii álkit gehččojuvvo nup-peláganvuohthan iežas kultuvrra siskkobealde. Árbevirolaš biktasa váilun sáhtá govvidit váiluma, váni dahje nuppástusa identitehtas (gč. Utriainen 2009, 17). Ohcejoga konfirmašuvnnas dan sadjái oktage ii leat fuopmášuhtán mu oarjemáilmmi gárvodeami sullallas dilálašvuodas.

Rumašlašvuođa dutkamušas bivttas áddejuvvo identitehta giddejeaddjin, oktagasa identitehta ja sosiála gullelašvuođa liŋkan (Entwistle 2001, 47). Coffey (1999, 65) fuopmášuhtá, ahte etnográfá gárvodeapmi sáhtá nannet

dihtolágan rumašlašžan šaddan gova, ja biktasa gárvvuiguin sáhttá geava-
hit legitimeret dutki gieddebargorupmaša. Mađe dávjjit lean oassálastán
konfirmašuvdnaseremonijai, dađe stuorát deaddu mus leamaš lihkostuvvat
buvttadit gieddái dohkkejeaddji rupmaša. Dat lea geavadis gáibidan mus
gávttiid goarruma, liinniid riessuma ja silbačijaid skáhppoma. Girkolaš,
oskkoldatlaš ja alla seremoniija oktavuohta gáibida árbevirolaš gávtti ja
goargatvuoda, vaikko 1800-logus girkus juste nissoniid biktasiid goargat-
vuota dubmejuvvui suruheapmin.

Girkus geahčastagat ja rumašlašvuota leat máŋgga dásis mielde. Olbmot
ráhkkanit fuolalaččat konfirmašuvdnagirkui ja duojárat leat rahčan máŋggaid
jagiid bearrašiid ávvugárvvuiguin. Olbmot čijadit girkui, go doppe sii
oidnojuvvojit. Geahčastagaid vuolde leat maiddái sogaid gárvodeapmi ja
stiila sihke giehtamáhttu ja dujiid innovašuvnnat.

Álgen beroštuvvat áiccuid ossodagas gieddebarggus ja daid govvideamis
etnografijas, go oahpásmuvven rumalašlašvuoda bokte áiccuide. Nuppádassii
ovdamearkka dihte giedđain dikšojuvvon náhkiid hájat ledje oahppásat juo
mánávuodas, go áhkku divššui beaskanáhkiid. Duot hájat máhcet muhtumin
dakkáražžan millii, muhto in goittotge máhte govvidit daid verbálalaččat. Dát
hájat ja ávdnasiid dovdu leat mu oahppan rumašlaš jaskes diehtu. Iešgudege
kultuvrrain lea iežas vuohki hábmet máilmmi ovdamearkka dihte ivnniid,
hájjaid dahje juoba báhka vuodul (Classen 1993, 122). Vai ádde rituálaid
earenoamážit ii-oarjemáilmmi oktavuođas rupmaša govvideapmái galgá
laktit dan lihkastagaid, hájjaid, smáhkaid ja jienaid, go dat leat dehálaš
mearkkašumiid fievrredeaddjit (Stoller 1994, 639). Rituálaid guorahalla-
mis jienaid, smáhkaid ja hájjaid áiccadeapmái ja govvideapmái leat uhcit
gidden fuopmášumi, vaikko dain lea stuorra mearkkašupmi máilmmi ordne-
mis ja duohtavuođa govvideamis (Stoller 1989; 1994). Das beroškeahttá
áicoáicamuša mearkkašupmi áiccadeamis ja áiccadeami systemáhtalašvuota
gieddebarggus báhcet váilevažžan, jus dutki ii lahkton analyhtalabbot áiccuid.
Gieddebarggus oassálasti áiccadeapmi sierranage árgabeaivvi áiccademiin
das, ahte dat lea systemáhtalut, dat dulkojuvvo ja govviduvvo.

Konfirmánttat vázzet ráidun, mii presenterejuvvo ivdnin ja silbačijaid
šealgumin, mat seahkanit girkoálbmoga ivdnás ja goargadis gávttiid
sisá. Kárášjoga girkui sále lea dievva sierraguovlluid sámi gávttiid,
muhto maiddái dáčča bunádaid ja dábálaš oarjemáilmmi feastabiktasiid.

Go nuorat vázzet girkosále guvlui, gullo oahpes, ritmmalaš skilla, go riskkuid ja boahkániid lávggastagat deivet metállavuđđui, go fas gabba-, muzet- ja girjjat nuvttogat deivet láhttái jienaheame. Nieiddaid hirbmadit durron holbbit lodnjájit ovdan ruoktot goruda lihkastemiid mielde. Girku lea áibba dievva, ja doppe lea finna ostohádja, mii boahdá nuvttohiin ja gálssohiin. (Gieddebeavdegirji 2010.)

Rituálalaš gárvodeapmi ja rumašlaš áicamat, nugo oaidnu, guoskanáicu, hádja-, ja jietnaáicamat dego maiddá rupmaša lihkašteamit leat mu mielas dehálaš sápmelaš kultuvrralaš rupmaša buvttadeamis nuorravuodas. Rupmaša vásáhusaid bokte šaddá kultuvrralaš jávohis diehtu, mainna nuorat ráhkadit sápmelašvuoda(set). Mary Douglas (2001, 180) mielde rituálalaš geavadat moriidahttet dábálaččat fuopmášumi ja gudni, mii nuppádassii čilge dan, ahte dat leat buorit kultuvrra sirdindáhpáhusat. Dat sáhttet dahkat vejolažžan dieđu, mii ii muđuid boadáše ollenge diđolašvuhtii.

Muhtumin lean boah tán girkuin nu maññit, ahte lean gártan báhcit feaskárii, gos lean sáht tán čuovvut girkosále dáhpáhusaid duobbelis. Mu mánnávuoda rájes gávttiin čiŇadeapmái lea laktásan hoahppu ja eardun ja de vel loahpas maññoneapmi – juoba mu iežan konfirmašuvnnas. Dát unohis rumašlaš vásáhus máhccá ain mu millii, go lean coggamin gávtti. Mu jearahallan eatnit hállet seammá áššis, man dihte mánáid ja nuoraid čiŇadeapmái várrejuvvo áigi. Eriksena mielde áigi gárggiidii álgoálggus rituálaid oktavuodas. “Rituálat eai álgge diibmu vihtta, muhto baicce dalle go buot lea gárvvis – go leat geargan ráhkkaneamis ja guossit leat boah tán.” (Eriksen 2004, 315.)

Konfirmašuvnnas konfirmántanuorat leat rituálaseremoniija doaimama čuozáhahkan, vaikko maiddá earát girko guossit oassálastet aktiivvalaččat dasa: sii lávlot, rohkadallet, čužžot, leat čipbeliid alde ja vástidit litaniijaide. Norgga bealde seremoniijai oassálastit fitnet áltáris golbmii, go fas Suoma bealde nuorat leat áltáris vuos oskkudovddastusa, Ipmila árbmui guoski gažaldaga dahje ávžžuheami ja sivdnideami áigge ja nuppe geardde rihpaid áigge. Mihcamáraid Gáregasnjárggas rihppanuoraid mearri lea sakka uhcit go Pálbmasotnabeivve Kárášjogas, muhto rihppastuorraoappát ja –vieljat dievasmahttet joavkku. Kárášjogas Pálbmasotnabeivve vahkkoloahpa lávvardaga gažaldatbeivve ja sotnabeivve konfirmašuvdnii oassálasti nuoraid gártet juohkit guovtti jovkui, vai bearrašat, fuolkkit ja risváhnemat

čáhket girkuui – geavadis girkosálie beassá dušše sisabeassanbileahtain. Bearrašat ja risváhnemat maiddá presenterejit iežasat nu, ahte čuožžilit go konfirmántanuora namma máinnašuvvo vuorus go son lea áltáris, dalle maiddá bearraša dahje soga gávttit ja čiŋadeami kompetánsa oidnojit. Vaikko nuorat leat juo juhkkon guovtti jovkui, gártet sii fitnat das beroškeahhtá áltáris guovtti vuorus, nu ahte seremoniija bistá máŋggaid diimmuid. Nuoraid rumašlašvuohta boahtá ovdan nieiddaid holbbiid lihkkadeapmin ovdan ruoktut ja gándaiddaid gálssoshiid ravddaidda nallaseapmin ja bajás gaikummin.

Rašes identitehtat

Konfirmašuvdna- dahje rihppaskuvllas lea nana sirdásanriitta luondu: formálalaččat dat sirdá oktagasa nuppi ahkemuddui ja/dahje sosiála dillái. Sirdásanriittaid ulbmil lea veahkehit oktagasa sirdásit stáhtusis nubbái. Konfirmašuvdnaskuvlla leat árbevirolaččat atnán rávásmuvvanriitan ovdal siviilavahaheami, goas galggai vázzit konfirmašuvdnaskuvlla vai oaččui náitalanlobi. Nuoraide dát ahkemuddu lea stuora rievdadusaid áigi. Sii eai leat šat mánát, muhto eai vel ollesolbmotge.

Konfirmašuvdna- dahje rihppaskuvlanuoraid ahkemuddui leat mihtilmasat fysalaš rievdadusat, rollaid ohcan ja identitehta kriisa, ja subjeaktavuoda hápmašuvvan (vrd. Vuorinen 1997, 203, 220). Identitehtaid berre áddet jotkkolaš proseassan, ii gárvves dahje rievdameahhtun oruhin. Subjeakta váldá sierra identitehtaid sierra áiggiin, ja identifikašuvdna kultuvrralaš mearkkašumiide ja symbolaide ollašuvvá subjeavtta iežas bokte. Identitehta konstruierenproseassas oktagasas leatge anus iešguđetlágan materiálalaš ja symbolalaš resurssat, mat hábmejit identitehta konstruierema (Pääkkönen 2008, 82). Nuorra olbmui bearaš, skihpárat, skuvla, ássanbáiki ja searvvuš leat dehálaččat identitehta huksemis. Máŋggakultuvrralaš servošiin nuorat ráhkadit identitehtaset maiddá etnikkalaš láhttemiin, dego gárvodemiin ja gielain. (Bhui et al. 2008; Kvernmo & Heyerdahl 1996.)

Sáme guovllus konfirmašuvdna lea servodatlaš rituála máŋggakultuvrralaš birrasis. Konfirmašuvdna rituálalaš lágan mearkkašumi nuoraid rávásmuvvanriittas sámeservodagas čájeha dat, go Kárášjogas lágidedje vuosttas gearde gidđat 2007 oskkoldatkeahtes sámenuoraide humanisttalaš konfirmašuvdna

(vrd. Prometheus-leirrat, gč. Mäkinen 2002). Seremoniija čijademiidisguin ja ávvudoaluidisguin čuovvu girkolaš konfirmašuvdnarituála árbevieruid. Ohcejogas oskkoldatkeahtes nuorat leamaš dušše moadde mu gieddebargguid áigge, ja sii leat oassálastán Prometheus-leirii.

Etnihkalaš joavkkut sierranit nuppiineaset dahje ožžot identifikašuvnnaset iežaset gárvodemiin. Girkus gávttehasaid siste sierranit maiddái válđoálbmoga nátionálabiktasat. Sámenuoraid etnisitehta leat čájehan leat geabbil ja molsašuddi juo dan sivas, ahte sii ellet mánggakultuvrralaš servodagas (gč. Stordahl 1994). Dálá sámeservodagas lea dábálaš, ahte nuoraid vánhemiin dušše nubbi lea sápmelaš. Bearraša mearkkašupmi lea stuoris nuoraid sosialiserenproseassas, ja konfirmašuvdnaávvudeapmi lea vuosttažettiin bearraša, risvánemiid ja soga feasta. Vaikko etnikkalaš sosialisašuvdna lea nannosut ovttakultuvrralaš bearrašiin, de dattege measta bealli mánggakultuvvaralaš sámebearrašiid nuorain identifearášuvvá iežaš etnikkalaš unnitlogujovkui dahje eamijovkui. (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl 1996, 458–461).

