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Sami traditions: Márkomeannu´s contribution to the revitalization of Sami food traditions

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SAMI TRADITIONS: MÁRKOMEANNU`S CONTRIBUTION TO THE REVITALIZATION OF SAMI FOOD TRADITIONS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the Márkomeannu festival's contribution to the revitalization of food traditions. The study was conducted on the Márkomeannu festival in Skånland in Troms County, specifically in the Markasami areas in the rural hills of Skånland. The festival was chosen because it is an important arena for expression of indigeneity and culture. Many areas within the Sami community have suffered from assimilation and have afterwards gone through a process of revitalization. The process of revitalization of the culture, language, politics and history has been thoroughly studied and written about, but the revitalization of Sami traditional food has not been studied in detail. Food is an important cultural marker which works as building stones of each cultural foundation. Food can be both symbolic and be a purely practical necessity for a culture. The thesis establishes that some traditional dishes are adopted and adapted from international dishes. The results shows that traditional dishes are used to articulate the Sami culture, and that traditions can be adapted to a modern outlook, and also adapted to fit a Sami cultural profile. Márkomeannu as a cultural arena contributes to revitalization of food by creating a platform for cultural expression which can lead to a stronger Sami identity and a feeling of safety in expressing culture.

Key terms: food traditions, articulation, revitalization, globalization, modernization.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

“It is easy to show that you are Sami, with clothing, doudjii or jewelry, but it is not easy to eat Sami”

A participant at the Márkomeannu festival said this to me during a conversation about traditions and identity. In my thesis, I will explore how food traditions are used in the context of a Sami cultural festival and consider if the festival, Márkomeannu, contributes to food revitalization.

1.0 Introduction

In Norway there are approximately 40 000 Sami people, these numbers can be imprecise because there are no censuses that give a detailed number. The Sami population is distributed between North Sami, South Sami and Lule Sami. There are 20 000 Sami people in Sweden, 7500 in Finland and 2000 in Russia (Galdu, no year). The main part of the Sami population is distributed in an area, which consists of Nordland, Troms and Finnmark in Norway, Norrbottens in Sweden, Lapplands in Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia (Groth et.al 1982).

In Skånland, there are 3000 inhabitants in total, and there are no records how many of them are Sami inhabitants. Per 1 January 2013 there were 170 Sami people from the area who were registered in the Sami electorate, giving them right to vote. The numbers of Sami is expected to be higher by Vardobáki Center (Simonsen, no year). In a Sami population census done by Aubert in 1978, the number of Sami inhabitants in Skånland was 1100 (Solstad, 2012:83). It is difficult to say what the number is today.

Indigenous cultures have a wealth of traditions within storytelling, art, religion, mythology, hunting, gathering and food traditions. Today we can see a change in the traditions of various cultures, and there are numerous reasons for that. Many indigenous groups are now in a process of globalization. Their cultures are influenced by western lifestyles and practices because of an increasingly globalized society. Some indigenous cultures have had a long process of globalization, which started at

the point when they became colonized. Slowly traditions and lifestyles have become modified and suited to fit modern lifestyles, even some traditions have disappeared (Sissons, 2005:140). Food is a central part of a culture and used for celebrations, ceremonies, and confirmation of the cultural identity. Not only eating the food has a cultural tradition, but also its preparation and gathering (Kuhnlein, 2009:11). Food is one of the buildingstones of each cultural foundation. Food can be symbolic for a culture and in the same time be a necessity. Food is connected to region, religion, ecology tradition and taste. In the discussion of globalization, the use of food traditions is very important because of its complex nature, and because of long term use it can be very difficult to separate a local and global food (De Vita 2009).

I decided to do my fieldwork on the Márkomeannu festival. A cultural festival like Márkomeannu is an important arena for people to express themselves. The researchers Peter Phipps and Lisa Slater (2010:15-16) found that indigenous cultural festivals are important arenas for the expression of culture, which can lead to the well being of indigenous communities, in particular, the younger generations from these communities. They further found that cultural festivals are important for communities because they are a source for support in an effort to maintain and renew themselves through the celebration of their culture. This is independent of the scope of the festival, from a small event celebrating a local community to a larger event, even on a national or international scale. This was why I decided to conduct my field study on a festival, the Márkomeannu festival. Since 1999, the Márkomeannu festival has gained importance for the local youth. The Márkomeannu festival strives to show that Sami culture can be valuable, and portrays itself as a festival with a clear Sami profile. The festival has an aim to front the Sami culture in Skånland, as well as being a cultural arena for all of the Sami communities. Although the festival has a profile, which targets the youth, it puts importance into establishing a Sami identity for people in all age groups. Márkomeannu is an important part of the local Sami culture. It is a festival that aims to keep all elements of the Sami culture alive (Márkomeannu, n.d.) therefore it is a suitable arena to conduct research on Sami traditions.

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION, AGENDA AND RELEVANCE

My research question is “How does Márkomeannu, as a Sami cultural festival contribute to food revitalization?”

In answering this question, I used methods as fieldwork and a series of interviews, both in groups and individual.

My agenda with this research is to explore Sami food traditions, and how these traditions are used today. I want to explore whether the contemporary use of food traditions have gone through a revitalization process. This study will show if food traditions are a culturally important factor for the Sami culture and identity, and the role traditional food plays for maintaining culture and identity in a time of modern change. Sami food traditions are a part of the cultural history and can be important for the continuance of Sami culture for future generations (Kaspersen, 1997). This study will explore if there is a change in Sami food traditions and if Márkomeannu has contributed to the influence of this change. The goal is to find out if this is a process that has been influenced by different factors.

1.2 REFLEXIVITY AND ETHICS

My role in this process will be both of insider and outsider – insider because my grandmother is a Sami, belonging to the community where the study was performed; outsider because I have not grown up in this community and only spent short times here during my upbringing. To choose one or the other is very difficult because there is always something we will have in common and other things that we will not have in common (Smith, 1999).

I have not thought much about my Sami identity, but I have registered in the Sami electorate, which gives me right to vote in the Sami parliament. I registered because of my Sami affiliation through my grandmother and because I have deep interest in the Sami culture. A Sami identity is very complex, and different people can have different Sami identities. Amongst my five siblings I am the only one who explores this Sami part of our family and still I have other members of my family, cousins, who have a strong Sami identity, who deeply consider themselves being Sami before Norwegian. The differences were that they, my cousins, grew up in Sami areas, whereas I grew up in the city, so this can be an important reason for the differences in Sami identity.

My role in the research at the Márkomeannu festival was a little complex to decide, because I have spent time in Skånland, have relatives there and even went to school there for a year. My grandmother lives at Planterhaugen, a small area with no more

than ten houses, this is one of a few places that the people here call “Marka”, translated as “the hill”. In the neighbouring village, “Trøssemarka”, my grandmother’s sister and family lives. In my childhood and teenage years, I often spent time with my cousins and their friends there. I have family and distant cousins spread all over this area. Often I went to my grandmother all alone, to enjoy some nice time together with her, and when the evenings came I joined her at the bingo, which was held at the gym in a local school. Here I also met some of her friends and a lot of the elderly women from this area. Many of these women were Sami, and I actually met some of them when I did my fieldwork, although some of them did not recognize me at first since I have not been interacting much with friends or my cousins there, since we all have grown up and moved to different parts of the country. My grandmother and her spouse and some of the elderly family members are the only people I have met there for the last 10 years. Because of these connections to the area and some of the people my role was both of an outsider and insider, and I would had to balance my role according to different situations.

When I conducted the study I asked questions that I wanted to know the answer to, pretending to not know anything and let the participants tell me what they wanted and share their own personal beliefs. I did this because I wanted to avoid influencing them in what I wanted to hear versus what they wanted to say. In my thesis, my aim is to be as objective as possible. To be objective can be difficult and close to impossible because of subjective opinions, but I will do my best to be balanced. This is of value to me as a researcher because I find it important to be critical of research and methods and reflect upon the light I will put my participants in. I support the claim that the Sami are a culturally distinct group, and even if they have been victims of colonization and assimilation, they are capable of finding solutions for their social and cultural challenges. It is important for me that my research reflects this view. As a researcher I want to be a humble, curious, a good listener and invite the participants to share their experiences and stories. This study is not a search for an authentic Sami food culture, as discussed by Sissons (2005:37-61), but it aims at discovering the meaning of food traditions for a group identity and the cultural value.

There are several indigenous research ethics guidelines and reports. One of them is the Indigenous Peoples Health Research Centre’s (IPHRC, 2004) research ethics involving indigenous peoples. These guidelines are developed to embrace

decolonizing methods and to conduct research on indigenous affairs. These guidelines highlight the importance of the indigenous group's awareness of what they are involving themselves in and the participants' knowledge about the research. Anonymity and confidentiality are also important since they will protect the private life of the informant. All my informants were acquainted with the goal of the study, which institution I came from, and I informed about anonymity and confidentiality.

Confidentiality is an important ethical principle; every informant has been given a different name so that they are kept anonymous. I did this even though many informants did not have any issues regarding revealing their identity. With informants for which this was not possible because of positions, for example the role of the festival leader, the interviews have been structured in a way that no damaging personal information is asked for. I structured the research like this to protect the informants' privacy in a small community like Skånland because this can further protect their careers (Ryen, 2004:221).

Since I wanted to study Sami culture in Northern Norway, I also found it suitable to adapt to guidelines especially formulated for research in Norway within the Sami community. This is a report developed by a Norwegian committee called The National Research Ethics Committee for Social Sciences and Humanities (Den Nasjonale Forskningsetiske Komite for Samfunnsvitenskap og Humaniora, (NESH), 2002).

In May 2002 the National Research Ethics Committee for Social Sciences and Humanities arranged in Tromsø a seminar about Sami research and research ethics. On the basis of this seminar, a report was issued. In this report we can find guidelines about research politics, research ethics and how to implement this when doing research on Sami communities. The NESH report also states the importance of humbleness in research, especially with minorities. I used this report as a guideline when I did my fieldwork, when it comes to be humble and respecting indigenous knowledge. The report is also very important because it discusses indigenous traditional knowledge, culture and intellectual property rights. These are issues that are closely tied to the history of Sami revitalization so it was easy to have in mind when I worked on my interview guide.

The report also describes how important it is for indigenous groups to embrace their culture and traditional knowledge and to have the rights to protect their culture. Through exercising their culture, indigenous groups can strengthen their identity (NESH, 2002). This is shown in my thesis, and, during my fieldwork, I could see the meaning of the culture for the Sami people, and how the culture could build an identity for especially the youth. My thesis follows these ethics guidelines in such a way that it respects and actually shows that these ideas are in practice true. What is important to mention is that I will not come into such a position in the study that I can harm the Sami community, but instead I will let their voice be heard when it comes to researching food traditions. The guidelines in the NESH report are guidelines, which Chilisa (2012:18) assigns great importance to, because they recognize the researcher's responsibility to protect indigenous knowledge systems and are specific to a certain group of indigenous people. Further Chilisa writes that the ethical guidelines we choose are the ones that define our values as researchers and our relationship to our informants (2012:20). In conclusion, I believe that I have chosen the correct guidelines to my research and that these guidelines will reflect the respect I have for the Sami community.

In fieldwork there are more than often a lot of ethical challenges (Ryen, 2004:218). In Markomeannu, I did experience some ethical challenges during my fieldwork. Since the festival was serving alcohol, I wanted my informants to be sober, and not share stories under the influence of alcohol, both for the sake of the authenticity of my study and the respect towards my informants. As a researcher I had the obligation to ensure that my actions would not lead to negative consequences for my informants, and to interview someone under the influence of alcohol could put them in a situation where they revealed more than they were comfortable with and could realise this only after the interview. I had to think through the way I presented myself, so the consequences of my actions did not lead to negative consequences for any informants or for the Centre for Sami Studies, where I study. My ideas about the presentation of myself and my informants was inspired by Chilisa's (2012:164) four principles, which are relational accountability, respectful presentation, reciprocal appropriation and to use rights and regulations from research ethics that embrace an indigenous research paradigm. I solved this by asking the people I knew at the festival if they would imagine anyone from a certain age group or gender group that would be

suitable informants for my study. Then I received some examples of people, and they were pointed out to me.

Other ethical principles I had concerned the approach on possible informants. There was a feeling of uncertainty on how to approach people, and my imagining of their response to my approach. In a festival people enjoy their free time and may not want to be disturbed with different issues or to do interviews. I already had made a plan of the gender and age groups I needed to interview, so I could not just approach a group of young people just to be done with it. I finally thought that as long as I approach with introducing my project and myself and using guidelines from NDS (National Data Security), it would not influence their response because I had followed a protocol.

Before I started the interviews I presented the participants my NDS papers on security issues on the study and information about my topic. All the participants was interviewed individually to protect their anonymity and for a personal feeling of comfort. When it comes to anonymity, most informants did not mind having their names revealed in my study, but I realised that a level of anonymity could make the informants feel more comfortable to share their stories and views.

1.3 METHOD

The study has a qualitative participatory research approach. The use of qualitative research gives a thorough description of how my informants experience their cultures food traditions and it provides information about the Sami informants' social norms, beliefs and experiences with traditional food within their community. Qualitative research focuses on the relationship between people or between people or a certain action within a cultural context (Keegan, 2009:11-12).

The methods used are participant observation, semi-structured interviews with the use of an interview guide, and focus group interviews during participant observation. I used participant observation because this method allowed me to obtain data within a naturally occurring frame (Kawulich, 2005). I used semi-structured interviews because this method allowed me to obtain information on my informants' personal beliefs, opinions and experiences, without the disadvantage of the structured interviews that can direct informants' responses (Chilisa, 2012:205).

The interviews during the observations were done with all informants (women) present, where all could weigh in on their opinions. This method was based on focus group interviews. This method made it easy to talk to multiple women at the same time and let them discuss the different answers they gave. This method of using semi-structured questions gave me a opportunity to maintain a natural dialogue with the women and to retrieve experiences and information from the different women (Chilisa, 2012:205). I gave all the women an opportunity to share their opinions. To assure the quality of the data collected, I added questions along the way and asked if my informants could tell me examples of a specific thing discussed. Because of this, they had to reflect on their own answer and adjust their answers according to their experiences. Further I established objectivity by offering my informants an arena to share their stories.

1.3.1 SAMPLING

The sampling I did was in many ways diverse. In a larger scale I did intensity sampling, this is sampling done from a specific site where a certain interest is shared (Chilisa, 2012:170), and in my case this was the Márkomeannu festival where people have a common interest to visit the festival.

Another sampling I did was homogenous sampling. This is when all the selected participants are from a homogenous group and have a similar take and share the same experiences of a certain topic (Chilisa, 2012:170). In my study, the informants are all Sami, and I explore a specific kind of knowledge, experiences and ideas built on the Sami traditions.

On an individual level I used snowball sampling on one occasion. This approach allowed me to select the participants which I believe held the information I needed in my study. At the same time, this is a sampling where informants can recommend and identify others who they believe could contribute to the research (Chilisa, 2012:169). I used this approach when I needed to gather data from the sales in the kitchen tent. The informant was chosen by recommendation from staff in Markomeannu and by my inquiry. This choice was done because I needed facts about the quantum of food that was sold, and because I needed to talk to someone who had available time. Since there was a lot to do for the staff in the kitchen tent at the festival, I had to speak with

someone who was available and had this type of information. In this case, I avoided the limitations that this form of sampling usually has. Since I asked for recommendations for an informant in the kitchen tent, I did not select an informant from a sampling frame. There are often biases connected to snowball sampling because of the informants recruited are often the ones who have most connections within the community (Heckathorn 1997:174-175), and we must remember that their opinions do not reflect the whole community on a general basis. It is possible to recruit unbiased informants also with snowball sampling through respondent-driven sampling through some conditions (Heckathorn 1997:177-179), and I do believe that I maintained this when I needed an available informant who had an estimate over food sales in the kitchen tent, because the data I needed did not concern opinions or beliefs but on a specific number or estimate of food sold during the festival. A number which my informant got confirmed through the other kitchen workers.

The sampling for my informants amongst attendees at the festival was gathered through a form of random purposive sampling. Random purposive sampling is when you choose the most knowledgeable of your informants, and when you do not intend to use them all (Chilisa, 2012:170), I chose my informants after talking and having conversations with different people within the range I needed for my study, and from these conversations I chose the ones who fitted within the set age and gender range and the ones who wanted to participate after I had presented my study. I chose different gender and age groups to make the choices less subjective. Because I would not chose anyone due to subjectivity, I always chose people from a certain area at the festival – the eating area in front of the kitchen tent. Then I simply chose the ones closest to the set age range. The goal was to have informants who could represent a larger piece of the community and not only to informants in one age group or gender group who could only show trends within their age group. The weakness is that is not possible to have a full representative selection when these types of informants are used.

1.3.2 OBSERVATIONS

The observations took place at the beginning of my study, before I conducted any interviews. I had to do it this way because the preparation of the food for the festival was days before the actual festival, and since I wanted to observe this and talk to the people who made the food I joined this day.

