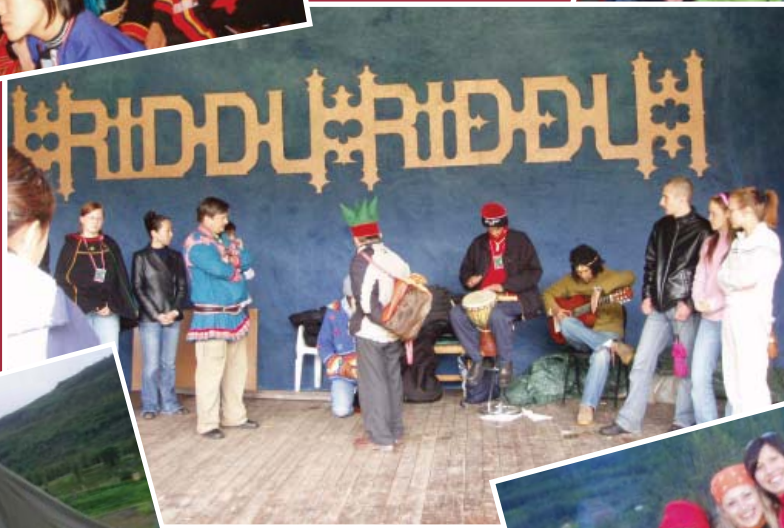


Riddu Riddu, joik or rock-n-roll ?

A study of Riddu Riddu Festivála and its role as a cultural tool for ethnic revialization



Anastassia Valerievna Leonenko

Thesis submitted for the degree:
Master of Philosophy in Indigenous Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tromsø
April 2008

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To Alexandre Descomps and our baby

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Abstract

The International Indigenous Riddu Riđđu Festivála has taken place every year since 1991 in Manndalen, a Coastal Saami hamlet, in the municipality of Kåfjord in the county of Troms in the North of Norway. The festival represents by itself an independent event that through indigenous management and developed ethno-relations inside the country, promoting the idea of cultural awareness and sensitivity to all ethnic groups, however different they might be, and support them in terms of preservation of their culture, language, and lifestyle in our global and developed world.

This thesis is intended to show the ambiguity and complexity of the Coastal Saami identity in Manndalen, not only with relation to Norwegians, but also with reference to the situation among locals, between adults and youth, traditions and modernity. In other words, which relations between traditions and modernity does Riddu Riđđu demonstrate? Therefore this thesis will try to find out the relation of *manndalinger* to the cultural invention and show their chosen way of the invasion of traditions and how far they accept distortions as authentic to their heritage during the process of cultural invention and which sign-substitutions can be defined in relation to Coastal Saami culture today. Moreover, the purpose of this thesis is to understand the process by which means invented portions of culture acquire authenticity. In other words, how the social reproduction of culture – the process whereby people learn, embody, and transmit the conventional behaviours of their society (Hanson 1989:898) – is happening in the Coastal Saami community today. Therefore the Riddu Riđđu festival will be considered further as one of the examples of Coastal Saami cultural invention with the purpose of revitalization an ethnic identity.

Thus, the Riddu Riđđu festival can be seen as a visible tool in Manndalen's process of ethnic revitalisation. In this case, can the festival be considered as an example of an imagined community (Anderson 1983), created as a cultural arena for the Saami political debates and bringing Saami people, the young and the old generation, together? Further, the festival can be seen as an important tool in the process of Coastal Saami ethnic revitalisation with perspectives on northern indigenous and in general world community nowadays. What is the role of this imagined community for its participants? What challenges do *manndalinger* have in creating both a local and a global symbolic community?

This master thesis is tended to bring up questions for further discussions and become one of the colourful pieces in the mosaic of understanding the Riddu Riđđu festival and its role in the revitalisation of Saami identity.

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Chapter 1

Research issue and methodological considerations

1.1 Introduction

In the fall of 2005, I arrived in Norway from the Russian Federation eager to explore a new world for myself through the Master Programme in Indigenous Studies at Tromsø University. I had behind myself my first degree in Public Relations Management and work experience in organising mass public events, such as *The Celebration of the Tercentenary of St. Petersburg* in 2003 and *Russia-Norway: through centuries and boundaries*, an exhibition devoted to 1000 years of collaboration between Northern Russia and Norway, Oslo - St. Petersburg, 2004/2005. My interest was focused on intercultural public relations which includes special events organization i.e. cultural programs/parties, exhibitions, seminars, etc., which have the primary objective to draw people's attention to relationships between different countries, nations and ethnic groups through the presentation of their cultures, up-to-date problems, achievements and their role in the modern world. My professional curiosity was shown into the diploma paper *PR Technologies in the Framework of Intercultural Communication: Norway Presentation in Cultural Programs Aimed at Saint Petersburg, Russia*¹. And because of my interests, I wanted to focus on the analysis of a multicultural international event which shows how the idea of cultural pluralism of a modern global society is promoted.

Looking for this type of event in Russia was seemingly simple. It is well-known that the Russian Federation is a multi-ethnic state including 88 regions which were formed on the principle of ethnicity. However, during the USSR regime, the Russian ethnos together with the Ukrainian and Belarusian were considered supreme, and people belonging to these ethnic groups were sent to all regions of the country to educate and build the USSR. That is why the Russian culture is now predominant in many regions, and so is the Russian language. In some parts of the country, the local culture is developed and promoted, whereas in others it is suppressed and abandoned. However, according to the state policy, every region is supposed to be an unique principality with its own cultural tradition and language. This means at least 88 annual celebrations of local cultures. However, much to my surprise, after inquiring about indigenous celebrations, I found few examples of such. There exist festivities called *indigenous day* which are organised mainly in the regional capitals or other big cities. These celebrations are mainly intended to introduce the ethnic Russians to the indigenous people who live on the territory. For

¹ The defence took place at the St. Petersburg State University of Telecommunications named after M.A. Bonch-Bruевич, on 7th June 2005.

that purpose indigenous people are brought from their home areas² to this one-day festivity, where they present their traditional clothes and dwellings, sometimes their occupations (e.g. reindeer herding) and rarely – food and handicrafts. This is accompanied by other outdoor activities and musical performances. These festivals function mainly as cultural ‘show-offs’, with little focus or discussions on the peoples’ lives.

Therefore I started looking for an international event organised by and for indigenous peoples outside the Russian Federation with the intention to implement the collected experience in the Russian reality. The plan was to find an event which showed self-independence through indigenous management and developed ethno-relations inside the country. Moreover, the festivity should promote the idea of cultural awareness and sensitivity to all nations, nationalities and ethnic groups, however different they might be, and support them in terms of preservation of their culture, language, and lifestyle in our global and developed world. Samuel Huntington has noticed that “the forces of globalisation and modernisation challenge the values and beliefs that provide the bedrock of the cultures of certain regions of the world” (in Verhelst & Tyndale, 2002:5). However, the incorporation of local cultural processes into the public action could ensure more effective and efficient outcomes if special efforts are made to integrate culture from the earliest stages and culture could be seen as “both an aid for coping with negative influences and pressures and a creative and joyous response to people’s relationship with themselves, with others, with the community, and with the environment” (Verhelst & Tyndale, 2002:9).

The above discussed issues gave direction to my main research question: How the incorporation of local culture into a cultural event could be done and how relations between modernity and traditions are represented through cultural festivities? Following these ideas, the search brought me to Norway, the University of Tromsø, where this project was born as a combination of Indigenous Studies and experience in Public Relations with a special interest in Saami revitalisation.

1.1.1 Welcome to Sàpmi Land!³

The Sàpmi Land is in the region of Northern Europe stretching over Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia, reaching from the southern part of central Scandinavia in the southwest to the tip of the Kola Peninsula in the east. It is the ancestral lands of the Saami who have inhabited that area for thousands of years. The Saami people have been referred to as Sámi, Saami, Sami, Lapps,

² Usually they live in far remote places and almost never in the city, therefore people from other places do not have many chances to meet them.

³ The following sources were in use: Kulonen et. al. (2005); “Sami People” (2007, February 23) [on-line]. – URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sami_people; “Sami Languages” (2007, February 28) [on-line]. – URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saami_language; Statistisk Sentralbyrå (2006): “Samer i Norge” (2007, May 20) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.ssb.no/samer/>.

sometimes also Laplanders (in Finland)⁴. However, the term Lapp is considered derogatory by many and is now rarely used, except in Finland. Thus the Saami people refer to themselves as Sámit (the Saamis) or Sápmešaš (of Saami kin). However, amongst Saami there are many internal divisions, such as by language⁵, by beliefs (which vary throughout the Saami region) and according to their livelihood: fishing/farming – coastal Saami, reindeer herding – reindeer Saami⁶ and non-reindeer Saami not living by the sea⁷. These differences can be traced in the development of costumes, decoration motives, building construction, *joik* (music) and *duodji* (handicraft). However, among all these differences one can conclude that the Saami have a common ancestral area and live in the so-called Sápmi Land which is traditionally divided by geographic principles into:

- Eastern Sápmi (Kola Peninsula, eastern Norway and Finland Saami regions);
- Northern Sápmi (most of northern Norway, Finland and northern part of Sweden Saami area);
- Lule Sápmi (Luleå river valley area and the coast of Norway in Norland County);
- Southern Sápmi (southern Sweden and Norway Saami area).

However, Sápmi⁸ has been divided between four different states and today Sápmi Land stretches over the following counties and provinces: in Finland – Lapland Province; in Norway – from Finnmark to Hedmark⁹ Counties; in Russia – Murmansk *oblast*; in Sweden – Jämtlands Län, Norrbottens Län, Västerbottens Län Counties.

In spite of many years of forced assimilation in the four countries' mainstream society the Saami are still one of the largest indigenous groups in Europe. Nowadays it is a personal decision for many whether to call themselves Saami or not. A good example of that is the voting register of the Saami Parliament in Norway, where people are responsible for their registration by themselves starting at 18 years old (voting age). In 2005, 12,500 persons confirmed that they are Saami¹⁰. There are different estimates of the Saami population, but the official figures from the Norwegian bureau of statistics are 70,000 in total, amongst them 40,000 in Norway, 20,000 in Sweden, 7,500 in Finland and 2,000 in Russia¹¹.

⁴ In this paper the term Saami will be used to refer to the people and their culture, except for the cases of citing or referring to sources when the original terms will be used.

⁵ The Saami languages are classified as Finno-Ugric. There are Western (Southern, Ume, Pite, Lule, Northern) and Eastern (Inari, Kemi, Skolt, Akkala, Kildin, Ter) Saami languages and with boundaries between them, in particular, between Northern Saami, Inari Saami and Skolt Saami, their speakers find it difficult to understand each other. Available at "Sami Languages" (2007, February 28) [on-line]. – URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saami_language

⁶ In northern Saami *boazosapmešaš* or *badjeolmmoš*. Available at "Sami People" (2007, February 23) [on-line]. – URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sami_people.

⁷ A group of Saami called *dalon* in northern Saami. Ibid

⁸ There is an accepted consensus for the use of the term 'Sápmi' to refer to Sápmi Land.

⁹ Finnmark, Troms, Nordland, Nord- and Sør Trøndelag and Hedmark Counties.

¹⁰ See more concerning Saami census in northern Troms in NSR Nord-Troms: "Nord-Troms må skjerpe seg!" (2007, June 20) [online]. – URL: http://www.vuonan.no/index.php/artikler/pressemeldinger/nord_troms_maa_skerpe_seg

¹¹ Statistisk Sentralbyrå: "Samer i Norge" (2007, May 20) [online]. – URL: <http://www.ssb.no/samer/>

1.2 Across the Sápmi Land or pre-fieldwork research

The focus of the pre-fieldwork research was to have an introduction to Saami society and their festivities in order to define a particular Saami event as a research objective. In April 2006, I travelled through the Finnmark area: Karasjok, Kautokeino and Alta. During the trip I visited cultural (Alta museum famous by its rock carvings, Varanger Saami museum, Sápmi cultural park, Modern Galleries of Saami Arts, etc.) social (Saami Radio NRK, school and Saami University College) and political institutions (the Saami Parliament). Moreover, meeting people in their traditional Saami settlements who were presenting their places or were occupied by their everyday life's routine, gave me a chance to talk to them. As a result, this travel gave me solid background information for my research. I enriched my knowledge about Sápmi Land and its people and got an overview of their cultural heritage in a variety of forms.

The pre-fieldwork was continued in Tromsø, Kautokeino and Manndalen. I visited subject exhibitions and profile museums, the Saami theatre and a musical performance, local celebrations and conferences on indigenous/Saami issues, Saami families and Saami friends who became a part of my student's and researcher's life by sharing their traditions and knowledge. All these experience opened slightly the door to today's Saami life. Among the observed events are the Saami Day (6th of February), the Easter festival in Kautokeino and a local celebration in Manndalen.

1.2.1 The Saami Peoples Day 6th of February

The Saami day, celebrated on 6th of February¹² is the result of a self-determination movement and the answer to the Norwegian National Day on 17th of May. Both of these festivities show the celebration of one's nationality (*folk*) mainly in symbolical ways: flags, dresses (*bunad/gákti*), songs (Norwegian national anthem, Saami anthem and *joik*), food, handicraft, language use and entertainment (parade/reindeer racing, *lavvo*). For instance, in Tromsø the Saami day turned into *Saamisk uke/ Saami week* of celebrating indigenous identity where everybody was invited to share Saami culture.

Besides the cultural festivity, the Saami Day is a declaration of political self-determination and achievements. "Signs of shopping malls in Tromsø should be dubbed in Saami", sounds in the speech on Saami Day by the leader of the Riddu Riddu festival Lene Hansen (NRK 07.02.05 my translation). Moreover, Pia Svensgaard, the mayor's deputy declared, since Tromsø is an indigenous town, a Saami centre should be constructed. It can be a Saami house of culture and art, or a reunion place which spreads information about the Saami and their

¹² The Saami day particularly is celebrated in northern Norway which is considered as a part of the traditional Saami territories.

culture, or a cultural /*duodji* centre (Nordlys 07.02.06 my translation). However, there are some people who still do not recognise Saami as indigenous people. “Our principle is an equal treatment of all people”, means that Saami do not need any special measures and if, for example, parents want that their children to speak Saami it is their and not the state responsibility, counts Per Sandberg from *Fremskrittspartiets (Frp)*. He alleges that the Saami Parliament and all laws concerning Saami should be abolished; “...the state should stop giving a financial support for Saami language, culture and research” (Nordlys 15.07.06 my translation).

All these controversies took a central place during the celebration of the Saami Day and these debates are part of the Saami-Norwegian dialogue nowadays.

1.2.2 Påskfestivalen/ Easter celebration in Kautokeino

Easter celebration takes place in the principle Saami Community of Kautokeino in inner Finnmark in April every year. One week festivities include a film festival, reindeer and snow-scooter racing, *duodji* market, *joik*/music concerts and other entertainments. It is purely a celebration of Saami culture although it is held during a Christian religious celebration. Many Saami pointed out that Easter is the most important time of year in Kautokeino, more than Christmas, and as one put it “Easter happens once a year. Christmas happens *every* year”. It showed the particular attitude to Christianity in Saami communities. Research suggests that the Saami were not truly Christianized until the 1700s (Lehtola, 2002), in spite of missionary efforts that date back to earlier centuries. The Saami had their own shamanistic religion until the 18th century¹³. Nowadays most of the Saami belong to the Lutheran church of Norway. However, in many Saami speaking areas, Laestadianism, a puritan, Lutheran movement imposed into the region around 1850, by the Swedish Saami priest, Lars Levi Læstadius, is widely spread. However, Laestadianism is not only a religious movement; it is also considered a social and cultural revival. According to Ivar Bjørklund, Saami organized themselves through the Læstadian ideology and established an opposition against the form of guardianship which they were subjected to (1985:50). The Læstadians rejected most of the elements on which the Norwegian assimilation policy was built and by that the Saami developed an alternative sense of reality where their language and culture could live on (Bjørklund 1985). In other words, they turned upside down the portrayal which Norwegian authorities had given of their culture and way of life and rejected local symbols (cloth, flag, language, decoration) of the Norwegian elite (Bjørklund 1985). However, Laestadianism’s role has been disputed and understood both in terms of religious and social movement.

¹³ It is believed that this shamanistic religion does not exist anymore.

Besides all these religious controversies, Easter time has always been important for the Saami as it has traditionally been the time when each *siida*¹⁴ move their herd from inland to the coast for calving. Moreover, it was a time for marriages and universal merriment and nowadays we can see a revival of this tradition.

1.2.3 *Mørketida*, a local celebration in Manndalen: an introduction to the Riddu Riđđu festival

In November 2005, I visited the hamlet of Manndalen¹⁵, Kåfjord Municipality of Troms County. The Coastal Saami community together with their guests, Canadian Indians, the Saami Theatre and others – celebrated *Mørketida*, the beginning of the polar night. Besides traditional food, indigenous performances and an entertainment programme, a conference in the *Ája-centre*¹⁶ on indigenous issues took place as well. Moreover, I met the organisers of the international indigenous Riddu-Riđđu Festival which is held in Manndalen every July. This one week festivity celebrates the indigenous identity of the Coastal Saami, Saami, and other indigenous peoples from the North and all over the world. The official website www.riddu.com reads:

... the Saami young people who started the Riddu Riđđu Festival have done a great deal to restore pride in their ancestral culture and teach their children about it, they have been able to create a unique opportunity for exchanges between different indigenous and minority groups, and have set an example for others to follow¹⁷.

It is worth asking why has this festival been born in such a small hamlet like Manndalen? The understanding of the specificity of this place partly came to me after a trip to Svartskogen. In relation to the festival, the Svartskogen case¹⁸ has been part of creating a local ethos of resistance/revitalisation (Bjerkli 2003) which influenced Manndalen's population identity in many ways and has been preserved in spite of the assimilation pressure. A demonstration of a strong ethos influenced particularly youths who were among of the main organizers of the festival. Furthermore conversations with people at *Mørketida* just developed the idea that Manndalen is a special place for the Riddu Riđđu festival, which needs to be studied on a particular place. Moreover, a short introduction by the festival leader Camilla Brattland provoked the discussion

¹⁴ "If we go 400 to 500 years back in time, the Saami people were organised in 'siida' – e.g. family groups, each having defined areas for fishing, hunting and gathering. Each siida consisted of a number of households 'baiki'. The area of the siida was recognised by neighbouring siidas" (Berg 1996:73 in Avendano 2006:15). Nowadays the term *siida* is commonly used to define a group of herders and their herds.