Gárvodeapmi adnojuvvo eanet aht' eanet dehálabbon identitehta representašuvdnan nuorravuodas ollesolmmožin sirdásettiin. Gárvodeapmái konkretiserejuvvo identitehta problematihkka. Identitehta lea ontologalaš gažaldat, dasgo árbevirolaš filosofalaš geahččanguovllus identitehta mearkkaša jotkkolašvuoda dahjege oktagasa bissuma seammá láganin áiggi ja nuppástusa čađa, ja dan ahte olmmoš oba lohkaí eksistere ja lea dovdaheamis alcesis. Identitehta sosiála gažaldahkan lea fas oktiigullan ja čatnaseapmi, ásaiduvvan man nu servoša oassin. (Utriainen 2009, 13.) Identitehta sáhtá meroštallot nu ahte oktagas lea guovddázis, muhto dat huksejuvvo maiddái kollektiivvalaččat. Etnihkalaš identitehta lea okta ovdamearka kollektiivvalaš ja politihkalaš identitehtas, ja dalle sierra molssaeavttut ja välljejumit daid gaska ožžot deattu identitehta huksemis. Identitehtas leat mearkkašumit ja čuovvumušat, mat laktásit váldegaskavuodaide. Dainna lea vejolaš kategoriseret ja válđit sisa dahje bidjat olggos oktagasaid ja doaibmat nu, ahte dorvvasta iešgudege intereassaid. (Pääkkönen 2008, 83.)

Dego eará persovnnalaš ja etnikkalaš identitehta olggosbuktimat, maiddá gárvodeapmi sáhtá váikkuhit joavkku áddejumiide bajit ja vuolit árvvus, árvvolašvuodas ja árvvuin. Dat váikkuha oktagasa iešdovdui ja buresbirgejumái sosiála ja kultuvrralaš norpmain ráđđadaladettiin. Mánnávuodas sirdásettiin nuorravuhtii ja ollesolmmošvuhtii, nuorravuodaahki dahje

pubertehta adnojuvvo suojehis áigodahkan, goas sáhttet šaddat šaddet mielladearvvasvuodačuolmmat. Gárvodeapmi laktása maiddá psykihkalaš buresbirgejupmái, danin go mánggakultuvrralaš servošiin etnikkalaš biktasa geavaheami leat čájehan geahpedit nuoraid mielladearvvasvuodačuolmmaid. (Bhui et al. 2008, 435–436, 439.) Nuoraid gárvodeami guorahallan dearvvasvuoda ja medisiinna geahččanguovllus buktá ovdan nuoraid rašesvuoda⁴. Etnihkalaš nuoraid guoski dutkamušas, mii gieđahallá konfirmašuvdnaahkásaš sámenuoraid buresbirgejumi Davvi-Norgga riddo- ja siseatnama mánggakultuvrralaš servošiin, sámenuorat jurddašit almmolaččat positiivvalaččat nu iežaset sápmelašvuodas dego iežaset gielas ja árbevirolaš gárvodeamis (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl 1996). Árbevirolaš bivttas čatná nuoraid sin etnikkalaš servošii ja árbevieruide. Iežaset gávttiin, sin nuppiin liikkiin, sámenuorat geahččalit hukset, gokčat ja dievasmahttit iežaset rašes identitehta.

Gárvodemiin oktagas buktá ovdan iežas oktavuoda lagašbiirri, bearrašii, sohki, ustibiidda ja etnikkalaš jovkui (Eicher & Sumberg 1995, 299–300). Mii eat vealttakeahtá dárbaš dihto biktasa, vai mii bargat maid nu dahje leat mii nu, muhto biktasis sáhtá oaidnit, geat mii leat, maid mii bargat ja maid mis sáhtá vuordit (Burton 2001, 27). Doaladupmi gávtti geavaheapmái konfirmašuvnnas buot nuoraid konfirmašuvdnabivttasin etnisihttas beroškeahtá molsašuddá kárášjohkalaš ja ohcejohkalaš servošiin. Ohcejoga searvegottis dušše sámenuorat cogget sámi gávtti, eaige suopmelaš nuorat cokka gávtti earet moatti nieidda. Mánggakultuvrralaš sápmelaš-suopmelaš bearrašiid bártnit sáhttet coggat oarjemáilmmi dreassa, muhto dan sadjái Kárášjogas dáčča bártnit sáhttet coggat sámi gávtti konfirmašuvnnii, man maiddá báikkálaš girkolaš searvvuš lea oaidnán positiivvalaččat. Sámi gákti konfirmašuvnnas sáhtá nannet servošii gullama, iige dat mávsse daid eret caggama, geat eai gula dasa. Dáčča nieiddat sáhttet coggat dušše luhka⁵ silbačijaiguin ja bártnit dreassa. Bivttas lea sosiála, oaččálaš ja dillái laktáseaddji geavat (Entwistle 2001), muhto bivttas sáhtá leat maiddá oassin iežas dahje vieris. Bivttas laktása sihke oktiigullamii ja sirremii, ja rumašlaš leahkima vásáhussii, iige bivttas leat álo nubbi “liiki”. Vejolašvuolta dan nuollamii šaddá dehálažžan, go dan dovdá bákkolažžan, vierisin dahje go dat doallá čavga. (Utriainen 2009, 56; vrd. Markkanen 2003.)

Mánggakultuvrralaš servošiin nieiddaid ja bártniid gárvodeami sierraneami sivvan leat buktán ovdan dan, ahte nieiddat välljejit biktasiiddiset dovdo-

sivaid vuodul, go fas bártnit háliidit juksat dan ideála imago, mii sis lea alddiset (Bhui et al. 2008, 436). Konfirmašuvdnuoraid sámi, árbevirolaš gákti lea guovddáš ja hálldašeadji symbola konfirmašuvdnarituálas. Mánnggakultuvrralaš birrasis dat ovddasta maiddái etnisitehta ja kultuvrralaš identitehta. Rituálalaš symbolat leat Turner (2007) mielde mánnggajienagat, ja dalle hálldašeadji symbolas lea sadji mánnggaide mearkkašumi sisdoaluide, mat sierranit nuppiineaset. Gákti mearkkaša sierra olbmuide sierra áššiid, muhto dattetge dat sáhtta addit oktilašvuoda gova. Symbolat galget leat mánnggajienagat, vai dat duddjojot solidaritehta olbmuid gaskii. Kárášjogas konfirmašuvdnuoraid váhnemat ja eallilan olbmot doaladuvvet guovtti láhkai dasa, ahte ii-sápmelaččat cogget gávtti konfirmašuvdnii. Ovtta bearraša siste oainnut earránit sohka beali ja sohka buolvva mielde. Eatni mielas “lea lunddolaš, ahte cogget gávtti, go orrotge dáppe”. Áhčči ii oainne dan heivvolaš geavadin, muhto bárdni dohkkeha iežas ahkásaš ii-sápmelaš nuoraid konfirmašuvdnačijadeami, go “ galhan mii diehtit, geat leat sápmelaččat”. Muhtin kárášjohkalaš nuorra bárdni smiehtada sámi gávtti mearkkašumi viidasut báikkálaš etnikkalaš konfirmašuvdnuoraid gaskavuodas:

Háliida čájehit identitehta dan beavve, eai buohkat oainnat leat dáppe sápmelaččat (...) Doppe ledje gal dieđusge dáččat, geat leat dáppe bajásšaddán .. eai leat sámesogain. Orru dieđusge ártet (ahte cogget sámegávtti), muhto dat leat sii geat ieža válljejit. Eai buohkat smiehta ahte galget identitehta čájehit dan beavve, muhto dat galget.. finnis leat. (Jearahallan.)

Etnikkalaš unnitloguid nuorat ožžot kategorisašuvnna iežaset árbevirolaš gárvodemiin maiddái kultuvrraid gaskasaš ja siskkáldas ruossalasvuodaid vuostaiváldin (vrd. Markkanen 2003, 128). Sihke Ohcejoga ja Kárášjoga searvegottiin ja sámeservošis lea duollet dalle bohciidan ságastallan gávtti geavaheami heattiheamis konfirmašuvdnabivttasin. Das leat háliidan luohpat earret eará ekonomalaš ja liturgalaš sivaid dihte (omd. Sara 1993, 4). Norgga bealde servodat fállá ekonomalaš doarjaga daidda nuoraide, geat eai suite goasttidit divrras gávtti. Konfirmašuvdnagávtti estehtalašvuoha boahká ovdan juoba issoras gilvun, dego sámi aviisa čállá bajilčállošis: “Stuoribut, divraseappot ja čigŋábut” (Utsi 2006). Mu dulkojumi mielde konfirmašuvdnarituálas sámenuoraid gárvodeamis lea jearaldat dievaslaš sápmelaš rupmaša duddjomis ja identitehta fuolas. Konfirmántanuoraid

áhkut ja ádját dihtet, mo dat čuohcá go identitehta lea raššiduvvan, sis mángasat leat vásihan koloniseren- ja assimilerenpolitihka. Nuppe dáfus fas 2000-logus nuorra sámenieida dadjá iežas konfirmašuvdnačijadeamis: “Háliidan leat perfeakta.” Nuorra nieida deattuha dievaslaš gávtti, mainna son geahččala dahkat rumašlašžan dan, makkáražžan rivttes sápmelaš galgá čájehit modearna máilmmis.

Golgi marginálat ja sohkaabealleestetihkka

Biktasa sáhtta gohčodit oinnolaš giesaldahkan, mas Douglasa (1973) mielde leat golgi marginálat (Entwistle 2001, 37). Bivttas ii leat dušše skoadaš, man sisa rumaš giessasa, muhto baicce dasa gullá maiddá ravda, mii ii biso sajis. Utriainen fuopmášahtta, ahte identitehta ii leat dušše váimmus dahje guovddáš, muhto baicce maiddá ravdaoassi ja marginála ja daid lihkestagat. Rupmaša rájáiid dahket konkrehtalaš rumašlaš mielas vuovttat ja eará rupmaša ravddamus lahtut sihke healmmiit, suodjegeažit, ravdaoasit ja gahpirat. Rupmaša ravddaide čatnasit nana áicamušat, mat leat dávjá bággejeaddjit ja unohasat. (Utriainen 2009, 54–56.) Biktasa rupmaša rádján meroštallá čielgasit lihkestat, daningo bivttas lihkada sihke dan guoddi lihkestagaid mielde ja birrasis boahhti lihkestagaid váikkuhusas ja reagere daidda (Welters 1999, 9; Utriainen 2009, 56).

Karášjogas konfirmašuvdnagávtti ja girkolaš láđđegávtti ivdnin lea vuogáiduvvan alit ivdni, vaikko vel juohke jagi soames nuorat presenterejit odđa ivnni. Alit gávtti soadjegeažit ja holbi leat ruoksadat. Muđuid ovttageardán gávtti sakka durrón holbi rádján dahje ravdan guoskkaha rupmaša ja váikkuha lihkaeapmái, ja dalle healbmi lodnjá ovdan ruoktot ja oazžu nieiddaid maiddá jorggáhallat. Healbmái čuhcet issorasat doaivumušat, juoba gealdagasat árbevirolaš ja modearna ravdda gaskka. Healbmi lea rumašlaš subjeavttaid gaskasaš ávnnas, mii guoskkaha sihke iežas ja earáid (Utriainen 2009, 55).