The first observations was done in the doudji house in Skånland where there was preparation of the food for the Markomeannu festival. The woman that I had called beforehand to plan my stay at the doudji house, had chores to do, so she presented me to the group and left. I found a woman shredding potatoes, and tried to start a conversation. The woman shredding potatoes asked me if I had ever been to this area before. I answered that my grandmother lived here and I had been here quite often. I then told her about my grandmother and family. Another women nearby heard our conversations and engaged in it asking questions. They smiled at me and asked other questions about family relations and at that moment my role as a researcher had shifted from an outsider to an insider; now we had more things in common than only our gender, and it became easier to obtain information.

During the observations I had conversations with the women preparing the food and was allowed taste the food. I asked a lot of questions and learnt how to make several traditional Sami dishes. During the observation I used an interview method as in a focus group, with unstructured questions which worked as conversations where I asked the questions that I wanted to find information about. I took the time to let everyone who wanted to speak be heard. The focus group interviews where very close to normal conversations in the natural surroundings we were in, and this is a suitable method where I could obtain data on specific issues (Chilisa Bagele, 2012:212).

The level of participation I did was moderate. The informants were aware of my presence and I asked questions when they prepared food and had conversations among themselves. I kept a balance between participation and observation, making sure I did not interrupt someone's conversation and also did not observe private conversations. I did not want to be over-involved, because I wanted to separate my experiences from the informants experiences, and my choice for moderate participation maintained the credibility of the study (Chilisa, 2012:168) and helped me balance my inside/outside role as a researcher (Spradley, 1980:60).

In participant observation, it is important to create a level of trust between the informants and the researcher. An important way to achieve this is for the researcher to adapt themselves in the environment they will perform their study. A way of doing this is by imitations (Spradley, 1980:53). When I came to the house where I did my observations, I had some idea about how to act, moreover I wanted to be humble and

show politeness and courtesy and I did not think too much about imitating certain actions to create a common experience. But when we sat in a group and I was supposed to taste the food, I realised for the first time that I tasted and handled the food in the same way as the women, for example when we tasted gomba (a Sami "meatball", further explained in Chapter 3). When eating meatballs. I would normally use a napkin and eat with my hands, but I did as the other women – cut it in small pieces on a plate with my fork, and used only a fork to eat. And when we ate kvitgomba (a vegetarian meatball, which also will be further explained in Chapter 3) I took already a large cut piece and ate with my hands, as the other women did. I guess this way of eating was just individual differences or cultural differences, but by imitating the women who tasted the food at that time I adjusted myself to be at their level, and showed likeness, and I did this to eliminate the feeling of distance between us. In many social situations we all are participants, but once we can adjust to the cultural norm, our actions become almost automatic (Spradley, 1980:53).

My purpose with participant observation in the study was to be a part of the social situation and to observe the people's activities and the different situations around these activities. This is a way to understand and to gain data that could enrich my study, which is the purpose of a participant observer (Spradley, 1980:54).

1.3.3 INTERVIEWS

I did five interviews, in addition to group interviews during observations and conversations at the festival. I had to disregard one interview because the participant was under the age of eighteen; this became known after the interview. Even though the informant would be eighteen soon, I had not permission from the Norwegian Data Centre (NDS) to use this information. Thankfully I found another participant who was close in age. I did interviews of the festival leader, and on participants of different age groups and genders. The age group ranged from 19 to 76.

In my interviews, I used semi-structured questions. I wanted to have an open communication and to make the informant feel secure and comfortable to say whatever was on his/her mind. I interviewed everyone individually, except the festival leader at Márkomeannu who had to be interviewed through electronic mails due to shortage of time at Márkomeannu. I wish I could have met him in person for the

interview but the quality of the interview reached my expectations and I am happy with the information he contributed with.

While conducting the interviews I was inspired by the method of Bagele Chilisa (2012:203-207). This is a method where the interviewing process is decolonized. This method is a form of communication where the one who is interviewed is given the opportunity to share his/her ideas and opinions. In this method, the flow of communication gives the interviewee a stronger voice, and the ideas from this are far more than just answers; they are thoughts of importance (Chilisa, 2012:211-212).

This idea of communication guided me through the interviews, where my interview participants could speak their mind and share what they wanted to share. They were aware of the fact that I could not do this research without their answers, and that my research quality was dependent on their answers based on their experiences and opinions. This factor gave a greater importance to my research participants than to me as a researcher, because I could not answer these questions or find the answers in a textbook. Using this interviewing method also gave me confirmation that my research participants were going to teach me something and not the other way around. Since I was going to publish their voices I felt this was more of a collaboration with a two-way communication. During the fieldwork I felt that this was the only method that became natural in the setting I was in.

The emotional tone in the interviews was overall positive. Most informants was easy to talk to and gave examples to a specific answer, and on my request gave me a story or experience which confirmed their answer. Because of this, some changed their answers because they were not updated. For example I asked informants if they ate traditional food often, and they said yes. When I asked if they could talk about the dish they last ate, they realised that it was a long time since they had eaten Sami traditional food, and then had to change their answer. Not all participants were that easy to interview, as some I had to ask a lot of questions to get any answer because they just answered yes or no, even though the questions where not formulated as yes/no questions. Another difficulty during interviews was participants who stepped over the boundary of the conversations to talk about subjects not related to the question, this reminded me to create a boundary and ask questions to lead the informant back to my study.

The interviews were recorded on tape and transcribed in Norwegian dialect. In this thesis the interviews are rendered in Norwegian dialect and in English.

1.4 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

My thesis is primarily an empiric study where the terms revitalization, modernization and globalization will be central. These terms are closely tied together, and as we can see in this thesis, modernization is used as a form in revitalization of culture; globalization – which has had a negative image as making cultures uniform – has been used in a way the sociologist Roland Robertson (referred in Steger, 2013:75) describes it: reinvigorating of a local cultural niche.

Globalization is a term that was first used in academic and popular literature in the 1960s (Steger, 2013:70-73). Globalization is an ongoing process, which integrates economy, cultures and societies by a worldwide network. In this network, information, ideas and merchandise are exchanged. Globalization also changes events, which are both political and cultural. The British sociologist Anthony Giddens (1990:64) described globalization as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa”.

Modernization is described as taking something from a culture and remould it into a new form (Naofusa, 1983:1). Modernization can also be a form of revitalization, and as we will see in the coming chapters, revitalization is when parts of a culture that has been declined are revived. These terms revitalization, modernization and globalization are used to discuss, explain and research the status of food traditions in a small community.

Cultural expressions are shaped by a group’s traditional knowledge, practice, beliefs and art. There are different forms of traditions. These are spiritual traditions, festive traditions, harvesting traditions, song or storytelling or other social traditions, traditional clothing, food traditions and many more. A tradition is an act, a belief or knowledge about something that is passed to younger generations to learn, often with the use of songs, storytelling or rituals. Sometimes different traditions could be confirmed through laws. The act of passing down traditions often has a cultural

meaning and helps preserve a certain culture (Grim, 2001). There are also different forms of traditional knowledge, which is critical for the survival of a group. This is called traditional environmental knowledge and it concerns ecological knowledge, botany, astronomy, celestial navigation, astronomy and midwifery (Grim, 2001).

Traditions can be of older or newer origin, they can persist in its original form or be adapted to newer influences, they can be created in a coincidence or be planned. Traditions can have different purposes, whether being political or cultural. Many modern factors as globalization, industrialization, marginalization and/or assimilation, can contribute to the loss of traditions (Grim, 2001). Assimilation is a process where the ethnic identity changes (Balto, 1997:31). Assimilation is a possible result of contact between minority and the majority in a society and this involves the loss of the culture of the ethnic group, because it melts together with the majority (Eriksen & Sørheim, 2009:79). Recently there is recognized a need to protect indigenous traditional knowledge. Not only are amounts of indigenous knowledge lost through globalization and assimilation but also corporations have taken advantage of this knowledge for their own economic gains (Simeone, 2004).

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

For the Sami people, traditional food reflects a life close to nature and is based on the use of the natural resources available every season. Many decades ago, hunting and fishing were important for sustenance, and because of seasonal changes, the food had to be prepared for storage through the winter. These methods are still used today, but mostly for flavour (Kaspersen, 1997).

In this literature review, I will present literature from different topics, all relevant to my thesis. These topics are Sami food, indigenous food and festivals with the focus on revitalizing different aspects of their culture. I also mention literature from other indigenous groups, such as aboriginals from Australia, Native Americans and Adivasi from India. I have chosen to bring these groups as examples because this research shows that the more rights an indigenous group has, the easier it is to hold on to traditions. This research also shows that food is a strong part of identity, and this can be compared to the situation in Norway. The Sami population as an indigenous people has a lot of similarities with the Native Americans, and has had some of the same challenges to their way of life, therefore I believe that Henry Minde's (2003) idea is

right, that it is wise to look to Native Americans and other indigenous groups for comparisons and solutions.

When it comes to a literature review on Sami food, there is not that much to review. Sami food and food traditions are mentioned in some books, pamphlets and articles. The works that I believe are closest to my topic are written by Ardis Kaspersen (1997), Marit Bongo (2000) and *Samisk Kjøkken/Sami kitchen* (2004).

Ardis Kaspersens book *Samisk mat og kultur* [Sami food and culture] (1997) offers an overview of the use of Sami food recipes and the diverse traditions within the Sami community. This book describes the simplicity of Sami food, where all parts of the animal are used. The book describes the older and traditional food with the different uses of the entrails and newer recipes that are influenced by the modern world and the newer generations of Sami people, like reindeer kebab and reindeer pizza. The book tells that the norwegianisation process contributed to a dilution on Sami food traditions and that there were geographical differences in the level of influences, most because each Sami culture and geographical area has its own version of traditional food and the use of this food. Kaspersen (1997) further writes that even though the Sami people are strongly bound to their traditions, the changes in the society have also left a mark in their culture and food traditions, and that Sami catering today consists of older and newer food traditions combined with the use of modern equipment and different commodities. A lot of the new dishes are developed from the traditional cuisine and are adjusted to a modern society. In this way the traditional food has survived and has been continued through the generations. Other dishes, which have a strong continental and international influence, like kebab and reindeer pizza, are popular dishes that have been adjusted to the Sami cuisine. Kaspersen concludes by writing that there is an obvious use today of food which are a mix of Sami traditional food, international influence and modern adjustment (Kaspersen, 1997).

Another book that shares Sami food recipes is *Samisk mat: år 2000* [Sami food: year 2000] by Marit Bongo (2000). This book merely shares recipes with no history or geographical descriptions of the affiliation of the food, but its modernized recipes acknowledge that the Sami food has been influenced by modernisation and an international cuisine.

An organization called *Samisk Kjøkken/Sami Kitchen*, (2004), has published a report where they explain how the Sami kitchen in the hotel and food industry needs to develop the food traditions within the concept of tourism. It is also suggested that the Sami traditions must diffuse in the international expression of the culture. This report also concludes that the food and restaurant businesses struggle with the use of Sami food because of difficulties in receiving appropriate commodities; they wish for a better way to gather and refine natural resources used in Sami cuisine (Samisk Kjøkken, 2004).

Kjell-Arne Johnsen (2006) has written a thesis on the traditional value of Sami food in a reindeer siida. His thesis *Den samiske smaken* [The Sami taste] gives a thorough overview of how Sami food is part of the identity of a reindeer herder family in Finnmark. The thesis also offers an overview of what food is considered traditional for the family; needless to say, reindeer is the most used animal and a central animal that almost stands as a totem for the herders of the north. Johnsen's (2006) findings show how traditional Sami food creates an identity, and how strongly the family in his thesis believes that they have to eat traditional food to be Sami.

On an international scale, Lynda Earle (2011) concludes in the book *Traditional Aboriginal Diets and Health*, that there has been a transition amongst indigenous people when it comes to consumption of traditional food. Other scholars also recognize this transition. The consumption of traditional food has declined over time and is replaced by western food, which is easy to access in food department stores. There has been research on indigenous first nations, American Indians and indigenous people from Alaska. This research shows that there has been a change in the consumption of traditional food. The reason for this change is often because of factors that indigenous people have no influence on, for example the loss of environmental resources, which creates a dependence on supermarket food (Earle, 2011).

Research from different parts of the world shows a decline in the consumption of traditional food, especially among indigenous groups from America, Canada and Alaska. One of the researchers that has studied this topic in depth is Harriet Kuhnlein. Kuhnlein and Receveur (2007) found that the indigenous traditional food amongst the

Canadian indigenous peoples contained nutrient rich plant and animal food, but that the use today was limited and food from supermarkets has replaced most of their traditional food. Kuhnlein (2009) discusses that globalisation and homogenisation are the reasons for the shift in the use of local traditional food. In this book, Kuhnlein collaborates with the *Organization for Food and Agriculture* and the *Centre for Indigenous Peoples Nutrition and Environment*. Together they present twelve case studies from different parts of the world. These case studies show how western culture influences indigenous peoples, indigenous peoples' ecological knowledge, their food resources, how they present their food, what they think about traditional food and how the use of traditional food is practised today. The book concluded that the industrial food paves its way into the indigenous communities, and homogenisation is both a reason for this and a result from this. Kuhnlein's purpose with these studies is to conceptualise indigenous food systems and preserve these traditions. There are also field case studies with focus on American Indians. In the book *Eating the Landscape*, Enrique Salmon (2012) presents the observations he made when he was following American Indian farmers in their work in preserving traditional food systems. The Native American farmers wanted to preserve their traditional practices in harvest and agriculture, but they experienced daily battles against modern agricultural industrialization, climate changes, disruption of their established food traditions and especially genetic modification in food production. Salmon found that the success to self-sustenance for the indigenous farmers and their communities was group-participation and the creation of a relationship with the land. This reinforced a "land and food consciousness", which for their group led to a stronger cultural identity. This is important to take notice of because I found similar data when I went to observations on the Duodji house to partake in food preparations.

In research from arctic areas, Jill Lambden (2012) conducted a study, which aimed to evaluate the access to traditional food versus food from stores, the advantages of traditional food versus food from stores, and the food security. The study was performed in the arctic Canada and the participants consisted of Inuit, Yukon, Dene and Metis women. The study showed that there were great regional differences in the prices in food stores. Often there were higher food prices in areas where the women did not have access to fishing or hunting equipment, and food prices were lower in the areas where the women had access to hunting and fishing equipment. The women put

great value in fresh, natural, safe, healthy food (they considered this to be moose, caribou and seal) which was supposed to be easily accessible and convenient, but the market flow on this kind of food was controlled by the economy, and 10 to 38 percent of the women had noticed a decline in quality of traditional food from the food stores. The study concluded with the importance of food security for the maintenance of the arctic indigenous peoples' use of traditional food.

From the eastern part of the world Eleanor Dictaan-Bang-oa (2009:66-72) wrote an article connecting the decline of indigenous food traditions with economy and poverty. She found that poverty is connected to loss of land rights, often to mining and oil companies. Research on the Adivasi people in India, showed that this group had suffered great economic and political losses since the beginning of colonisation. The marginalization the Adivasi experienced had created loss in every part of their culture and food traditions was the most difficult to hold on to because of poverty and economic factors. The Adivasi people are subjected to state security forces and often suffer from violence when protecting their resources from being taken from them by industrial companies. Frequently their battle for the resources is lost. Since this group has a major problem with discrimination, their food traditions are almost gone; they eat and drink for survival, not to reinforce a cultural identity.

Concerning research done on festivals, scholars in Norway have done some research on both indigenous festivals and festivals which are not connected to any specific cultural groups. Astrid Eriksen (2004) conducted a study on the Riddu Riddu festival in Manndalen, in the north of Norway, in her thesis *Barns lek, voksnes alvor* [Children's play, adults' earnestness]. The thesis mainly focuses on children's' experiences and how the family as a whole can be nurtured on an indigenous festival like Riddu Riddu. The thesis, having a pedagogic focus, concludes that a festival is an arena where children can be inspired, not only by the programmes and activities that the festival offers, but also by engaging and creating games and activities together between programmes and schedules. Further the thesis explains that a festival where the whole family engages in activities also makes children learn about adult subjects, as for example alcohol and different consequences of alcohol use (Eriksen, 2004).

Bjørn Bjerkli (1995) has also done research on festivals in the north of Norway,

connected to personal expressions of identity. Bjerkli found that festivals were important for the creation of the northerners' identity and that a festival or a cultural arena was a place where a local identity could be built.

The Márkomeannu festival has received a lot of publicity in newspapers and in magazines, but there is not much research done on this festival, although the cultural value has been mentioned in different studies, for example in a report done on Sami language by Solstad (2012).

1.6 SUMMARY

In this chapter I have explained how festivals are an important arena that can lead to renewing and support in the celebration of a culture. Márkomeannu as a festival emphasizes a clear Sami profile that will re-establish a Sami identity for all age groups.

This chapter presents my research question: How are food traditions used in the context of a Sami cultural festival and has a food revitalization happened? In what ways can this use of food traditions be seen as a part of the larger revitalization of the Sami culture? In this chapter, I described my agenda and relevance, namely, that Sami traditional food is an important factor for the culture and identity and that traditional food are a part of cultural history.

I have further clarified my role in the process from both an insider and an outsider role. As an insider I searched for the meaning of food traditions for the identity and cultural values of a group. Being an insider gave me access to information that I was not intended to receive before I got perceived as one of the group. As a researcher I became aware of my role as an insider and the importance of treating the information accordingly.

I described how I used ethics to maintain the quality of the thesis, protect my informants and the image of the Centre for Sami studies, which I represented. I have shared my theoretical perspective on the study and explained the terms revitalization, modernization and globalization and why these terms are relevant for my thesis.