¹⁵ Manndalen is situated approximately 80 km east of Tromsø, the capital of Troms County.

¹⁶ Ája-centre is a Coastal Saami cultural centre, situated in Manndalen.

¹⁷ Written by Liu Yi-Zi, summarized and translated by Eric Scheihagen (2007, November 23) "Working to Revive Indigenous Culture" [online]. – URL: <http://www.riddu.com/working-to-revive-indigenous-culture.550298-21025.html>

¹⁸ The Svartskogen case is explained in 3.2 *Situating the Coastal Saami identity in Kåfjord and Manndalen*/Chapter 3.

whether Riddu Riđđu is a result of a local revitalisation movement or it is a ‘sole benefit of globalization’¹⁹ with the tendency to promote a Global Indigenous Identity?

1.3 Research question

Summing up, the pre-fieldwork research gave me a basic understanding of the Saami society in Norway, their main festivities which showed Saami relations/attitude to the Norwegian state and religion. Moreover, the collected information allowed me to draw the bottom line of this paper, where the research objective became the Riddu Riđđu festival as an indigenous event and Manndalen as a special place for this event.

Therefore, this thesis is intended to show the ambiguity and complexity of the Coastal Saami identity in Manndalen, not only with relation to Norwegians, but also with reference to the situation among locals, between adults and youth, traditions and modernity. In other words, which relations between traditions and modernity does Riddu Riđđu demonstrate? Moreover, for me, the Riddu Riđđu festival comes up as a visible tool in Manndalen’s process of ethnic revitalisation. Therefore, can the festival be seen as an example of an imagined community (Anderson 1983), created as a cultural arena for the Saami political debates and bringing Saami people, the young and the old generation, together? Further, the festival can be seen as an important tool in the process of Coastal Saami ethnic revitalisation with perspectives on northern indigenous and in general world community nowadays. What is the role of this imagined community for its participants? What challenges do *manndalinger* have in creating both a local and a global symbolic community? The fieldwork which purpose was to find out the answers took place during the summer of 2006 in Manndalen and during the period of the Riddu Ruđđu festival.

1.4 Methodologies employed

Methodologically, this thesis is based on a qualitative approach mainly with anthropological and to some extent historical orientations and a quantitative approach from my Public Relations background. I will complement the theoretical frameworks, literature reviews and media analysis that follow, with the data from fieldwork which has been gathered by such qualitative methods as individual interviews and discussions in focus groups, informal conversation and participant observation.

¹⁹ As explained by some of the organisers during the discussion.

1.4.1 Library work

I was inspired by Norwegian researches who put specific focus of anthropological and indigenous knowledge on administrative political fields and developed the modern disciplines as a comparative and analytical social science (Brantenberg1999: 272). Terje Brantenberg notices that “at home anthropologists focused on modernity, processes of change, interethnic relations and ethnopolitics” (1999:272) with focus on community studies. The following works *Local History in a Multi-Ethnic Context – the Case of Kvænangen, Northern Norway* by Ivar Bjørklund (1985), *People-Nature Relations: Local Ethnos and Ethnic consciousness* by Bjørn Bjerkli (2003) present analyses of Saami communities and were truly inspiring.

Moreover, Norwegian studies of ethnic processes such as assimilation have been based on the premise that “people in many former Saami communities are not what they could or ought to have been” (Brantenberg1999:273). Therefore the researches exposed Saami as an individual who makes him/herself invisible and becomes Norwegian, although forced to or have betrayed his/her origins and his/her ‘real’ self (Brantenberg1999). The classic example of that is described in *When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma* by Harald Eidheim (1971) where the Saami ethnicity is prescribed in terms of a stigmatized or hidden ethnic identity. Later works presented it as an either/or (Brantenberg1999, Stordahl 1997) or neither-nor generation (Høgmo1986).

However, in many anthropological studies the fact that Saami persons combine different cultural skills and backgrounds in their personal lives is still forgotten. Therefore Brantenberg appeals to, besides exploring boundaries, difference, and contrast, to turn to and discover variations, ambiguity and complexity, in order to study not only Saami/Norwegian contrasts but also the diversity of Saami discourses and lives; to turn from the social organization of identity to cultural dimensions (1999: 73). Amongst others Bjørn Bjerkli (1996, 1997, 2003), Harald Gaski (1997), Marit Anne Hauan (2003, 2004), Arild Hovland (1996), Nils Jernsletten (1997), Siv Kvernmo (1997), Vigdis Stordahl (1997), have done similar research. Indeed, it was exactly the focus that I was looking for, to discover the Coastal Saami ethnic identity and its revitalisation process through the use of cultural tools.

Moreover, I got acquainted with studies on the Riddu Riđđu festival; amongst them *Riddu Riđđu – et sted å lære?* (2003) and *Nord-Troms i verden – verden i Nord-Troms* by Marit Anne Hauan (2004), *Liten Storm på kysten. Samisk identitet mellom en lokal og internasjonal arena* by Lene Hansen (2007) and *Vi e små, men vi e mange. Oppdagelsen av egen samisk fortid blant Riddu Riđđu generasjonen i Gáivuotna-Kåffjord* by Anita Lervoll (2007). My interest was particularly provoked by the works of the two last authors who are from Manndalen. They made their research from the insider’s point of view and sometimes “knowing too much” was their main problem. However, I was a stranger and an outsider and the short time of the fieldwork did

not give me a full understanding of the local ethos, the controversies of the Coastal Saami identity and Riddu Ridđu, and my problem was exactly the opposite – “not knowing enough”. Therefore, the above-mentioned works have had a great impact on my understanding of the local society from the inside and the role of Riddu Ridđu on a local level. Since information about early years the festival was hard to find, some data from Hovland (1996) and Hansen’s work were used in the polemic on the Saami Youth Union and the description of the first Saami Cultural Days (1991-1994) and the first Riddu Ridđu (1995-1998). The work of Lervoll helped me understand how the locals understand the Riddu Ridđu and what is its importance for the revitalisation of the Coastal Saami ethnic identity.

In this study, the written materials were collected from the library of Tromsø University, and in the case of Norwegian texts, the translation into English was done by me.

1.4.2 Internet sources

In academic research the use of internet sources can be doubtful. I agree that this should be considered with special care. However, Internet as a source of information concerning cultural events, happenings in the society and people’s opinions can be extremely valuable. Therefore I have used Internet sources in my research on the Riddu Ridđu festival (chapters 4, 5 and 6) such as the official web-cites of the festival <http://www.riddu.com>, NSR Nord-Troms <http://www.vuonan.no> and NSR <http://www.nsr.no>, the governmental and departments’ information source <http://www.regjeringen.no>, Manndalen <http://www.manndalen.no>, on-line and archival versions of newspapers²⁰, web-pages of artists, politicians, blogs and forums²¹ on the political, cultural, social and up-to-date issues which are happening in the Saami society. The greatest part of the information was in Norwegian and translation into English was done by me.

1.4.3 Norwegian media analysis

Media analysis has been an important part in the study of the development the Riddu-Ridđu festival and further discussions. It is based on quantitative methods such as monitoring Norwegian mass communicative media and its following content analyses.

The monitoring of Norwegian mass media shows that the Riddu Ridđu festival has become an important event for discussion in the media since 1999. Therefore the analysis of the media encompasses the period 1999-2006. However, the media archive of Riddu started with the publication ‘*Joiker igjen*’ in *Dagbladet* on 20/07/97 and in the coming years we can see that the

²⁰Aftenposten <http://www.aftenposten.no/>, Nordlys <http://www.nordlys.no>, Framtid i Nord <http://www.framtidinord.no>, Tromsø By <http://www.tromsoby.no>, NRK <http://www.nrk.no>,

²¹<http://www.nordlys.no/debatt>, <http://www.folkebladet.no/meninger>, <http://www.tromsoby.no/index.php/topic/blogg> and others

media relations were established in 1999 and developed through 2000, 2001 and 2002²². 43, the record number of publications, was reached in 2003. National, regional and local newspapers and magazines were writing about the festival, however, the majority of articles (28) were written by *Nordlys*. The analysis of the publications in later years (2004, 2005 and 2006) shows the steady growth of publications and media interest in this event. The festival management established media relations as one of the lines of development of the Riddu Riddu festival in 2000 and its rapid development took place in 2003 and is continuing up until now.

While conducting a content analysis, I did not use the whole media archive offered by Riddu. According to the Norwegian bureau of statistics, the most popular media sources are the TV, newspapers, Internet and the radio²³. The sources I chose were the most popular, with high circulation and covering national, local and regional niches:

- The Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK)²⁴ represented by the web page www.nrk.no
- The leading Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten*²⁵
- The regional Troms County newspaper *Nordlys*
- The local newspaper in Northern Troms County *Framtid i Nord*
- The biggest cultural net page of Northern Norway *Tromsø By*, <http://www.tromsoby.no>

Besides information about the programme, guests, budget and what happened during Riddu-Riddu in different years in general and how media reacted on it, the content analysis gave a formal objective appraisal of the festival by official leaders of events, political representatives and members of different organisations, indigenous, international and Norwegian artists, guests and participants. This investigation offers an external view on the festival, different from previous research focusing on local community and Coastal Saami identity and supplements the data from my fieldwork. The content analysis of the above-mentioned sources is reflected in the Riddu Riddu festival's analysis in the period 1999-2006 (chapter 5) and the following controversy (chapter 6).

1.4.4 Additional sources

As additional informational materials I have used leaflets and informational brochures from the festivals, Saami organisations and conferences; the festival's newspaper *Riddu Riddu*,

²² "Riddu Riddu media archive" (2007, May 15) [online]. – URL: <http://www.riddu.com/mediarkiv.188606-28795.html>

²³ "Norwegian media barometer 2006" (2007, June 18) [online]. – URL: http://www.ssb.no/medie_en/

²⁴ NRK consist of the TV channels NRK1, NRK2, NRK3; the radio channels NRK P1, NRK P2, NRK P3 and other; NRK Sámi Radio, NRK1 *Tegnspråk* (sign language, is a digital TV channel that interprets NRK1's broadcasts); podcasts and internet website www.nrk.no. Available at "About the NRK" (2007, October 20) [online]. – URL: http://fil.nrk.no/informasjon/about_the_nrk/1.3607220

²⁵ *Aftenposten* is Norway's second largest newspaper (after *Verdens Gang*) with a circulation of 256,600 for the morning edition, 155,400 for the separate evening edition and 232,900 for the Sunday edition (2003). Available at "Aftenposten" (2007, October 15) [online]. – URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aftenposten>

programmes, postcards, motives, posters, T-shirts, billboards, announcements, etc. These sources provide details and information on particular issues and give additional visual and symbolic understanding of the event. These materials are analyzed in chapters 4, 5 and 6, devoted to Riddu development and controversy.

1.4.5 Participant observation

Participant observation is a set of research strategies which aim to gain a close and intimate familiarity with a given group of individuals (such as a religious, occupational, or subcultural group, or a particular community) and their practices through an intensive involvement with people in their natural environment, often, though not always, over an extended period of time. This is one of the oldest and most important techniques of data collection in contemporary field research. According to Bryman (2001:298-301) the researcher can play some or all of the following four different roles during participant observation. First, the researcher can be a *complete participant*. This means to be an active member of the social setting he is studying and his real identity and agenda is not known by the other members. Second, the researcher can be a *participant-as-observer*. In this case his identity is known to members of the setting studied and the researcher is immersed in regular interface in the daily lives of the people and the participants at the site. Third, the researcher can act an *observer-as-participant* or by other words he is mainly an interviewer who is engaged in some observations with little participation. Fourth, the researcher can be a *complete observer* engaged in observation without involvement in the situation (Bryman 2001).

During my pre-fieldwork, my role was close to the *complete observer* of the Saami people and an *observer-as-participant* during the Saami celebrations, conferences and other interactive events. My fieldwork can be divided in two parts: a stay in Manndalen and the Riddu Ridđu festival. During my stay in Manndalen I was a complete observer, who hiked around and examined carefully the landscape and the village of Manndalen, the local people and their everyday life. This gave me an understanding of the place. When the preparation for the festival started, I became a *participant-as-observer* according to an agreement on active participation in Riddu I had made with the festival leader beforehand. The first days were filled with volunteer work²⁶ in an organising committee of Riddu-Ridđu situated in Ája-centre. The co-work with the people who are the heart and brain of this event gave me the chance to have conversations and interviews with them and to observe the process of preparation for the festival. When the festival started I continued my role of the *participant-as-observer*, working as an interpreter for a Russian

²⁶ The work consisted of preparing the badges for the participants, translating programmes and some working files into Russian, etc.

Saami delegation in the Indigenous Youth Camp (IYC) where young indigenous people from around the world were gathered for one week. The camp was an independent organization with its own festival programme running simultaneously with Riddu Riddu. I was included as a member of the IYC and followed to the camp's programme which included seminars on Saami master classes in *joik* and traditional music of the Khoi people from South Africa. However, most of the time was devoted to the preparation of a unique performance which combined traditional cultural features from all IYC participants expressed through dance, music, instrument's improvisation, poetry and folk sketches. The result of the week work was presented on the Riddu-Riddu stage on Saturday during the final concert. During the spare time I was a complete observer who visited the camping area, the children's camp, the artists' area and tried to participate in as many events as it was possible in such a short time.

This method gave me a feeling of the festival atmosphere, where merriment and Saami spirit were expressed on the stage by performances and parties in *lavvos*. The spirit of unity was spread around which I also linked to the fact that the whole organizational job was done voluntarily.

1.4.6 Interviews, Conversations, Focus groups

The interview is probably the most widely employed method in qualitative research. I carried out unstructured and semi-structured interviews. As Bryman notices, by using an unstructured interview the researcher uses at most an *aide memoire* as a brief set of prompts to him- or herself to deal with a certain range of topics (2001: 314). The interview can be presented just by one question and a freely answer, therefore this method tends to be "similar in character to a conversation" (Burgess 1984 in Bryman 2001). In addition, I also carried out many conversations. It was just free-talking to people which happened spontaneous and questions were open-ended for further discussions which sometimes could turn to unstructured or semi-structured interviews.

Both methods accompanied my participant observation and were used at different times of the day or night, mainly at the festival concert or tent area, while visiting local houses, artists' places, children's camp tents and *lavvo*. Thanks to these methods I met many interesting people like the best Saami *Joiker*, Saami journalists, members of the Saami parliament, fans of the Saami ethnic culture (from Sápmi, Australia) and unbelievers in indigenous culture (from Norway, Russia); two colleagues from UK who were doing their fieldworks on the Riddu Riddu festival as well and many other interesting people with different occupations, ethnic backgrounds and with varied views on indigenous culture and the Riddu Riddu festival.

The semi-structured interview according to Bryman, is a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered, often referred to as an *interview guide*, but the interviewee has a great deal

to leeway in how to respond (2001:314). Moreover, questions may not follow the outline or non-included questions can be asked too. This method was widely used and applied mainly to people with whom I had been in contact for a while during the voluntary job in the organisational office and in the IYC, as well as during the gatherings in the tent area. Thanks to that method I got not only people's impressions but also their thoughts and ideas on Riddu as a cultural event, what Riddu means for local and other Saami, what does it mean to be Saami today; discussions on music, politics, relations and other topics were debated.

Structured interviews were not used in relation to festival leaders or other 'key informants'²⁷ (Sanjek 1990). Heath (1972:536 in Sanjek 1990:399) argues that "many (if not most) studies nowadays are based on a sample that it is insignificant ... and with a major portion of the data collected from relatively few 'key informants' on each of the various aspects of the research". Therefore the purpose was to question as many people as possible with different background, ethnic belonging, age, gender, occupation and so on. For that reason I used these flexible types of interviews. I examined Riddu-Riddu as a many-sided event thanks to the fruitful discussions, where controversial opinions clashed and obtained information interpreted in many different ways.

The focus group, particularly the method of the focused interview, was also implied during the fieldwork. This technique is allowed to develop an understanding why people feel the way they do on a specific theme or topic that is explored in depth (Bryman 2001:336-338). Bryman notices that in one-to-one interviewing, interviewees are rarely challenged because people are asked about their reasons for holding a certain view and new question are followed by answer. Moreover, they might say things that are inconsistent with earlier replies. In the context of a focus group, individuals will often argue with each other and challenge each other's views (Bryman 2001:336-338). Though the process of arguing the researcher may see more realistic accounts of what people think how they respond to each other's views and qualify, modify or build up a view out of the interaction that takes place within the group. This method allows the researcher to examine the ways in which people in conjunction with one another construe the general topics in which the researcher is interested (Bryman 2001:337).

This method was used several times in the IYC, where I was working with approximately 30 indigenous young people from the entire world, aged between 14 and 30. Two groups were organised on the principle of Western (Norway, Sweden, Finland) and Eastern (Russia) Saami. One of the reasons of this division was language compatibility²⁸. The Western group included seven participants between 16-30 years of age and the Eastern comprised of five partakers

²⁷ Their opinions were mainly analyzed by quantities methods.

²⁸ Western Saami were fluent in Saami, English and Norwegian/Swedish, meanwhile Eastern Saami could express themselves only in Russian and just a few of them in broken English.

between 19-21 years of age. The focus of the discussions was on understanding the Riddu Riddu festival and Saami identity, and its revitalisation in political and cultural ways. It was a fascinating experience, especially when the discussions in the two focus groups were compared. As a result, some colourful pieces in the mosaic of understanding the Riddu Riddu festival and its role in the revitalisation of Saami identity were added.