Gávtti alit ivdni lei 1970-80-loguin gávtti áidna ivdni, dego maiddá silkelidni lei vielgat. 1980-logus etnikkalaš didolašvuodas fámuiduhttima geažil álge geahččalit ovdalis “árbevirolaš” ivnniid, dego luondduvilges, ruoná ja rukses ivnniid. Rukses ivnnát gákti leamaš dolin riggodaga symbola.

Konfirmašuvdnagávtti liidnevuodđu lea 2000-logus veháziid mielde rievdan vuot vielgadin, go dat symbolisere liturgalaš gárvun maiddá buhtisvuoda.

Sámiid árbevirolaš gárvodeapmi lea čatnasan čavga sohkabeliide iige ruosalassii gárvodeapmi boađe ovdan. Searvvušlaš konfirmašuvdnarituálas konfirmašuvdnuorat ráhkadit árbevirolaš gárvodemiin maiddá iežaset sohkaalidentitehta. Guktuin sohkabeliin leat sin iežaset gárvvut ja silbačijat, muhto kárášjohkalaš-guovdageaidnulaš bártnis sáhtá leat silbarisku rattis. Árbevirolaččat risku lea nissoniid liidnečikŋa. Dát konfirmašuvdnaárbevierru lea álgán ránnjásuohkanis, Guovdageainnus 1980-logus, mii čilgejuvvo guovdageaidnulaččaid nissoniid ja albmáid goargatvuoda háluin – Guovdageainnus nieiddaid konfirmašuvdnagáktái gullet maiddá falatberralat. Kárášjoga gávttiin čijadan nuorra bárdni čájeha silbariskkuinis iežas oktavuoda guovdageaidnulaš servošii, muhto ráhkada dainna maiddá iežas mánggakultuvrralaš identitehta ja earuha iežas etnikkalaš joavkkus siste. Nuppi kultuvrralaš guovllu symbola dulkon sáhtá leat goittotge váttis.

Olbmo gullama dihto jovkui, sosiála sajádahkii dahje dillái sáhtá ovdan buktit symbolaiguin. Náitalkeahces nuorra bártnis leamaš árbevirolaččat silbaboagán, mas leat jorba boalut, muhto go de náitala, geavahišgoahtá njealječiegeat násttiid. Gávtti gárvvuin lea golle- ja silbaboahkána sohkabeliide čadnon geavaheamis dáhpáhuvvan nuppástus. Vel moadde logijagi dassá dat lei albmáid ja bártniid boagán, mii symboliserii riggodaga ja sosiála sajádaga.

Kárášjoga ja Ohcejoga gáktesilbbat leat leamašan guhká gollejuvvon iige daid hápmái ja metállii laktáseaddji sirdásanriittaidda symbolihkka leat šat mearkkašahtti. Nuorat eai dovdda silbačijaide gulli jáhkuid, dego silbba magihkalaš iešvuodaid bahá vuoiŋjaid vuostá. 2000-logus nuorat leat molson golli silbii, daningo dat leat sin mielas buhtásut ja čábbásut metálla. Gákti lea oinnolaš estehtalaš čábbodaga olggosbuktima hápmi konfirmašuvdnaseremoniijas, ja gárvodettiin nuorat deattuhit estehtalaš čábbodaga oassin dievaslaš čijadeami. Mánggat nuorat čujuhit jearahallamiin dasa, ahte sii dovdet iežaset sámegávttis goargadin, dego muhtin kárášjohkalaš nieida dadjá: “Dalle mun lean čijadan” (jearahallan).

Van Dammen (1996, 27–30) mielde nu gohčoduvvon ii-oarjemáilmmi kultuvrrain rituálaid guorahaladettiin leat estehtalašvuolta ja čábbodat dávjá

báhcan fuomáškeahttá, muhto daid galgá (/berre) goittotge áddet oassin rituálalaš ovdanbuktima, vaikko dat eai ovdanbuktojuvvoge oarjemáilmmi dáidaga gielain. Čiŋadeapmi ja čábbodat leat oassin sohkabeliide čadnon estetihka. Kárášjohkalaš bárdni fuopmášahtta, ahte maiddái bártnit leat seamma láhkai beroštuvvan čiŋadeamis ja čábbodagas:

Juo dieđusge ságastalaimet ovdal konfirmašuvnna das, makkár ivdni gávttis ja boahkánis lea, makkár.. gálgetgo leat silbbat vai gollit. Maiddái das, maid áigu coggat beaivvi ovdal (konfirmašuvnna)... Čuovgasat ládđi orru leamen odđasut, ovdal geavahedje seavdnjadut alit. (Jearahallan.)

Rukses suruheapmin gehčcon ladjogahpiris lea báhcan dušše nulpogahpir. Gahpira symbolihkka lea uhcán dutkojuvvon, muhto áinnas nissoniid gahpira alit ivdni lea leamašan symbola máná massimis. Nuorat vásihit earenoamážit gahpira unohassan, vaikko almmá dan haga sáhtta leat oaidnit váilevaš dahje álás. Nieiddat fitnet dábálaččat vuoktadikšu luhtte konfirmašuvdnabeaivvi idedis ja bártnit stellejit vuovttaideaset ieža ruovttus. Ohcejogas dušše hárve nieiddas lea árbevirolaš gahpir oaivvis, ja bártniin ii ollenge. Ohcejohkalaš nieida háliida dábálaččat eará nieiddaid láhkai dahkat rumašlašžan vuovttainis iežas nieidavuoda almmá, ahte rukses gahpir hehte:

In mun hálit coggat gahpira, go háliidivččen mo nu bidjat vuovttaid, vaikko mus lea gal gahpir (Jearahallan).

Kárášjogas buot nieiddain lea gahpir oaivvis, muhto bártniin dušše muh-timis čiehgahpir. Bártnit eai ane gáktái gulli čiehgahpira oaivvis girkus, muhto baicce dollet dan gieđas. Girkošiljus gahpir de coggo odđasit, muhto maŋimustá konfirmašuvdnagovvii háliidit čiŋadit ollislaččat gáktái. Muhtin kárášjohkalaš bárdni muitala jearahallamis:

Ledjen juo ovdal mearridan, ahte govas galget leat gálssohat ja čiehgahpir. Muhto de maŋná válde gahpira eret feasttas... Mu mielas nuorat eai liiko čiehgahpira atnit. Dat orru leamen ahte galgá leat dat sveisa hui fiinnis, vuovttat galget oidnot. (Jearahallan.)

Gálssohat ja čiehgahpir leat nuorain dábálaččat vuosttas geardde, ja bártnit gaikot gálssohiid bajás álo go čuožžilit. Dulkon gálssohiid ravddaid gaikuma nuorra bártni figgamuššan divvut dahje dievasmahttit gaskandagu identitehta.

Eai dušše nuorat ieža divo iežaset gárvodeami, muhto baicce Kárášjogas lea ordnejuvvon nissonolmmoš fuolahit das, mo gávttit leat nuoraid badjelis earenoamážit dalle, go girkus váldet oktasaš gova. Konfirmašuvdnagávtti gárvvoheamis veahkeha dábálaččat eadni dahje eará nissongárvvoheaddji. Ohcejogas máŋggakultuvrralaš bearrašis bártni gárvodeami veahkkin sáhtta leat maiddái sápmelaš áhčči, vaikko vel soga nissonat bearráigehččetge.

Gálssohat ja čiehgahpir leat leamašan árbevirolaččat dálvegárvvut sihke árgabargguin ja ávvudemiin, muhto dat leat báhcán eret árgageavaheamis modernisašuvdnaproseassain. Juohke logijahki ja sohka buolva hábmejit gávtti iežaset áiggi ja báikki mielde. Nuppástusa stivrejít kultuvrralaččat ollašuvvan njuolggadusat das, mo kontrolleret rupmaša ja rumašlašvuođa. Sámenuorat sáhttet maiddái vásihit, ahte sis vurdojuvvo árbevirolut láhtten seamma áigge go sii geahččalit ráhkadit modearna veršuvnna das, mii livččii leat sápmelaš dálá servodagas (Hovland 1996). Bucholtz deattuha, ahte nuorat (adolescents) ahkejoavkun leat mihtet álkimusat dálá áigge johtilis nuppástusaid. Nuoraid oaidnit dábálaččat kultuvrralaš nuppástusaid doaibmabiddjin ja vásiheaddjin. (Bucholtz 2002, 530–531.) Lea lunddolaš navdit, ahte nuorat lea nannosepmosit dálá áiggis ja ođđa árbehámiin gitta go boarrásut sohka buolva.

Rituálalaš gárvodeami mearkkašupmi

Konfirmašuvdna- dahje rihppaskuvlla loahppaávvudeapmi lea oassi sámi nuoraid sosialiserenproseassa, mas kultuvrralaš kategorijat sirdojuvvojít sohka buolvvas nubbái ja mainna sihkkarastit kultuvrralaš jotkkolašvuohta. Sámi gáktái laktása olu dakkár árbevirolaš diehtu, mii sirdása sohka buolvvas nubbái geavatlaš doaimmaid bokte. Sámi gárvodanárbevierru ii leat goittotge bisánan iđa. Kultuvrralaš nuppástusain ja ođđa elemeanttaid hálduiváldimiin lea guovddáš mearkkašupmi báikkálaš kultuvrraide ja árbevieruide, mat ovdánit oba áigge proseassan ja mat buvttaduvvojít ođđasit kultuvrralaš geavadiin (Kupiainen 2000, 11).

Nuorat háliidit čiŇadit konfirmašuvdnii áigeguovdilis mohta mielde, man sii ieža duddjojít árbevieru vuodul nu ahte seammás ođasmahttet duodjekultuvrra. Boarrásut ahkebuolva gártá dávjá ráđđádallat nuoraiguin gárvodeami

odda detáljjain, vai sihkkarastet ahte báikkálaš dahje soga gákteárbevieru dovdáheapmi seailu. Árbevirolaččat nissonat leat hálddašan gávttiid ja gárvvuid duddjoma ja gárvodeami, mas sohkabeallái čatnaseapmi boahá čielgasit ovdan. 2000-logu konfirmašuvdnanuoraid áhkut ja eanaš eatnit máhtte ieža goarrut sámi árbevirolaš gávtti juo konfirmašuvdnaagis ja ohppe duodjemáhtu mánnávuodas ruovttus, dego ieš maiddáai lean oahppan. Ovddit sohkabuolvvaid nissonat dahke rumašlašžžan iežaset nissonvuoda ja sápmelaš identitehta iežaset duodjemáhtuin.

Go rumaš áddejuvvo leat vuodđun ovttaskas olbmo identitehtii ja iešdovdui, dat lea seammás maiddáai almmolaš reaidu ja opmodat (Burton 2001, 26). Servošiid mearkkašupmi ii leat unnánaš identitehta konstruierenproseassas, daningo dat hábmejít lahtuideaset vuordámušaid ja jáhkuid válljemiin, mat leat oazžumis, ja regulerejit beassat gitta molssaeavttuide. Lea vuordahahtti, ahte nuorat boaittoheale birrasis sosialisearášuvvet eanet árbevirolaš árvvuide ja rollaide go vástideaddji nuorat gávpotbirrasis. (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl 1996, 444.) Norgga ja Suoma beale konfirmašuvdnanuoraid gárvodeami veardidettiin lea vuohttimis čielgasit individuálalaš ja searvvušlaš gárvodeapmi. Suoma bealde nieiddat geahččalit iežaset gárvodemiin čájehit individuálalaš hutkáivuoda, earránit joavkku siste, go fas Norgga bealde nuoraid gárvodeapmi lea hui oktilaš nu ahte čájeha servoša nana kontrolla ja nuppe dáfus kultuvrralaš standárddaid čavga čuovvuma girkolaš oktavuodas.