I discussed how I chose my methods showing that this is a qualitative empirical study,

which will provide information about how my informants experience their culture's food traditions, social norms, beliefs and experiences about the traditional food within their community. To obtain this information I started the fieldwork at the duodjji house with user observations, moderate participation and semi-structured interviews. There were ten women preparing the food at the duodjji house. When we made food, in the duodjji house, I stood behind and asked questions simultaneously as they made food. I did not help to make the food but when we tasted the food, I sat with the group as a member. Four days later at the Márkomeannu festival I used five semi-structured interviews combined with observation and moderate participation. In this study, the sampling was intensity sampling and homogenous sampling. It was an intensity sampling because of the common interest the informants had to visit the festival. It was a homogenous sampling because all my informants were Sami, and because I did a specific kind of information which is based upon Sami experiences and ideas that are built on Sami traditions.

I have used theories that are connected to other indigenous groups because we can compare this within the Sami culture later in the thesis. We can also see how the use of traditional food is connected to identity.

The choices I have done on the methods of this thesis will bring forward specific information. It is also important to remember that the information in this thesis is not based on the general Sami population as a whole, not even on the general population in Skånland, in Troms County. The information I present merely shows trends of how community members perceive the Márkomeannu festival.

CHAPTER 2. REVITALIZATION, SKÅNLAND AND FESTIVALS AS A POPULAR CULTURE

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Different areas in the Sami community have been revitalized in different ways over the last decades. Sami history, politics, language and culture have been given a new expression thanks to the Sami empowerment. In this chapter, I will describe the processes of the revitalization in Norway. This chapter will consist of two parts where the first part shows Sami revitalization in a historic perspective, and the second part presents Skånland, the home of the Márkomeannu festival and shows how the revitalization has a local resurgence in their community. I want to show how Márkomeannu as a festival can have a role in the revitalization of traditions within their local community.

The Sami revitalization is important to explain. I want to show that under the process of revitalization when Sami rights were acknowledged it became easier to hold on to traditions and culture. This was much harder before because assimilation made it very difficult for the Sami to withhold their culture (Minde, 2003). The revitalization of culture gave life to our modern Sami popular culture and different Sami festivals like Márkomeannu.

2.1 THE REVITALIZATION PROCESS

After decades with Norwegianisation politics towards the Sami community in Norway, groups of dedicated Sami scholars created in the late 1940s and early 1950s Sami colleges. In collaboration with Swedish and Finnish scholars, colleges were also created in Sweden and Finland. The curriculum of these colleges consisted of topics such as Sami languages, handcrafts and reindeer herding. Soon the Sami colleges founded cultural organisations within their countries that would promote their Sami culture (Jernsletten, 2002). This was the beginning of a Sami cultural revitalization. Finland created their own organisation, Lapin Sivistysseura, to promote Sami culture through publishing, workshops and distributing educational scholarships to Sami youth. Lapin Sivistysseura recruited researchers, religious and social workers who

had a common belief that the Sami culture and language was in decline (Minde, 2003).

With the Finnish organisation as a model, Norway established Sámi Searvi shortly after the Swedish established the Same-Åtnam. After a meeting in Stockholm in 1952 these establishments decided to hold a conference to achieve cooperation in affairs that dealt the Sami communities. The conference was held the year after and already at the first meeting it was decided to create a Sami Council. The Sami Council adopted the view from Lapin Sivistysseura that the culture was in decline. The Sami council enlisted members who were researchers, administrators, politicians and pedagogues (Jernsletten, 2002).

The Council arranged conferences every third year and contributed to establishing Sami rights, promoting Sami culture and discussing ethnopolitics (Minde, 2003). This collaboration between the organisations was an important factor in the revitalization process because a new flow of information was opened, books and articles from around the world found their way to the Nordic countries, and the Sami got to read about other indigenous peoples and their issues and problems, which were similar to what the Sami community experienced. Because of this knowledge about other indigenous groups, comparisons between the Sami and other indigenous groups started to emerge and around the 1970s the attitude towards the Sami changed from the belief of them being a minority towards being an indigenous people (Minde, 2003).

An important part of the revitalization process was the founding of the University of Tromsø in 1968. This acted as a driving force for the contribution in research on Sami culture along with the founding of the Sami Institute in 1973. With these new institutions came the obligation for some Sami people to study and research their own community and history. This led to a recruitment of Sami researchers and teachers who could contribute to the rediscovery of the Sami history (Niemi, 1995).

After this historical revitalization, Sami researchers could write their own history. Before this historical revitalization the Sami could not influence research or information written about them, because it was uncommon that the Sami would be asked to review or evaluate anything written about them by researchers with a western paradigm. The revitalization of history in the academic world soon changed the

general historical way in which the Sami had been perceived. A general awareness arose of the indigenous history of the Sami, and this affected the research so that focus shifted to explore different phenomena in the everyday life of the Sami (Lethola, 2005). After this change, the academic and political debates regarding Sami history and identity in Norway changed significantly. The research that had taken place since the 1970s gave the Sami their history back in many ways as well as increasing their political power (Olsen, 2003).

The political revitalization amongst the Sami in Norway started in the years 1978-80, during the Alta conflict. Before the Alta conflict, the Sami in Norway were under processes of assimilation which ended in 1980 (Minde, 2003). The Alta affair was a controversial situation where the Norwegian government wanted to dam the river in Alta, in North Norway, to make a water-driven power station. The protestors opposed to this because this power station would occupy land that was important for the Sami and because they had concerns about the effect this would have on the environment. This controversy started public debates about Sami rights and protection of their resources. Members from the Sami community along with environmental activists led demonstrations and protests to stop the damming of the river (Minde, 2003).

Sami activists organized themselves and reached for international help from organisations such as the World Council of Indigenous People. They also reached out to international forums and indigenous rights groups to gather support (Minde, 2003). Internationally all eyes were turned to Norway at this point and the Sami activist united with environmentalists and left-wing political forces (Jernsletten, 2002).

The situation that pushed the political revitalization process forward occurred in 1981 when the media covered a situation where Sami activist engaged in a hunger strike and another situation where 600 police officers handled a group of Sami activists. This media coverage showed the world how the Sami were treated by the Norwegian government. The most well known indigenous organizations, The Nordic Parliamentary Council raised the question on the status of Sami people in Norway and together with the World Council of Indigenous peoples and the International Indian Treaty Council they gave their support to the Sami and also criticized the Norwegian Sami policy. All these councils along with other non- governmental organisations sent protest statements both publicly and through diplomatic channels. In 1982-83 the

Human Rights Committee interrogated Norway about the status of the Sami people in Norway, and both international media and organizations exerted pressure on the Norwegian government about the Sami people's status in rights issues (Minde, 2003).

Even though the Sami lost the battle about the river in Alta, they won politically. In public debates there was a common opinion that the needs of the Sami had not been met. The Norwegian government was under pressure and the public beliefs against the Sami had changed. The need arose for a power structure between the government and the Sami, and a new system had to be created. To meet the needs of the Sami, the government established two organs, the Sami Rights Committee and the Sami Culture Committee. In 1987 the Sami Parliament was created, which gave the Sami rights to be consulted in decisions that affected them. The Norwegian government also voted for the ILO 169, which was a revised edition of the ILO 107, dealing with land ownership and resource use (Minde, 2003).

The Alta conflict is an excellent example for political revitalization, as the political actions by the Sami themselves led to the degree of political revitalization we can see today. A great strategy towards political revitalization was to compare their situation with other indigenous groups on an international level. This made it possible to receive recognition both abroad and in their home country. Many indigenous groups share similarities when it comes to colonization and assimilation. They also share the same concerns for rights and revitalization. This similarity made it easier for the Sami to receive international support, just like other indigenous groups have found international support when struggling for rights issues within their borders. There are different international declarations and forums to deal with these issues and to advocate for indigenous peoples rights; for example UN Declaration for Indigenous Peoples Rights and UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous issues (Jull, 2003).

Before the affair, the Sami not believed to be an indigenous people, so they had no recognised economic, political, cultural and civil rights (Minde, 2003). Now their rights became acknowledged by international support groups and by national supporters.

After decades of cultural revitalization, the ideas about the Sami as a people with rights emerged and the view of the Sami as immigrants was replaced with the acknowledgement of their history. This gave the Sami culture a form of pride and

gave life to the Sami language and culture. Instead of evaluating the Sami language as dying, it was viewed as a mother tongue and the Sami song style, *joik*, became accepted as folk music. In 1980, for the first time a Sami joik was Norway's contribution to the European music contest Grand Prix. The song *Sámiid ædnan* became well known in Europe and in Norway the joik in the song was on almost everyone's lips. It is today the most known joik. Because of the international flow of information about indigenous peoples' issues and the work of the cultural organisations in the Nordic countries, the Sami culture started to flourish in the Sami communities and institutions (Minde, 2003). Slowly we can see the emergence of a popular culture, where Sami artists and actors are central figures. These artists have concerts, tours and hold shows during festivals. Cultural festivals embrace this popular culture, as well as holding on to their cultural beliefs and this is why festivals are so important to the research about revitalization of different cultural traditions. An opinion amongst few of my informants is that the *Márkomeannu* festival has contributed to revitalization in Sami music and the use of Sami language in pop, rock and folk music.

2.2 SAMI CULTURE IN SKÅNLAND

The county of Skånland is in the south of the municipality of Troms. Skånland's administration centre is situated in Evenskjer. The county has a little fewer than 3000 inhabitants and has a large Sami population with origin in the Sea Sami population. These Sami were assimilated into the Norwegian majority population in the 1900-century. The Sami community from the hills, called Markasami, is of somewhat newer origin and belonged to a group of Swedish reindeer herders who had ownership of the areas where they settled down around the late 1700-century and early 1800-century. These Sami settled down in the regions surrounding the cultivated areas that belonged to farmers in coastal areas. These Markasami areas can be found in several places in the north but the largest area is in and around Skånland, on both sides of the county border (Solstad, 2012:83).

The fruits of the revitalization process in Skånland can be seen through the Sami entrepreneurship. The first established Sami business in Skånland was in Trøssemark, a small Markasami village, in 1986. This establishment was a Sami kindergarten

called Márkománák. Márkománák was started by locals who received monetary support from an international development project. This kindergarten is today perceived as a part of the most important Sami institution in the Markasami area, the Várdobáiki centre. The Várdobáiki centre is close to Skånland but lies in the south side of the community boundary, Evenes in Nordland. Várdobáiki was established in 2000 by a cost sharing between several counties in this region, by sports teams, small organisations and private people. Today the centre is being organised towards being a corporation and receives monetary support from the Sami Parliament. There are also plans to build a new building for the centre funded by the government. The Várdobáiki centre offers many activities to the Sami community in Skånland; this is Sami language centre, Sami culture centre (including a youth centre), the Várdobáiki museum, and different health-related projects. The centre also supports different schools with Sami language classes, activities for language learning and works as a network for Sami teachers. It holds summer camps and supports the kindergarten with activities. The elders who speak the local Sami language do not fully understand the North Sami written language when it comes to syntax and vocabulary. The Várdobáiki centre therefore arranges reading training for the elderly that experience this problem (Solstad, 2012:84).

We can see that there has been a reconstruction of the Sami culture in Skånland in the last decades. In Skånland a book publishing establishment was created in 1998, with the aim to spread information about the Markasami area, culture and community. This establishment is called Skániid girjie (no year) and was established by locals of the community because they wanted to print Sami books to their children. From my fieldwork, I also found out that the younger people in the Markasami area has bought an old school, called the doudjji-house (*doudjji* is Sami handicraft and art), where they make Sami arts and handicrafts, and everybody can join and learn how to for example make their own traditional Sami dress, called *kofte*. The food traditions have in many ways been safeguarded, as well as other elements of the culture. One of my informants told me that she had held some cooking classes, where she had taught members of the community to make different traditional Sami dishes.

In 1970 language evaluation of the Sami population in Skånland took place. There were around 1100 Sami people in the county at this time but because of assimilation

mostly the elderly Sami of the community spoke Sami as their first language. The younger Sami under the age of 40 mostly spoke Norwegian and used this language in everyday life (Solstad, 2012:83). What is interesting to examine how the development have been regarding revitalizing of the language in the recent years, since the Sami do not experience resistance learning it.

In the Skånland County, there are Sami names and signs in the road network and Sami translations on the dentist office. There are no such translations on the other side of the county border – even though the Sami population resides there too – because of a different local polity (Solstad, 2012:85).

In 2010 and 2011 two schools in Markasami area were closed down. This was the children school called Boltås and the college called Skånland College. Boltås School had almost only Sami children attending and the Skånland College had 30 percent of Sami students attending. Both of these schools had put great importance in teaching Sami language, history and culture. These schools had for years driven what they believed was a successful work within language revitalization. Teaching Sami language to children whose parents had lost their language was one of their most important missions. The schools work was considered by the kindergarten as a continuance of their previous work in teaching Sami language to children and use the language in daily life (Solstad, 2012:86-87).

These schools were closed because of budget issues although the political parties had proclaimed to let the schools be open under the campaign. The Sami members of the community thought that the closing of the schools would have highly negative impact on language revitalization in the area, where small schools like these had created a strong and safe environment for children to learn Sami, which had strengthened the Sami identity. There were also concerns that if the students had to go to the larger schools where Norwegian language dominated, the Sami speaking students would stand weaker and maybe not choose to learn Sami because of insecurities. Eventually Sami students would opt out because they would not want to stand out as different. Sami people considered the closing of the schools catastrophic and were also afraid of losing the Sami kindergarten because maybe Sami families did not want to live in this area with no Sami schools. The younger students were offered

Sami language classes in another school in the county and the older students had to commute to another county to attend college. This other college was Heggen College, where there was a Sami language program offered to their Sami students.

Since Skånland had lost two schools that were very important for the Sami language, the most important source for strengthening the language is currently the Várdobáiki center, which contributes with language classes and meetings where students can practice the Sami language along with people who suffer from dementia. When a person suffers from dementia he or she will normally only speak the language he or she learned first, and amongst some elderly this is the Sami language. To help with this situation, the Várdobáiki center organized language classes for employees within the health sector. The centre holds meetings once a month for the elderly members of the community to help refresh Sami language, to have some exercise, teach about health and to talk about memories from earlier days focusing on language and culture. This is available for all elderly people, also the ones in institutions. So, although the county does not offer any Sami facilitation in the health sector, the Sami members of the community have several options within the Várdobáiki centre, which also brings benefits to the staff in the health services as well as to the elderly Sami people in the community – both the ones who live at home and the ones who live in institutions (Solstad, 2012:88).

This is the context of the establishment of the Márkomeannu festival.

This festival embraces all aspects of the Sami culture, and each year it celebrates the Sami ideals. The festival uses songs, books, food, games and other creative works as a way to revitalize the culture (Márkomeannu, 2014). Contemporary artists are an important element in the Sami popular culture. I will present the festival in more detail in the beginning of Chapter 3.

2.3 SUMMARY

I have described the revitalization process in the Sami history, politics, language and culture and have described local resurgence. There was a mutual influence between Norway, Finland and Sweden that contributed to the establishment of the Sami cultural organisations, Sámi Searvi, Sami Átnam and Lapin Sivistysseura.

The international contact showed the important influence between the Sami and indigenous organisations. An open flow of information and books from around the world found its way to Norway, where the Sami could compare themselves with other indigenous peoples. This created an awareness that the Sami suffered from the same problems and issues as other indigenous groups. Locals and Sami scholars organized themselves and cooperated to promote Sami culture and to create a flow of information in the form of books, pamphlets and workshops (Minde, 2003).

The establishment of the university in 1968, and the emergence of Sami researchers who could write their own history (Olsen, 2003) gave a larger recognition towards the Sami community. This led to a political power which is visible in the Alta conflict. It was Sami activists who were in the forefront with demonstrations and who made connections with international organisations to reclaim rights and acknowledgement of their status as an indigenous people (Minde, 2003). In this new political influence, the Sami activist collaborated with The Nordic Parliamentary Council, the World Council of Indigenous peoples and the International Treaty Council and gained support. This international support led to the government's creation of two organs: the Sami Rights Committee and the Sami Culture Committee. The Sami now had the right to be consulted in anything that affected them. This was a process that also affected local areas with Sami communities; there was emergence and acceptance of Sami culture locally in Skånland, and we could see a local resurgence of Sami businesses in Skånland from the beginning of the 1980s. The most visible of these businesses is the Várdobáiki centre which offers Sami language courses, holds a youth centre, culture centre, runs health-related projects and is responsible for operating the Sami museum (Solstad, 2012).

The Márkomeannu festival has since 1999 (Márkomeannu, 2014), been an arena for the revival of the Sami culture, which embraces the cultural aspects of the Sami community.

CHAPTER 3. MÁRKOMEANNU

“As I came into the kitchen area, all women stopped doing what their where doing and stared at me without saying a word. A thought went through my head about how welcome I really was here. In this silence I noticed the smell of the fresh food being cooked. I started slowly talking to a woman in a corner, who was grating potatoes, and told her I was a student that wanted to write a thesis on Sami food traditions. She asked me if I had been in the area before, and I told about my grandmother in the neighbour village and how I spent a lot of time growing up here, and even went to school here. Another woman listened to our conversation and my affiliation to the area spread amongst the women. In that moment, the mood changed and I was accepted and approved to learn part of their knowledge...”