1.4.7 Making notes: diary and photography

Memory is tricky; therefore the use of such qualitative method as writing fieldnotes was of great importance during my fieldwork. Following the discussion on making fieldnotes by Richard Sanjek (1990) I agree with Plath that “Writing takes the ethnographer from “the context of discovery” in which fieldnotes are written, to “the context of presentation” (in Sanjek 1990: 390). During the fieldwork I followed the classification of fieldnotes proposed by Lofland and Lofland (1995) and Sanjek (1990): mental notes, jotted/scratch notes and full fieldnotes (in Bryman 2001:305). Indeed, mental and jotted notes were the most common in use during my fieldwork. They have been taken in the period of staying in Manndalen and at Riddu Riddu, during participant observations, interviews and conversations.

However, during the festival the intensity of happenings were so fast that sometimes making notes was not enough or it was hardly possible to describe all actions in details. Photography was used as an alternative method of making notes then. Following John Collier, Jr. (1967), the anthropologist takes a photograph to illustrate a finding that he has already decided is significant, frequently with publication in mind, therefore camera is used not as a research technique, but as a highly selective confirmation that certain things are so, or as a very selective sample of ‘reality’. During my fieldwork I used actively a digital camera and it turned into a picture diary (700 pictures) which started with surveying and mapping of Manndalen and the festival area and continued as a reflection of everyday happenings during the festival, some of pictures could be found in the appendix 3. In addition, the recording of the material reality and evidence pictures give the feeling of the moment that turns raw circumstances into data. Moreover, pictures have been analysed together with fieldnotes which have been enriched and revised. This analysis also showed some notes where prejudice, presumption or misinterpretation in relation to particular events or persons was present.

1.5 Challenges and reflections on my fieldwork at Riddu-Riddu

In this section I will discuss the various challenges with regard to implementing the above-described methodologies and my reflections on them.

1.5.1 Being an outsider and non-indigenous researcher

A discussion on the epistemological problem of the ‘outside’ and ‘inside’ view of Saami identity and self understanding in present-day Norway is well discussed by Stordahl (1987) and Paine (1987) (in Branterberg 1999). For me, being considered a complete outsider and a non-indigenous person/researcher in relation to the Saami and Manndalen’s community, appeared to be the main challenge in writing about native people. Then I understood that the background knowledge on Saami culture and history was not enough in comparison to a native Saami researcher in his/her home field and I decided to compare my research position to Saami fellows. The discussion by Brantenberg (1999:272-273) clearly showed me the advantages²⁹ and disadvantages of being a Saami researcher at the home area. Let us consider some disadvantages which can turn as advantages for me, as an outsider. Hovland notices (1996 in Brantenberg 1999) that one of the main problems for Saami students, with the assistance of anthropologists, is that they tend to mix research and politics and produce a master-myth of Saaminess. However, Kramving (1998) shows that Saami students experience a much more complicated dilemma³⁰ which entails individual frustrations, ambiguity and marginalization, rather than claims for a politicized and reified self (in Brantenberg 1999:273)³¹. Moreover, according to Odhiambo Anacleti, being an indigenous researcher of local culture can be more of a hindrance than a help to cultural research (in Verhelst&Tyndale 2002:170-171). This creates the problem of being natives who already understand the culture that limits the kinds of question they may ask, as they will be supposed by the communities to know the answers already.

It is noteworthy that this comparison gave me an understanding of my research position. I was a person outside the context (country, community, language, culture), so I could allow myself to ask all types of questions, to question all kinds of people, to visit different places and to behave according to the situation. The circumstances were favourable to observe and interview people. On the one hand, the festival mood gave people a feeling of unity and they were relaxed and easy-going. On the other hand, the continuous merriment complicated the interviewing of people. Some found it hard to focus on the topic of discussion and usually just switched it, others preferred to ignore sharp questions. Another challenge to interview people during festivities is to make them tell facts, their thoughts and attitudes, because interviewees tend to exaggerate and embroider. During discussions, my focus was most of the time on distinguishing the value of the

²⁹ Stordahl (1986, 1996) stresses the bicultural competence of the Saami students, that they even when doing fieldwork at home have a comparative experience and perspective. It should be seen, not as a problem or a drawback, but as a unique resource of Saami in studying Saami life-worlds (in Brantenberg 1999:272).

³⁰ Studying anthropology, they often encounter (Norwegian) expectations implying defining themselves as either Saami or Norwegian, neglecting the different backgrounds and motivations of Saami students (Brantenberg 1999: 273).

³¹ I noticed this dilemma in the research done by Lervoll (2007) and Hansen (2007).

data, real news from jokes, story-telling from real happenings. However, the complicity of being outsider during the fieldwork was complicated by being a non-indigenous person at an indigenous festival. Even being a researcher on indigenous issues, people could see me as a surface researcher, just because I am not indigenous myself. In addition, I do not speak their language and do not practice their culture. Sometimes it was an evident obstacle during the participant observation, conversations, interviews and focus groups. For instance, people could make a distance in a discussion from the beginning: ‘you and us’³². Sometimes people were not eager to reflect on the subject under discussion; others wanted just to make an impression by being Saami and show off; a few were curious of the purpose of this research. All these and other reactions were a challenge in understanding the people’s way of talking, their attitudes and reflections.

In addition, participant observation created some challenges by itself. If the work in the stab helped me to be integrated into the festival, the work in the IYC took most of the time. Therefore I was able to interview people mainly in the evening and night hours. This attendance of the festival every 24 hours during the week resulted in lack of sleep.

1.5.2 Ethical considerations

The research and the carried-out fieldwork were led by ethical principles. All informants and interviewees are secured by anonymity. Moreover, most of the people did not appreciate the use of a tape-recorder or sometimes the conditions did not allow recording (loud music, noise) and therefore the author with their permission noted down interviews, conversations and focus group discussions. During the fieldwork, people readily accepted to be photographed, however, some ladies made comments like “we are not lay figures for shooting”, therefore the permission for portray shooting was necessary. Nonetheless, it created a problem for landscape shots too, because people were sure that they are in the focus. All pictures are secured by anonymity.

³² For instance, during the fieldwork I had a conversation with a Swedish Saami guy who considered himself as *mandaling*. He knew me as a Russian participant of the festival. During our discussion he was explained to me who the Saami people were and how peaceful they were. However, he had absolutely another dialogue with another Russian guy who just appeared and said: ‘I am Saami from Russia, Kola Peninsula’. It changed everything. The discussion became more open and informal. The Swedish Saami guy started to invite him to visit his house, to fish together, tried to speak in Saami, etc. Even though the Russian Saami guy could hardly communicate in English it was not an obstacle as it seemed to me. The feeling of belonging to the Saami kin was a prior in spite of borders and even communicative problems, as the Swedish Saami guy expressed it: ‘We are not from Norway, Sweden, Finland or Russia, we are Saami and we know what it is to be a Saami!’ It shows that some Saami consider their belonging to the Sápmi Land first. I, as a non-indigenous person, was from the beginning out of ‘the circle of trust, because if I am not Saami I will not understand’, and I had a more distant relation with them which resulted in more formal conversations.

1.5.3 Ethnographic validity

After the fieldwork, following the discussion by The Jonsons, that ethnographers make conscious and unconscious decisions about what to observe, hear and write down (in Sanjek 1990:386), I encountered another challenge: how to transcript my notes and interview schemes. Some notes lost their sense without the context; other seemed to be full of prejudice and confusion and few had to deal with memory problems. Sanjek (1990)³³ notices that interpretations hold no brief for reliability, therefore, in ethnography ‘reliability’ verges on affection. It is true some of my notes were not pure observations; they have been touched by my opinions and it seemed as one of the challenges to interpret the foreign culture by being an outsider. Therefore, while working on my notes I was led by Evans-Pritchard (1951:82-85 in Sanjek 1990:412):

The work of the anthropologist is not photographic. He has to decide what is significant in what he observes and by his subsequent relation of his experiences to bring what is significant into relief. For this he must have, in addition to a wide knowledge of anthropology, a feeling for form and pattern, and a touch of genius.

1.5.4 Translations

Another great challenge after the fieldwork was translation of enormous part of material from Norwegian to English. This necessity appeared after I collected and analysed fieldwork material that obviously was not enough for a complete research. The majority of required sources were presented by Norwegian and Saami authors. Since I have an intermediate level of Norwegian language competence, the whole translation of used sources (internet and media analysis, additional sources, articles and books) was done by me. I have tried to escape ambiguity and mistranslation; however, it might have happened considering my non-professional translation skills and non-fluency in the Norwegian language. In addition closer explanation of Saami, Norwegian and terms from other languages will be found in the appendix 1. In the appendix 2 is explained names and places from where indigenous participants of the Riddu Riddu festival came from. All words which could be found in appendixes are marked by italics through the whole thesis.

1.6 Outline of the thesis

The thesis is structured in seven chapters. The first chapter has provided an introduction to the thesis, together with its general problem formulation. The early inception of my motivation to the topic has been briefly discussed in relation with my experience and pre-fieldwork research. The

³³ As Honigmann (1976:246 in Sanjek 1990:394) correctly puts it: “Speaking realistically, there is practically a zero probability of ever testing the reliability of a comprehensive ethnographic report, so one ought to stop talking about replication as a technique of verification.”

methodological parts of the research – methods of data collection and data analysis, challenges and reflections on my fieldwork – have been dealt with in this chapter.

The second chapter situates the Saami/Coastal Saami ethnic identity within the general historical context with a focus on the Saami political and cultural revitalisation in Norway, and particularly, the cultural revitalisation of the Coastal Saami ethnic identity in terms of traditions and modernity. In addition, the chapter covers the conceptional and theoretical approaches on ethnic identity, culture as a tool of ethnic revitalisation, and in particular, the role of the festivals as a cultural tool of the Coastal Saami revitalisation. The relations between traditions and modernity with regard to inauthenticity and authenticity of invented traditions in the context of the past are also discussed, and the present and the future of an imagined community is seen as a room for the Coastal Saami cultural invention. Eventually research questions and hypotheses of the thesis are specified.

The third chapter describes the context of the Riddu Ridđu festival by situating the Coastal Saami ethnic identity in the municipality of Kåfjord and the village of Manndalen. In the discussion on revival of the Coastal Saami identity in Kåfjord, the role of the youth in the 1990s is considered particularly in relation to the Saami Youth Union (*Gávuona Samenuorat*).

Chapter four focuses on the development of the Coastal Saami Cultural Days into the Riddu Ridđu Festivála in the period from the year 1991 to 1998. The discussion shows the complexity of the revitalisation of the Coastal Saami culture in terms of revitalised or mainly invented traditions, ambiguous attitudes from the locals and the following development strategies related to the rethinking prospects of Riddu Ridđu.

Chapter five focuses on the analysis of the Riddu Ridđu Festivála in the period of 1999 to 2006. Particular attention is paid to the representation of the Coastal Saami on the international indigenous arena along with the development of a Coastal Saami/Saami and finally a global indigenous imagined community. Here I argue that Riddu Ridđu represents indigenous peoples in terms of traditions and modernity.

Challenges to the Riddu Ridđu festival are discussed in the sixth chapter. The festival is challenged to be an indigenous event which provokes discussions on how to be native in a modern world, especially related to the media role as a creator of symbolic communities. Therefore, challenges like creating a local identity by means of authentic, revitalised and invented traditions, relations between traditions and modernity, and symbolic expression are discussed in relation to Coastal/Saami and a global indigenous imagined community.

The last chapter concludes the main themes of the thesis with particular emphasis on ethnic revitalisation by cultural tools in a modern world.

Chapter 2

Situating the research topic in theory and history

This chapter describes the context of the Riddu Riddu festival by giving the reader necessary background information by situating the research topic in both theory and history. Here I will define the notion of ethnic identity, and in the case of the Coastal Saami I will show the relations between Sàpmi Land and Norway in the historical perspective of formation of ethnic and national identity, paying particular attention to the separation of the Saami into coastal/fishing and reindeer-herders. Further, the Saami political and cultural revitalisation will be considered with a particular focus on the revival of the Coastal Saami ethnic identity in Kåfjord (Manndalen). The discussion will be held in the theoretical framework of traditions and modernity, where the question of authenticity, cultural invention and imagined communities is considered.

2.1 Defining ethnic identity

In a discussion on revitalisation of identity it is necessary to understand the notion of ethnic identity. Adrian Hastings³⁴ and Esman suggest that:

ethnic identity refers to a community that claims common origin, often including common descent or fictive kinship; that possesses distinctive and valued cultural markers in the form of customs, dress, and especially language; and that traces a common history and expects to share a common destiny (1994:15-16 in Bacik 2002).

The authors argue for a common feature like culture and cultural patterns which appeared as a base for defining and forming ethnicity. However, Frederik Barth (1969) regards ethnic identity as a feature of social organization, rather than a nebulous expression of culture³⁵. Ethnic identity implies a series of constraints on the kinds of roles an individual is allowed to play, and the partners he may choose for different kinds of transactions (Barth 1998:17). In other words, Barth claims that "ethnic identity is superordinate to most other statuses, and defines the permissible constellations of statuses, or social personalities, which an individual with that identity may

³⁴ According to Adrian Hastings, the ethnic identity refers to "the common culture whereby a group of people share the basics of life -their cloth and clothes; the style of houses; the way they relate to domestic animals and to agricultural land; the essential work which shapes the functioning of a society and how roles are divided between men and women; the way hunting is organized; how murder and robbery are handled; the way defence is organised against threatening intruders; the way property and authority are handed on; the rituals of birth, marriage and death; the customs of courtship; the proverbs, songs, lullabies; shared history and myth; and the beliefs in what follows death and in God, gods or other spirits." (1997:167 in Bacik 2002).

³⁵ Barth's main contribution is to urge a shift away from discussions of the content of ethnic identity through considerations of ethnic markers such as dress, food, language, and so on towards a consideration of the boundaries that mark the limits of such contents (Banks 1996:12).

assume” (Barth 1998:17)³⁶. However, “if ethnicity is the social organization of culture difference, we need to transcend habitual conceptions of this thing ‘culture’”(Barth 1994:13). We see the necessity to analyze culture and “rethinking culture provides a useful, no, necessary basis for rethinking ethnicity” (Barth 1994:13). Because “the global empirical variation in culture is continuous” and any observed population nowadays is in flux, it is contradictory and incoherent (Barth1994:14). Therefore the investigation of ethnic group’s distinctiveness should focus on “ethnic boundary that defines the group, not on the cultural stuffs it encloses” (Barth 1998:15). According to Barth, in the understanding of a particular ethnic identity, the anthropologist must attend to the experiences through which it is formed, the simple concept of culture is not enough (1994:14).

Moreover, in defining ethnic identity related theories on the construction of ethnic groups should be considered. During the last years, the most popular debate on ethnic identity formation theories has been between the primordialist approach and the instrumentalist approach³⁷. Primordialism can be summarised as a story of given identity: “ethnicity is an innate aspect of human identity” while instrumentalism is a story of constructed identity: “...ethnicity is an artifact created by individuals or groups to bring together a group of people for some common purpose” (Banks 1996:39).

The latter can be well summarized by the following sentence: “No matter what my origin is, no matter what my ‘given’ features are, it is my own right to choose the group in which I would participate” (Bacik 2002). Instrumentalism claims that there is a strong flexibility in the course of history about the formation of ethnic identities. However, instrumentalism does not reject totally the concept of given, as we can see it in the definition of ethnicity by De Vos: “Ethnicity is a sense of ethnic identity that consists of the subjective, symbolic or emblematic use of by a group of people...of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from the other groups” (in Bacik 2002).

The other position on ethnicity, taken by the Soviet ethnos theory, in particular by Yulian Bromley, is an example of a theory of primordial ethnicity: “Ethnicity is so strongly resilient that it persists through generations and through a variety of social forms” (Banks 1996:18). Bromley’s theory of ethnicity proposes that a stable core of ethnicity – the ethnos or ethnikos – persists through all social formations. Bromley defines the ethnos as being “a historically formed community of people characterized by common, relatively stable cultural features, certain distinctive psychological traits, and the consciousness of their unity as distinguished from other

³⁶ For Barth, “ethnicity is a super ordinate identity, one which transcends or is at least equivalent to all other identities (such as those based on gender, or status) and as such his position closer to that usually known as primordialism – ethnicity as a permanent and essential condition” (Banks 1996:13).

³⁷ However, Bacik (2002) notices that “with the globalisation movement, another type of approach has come to the forefront, which is called universal mode.”

similar communities” (Bromley 1974:66 in Banks 1996:19). Bromley’s new term, ethnosocial organism, describes the interaction of the ethnos within the historical stage (or economic environment). Physical and economic environments are external and independent of the ethnos factors that the salient characteristics by which the ethnos is recognized may change (Banks 1996:19). Despite claims of a primordial core of identity, the importance of specific historical, economic and political factors in shaping the expression of ethnic identity is recognized.

Summarizing the debate on the instrumentalism versus primordialism positions, one can conclude that “ethnicity is both primordial and instrumental” (Berghe 1995:360 in Bacik 2002). However, it is important to recognize that primordialist ethnicity simply is, without any purposes, probably a psychological one and gives individuals a sense of identity as members of a group, while instrumentalist ethnicity is motivated, has a purpose and its continued existence is tied to that purpose (Banks 1996). Defining the Coastal Saami ethnic identity should be considered in relation to a broad Saami ethnic identity formation in Norway and its relations with the national identity.

2.2 Situating Saami/ Coastal Saami ethnical identity in the general historical context

Looking at relations between ethnicity and the state, the latter should be understood not just as an abstract and neutral force or nexus of interests but rather as “an agent, one which is conscious of the ethnicity of its constituent populations and which itself may be a locus of ethnic identity” (Banks 1996:122). The state is the single most important institution, which gives persons the idea who he or she is and gives individuals a lot of cultural stuff that works as identification markers. However, is this identity to be discovered or is it something that is imagined or constructed by politicians?