Muhtin Suoma bealde badjebearrašis bajásšaddan nissonolmmoš ságastalai nieiddainis jearahallamis das, maid dálvegárvvuid nieida dovdá nama mielde. Seammás son suokkardalai eallinvuogi riev dama váikkuhusa árbevirolaš gárvodeami ja duodjemáhtu geahppáneapmái:

Nuppe dáfus lea buorre, ahte leat dát konfirmašuvdna, dalle nuorat gártet oahpásmuvvat gáktái. Muhto Suoma bealde eai dovdá dálvegárvvuid, dego ovddit sohkabuolvvat. Dat leat nu ollu doppe earáid hálddus beaivvi áigge, ahte jus doppe eai oahpa daid dat báhcet oahpatkeahhtá.. dat leat earáid hálddus, dat leat beaiveruoktu ja skuvla, astoáiggedoaimmat... Norgga bealde leat olu doalut, gos geavahit beaskkaid ja gálssohiid, muhto dáppe eai cokka beaskkaid ja gálssohiid... Girkolaš dilálašvuodain basiid áigge cogget gávtti, eai oro dat boarrásut olbmotge, in leat goassige oaidnán beaska dahje gálssohiid. (Jearahallan.)

Sámi gákti šaddá duojára rumašlaš doaimma bokte, ja eanaš ávdnasat leat luondduávdnasiin, dego gápmasiin dahje ullus gieđain dikšojuvvon. Howes (2003) mielde áiccuid kultuvrralaš mearkkašupmi šaddá daid geavaheamis, eaige dat – almmolaš navdosiin fuolakeahtá – leat jođihuvvon man nu lunddolaš psykofysihkalaš luonddusárgosiin. Ii leat leamen miige lunddolaš áiccuid dilli, muhto baicce dego eará kultuvrralaš sárgosiid láhkaí oktagas sosialisearášuvvá maiddá áiccuiguin kultuvrralaš árvvuide ja geavadiidda. (Howes 2003, xx, xxii.) Ovdamearkka dihte gieđain ostejuvvon sistti hája mielde boahtá ovdan oktavuoha sámiid árbevirolaš ealáhussii ja eallinvuohkáí sihke luonddubirrasii, jahkodahkii ja jávohis dihtui.

Sámiid árbevirolaš gárvvut leat leamašan heivvolaččat jahkodaga mielde. Dálvegárvvut, dego nuvttohat dahje beaska, duddjojuvvojit dábálaččat gieđain dikšojuvvon náhkiin. Norgga bealde konfirmašuvdna lea gidđadálvve, goas gárvodit dálvegárvvuiguin. Suoma bealde konfirmašuvdna lea mihcamáraid, goas nuorat gárvodit geassegárvvuiguin, ja nu sis báhcá dovdákeahtá ja vásitkeahtá dehálaš oassi sámi duodje- ja dálvegárvodanárbevierus. Rituálalaš ja seammás searvvušlaš gárvodanárbevierru adno dehálažžan sámi duodjekultuvrra jotkkolašvuoda dorvvasteami dihte, ja gárvodeami ja duoji máhttima ballet jávkat almmá konfirmašuvdnačijadeami.

Mearkkašumit

1 Artihkal lea almmustuvvan suomagillii referee-journálas Nuorisotutkimus 1/2011 Pohjoiset kulttuurit. [Doaimm.] Mäkiranta, Mari & Ollila, Anne.

2 Sámit leat Eurohpá uniovna áidna etnikkalaš joavku, mas lea eamiálbmotstáhtus (gč. ILO 1991). Sámit leat árvvu mielde Suomas sullii 11–15 000, Norggas 40–60 000, Ruotas 20–25 000 ja Ruoššas sullii 2000. Juohke Davviriikkas sámiin lea iežas alimus politihkalaš orgána, sámediggi. Suomas sámiin lea vuodđolága dorvvastan hálddahaslaš-politihkalaš sajádat sámiid ruovttuguovllus (Ohcejoga, Anára ja Eanodaga gielddat ja Soađegili gieldda davvioassi), gos earet eará galgá ordnet sámegielat oahpahas ohppiide, geat máhttet sámegiela. Maiddái bálvalusaid ja diehtujuohkima galgá ordnet sámegillii. Sámiid ruovttuguovllu searvegottiin ipmilbálvalusat ja girkolaš doaimmahusat fálljuvvojit maiddá sámegillii.

Norggas sámiid vuodđolágalaš sajádat addá vuodu seailluhit ja ovdánahttit iežas giela, kultuvrra ja servodateallima. Sámiid hálddašanguovllus Finnmárkku ja Romssa fylkkain bálvalusat galget fálljuvovot maiddá sámegillii, dego girkolaš bálvalusat ja oahpahas sámegielas. (Aikio-Puoskari 2001, 79–87, 95–99.)

3 Suomas rihppaskuvllas lea šaddan dehálaš oassi nuoraidkultuvrra, mii fátmasta measta buot 14–15-jahkásaš nuoraid (Mäkinen 2002, 106, 110). Rihppaskuvla ja stuorraoabbá- ja vielljadoaibma (ovddit jagi konfirmerejuvnon nuorat) leat bivnnuhat maiddá sámenuoraid gaskkas Suoma davimus Ohcejoga searvegottis. Rihppaleirii geassemánus oassalásti nuorat (6–25 rihppanuora) leat vuodđoskuvlla sáme- dahje suomagielat oahpahusa oahppit, geat leat gávccát luohkás. Rihppaskuvllas sáhtta válljet sámegielat oahpahasjoavkku, muhto dan ollašuvvan gáibida unnimustá viđa nuora oassalástima. Ustibat leat dehálaččat rihppaskuvlaahkásaš nuoraide ja go suomagiela sajádat lea nana sámegielat skuvlla luohkkálanjaid olggo-bealde (gč. Alaraudanjoki & Kurki-Joensuu 2002), de dat lea vuohttimis maiddá rihppaskuvllas nu, ahte nuorat ohcet suomagielat oahpahasjovkui. Sámegielat rihppaskuvlajoavkku sadjái sámenuorat sáhttet oazžut oahpa-

husa sámegillii bippaljoavkkus, man stuorraoappát dahje -vieljat jodihit. Earenoamážit eamiálbmogii ja unnitlogujovkui iežas giela geavaheapmi adno dehálaš gielalaš vuoigatvuohtan maiddá girkolaš oktavuodas. Norggas konfirmašuvdnaskuvla geasuha oalle uhcán oba riikka dásis ja danin girku lea doallan kampánjjaid konfirmašuvdnaskuvlla bealis. Kárášjoga searvegottis juohke jagi goittotge measta buot vuodđoskuvlla sáme- ja dárogielat 9. luohkáid (luohkát 1–10) oahppit oassálastet konfirmašuvdnaskuvlii, mii lágiduvvo eahkedis golggotmánu rájes. Eanaš konfirmašuvdnaskuvllalaččain lea vuodđoskuvlla sámegielat oahpahusas. Konfirmašuvdnaskuvlla joavkkut leat juhkkuojuvvon gielaide lassin sohkaheali mielde, earret jagi 2010, goas buohkat oassálaste dárogielat oahpahussii bagadalliid oahpahusgiela dihte. Kárášjoga searvegottis leat konfirmašuvdnaskuvllas nuorat jahkásaččat sullii 40–45.

4 Áigeguovdilis ságastallan oskkoldatlaš gárvodeamis, dego nissonolbmuid liinni, mii gokčá vuovttaid ja ámadaju, geavaheamis, guodđá olggobeallai biktasa mearkkašumi kulturidentitehta konstrueremis nuorravuodaaigis (gč. Bhui et al. 2008, 435).

5 Nissoniid árbevirolaš luhkka lea báhcán eret anus kultuvrralaš nupástusproseassain, muhto almmáiolbmuid luhkka lea ain anolaš suodjegárvu mohtorgielkkáin vuojedettiin. Earret eará luhkas dahke nuoraid gaskkas sápmelašvuoda sohkahealrájaid rasttildeaddji symbola 1970-logus, go dalle fámudivvan etnopolitihkalaš lihkadus válddii vearjun maiddá kultuvrralaš gárvodeami (gč. Stordahl 1994).

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Duoddara čoarvenjurggonas

Thomas Marainen

Duoddara čoarvenjurggonas

Álggahus

Dát čálus lea čállojuvvon mu logaldallama vuodul maid dollen konferánsas. Galggan álggahit ságastanvuoru ovttain árbevirolaš luđiin. Rohttestan Čovccu luođi go juo váillahan luođi dán konferánsas. Čokcu lea okta nibbavárri guovdu jalges duoddara. Dat báitá dego násti juohke guvlui ja gohčoduvvo Sárevuomihiid áhččin. Árbevirolaš luohti galggalii mu oainnu mielde gullot juohke sámi gávnaheamis ja doaluin dego dovdomearkan.

Somá boahtit fas ruovttoluotta Sámi allaskuvlii gos lean ovdal bargan duodjeoahpaheaddjin, muhto lean maid leamaš studeantan duodjepedagogihkas ja Juoigan ja muitaleapmi -oahpus.

Dál bargan duodjeoahpaheaddjin Sámi Oahpahuiguovddáži Johkamohkis. Galggan muitalit mu duodjeovdánahttinbargguid birra, main lean hutkan ja duddjon njurggonasaid mat leat duddjojuvvon čoarvvis. Dás juogadan dinguin mu mohkiid álggu rájes das, go ohcagohten ovttasbargoguimmiid gitta dassá go vuosttas njurggonas riegádii.

Mu duogáš

Lean bargan duojárin ollu jagiid ja dan árbbi lean ožžon mu áhčis. Áhčči leai viššalis duojár ja ráhkadii ollu atnudujiid, muhto maid vuovdima várás. Dálvit ii johtán su áiggi duodji, muhto go geassi bođii de gal rievddai. Mon lávejín mánnán čuovvut juohke geasi su vuovdinmátkkiin ruovdeluotta mielde Gironis gitta Narviikka rádjái. Dan gaskkas gávdnojit stuora hoteallat, gosa bohte ollu turisttat juohke geasi. Moai lávostalaim Ábeskovvus mánu ja muhtumin vel guhkit áiggi ja das dagaim duos dás ain beaivemohkiid daidda iežá báikkiide gos gávdnoje maid hoteallat. Stuorimus dáhpáhus leai go guktii

geasis bodii nu gohčoduvvon “Dollartoga”. Mánge čuohte rikkes amerihkálaš turistta bohte ja delle gal duodaid johte gávppit jus fal lea doarvá gálvu.

Áigi golai ja ledjen juo badjelaš guoktelogi deavdán, go jearralin áhčis iigo son dál dagale munnje guvssi. “Juo”, vástidii áhčči, “muhto bijan eavttu ahte galggat fal ieš hervet dan, de gal dagan”. Hervejin guvssi ja leaimme goppešagat duđavaččat ja dainna lágiin son láidestii mu duodjebálgá nala. Mon álgen de veahkehit áhči hervet go son boarástuvai ja iige oaidnán šat nu bures. Mon liiokojin hervenbargui.

Jagi 1974 álggahe Johkamohkis Sámiid Álbmotallaskuvla guovtti jahkásaš duodjeoahpu, man de čađahedjen.

Girječállin lean almmuhan moadde mánáidgirjji ja maid diktagirjjiid. Lean ollu govven iežan ráhkadan dujiid, ja go galgen almmuhit diktagirjji de bodii jearaldat, makkár namma galggai girjái ja gii galggai govaid sárgut dasa.

Dego lean namuhan, de lean ollu duddjon árbevirolaš atnudujiid, dáidda-dujiid ja maid sániid. Dujjiiguin govvejin divttaid, ja ledjen duddjon sániid ja nu gohčodin de mu girjji “Duddjojun sánit” (Slöjdade ord).