This text is taken from my field diary of the reflections I made in the beginning of the fieldwork; it shows how the situation changed once I became an insider in the group.

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into three main parts. The first part consists of information about the Márkomeannu festival and about the principles of Sami traditional food. The second part is about the fieldwork I did on the *doudjji* house, where the food was prepared. Here I will present the food we made this day, *hvitgomba*, *blodgomba* and *klappekake*, and present the information retrieved about the dishes and about the women partaking in the preparation of the food and why they join every year for this work. In part three, I will present the fieldwork from the festival, and information from my informants.

3.1 MÁRKOMEANNU’S GROWTH, GOALS AND SURROUNDINGS.

The Márkomeannu festival first started in 1999 with no more than 200 visitors. The festival soon became a well-known festival with the Sami culture and music in focus, and the number of visitors surpassed 2000 (Solstad, 2012:88-89). In 2013, the festival leader could inform me that the number of visitors had risen to 2500. Despite this high number of visitors, the economy and the lack of volunteers forced the 2014-festival to change its current model into working on a smaller scale. Now the festival

is held over the entire year, with small workshops and happenings like puppet theatre, concerts and food preparation. My informants believe this will be a setback for the visibility of Markasami culture, and a loss of a meeting place for different Sami communities. The staff at Márkomeannu will work hard for the future visibility of the Markasami culture, and hopes that the festival can continue in its original form sometime in the future.

The Márkomeannu festival aims to promote different cultural aspects of Markasami culture and takes pride in identity-building. In this way the festival becomes an arena for exploring different aspects of the Sami community. The festival programme usually consists of courses in making Sami art, discussion about Sami rights and politics, presentations on Sami books or clothing, poetry readings and hiking trips to Sami areas of significance. There is a daytime market where some of the items offered for sale are different Sami handicrafts as jewellery, clothing, shoes, scarfs, food and leather products such as coffee bags or purses. There are concerts in the evening from different Sami musicians. From morning to evening there is a kitchen tent open, where one serves a selection from Sami traditional dishes to typical Norwegian festival food like baguettes, barbecued sausages and pork chops. The Márkomeannu staff defines *blodgomba*, *kvitgomba*, *klappekake* as traditional Sami food, while they call reindeer pita and reindeer wrap as newer dishes, but still traditional Sami.

Visually the Márkomeannu festival lies in the beautiful surroundings in Gállogieddi, high up in the hills in Skånland. Gállogieddi is actually an old vacated Sami settlement from as early as the 1700 century. Today Gállogieddi is a Sami outdoor museum (Myrnes, et al. 2006). In Gállogieddi, the Márkomeannu festival is placed on the top of a hill, 100 meters above thesea level. There is a ticket boot before the long ascent up to the festival area. The first structures guests meet upon arrival are large *lavvos*. Then, they arrive to the main area where the kitchen tent are the first on the right side. Here food and refreshments are sold. In front of the kitchen tent, there are benches and tables, neatly placed in rows.

Ten-fifteen meters to the left of the kitchen and above the benches are a larger tent, which functions as a library. Here Sami books are displayed. There are *lavvos* set up

where everyone can join discussions about political issues or learn how to do handicrafts, among other things. In the other end of the kitchen tent, there is the large stage. On three rows between the stage and the library tent there is a marketplace where Sami handicrafts are offered for sale.

3.2 THE PRINCIPLES OF TRADITIONAL SAMI FOOD

The Sami population is not a uniform group. A usual way to divide the different Sami communities is North Sami, South Sami, Lule Sami and Skolte Sami. In addition to this there are several smaller Sami communities; Sea Sami, Marka Sami and Pite Sami. These groups of Sami have some differences in culture (Kaspersen, 1997:3), but most relevant for my thesis, they have differences in food traditions.

In the Markasami area, most Sami were originally herders of reindeers in 1500-1600. The Norwegian side was the grazing grounds in the summer and the Swedish side was their home in the winter. After some time, permanent settlements developed in Skånland, and soon the main sustenance was agriculture, livestock and the continuation of using different natural resources including fish and marine resources. Although there were a few families that still held reindeers beside their other livestock (Kaspersen, 1997:21).

Sami food consists of the natural resources in the northern hemisphere. These resources are seasonal and also have a local variation. They are also very limited to what the local environment has to offer. It is also important to remember that in the reindeer herding areas there is always access to reindeer meat. In the slaughter season, from September to March, there is access to fresh reindeer meat that has not been dried or frozen. Sami food has been a product of what there is to find in nature in any given area. This food consists of reindeer, grouse, elk, fresh and saltwater fish, and berries. Traditionally almost every part of the reindeer is utilized. The blood is used to make blood sausage; the intestines are used for a different kind of sausage; the head is boiled and consumed. The hooves are used for a traditional feast which is only celebrated at home and not in public; the reason for this is the four-hour boiling time and the long time it takes to separate the meat from the hooves and consume them (Hustad, 2010). The reindeer heart is dried and eaten both as a snack and as ingredient in soups to make a stronger flavour (Kaspersen, 1997). The brain, eyes, tongue, liver,

kidneys and bone marrow are considered as a delicacy, especially amongst reindeer herders, and these parts have been used for centuries (Evertsen, 2001). One of my informants told me that it was the same way with the use of sheep or elk caught during a hunt, but now mostly in the southern areas, the only thing used is the meat.

Different berries from the plateau are an important part of the traditional diet. Earlier all berries were eaten at any moment the person wanted to consume them, but now they have a more specific use. Cloudberry is used for desserts, blueberries and crowberries for making drinks and cranberries are used for side dishes. To flavour the food, juniper and mountain angelica are used. Sheep are also an important part of Sami traditional food along with vegetables such as carrots, potatoes, onions and rutabaga. These are used today and considered traditional food by different Sami groups (Hustad, 2010). A lot of food which came with colonizers are also considered to be Sami; these are different kind of vegetables, as already mentioned, and sheep, beef, flour and potatoes. This is food that has been part of the Sami culture since colonization, and that over time has been used as Sami food, as confirmed by my informants. In Skånland, amongst the reindeer herders who settled down, some did eventually change their lifestyle from reindeer herding towards livestock, such as sheep (Ardersen, 1997:21). I also discovered during my fieldwork that cloudberry is exclusively described as Sami food, and this berry is highly valued and is deeply embedded in the Sami culture.

In the last five to ten years new dishes started to emerge in Sami cookbooks and in pamphlets. For example, in Marit Bongos (2000) pamphlet of food recipes we can find dishes as reindeer in pita bread, something that was not necessarily common amongst the Sami for twenty years ago. In my fieldwork I learned that a lot of new ways to use the reindeer meat have emerged, and nowadays Sami cook more modern dishes. With this we can see that there have been a re-articulation of traditional Sami food, which I will describe more in Chapter 4.

Preparation and preserving of food have always been important in the Sami community, especially because of local variations in the use of natural resources. Although most often used today are modern kitchen equipment and freezers, the traditional ways are still used in different areas, especially amongst reindeer herders.

A method to prepare the meat is boiling, which is preferred over frying. Boiled meat is a special part of the Sami culture. This is because the meat can be left unattended and also because the meat keeps more nutrients intact. The water used for boiling the meat and bones is not thrown away, but used for drinking, this is called reindeer *bulliong*. A traditional dish with boiled meat is for example “bidos”. “Bidos” is a soup-like dish, which consists of potatoes and the best quality reindeer meat from the best parts of the reindeer. This dish is often served on the celebration of the Sami day (Hustad, 2010).

To preserve the reindeer meat, the Sami use the traditional method of salting and drying. This drying periods lasts for five to six months, and after the meat is dry enough it is smoked in a *lavvo* with fresh wood of willow and birch, which adds a distinct taste. This is for the Sami a delicacy, and before consumption it is lightly fried, one of the few fried dishes (Hustad, 2010).

3.2.1 TRADITIONAL FOOD ON THE FESTIVAL

The preparation of the food is done by approximately ten women. They have different tasks and work with different food preparation and different chores connected to these dishes, for example to purchase and obtain the different ingredients needed.

The planning starts first, weeks before the festival. The menu is planned and the lists of necessary ingredients noted down. A week before the festival, the preparation of the food starts. The food is prepared in a house called the *doudjji* house in Trøssemark, in the rural hills of Skånland. During my fieldwork at the *doudjji* house, where the food was prepared, I came to understand that Márkomeannu has a routine on cleanliness, so they have always received an approval from the food health department. Several of the women told me that they put great importance in keeping the kitchen clean, as well as their hands, because this is their arena and role within the festival, which they are proud of, and they want to do their best to give the festival a good reputation.

From my fieldwork I learned that the menu for the festival is determined by the festival leader, his committee, and the women preparing the food. Márkomeannu

wants to offer traditional food that has high and authentic quality, where there is little focus of economic profit, but there is a wish that expenses be covered. This is because food traditions and the continuation of these are more important. Márkomeannu's ideals about food served on the festival is that it is supposed to be authentic, something for all, and filled with flavours. For the first time this year, vegetarian and gluten-free food will be offered to visitors demanding this.

On the festival, the cultural aspects of the community have always been in focus. The festival has a profile of being true to its ideals and of accommodating the needs of visitors. Thus, for many it was not a surprise that there would be small changes on the menu. The leader of the Márkomeannu festival noticed a demand that has grown over the past years, and this year he wanted to accommodate them. I was explained that vegetarians were very few in numbers, still the festival wanted to offer a Sami dish to them as well. I was also told that the people on the festival who ask for vegetarian food are most often the artist and musicians.

The festival leader did not grow up with any knowledge about Sami vegetarianism, and believes that vegetarians are very new within the Sami community. New trends will come forward in every culture, where some will stay and some will fade away. It is almost impossible to foresee the different trends, but the festival leader explained it in a simplistic way:

“Den nye moderne maten som reindyr wrap appelerer til folk nesten som taco gjør, den er kulturell, moderne og full av smak” [The new and modern food such as reindeer wrap appeals to people just like taco does; it is cultural, modern and full of flavours.]

3.2.2 INTRODUCTION TO TRADITION AND FOOD

My fieldwork for the Márkomeannu festival started on July 22th 2013 at 13.00 pm. On this day, I met my contact at the *duodjji* house, a house used by some people of the Sami community in Skånland to gather and engage in handicrafts, arts and courses. I was invited inside and introduced to the women that already had started preparing the food. There was a small kitchen with an associated larger workroom that was approximately 60 square meters. In the working room, there were long

square dining tables that were placed into separate working stations. Everyone had their own task and minded her place. Later I was told that the working stations had been a result of an attempt to increase the efficiency and that the women had used this method since the early days of the festival. In the beginning of the fieldwork I stayed in the background to observe, and reached out for contact when there were moments that gave opportunities for this. No one spoke to me in the beginning. When I was introduced they looked at me from their workstation and quickly continued with their work. I walked around the kitchen area to see what the women did and to introduce my study more thoroughly. The women talked between themselves while they prepared the food. I talked to a woman who smiled at me; this made me feel reassured to ask her some questions about what she did, and soon we had a conversation about Sami food. She asked me if I had been to this area before and how I knew about the festival. I told her I had a grandmother in Planterhaugen, which were only a few minutes by car from this place. Some other women listened to the conversation and asked me more about who my grandmother was, and then the conversations involved the other women there. I experienced a radical change in the flow of conversations and questions that were asked and things that were told me, and as one woman exclaimed “da e du jo en av oss” [Then you are one of us], made me feel accepted, and I found my entrance into the group to gain the information that I sought for.

3.2.3 KVITGOMBA

Kvitgomba is pale, white and almost completely round. The shape is similar to a large meatball. The name *kvitgomba* is a mix of the Norwegian name of the colour white (*kvit*) and the Sami name *gomba*, which in Norwegian is called *klubb*, which is sort of a ball. But almost everyone knows and uses different names.

Kvitgomba is made of potato, spices like salt and pepper, oatmeal and water and butter. *Kvitgomba* is made by grounding potato into small and short strips, which are about three centimetres long and only one half centimetre wide. The potato strips are blended with oatmeal and water. This is blended carefully into a solid batter, and salt and pepper are added, mostly by eye measurements, with a rule of half a teaspoon salt per bowl of batter and a whole teaspoon salt per batter. Sami women are often very used to making *gomba*, and I was told they rarely used regular measurements of the

ingredients, but uses their eyes to measure and their hands to feel if the dough has the right consistency to be cooked. At last, a piece of butter is placed inside the *kvitgomba* to prevent it from being too dry. Then the *kvitgomba* has to be boiled or simmered for about one hour under supervision to prevent it from being burned. *Kvitgomba* is normally served and eaten with no side dishes.

There were two women on the working station for the vegetarian *gomba*. One woman prepared the dough and another woman shaped them and cooked them. The first woman that I talked to was the woman who prepared the dough for the vegetarian *gomba*. She explained this traditional cuisine. She told me that this is the first time on the festival that this dish is made from gluten-free oatmeal and butter. This was because the organizers wanted food options for gluten-intolerant visitors and vegetarians, and they wanted to make everyone feel included and get a taste of Sami traditional food.

The woman who was in charge of the preparation of this dish normally made them with onions for vegetarians and much bigger in size, but because of adjustments for the festival she now made them without onions and smaller in size.

“Lage vi di førr stor, et ikkje folk di opp og matn bi kasta.” [If we make them too big, people do not eat them all up, and food gets thrown away.]

Hilde told me that people throw the *gomba* away if they are made too large, because normally people eat different things on the festival, they taste a selection of food, so it was important to have some portion control on the sizes of *kvitgomba* and *bloodgomba*. Experience had also shown that if they made smaller sizes of *gomba* they could make more in numbers and then they could serve more people.

Hilde spoke very passionately about this dish and she said that you don't need any additives other than salt and pepper to make this dish taste good, and if it is not eaten up by the family you could easily freeze it or store it in the refrigerator. She and the other women agreed that the modern kitchen appliances made it easier to prepare traditional food, she explained how they before used manual shredders, but changed

to use machine shredders when they arrived in stores, and they don't need to do it the old way anymore.

“Vi må jo holde oss oppdatert vi åsså, eller dett vi jo utafor.” [We have to be updated, too, otherwise we will fall out.]

The other women nodded in agreement. They put great importance in following the modern development. One woman, Regine, explained that it was like this because then the traditions could continue into the future and not be lost along the way. Regine continued to explain that because of the stress with work and family no-one would make traditional food were it not allowed to use modern kitchen equipment. It would be too time-consuming to prepare (it takes quite long time to shred the potatoes), make the dough, and give the pieces their round shape.

I learned that there often were different recipes for *kvitgomba*. It normally has meat, lard, and onions on the inside, but not at the festival. The staff wanted to accommodate vegetarians and people with gluten intolerance. To accommodate people with different needs in nutrition is something new, not done before on the festival, so we can assume that this is a new value in a new time, where not only food is rearticulated because of cultural values but also because of values to meet the needs of the people consuming this food. This we can see clearly in this dish, as *kvitgomba* suits vegetarians, vegans and gluten-intolerant people.

Under the fieldwork at the festival, I asked on the end of every day about the sales of *kvitgomba*, and every day they were sold the least of. This can be interpreted in a way that the festival wants to facilitate to all its visitors even when the earnings can be low. This is confirmed through the idea of the festival to be including. The festival leader also said that the sales of the food do not have an economical side at the festival, but that the food has a central role because of its cultural importance.

3.2.4 BLODGOMBA

Blodgomba has a similar shape like *kvitgomba*, but consists of completely different ingredients. *Blodgomba* is also called *blodklubb* and in Sami is called *málleghakku* or *ruppán*.

This *blodgomba* is a standardized receipt, which consists of blood, bacon, flour, salt, pepper, potato and cloves. The *blodgomba* is made by first cutting the different ingredients into pieces. The pieces of bacon are made into small dices and potatoes are grounded into small strips. The flour is mixed with the spices and blood is poured on. This is then made into a very loose batter. Then small portions of this batter are put on a tray filled with flour, a small piece of bacon and salt are put in the middle of each portion before they are rolled into a round shape and immediately put in a casserole with boiling water. The water has to be boiling or else the *gomba* will lose its shape. This is then boiled for 30 minutes.

In the kitchen, three other women were making *blodgomba*. I was told that this dish was hundreds of years old, with many differences in ingredients and in side dishes, even in the same local community, but most differences can be seen between the different villages. One of the women of the kitchen, Janne, told me that she knew people from other villages that used raisins and vegetables inside the *blodgomba*, and some used syrup on it, so she explained that there were great differences on how the *gomba* was made. In Skånlad the regular side dish is potatoes or potato mash. Janne also said that it was difficult to answer why there were different recipes of *blodgomba*, but one reason could be that the women learned this dish from their mothers when they were young, and their mothers learned it from their mothers again, and each family had their way of making it, and it was this way that was learned through generations. But there have been adaptations, for example, a lot of the elders want to have kidney tallow in their version of *blodgomba*, but the younger ones pick it out because they are not used to it. This is a very old way of making, it and it comes from the times when everything on the animal was supposed to be used.

“Vi kjem ikke unna det at vi har forskjellig smak” [We cannot get away from the fact that we have different taste.]