In order to answer this question, it is necessary to situate the Saami ethnic identity in its historical context. Earlier Scandinavian national histories in their treatment of the Saami follow the Hegelian notion that only peoples capable of creating a nation-state are capable of having a history (Lehtola 2002:183). However, nowadays the Saami history in relation to Norway can be seen by many through the following phases: coexistence, consequent colonization, suppression, assimilation, integration, adaptation and revitalization (Lehtola 2002, Minde 2003a, 2003b, Niemi 1997).

Since the Viking Age the Saami lifestyle prevailed over the North because of its unique adaptation to the arctic environment³⁸, enabling the Saami culture to resist cultural influences

³⁸ The Saami had relations with neighbouring peoples based on trade and later tax relations. During the 1300s boundaries in the North were imprecisely defined (Norwegian influence spread up to the Tromsø area) and “the first boundary in present day Sápmi, dividing Saami culture into eastern and western spheres” was established as a result of the Treaty of Teusin in 1595 (Lehtola 2002:185).

from the South. To some extent the Saami traditional rights were respected by the authorities as well as by Norwegian and Kven³⁹ immigrants prior to the 1800s (Niemi 1997:69). According to Niemi (1997:69-70), there are several reasons for that. Firstly, the Danish-Norwegian dynastic state was multicultural with relaxed attitudes towards ethnic groups and minorities. The reference to the Saami was as to an 'indigenous nation' with 'aboriginal rights', in such phrases as 'the oldest people of the land', 'the first nation', etc. Secondly, in the state's policy towards development in the North, the state regarded the Saami way of life as highly important because of its exclusive demands on resource niches for which there were no competitors. Moreover, the Saami were of economic importance both for trade and taxation. Lastly, because of the unclear border situation, the state preferred, during this period, to earn the loyalty of the Saami rather than alienate them. However, Niemi (1997:70) continues, that after the borders were formally agreed upon, the states' rivalries over the Saami allegiance by offering more favourable treatment, came to an end.

By the end of 1700s, Lehtola (2002) and Niemi (1997) notice, that new attitudes towards the Saami traditional rights had appeared. In addition, the old traditional Saami *siidas* which occupied the land began to be eroded and this process was not through law, but through slowly evolving practices whereby southerners settled in Saami regions and claimed rights to land and water. Moreover, in the century between 1751 and 1852, the situation of the Saami changed dramatically. Firstly, the distinction between non-reindeer-herding Saami and the new settlers thus began to disappear from official records, establishing a fateful cleft between reindeer-herding Saami and settler Saami later in the 1800s (Lehtola 2002:189). As a result, reindeer-herding Saami were officially recognized as Saami with corresponding privileges meanwhile non-herding Saami were equated with settlers⁴⁰ and lost their traditional privileges.

The 1800s were a turning point in Saami history. The expansion of the dominant population (Norwegians) increased farming and associated conflicts, the closing of the boarders and reindeer epidemics are only examples of the catastrophic blows that Saami society experienced⁴¹. In addition to that, Saami rights were reduced through deliberate assimilation policy firmly implemented in the 1850s, particularly in Finnmark and continued for nearly a century. According to Lehtola (2002) the policy had been implanted with two central foci. One

³⁹ The Kven are a national minority in Norway. The term 'Kven' was originally the Scandinavian name for the Finnish people living in the area around the Gulf of Bothnia, known as early as the Middle Ages. From the XV century onwards, they moved from the coastal regions of the Gulf of Bothnia and eventually reached the fjords and coastal areas of Northern Norway. In the XIX and XX centuries, the term has been used for the contemporary Finnish immigrants in Northern Norway and their descendants (Niemi 1997: 67-68).

⁴⁰ The Saami were squeezed between two encroaching immigrant streams: Norwegian settlers from the outer coast and Kvens from the inland. In addition to the physical displacement implicit in this doubled sided pressure a cultural collision also took place (Niemi 1997:68)

⁴¹ See more in Lehtola 2002; Niemi 1997; Minde 2003a,2003b; Solbakk J.T. 2006; Kulonen et.al. 2005; Solbak A. (ed.) 1990.

was the settlement and livelihood policy, the other was the language and educational policy. The first represented the promotion of the Norwegian settlers and their livelihoods like fishing and farming. The second put a veto upon the use of the Saami language at school and in 1898 the Educational Act⁴² was issued. Moreover, with the purpose to promote Norwegian settlements, these two directions were linked by law where the ability to write and speak Norwegian was a prerequisite for land ownership. However, the suppression of the Saami continued – through growing Norwegian institutions like the school, healthcare and the church; and economically, where a strong economical development of the North led to a weakening of the status and the traditional economy of the Saami⁴³.

Norwegianization policy was, in effect, the official state policy which was partly based on racism inherit in social Darwinist theories⁴⁴ which provided the ideological legitimization for claiming that Saami were destined to fall prey to “evolution and natural selection” (Brenna 1997). Therefore the only solution seemed to integrate the Saami completely into Norwegian society. The general background for this new minority policy was Norwegian nationalism and nation building – a particular manifestation of Nationalist movements and ideologies throughout Europe at this time (Niemi 1997:72). Banks notices that earlier theories of nationalism tended to typologize, tended to be highly euro-centric, and tended to assume that nationalism is an explicit political ideology, invented at a certain time and for a certain purpose (1996:124). The phenomenon of the rising nationalism which legitimized and substantiated Norwegianization can be considered as “a young nation was struggling to establish roots and nurture its identity” (Brenna 1997). In other words when the governmental policy turned into ethnic nationalism the Saami group was abandoned. In discussions on relations between ethnic identity formation and national identity it is important to define the typology of the nationalism in the country. If there were a dominant group in a country that makes the majority of the total population, the ethnic identity formation of this group eventually would shape the national identity (Ma Shu-yun 1999 in Bacik 2002). This actually happened in Norway. It means that the majority chooses an ethnic nationalism, which “directly produces social disturbances for the minority/other groups” (Bacik 2002) which resulted in a poor atmosphere for recognition of ethnic diversity and cultural differentiation (Brenna 1997).

Saami people adjusted to this governmental pressure, as it is analyzed by Eidheim (1971). He discussed a concept of so-called hidden identity which could be seen in three ways. First, Eidheim observed that Saami hide their identity from others by stopping to speak Saami when

⁴² Educational Act forbade any use of the Saami language in Saami schools.

⁴³ See more in Lehtola 2002; Minde 2003a; Solbakk J.T. 2006; Kulonen et.al. 2005; Solbak A. (ed.) 1990.

⁴⁴ Apparently, the most powerful period of Norwegianization coincided with the expanded European colonisation from 1870-1914.

outsiders appeared close to them. The hidden identity appeared in relation to youth who did not know their Saami background because the transition of the heritage from older to younger generation was stopped. In such cases, the youth do not hide their identity, they just do not know it, or in other words, identity is hidden from them. The third approach is contextually hidden identity, when a person is Saami in Sápmi but when he entered Norwegian territory he becomes Norwegian. It is more an empirical question for research concerning situational identity, discussed by Barth (1994, 1998).

2.2.1 Saami political revitalisation in Norway

In the inter-war period the Saami were an ethnic minority experiencing lack of social status as well as political influence (Niemi 1997:76). Moreover, the result of war in northern Finland and northern Norway in 1944-45, destroyed much of the existing houses and visible traces of Saami culture. As a result, the Saami were marginalized on the political agenda as well as in society (Niemi 1997). However, the pressure of assimilation policy was relaxed somewhat later, during rebuilding in Finnmark in the 1950s. In the period from the 1940s to the 1970s the Saami still lacked any organization for cooperative activities and generally any collective identity (Kulonen et.al. 2005:336). However, it was a period of awakening ethnic awareness and intensifying organization. In June 1948 *Norske Reindriftssamers Landsforbund* (the Norwegian Saami Reindeer Herders' Association) was established⁴⁵. In 1968 *Norske Samers Riksforbund (NSR)* (the National Association of Norwegian Saami) was founded⁴⁶. NSR encourages individual Saami to acknowledge their Saami roots and enhance their self-esteem, thereby strengthening the entire Saami community (Solbak ed.1990:81). This process of ethnic consciousness most of the time lead to political demonstrations. Stordahl (1997) notices that the 1970s saw a political and cultural revitalization never witnessed before in Saami history. Alongside organizational work and the creation of institutions, resolutions were sent to governments, demonstrations and hunger strikes implemented, and national and international seminars and conferences, both political and professional were arranged (Stordahl 1997:144). This strong political recognition by the Saami themselves led to confrontations with Norwegians. Conflicts culminated into the demonstration connected to the Alta case in 1979, where the controversy around the construction of the hydro-electric power station in Alta-Kautokeino River in Finnmark, brought Saami rights onto the political agenda. Civil disobedience and the potential of violence were used as a political

⁴⁵ The purpose of NRL is to promote the economic, professional, social and cultural interests of Saami reindeer herders. The association strives to promote unity and solidarity among reindeer herders and to ensure that reindeer herding develops according to the principles laid down by custom and tradition (Solbak ed.1990:79).

⁴⁶ The main object of NSR is to assert the rights of Saami people as a separate ethnic group and as an indigenous population, and to endeavour to improve the position of the Saami population socially, culturally and economically. NSR endeavours to ensure that accurate information, news releases and teaching materials relating to the Saami people and Saami issues are disseminated in conformity with Saami wishes (Solbak ed.1990:81).

tool. As a result, it unified formerly disparate environmental groups with respect to a common cause to put the rights of the Saami onto the national political agenda as an indigenous people with distinct rights over the lands in northern Norway.

One can say that they succeeded and the results began to show in the late 1980s in the form of important changes in legislation⁴⁷. In other words, the minority policy was developed in opposite direction and culminated in the implementation of a fundamentally new, pro-Saami policy in 1980s which nowadays is based on the principles of cultural pluralism and indigenous rights articulated by international organizations, such as the ILO and the UN (Niemi 1997). Today the official Saami policies are rather seen as an example for others to follow. Norway was in fact the first country ratifying in 1990 the ILO Convention no.169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (1989). As a result the Saami are today recognised in Norway as an indigenous people. It means that the national government is obliged to ensure conditions whereby the Saami can through their own representative organ, the Saami Parliament, manage their own affairs and practise self-determination⁴⁸ (Kulonen et.al. 2005:337). Moreover, at the international level, Saami leaders had played for many years a leading role in indigenous politics and within the UN system for human and indigenous rights. It means that at home, Saami emphasised the dramatic needs of other indigenous peoples abroad, far more disadvantaged than any Saami who are enjoying public facilities, material and social well-being and security like the rest of the population in the Nordic welfare states.

However, the discussion about how to revive a previous ethnic identity is currently taking place. The governmental position is shown by Article 110 a of the Norwegian Constitution, which states that: “It is the responsibility of the authorities of the State to create conditions enabling the Sámi people to preserve and develop its language, culture and way of life” (Eira 2004)⁴⁹. Within Norway, public opinion is polarised on the issue of being Saami in Norway and it is well discussed by Robert Paine (1991:392-397). Some Norwegians feel guilty for the Saami past and regard what happened as treason. Others do not understand why Saami need to get special rights if they live in a welfare state where everybody is equal. Different opinions exist among the Coastal Saami as well. Some see themselves in the Norwegian society as it was

⁴⁷ The national anthem *Sámi soga lávlla* and the Saami flag were created in August 1986, and the first Saami parliament in Norway was elected in 1989. The Finnmark Law was promulgated and passed in the Norwegian Parliament in 2005. This law gives the Saami parliament and the Finnmark Provincial council a joint responsibility for administering the land areas previously considered state property. Before this area has always been used primarily by the Saami and now it belongs officially to the people of the province, Saami or Norwegian.

⁴⁸ The fundamental criterion for determining the tribal or indigenous peoples is based on the self-identification (Article 1 in ILO No. 169), where according to S. James Anaya (2004), the term peoples means the identification of the beneficiary groups and, further more, give more positive recognition of group identity and corresponding attributes of community, because of the association with the term self-identification, which is associated with a right of independent statehood.

⁴⁹ Provisions safeguarding Sámi language, culture and community life are also found in Norwegian legislation such as the Saami Act, the Human Rights Act, the Education Act and the Reindeer Husbandry Act (Eira 2004).

pointed out in the abovementioned constitutional Article 110 a. Others might call the process as a ‘Saamisation’ of Saami people where the state has again decided how Saami should be. These controversial debates are taking place now in Saami communities and in the Norwegian society as a whole. However, this thesis is focused on the revival ethnic identity by cultural means.

2.2.2 Culture as a tool of Saami ethnic revitalisation

Political revitalization was highly tied with the Saami cultural revival. Moreover, cultural knowledge and cultural traditions, became more than a political resource; they are the very basis for political and legal recognition by national authorities and international law (Brantenberg 1999:75). According to the ILO Convention No. 169, natural resources and territories constitute the ‘material basis’ for indigenous culture – and the premise for legal recognition of land rights and self-government (Brantenberg 1999:74). Thuen notices that culture deserves protection as an identity-expressing sign-system and collective estate, whereas members of the ethnic collectivity in other respects are supposed to participate in the wider society’s activities and institutions on an individual and equal basis⁵⁰ (1989c in Thuen 1995:178). Eventually, the formula people=culture⁵¹ is the base for conceptualizing indigenous identity⁵².

According to Thuen, the Saami culture is constructed and elaborated as part of signification and transaction processes between the aboriginal population and the government (1995:177). Therefore, the roots of self-determination movement and political agenda can be seen in a revitalization of Saami culture mainly happening since the 1970s. It was expressed first through the use of Saami language (radio news, literatures) and the revitalisation of traditional cultural patterns like *duodji* and *gakti* by the touch of modernity. Moreover, the notion of contemporary Saami art appeared and was expressed through *joik* (inspired by jazz or other music streams) and song festivals, painting, photography, sculptures, films, theatre. It was a time when ČSV⁵³ came into being and became a concept and a symbol for those who wanted to change the position of the oppressed as well as a label for identifying those who actively joined and supported the Saami political movement (Stordahl 1997:145). An initiator, Anders Guttormsen, expressed it as: “From now on ČSV will work with people as a cognate sign, an appeal, a war-cry, a piece-greeting, a contact word. It has passed out the moral support to minority; it will be a

⁵⁰ In this respect “ethnic identity is supposed to be separable from the status of citizen and may be added to it in certain realms of public life but the extension of its legal acknowledgement is the state’s prerogative” (Thuen 1989c in Thuen 1995:178).

⁵¹ Where culture can be defined as “the complex whole of knowledge, wisdom, values, attitudes, customs and multiple resources which a community has inherited, adopted or created in order to flourish in the context of its social and natural environment” (Verhelst & Tyndale 2002:10).

⁵² This point is well-discussed by Trond Thuen (1995)

⁵³ ČSV is a combination of frequently used letters in the Saami language. “The abbreviation may contain many meanings, e.g., Čájet Sámi Vuoiŋŋa! (Celebrate Saami Spirit!) ČSV came to represent the positiveness of being a Saami” (Stordahl 1997:154).

source of constant new ideas” (Stien in Ottar 4/2000:4 in Hansen 2007:22, my translation). Moreover, ČSVs were recognizable not only by their strong and revolutionary options, but also by their style of dress. It could be Saami dress, Saami boots, pewter embroidered watch straps, ČSV pins and buttons, sweaters and caps with Saami colours and patterns (Stordahl 1997). Stordahl (1997) notices, their idea was to create a Saami identity solely based on Saami traditions such as Saami language, Saami food, Saami costumes, Saami architecture, Saami music and Saami folktales. It was open opposition to mainstream society and to their own parents’ generation who hid their Saami identity or strived to be as clever as possible in Norwegian language and culture. By cultural tools ČSV was trying to evoke the Saami ethnic identity and “create a new and more equal society for the Saami to live in” (Stordahl 1997:149).

One goal of the Saami movement was to raise the level of education by means of an educational system that had its foundations in the Saami language and culture. A campaign was waged for the adoption of the Saami language at schools, teacher training colleges and universities, and Saami quotas were demanded for vocational and other education (Kulonen et.al.2005:337). The University of Tromsø was the first higher educational institution in Northern Norway established in 1972 to develop the northern regions. In 1970-80s Saami activists and local people considered the University of Tromsø as a part of the revitalizing process: “you will not be a Saami before you go to study at the university” (Hansen 2007:57 my translation). And Saami went to the university to discover their history and language. They conducted research in northern areas concerning Saami issues, and they started to realise what happened to them through these numerous research articles and books on local Saami histories and conflicts, revitalization processes, questions of identity, etc.

Eventually Saami people today are present on the cultural arena as innovators and tradition keepers at the same time. Saami cultural heritage is expressed by means of cultural days, celebrations, festivals, concerts, film screening and poetry readings. Handicrafts, literature, graphic and modern arts are spread through the exhibitions, galleries and museums⁵⁴, which are running the whole year around. Moreover, by means of special support measures, the Norwegian Council for Cultural Affairs has helped establish a number of Saami cultural institutions and cultural initiatives. Among them there also exists the umbrella organization for Saami artists *Sami Daiddagoveddas* which is situated in Karasjok, and *Beaivváš Sámi Theatre* in Kautokeino established in 1981 and since 1990 has had the status of a permanent theatre eligible for state subsidies⁵⁵.

⁵⁴ Most of them situated in Finnmark: Karasjok, Kautokeino, Alta and in other places, for instance in Tromsø.

⁵⁵ The group has adapted Saami oral storytelling traditions for the stage.

Moreover, Saami people today have their own cultural centres. For instance, in *Guovdageaidnu* (Kautokeino) about 90% of the population speaks Saami. Here we find Saami media including the Sámi language *Áššu* newspaper, the DAT Saami publishing house and record company. Moreover, it is hometown of the Saami Easter Festival. In addition, several Saami institutions are located in Kautokeino including: a Sámi High School and Reindeer Herding School, the Sámi University College, the Nordic Sámi Research Institute, the Sámi language board, the Resource Centre for the Rights of Indigenous People, and International Centre for Reindeer Husbandry. The hometown of the Norwegian Saami Parliament *Kárášjohka* (Karasjok) is another Saami cultural centre. There are the Sápmi cultural park, the Saami Art Centre, the Saami Collections museum, NRK Saami Radio, the Saami language *Min Áigi* newspaper, the Saami Specialist Library⁵⁶. However, these two towns represent mainly reindeer-herding Saami culture. *Gáivuotna* (Kåfjord) is an important centre for the Coastal Saami culture in Northern Troms, famous for organising the International Indigenous Riddu Riđđu Festival and hosting the Ája-centre.