Lávlosánit leat gártan lagabui čuohtenári maidda sámi musihkkárat leat ráhkadan nuohtaid, muhto maid jorgalan lávlagiid amasgielain sámegillii.

Juoigan lea maid deatalaš árbi munnje ja leange almmuhan ovttá árbevirolaš juoigan-CD:ea. Soames luohi lea ávnnasohcanmátkkis riegdán. Luohi sáhtá fáhkka boahit ja jus ii leat smávva báddenrusttet dahje telefodna masa seastá luohi, de healbada dan oppa vissásit. Divtta ges fas sáhtá čálistit go fal lea bábir ja peanná mielde. Lean ráhkadan “Duojárii luohi” ja maid “Meavrresgári”, maid sáhtá gullat mu *Juoigan mátki* -CD:as.

Miella badjánii duddjot njurggonasa

1980-logu loahpageažis badjánii jurdda geahččalit ráhkadit čoarvenjurggonasa. Oidnen vejolašvuoda ahte ii dasa galgga makkárga hehttehus jus fal leat ávdnasat. Álgo 1990 leai Áillohaš-váidni su čuojahanjoavkkuin *Harstad festspillene* -doaluin. Válđen oktavuoda singuin ja jerren Seppo Paakkunainenis,

gean maid gohčodedje “Báronan”, jus sus livččii miella veahkehit mu sárgut, got galgá dahkat čoarvenjurggonasa. “De áinnas veahkehan”, dajai son ja nu ožžon sus sárgojuvvon čilgehusa mu bargui. Hárehisvuodas ja guhkes áigodagas das mañjel in gávdnange šat dan sárguma, maid ledjen ožžon Báronis. Álgen ohcat ovttasbargi gii searvvalii munnje veahkkin, go dan gal dárbbášin go ieš in lea oahppan čuojahit. Ollu jagiid mañjel dan Bárona gávnaheami bođii fas miella álggahit njurggonasprošeavtta. Dal mus ledje buorit čoarvvit justa dakkár duodjai.

Muhto gos gávdnat veahki?

Jurdda manai vuos Ruota ja Norgga rádjaguovlluide, Finnskogarna (Finnskogen). Doppe ledjen gullan leat ollu álbmotmusihkkárat ja čuojanasráhkadeaddjit. Áidna maid gávdnen diein guovlluin leai okta unna njurggonas, man ledje dahkan addamis. Hirbmat miellagiddevaš, muhto mus leai čoarvi ollesáiggi jurdagis.

Gávdenen hábmenrátná

Áigi vásii ja nu gárttaime gaskamuddui 1990-logu. De válden oktavuoda Torbjörn Säfvein, gii lea girječálli Julevus. Son leai čállán stuora čájálmasa Ruota Gonagasa Karl XII mañemus soađis Norgga vuostá, gos son báhcui ja jámii. Hirbmat stuora čájálmas go ledje badjelaš čuodenáre neavttára, heasttat, gáiccat, sávzzat ja ollu iežá maid dárbbahedje dan soađis. Torbjörn Säfve leai gávdnan dieđuid, ahte sápmelaččat ledje maid mielde dan soađis dego son čilgii ja okta sis leai noaidi. Randi Marainen, Lars Pirak ja mon leimmet mielde čájálmasa sámioasis.

Musihkkárat ledje maid searvvis, ja okta sis leai duiskalaš Alban Faust. Alban Faust lea dovddus čuojaheadđji ja son jođiha ja čuojaha mángga musihkkajoavkkus ja leage namahuvvon *Riksspeleman* Ruota álbmotmusihkas. Son lea čuojanasráhkadeaddji gii dagai seahkkanjurggonasaid ja muorranjurggonasaid. Son muitalii iežas geavahit čorvviid su čuojanasaid bossunosiide ja laddasiidda seahkkanjurggonasaid. Mánnga jagi sáddejin sutnje čorvviid su dárbbuide. Dál dihten, ahte lean gávdnan olbmá gean oaččun veahkkin ráhkadit čoarvenjurggonasaid. Mon álgen measta niegusnai oaidnit munno njurggonasaid.

Álggus son ii lean nu mielas ovttasbargui. Muhto in vuollánan ja ohcen bargostipeandda Sámi Ráđis ja dan de ožžon. Fas vuorjat Albana. Veaháš álggii mieđihit muhto ain eahpidii. Son eahpidii go ii lean jurddašange, ahte olles njurggonasaid sáhtta ráhkadit čoarvvis.

Mon dieđihin mu olbmái, ahte dál válldán mielde veaháš čorvviid maid lean čoaggán ja oasttán bileahta Mellerudii, vai besse čađahit munno prošeavtta. Son válldii vuostta mu buriin mielain.

Vuosttas njurggonasat

Fuomášeimme ahte fertejit leat erenoamáš čoarvvit: čoarvvit fertejit leahkit áibbas njuolgadat ja de galget hui jorbasat ja dasa nala vel buokņasat. Ledjen oastán moadde jorba buoŋes ja njulges čoarvvi maid vurkkodin go galgen ráhkadit njiškumiid, ja daid ledjen válldán fárrui. Dat ledje justá dego dahkon njurggonasduddjomii. Go duddjončorvviid ohcá, de láve sullii 80–90 % juohke čoarvvis mannat hohkkái. Dábáleamos lea ahte leat ilá sieksat.

Álggiime juo nuppi beaivvi geahččat čorvviid, mat sáhttet dohkket ávnnasin njurggonasaide. Dat vuosehii ahte ii leange nu álkis hommá gávdnat buriid čorvviid.



Govva 1. Njurggon. Govven: Thomas Marainen.

Alban Faust rávida čoarvvi ávnnasin. Son lea fuomášan, ahte buoremus ávnnas dahkat njurggonasaid lea čoarvi. Jus ovdamearkka dihte buohtasta muora čorvviin, de oaidná earu das ahte muorra dego bohtana (dokŋá) jus

veahášge láktá, sáhtta maid bonjagit, luoddulit ja nu ain. Čoarvi fas gierdá, duosttan dadjat buot diekkáriid ja orro nugo leat dan ráhkadan.



Govva 2. Gárvves njurggonasat. Govven: Thomas Marainen.

Gárvves njurggonasat leavvan máilbmái

Dássáži lean duddjon golbma sierralágan čoarvenjurggonasa. Dál, maŋŋil go lean dahkan njurggonasaid, leat musihkkárat miehtá máilmmi fuomášan mu njurggonasaid, nugo Blue Jay. Blue Jay bođii Johkamohkkái go leai gullan, gos fal de, ahte soames leai ráhkadan njurggonasa čoarvvis ja dan sáhtii oaidnit Johkamohki márkaniin. Son gávnnai maid leai vulgán geahččat ja bosádii moadde suonja ovdal go mearridii, ahte son bohtá moatti mánu geažis viežžat čoarvenjurggonasa.

Golbma mánu maŋŋel čuojahii, go son leai jođus Gironis Vuolit Sohpparii. Nuppi beavvi válldiimet su vuostá, go ollii Vuolit Sohpparii busse fárus ja go vulggii fas ruovttoluotta moatti beavve geažis, de leai čoarvenjurggonas

sus mielde. Son bođii gitta Ođđa Guineas Vuolit Sohpparii viežžat čoarvenjurggonasa, go leai gullan ahte dakkárat maid gávdnojit.



Govva 3. Blue Jay čuojaheamen. Govven: Thomas Marainen.

Čoarvenjurggonasat gávdnojit dál obba viidát máilmmis. Amerihkás leat almmuhan CD ja maid čuojahan ovttá dokumentárafilmii musihka čoarvenjurggonasain. Filbma govvida Amerihkás ovttá sámi govvadáiddára eallima ja su dáidaga. Moatti iežá riikkain čudjet maid čoarvenjurggonasat.

Dá leai oanehaččat mu čilgehus mu čoarvenjurggonasa hábmemis. Lei dárbu gávdnat sihke čuojaheddji guhte diđii mo galgá čuodjat njurggonas, ja ovttas de hábmet dakkára mii doaimbá.

**An Antler Recorder
from the Fells**

Thomas Marainen

An Antler Recorder from the Fells

Introduction

This article is based on the speech that I gave at the conference.

I want to start my speech by singing a traditional yoik. I will chant the yoik “Čokcu”, as I feel there’s too little yoiking done at this conference. Čokcu is a small hill in the middle of a fell plateau. It shines like a star in every direction and is called the father of the reindeer herders of Sárevuopmi.

I feel that the traditional yoik should sound in every Sámi meeting and celebration, almost like a hallmark. It’s nice to be back here at the Sámi University College where I have worked as a crafts teacher but also participated as a student in the programmes on *duodji* pedagogics and on yoiking and narration.

I now work as a teacher of *duodji* at the Sámi Education Centre in Johkamohkki. I’m supposed to tell here about my crafts development projects, in which I have invented and crafted flutes from reindeer antler. I’ll now tell you about all the complications to my attempt to make such an instrument – from when I first tried to find a partner to the time when the first flute was finished. .

My background

I’ve worked as a craftmaker for years, ever since my father passed down the tradition to me. My father was an industrious craftmaker; he made a lot of practical handicrafts, but also products for sale. In his days, it was hard to sell handicrafts in winter, but the situation was certainly very different in summer. As a child, I used to follow my father every summer on his selling trips along the railway from Giron all the way to Narvik. Between the two towns, there were big hotels to which a great number of tourists came every

summer. We stayed in a *lávvo* in Abiskovva for a month or even longer. From there, we made every now and then one-day trips to the traditional places of our family where there were hotels. The biggest events were the arrivals of “the Dollar train” twice during the summer. The train brought hundreds of American tourists, and that was a time when you could sell as many products as you had.

Time passed, and I was already twenty when I asked my father whether he would make a wooden cup for me. “I will,” my father answered, “but only if you decorate it yourself.” I carved the decoration on the cup, and we were both happy with the result, and this is how he led me to the path of a craftmaker. I began to help my father in decorating his craftwork when he grew old and could no longer see well. I liked carving decorations.

In 1974, the Sámi College in Johkamohkki launched a two-year course in *duodji*, which I participated in.

As an author, I have published a few children’s books and books of poetry. I’ve taken a lot of photographs of my handicrafts, and when my book of poems was to be published, I was asked what I wanted the title to be and who should illustrate the book.

As I’ve mentioned, I’ve crafted a lot of traditional, practical handicrafts and artistic pieces of craft; in addition, I’ve worked with words. I illustrated my poems with my handicrafts, and, as the poems were also a result of my craft, I decided to call the book *Duddjojun sánit* (“Crafted Words”). Almost a hundred Sámi musicians have made melodies to my lyrics, but I’ve also translated songs from other languages into Sámi.

Yoiking is an important tradition for me, and, thus, I’ve released a CD with traditional yoiks. A number of yoiks have been created when I’ve been on an outing, searching materials for crafting. A yoik can just suddenly come to me, and if I don’t have a small recording device or a phone on me, I just memorise the yoik in order not to forget it. A poem, of course, can be written down, if you just have a piece of paper and a pen on you. I’ve made the yoiks “Duojáríi luohhti” and “Meavrresgárrí” that appear on my CD *Juoigan mátki*.

The wish to make a flute

In late 1980, the idea of making a flute from reindeer antler occurred to me. I realised that, with the right type of materials, this would be totally possible. In the early 1990s, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, or Áillohaš, was performing with his band at the Arts Festival of North Norway in Harstad. I took contact with the band and asked Seppo “Baron” Paakkunainen whether he’d like to help me draw a picture of how to make a flute from antler. “Of course I’ll help,” he said, and, this way, I got a drawing on how to make a flute. Time passed, and because of my carelessness, I could no longer find the drawing I had got from Baron. I started to look for a partner who’d help me; I needed one, as I had never learnt to play any instrument. Many years after I had met Baron I felt again like enhancing my flute project. By that point, I had found good antlers that would fit for such a flute.