This shows that there is diversity and variation in traditional Sami food in a local community, which makes the boundaries unclear, when one traditional dish can be made in many ways. Another woman who also stood beside us, Ida, agreed that the taste was very important in how traditional food was prepared, especially when it came to which animal blood to use and the choice of spices. Ida explained that she likes *blodgomba* best when the blood came from sheep, because the taste was better

than compared to *blodgomba* prepared with cow blood. There are many differences in which type of blood used in *blodgomba*. Amongst reindeer herders, it is most normal to use reindeer blood, but amongst the women preparing the food, the use of either sheep or cow blood was wide spread.

When it comes to making Sami traditional food, there is a common idea that people can make it how they want to, following their taste and family traditions. Many dishes can be made with differences in each family due to family traditions and taste. Often the family traditions start with alterations because of taste, and people often enjoy and grow accustomed to their version of the food which they have grown up with. Some people do not want it any other way for different reasons, it can be nostalgia, stubbornness, habits or that they already believe the taste is perfect. To avoid using a specific distinct recipe, which is special for a few peoples' taste, Márkomeannu uses a standardized receipt that is also adjusted in size to avoid to large portions and to accommodate the general taste of the *blodgomba*.

“Ungene spiser det hjemme, som en slags favoritt, men sjelden det lages. Fire ganger I året lager jeg det, og det kaller vi gombadager” [The children eat it at home, as their favorite, but we rarely make it. Four times a year we make it, and we call those days' gombadays.]

Ida explained that of all traditional dishes, *blodgomba* is the most popular dish amongst her children, but it is rarely made. Still, four days in the year are set aside to make it and to keep it as a part of the tradition, and within their family, they call those days “gombadays”. *Blodgomba* is a time-consuming dish to make, and the dish needs planning beforehand to get the ingredients, for example the blood that is used has to be ordered from a butcher and can take up to a week to receive.

Blodgomba has been served at Márkomeannu since 2002, and the festival has also held courses in preparing the *gomba*. However, the only ones who showed up this time werethe women who already used to make it and that there was little interest amongst young people to make these dishes. One of the reasons suggested was that it took quite some time to make it and there was no need for them to learn to make it when their mother could make it for them at home. At home, the children can sit with

the mother in the kitchen and watch when she prepares food, and have conversations, but it is only when the children have children and a husband of their own that they begin making it themselves. It is more normal to come home to eat it with your parents, and many children can ask for their parents to make *blodgomba*.

From experience, the women who prepare the food know that the part that is most time-consuming is the planning.

“Planlægginga må starte I go tid før festivalen førr det e mye som må ordnes. Vi må regne på all maten som trengs, planlægge ingrediensa, handle matvara, bestille blod og kjøtt fra slaktern og få skrevet og godkjent en søknad fra mattilsynet” [The planning has to start long before the festival because there are many things that have to be done. The amount of all food needed must be calculated, the ingredients of that food must be planned, the groceries must be purchased, blood and meat must be ordered from the butcher, and an application must be sent and approved from the Health Department.]

3.2.5 KLAPPEKAKE

Klappekake or *hellu-gahkku*, which is the Sami name, is a round flat and moist bread, with few easily obtainable ingredients; therefore it can be very easy to make. *Klappekake* are made with wheat flour, water, salt, butter, yeast and maybe a little syrup. All the dry ingredients are mixed in a large bowl, while the wet ingredients are mixed in another, and tempered to 37 degrees. These are then mixed together in a larger bowl and put aside to raise. After half an hour the dough has risen and is ready to be rolled flat. A large glass is used to cut out circles in the dough, and this circle is then roasted on a small open oven (*steketakke*).

The women had put together four long tables and had created a work system much like a conveyor belt. Five women worked with the bread where one mixed the dough, two roasted the *klappekake*, and two rolled and cut out the bread into round shapes. To keep the bread fresh it is frozen. Before being served on the festival, the breads will be roasted one more time. On the festival they will be served with meat soup, or

served alone with cheese, butter, sugar or syrup on top. All these additions are considered traditional although cheese is a newer addition.

The women on the “*klappekake*-workstation” told me that with *klappekake*, the dough is never the same, because the ingredients are not measured, and the hands are used to feel if the consistency is right. The flour that is available is used, but coarser flours are often preferred, both for flavour and for a healthier version. The breads on the festival were a mix between coarse and fine corns to accommodate peoples’ taste, because it is easier to make one kind instead of three kinds, one made with coarse flour, one made with fine flour and one made with both. I was told it would be too much to keep control of should they make three different kinds.

Because *klappekake* is a very easy dish to make it is made more often than *kvitgomba* and *blodgomba*. I understood that this was a part of the breakfast Sunday routine of one woman, Inga, who spoke joyfully about how fast she could make *klappekake*.

“Klappekaka e så godt og ænkelt å lage, æ har det til søndagsfrokosten næstn kvær søndag, og da bi ongan så gla” [Klappekake is very tasteful and easy to make, I make it for breakfast every Sunday morning, and it makes my children very happy.]

When Inga told me this I could only interpret it as a much easier dish to make than *gomba*. I was told that *heallu-ghakku* had been used as a meal that was meant to feed hungry children fast, especially since it did not take long time to prepare.

“Heallu-ghakku va alltid lættvint å gje tel sultne unga for det tok kort tid å lage det og mel hadde vi alltid i skapet” [Heallu-ghakku was always easy to give to hungry children because it took such short time to make, and we always had flour in the cupboards.]

Traditionally it used to be made by pouring thin stir on top of a flat stone, which was placed over a fireplace. This method changed when electricity was installed in all houses. But even after this, many baked them on their fireplace on a thin stone tile, except the stir was made thicker, more like a batter, and the bread was shaped with

the hands and “clapped” out with firm movements, hence the name *klappekake*. Today it is made with a bread mixer, which prepares the batter, a rolling pin to shape the batter and a glass to cut out circles and a cooking pan for roasting them. This bread is considered by my informants to be traditional dish and all the women could remember this dish from their mothers and grandmothers.

3.2.6 TASTING THE FOOD

There was a warm atmosphere in the room, and it was filled with laughter. Stories from the past were shared along with stories about their children. Coffee was poured into cups and passed around. It was time for tasting the food. This was done to check if the food had the standard and taste desired. This had always been something that the women did, since the start of the festival. I was served a plate with *blodgomba* and was told by a woman that I had to taste it if I wanted to continue the interviews, followed by laughter. I was terrified, because I did not want to hurt any feelings if I did not like it, so I decided to tell them it was good, even before I tasted it. The *blodgomba* had a strong distinct smell, and I think this is a dish that one simply has to get used to. I cut the *blodgomba* in pieces and put one piece in my mouth. I did not chew too hard and decided to swallow fast. I told them it was very good, and took one more piece and hoped they were convinced. Ingrid said out loud that it needed more salt, and asked the other what they think. Some agree verbally and some just give a confirmatory nod. Ingrid adds more salt to the food while they taste and decide to do adjustments to the dough. The next food I was offered was *kvitgomba*. I believed this could not be any more difficult than the *blodgomba* since there was no blood or other things in it that I was not used to. *Kvitgomba* was warm and had a chewy consistency. I had never eaten anything similar, and I thought for myself that it would be very good with strawberry jam on it and I realised what I had been told about the taste differences and how they affected the different additions people served with their food.

The last thing I tasted was the *heallughakku*, which I actually looked forward to. It was a warm and round piece with butter and brown cheese. I really enjoyed it because of its remarkably good and easy taste. I went for seconds, this time without any butter or cheese because I wanted to enjoy the flavour of the bread only. Alone, the bread was

just as tasteful as without the cheese and butter. While I ate my *heallu-ghakku* and tried to take pictures of it with my camera, I heard the women laugh and talk in between them. There was a joyful mood in the room, and when I commented this good mood to a woman next to me, she replied that this was why the women worked so hard, because in the end they were left with a strong feeling of connectedness to each other and a strong social bond.

3.2.7 THE MÁRKOMEANNU MOTHERS

The Márkomeannu mothers are all the women who work with planning and preparing the food for the festival. The name was chosen because all the women have children who have been engaged in different roles in the festival, even as volunteers, producers or as a festival leader. The name “Markomeannumothers” (Markomeanumødrene) started as a joke many years ago, but the name stuck and became the nickname of the group. The effect of the active role from the local community in the festival has for some created a feeling of a strong community where all members can contribute with their knowledge and resources; all support each other and the well-being of the Sami community in the area. My informant who told me this emphasized that for the young in the area, to be given an opportunity to be a part of the Márkomeannu team could strengthen their Sami identity, and they also made sure the festival had a modern appeal, with artists, fashion and of course the food.

Not all of the Márkomeannu mothers lived in Skånland; some had moved from the area and worked and lived elsewhere. Some worked and lived in Harstad, a city 20 kilometres north of Skånland, and others were spread in the rest of the country. Because of this, they looked forward to coming to Skånland all year, to meet each other, catch up and talk about their families and share news. The women started to discuss why they wanted to contribute and their ideals for the festival. The conversation went so fast that I could not recognize who said what, I heard something about the importance of food traditions, and another spoke with enthusiasm about keeping the culture alive, every aspect of it. Ingrid told me that the women put their pride in the food and the quality of it, because not only did they do this for the best of their home community, but for them it created a social bond.

One of the women, Nora, had a strong voice and firmly said she did this for the community and that it was a choice to live where they did and in this choice lied a responsibility to nurture the commonwealth in the area. Nora said that one person could not lift the society but one group could do this and create a sense of well-being in the community amongst the ones who could relish. The other women nodded in agreement, while other verbally agreed.

When it comes to gender, it is not only women who helps plan and work at the festival. The fathers and men do their part: some are guards in the bar area of the festival; some help organize *lavvos* for discussion groups or courses; while the husbands of the Márkomeannu mother help drive the food and carry the loads in the kitchen tent and – a very important task at the festival – tend to the grill and make fresh grilled meats for the festival guests. Besides tending the grill, most men the Márkomeannu mothers knew of did not contribute to the cooking of traditional food. According to the women, it is very rare that Sami men prepare food or work in the kitchen. When I first asked the women on how a man contributed in the kitchen, they all laughed and told me that very rarely the men help, and they have heard of widowers that had tried to make *gomba* at home, but only one man that they all knew made *blodgomba* and other traditional food regularly and this man happened to be the husband of one of the Márkomeannu mothers.

3.3 DIVERSITY OF FOOD CULTURE AT THE FESTIVAL

After the conversations and tasting of the food in the kitchen, there was a short break. The break was used to get fresh air, or attend to phone calls, or to smoke cigarettes outside. I went outside with two women that I had not spoken so much with. I asked about other dishes that were served on the festival and if they knew more about what dishes these were. They only knew what that had been served previous years and thought it would be the same this year but were not sure. One of the women called for Sara to come out and asked her the same question. She started to enumerate which dishes were supposed to be on the menu. She had a full overview of this subject, and I asked her if we could sit down for a short while so that I could ask her some more things relevant for my study. We sat down by the windows in the work hall, not far from the station where the *kvitgomba* was made. I wanted to know what other foods

were supposed to be sold on the festival, because I was told by Ingrid earlier that the food we made this day was just a small amount of the dishes. I was very curious if there would be other traditional dishes like *blodgomba* or *kvitgomba*, but Sara told me that the other dishes were typical summer festival dishes.

This food was already bought and was going to be prepared in the kitchen tent at the festival. The other food that was supposed to be served at the festival was waffles, baguettes with cheese and ham, sausage with bread, meat soup, corn on the cob, pasta salad, baked potato with sour cream and bacon, vegetarian burger, pork chops and other snacks, such as chocolate and crisps, and refreshments such as sodas, chocolate milk, ice tea or coffee.

Some modern Sami dishes were also going to be served in addition to the typical festival food, and this was reindeer burger with bread and potato mash and a reindeer wrap with a dressing that was considered to belong to the new traditional cuisine. The dressing contained sour cream and cranberries. Reindeer burgers and reindeer wrap have been made in areas all over Sapmi, and has received a good reputation. The Márkomeannu committee wanted to embrace different Sami dishes in addition to the typical festival food, and this blend between the modern Sami food, traditional Sami food and the western food has been popular for some time, especially amongst the Sami youth.

“Márkomeannu har alltid hatt fokus på den tradisjonelle matn. Vi har alltid hadd gomba og klappekaka i tillegg til den norske matn som e alltid lett å ha på festivala. Vi kan ikke bare ha samisk mat som gomba på menyen for det kjem jo folk overalt ifra og da e det bra å ha forkjellig mat å servere. Æ like å si at vi har mat både for den samiske of den norske smaken, osså har vi jo de nye rettan som e litt av begge, de like jo nesten alle!” [Márkomeannu has always had focus on the traditional food. We have always had *gomba* and *klappekake* along the Norwegian food, which is always easy to have on festivals. We cannot just have Sami food on the menu, such as *gomba*, because people come from different areas and it is good to have different food to serve. I like to say that we have food for both the Sami and the Norwegian taste, and we have the dishes

that are a bit of both, and almost everybody likes them.]

This statement shows that the boundaries between modern and traditional food are under fluctuations. At one time the traditional food was also new, but we can also see that there is an acknowledgment of a new time, which we are in, where food can have different meanings, of cultural value and purely as means of nutrition. Most important in the choice of which food to consume, is the choice of taste and preferences. Amongst visitors on the festival, *blodgomba* has a good reputation, and I was told that many of the elders in the community only visit the festival at daytime, so they could eat *gomba*. For this group of elders the taste for *gomba* is their preference, but for example young people who are not Sami prefer the modern western food, and often buy pork chops or sausages. Some taste the modern Sami food like reindeer burger or wrap. It is positive for the Sami community that other people will try Sami food and enrich their cultural experiences. This can put Sami culture in a positive light and work as a bridge-builder between cultures, because we can see that this festival combines the Sami and the Norwegian, in languages, food and culture.

The statement also shows that the food they need to serve on Márkomeannu must be their definition of Sami traditional food, but at the same time they need to expand their selections to satisfy other visitors on Márkomeannu. In this way, visitors on the festival can choose to eat the traditional food, to nurture their identity, or to observe and learn about the food, while others visitors may choose to eat the western food as hotdogs and pork chops.

3.4 OPENING DAY AT MÁRKOMEANNU

I spent several hours observing people and noticed something that happened a lot: people that apparently had not seen each other in a while hugged and went together to the kitchen tent and continued to talk over a piece of food. This shows the true cultural value of food and that it brings people together. It is not just the necessity to eat but also sharing of food and conversations.

I arrived early in the day to the festival area to start the fieldwork and find informants for my interviews. After I received my entrance bracelet from the ticket booth, I

started to walk up to the festival area. There were no other people walking on the road to the festival area but me, so for a moment I thought I was too early, but once I arrived to the first meadow which was filled with tents I was proven wrong.

Here Sami youth from all over Nordland, Troms and Finnmark County stayed. In this area I was approached by four very drunk boys inviting me to have drinks. I kindly declined and continued to walk up to the main area of the festival. To meet young drunk Sami before 2am was a recurring theme under my fieldwork; this was a joyful and celebrating festival so I did not expect anyone to be sober, but I did not expect such encounters so early in the morning.

Before I found my informants, I walked around the festival area to see all it had to offer. There were a lot of people even this early, and most of the young intoxicated people had headed home for a nap, this I both observed and got verified through conversations. Now the festival became a meeting place for the older generations and the Sami who wanted to participate in discussions about politics and join the other festivities, for example women's soccer play.

Most of the people visiting the festival were wearing a *kofte*. A *kofte* is a Sami dress, which once was used every day, but now it is mostly used on birthdays or times of celebration. There are different *kofter* for every different geographical area where people come from, so from watching peoples' *kofte* there is a chance you can see where they are from. The women's *kofte* can be more difficult to reveal, because they often make another *kofte* in addition, made from a fabric that is not necessarily Sami and does not belong to any specific area.

I spent the next hour talking to visitors to the festival and creating an overview where people came from and what they expected from the festival. As the hours went by I saw a group of elderly people sit down on the benches in front of the kitchen table eating *gomba*, while another group of younger people were eating reindeer burgers, reindeer wraps and pork chops. I thought this phenomenon that had to be looked further into.

3.4.1 A GENERATION GAP IN TRADITIONAL FOOD

To find out more about the phenomenon about the elderly sitting and eating *blodgomba* and the young Sami eating reindeer wrap, I went to the kitchen tent to find answers. I got to talk to a woman who had just finished her shift and was available for an interview. Anna used to be a volunteer for years on the festival and helped mostly around in the kitchen tent, selling food. I asked her about my previously observation about elderly people eating *blodgomba* while the younger people ate reindeer wrap and reindeer burger. I thought that these younger people maybe were not Sami and that they were not used to *blodgomba*. Anna told me that normally adults and the elderly bought *gomba* from the kitchen tent, and she confirmed that both the elderly and young people eating there now were Sami, and amongst the younger people the reindeer wrap and reindeer burger were very popular, but there were still a few young people eating *gomba*. I was very curious why this was so, so in search for the answer I approached one of the elderly women who had finished her portion of *blodgomba* and presented myself and my study. She agreed to answer a few questions for me about the food served and her habits. She will be called Jenny. Jenny said that she preferred food that was traditional from the village, like *gomba*. She said *gomba* was more traditional because of the access to the products and how the dish had been used in the village because of farming and the use of the animal, blood and intestines. She said that reindeer has never been an animal which there had been easy access to in this area and that it has in later times been available in the grocery stores and through people from Finnmark. Jenny said that the reindeer is by many considered the most traditional food because of the Sami people's relationship to the reindeer, with herding and hunting before that, but that it was also important to remember that in many Sami areas there had never been reindeer herding or hunting. Jenny therefore preferred other dishes which she grew up with and which felt more traditional to her like *gomba*, meat soup made with lamb and barley grouts and a special fish soup made from roe.