Summing up, one could say that the Saami cultural policy today is a cooperation between traditions and modernity, visibility and openness, decoration and practical use. These features make Saami culture noticeable and competitive with the trends of the modern world. Therefore, the author see the development of Norwegian-Saami society today in accordance with the salad bowl theory (Millet 2006), where the ethnical cultural differences are welcomed and combined (like a salad) but they do not merge together as a homogeneous culture. This idea proposes a society of many individuals, ‘pure’ cultures, and has become more politically correct than the melting pot (Maybury, 1997:38-40), since ethnic groups have the right to preserve their culture. Today the differentiations amongst the Saami are becoming visible again. In addition to well-known reindeer-herding Saami from Finnmark, the Coastal Saami have started to represent their revitalized identity by means of cultural tools. How they manage to keep the track between traditions and modernity in the process of identity revitalization will be discussed further.

2.3 Cultural revitalisation of Coastal Saami ethnic identity: between traditions and modernity

The revitalization of a traditional culture within a modern context implies that cultural symbols and practices which have lain dormant for some time and revived (Kulonen et.al.2005:337). In the case of the Coastal Saami people this dormant time had lasted over a long period of time. Since the end of 1800 the Coastal Saami society has become eroded by the forces of assimilation.

⁵⁶ Mid-Finnmark legal office, inner Finnmark Child and Youth Psychiatric Policlinic, the Sámi Specialist Medical Centre, and the Sámi health research institute are also located there.

The Saami, consequently, stopped using their language, their dress, and other features which could be called traditions⁵⁷. As a result, most of them disappeared because the transmission from generation to generation stopped and realities as culture and tradition became erratic and fluctuating. This break in transformation of Coastal Saami traditions can be connected with belonging to the Norwegian welfare state. An important time period was the reconstruction of Finnmark and the rest of northern Norway after WWII when the Norwegian government invested a lot of money to re-build the area. As a result most of the people got much better living conditions compared to what they had before. Moreover, the Labour movement in contrast to the right wing, promoted interests and supported small scale farmers and fishermen, who were in majority among Coastal Saami⁵⁸. As far as the young Norwegian state did not pose any questions on minority or ethnic issues, in the frame of the ethnic nationalism development, some people saw the Labour movement as one of the ways to require their rights connected to the traditional occupation⁵⁹.

However, one can argue against this fact, because in collaboration with the Labour party the Coastal Saami developed their traditional occupation and got a well-fare which brought other standards of life with security and comfort. Then many people started to rethink their past which became a symbol of shame and poverty; and most of them preferred to forget it. Ivar Bjørklund shows that “people in Kvænangen firmly believed that they had no past at all” (1985:47). It was done for the sake of a new well-fare life, where only one requirement should be fulfilled – to become Norwegian. Here we see that Coastal Saami identity has been developed on the contrary to Bromley’s (1974 in Banks 1996) theory of primordial ethnicity – their ethnos did not “persist through all social formations”. On the opposite, their ethnical identity demonstrated “a strong flexibility in the course of history”. According to the instrumentalist approach, the Coastal Saami just chose a group in which they would participate and as we can see, most of them chose a conformist position by becoming Norwegian through learning the language, switching the cloth, the occupation and the whole way of life. At that time the last kept hidden Coastal Saami traditions were just put away and as a result for the next generation their Saami-ness was hidden: no traditions, no culture, just a representation of Norwegian well-fare modernity. Particularly during that period the concept of stigmatized identity (Eidheim 1971) was promoted at its most.

⁵⁷ The word ‘tradition’ is used to “qualify a series of phenomena; occupation, industry, handicraft, knowledge, rights, etc.” (Bjerkli 1996:3)

⁵⁸ Small scale farming and fishing are the traditional occupation of the people living on the coast of northern Norway. Therefore the Labour party has gotten the recognition and a constant support amongst Coastal Saami especially in the period of the party’s golden age in 1950-1970.

⁵⁹ For instance, Ivar Bjørklund (1985) assumes that the Labour movement during the 1940s and 1950s took the role of the Læstadian revival in the nineteenth century.

However, reindeer-herding Saami from Finnmark were strongly resilient and “persisted through variety of social forms” (Banks 1996:18). Following Bromley’s theory of ethnicity, they represented an ‘ethnosocial organism’. Inland Saami not only preserved their culture and traditions, but represented them as continuous and living, providing the connection between the past, the present and the future. Thanks to this continuity of traditions the inland reindeer-herding Saami do not need to prove that they are ‘real’ Saami; they just are, how it used to be for centuries. Therefore, even their revitalization movement was traditionalist because they attempt to restore traditions in a modern context, which itself is no longer traditional (Kulonen et.al.2005: 337). According to Bjerkli, making ‘traditions’ visible is obviously also important in processes of revitalization and strengthening of ethnic or national identities (1996:3). It helps create a common past that larger groups of people can refer to and identify with (Bjerkli 1996:3). Therefore, for the majority of a population they are the real Saami, who have retained their traditions. Even the Coastal Saami had been excluded from that ‘common Saami past’. They grew up as the rest of the population with the idea that the Saami people are living only in Finnmark (Kautokeino), they have traditional colourful dress and all of them are reindeer-herders. Moreover, the representation of the inland Saami has been promoted more strongly and the one most visible to outsiders due to the pro-Saami policy since 1980s⁶⁰ (Niemi 1997).

Nowadays, reindeer Saami are a recognizable ‘brand’ in Norway and across the world. They know their past, live in the present which enriched their traditional way of life and they see themselves in the future in contrast to the Coastal Saami who reject their past, try to find themselves in the present and are not so optimistic about their future. In addition, they do not retain traditions and culture and that makes the revitalisation process of the Coastal Saami identity more complicated. Therefore one can conclude that the Coastal Saami community still does not have their particular image as reindeer-herding Saami do.

2.3.1 Between traditions and modernity: inauthenticity and authenticity of invented traditions in the context of the past, the present and the future

One can assume that Coastal Saami have been stigmatized doubly, by Norwegians and also by the inland Saami. Therefore the ČSV generation and the pro-Saami policy procreated the next generation who could already see the ambiguity in being a Saami. Asle Høgmo (1986) defines them as neither-nor generation. They are the first who can have the choice to be Norwegian⁶¹ or to be inland/Coastal Saami. Sometimes the wish to be, for instance, a Coastal Saami pushes young people to revive their traditional culture, and then led by the purpose to invent their

⁶⁰ For instance, a group of reindeer-herders from Kautokeino had been invited to present a reindeer-race and Saami traditions on the Olympic Games in Lillehammer in 1994. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää *joiked* about Saami *siida*.

⁶¹ Thus they become “norwegianized” but not really Norwegian (Høgmo 1986).

traditions⁶², to legitimate or sanctify some current reality or aspiration (Hanson 1989). Inventions are seen by Hanson as sign-substitutions that depart some considerable distance from those upon which they are modeled, that are selective, and that systematically manifest the intention to further some political or other agenda (1989:899). A set of inventive sign-substitutions are described by Clifford (1988:9 in Hanson 1989:899) as “a pervasive condition of off-centeredness in a world of distinct meaning systems, a state of being in culture while looking at culture, a form of personal and collective self-fashioning.” It means that Coastal Saami can appeal selectively and creatively to the traditions of their ancestors; and the same can be said for those ancestors, and so on; or they can just create mythical customs which can be encouraged by institutions or locals that will empower and legitimize them⁶³.

The traditional culture here can be seen as in Allon Hanson’s interpretation as “increasingly recognized to be more an invention constructed for contemporary purposes than a stable heritage handed on from the past” (1989:890). Bjerkli goes further and relying on the statement by the Finish folklorist Perri J. Anttonen that “modernization is conceptualized as the loss of tradition”, asserts that tradition is inextricably connected to the idea and state of modernity (1996:13). Hence, the concept of ‘tradition’ reflects an idea of the past instead of the past seen as a reality, whatever that could be (Bjerkli 1996:13). However, Roger Keesing (1989:25) argues that to an extent we are all prisoners of ‘real’ pasts – for example, of “patriarchal values and institutions, of patterns of thought, of structures of power”, where traditions are nearly always taken for granted, explained as “just the way things are”. Bjerkli (1996), on the contrary, sees the tradition as a reflection on modernity, in a modern perspective and as a variable in explanations of the modern. In other words, it is the main qualities of modernity which Anthony Giddens has identified as ‘institutional reflexivity’⁶⁴ (in Bjerkli 1996:13). Keesing (1989), on the contrary, shows how indigenous people of the contemporary Pacific have created a structured past as a political tool⁶⁵ – by using Western categorizations, Western perceptions of themselves, in

⁶² Amongst the creators of culture can be considered the anthropologists who during their ethnographical research inevitably produced cultural inventions which later can become a cultural reality; people who invented cultures and traditions for others how it happened between Western nations and their colonies, “the invention of tradition for subordinate peoples is part of a cultural imperialism that tends to maintain the asymmetrical relationship of power (Hanson 1989:890). The latter does not take place in the creation of Saami culture nowadays due to the pro-Saami policy. On the contrary the whole Coastal Saami cultural development depends on them, how they will and what they will create, that will be their culture.

⁶³ A creation of mythical customs belonging to different purposes is well discussed by Roger M. Keesing (1989).

⁶⁴ “The regularised use of knowledge about circumstances of social life as a constitutive element in its organisation and transformation” (Giddens 1991:20 in Bjerkli 1996:13).

⁶⁵ Keesing (1989) shows that for Pacific Islanders, modernity has been brought by colonialism therefore the tendency has been for them to define and represent their culture in relation to the West.

emphasising their difference from the West by celebrating ‘primitivity’⁶⁶ – that can serve as a legitimation for claims to indigenous rights in the present .

Keesing proposes that there is no such thing as an unambiguous, ‘authentic’ past. ‘Genealogies, cosmologies, rituals’, he explains were themselves contested spheres (1989:25). Hanson also doubts in the reality of traditional culture and histories which “so irredeemably shrouded behind multiple veils of distortion, some woven from imported fabric and others homespun, that no effort at objectivity could be sufficient to strip them away” (1989:897). Since no culture is really ever ‘frozen in time’ but in fact always a constant entity, each one must choose which aspects of itself it wants to preserve as tradition (Keesing 1989). However, outsiders may not understand that. According to Keesing (1989) indigenous people intending to create internal cohesion can “insist on asserting positions using their own paradigms” and the danger is that in doing so, traditional societies could become inauthentic; ‘frozen in time’ just like the modern, Western World expects them to be. Subscribing to ‘conceptual diseases’ such as reifying their own culture, as well as mistakes such as idealizing ‘primitivity’, can lead to the reduction of cultures becoming merely ‘specimens in jars’. As Bjerkli says “tradition in this case, is not then a legitimated anonymous and continuous cultural system or a construction of it”, pointing out that this notion requires to go beyond the state of affairs where ‘tradition’ reflects Western modernity and “maybe only then, we will be able to grasp its inherent dynamics” (1996:19).

In case of revitalizing Coastal Saami culture in Kåfjord, we can see the above-mentioned dilemma between authentic and inauthentic. The community has its own particular traditions, however, they have never been considered as a part of the Coastal Saami way of life. It was just local customs, based on the understanding that ‘it has always been like that’. This point is well discussed by Bjerkli (1996). Analyzing the case of the land use in Svartskogen, he notices that people could not clear explain their relation to the area and way of doing things. They know that they have always been there, but they can’t give a clear-cut explanation of why, how and who (Bjerkli 1996:9). In this manner ‘tradition’ becomes visible bridging the past, the present and the future; without reference to concrete historical circumstances (Bjerkli 1996:9-10). However, when young people were trying to revitalize Coastal Saami traditional features, locals ‘suddenly’ saw the difference between authentic Coastal Saami cuisine and local/Norwegian one; authentic Coastal Saami boat and an ordinary Norwegian, etc. All what have been presented faced strong critic and young people were accused of creating traditions and considered as inventors and dreamers.

⁶⁶ The concept of the other’s ‘primitiveness’ is among the most tenacious in the history of Western conceptions of otherness (Thuen 1995:182).

Here we see the main challenge for cultural invention in the Coastal Saami community. Invented traditions seem to be modern because most of them have not been visible before and therefore now they are already considered as symbols of the modern by many. For the majority it defines its inauthenticity. Nevertheless Hanson affirms that no one bit of behaviour can be said to have ultimate authenticity, to be the absolute and eternal ‘right way’ of which all the others are representations (1989:898). Moreover, following him, all of the bits of behaviour are models: models of previous bits and models for subsequent ones. Elements of the current invention of Coastal Saami culture could become “objectively incorporated into that culture by the very fact of people talking about them and practicing them” (Hanson 1989:898). Therefore, we can consider the invention of culture as a case of sign-substitution in a play of signification which is also the process of ordinary social reproduction (Hanson 1989). Hanson concludes that cultural inventions acquire authenticity in the eyes of members of society because the invention of culture is no extraordinary occurrence but an activity of the same sort as the normal, everyday process of social life (1989:898). However, Bjerkli (1996:14) in discussion on modernity finds out that “the idea of development is attached to the notion of modernity as the stagnated is connected to the notion of tradition”. How Bjerkli concludes this model of thinking about society has been very useful both for those who requested rapid change and development and for those who want to put on the brake (1996:14). Therefore here it raises the question whether a Coastal Saami community accepts this notion of cultural invention and what is their understanding and attitudes towards invented traditions?

On the other hand, we can assume that the neither-nor generation who are in the lead of the Coastal Saami revitalization process see inventions as the stuff that cultural reality is made of; “there is no essential bounded tradition ... the ongoing reconstruction of tradition is a facet of all social life” (Handler and Linnekin 1984:276 in Hanson 1989:898). Moreover, Coastal Saami youth see tradition as an invention designed to serve contemporary purposes, ‘an attempt’, as Lindstrom put it “to read the present in terms of the past by writing the past in terms of the present” (in Hanson 1989:890). It means that they do not rely on historically fixed tradition first, what Jacques Derrida calls the ‘metaphysics of presence’ (1978) or ‘logocentrism’ (1974) in their cultural invention (in Hanson 1989:898). Because the logocentric view would hold that traditional Saami culture existed in determinate form, say, at the moment of effective Western contact (I would consider it in the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries), then that cultural essence was distorted by anthropological research and Saami revitalization movements which brought to the agenda the stereotypical image of reindeer-herding Saami from Finnmark. However, approaching the Derrida’s point that it has been necessary to replace the metaphysics of presence with a more

fluid, decentered view⁶⁷, one can say that Saami culture has always been “a sort of nonlocus in which an infinite number of sign-substitutions came into play” (in Hanson 1989:898). However, this process of cultural invention is forming now the representation of Coastal Saami who have to create an imagined community, where sign-substitutions can come into play, in other words, cultural inventions or revitalized traditions are becoming the same notions and need a room to be placed in.

2.3.2 Imagined community as a room for Coastal Saami cultural invention

In the revitalization of Coastal Saami, we see struggling ethnic identity between national and major (Saami) ethnic identity. According to Kulonen attempts to strengthen the Saami identity and the concept of ‘Saaminess’ were subsequently made along with integration into modern society, which in turn made it possible for the Saami to mobilize their political resources and to function as an ‘imagined community’ (et.al.2005:336). Here it is worth mentioning the point of Benedict Anderson, who defines nations as “imagined communities” in that “members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (1983:15). However, it seems Coastal Saami did not find enough communion of interests and in accordance with Cohen that community exist in the minds of its members, and should not be confused with geographic or sociographic assertion of ‘fact’ (1985: 98) and therefore decided to create their own symbolic community. I can assume that the Coastal Saami have developed their idea of ethnic revitalization within the framework of an instrumentalist approach. Based on that, there does not exist real ‘other’ in relation to ‘we’. They reinvented an imagined Coastal Saami community, through creation of a new concept ‘us versus others’. There the reality of community can be expressed and embellished symbolically by extension, the distinctiveness of communities and, thus, the reality of their boundaries similarly lies in the mind, in the meanings which people attach to them, not in their structural forms (Cohen 1985). In this relation, Anderson (1983) describes not only ‘how’, but also what is imagined. It has been shown that instead of sacred communities, through texts and languages individuals gain a sense of being part of the imagined community of their nation through press where certain events happen to specific individuals on specific days in specific places.

These events can be defined by ideologies of *kastom* discussed by Keesing (1989) in relation to modern mythmaking in the Pacific. There are rhetorical appeals to ‘the Saami way’

⁶⁷“[...] the center had no natural site, that it was not a fixed locus but a function, a sort of nonlocus in which an infinite number of sign-substitutions came into play. This was the moment when... in the absence of a center or origin, everything became discourse... that is to say, a system in which the central signified, the original or transcendental signified, is never absolutely present... The absence of the transcendental signified extends the domain and the play of signification infinitely” [Derrida 1978:280 in Hanson 1989:898].

and idealization of custom at national/regional level; ritualized celebration of custom in form of the arts – music, dance, ‘traditional dress’ – as dramatically enacted in art festivals, tourist events, and rituals of state⁶⁸. This art expression necessarily implements traditional cultural patterns like *duodji* and *joik*, however, we can notice that Coastal Saami still to some extent rely on Finnmark’s living traditions because cultural invention has to have a base. However, the Coastal Saami community took up a challenge to recover their own traditions and identity by presenting themselves to the world through the Riddu Ridđu festival.