But where would I get help?

The first place to come to mind was Finnskogarna/Finnskogen by the border between Sweden and Norway. I had heard that there were a lot of folk musicians and instrument makers there. The only bone instrument I found in the region was a small whistle that was made from marrow bone. Really interesting, but I wanted to use antler.

Finding a design mate

Time passed, and it was mid-1990s. That’s when I came to know Torbjörn Säfve, an author from Luleå. He had written a play about the war Charles XII, King of Sweden, waged against Norway – a war in which the king was shot and died. The play was a real spectacle, as there were, on the stage, more than a hundred actors, horses, goats, sheep and all sorts of things that had been needed in the war. Torbjörn Säfve had found out that Sámi, too, participated in this war and that one of them was a shaman. Randi Marainen, Lars Pirak and I acted in the Sámi scene of the play.

There were also musicians, and one of them was a German called Alban Faust. Alban Faust is a well-known instrumentalist; he’s a conductor and plays in several bands and has been awarded the title “Riksspelman” (“National

Folk Musician”) in Sweden. He’s an instrument maker; for example, he has made Swedish bagpipes and wooden flutes. He told me that he used antler for the blow parts of instruments and the reeds of bagpipes. For years, I sent him antlers that he needed for instruments. Now I knew I had found a mate who would help me make flutes from antler. I almost began to see our flutes even in my dreams.

At first, Alban didn’t really want to work together with me. But I didn’t give up; I applied for a working scholarship from the Saami Council and got one. It was time to bother Alban again. He began to give in a bit, but hesitated still. He wavered because it had never occurred to him that whole flutes could be made from antler.

I let my mate know that I’d now take along some antlers that I had collected and buy a ticket to Mellerud so that we could complete our project. He was happy to welcome me.

The first flutes

We found out that we needed special antlers. They had to be completely straight and very round, and even firm. I’d bought a few round, compact and straight antlers for making leases, and I had brought them with me. They were like made for flutes. When you use antlers for crafting, it’s usual that 80–90 per cent of the material goes wasted. The most common reason for this is that the antler is too spongy.

Already the next day, we began to look for antlers that would be fit for flutes. It turned out that it wasn’t very easy to find antlers that were good enough.



Figure 1. One smaller flute. Photo: Thomas Marainen.

Alban Faust praises the reindeer antler as a material. According to him, it's the best material that you can use for flutes. If you compare it with wood, wood will swell if it moistens even slightly; it can also bend, split, etc. Antler, again, is unaffected by such circumstances: it stays the way you've crafted it.



Figure 2. Flutes. Photo: Thomas Marainen.

Flutes spread around the world

I have so far crafted three different types of flutes from antler. When I had made some flutes, musicians from around the world such as Blue Jay began to discover my flutes. Blue Jay travelled to Jokkamohkki after hearing – I have no idea from where – that someone had made a flute from reindeer antler and that you could see the instrument at Jokkmokk Winter Market. He found what he had come for, tried the flute a few times, and decided that he wanted one; he would return to get his antler flute in a few months' time.

Three months later he played in Giron on his way to Vuolit Sohppar where I live. The day after the performance, he reached Vuolit Sohppar by bus. When he left a few days later, he had got his antler flute. He had come all the way from New Guinea to Vuolit Sohppar to get a flute made from reindeer antler after hearing that such things existed.



Figure 3. Blue Jay from New Guinea playing with a flute made of reindeer antler. Photo: Thomas Marainen.

Flutes made from reindeer antler have now spread to many parts of the world. In the United States, a CD and a documentary with antler flute music have been released. The film tells about the life and artwork of a Sámi artist in the United States. Antler flutes sound also in some of our native countries.

This was a short version of the story of how I've designed my antler flutes. First, I had to find a player who knew how a flute must blow; then, I had to design, together with him, a flute that works.

**Dokumentašuvdnabargu
sámi lihkastagain
dánsumii**

Elle Sofe Henriksen

Dokumentašuvdnabargu sámi lihkastagain dánšumii

*Gaikut boahkánis
Váccašit guovtte guvlui
Njuikestallat juolgetbeal alde
Sallut birračeahpálaga
Feara movt giedaiguin fáiput
Rámponláhkái gieda vuohttut
Jorggáhallat
Čearčut
Čeavžut
Lihkahušaide boahit
Jodášit
Sojadjit
Jorrat.*

Álggahus

Dáiguin sániiguin čilgejit eallilan sápmelaččat lihkastagaid, maid olbmot geavahit ja maid sii ieža leat oaidnán ja vásihan. Mun lean dáid sániid čohkken ja geavahan dánsačájálmasas, man namma lea *Jorggáhallan*. Dán čállošis giedáhalan dokumentašuvdnabarggu, mas dokumenteren dieđuid ja suokkardalan daid. Čállošis boahotá oidnosii, ahte mu mielas lea dehálaš dokumenteret dán kulturárbbi.

Mun lean nuorra dánsadáiddár. Danin lea munnje miellagiddevaš diehtit eallilan olbmuid vásáhusaid, mat gullet lihkastagaide ja movt sii jurddašit olbmo goruda ja lihkastagaid hárrái. Mun lean jearahallan sullii logi árbevirolaš čeahpi 55 jagis 85 jahkái áigodagas 2012. Sii gullet Finnmárkui, Davvi-Romsii ja Davvi-Supmii. Sii muitaledje ja čájehedje munnje, makkár lihkastagat sis alddiineaset ja earáin sin birrasis leat ja leat leamaš risttalaš čoakkalmasain, heajain ja eará oktavuodáin, mas gorudin čájehit dovdduid.

Dat mearkkaša ahte dieđut, maid eallilan olbmot muitalit, leat dáhpáhusat mat ledje dábálaččat birrasiid 1940-jagiin gitta dáláži. Mu lean iežan barggu olis muhtin oasi dain vieruin čatnan dánsumii ja dánsuma sulastahti vierrun.

Mii diehtit ahte sápmelaččain ii leat leamaš nu sajáiduvvan dánsunvierru. Mu čohkken dieđut čájehit ahte liikká gávdnojit lihkastagat, mat leat erenoamážat. Jearahallamiin bođii ovdan, ahte leat dihtolágan lihkastagat. Muhtin lihkastagat gullet lihkahusaide, mat dáhpáhuvvet risttalaš čoakkalmasain go olmmoš dovdá ilu ja rohhtašuvvá nu ahte ferte dan čájehit gorudin. Nubbi vierru lea heajastallamis, go bártnit ja nieiddat galget gávnnađit, ovdamearkka dihte ahte bárdni gaikku nieidda boahkánis heajain.

“Gorut ii máhte gielistit”

Dánsejeaddjit dadjet, ahte “gorut ii máhte gielistit”. Dát lea miellagiddevaš jurdda maiddái dan ektui, go eallilan olbmuin ii leat dat oaidnu, ahte sin máhtu sáhtta ipmirdit maiddái dánsan dalá áiggi. Go mun áicen lihkastagaid, de lei vuohttimis ahte dáid lihkastagaid sii vissásit leat dahkan mángii, eaige dušše dalle go munnje čájehalle. Vaikko sii ieža geahččale unnážit čilgema maid njálmmálaččat muitale, de vuhtten ahte sin gorudis ja lihkastagain lei hui čielga lihkadanmálla ja dihtolágan lihkastagat, mat mángasis ledje dat seammá. Dien láhkái sin gorut maid ii máhtán gielistit.

Eallilan olbmot dáguhe ja čájehe ovttaskas lihkastagaid. Lihkastagat eai lean stivrejuvvon, dat bohte lunddolaččat, dat geardduhuvvojit, rievddadedje veahá, eai lean nu duođalaččat eaige čuvvon mearriduvvon hutkosiid. Dát dieđut sulastahte dan movt juoigan čilgejuvvo. Nu leage ahte lihkastagat main dás lea sáhka, eai gula dakkár dánsumii mas leat mearriduvvon lávkkit ja lihkastagat, nugo dávjá oarjemáilmmi dánssain leat. Dát lihkastagat leat friddja, geardduhuvvojit ja rivdet nu movt ain heive. Lea hupmu dánssas, muhto veahá viidát geahččanbealis, go das maid mii dábálaččat jurddašit, ahte lea dánsa.

Lihkastatdajaldagat ja -vierut

Sápmelaččain leat dajaldagat sámegillii daidda lihkastagaide, mat leat leamaš árbevirolaččat, muhto eai leat dajaldagat dánšumii. Olbmui ledje sierra sánit maiguin lihkastagaid čilgeje, nu movt *jorrat*, *jorggáhallas*, *čeavžut*, *čearčut* ja *rámponláhkái gieđa vuohtut* ja eará lihkastatsánit, maid mun namuhan čállosa álggus. Čeavžut máksá čilgehusa mielde, ahte juolggit mannet olggošguvlui go vázzá dahje lihkada ja čippiid sojahallá olu. Olmmoš čearču dalle, go doallá julggiid hářčut ja bidjá gieđaid ruossut dego livččii addime buorresteami alccesis, sáhtá maid lonuhit goabbá giehta lea badjelis. Vuohtut gieđa, mearkaša lihkahallas gieđa ovddas mañás, giehta bissu iežas goruda ovddabealde ja dávjá doallá čorpmašgieđa.

Go olbmot čilgeje lihkastagaid, de atne vuollegis jiena ja dego bisánadde muitalettiin, nu ahte gávdnet rivttes sániid, vuhttui vuollegašvuohta lihkastagaid čilgemis. Mun lean vuolleg 30 jagi, nuorra eallilan olbmuid ektui, ja mun gullenge olu ođđa sániid, dajaldagaid ja ožžon ođđa dieđuid. Ledje olu sánit, mat čilgejit lihkastagaid. Dain lihkastagain, maid olbmot čájehe ja čilgeje munnje, ledje olu álkis lihkastagat ja dakkár lihkastagat mat árgabeaivvis leat dábalaččat. Ovdamearkan namuhan *vázzit*, *sugadit*, *njuikkodit* dahje *njuikestallat*.

Sánit sulastahttet nubbi nuppi, muhto dain leat smávva erohusat. *Njuikestallat* mitala, ahte veahá njuiku mángga geardde muhto gánske ii nu dássidis leahtuin, sáhttet leat veahá bottut njuikuimiid gaskkas. Dat lea geavadis áibbas eará ládje go njuikut, mii sáhtá mitalit ahte okte njuike dahje njuike hui duođas, bidjá fámu dasa. *Njuiket* dáidá leat stuorit lihkastat go njuikestallat. Dát sánit gullet liikká seammá sátnái. Nu lea maid dajaldat váccašit guovtte guvlui eará go sátni *vázzit*. Váccašit guovtte guvlui – dajaldat dárkkuha ahte olmmoš vázzá ovddas mañás mánggii, sáhtá maid moatte ládje, sihke ahte olmmoš oalle leahtuin váccaša dahje njozet váccaša. Sámeielas lea geavadis erohus sániid gaskka mat sulastahttet ja vulget seammá dahkusánis. Danin leage nu, ahte go lea sáhka *vázzimis*, de dat sáhtá mearkašit mánggalágan lihkastagaid ja lihkademiid, dan mielde gos, movt ja goas vázzá dahje lihkada.

Olbmot mitalaledje ahte Guovdageainnus, ja vejolaččat maid eará báikkiin, lei gitta 1970–80-lohkui vierru, ahte bártnit gaiko nieiddaid boahkánis. *Gaikut boahkánis* lei bártniid vuohki ozadit eamitávdnasa. Bártnit gaiko nieiddaid

boahkánis heajain ja eará doaluin. Nieiddat galge cakkadit ja eai nu álkit čuovvolit bártni. Dalle ferteje bártnit gaikkiihit nieidda garraseappot. Nieida sáhtii cakkadit iige vuolge fárrui jus son háliidii vuordit eará bártni. Muhtin háve sáhtii bártni eadni vel boahit bárdnásis veahkkin nieidda gaikut, jus eadni lei mielastis iežas bártni dan niidii.