“ Jau, vi ét vel kansje ikke så mykkje samisk mat, men vi ét den matn æ å mainn mi e vokst opp med da, å det e norsk bondekost, det e jo det vi har spist her I bygda, både vi å norskan.” [Well, maybe we don't eat so much Sami food, but we eat the food me and my husband grew up with, and that is Norwegian farmers' food, that is what we have eaten in this village, both

us and the Norwegians.]

“Men når det e fæst da lage vi gomba å rognbollesuppa” [But when there is a celebration, we make *gomba* and roe ball soup”.

Although the traditional food is not made every day in Jenny’s home, it still has a central place in times of celebration especially on the national day of the Sami people. The food she made most in her home was what we in Norway call “farmers’ food” (*bondekost*). This is food that is not much processed and is for example fish with potato and melted butter, meats like beef, oxen, lamb or pork, with potatoes and some sort of gravy or stew, porridge or traditional soups with whatever meat there is available with vegetables.

Here we can clearly see that different areas have different food traditions: areas which are related to sheep and livestock, versus other areas which are related to reindeer herding. Jenny defines what is for her Sami traditional food and also defines her use of Norwegian farmers’ food, “*norsk bondekost*”, which she grew up with and considers to be traditional food.

3.4.2 YOUNG PEOPLE: YOUNG TRADITIONS

As I ended my conversation with Jenny, I decided to talk to the young group eating the reindeer wraps and reindeer burgers. I presented myself and my study and a girl in the group accepted. Karen was from the village and she confirmed the idea that the younger members, not only from this village, from all over the country, had embraced the idea of a modern Sami food. One of this reason was that the older traditional dishes were impossible to find in stores, and that you had to make them yourselves if you wanted them. It was easier to make reindeer dishes because it was so easy to find these products in stores, even in the larger cities in the south. Karen also said that young Sami people want to feel Sami, and the food is a large part of this, and facing the choice of not eating traditional food at all or the choice to eat modernized reindeer dishes, young people will go for the the latter. Karen said that in the last years the use of these newer dishes with reindeer in various forms, such as pizza, kebab, burgers and wrap has contributed for the younger people to feel Sami. Especially young

people travelling to other areas to go to universities or colleges cook very little. Still, they want to keep their Sami identity also when it comes to food.

“Når æ først fløtta te Tromsø bodde æ på en hybel der vi delte kjøkken, men dær va det jo bare en hybelkomfyr med to steikeplate og kjempelitn kjøkkenbenk...da gikk det mye på frosenmat ei stund, men æ bei jo kjent med andre her som åsså va Sama, å da lærte æ det å lage lett vint mat som va samisk... et av de va pitabrød me reinskav.. åsså utvikla det sæ ætterhvert da sånn at æ lagde andre ting med reinskavrestan.” [When I first move to Tromsø, I live in a dorm room where the kitchen was shared with others, but there was only a small stove with a small kitchen bench...then I used a lot of frozen food for a while, but I got to know other people here who also was Sami, and then I learnt how to easily prepare food that was Sami... which one dish was pita bread with reindeer cuts.. after a while I learned to make other dishes with the reindeer cuts leftovers.]

She described that it was easy to show that you are Sami, through clothing, doudjii or jewelry, but it is not easy to “eat Sami”. Most of the Sami students she knew ate modern food, such as pizza, pastas or burgers, and just by using reindeer meats in these dishes it strengthened that part of their identity. When we discussed the traditional use of these dishes, she said that they were traditions too, but new ones. When Karen went to school back home in Skånland, she normally had bread with cheese or ham for lunch; now she has reindeer wrap and salad with reindeer meat up to three times a week. It is the same with her small group of Sami friends.

“Det som e så greitt på skoln nu e at det e jo lagd et felleskap for Sama på skoln, så vi lære hverandre ting, sånn som maten...vi gjør jo annat åsså som å lage armband, å nån har sydd væsker...åsså går vi på byen da...” [What I find very nice in school now, is that there is a community for Sami people, so we learn each other things, like the food, or other things as making bracelets, some people has made purses...and we also go out together...]

It seemed like for the Sami community amongst the Sami students that went to the college the experiences about identity and embracing the culture was very important. She explained that her friends within this community also helped her increase her identity and made her realise that there where possible to be a Sami in in a larger city.

“Æ har tatt til mæ alt det som det vil si e å være Samisk for det e jo den æ e.” [I have embraced everything about beeing Sami because that is what I am.]

In her sentence I could feel a strong feeling of being proud to be a Sami, and I asked if she could deepen her thought of what she meant by this expression. I asked her if she thought it was different for the young people today to show their Sami identity than for her parents, and what she believed had changed this situation. She replied that it was easier for all people to be themselves now than before. That there are so many rights now that protected peoples’ rights, so it was better now for all, not just for Sami people. She explained that it was better to be a Sami today because you could be proud of it, and she explained that her family could not be proud of themselves in their youth because of negative ideas about Sami.

Food is an important part of identity, and traditional food can be a part of the daily diet because it strengthens the identity from a cultural perspective and also because of a simple reason as personal taste. The leader from the festival explained it:

“Tradisjonell mat er viktig for min livvstil, og det bekrefter min identitet, mest av alt har det blitt en vane og det faktum at det smaker så godt har blitt en viktig faktor I mine matvalg“. [Traditional food is important for my lifestyle, and it confirms my identity, but most of all it has become a habit and the fact that it tastes so good has become an important factor in the food choices.]

He first became acquainted with reindeer wrap about ten years ago when visiting a Swedish site, and it has become a stable part of his diet along with all the different reindeer dishes and *blodgomba*.

3.4.3 FOOD: A PERSONAL PREFERENCE

It was very interesting to observe visitors at the festival, and it was easy to choose suitable informants. I needed different age groups from different genders because I wanted to show the stories and opinions from all community groups. I know that few people cannot tell how a situation is in general in one community, but it can show trends. It was difficult to find elderly Sami men on the festival, because there were more Sami women in all age groups and young men. So when I noticed an elderly Sami man, I had to ask if he wanted to participate as my informant.

Hans was from the village and had great knowledge about Sami traditional food in this area and about the use of the natural resources. The first thing Hans asked me was how my relatives were doing. I asked him which relatives and he answered with the name of my cousin and other people in my family. He said that he could tell because we were so similar in appearance. I just smiled to him and confirmed that we are similar in appearance. Hans was a great informant and I believe that my kinship and relationship to the village made him comfortable to share his stories.

Hans recognized *klappekake*, *blodgomba* and meat soup as traditional food served on the festival. But there were also dishes he had not grown up with, and that was the vegetarian dishes and the more modern dishes like reindeer wrap and reindeer burger. He did admit to have tasted vegetarian dishes because his children had introduced these dishes to the family, but he and his family prefer the traditional use, where the entire animal is used, the blood, intestines and bones for making broth. For most people this is difficult because they don't sell whole animals and all these products at supermarkets, but for Hans it is easier to obtain because of family members who are farmers and keep sheep. Hans could tell that in the last 200 years or so in the village a lot of the Sami people has used sheep and made a tradition of using the parts of the animal in different dishes, just as the Sami in Finnmark uses all parts of the reindeer. He explained that when the Sami settled in the area, they shifted from reindeer herding to keeping sheep, so slowly the food traditions changed in the area amongst the Sami inhabitants to food more similar to the Norwegian farmers. For this reason, food traditions could be in many ways similar, but with a different cultural meaning. One example for this was coffee. Hans said that for his generation coffee was their most important traditional beverage. It had an incorporated cultural value, so much

that it was normal to find coffee bags made out of leather in a traditional Sami pattern amongst almost all Sami families. These bags would contain coffee and would be a stable part of any outdoor activity. For Norwegians too, coffee was a part of everyday life, to drink alone or with guests, but with a different use. For example the leather coffee bag could hardly be found in Norwegian homes. Hans told me that there was numerous Sami myths and customs connected to the use of coffee, and there was even a way to read the future of the person drinking from the cup, just by looking into the coffee grounds left at the bottom of the cup. For Karen, my youngest informant, coffee was not necessarily traditional Sami. She expressed it this way:

“Jammen det bruke jo Norska å” [But Norwegians use it too.]

Karen did not drink coffee, and she did not grow up with any special customs related to it, other than occasionally hearing about women in the village who could read the future of the coffee drinker by looking inside the empty cup. She did say that amongst all adults she knew of drinking coffee was something they all had in common.

Hans told that access was the key element in traditional food, and that food available through natural resources still have an important value. For the Markasami area, Hans could tell that fish was the most used food. Fish was easy to access and anyone could go and get it for free by catching it themselves in the ocean or in the creeks and waters in the area. The use of natural resources was more common before, and there was no need to buy food when it could be obtained for free. The only fish that had to be bought or traded with other products was whale meat. This was also used very often, but today a little less, because one has to travel to the nearby cities to buy it, and often it was frozen and not fresh.

Hans was asked about whether he missed any of the traditional food on the festival and he answered merrily:

“Nei, nei æ syns det e heilt ok, syns de har ett flott utvalg av retta her. Syns de har vært veldi flink å fått me de tradisjonelle gamle samiske rettan og de har fått med det nye med wrappen, og (ler) æ ska ikkje, æ ska ikkje spise det men, men, men æ syns det e flott og variert kost, retta

her?”. [No, no I think it is rather ok, I think they have a great selection of dishes here. I think they have done a great job in including the old traditional Sami cuisine and the new one with the wrap and (laughs), I will not, I will not eat that, but, but, but I think the food is great and varied here.]

I perceived Hans as a man of strong tradition, and although he did not oppose the newer modern dishes, he did not want to introduce these dishes permanently into his food habits, because it was new for him and he preferred the food he already had in his diet, which was food he had grown up with. He explained that, in his home, the Sami food traditions were very strong, and his mother was one of the few women who still made sausages with the use of intestines as casing. In the earlier days he told that his mother had to clean and wash the intestines herself in a creek, but now she washes them with modern appliances, even a hose is used to get them clean. Hans understands that many people do not want to do this themselves, and that there is a possibility to order intestines at supermarkets where they have a butcher, and it is easier that way. He acknowledges that if this tradition will be used by the younger people today, it has to be easier, both when it comes to access and time consumption, but he has no idea why this is this way, except that time changes and with the modern world everything is supposed to be easier.

3.5 SUMMARY

Márkomeannu aims at Sami identity building and to give visitors the experience of Sami culture, by courses, books, clothing, jewellery, art, music and food. *Blodgomba*, *hvitgomba*, *klappekake*, meat soup, reindeer wrap and reindeer burger are a part of the traditional dishes that Márkomeannu offered to their visitors. The menu and recipes were adjusted to the people visiting the festival. *Blodgomba* and *hvitgomba* were made smaller in sizes so that people would finish the dish, since they are originally larger in size. The recipe for *blodgomba* was also standardized, with few and the most recognized ingredients. The festival also offered modern festival dishes such as sausages, baguettes, pork chops and barbeque. For the vegetarians, gluten and lactose intolerant, the festival could offer *hvitgomba*, although this was a dish with low demand and sales. The profits were not in focus, but the staff wanted to offer

something to visitors that was vegetarians and/or gluten- and lactose-free.

The food on the festival is prepared by the women in the village, whose children have different tasks and work on the festival. Because of this, the women have given themselves the name the “Márkomeannu mothers”. They engage every year because they want to create a well-being in their community and lift the culture, so that it can show what the Sami culture has to offer. For them the preparation of the food has become a yearly positive gathering where they can enjoy each other’s company.

Blodgomba is rarely made at the homes of my informants, because it is time consuming and difficult to obtain all ingredients, especially the blood. Often the elder make *blodgomba* and the children come home to eat it. Some families have specific days in the year where they make *blodgomba*. *Hvitgomba* and *klappekake* are easier to make, and ingredients are easier to obtain, so this is made more often in my informants’ homes. I have discovered through my informants that within Sami traditional food, there are different traditions and variations from one area to another and also from one family to another within the same area. Often one family has a different recipe to the Sami dish. This is because of different traditions and taste preferences between families. Often one recipe goes in heritage to other family member. In this way each family can have their own version of a dish. Food traditions in Skånland are connected to the resources and meats the family is affiliated to. Few families in Skånland have herded reindeers, most changed to herding sheep and livestock after they settled in the area. The traditional food principle has been to use all parts of the animal and to harvest from the natural resources, this would be fishing, hunting, harvesting plants and berries.

From my interviews I have showed that eating Sami food creates a stronger Sami identity as well as confirms the Sami identity. Further, traditional food has cultural importance. Amongst my Sami informants it was important to eat Sami food, but access to Sami food and ingredients can be difficult. Traditional food needs time both for planning and preparation. Using reindeer meats is recognized as the most Sami food and is easy to obtain in supermarkets. Many young informants want to eat reindeer meats because it strengthens their identity.

My findings show that the younger generations have embraced modern food, and have renewed the use of Sami food and created new traditions. The younger informants had embraced the modernized dishes as reindeer wrap, reindeer burger and the use of reindeer meats on pizza, salads or in lasagne. These are considered Sami food and also a newer part of the traditional cuisine. The older informants, however, were more reluctant to call the new dishes traditional.

We can see a beginning of a trend amongst young Sami who have moved to their own apartment, house or dorm room. Instead of making the older traditional food, which they eat at home, some have embraced the modernized food such as using reindeer meats in international dishes as taco, lasagne or pizza etc. Amongst some of the younger generations of Sami, simpler and modern versions of Sami dishes are introduced in their own home or dorms when they attend college and universities. This, I argue, is a new way to embrace traditional Sami food. The festival has an important role in this because they forward new recipes for the younger generations and this contributes to the identity for many young Sami. It also acknowledges that these newer dishes and vegetarianism have become a new part of tradition. My young informants emphasized the pride in being Sami and to be affiliated with a Sami community; this made it easier to hold on to Sami traditions.

The older generations do also acknowledge that these modern dishes have become part of Sami traditional food, introduced by the younger members of the community, but they are reluctant to embrace these dishes and make them part of their own selection.

CHAPTER 4 REVITALIZATION OF SAMI TRADITIONAL FOOD?

4.0 INTRODUCTION

To revitalize means to impart new life or vigor to something. We can see from Chapter 3 that international food has been adopted and adapted by members of the Sami community, especially the younger members, to fit their culture and food traditions and because of this the dishes are used more often. In many ways then we can argue for a revitalization in Sami food traditions.

This chapter is divided in two main parts. In the first part I will discuss and analyze the findings in Chapter 3. In this part I will show if there are reasons to argue for Márkomeannu as an arena for revitalization of food traditions. In this part it is also natural to explore the difference amongst the older and the younger informants when it comes to the revitalization of food.

The new use of Sami food has different causes and globalization and modernization should be considered as a part of the causes in the changes in Sami cuisine. Globalization and modernization are deeply connected to the concept of revitalization, which I discovered during my fieldwork. I will go into details in this chapter and show how the new direction of food amongst Sami youth could not have developed into what it is without the globalization and modernization that have taken place in Norway. In short, the second part of the chapter will explore how the larger society has affected the smaller groups and cultures like the Sami, where we can see that the food has changed.

4.1 TRADITIONS WITHIN A CULTURE

Tradition can in the simplest way be described as an act that is transmitted in a cultural form over a long time (Grambo, 2010:1). This simple description does not reveal the complex nature of this term, and this section will explore tradition in the light of the findings from Chapter 3.

Almost every country in the world experiences different levels of globalization. Globalization has been important for trade for hundreds of years, and it is thought to have begun in the 16th century, when Portuguese explorers wanted to find a sea route to India and ended up discovering Brazil and distant islands (Oosterveer & Sonnenfeld, 2011).

Information coming through the works of globalization has had an increasing influence on cultures all over the world. The expansion of trade, transportation, and communication through books, magazines, media and Internet has integrated cultures around the world and made it easy to explore one part of a culture when one is submerged in another. It also makes it easy to use traits and traditions from a different culture. Steger (2013:70-73) suggests that globalization affects the use of clothing style of different cultures; it can influence art and food traditions. Globalization can affect traditions in different ways; these ways are determined differently by the different cultures.

Bernard Saint-Jacques (2014:47-48) writes that when globalization has visible traits within a distinct culture there are three important traits that have to be taken into consideration. These are cultural predestination, individual values and a set of dynamic processes of generation and transformation. These traits can show why certain developments evolve in a certain way within a culture because of globalization. Cultural predestination is important because it deals with the problem of how a culture that is very distinct can react as a whole when it is emerged into a culture that is not as distinct and does not have such strong cultural trait. Since cultures often borrows different elements from each other it can be difficult to maintain certain cultural distinctiveness, values and traits. It is the adaptation skills of that culture which can determine its predestination role in the future in a globalized society.