2.3.3 The festival as a cultural tool of Coastal Saami ethnic revitalization

According to Julie Cruikshank (1997), festivals as a public event have dual purposes of marking out ethnicity to outsiders, and creating a feeling of internal cohesion among those represented. The pursuit of these dual purposes, she continues, can make festivals to be seen as “conventionalized and too restrictive to provide a meaningful metaphor for organizing personal behaviour” (1997:57). Festivals, she says, are their own entity, have their own social rules, and thus can not be as a ‘real’ representation of the everyday way of life of the group being represented. As Mary Douglas notices, “public rituals, by establishing visible external forms, bring out of all the possible might-have-beens a firm social reality” (1982:36 in Handelman 1990:11). These opinions are the closest to the classic view of festival and carnival, that they are a form of “social catharsis” (Sadler 1969), and in temporarily breaking social order succeed in upholding it. In this respect we can define the Riddu Ridđu festival as a public ritual which presents “a series of culturally recognized and specific events, the order of which is known in advance of their practice, and which are marked off spatially and temporally from the routine of everyday life” (Kapferer 1984:194 in Handelman 1990:11).

However, Ted Tanen contradicts Cruickshank’s idea of festivals being their own entity and not affecting the real identity of the people, he points that a festival “will increase the impact and provide opportunity to include a great many others” (1991:370). Moreover, Ivan Karp emphasises the fact that the festival is “living”, and is far more effective as a “sensual experience that more totally involves the person” (1991:282)⁶⁹. As Handelman notices, “the necessity for cognitive and emotional experience that can be known to a people only through the doing, the

⁶⁸ Following Keesing (1989:20-21) the rhetoric of *kastom* can be invoked with reference to a particular region (Kåffjord) and can take a form of competition for state resources (Svartskogen, fishing rights) and political power (NSR), regional separatism, or even secessionist demands, however, some ideologies of *kastom* used to resolve the contradictions if the commitment to ‘traditional’ culture remains strong.

⁶⁹ It became evident during the fieldwork, when some Saami people in conversations pointed out that they had attended Riddu-Ridđu many times and for most of them, it is a meeting place first (how it used to be during the Middle Age: to make deals, to contract a marriage, exchange news). In spite the fact that many of them lived away from Manndalen (Finland, Sweden, and Russia) they emphasised that would always, without fail return there at Riddu-Ridđu.

enactment, of dramatic performance” (1990:9). People become signs on themselves – a dance becomes a sign of a larger performance, in itself a sign of the larger community, culture or country (Kurin 1991:337). These signs have a symbolical meaning where “the symbolon was conceived of as the representation of the important, yet not existing in concrete actuality, it could also denote the invisible appearing in the visible, the abstract in the real, and the transcendent in the world of immanence” (Ulich 1955:205 in Handelman 1990:13). According to Victor Turner, public events are locations of the presence and the high production of symbols; “the symbol is the smallest unit of ritual”, a kind of building-block for the whole event (1967:19 in Handelman 1990:12). Kurin (1991) builds on this, pointing out that this reduction of culture to semiotics (as clearly happens a lot with the Saami) only tells us about semiotic categories, not the feelings of the people themselves during such exhibition of culture.

2.4 Research questions and hypothesis

Summing up, this thesis will try to find out the relation of *manndalinger* to the cultural invention (does a Coastal Saami community accept this notion of cultural invention?) and show their chosen way of the invasion of traditions and how far they accept distortions as authentic to their heritage during the process of cultural invention and which sign-substitutions can be defined in relation to Coastal Saami culture today.

Moreover, the purpose of this thesis is to understand the process by which means invented portions of culture acquire authenticity. In other words, how the social reproduction of culture – the process whereby people learn, embody, and transmit the conventional behaviours of their society (Hanson 1989:898) – is happening in the Coastal Saami community today. Therefore the Riddu Ridđu festival will be considered further as one of the examples of Coastal Saami cultural invention with the purpose of revitalization an ethnic identity.

Finally, the author comes up with the following hypothesis:

1. Inventions are common components in the ongoing development of authentic culture, and producers of inventions are often outsiders as well as insiders (based on the conclusion made by Hanson (1989:898).
2. The Riddu Ridđu festival is a symbolical representation of the Coastal Saami community or, in other words, imagined community where invented traditions are situated (based on Anderson (1983) and Cohen (1985).
3. Coastal Saami invented traditions or cultural inventions are reflections on modernity (based on Bjerkli (1996).

Chapter 3

Coastal Saami revitalisation in Manndalen: local context and development

The idea of the connectivity of place, space and time has played a significant role in organising the event, which by itself presents a symbolic structure. Therefore this chapter provides the context of Riddu Riddu by situating Coastal Saami ethnic identity in the municipality of Kåfjord and Manndalen, the Coastal Saami village where the Riddu Riddu festival was born and has taken place every year since 1991. The discussion on revival of Coastal Saami identity in Kåfjord and Manndalen explains the prerequisites for establishing the Riddu Riddu festival. In addition the role of the youth generation of 1990 and their activities which gave birth to the Riddu Riddu festival will be particularly considered.

3.1 Situating Kåfjord municipality and Manndalen hamlet

In 1927 Kåfjord achieved an independent municipality status from Lyngen County. It is located within a fjord district in the northern part of Troms County in northern Norway. According to Hovland (1996), Kåfjord for a long time has been suffering from high unemployment because the central industry – fishery – went into a decline a long time ago, while other industries have not been developed enough to compensate the lack of jobs. Therefore, commuting was spread amongst people. In later years many have moved away and around thousand people have left for the last twenty years (Hovland 1996). In addition, the municipality has been characterised in general by low level of education, therefore people with degrees have not seen the home municipality as a place with perspectives and do not come back. All these factors provoked stagnation in Kåfjord. However, today the municipality has become an important centre for the Coastal Saami culture and one of the most active and developed Coastal Saami communities⁷⁰. To understand how Kåfjord has developed, we should consider the role of villages in this neighbourhood. As Bjerkli says, Kåfjord “is not just one place” (1995 in Hovland 1996:24 my translation). Today *Gáivuotna* stretches along the E6 and is represented by a long shoreline and valleys where villages – Nordnes, Manndalen, Skardalen, Kåfjorddalen, Birtavarre, Skattvoll,

⁷⁰ As Hovland sums up, “Kåfjord is characterized by nomad Saami, mining and construction business, fishing and farming, passage and commuting, readjusting and crises” (1996:23 my translation).

Trollvik, Olderdalen, Normannvik and Djupvik – are situated around the fjord⁷¹. Following the research topic of the thesis, I will focus on the representation of Manndalen⁷².

The first record of the valley comes from 1723 in a land register (Schjøtt 1958 in Hansen 2007). Later it is described as a hamlet with the majority of the population Saami, although among them were also Norwegians and Kvens. Today Manndalen, literally the Valley of Men, or *Olmáivággi* since 1999⁷³ is a narrow valley surrounded by steep mountains reaching up to 1,300 meters with birch-forests on the lower parts, stretching from Løkvoll at the sea shore and up along the Manndalselva (Manndalen river). There are about 800 inhabitants, with housing spreading from its estuary, which leads into a branch of the greater Lyngen fjord and approximately thirteen kilometres into the interior⁷⁴ (Bjerkli 2003: 220). The community is sedentary with small-scale farming as the most common form of livelihood (Bjerkli 2003:220). Some families run these farms by themselves, others hire seasonal workers. The farming is based on milk and meat production from goats, cow and sheep, which is a source of wool for use in the home craft industry. One can conclude that the life of the people is framed by the “agricultural year”. Even the Riddu-Riđđu festival depends on the haymaking time⁷⁵.

Compared to other villages in the municipality (especially Normannvik and Djupvik) Manndalen is seen by Hovland (1996) as a developing region. Moreover, after hard discussions with other parts of the municipality, *manndalinger* established their joint enterprises like rural house and quay. Nowadays Manndalen is a centre for a Coastal Saami culture which promoted the development and implementation of educational and social activities for bringing together older and younger generations. Ája Saami Centre plays an important educational role in Manndalen, which houses a Saami language centre, a Riddu Riđđu office, a Saami environmental centre, the regional office of NRK Saami radio, offices of the Northern-Troms Museum and a youth club. Among the educational institutions there is a school with 100 pupils, where instruction is in Norwegian, although some subjects are taught in Saami as well. The school provides Saami courses in collaboration with some families, who have maintained the Saami language, helping pupils in conversational skills. Most of the above-mentioned cultural and public-service institutions were built and function now thanks to volunteers.

⁷¹ See more detailed information concerning these villages in Hovland (1996), pp.20-24.

⁷² See more detailed information on situating Manndalen in Bjerkli (1997), pp.141-143 and (2003), pp.220-221; Hovland (1996), pp.21-23; the official web-site of Manndalen <http://www.manndalen.no/> [accessed 2007, September 15].

⁷³ The decision was made after debates on bringing back Saami names to Kåfjord's territory, however the road sign with a Saami name was established only in 2005 (Mikalsen 2005).

⁷⁴ Some farms are extending through the valley until the Bánno and Ruovddáš. Available at the official web-site of Manndalen (2007, September 15) [online]. – URL: <http://www.manndalen.no/index.php?cat=39991>

⁷⁵ It is held in the second week of July and the field in which it is situated has to be prepared.

3.2 Situating Coastal Saami Identity in Kåfjord and Manndalen

A map of Troms and Finnmark dated by 1861 shows reasonably clear that the Coastal Saami was the biggest ethnic group in northern Troms and Finnmark by contrast with the South and Middle-Troms, where they were considered as a minority population. According to the map, the northern territory was inhabited by 3520 families, amongst which 1324 Saami, 720 Kven/Finnish⁷⁶ and 1480 Norwegian (Mikalsen 2006 a). In the case of Kåfjord, the census from 1875 shows that 2/3 of the population had a Saami background and 72% of them used Saami language in everyday life, amongst them 68% knew only the Saami language (Pedersen & Høgmo 2004 in Hansen 2007). Moreover, Kåfjordinger cooperated with nomad Saami from Kautokeino and Karesuando who had their summer reindeer pastures close to Birtavarre and Manndalen (Hovland 1996). Some nomadic Saami settled in Kåfjord.

According to Bjerkli (1997) Manndalen counted 130 people who in the majority were Saami, apart from a few Kvens in 1800. However, Kven's migration from Sweden and Finland to Manndalen has been continuing from 1800s until the beginning of 1900s. They came both as single persons and as whole families and easily integrated into the Saami society through intermarriages. The whole history of Kven migration is considered as a peaceful integration by many (Bjerkli 1997, 2003; Hovland 1996; Bjørklund 1985). Of course, some conflicts could have happened due to possession of resources but they were insignificant. In the end of the 1800s, some Norwegian persons and one family moved to Manndalen (Bjerkli 1997). Some of them married with Saami⁷⁷. By the year 1900, 80% of *manndalinger* (in total 476 persons) classified themselves as Saami or as people with Saami as the first language (Bjerkli 1997:142 my translation).

As we can see, there were three stems in Manndalen – Saami, Kven and Norwegian and tracks of this mixed cultures can still be found today in language, placenames, folk believes and cultural implementations (Hovland 1996:24 my translation). However, the situation changed dramatically when ethnic nationalism came to force with the idea of a mono-Norwegian-nation. In connection to that a number of studies have been conducted on indigenous people at that time and Coastal Saami were placed on the bottom stage of development in classifications made by physical anthropologists in the beginning of the twentieth century. They described Saami in distinctly negative terms: “The Norwegian race in the county of Troms is, as the years go by, becoming more and more polluted by foreign elements” (Bryn 1922:4 in Evjen 1997:21). Indeed, in the period from 1900s until WWII Norway invested considerable money and effort to wipe out

⁷⁶ The first mass Kven migration happened during the Great Nordic war in the beginning of the 18th century, after several attacks by the Russian army on the Torne Valley region in Northern Sweden.

⁷⁷ According to Bjerkli (1997) Norwegian-Kven marriages were more popular compared to Norwegian-Saami.

the “foreign elements” like Saami and Kven culture. It resulted in the loss of the Saami language⁷⁸, *gákti* and other elements of traditional culture in most of the Coastal Saami districts.

The World War II brought many changes to the Manndalen society as well. In the autumn of 1944 the hamlet was burned down together with all infrastructures and therefore people had to flee to the southern parts of the country. However, as one person from a neighbouring village puts it: “The war, despite everything, had two good sides; we got rid of lice and Saaminess” (Bjerkli 1997:142 my translation). Such wordings must be seen in relation to the assimilation taking form of a welfare state’s policy until around 1980. Thanks to this policy Manndalen was re-built but it was “a modern Norwegian society without structural reminders of the stigmatised Saami past” (Bjerkli 1997:142 my translation). However, people just partly got their infrastructure back; therefore most of them still had to look further than their community just to get some job. The livelihood of the Coastal Saami in Manndalen before the World War II was a combination of small-scale farming, fishing, and the exploitation of natural resources from the outlying fields (Bjerkli 2003). Nonetheless Saami were regarded as beggarly, old fashioned, reactionary and – in many circles – heathen (Minde 2003a:125). Discussions on the Saami economical capability were presented in newspapers in the following way: “... there are other Saami too who are in poor circumstances. Of course compared to Norwegians they are somewhat backward. We are talking of the Coastal Saami who by their nature are unable to keep up with developments in the fishing industry” (Lofotposten 8.12.1937 in Evjen 1997). However, Bjerkli asserts that it does not apply to Manndalen: “Until 1940, Manndalen was a bustling fishing community with a modern coastal fleet” (2003:223). It means that the Coastal Saami had to make investments, knowledge of fishing and modern navigation, furthermore, an awareness of Norwegian cultural codes just to get a modern engine ships. These facts show the people from Manndalen as a flexible and adaptive society⁷⁹.

However, the process of modernisation and integration into a wider market and further into the Norwegian welfare state was oriented to change the community in a way of economical adaptation and cultural integration. Therefore an ethnographer reported already in the mid 1950s that Saami society in Manndalen “could not be distinguished from the Norwegian societies in the region, and that almost no ethnic differentiation could be observed inside the community” (Schjøtt 1958 in Bjerkli 2003:218). A census from 1950 well reflects this fact by reporting very few Saami people on the coast (Bjørklund 1985 in Bjerkli 2003) which gives the impression of a disappeared people with vanished Saami language. Nevertheless these facts did not provoke any

⁷⁸ The Norwegian language first came to Djupvik and Nordmannvik and the last to Manndalen. According to Hovland (1996) the generation borne before WWII considered as Saami, after – more as Norwegians, because the Saami language use dramatically decreased.

⁷⁹ See the discussion on flexibility and adaptation in Bjerkli (1996: 3-21). The author argues that flexibility can’t be caught in patterns, fixed and adaptation is a flexible process, not a fact (1996:18).

interest in the Saami people who *suddenly* preferred to be Norwegians to Saami living in their native places. On the contrary, the Coastal Saami were even ignored in further studies. For instance, K.E. Schreiner saw the search for them “now hidden behind the Norwegian language and dress as too demanding an exercise” (Evjen 1997:15).

It shows that the Saami were stigmatized by Norwegian society and it reflects to some degree their personal attitude towards themselves. As Barker notices, “the stigmatized individual may find that he feels unsure of how we normals will identify him and receive him” (1948:34 in Goffman 1963:24). For the Coastal Saami the attitude from the *Dáža*⁸⁰ was crucial in forming their identity and self-representation. As a result, we can see that the inferiority deeply ingrained in most Saami in a painful complex of shame, self-contempt and unreleased aggression (Fokstad 1966 in Eidheim 1997:34). I would say that this unreleased aggression in the case of the *Manndalinger* took the form of an ‘ethos of non-involvement’ (Paine in Bjerkli 2003) embodied in a concept of hidden identity. However, Robert Paine uses this term to describe Saami who under the pressure of norwegianization policy became more withdrawn from confrontations with Norwegians (1965, 1988 in Bjerkli 2003: 218). This perspective is well argued by Bjerkli (2003) who states that the people of *Manndalen* to some degree showed more resistance against assimilation than people in most other sedentary Saami communities. Moreover, the population of *Manndalen* has quite strong identification with their village and they used to call themselves as *manndalinger*⁸¹ meanwhile people from the rest of the villages associated themselves with the municipality of *Kåfjord* and call themselves *kåfjordadalinge* or *kåfjordinge* (Hansen 2007). What is more, the term *kåfjordinge* does not include the people from *Manndalen*. This phenomenon is likely to originate from the fact that the people from *Manndalen* have been nearly isolated from the other villages without any road connections up to 1975. Consequently, this formed the specific mentality which Bjerkli sees as “an expression of a local ethos and, hence, of symbolic value” (2003:225). Behind the expression lie “assumptions, values, and meanings which underlie particular and varying expressions of cultural behaviour” (Epstein 1978:122 in Bjerkli 2003:225). The main feature of the local ethos was that all changes which came from outside were hardly accepted⁸². In other words, *manndalinger* stuck in Norwegian authority's throat, showing their resistance to a ‘norwegianized’ state regime through confrontation towards reforms of the resource exploitation in connection with property relations and extensive use of natural resources (Bjerkli 1997, 2003). For instance, the *Svartskogen* case which took place in

⁸⁰ *Dáža* is a Saami word denoting any non-Saami person.

⁸¹ “I am not from *Kåfjord*, I am from *Manndalen*” is possible to hear among inhabitants (Hansen 2007).

⁸² Bjerkli (2003) described the case of shutting down the post office in 1997/98, when population of *Manndalen* went against that and had been announced as a rebellious community. People were proud of that and remembered previous cases, when authorities tried to implement something against the will of *manndalinger*. As they used to tell about themselves: “you know, people here are not easy to handle” (Bjerkli 2003:224).

Manndalen was an example of indigenous peoples fighting for their privileges. In the long run the inhabitants of Manndalen got rights to uncultivated land areas and confirmed as a joint property by the Supreme Court in 2001, these findings based on traditional usage⁸³. This and other historical facts⁸⁴ demonstrate the strong ethos of *mandalinger*. Bjerkli concludes that this history of confrontation supports the argument that non-involvement is not a general feature in Coastal Saami societies (2003:218).