Læstadialaš čoakkalmasain ja eará risttalaš čoakkalmasain dáhpáhuvvá nu, ahte muhtin olbmot searvegottis guoskkahuvvojit vuoiŋŋalaččat. Olbmot muitaledje ahte go olmmoš lea *lihkahusas*, de speažžu gieđaid, njuiku ja giitala, dalle leat muhtin ládje dego rohthašuvvan vuoiŋŋas. Lihkahusat ledje dábálaččat eanas læstadialaš čoakkalmasain gitta 1970–80-lohkui. Velá dálge sáhtta vásihit lihkahusaid.

Árbevirolaš lihkastagaid dokumenterema mearkkašupmi

Lihkastagaid dokumentašuvdnabarggus ii čohkkejuvvo diehtu dušše iešalddis daid lihkastagaid birra. Sámi jurddašeamis boahá ovdan maiddái duogáš, makkár oaidnu lea gorudii, vuoiŋŋalašvuolta, jurddašuvuohti ja lihkastagat ja daid oktavuolta. Danin oaivvildan, ahte dát bargu lea áigequovdil maiddái viidát servodatperspektiivvas.

Árbevirolaš máhttu seailu dušše nu guhká, go adnojuvvo geavatlaš oktavuodain. Dán áigge eai leat nu olu lunddolaš dilálašvuodát, main sirdása máhttu nuorat bulvii lihkastagaid geavaheamis. Dát oassi sámi kultuvrralaš árbbis gullá diliide, goas olbmot čoahkkanedje suohtastallat dahje girkui ja eará sosiála oktavuodaide. Danin lea dárbbalaš dokumenteret lihkastagaid ja daid čilgehusaid.

Sámegiella lea mávssolaš oassi dokumentašuvdnabarggus, go lea sáhka kulturárbbis mii gullá gorudii. Eallilan olbmui lea dábálaččat hui rikkis giella, ja sii dovdet sániid smávva erohusaid mihá buorebut go nuorat buolva. Lea dovddus ahte sámegiella leat olu muohta- ja dálkesánit, muhto ii leat nu dovddus ahte gávdnojit maid olu sánit lihkastagaid čilgemii. Mun lean gullan, ahte gávdnojit sullii 60 sáni sámegiella maiguin sáhtta čilget iešguđetlágan vázzima. Lea hui mávssolaš bargu dokumenteret sámegiella sániid ja smávva erohusaid sániid gaska, mat gullet iešguđetlágan lihkastagaide. Dát lea oassi

kultuvrralaš árbbis ja dakkár bealli sámi kultuvrras, mii ii leat nu dovddus ja ii báljo leat dokumenterejuvvon.

Loahpahus

Goas šaddet dábálaš lihkastagat dánšan? Dasa ii leat nu álki vástidit. Mun duosttan goitge jurddašit jitnosit ja oaivvildit, ahte lihkastagat šaddet dánšan dalle, jus lihkastagat maid olmmoš geardduha, eai leat jurddašuvvon geavatlaš ávkin dahje eai dahkkojuvvo vásedin juoga barggu ollašuhhtima dihte. Olbmos ii ollašuva dahje gárván mihkkege bargguid go son čavžu, vuohttu gieđa dahje sojahallá. Olmmoš lihkada lihkadeami dihtii. Dalle go olmmoš lihkada dien láhkái, ahte ii leat praktihkalaš ulbmil lihkadeapmái, dan mun gohčodan dánsumin dahje juobe dánsuma sulastahti vierrun.

Lihkastagaid dokumenteren lea leamaš hui riggudahtti ja miellagiddevaš, mii lei mu ovdabargu ovdalgo ráhkadišgohten dáiddalaš dánsačájálmasa, Jorggáhallan- čájálmasa. Mun lean beassan čohkket ja vurket rikkis árbevieru, mii čatnasa lihkastagaide iešgudet dilálašvuodain. Dát ii lean dušše lihkastagaid guorahallan, muhto das maid čuvvot vierut mat gullet lihkastagaide ja giella. Dát guorahallan maid dán rádjái lean dahkan, čalmmustahttá jaskes lihkadankultuvrra nu ahte nuorat sohkabuolva dan beassá oaidnit ja mii lea min árbevirolaš dieđuid oassin.

Dokumenteren lei munnje alccesan odđa bargovuohki. Mun dovddan, ahte in leat geargan dáinna dokumentašuvdnabargguin. Mun fuomášin barggadetiinan, ahte leat mihá eambo bealit lihkastagain maid berre dokumenteret. Lea dárbbášlaš jearahallat eanet olbmuin viidábut Sámis ja danin háliidange joatkit barggu.

Documentation of Sámi Movements for Dancing

Elle Sofe Henriksen

Documentation of Sámi Movements for Dancing

*To pull by the belt
To walk back and forth
Jumping slightly on one foot
Embracing one another
Waving your arms around in all sorts of ways
Moving your arms in a bragging way
Quickly turning, showing off your traditional gákti dress
Crossing the arms, jumping slightly while keeping your legs apart
Walking back and forth with your knees bent outwards
To attain religious ecstasy by jumping, tramping and clapping
Moving around
Swaying
Spinning*

Introduction

Older Sámi use these words to describe movements that people make and that they themselves have seen and experienced. I have collected these words and used them in my dance performance *Jorggáhallan* (Meaning in this context: Quickly turning, showing off your traditional *gákti* dress). In this paper, I will show how I worked with documenting and analysing this information. The paper shows that I feel it is important to document this part of our cultural heritage.

I am a young dance artist. Therefore, it is interesting for me to know the experiences of older people that concern moving and their thoughts about our body and movements. I interviewed about ten Sámi elders aged 55 to 85 in 2012. They were from Finnmark and North Troms in Norway, and Northern Finland. They told me and showed me how they and other people around them move and have moved in religious meetings, weddings and other

situations where you show feelings through the body. The information the senior citizens provided concerned events that have been common from the 1940s to the present. In my work, I have used some of these movements and traditions as part of dance, combining them into something that resembles dancing.

We know that the Sámi have not had a set dance tradition. The data I collected shows that there are still particular movements specific to the Sámi. According to the interviews, there are certain ways of moving. Some movements take place when people get into an ecstatic trance; this happens in revival meetings when people feel so elated they need to show their emotions through their body. Other movements take place at weddings, when boys and girls are supposed to meet each other; for example if a boy pulls a girl by her belt at a wedding.

“The body doesn’t know how to lie”

Dancers say “the body doesn’t know how to lie”. This is also an interesting thought because older people have difficulty understanding that, these days, their traditions can also be considered dancing. When I watched them do movements, I could see that they had obviously done the same movements many times – their bodies were familiar with that. They recognized the patterns. Although they tried to downplay their descriptions of the movements, I saw that their bodies very clearly had moves in common. In that way, their bodies did not know how to lie.

My interviewees repeatedly told me about and showed me individual movements. They were free, natural movements, repeated and varied slightly, not very solemn, nor did they follow conventional rules. This reminds me of the way yoiking is described. That is why the movements we are dealing with here are not part of the kind of dances that are comprised of certain steps and movements, like Western dances often are. These movements are not restricted, they are repeated and change to suit the situation. Therefore, I talk about dancing, but the approach is slightly broader than when we usually think about dancing.

Movement words and movement traditions

The Sámi have words and phrases for their traditional movements, but not for dancing. My interviewees described their ways of moving by different words such as *jorrat*, *jorggáhallat*, *čevžut*, *čearčut* and *rámponláhkái gieđa vuohttut* and the other words or phrases I mentioned at the beginning of this paper. *Čevžut* means walking in a way where your feet point out and knees clearly bend so you get a bounce in your walk. *Čearčut* means standing with your feet spread apart and crossing your hands as if you were blessing yourself; you can also vary which hand is on the top and jump a little. *Vuohttut gieđa* means moving one's hand back and forth in front of the body, often with one's fist clenched.

When the people I interviewed described movements, they spoke softly, pausing every now and then as if searching for the right words; they explained the movements in a humble way. I am not yet thirty years old – young compared to the elders – and, indeed, I heard many new words and phrases and learnt many new things. I learnt a great number of words that described movements. Among the ways of moving people showed and described to me, there were many movements that were simple or common in everyday life. As examples I could mention *vázzit* (to walk), *sugadit* (to sway), *njuikkodit* (to jump) and *njuikestallat* (to hop from one place to another).

The words are quite similar, but they mean slightly different things. *Njuikestallat* means that you jump a little bit many times, but maybe not at an even speed, sometimes you might pause between the hops. The word can be used very differently from the word *njuikut*, which can mean that you jump once or really forcefully. *Njuiket* might refer to a bigger movement than *njuikestallat*. Still, all these words start from the same word. The same applies to the phrase *váccašit guovtte guvlui*, which is different from the word *vázzit*. The phrase means that you walk back and forth many times; you can also walk in two manners: either fast or slowly. In the Sámi language, words that look similar and are derived from the same verb have different uses. Therefore, when we talk about *vázzin* (walking), the word can refer to different movements and ways of moving – depending on the place, type, and time of walking or moving.

The elders told me that it was a custom in Guovdageaidnu, and possibly elsewhere too, until the 1970s and 1980s that boys would grab girls by their belts and pull them closer. This series of movements, known as *gaiikut boahkánis*, was a way for the boys to look for a wife. A boy would pull a girl by her belt at a wedding or some other celebration. The girl was supposed to resist and not follow the boy too easily. That's when the boy had to pull the girl harder. If the girl wanted to wait for another boy, she could resist and refuse to follow the boy. Sometimes even the mother of the boy would come help her son, if she wanted him to marry the girl.

In Laestadian and other Christian and religious meetings it might happen that some members of the parish are touched spiritually. The elders told me that when people reach *lihkahus*, a religious ecstasy, they will clap their hands, jump and thank the Almighty, in a way they are overtaken by the spirit. It was common to attain such a state in most of the Laestadian meetings until the 1970s and 1980s. People can experience this even today.

The significance of documenting traditional movements

In documenting movements, I have collected information on other aspects too, such as the Sámi way of thinking: the background, the view of the body, the spiritual life, the way of thinking, the movements, and the connections between them. Therefore, I think this work is interesting from a wider social perspective, too.

Traditional knowledge will remain only as long as it is used in practice. These days, we do not have many situations in which knowledge of the use of the movements I have studied can be easily passed down to the younger generations. But this part of the Sámi cultural heritage was manifested when people gathered to have fun, or in religious meetings and other social contexts. Therefore, we need to document the movements and their descriptions.

The Sámi language is an important element in documenting a part of the cultural heritage that has to do with the body. Older people often have a rich language, and they know the small differences between words much better than the younger generation. We know that there are a lot of words dealing with snow and weather in Sámi, but people are not as aware of the

fact that there are plenty of words describing movement. I have heard that Sámi has about 60 words for different ways of walking. It is very important to document Sámi words/phrases and the small differences between the words that deal with different ways of moving. This is a part of our cultural heritage and an element in Sámi culture that is fairly unknown and scarcely documented.

Conclusion

When do ordinary movements turn into dancing? There is no easy answer to this question. But I dare to claim that they turn into dancing if they are repeated movements that are not done for reasons of practicality or as an intentional movement to accomplish something. One does not accomplish any task when one walks with the knees bent, moves the hand back and forth with the fist clenched, or keeps bending the body. That is when one moves for the sake of moving. I would say that when people move with no practical aim connected with the movement we can talk about dancing or at least a custom that resembles dancing.