The predestination of Sami communities, to use Saint-Jacques idea, was something that was made clear during the Alta conflict, and was revealed by how Sami activists dealt with this situation. During this conflict, the flow of books and information about other indigenous groups from around the world found its way to Norway, along with contact from international indigenous organizations and groups. This levels of

information and contact would have never been achieved if it were not for globalization. This shows that the Sami activists used globalization to their benefit.

In cultural predestination, individual values are important because an ethnic culture cannot be considered a homogenous group with one common mind or thought, since everyone is different, and there are different categories such as age, gender, work, interest, family, etc. There are differences just like any other culture and factors as self-awareness and self-consciousness can steer the culture in a certain direction (Saint-Jacques, 2014:48). It depends on the identity and on degree to which this identity is tied to the culture. As my research shows clearly amongst my young informants their identity is tied to their culture and towards being Sami; because of this their individual value will most likely take choices that will lead to the continuation of the culture rather than take choices that will lead to its decline. Identity is often connected to pride and security. Being a Sami today is considered positive amongst young people in Skånland, and something a person can be proud of. In addition, the attitude towards the Sami community by the general Norwegian population has changed. Arild Hovland (1996:44) writes that there has been a significant change in the attitude towards the Sami. People who earlier did not want anything to do with the Sami movement and denied its rights changed their mind in the 80s and 90s to become positive towards the Sami and to take their rights and their society as a given.

Saint-Jacques' (2014:49) third trait is a set of dynamic processes of generation and transformation. This means that we should not consider a culture static but dynamic; cultures can change and are renewable. A culture can borrow traits from other cultures and be influenced by other cultures thanks to globalization. Saint-Jacques attached importance to the fact that globalization was not about homogenization but about diversity, and the knowledge that belonged to indigenous groups could help enrich the knowledge pool of the entire world.

On Márkomeannu *blodgomba*, *hvitgomba*, *klappekake*, reindeer burger and reindeer wraps are articulated and presented as Sami traditional food. This shows how traditions can be selected by individuals or groups to fit to a chosen plan or idea. *Blodgomba*, *hvitgomba* and *klappekake* are recognized as older dishes that have been

used for quite some time. Reindeer burger and reindeer wrap are newer dishes that have been used in festivals and in certain festive situations only for the last decade and embraced by the younger generations. Klausen (1992) describes that culture with its traditions is continued from one generation to the next, and often it can be changed because of a need to have an expression that gives meaning in present time and still has a connection to the past.

Traditions can be adjusted or modernized to give current meaning and be used to strengthen an identity. Edward Shils (2006:11) believed that in the modern world, the individual's first desire is to develop and strengthen an identity, and that this desire of an identity comes before the value of traditions. In my study, especially the young informant, Karen, desired the importance of a Sami identity. We can see that she used reindeer meats in combination with international food, because of a desire to eat Sami, and that this desire for a Sami identity had become a catalyst for her to create new dishes which were a blend between international food and the most well-known Sami food, reindeer meat. Karen did not grow up with a great use of reindeer meats, other than occasionally, and did not grow up with these modernized dishes either, but learned to add reindeer meat to food she already knew and did grow up with, and made a modernized form of Sami food. Karen believed this food to be amongst the newer traditions within Sami food.

Hobsbawm (1983:1-4) thought of newer traditions to be created, an intentional act to establish a kind of security within a modern life. Hobsbawm argues that the creation of new traditions often happens when the old traditions cannot be used or adapted to the present needs, but in many situation older traditions can be adapted and modernized to fit new conditions. He describes that when traditions have been revived they are often renewed, and that when a tradition is revived it is often because of a break or discontinuance of the elder traditions; still this does not have to be always the case.

The idea of traditions to be invented or created as an intentional act seems to be simplistic considering the findings in this thesis. James Clifford (2013:57,60) uses the term articulation to describe how traditions within a culture are expressed. Clifford describes that the articulation of a tradition is a collective action that refers to concrete

connections. The articulation of tradition is something that is continuous and developing through time, and it selectively remembers and connects the past with the present. Clifford believes that articulation gives a non-reductive way to think about the transformations and the visible changes of traditions within a culture.

To look at indigeneity as something articulated also recognizes the diversity of cultures and histories, which are claimed to be an expression of tradition (Clifford, 2013:54). This belief is something that suits this thesis best – this thesis has supported itself on the same idea that “Indigenous people have emerged from history’s blind spot. No longer pathetic victims or noble messengers from lost worlds, they are visible actors in local, national, and global arenas. On every continent, survivors of colonial invasions and forced assimilation renew their cultural heritage and reconnect with lost lands.” (Clifford, 2013:13).

The situation with Karen is a great example of Clifford’s idea of “[...] finding a way to exist in a multiplex modernity, but with a difference, a difference located in cultural tradition [...]” (Clifford, 2013:65). If Karen would not believe that the adapted dishes would be traditional, the idea would have failed in the first place, because she wanted to “eat Sami”, and to implement Sami traditional food in her everyday life to strengthen her identity.

Kaisa Kemi Gjerpe (2013:91) found in her master thesis that often young Sami in urban areas had a stronger desire for using emblems and showing their indigenosity. She concludes especially that the use of emblems for cultural creativity had been vital for Sami people. She further describes that “[...] the use of emblems is, for many Sámi, important in a daily life where Sámi culture is less visible, which in this case is the city context. As one informant states, Sámi culture is non-existent in the city landscape and for many Sámi it becomes important to make themselves more visible by their own daily actions.”

This thesis shows that young Sami in urban areas want to show their indigenosity not only through clothing or emblems, but also through food traditions. Like in Karen’s case, she wants to “eat Sami”. This case, along with Kemi Gjerpe’s thesis, shows that a Sami identity is equally important in rural areas as it is in cities. Sami

people moving or living in a city area do not lose their indigenoussness, but as Jeffrey Sissons (2005:61-62) describes, they become more creative in expressing their indigenoussness.

4.2 MÁRKOMEANNU: MAKING NEW TRADITIONS

To explain how globalization and modernization have been important processes in the revitalization of Sami food, I can use a simple example. One commonly used modern dish which was also sold on Márkomeannu is the reindeer wrap. This is a flat round loaf, called “tortilla” filled with, lettuce, vegetable and reindeer meat. Often people use a homemade dressing made of sour cream and cranberries (cranberries have been harvested by the Sami since times immemorial). The tortilla, a flat soft round bread, is originally Mexican, and came to Spain in the 16th century (Arellano, 2013). It spread to Europe in the middle of the 20th century (Oosterveer & Sonnenfeld, 2011). In Norway the use of the tortilla became public domain in the 1990s when knowledge of Mexican food arrived to Norway (Merakerås, 2012). Tortilla is a finished product, which can be bought in any supermarket in the country.

Márkomeannu’s use of traditional Sami food serves as a reminder that there are food traditions that are traditional for the Sami community. The festival has also introduced to the community and its visitors the use of modern Sami food, and this introduction has started some form of urban indigenous revitalization. People of all ages attend the festival and are introduced to the different Sami dishes. Many of them, especially the young, such as my informant Karen, make this dish with fellow students and use these principles weekly to reinforce their identity, to eat Sami. This shows that the festival has an important role in the redistribution of the Sami culture and elements, which people adopt and hold on to. Márkomeannu, along with other Sami festivals, has in many ways been a step in the creation of a Sami popular culture, with different elements from music, clothing, art, politics, literature and food. This celebration and reminder of a distinct culture creates a feeling of belonging, which reinforces the identity of all Sami visiting the festival.

Márkomeannu has by its introduction of modern Sami food also shaped new Sami food traditions. Although all the elders in the Sami community do not use the

modernized food, the younger use the modernized food to such a degree that they can soon be well known traditions.

4.3 RIGHTS AND FREEDOM TO REVITALIZE TRADITIONS

During the assimilation period, a Sami identity was difficult to have. Today elder members of the Sami community still remember their young life as a Sami negatively and suppress their indigenesness. From the time of assimilation to the present times many things have changed, and to live openly as a Sami today is not connected with shame, but with pride. Today the Sami community can openly express their identity, with no repercussions from the government. This is a battle that mainly the Sami themselves have fought. In situations like this it can be important to look at other groups. We can glance towards Mexico to the Mam people for a simplified comparison. In the 1930s, the Mam people could not benefit from land use and ownership if they did not abandon their local culture and language. Because of this the Mam people adopted the ways of the rest of the community and gave up their culture, faith and language. This assimilation into the larger community created a distance between the community and the Mam people, and this made them find other ways to revive and express their culture. In a period where Mexico's policies have changed to be more open to multiculturalism, they are pursuing their traditions, language and indigenous rights. The Mam people have not returned to their origins, but have found a way to articulate their traditions in a way that can strengthen their Mam identity (Clifford, 2013:36-37). We can see that there are some similarities between the Mam and the Sami, where rights to land, resources and a right to express their culture have led to a revival of culture.

Another example is an indigenous group without rights. The Adivasi people of India experience difficulties to hold on to their identity and culture because their only focus is survival and the need for food to survive, not to reinforce an identity. There is a connection between the decline of tradition and economy and poverty. This poverty is caused by land rights and land loss often to mining and oil companies (Dictaang-Bang-oa, 2009). Because of assimilation and lack of rights, the Adivasi experience great difficulties to hold on to food traditions. These examples show that recognition and land rights are important elements when it comes to holding on to traditions.

When the Sami became politically strong, obtained rights and were acknowledged with a status as indigenous people, their political strength made it easier to articulate their culture in areas where both Sami and Norwegians lived. I described in Chapter 2 how members of the Sami community organized themselves and worked for recognition, political power and for rights. This entire battle from creating the cultural organization Sámi Searvi in the early 1950's, the founding of the University in Tromsø in 1968, the Sami institute in 1973, until the Alta affair in 1978-1982 and in 1987, when the Sami Parliament was created gave the Sami rights, acknowledgement and international and governmental support. This entire period worked as a forerunner for the openness of the articulation of Sami culture the community has today. This has also created building blocks and a foundation, which the culture today can continue to build onto, and where the positive results are the celebration of the culture. The cultural, historical and political revitalization in Norway did not end at any specific time but still goes on today in different forms.

In Skånland, the Sami businesses, the Várdobaiki center, the book publishing company Skánnid girjie, the doudjjihouse, the kindergarten Márkománák are all the results of the revitalization process and their involvement in the Markasami culture is an ongoing work, where the Márkomeannu festival stands as a yearly celebration with the cultural identity in focus.

I discussed in my literature review indigenous peoples from Alaska and America that have gone through a transition to western food (Lynda Earle, 2011). These are groups with both a recognized indigenous status and recognized rights, but their loss of natural resources has created a dependence on supermarket food. In Norway the Sami have shopped groceries from supermarkets for decades, but cultural festivals and many members of the Sami community have used their cultural predestination from Saint-Jacques' (2014:48) example in such a way that they have blended their elements (reindeer meat) with western food and in this way taken control over their traditions. It is difficult to say why some indigenous groups today have taken control over their cultural traditions, but I believe this is because of a strong identity connected to celebration and belonging to their culture, where cultural festivals have worked as a guiding light.

Enrique Salmon (2012) found that a common effort to maintain food traditions increased the cultural identity of a community and reinforced the land and food consciousness. The Sami community in Skånland has been part of the Márkomeannu festival both as both workers and visitors to create a strong cultural identity and revitalize traditions so they can continue in some form into the future.

4.4 BOTH NORWEGIAN AND SAMI TRADITIONS

When we compare the use of traditional food amongst the young versus the elder, my study shows that the young informants use their new traditional dishes several times a week, while my elder informants, with their older traditional and more time-consuming dishes, use it approximately once every other month, and the most difficult dishes like *blodgomba* only four times a year. We can see a difference in the use and in the dishes used.

The Sami traditional food has not always been used to maintain traditions, or to show the identity to others in the community, or for strengthening the identity. Because of the Norwegianisation politics many did not want to show their affiliation to the Sami community. Because of this, some of the Sami dishes were never used in public or in schools as lunch. The Sami dishes like *blodgomba* were made and eaten only within the family and at home. Much of the food that was eaten, like pure meats, potato, bread and meat soup was also eaten by the Norwegian population in Skånland so this was normally not a marker for a Sami affiliation, although it was and still is considered also to be Sami traditional food by the Sami. Jenny explained it thoroughly to me, because I had trouble understanding why some food that was used in Skånland by both Sami and Norwegian population was by Sami considered Sami. She explained that when Sami people came to settle in Skånland they came from Sweden where they herded reindeer. When they came to Skånland they changed their way of living and found foods in other natural resources like hunting, fishing and gathering. Meats and furs were exchanged for food from the Norwegian population.

After decades of living in the same areas, some Sami became assimilated and married with Norwegian population, and some Sami started with agriculture. The Sami community lived in the same area as the Norwegian population, so it was natural to use the same products for food and the same resources. We can then logically assume

that the Norwegian farmers' food and some Sami dishes have developed in the same direction, especially during a time when some Sami started with agriculture.

Hans explained that something could be considered both Sami and Norwegian, but it could have a different meaning. It was the same with them; a Sami could call himself both Sami and Norwegian because he spoke both languages and belonged to both cultures, but some would like to describe themselves as Sami first and foremost. He talked about coffee as one of these things that was used both by the Norwegians and the Sami. He had the experience that the Norwegians used this as a normal beverage for themselves and to their guests, likewise with the Sami, but as it was a normal routine with the Norwegians, the Sami had made their own rituals and customs regarding this beverage. So coffee was both Norwegian and Sami, but it had a different meaning. The coffee was considered a national beverage by the Sami. In this way I can understand why my elder informants could see some food as traditional, even though Norwegians used it too. Arild Hovland (1996:176) described the same situation in his meeting with a Sami family in Kautokeino in Finnmark County, where he was served Sami pancakes. He wondered why these pancakes were considered Sami, whether it was due to the way they were fried on a wooden stove, or was it because they were aware of their Norwegian visitor, because often it was other food like reindeer and marrowbones that were presented as Sami food.

This idea that some food is part of both cultures was somewhat confusing to me, because when I talked to Karen about this she said that they did not necessarily consider these same foods traditional Sami, because:

“Jammen det bruke jo Norska å” [But Norwegians use it too.]

I asked how it was with coffee, whether she shared the same thoughts as my elder informants, but she had some uncertainty. There are ideas that are different between the elder and younger informants and I believe that these thoughts are different because of what they have grown up with. The differences of elements which we have grown up with are many, for example my elder informants were served coffee and experienced the rituals of coffee use since they were two years of age, but Karen was not served coffee as a child, and did not even drink it now. It is difficult to say why

something that is considered in a certain way by the elder is not considered the same way by the younger generations, but one explanation I was told is that, in the time when the young generations grew up, the Sami population had started to revitalize their culture in many ways and areas, and because of this only the most important things were continued. Another important fact, was that there were discussions about health and norms when it came to drinking alcohol, smoking and other things that was considered to only belong to grown people, and coffee was one of these things, so most families stopped serving coffee to children because it was considered unhealthy to give to toddlers and small children. When some got the choice to try it in their teens they did not like it, and it gradually stopped being offered to children and young people, so coffee did not get the chance to be a part of their identity in the same ways as with the elders who grew up with coffee and its customs.

4.5 DO WE EAT MORE SAMI FOOD ON A FESTIVAL?

The festival only lasts a few days of the year, and during these days, many regular visitors come to eat the traditional food. Some of the elderly people who don't make for example *blodgomba* anymore because of all the preparation only eat it at Márkomeannu, or if they are offered it elsewhere.

There are great differences and diversity when it comes to which specific dishes are eaten at the festival, and in general. As conversations with Jenny showed, many elderly eat the typical Norwegian farmers' food, which they grew up with, and for them this is also Sami, even though they acknowledge that the non-Sami population in Skånland also eats this food. The younger members of the population have not necessarily grown up with "farmers' food", but more international food, like pizza, lasagne, tacos and sausages. Thus they do not have the same relationship to "farmers' food".

The newer/modernized traditional dishes have become articulated as Sami traditional food and for many young people. It is easier to eat this type of Sami food in an everyday environment. A part of the young Sami population do not eat more Sami traditional food at a festival because they already eat this food on a weekly or everyday basis. For them the festival maintains their normal balance of eating Sami

food. For the other part of Sami visitors at the festival, who only eat the traditional food at the festival, the different traditional dishes can function as an idea of which food to make to eat more Sami traditional food, if they desire. So the answer to the question if we eat more Sami food on a Sami festival is twofold.

A important note is that many Sami people were first introduced to the modernized Sami food through cultural festivals like this, and especially I was told that the Riddu Riddu festival in Manndalen had used food like this for many years, and it was from there that many got the idea of using reindeer meats on other dishes to get the desired taste and in the same time be able to feed the Sami identity. So rather than eating more Sami food at a festival, the festival sets a sort of standard for the idea of that we shall eat because it is a part of the culture, beside the jewellery, clothing, arts, *doudjji*, joik and storytelling. So this is an important hint in the discussion whether a festival can contribute to the revitalization of traditional Sami food.

4.6 YOUNG SAMI PAVING THE WAY FOR FOOD REVITALIZATION

In every generation we can see that the young people are the ones who try out the newest trends within what the society has to offer. This can be connected to their own culture or something that is on the outside of what they have grown up with, often introduced through popular culture. Young people are often searching for self-awareness and an identity. Often in this search they try new and different things (Shaffer, 2009). Clifford (2013:239) also found that tradition bearers in different indigenous communities are often young people, often from a mixed background, who have revitalized art, languages and different practices. From my fieldwork I found that more young visitors than older ones were trying the modern Sami food. The request for the modern dishes was from the young festival leader and the administrative group. These are known dishes in Sami festivals, and the festival leader discovered these dishes in this teens. Many young Sami have embraced the idea of the new food, and the explanations are many: they strengthen the identity, easy to make often, taste very good and one is able to eat like a Sami.