The idea to promote the ethos of confrontation was used by a Saami elite who since the 1950s began to build up an organized and unifying ethno-political movement. It has since the 1960s been called the ‘Saami Movement’ (Eidheim 1971 in 1997). As a consequence of the movement “the Saami gradually re-evaluated their self-image, invented a new context for a unifying, cultural commonality, and, step by step, became a political force on the Nordic scene” (Eidheim 1997:32). Particularly in Manndalen these debates took the form of *Gáivuona Sámesearvi* – the first local Saami political organisation – in 1976. At that time the ČSV movement supported the organization and the 1970-80s were the days of prosperity of *Gáivuona Sámesearvi*. The organization had more than 150 members and was a part of the Alta case, promoted the idea of the Saami Parliament and a Saami Law. However, the feeling of powerlessness, cultural stigma, inferiority and ethno-political apathy left deep scars in the population, and the message broadcast by the elite was met with no immediate success (Eidheim 1971 in 1997). Therefore adult *kåffordinger* and *mandalinger* had different attitudes towards *Gáivuona Sámesearvi* activities. The local youth was inspired by their activities and social position whilst many adults were suspicious of and irritated by it, thus dividing the generations. Harald Eidheim explains this ambiguity of Saami’s behaviour in his article on political entrepreneurship:

It is clear, in other words, that this type of entrepreneurial activity partly initiates and partly sets the stage for new patterns of behaviour in the Lappish community. Entrepreneurial activity might be said to force a choice which makes the peripheral Lapp ‘become Norwegian’ and the Lappish Lapp become more conscious and successful in retaining and cultivating Lappish idioms (1971 in Hovland 1996:35).

Here it is interesting to notice the internal divisions in Manndalen which is divided by the river into two parts – *Storvoll-sia* and *Vanne-sia*. According to Hansen (2007), *Storvoll-sia* used to be more ‘intellectual’ where people attended higher education whereas *Vanne-sia* was considered more ‘practical’ where people were mainly busy with farming. Local myth has it that people from *Storvoll-sia* were more open-minded towards revitalizing Coastal Saami culture whilst *Vanne-sia*

⁸³ Svartskogen case was one among others in Saami consciousness raising movement which noticeably started by the Alta case in 1979.

⁸⁴ Other historical examples and facts on resistance among *mandalinger* to the Norwegian state are discussed in Bjerkli (1997, 2003).

inhabitants did not want to acknowledge their Coastal Saami roots. These internal divisions continue to provoke debates on identity issues in the community. Meanwhile the discourse on what it meant to be a Saami became wider through Saami language education, the development of Saami media and Saami handicraft production. The Saami people started to bring their 'Saaminess' into their daily lives. According to Bjerkli, "the focus in Manndalen on Saami values and on 'being' Saami, is to some extent remarkable compared with other communities in the region with a similar background" (2003:222). Moreover, Hovland (1996) puts Manndalinger⁸⁵ and, then Kåfjordinger on the top of the local scale of Saaminess. In addition, Bjerkli (2003) demonstrates this through the example of how the optional Saami language curriculum was implemented into primary school⁸⁶. In Manndalen, half of the pupils took instruction in Saami whilst in the neighbouring valley the figure was less than 10%. It shows the orientation of the community's population to be Saami. Here is the possible cause for confrontation with both outsiders and neighbours, especially with Olderdalen, which is the most pro-Norwegian community. However, nobody knew how far the communities would encourage people to express their Saaminess and how far the local population would share Saami values.

The answer came on 1 January 1992, when *Samelovens språkregler* (the Saami law of language rules) were implemented in Kåfjord as well as in other Saami territories⁸⁷. The law supported equality between the Saami and Norwegian languages by enforcing all public services (schools, church, and health care), road signs, territory names, etc. in both languages. When the law was introduced, Kåfjord's population reacted ambiguously. Some people were not prepared to live in a 'Saami community'. Moreover, they considered the Saami revitalization as a step backwards because to them, being Saami means being poor, and there is a considerable negative stigma attached to this opinion of identity (Bjerkli 2003:222). If until now the older generation had learnt to hide their Saami heritage in order for their children to become 'Norwegians' and simply to have a better life. Now this law raised identity issues once again: suddenly grandchildren should become Saami again. This deeply personal dilemma separated families and villages inside the community.

Moreover, people started to use the question of mixed descent as an argument not to be a Saami (Thuen 1989, 1995 in Bjerkli 2003): "We are not Saami, we are descendants from three different kinds of people, Norwegian, Saami and Kvens, and now we all are Norwegians" (Bjerkli 2003:222). Meanwhile an official public self-representation of Kåfjord was seen for a long time as an outskirts community of Northern-Norway. However, to outsiders this community

⁸⁵ According to Hovland (1996 my translation) in Manndalen live more Saami speaking people than in the other villages of the community. The least of all Saami villages are Normannvik and Djupvik.

⁸⁶ According to *Samelovens språkregler* (the Saami law of language rules) issued on 1 January 1992.

⁸⁷ Kautokeino, Karasjok, Tana, Nesseby, Porsanger and Tysfjord are municipalities in Nordland.

appeared as a relatively homogeneous society. It is possible to understand this impression, if one knows that the identity of *kåffjordinger* was based on the descent from Norwegian, Saami and Kven/Finnish roots, but only Norwegian ancestry were made public. One of the reasons of that was to escape insults, scoffing and condescending comments concerning for example a dialect, body-form or small eyes or high cheekbones. All these factors influenced a lot Coastal Saami society, but particularly it concerned teens and youth who were more sensitive and vulnerable towards others' attitudes (Hansen 2007).

The situation deteriorated and this topic became a taboo both privately and in families and publicly in the community since it reminded them of the past and the painful questions of identity. The aggression was expressed by shooting road signs, sketching and defacing Saami inscriptions everywhere. It attracted a lot of attention from the local and national media. It is appropriate to mention here the mayor of the municipality Åge B. Pedersen from Manndalen:

I think that the majority of the population is against the Saami because the demand from the society to be Norwegian is deeply seated within them. They have to deny their roots, they know that they made a mistake with their children, but they are not strong enough to turn back. The language law has influenced a lot of young people and they have become conscious of their background and most of them are quite bitter towards their parents (Aftenposten 22.07.00 in Hansen 2007 my translation).

The context of Kåfjord and Manndalen is well summarised by the State Secretary Anders Eira, Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development (speech 2004): "Even though a policy marked by discrimination and assimilation has been discontinued, its effects may linger on for quite some time in the form of disparaging attitudes and a lack of acknowledgment of linguistic and cultural identity". The revitalization process which has been going on mainly through linguistic and cultural foundations and education could only partly repair the damage inflicted on the indigenous culture and language. The question of ethnic identity becomes open again and Beate Hårstad Jensen expressed it as a matter of time: "If it has taken 100 years to norwegianise the Coastal Saami, then it will perhaps take another 100 years to make us Saami again!" (Dagbladet (29), 28 July 2001 in Minde 2003a).

3.3 Manndalen's Youth in the 1990s: Riddu Riddu Generation and *Gáivuona Samenuorat*

The Riddu Riddu generation is the name applied to the youth born during 1970-80s, the time of the Saami consciences raising movement. However, in spite of this fact the majority of young people did not have an especially high ethno-political consciousness as they answered on questions about it. Indeed, this freedom gave them a choice to be Saami while the environment remained the same around them, and families where children grew up remembered their past

quite well and did not trust the new policy so far; they were angry and did not want to change their life. Children continued to learn at school about real Saami in symbolic ways: reindeer, *kofte*, *lavvo*, etc. They had never seen a traditional dress, except for the case when it was preserved in a storage room but had never been worn. They had never learnt and spoken Saami in their families although every now and then they had heard their grandparents use a clandestine language which for the kids sounded gibberish. As a result, they did not have any of their own symbols around them which could explain what it meant to be a Coastal Saami. Instead, the majority got strict laestadian religious education. According to Hovland (1996) the most 'laestadian' village was Kåfjorddalen. However, Manndalen is famous for the fact that two central laestadian preachers, a father and his son had been living there. Several informants shared their memories from their childhood: nearly everything was forbidden and considered a sin such as card games, dance, beautifying oneself, propagation studies at school and so on. As we can see, Manndalen was ruled by a laestadian dogma which, according to Hansen (2007), promoted a close and conservative form of life, seeing the sin everywhere and by that creating a *blaming society*.

All these factors encouraged Høgmo (1986) to analyse the Coastal Saami society in three generations, as a result, the third generation was subjected to double stigmatizing from both Norwegians and Saami, and they considered themselves as neither Norwegian nor Saami (in Hansen 2007:39 my translation). The University of Tromsø was one of the only places where they could know about themselves as Coastal Saami from facts without judgement and prejudice. The majority of local youth got knowledge and opportunity to discuss it within the university's arena and with the support of the Saami Research centre. They could formulate their own opinions about themselves and their Coastal Saami past. However, this search for identity resulted in a neither-nor generation or identity that was formed with the tolerance to both Norwegian and Saami cultures. This ambiguity leads to understand a person as a stranger to others and created a feeling of being almost invisible. As Hansen (2007) concludes, it was particularly these factors of inferiority and invisibility that brought young people from Kåfjord together. On the other hand it shows that the cultural awareness amongst the Saami youth in the 1990s was already different from the previous generation. Having a freedom to define their ethnic identity between being Norwegian, Coastal Saami, Kven, etc. some young *kåffjordinger* and *manndalinger* wanted to find out their Coastal Saami past through bringing back traditions which is one of the ways to understand how to be a Coastal Saami.

This independent thinking and will to find out their roots has created a new generation of *Coastal Saami elite* (Hovland 1996). Educated and inspired, creative and free, full of energy to make changes in their Coastal Saami society through establishing new institutions and motivated

by *Gáivuona Sámesearvi*'s⁸⁸ activities, the generation of 1970-80 saw themselves as an engine of the Kåfjord community. They asked questions about themselves and the people around them – Why did Norwegians take from us the Saami language? Why are we hiding our Coastal Saami identity and history? Why are we ashamed of ourselves? All these questions were a driving force for young *kåffjordinger* and *manddalinger* to create a *Gáivuona Samenuorat /Kåffjord Sameungdom (GSN)* or *the Saami Youth Union of Kåfjord* on New Year's Eve 1990. According to Hansen (2007) this union gathered people together from Kåfjord, particularly from Manndalen (mainly from the eastern bank of the river, *Storvoll-sia*), Birtavarre and Olderdalen. It is noteworthy that the great number of members were students at the University of Tromsø.

3.3.1 The policy of the Saami Youth Union of Kåfjord⁸⁹

The first meeting of the Saami Youth Union was held on 23 March 1991 where the following tasks were set:

1. *to consolidate the Saami status as a special people in relation to the Norwegian majority society and in that way to promote a claim of Saami's inner self-determination as a people;*
2. *to promote the interests of the Saami youth and increase the influence on the young people on a local, regional and central level;*
3. *to build GSN vision in such a way as to achieve a breakthrough for the Saami Parliament;*
4. *to improve Saami's rights to land and water;*
5. *to secure natural resources and adapt various trades and industries to them;*
6. *to work on the consolidation of the Saami language and Coastal Saami culture* (Hansen 2007: 44 my translation).

It is noticeable that some goals sound too solid and politically ambiguous for the Youth Union, however, not all members agreed on this strategy. Some were more interested in cultural issues; others wanted to promote political ideas. One of the informants has been a direct member of the Saami Youth Union since 1990 and she says that in the beginning it was not just a Saami organization; members voted against the capitalistic market forces and disintegration of a small local society, against centralising and commercialization, against the established silence and suppression, against the influenced/defected knowledge and Christianity, against Norwegians and the stereotypical Saami. The orientation of the union's activity was multifaceted. However, Hovland (1996) points out three of them as central foci: Saami matter, environmental protection and organisation of social events due to the lack of social offer for Kåfjord's youth.

Looking up to the strategic tasks, a general goal of the Saami Youth Union is beginning to emerge. The main goal was to break up the silence and create a consciousness-raising movement

⁸⁸ Later *Gáivuona Sámesearvi* switched the name to *Gáivuona NSR*.

⁸⁹ The following sources were used: Hansen (2007); Hovland (1996:17-47).

in order to provoke Coastal Saami self-determination and promote Saami culture in a local society. However, this task was quite hard to realise. Hansen (2007) notices the existence of a hierarchical cultural understanding of the national status inside the society. On the top of the scale resides the Norwegian affiliation, then right in the middle are Finnish/Kven descendants and on the bottom of the scale are the Saami successors. The last had been suppressed by the two other ethnic groups for a long time. Naturally, it reflected their self-esteem and self-appraisal and made them understand that being Saami is equal to having a low status in a society. Therefore, it was most important for the Union to turn this understanding back and give the modern youth an ability to be proud of being a Coastal Saami. So, that it should be 'cool' to be a Saami. The Saami Youth Union decided to turn on this point and promote everything what they were doing as modern, fashionable and successful. The new young generation wanted a happy continuation of the Coastal Saami history.

Therefore tasks №2 and №6 – promoting the youth interests and implementing the Saami Language and Coastal Saami culture – became central activities for the Saami Youth Union. Within the framework of which, the Saami Youth Union wanted to bring young people from a small community to a Saami 'habitat'. Moreover, the creation of this environment depended only upon the organisers. Therefore they encouraged members to use their own creativity and feel free to create whatever they wanted. Indeed, the social activities were accompanied with qualitative art and cultural experiences. Soon after newspaper publishing and the construction of local history was realised. A *doudji* course, hunting and fishing activities, football tournaments in Svartskogen, 'occupation' of one the islands in Lyngenfjorden, ski-tours to Kautokeino and excursions to Måze were offered. In addition to providing a social function, they also guided local youth how to be a Coastal Saami in a modern world. By doing that, the goal № 1 – to consolidate the Saami status and promote self-determination – started to become a reality in Manndalen and Kåfjord society.

The Saami Youth Union grew gradually and in 1994 totalled 95 members (Hovland 1996). However, the majority of members were non-active and the activities were mainly done by 20-30 people and the Saami Youth Union was a full-time job for 5-6 persons (Hansen 2007). Further development was not a problem though. By then the Saami Youth Union became active on an international arena. The Union had engagements with Russia and took part in international indigenous conferences in Sweden (Vålådalen), Australia and Ecuador.

The fact that the Saami Youth Union was growing and developing according to their strategic tasks, tells us about the potential of the Coastal Saami community. The hard work on revitalizing Coastal Saami identity inside the community was happening gradually mainly on a socio-cultural level. The consciousness-raising started with the creation of the Coastal Saami

Cultural Days which will be discussed in the next chapter. It was the first step for the local youth to change the world around them and to create the opposition to the local society. After that time the story of the Riddu Riddu festival started.

Chapter 4

From Coastal Saami Cultural Days to Riddu Riddu Festivála

This chapter will show the establishment and development of the Coastal Saami Cultural Days in 1991-1994 and its gradual transformation into the Riddu Riddu Festival during 1995-1998. These cultural events will be analysed through participants and programmes' content first. Moreover, through the discussion on the cultural event's development in the period of 1991-1998 I will show the process of the event's development from a local cultural celebration of Coastal Saami identity to the popular and international Riddu Riddu festival that created the necessary prerequisites for the formation of an imagined international indigenous community. All these stages of development, including the reconsideration of the festival's strategy, will be seen in relation to the festival's organisers (Saami Youth Union), the local audience (*mandalinger* and *kåfjordinger*), festival's participants, indigenous and international guests and other outsiders (politicians).

4.1 Pre-Riddu Riddu: Coastal Saami Cultural Days

Talking about the social life in Manndalen, indeed, the community has had its festivals, like *Fiskefestivalen* (Fish Festival)⁹⁰ and *Matfest* (Food Festival)⁹¹ and some local celebrations, for instance *Nyttårsnissetoget* (New Year's hobgoblin's carnival)⁹². One could assume that these festivities were partly a demonstration of Coastal Saami culture (particularly, *Matfest*). Conversely, up to the youth's opinion, these were only merriments. For that reason they saw a necessity to create a meeting place for negotiations on Coastal Saami identity issues where everybody would have the opportunity to take part on their own terms. Therefore, the Saami Youth Union got the idea of organising a particular celebration as Coastal Saami Cultural Days. This name sounded already as a challenge for Kåfjordinger. However, the young people between 13 and 30 years old needed a neutral arena for their political rhetoric. They took the challenge and started with a grill party.

4.1.1 1991: A *peace-grill party*

The first Coastal Saami Cultural Days were held in the summer of 1991. Hovland notices it as a small arrangement in connection with NSR's national congress in Manndalen. First, the idea was

⁹⁰ The concept of the *Fiskefestivalen* is a fishing contest with a prize for the participant with the biggest fish. The competition continues among kids and adults.

⁹¹ *Matfest* is organised every year in February where traditional Coastal Saami dishes such as cooked sheep's heads, blood sausages, roe bolls' soup, dry fish and jerk meat with a flat bread hotchpotch are served.

⁹² See more in Hansen (2007).

to organise a one-day event but soon it was made a decision to develop it as cultural days (Hovland 1996).

The Cultural Days in 1991 presented a two-day celebration with rock and ethnic music, a performance and an exhibition. Friday's evening started with a meeting at *Suoddasluohka* – on the hill top some metres away from the school – where two African drummers, a *joiker* and some other people met in a friendly, informal atmosphere and continued to early morning. It was more like a peace-grill party for friends, where they could enjoy music. The Saturday arrangement continued indoors. According to informants, there were 50 spectators, some of which were from the other villages, enjoying the music, theatre performance, and the exhibition. The festival presented artists from Sápmi: *Marit Elisabeth Hætta Øverli*, *Ingor Ante Ailu Gaup*, *Sverre Porsanger*, *Rita* and *Merete*. Two Norwegian and Gambian bands respectively *Vaggi Rock* from Manndalen and *Roots* as well as a theatre performance diversified the pure Saami programme. Pieces of the Italian dramatist, *Dario Fo*, were staged with the participation of the Saami actor and film producer *Sverre Porsanger*⁹³. The exhibition showed art by local artists and *duodji*. The latter, one could say, was the main representation of Coastal Saami culture during the celebration.