The documentation of movement was an interesting task that taught me a lot; it was the preliminary part that I completed before starting to work on my dance performance *Jorggáhallan*. I have had the opportunity to collect and record parts of a rich tradition that is connected with movements in various situations. I did not study only movement but also the language and customs that are linked with movements. My study so far displays the hidden tradition of movement so that the younger generation can see it and grasp it as part of our cultural knowledge.

Documentation was a new method for me. I know that my documentation work is not completed yet, and while doing it, I realised that there are many other elements in movements that should be documented. We need to interview more people in a wider area of Sápmi, and, that is also why I hope to continue this work.

Čállit

Mary Longman (Aski-Piyesiwiskwew) lea riegádan 1964 Kanadas Fort Qu'Appelles, ja son lea Gordon First Nation -joavkku miellahttu. Longman lea fágaidrasttildeaddji professor, ja lea oahpahan 73 luohká (post secondary) dáidaga ja eamiálbmot dáiddahistorjjá 1989 rájis. Dál Longman lea dáidaga ja dáiddahistorjjá doseantan Saskatchewan universitehtas.

Mary Longman lea dovddus našuvnnalaččat ja riikkaidgaskasaččat iežas bargguidisguin sierra surggiin dego govvabázzesuorggis, sárgumis, digitála medias ja mánáidgirjjiid hábmemis. Olles su ámmátlaš karriera áigge son lea čájehan iežas bargguid čuovvovaš našunála galleriijain: National Gallery of Canada (QC), Museum of Civilization (ONT), Vancouver Art Gallery (BC), McKenzie Art Gallery (SK) ja Mendel Art Gallery (SK). Sus leamaš duojit čuovvovaš riikkaidgaskasaš galleriijain: Museum of Modern Art (NY), Smithsonian (NY) ja Hood Museum (NH). Su barggut leat McKenzie Art Gallery, Mendel Art Gallery, Kamloops Art Gallery, Thunder Bay Art Gallery, Saskatchewan Arts Board ja Canada Council for the Arts čoakkálmasain. Su stuorimus bastevaš almmolaš bargu lea *Ancestors Rising*, mii lea bronza bázzeinstallašuvdna Reginas (SK) McKenzie Art Gallery olggobealde.

Longmanis leat Dip. FA (4 jagi), MFA ja PhD -dutkosat. Son válbmii dáiddahistorjjá suorggis 2006 iežas doavttirgrádadutkamuša dáiddaoahpahusa birra Victoria universitehtas (Victoria, BC). Dutkamuša namma lea *Challenging the Ideology of Representation: Contemporary First Nations Art in Canada..*

Gunvor Guttorm bargá duodjeproffessorin Sámi allaskuvllas Guovdageainnus. Son lea oahpahan duoji vuoddo- ja bajitdási oahpus allaskuvlla ja universitehta dásis sihke praktihkalaš ja teorehtalaš oahpuin. Maŋimus jagiid son lea almmuhan artihkkaliid ea. publikašuvnnain: *Working with Traditional Knowledge* (2011), *The International Journal of Art & Design Education* (2012), *Techne* (2009), *Sámi dieđalaš áigečála* (2011, 2011, 2012), *WINHEC Journal* (2009, 2013).

Su beroštupmi lea guhkit áiggi leamaš guorahallat dieđuid, mat gávdnojit duddjomis ja gielas, ja mo daid sáhtášii sirdit oahpaheapmái. Son lea searvan duodječájáhusaide Sámis ja riikkaidgaskasaččat. Maŋimuš jagiin son lea searvan čájáhusaide Sámi Dáiddaguovddázis Kárašjogas, Lille Gallerietis Ubmis ja Árktalaš guovddázis Roavvenjárggas.

Svein Aamold lea dáiddahistorjjá professor Romssa universitehtas, gos son maid jođiha riikkaidgaskasaš Sámi dáidaga dutkanprošeavtta, man leat ruhtadan universitehta ja Norgga Dutkanráđđi. Aamold dutkansuorgi lea modearna ja dálááiggi dáidda ja eamiálbmotdáidda ja -teoriija. Su čállosat leat almmustuvvan girjjiin *Kommunikasjon: Humanistiske perspektiver* (1998), *Stortinget og kunsten* (2000), *Norsk avant-garde* (2011), *Antoni Tàpies: Image, Body, Pathos* (2011), *Introduksjon til menneskevitenskapene* (2012), ja sierra dáiddaensyklopediijain, dego *Kunst og Kultur* ja *Prosa*, ja čájáhusgirjjážiin. Son lea maid doaimmahan Arnold Haukeland (1989, 2006) ja Nils Aas (2006) čájáhusaid. Dál son lea jođiheamen Sámi dáidda -dutkanprošeavtta.

Seija Risten Somby bargá allaskuvlalektoran duojis Sámi allaskuvllas Guovdageainnus. Sus lea mastergráda sámi gielas ja kultuvrras ja duodje-oahpaheaddjidutkkus. Son lea bargan ovdal Sámi allaskuvlla Suomas earret eará oahpaheaddjin sierra duodje- ja dáiddaskuvllain (giehta) duodjesuorggis ja Oulu universitehtas sámegeiela ja -kultuvrra ja antropologiija surggiin. Somby diedalaš beroštupmi lea gárvodeamis ja son lea čállimin doavttirgrádadutkamuša sámenuoraid konfirmašuvdnagárvodeamis. Son lea almmustahtán ee. artihkkaliid *Rituaaliset ruumiit* (2011), *Saamelainen käsityö konfirmaatorituaalissa: pukeutumisen symboliset merkitykset* (2010) ja oahppogirjji Sisti-Duodji (2008).

Elle Sofe Henriksen lea eret Guovdageainnus. Son bargá dánssain, koreografijain ja filmmain. Henriksena áigumuš lea buktit oidnosii sámi vuoiŋŋalaš kulturárbbi dáiddalaččat iežas bargguin. Su beroštupmi lea dánasadáidagiin ja filmmain gaskustit lávde- ja filbmadáidaga sámi láhkái gehččiide. Elle Sofe Henriksenis lea masteroahppu koreografijas Oslo Dáiddaallaskuvllas ja dánunoahppu Londona Laban Trinity -konserváhtoris. Son lea čájehan filmmaid ja dánsunčájálmasaid earret eará Kiinnás, Ruoššas, Ruonáeatnamis, Ungáras, Suomas, Dánmárkkus ja Ruotas.

Thomas Marainen lea duojár, juoigi ja girječálli. Son orru Vuolle Sohpparis. Son lea bargan duojárin mánggaid jagiid, man árbbi son lea ožžon iežas áhčis. Dál son bargá maiddá duodjeoahpaheadjin Sámiij Áhpadusguovddažis Johkamohkis. Johkamohki Sámiid Álbmotallaskuvllas álggahedje 1974 guovtti jagi duodjeoahpu, man de čadahii. Das maŋŋil son lea duddjon. Girječállin Marainen lea almmustuhtán moadde mánáidgirjji ja maid diktagirjjiid. Son lea maid almmuhan juoigan-CD.

Contributors

Mary Longman (Aski-Piyesiwiskwew) was born in 1964 in Fort Qu'Appelle and is band member of Gordon First Nation. Dr. Longman is an interdisciplinary professor, having taught seventy three post-secondary classes in Fine Art and Aboriginal Art History since 1989. Currently Ms. Longman is an associate professor in Art & Art History at the University of Saskatchewan.

Mary Longman is recognized nationally and internationally for her art work in the genres of sculpture, drawing, digital media and illustration of children's books. Throughout her professional career, she has shown her work in national galleries such as the National Gallery of Canada, QC, the Museum of Civilization, ONT, Vancouver Art Gallery, BC, the McKenzie Art Gallery, SK, and the Mendel Art Gallery, SK. International venues include the Museum of Modern Art, NY, the Smithsonian, NY, and the Hood Museum, NH. Her works can be found in the collections of the McKenzie Art Gallery, the Mendel Art Gallery, the Kamloops Art Gallery, the Thunder Bay Art Gallery, Saskatchewan Arts Board and the Canada Council for the Arts. Her most significant permanent public work, *Ancestors Rising*, is a bronze sculpture installation displayed in front of the McKenzie Art Gallery, Regina, SK.

Her education includes a Dip. FA (4-year), an MFA and a PhD. She completed her PhD in art education at the University of Victoria, Victoria, BC, in 2006, with an art history-based dissertation titled *Challenging the Ideology of Representation: Contemporary First Nations Art in Canada*.

Gunvor Guttorm is a professor in *Duodji* (Sámi arts and crafts, traditional art, applied art) at the Sámi University College in Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino in Norway. She has taught both undergraduate and graduate courses in duodji at university college level. The focus in her research is to look at duodji in a contemporary and an indigenous context.

She has contributed to such books as *Working with Traditional Knowledge* (2011), *The International Journal of Art & Design Education* (2012), *Techne*

A (2009), *Sami diedalaš áigečála* (2011, 2012), *WINHEC Journal* (2009, 2013), etc. She published the anthology *Duoddjárís duojárát* in 2010. In recent years, she has participated in exhibitions at the Sami Artist Centre in Karasjok, Norway, at Lilla Galleriet in Umeå, Sweden, and at the Arktikum in Rovaniemi, Finland.

Svein Aamold is a professor in Art History at the University of Tromsø, Norway. His fields of research are modern and contemporary art, indigenous art, and art theory. He has contributed to the books *Kommunikasjon: Humanistiske perspektiver* (1998), *Stortinget og kunsten* (2000), *Norsk avant-garde* (2011), *Antoni Tàpies: Image, Body, Pathos* (2011), and *Introduksjon til menneskevitenskapene* (forthcoming), to various encyclopaedias of art, to periodicals such as *Kunst og Kultur* and *Prosa*, and to exhibition catalogues. He has also curated exhibitions on Arnold Haukeland (1989, 2006) and Nils Aas (2006). He is currently the leader of the research project “Sámi art”.

Seija Risten Somby is an assistant professor in *Duodji* (Sámi arts and crafts, traditional art, applied art) at the Sámi University College in Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino in Norway. She has a master’s degree in Sámi Language and Culture and a teacher’s degree in Arts, Crafts and Design. She has been working in Finland as a teacher in arts and crafts schools and at the University of Oulu in Sámi Language and Anthropology. Her research field is clothing, especially the ritual clothing of the Sámi young people. In the field of Duodji, she has published the articles *Rituaaliset ruumiit* (2011) and *Saamelainen käsityö konfirmaatorituaalissa: pukeutumisen symboliset merkitykset* (2010) and the textbook *Sisti-Duodji* (2008).

Elle Sofe Henriksen is from Guovdageaidnu, Norway. She works with dance, choreography and film. Henriksen’s intention is to highlight Sámi spiritual heritage in her work. She is interested in conveying and showing stage and film art through dance and film, in a Sámi way, for the viewers. Elle Sofe Henriksen has a master’s degree in choreography from Oslo Art School; she has also studied dance at London Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance. She has displayed movies and dance shows, for example in China, Russia, Greenland, Hungary, Finland, Denmark and Sweden.

Thomas Marainen is a craftsman, a yoik singer and a writer, and he lives in Vuolle Sohpar, Sweden. He has been crafting for years, and he inherited this

skill from his father. He now also works as a teacher at the Sámi Education Center (Sámij Áhpadusguovddasj) in Jåhkåmåhkke/Jokkmokk. In 1974, Sámiid Álbmotallaskuvla in Jåhkåmåhkke/Jokkmokk launched a two-year course in *duodji*; Marainen participated in the course and has been engaged in *duodji* ever since. As an author, he has published a few children's books and a book of poems. Thomas Marainen has also published a yoik CD.