Karen and the festival leader described this as boosting their Sami identity, and being considered by the younger Sami considered a new part of the Sami food traditions.

The food that is modernized amongst the young Sami is food that originates from other places in the world. This shows that globalization is an important factor for the new influences in Sami cuisine. In the new dishes they could blend one element of their culture into everyday dishes and thus enjoy a part of their culture more often. They remove one element and replace it with something that for them is perceived as Sami. This almost equals the definition of modernization. Nafousa (1983:1) describes modernization as to take something from a culture and remould it into a new mode.

James Clifford (2013:61) describes that since indigenous traditions have been under violent disruption during the last two centuries, the traditions which persist today are a mix between old and new, indigenous and foreign. I believe that modernization and the blending of traditions are a form of protection against globalization and a total loss of traditions. In this way, the modernization of traditions can become a form of revitalization.

Traditional food has a long history of being used in Sami homes and communities like for example *gomba* and roe bun soup. The principles of Sami traditional food are to use all parts of the animal in different dishes. The newer food such as reindeer burgers and reindeer wrap have not been around long enough to create a long history of use in Sami homes and communities. At one time the older dishes were also new, and if a thesis on Sami traditional food would be done in the future in 10, 20 or 30 years ahead, maybe the newer modern dishes would already have gotten established a strong foothold of what is perceived as traditional Sami cuisine.

4.7 MODERNIZATION AND GLOBALIZATION AS A FORM OF REVITALIZATION

Kuhnlein (2009:3) writes that globalization is the main cause for traditional food to be modernized. Food is a cultural marker, which can reveal an identity, for example the use of pasta is common in Italy and the use of raw fish common in Japan, and because of globalization a person in Japan can eat Italian food and vice versa. This shows how globalization has spread cultural traits around the world.

Members of the Sami community have adopted international dishes many years ago, just like members from the Norwegian population. The difference is that members from the Sami community have taken these dishes and adapted them to fit their culture. Examples are the reindeer burger and the reindeer wrap made from tortilla bread. Generally, we can see that this is a form of modernization. These dishes are called newer or modern Sami traditional dishes.

My study did geographically only concentrate on research in Márkomeannu in Skånland in Troms county, but as we can see from my younger informants, there has been an increase in using modern Sami traditional dishes elsewhere, too. I would not say that the newer dishes has replaced the older ones, because my young informants have never made the older dishes themselves, only the new ones. However, I do believe it is an important phenomenon that young people will rather make the newer dishes than the old ones. When it comes to define if there has been a revitalization or not, we can see that there has been an increase in using Sami food amongst young Sami people, and that supports the idea of revitalization of Sami food traditions.

One explanation can be the time trap and lack of an equipped kitchen of normal size. The modern family life, with children and full time job, leaves little time for food preparation. Students have school and studies, chores and social time, and the lack of time used on preparing food is a well-known problem. An important factor for many modern Sami dishes is that they are easy to make and do not take a lot of time or preparation.

When young Sami people move out from their parents' home and go to colleges or universities, they often establish a new home in a dorm or a bedsit with small and often shared and not so well equipped kitchen. In these kitchens it can be difficult to make a lot of the traditional Sami dishes or any large dishes, which demand space and different kitchen equipment. As Karen said, this is a problem for many young students. Facing lack of kitchen equipment and difficulties in obtaining ingredients to make the older traditional dishes, they give up, and eat these dishes when they are home with their parents. Although it is difficult to say that it is like this for all Sami students and young people, Karen told me it was like this for her and her group of friends, and it easily gives an idea of how the situation is amongst Sami students.

As we can see from the Márkomeannu festival, international dishes are used and adapted to the Sami culture. The new dishes along with the older ones are not just eaten for the sake of people being fed, like for 100 years ago, when most likely the idea of food traditions was a non-existent term. At the festival, the traditional food is served as a cultural marker, as a reminder of the Sami identity and a reminder of the past life of the Sami community. In the articulation of Sami traditional food we can find numerous other ideas and thoughts that work as a reminder of the heritage of the Sami community in Skånland.

Parasecoli (2008) argues that food deals with the aspects of human experience which are connected to our material, physical and bodily experiences. A culture as a visible and audible element can influence our relationship with our body and our ideas about food consumption. It can also influence our development as individuals with social or political effects. Parasecoli (2008) further argues that we cannot underestimate the influence in the way we consume food. Food has a way of uniting people who share it, strengthen and confirm their identity both as individuals and as a group and can reinforce mutual bonds, but at the same time it can exclude the ones that do not participate.

At Márkomeannu I found that the traditional Sami food was an element in the identity building just as valuable as any other element, which lead to a cultural pride. It is this pride in a Sami identity that leads to revitalization of the culture. Food traditions have a pervasive influence on how we see ourselves as individuals and as members of a community (Parasecoli, 2008).

When smaller cultures, as the Sami culture, create their safe arena where they can unfold and have a positive experience, they will not easily give up their own culture to embrace other ideals. Parasecoli (2008) describes how young people need to feel adapted to the rest of the society as well as having established an identity through a cultural belonging. Our identity is connected to our culture and creates a sense of affiliation to it (Samovar et.al 2012). This was strengthened by the beliefs of my informants that Sami food, Sami music and the use of Sami clothing made it easier to maintain a Sami identity than without these elements.

4.8 SUMMARY

In this chapter I have discussed how traditions and their complexities can change within a culture, especially in the encounter with globalization. The Márkomeannu festival and the Sami community in Skånland have given way to only eating western food, like other indigenous groups, but have adapted the food to their culture. Each year the Márkomeannu festival celebrates Sami culture and offers traditional dishes to its visitors. The festival maintains traditional food traditions, modernizes food traditions and is the only arena in the county where visitors can buy dishes as *blodgomba*, *hvitgomba*, *klappekake* and reindeer burgers and reindeer wrap. In this way Márkomeannu contributes to a revitalization of food traditions by creating a visibility of Sami food traditions and seeks to strengthen the cultural identity.

Globalization and modernization are also part of the revitalization of Sami food traditions today. There are often younger members of the community who pave the way for the food revitalization today. There are several reasons for why the adapted traditional dishes have become popular. They are often made because of lack of time to make the older traditional dishes, difficulty to obtain ingredients, spending time in arenas where the new dishes are offered, and also because of taste preferences.

Amongst most young Sami there is a changed perception that growing up as a Sami today is more accepted and the identity and celebration of culture is in focus, rather than the shame and assimilation that the elder generations experienced. A strong forerunner for the celebration and the opportunity to continue to revitalize the culture today was set by the work done from the 1950 onwards with the revitalization of the culture, history and politics. Rights and acknowledgement of indigenous status from the international arena along with the Norwegian government make the culture stronger and accepted.

The relationship between food revitalization and globalization and modernization is intricate. Most people are not aware how globalization has changed the traditional food already decades ago. People two thousand years ago would not recognize the food traditions today, and this shows that food traditions evolve along with other parts of society (Oosterveer & Sonnenfeld, 2011). What is important to keep in mind is that modernization is also part of revitalization and the taking back of the culture.

Globalization is something that a small group or a community cannot control, but modernizing elements to fit cultural needs is something that a small community can

control. It is up to every individual to decide if they want to eat a dish that is modernized. In this way modernization can also be used to regain control from the influences from globalization.

This chapter has showed what Beardsworth (1997:6) so perfectly described as “the act of eating lies at the point of intersection of a whole series of intricate physiological, psychological, ecological, economic, political, social, and cultural processes”.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this thesis I have sought to let the voices of a few members from the Sami community to be heard. The thesis wanted to focus on the voices that are not heard in daily life. I did not interview politicians or people in power positions, but women in the kitchen, visitors at Márkomeannu and the driving forces behind this festival. I have let their voices and opinions come through the questions I have asked and through the conversations that I have had with them. In academic terms they are called informants, but it is important to remember that they are people and humans, living the life and having the experiences that I have tried to capture in this thesis. This thesis reflects indigenous perspectives because I was searching for the interests and voices of the people this knowledge concerns, so their voices became important in this context. Indigenous research can in many situations become too preoccupied with the opinions and actions of political leaders. These opinions and actions do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the rest of the community.

Since the 1950s, several elements of the Sami culture have undergone a revitalization process. The revitalization process of culture, history and politics are intertwined, and this has been a process of empowering for the Sami community. The revitalization process in politics has ensured Sami rights and acknowledgement as an indigenous people. These rights have made it easier to be a Sami today, when it comes to norwegianisation and assimilation, this does not mean that discrimination does not exist, because it still does so in varying degrees. There are also other challenges today, as for example how to hold on to a Sami identity in a globalizing world. Adaptation to fit into society is for many people a basic need, but for the Sami this can be difficult because they live inside a culture within another culture. They have to deal with the Norwegian culture as well as their Sami culture.

Once a year the Márkomeannu festival is held in the mountains of Gállogieddi, an area in the hills of Skånland. This is a cultural festival, which serves Sami traditional food along with Norwegian food. There are concerts with Sami artists, a market with Sami art, jewellery, clothing and leather products and political debates amongst many other workshops about Sami culture. This festival is a Sami identity builder, and

although it takes place only once a year, it works as a reminder of the importance of the celebration and visibility of the culture. In this way the festival contributes to revitalization of the culture, and specifically as discovered in my thesis, food traditions. The festival offers traditional food to its visitors, along with Norwegian/Western dishes. The visitors can choose what they want to eat. It is important to notice that Sami traditional dishes are not sold elsewhere in the county. Only at Márkomeannu, once a year this food is possible to be bought by people who do not make these specific dishes themselves.

In Skånland there are many Sami businesses in the community who make sure the culture today is alive and flourishes. Skaanid Girje, Várdobáiki Center and people from the *doudjji* house are active with their involvement in the community and offer language, art, food and storytelling courses (Solstad, 2012). They give support to the Sami people in the county. This is a great advantage for the Márkomeannu festival, as many people from these businesses are in a way involved in the festival.

Amongst my informants, there was a common idea that eating Sami traditional food created a stronger Sami identity as well as confirming their existing identity. This shows that eating Sami traditional food is not just something that is eaten one time, but it is continuously eaten to maintain and reinforce the Sami identity.

My research has shown that traditional food has a cultural value, and where there have been difficulties to prepare the older traditional recipes, they have been replaced with new ones. Amongst young Sami, the modernized dishes have become popular. The idea of taking an international dish and replacing some of the ingredients to fit the Sami culture has become a part of the traditional cuisine. This is done with many dishes, but at the festival this was done with hamburgers turned into reindeer burgers and the tortilla wraps turned into reindeer wraps. These dishes are embraced by the young, but some older Sami are reluctant to use these dishes in their own home although they acknowledge the use of the new cuisine and know they are on their way to be a part of the traditional food. This is mostly because elder members of the community have grown up with other dishes, and holds on to these to reinforce their Sami identity.

Márkomeannu contributes to the revitalization of food traditions also by forwarding new recipes of Sami food. These recipes are not only easy to make, popular and tasteful but they are adjusted to the modern Sami life. These dishes are first encountered on arenas such as Márkomeannu, young people learn to make them and use them in their own homes.

The dishes Márkomeannu promotes are not only for people who do not have food restrictions, but also for vegetarians, gluten and lactose intolerants. It gives ideas of how to eat Sami to different people with different needs.

Revitalization is an ongoing process and a matter of negotiations with different voices pulling in different directions. Revitalization continues in different forms; often the process has to be maintained with regular meetings, establishments or celebrations like the Márkomeannu festival. Márkomeannu is the only arena where visitors are offered the traditional dishes *blodgomba*, *hvitgomba* and *klappekake*. These are dishes which are popular among the older generations. Often people who do not make *blodgomba* anymore because of difficulties obtaining ingredients and because of the time needed to prepare it come to Márkomeannu to eat it. For them this is the only time in the year where they can enjoy this dish. In the recent years, Márkomeannu has introduced new Sami dishes, reindeer burger and reindeer wrap – dishes that are articulated as traditional. This shows the process where revitalization is an ongoing process, where food culture is brought to life in new forms. What is special with the new dishes is that the revitalization is now blended with globalization and modernization. So the revitalization of older tradition has changed form into using the traditional meats of reindeer, put together with adaptation of international dishes to become a Sami traditional dish.

This is not necessarily an invented tradition, but corresponds to globalization, and represents a way to hold on to older traditions to reinforce identity and still be able to enjoy an “easy to make” modern dish.

One of my informants, Karen, said that adapted/modernized Sami dishes are prepared many times a week by her and fellow students. The inspiration for these dishes has come from Sami and indigenous festivals such as Márkomeannu amongst others.

Markomeannu's contribution to food revitalization is different in many ways and very intricate. I have learned through the search for information and writing this thesis that food revitalization cannot be isolated from other parts of the culture, just like other parts of the revitalization cannot be isolated from each other, for example Sami handicrafts and joik. They are connected in a cultural tie that makes them part of each other. Through searching through numbers of books on indigenous revitalization I could not find any book that would mention an isolated case where the focus was only on the revitalization of traditional indigenous food. Often in indigenous festivals the focus of revitalization has fallen on elements from all aspect of the culture, as we can see at Márkomeannu. The totality of the process has made the festival's attempts to create stronger Sami identities so successful, which by itself revives the culture. The implementation of different cultural traits and elements at the festival has in a way the organizers may not be aware of created a form of understanding that all these elements belong to the identity building, and nothing can be left out. This is the key for the revitalization of food, art, *doudjji*, etc. I believe this is also a key to its success. To argue for a revitalization of food in Skånland is also twofold because we have to separate what the festival does and what the members of the community do. On the public arena, Márkomeannu has made the culture and food traditions visible and obtainable through the festival, but on the private arena, in the many Sami homes in Skånland, it is difficult to say whether or not there has been a revitalization as an ongoing process. What we can see is that the cultural work that Márkomeannu does through the festival is a public message that shows their visibility in the community; they show that they are different, with roots in the area, and that they have a connection to their local traditions. Clifford (2013:223) calls this a work of cultural retrieval, display and performance, which is necessary in the work on identity and recognition. In this way the festival is a local answer to the Markasami environment and community, and the festival becomes an answer to the question who we are and who we want to be. The festival has become a cultural arena for the articulation of a Sami identity.

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APPENDIX

Márkomeannu's receipes on *blodgomba*, *hvitgomba* and *klappekake*

Hvitgomba

You need:

Potato, 800 grams of raw potato

Oatmeal, 100 grams

Water, 1,5 liter

Butter, approximately 100 grams

Salt and pepper, half a teaspoon with salt, and a whole teaspoon of pepper

This is what you need to do:

Ground the potatoes in small strips. Blend these strips with the oatmeal and the spices. Blend into a solid and firm batter. When you shape into a ball, put a pice of butter inside, to keep it moist. Let the *hvitgomba* boil for one hour with supervision, it can sink to the bottom of the pan and get burned, so you have to stir to prevent this. Can be served with jam, syrup or no side dishes at all.

Blodgomba

You need:

Blood, 7 deciliters

Flour, 1 kilo

Bacon, 200 grams

Potatoes, one kilo raw potatoes

Salt, pepper and cloves, a half teaspoon of salt and clove, and one whole teaspoon of pepper

Márkomeannu used cowsblood, but you can also use blood from sheep or reindeers. The piece of bacon can also be switched with kidney tallow.

This is what you need to do:

Cut the bacon in small pieces, and ground the potato into small strips. Blend the blood with the flour and spices into a stir or thin batter. Have a prepared plate filled with flour and the spices used. Use a ladel to put small portions on the plate with flour. Put a piece of bacon in the middle of each portion and gently close them into a round shape and make sure they are covered with flour and spices. You can use your hand or a spoon.

Beforehand you have had to put a pot with boiling water on the stove, it is important that the water is boiling all the time, or else the pieces of *blodgomba* will stick to eachother. Put the *blodgomba* in the boiling water immediately when you have made them. After the *blodgomba* has boiled in 30 minutes it is ready. You can eat it or serve it alone or with mashed potatoes.

Klappekake

You need:

Wheat flour, one kilo

Water, 6-7 deciliters

Salt, one teaspoon

Syrup, one large spoon

Butter, 100 grams

Yeast, one pack, around 50 grams

You can decide if you want to use coarse or fine flour, a blend is often preffered and this gives the *klappekake* a very good taste and a versatile use.

This is what you need to do:

Blend all the dry ingredients in a large bowl, and the wet ingredients in another. Melt the butter. The wet ingredients have to be 37 degrees, to make the yeast work. Mix these two bowls together and let them rest in a warm place for 30 minutes to one hour.

After the dough has risen, use a rolling pin to make the dough flat, then you can use a glass of the size you prefer the *klappekake* to be, and use the glass to cut out circles. You can also use your hands to shape the circles, do what you prefer. The *klappekake* needs to be cooked for 10-15 minutes if you cook them in the oven on 220 degrees, and around 10 minutes if you use a frying pan or *steketakke*. It can be served with jam, brown cheese, syrup or whatever you prefer.