These two days of local Coastal Saami culture celebration became a big social event for such a small community. Since the Saami Youth Union's main target were the local youths, they were the main participants. The event attracted attention and the young people decided to organise it again in a proper way, as a Coastal Saami cultural expression. Thanks to their beliefs and synergy, this summer event has been happening annually since 1991.

4.1.2 1992: *Jagi vai Beaivvi*

Following the idea of the steady development of the Coastal Saami Cultural Days, the programme was gradually extended and the event got the Saami name *Jagi vai Beaivvi* (a Year then Days). According to GSN the name was supposed to have a symbolical meaning and a reflection of the idea of the Coastal Saami Cultural Days. However, several local informants were asked concerning the meaning of that and they found it difficult to explain. It seems that the symbolical meaning was not obvious for the majority of the people and did not stick to the tongue. Eventually the name became unpopular and since 1994, has not been used.

However, the programme surprised even the most critical locals. The rich exhibition programme, in addition to *duodji*, included the art works by *Svein Ivar Isaksen*, *Alf Magne Salo*, *Hans Magnar Mathisen*, *Eva Lindbach*, *Mohed Omrami*. Locally and regionally, the artists were well-known; some of them were from Kåfjord, others from the Middle East part of Sápmi. The

⁹³ Sverre Porsanger from Utsjok in Finland, played in *Beaivváš Sámi Teahter* i Kautokeino in 1984-90, see more "Sverre Porsanger" (2007, August 20) [online]. – URL: http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sverre_Porsanger

northern-Troms Museum gave a lecture and instructions on genealogy. Though the musical programme was shorter compared to the previous year and it was represented by *Marit Karlsen* and *Cabaret Måze* from Sápmi, the bands *Vaggi Rock* and *Roots* played again. Moreover, the theatre held two performances with participation of Swedish actors and the producer *Stein Bjørn*⁹⁴: “*Gjøglerens fødsel*” (*Mistero Buffo*, 1969), a comic mystery by *Dario Fo* and “*Søsterpust*” (Sister’s breath) by Kant. The staging of one of the most popular pieces of *Fo*, which applied to the theatre’s ability to strengthen national and cultural peculiarity through living duties of people’s cultural tradition was a provoking step for a religious community. *Dario Fo* is an Italian political playwright who developed “a one-man lecture-demonstration clown show entitled *Mistero Buffo*, featured his own political versions of Passion stories, combining storytelling, monologues, dialogues and even crowd scenes, in which he would play all the parts”⁹⁵. *Mistero Buffo* is ‘teatro di narrazione’, a kind of theatre in which there are no characters playing a dramatic role; a kind of theatre similar to the popular storytelling which presented complicated things in a simple narrative⁹⁶. In addition to the art programme, party in *lavvo*, slaughter of a lamb, grilling and Saami food sale also took place (Hovland 1996).

Summing up, this rich and fascinating programme lasted nearly two days and affected Manndalen and Kåfjord as a whole. Since then, the Coastal Saami Cultural Days became an object for local and regional discussions.

4.1.3 1993: *Still Jagi vai Beaivvi*

Following the development of *Jagi vai Beaivvi*, the programme kept the track with a variety of foci on musical performance and special guests. For instance, *Bob Benoni*⁹⁷ - a visible cultural worker in Northern Norway – was invited as a special guest, although, his participation in the Coastal Saami Cultural Days started with the band *Roots* back in 1991. He considers himself as an indigenous person (Gambian) who wanted to facilitate and promote the idea of modernity and traditions in cultural performing. Indeed, the Cultural Days were a reflection of that idea where traditional Saami *joik*-singers/bands played together on stage with rock and ethno music bands: *Hiwak: Normann Charles, Åsa Simma, Solveig Anderson, Nygivkoret* and the band *Cabaret Maze*

⁹⁴Now *Stein Bjørn*’s professional affiliations are *Norsk Skuespillerforbund, Sámi Teathter Searvi*, see more at HuiBuorreFilm “Curriculum Vitae Stein Bjørn” (2007, August 20) [online]. URL:

<http://profile.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=user.viewprofile&friendid=106048825>

⁹⁵ Available at Cary M. Mazer “Mistero Buffo” (2007, August 25) [online]. URL:

<http://www.english.upenn.edu/~cmazer/mistero.html>

⁹⁶ Available at “Dario Fo” (2007, August 24) [online]. URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dario_Fo

⁹⁷Bob Benoni is originally from Gambia and since 1978 has been living in Norway, since 1987 in Tromsø. He is the deputy of the committee responsible for festival performances and other celebrations in northern Norway; he works as a DJ for a Tromsø radio station and is famous as an organiser of concerts, dance-courses, discos, etc. Available at “Bob Benoni” (2007, July 25) [online]. URL: <http://www.bobbenoni.com/ombob.htm>

from Sápmi; *Indre Revylag*, *Søve Pedersen* and the band *Ladies & Gentlemen* from Kåfjord. The traditions were continuously presented by the exhibition of local artists.

Balancing between modernity and traditions provoked the dualism of this cultural event. On one side, locals were attracted because they, as keepers of traditions, were necessary for the revitalisation of the Coastal Saami identity through sharing their knowledge and participating in organising the Cultural Days. On the other side, the contribution from modern and fashionable outsiders into the Coastal Saami celebration gave life to the event and made it attractive to the young, modern Coastal Saami youth. Organisers who were doing this social event mainly relied on support from the local people or by chance from professional artists. This open-mind kept the duality of the event and further provoked more interests from both the older local generation and the youth.

4.1.4 1994: The end of *Jagi vai Beivvi*

The year 1994 was the final point for the *Jagi vai Beivvi*. The new perspective of development as an international arena for Saami people was opened and the name did not reflect the symbolical idea of the Coastal Saami Cultural Days anymore. The organisers were hosting the first international indigenous guests and looking for an inspiration to put the new idea of this cultural event into Saami words.

Looking through the programme one could notice a performance, which became a traditional part of *Jagi vai Beivvi*. For instance, the musical programme was a usual mixture of traditional Saami *joik* – *Niko Valkeapaa*, *Ellen Maret Labba*, *Sverre Prorsanger*, from Sápmi and *Kulturgivkoret* local chorus– and the modern patterns –Norwegian rock bands: *Distortion*, *Seven* and *Big Bad Wolf* from Tromsø. The theatre programme continued the tradition to present pieces of *Dario Fo*. *Totalteatret* with *Stein Bjørn*⁹⁸ performed “*Tigeren*” (The Tale of a Tiger, 1978). One of the most successful pieces in the 1990-s in Norway was presented to *manddalingen*. The play was staged by an Inuit woman *Makka Kleist* with the music of *Ablie Saidu*. *Tigeren* (Tiger) called an act of the long marsh in China. It tells in humorous and ironical manner about a wounded soldier who was healed by a tiger. The piece is about responsibility, justice and double-moral. “Stein Bjørn gave living and good imparting of this story”, wrote Helge Matland in Tromsø after the premier on 10 March 1993⁹⁹. In addition, craft activities like work with mica, knife-making, plant dying of wool and felting were organised. Kåfjord’s ‘Coastal Saami farm’ was open to the public in Kåfjorddalen and offered guided tours (Hovland 1996). The market of art, *duodji*, handicraft, clothes and photo was situated at Ája Saami Centre. Children were

⁹⁸ In the winter of 1993, Stein Bjørn came back to *Totalteatret* and performed the monolog *Tigeren*.

⁹⁹ Available at “Totalteatret 1990-2000” (2007, July 21) [online]. – URL: http://www.ferkescener.no/totalteatret_1990-2000/cms/21/18/hent_artikkel/14

entertained by theatre, activities, horses and competitions while adults enjoyed a grill party with alcohol and a night rock concert.

However, the exhibition programme prepared a big surprise for the locals. A group of young Russian Saami artists from Lujavri¹⁰⁰ took part in the traditional art exhibition. Their paintings were presented together with local artists. This Saami internationalisation gave an opportunity to locals to see the same, however, a different culture. The Russian Saami also do not speak the Saami language, hardly know their traditions and consider themselves mainly as Russians. It was so familiar to the Coastal Saami. “So different Saami people have so similar indigenous problems!” this observation provoked questions and discussions inside the community which was already prepared to the next step – realize themselves as Coastal Saami on the international level.

Around 1000 people had attended different festivities during the six days of *Jagi vai Beivvi*¹⁰¹.

4.2. Riddu Riđđu Festivála

1995 was a turning point for the Coastal Saami cultural days or *Jagi vai Beivvi* and gave birth to the *Riddu Riđđu Festivála*. This new Saami name has a poetic and strong metaphoric meaning – strong wind along the coast which often causes a small storm on the shore. On the one hand, it described a common natural phenomenon for Coastal Saami living by the seashore with numerous fjords. It is noticeable, that Kåfjord is one of these small and narrow fjords where the locals were used to *riddu riđđu*. However, the Riddu Riđđu festival turned out to be a real storm for the small Coastal Saami community, which disturbed and provoked the local society and was apprehended negatively by many. Meanwhile the organisers saw the festival as a part of the revitalization process of the Coastal Saami. They continued this ‘disturbing’ event fighting with the locals and, surprisingly, soon the waves of Riddu Riđđu reached neighbouring villages, spread in northern Norway and attracted other indigenous people to participate. It is evident, that the symbolic meaning of the name fitted so well to the festival’s context, moreover, this Saami word was also easy to be pronounced and remembered by non-Saami people. Summing up, Riddu Riđđu Festivála became a constant name and soon a trademark.

4.2.1 Riddu Riđđu Festivála 1995: *Long live RRF!*

The first Riddu Riđđu festival was a concentration of energy based on previously collected experience of arranging the Coastal Saami Cultural Days. Therefore they claimed to have a more

¹⁰⁰ Lujavri is a regional centre of Saami residence in Russia, situated in Cola Peninsula.

¹⁰¹ It is noteworthy that GSN profited by 10,000 NOK in relation to the total budget 25,000 NOK (Hovland 1996:29).

local Saami culture celebration, compared to other years. It was strongly expressed through the art programme. For instance, the “*Várdát*” exhibition presented twelve art works from an art school in Kåfjord¹⁰², amongst them seven were from Kåfjord. Moreover, the work on the reconstruction of *Lyngenkofta* was finished by *Gáivuona Sámesearvi (Gáivuona NSR)* in 1995. It was a challenge to show on stage the traditional Coastal Saami dress. However, Hansen (2007) notices the public was rejoiced by that. In addition, during the festival, an exhibition “*Coastal Saami Dress in Old Lyngen*” was presented along with courses how to use *kofta*, how to sew a cap, how to plait the band around traditional Saami shoes, how to use mica and other materials in decorating *kofta*. Moreover, in the same, year the book “*Coastal Saami dress in old Lyngen*” was issued and it became so popular that later it was presented as an online book on the official *Gáivuona Sámesearvi (Gáivuona NSR)* website¹⁰³. As a result, people started to use *kofta* during the festival just to show others their Coastal Saami identity. One can point out that this exhibition was a big step in revitalizing Coastal Saami Culture in the community. And what was noteworthy, for the first time officially the Riddu Riddu festival appeared as an educational and debate arena on issues lacking for many years inside the community: *Laestadianism as Resistance Culture and Oral Narrative Tradition and Saami Reality Pictures*.

However, the musical programme showed artists mainly from inland Sápmi: *Frode Fjelleim Jazz Joik Ensemble*, *Orbina, Ulla Pirttijärvi*, *Nils-Aslak Valkeapää*, *Distortion*. Particular attention should be paid to the internationally recognized star of Saami, *Mari Boine Band*¹⁰⁴. There were only two non-Saami bands, *Bantaba Brothers* from Gambia and the techno band *Isle of Sky* from Tromsø. Moreover, the first Saami performance *Prinsessen og de andre pøblan* (The Princess and the other hooligans) by *Marry Ailonieida Somby* was presented. In addition, the *Totalteater* performed *En dag med Gunder* (One Day with Gunder) by Kristin E. Bjørn¹⁰⁵. A musical story-monolog (for children above 2,5 years old) is telling about a lonely rimed Gunder who is waiting for a letter from Amanda, therefore he makes a machine that tells when mail is delivered. The piece reflects life’s choices.

One can say that this year showed the most cultural ambiguity of the festival, with the wish of the organisers to divide Coastal Saami cultural identity from Saami in general but in fact, as Hovland (1996) notices, the programme of Riddu Riddu 1995 still demonstrated the dominance of the inland Saami culture.

¹⁰² Jovna-Ánde Vest, Bente Geving, Paul Anders Simma, Iver Jáks, Alf Magne Salo, May Liss Nilsen, Kristin Tårnesvik, Kjellaug Isaksen, Asbjørn Forsøget, Stein Erik Sivertsen, Unni Myrseth, Britta Marakatt Labba.

¹⁰³ Mikalsen (2006 b): “Sjøsamisk klesbruk i gamle Lyngen” (2007, October 21) [online]. – URL: http://www.vuonan.no/lyngenkofta/hefte_sjoesamisk_klesbruk_i_gamle_lyngen/01_innhold

¹⁰⁴ See more, Andrew Cronshaw (1997): “Not waving but dancing” (2007, December 11) [online]. – URL: <http://www.rootsworld.com/scanfest/boine.html>

¹⁰⁵ See more, DramatikerForbundet: “Bjørn, Kristin E. En dag med Gunder” (2007, November 11) [online]. – URL: <http://www.dramatiker.no/Dramatikere/Verk/En%20dag%20med%20Gunder.html?id=15289>

4.2.2 Riddu Riđđu Festivála 1996: *Finally Grew Up!*

The organisers of Riddu Riđđu in 1996 showed clearly their tendency to internalisation and work on the macro level. Therefore the festival involved many international participants. Amongst them were indigenous artists like *Inti* from Bolivia, *Bantaba Brothers* from Gambia and *Maria Medveda* from the Kola Peninsula, Russia¹⁰⁶. In addition to ethno and modern rock music, visitors could enjoy throat singing presented for the first time on the festival stage by *Sainkho Namtchylak* from Tuva, Russia. However, the musical programme from Sápmi, besides such artists as *Ulla Pirttijärvi*, *Jørgen Stenberg* and *Ása Simma*, presented one of the world's most renowned Sámi artists and star of techno *joik* *Wimme Saari Band*. He uses *joik* as a central theme in his music and this identifies him as one of the foremost Saami traditional musicians. Nevertheless, his *joik* is represented as a mix of the old style *joiking* with some new elements¹⁰⁷. Non-indigenous participants, like the Norwegian bands *Per Ivars Orkester*, *Yes Mayonez*, and *Kastro*, also presented on stage. In addition to the rich musical programme, pieces of art were shown as well during the festival. Besides the traditional pupils' art-works exhibition from an art school in Kåfjord, the festival presented the exposition "Govat" (Portrait) by *Kristin Taarnesvik* and *Inger Helene Breivik* from Kåfjord.

This year the festival featured a great variety of participants – from kids to international stars, from party people to those who were interested in questions about their identity that was developed into special organisations like children's festival and artists area, festival's camp and *lavvo* where seminars/debates on arguable issues took place. What is more, this together with the international programme and a big Saami artist's name attracted about 1,000 visitors and as *Nordlys* notices, the Riddu Riđđu festival 'finally grew up' (in Hansen 2007:60). Indeed, this international orientation became a profile for the further festival's development.

4.2.3 Riddu Riđđu Festivála 1997: *Popularization*

Riddu Riđđu in 1997 was characterised by a distinctly increased audience. The organisers were believed that the programme, with internationally known indigenous stars like the women's chorus *Bulgarian Voices "Angelite"*, *Huun-Huur-Tu* from Tuva and *Moscow Art Trio* from Russia, *Kasaluk Qavigaq* and *Elisabeth Heilmann* from Greenland, *Wimme Saari & Hednigarna* from Sápmi, was the main reason for this interest in the festival. However, the impact of less known local artists who were a part of the musical programme deserves to be mentioned: they

¹⁰⁶ The Russian artists visited the Riddu Riđđu festival for a second time. It is noticeable that the organisers mentioned in the programme only the name of the republic from which artists came from without mentioning the country – Russia. It led to the confusion because the majority of the people thought that it is a country somewhere.

¹⁰⁷ See more, "Yoik" (2007, July 25) [online]. – URL:<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joik>, "Wimmi" (2007, July 25) [online]. – URL:<http://www.rockadillo.fi/wimme/>

were indigenous artists from Sápmi: *Sodspiders*, *Niko Valkeapää Band*, *Drom*, *Per-Ivars Orkester*, *Englebarn* and *Lumbago Boogies*; and the Norwegian bands from Tromsø: *Nikkeby Lufthavn* and *Plan B*. Moreover, a new Saami project made by *Nils Aslak Valkeapää* and *Johan Anders Bær* debuted with ‘an old joik in a new way’ (Hansen 2007:60). It is worth mentioning here the particularity of *Ingor Ántte Áilu Gaup*¹⁰⁸ who is an artist in *Beaivváš Sámi Theatre*, a composer, and a folk/*joik* musician. During the Riddu Riđđu festival he presented the new wave of *joiking* where African inspiration perked up a traditional *joik*, as it was noticed in *Nordlys* (21.07.97 in Hansen 2007:60). Moreover, the traditional *joik* was finding new faces all the time during the festival. Social informal gatherings usually provoked jam-sessions, where indigenous artists used their instruments or throat singing just to improvise and gave birth to new sounds. In contrast to the international musical programme, the art-works exhibition was presented by two local artists from Kåfjord, “*Ráfi Vakkis*” (Peace in the Valley) by *Geir-Tore Holm* and “*Fem Englebarn og en Fotograf*” (Five Angels and One Photograph) by *Bjørn Joachimsen*.

The Riddu Riđđu festival in 1997 reached a high point of development and was recognized by many as an international and popular event. This feedback showed the necessity to reconsider the further strategy of the festival development. However, organisers faced the dilemma how should the festival be developed further, as a local celebration of Coastal Saami identity or should it become a popular international indigenous event? Therefore in the next year, 1998, the festival did not take place. The organisers took a strategic break during which the festival was reviewed and the strategy was rethought.

4.3 Stages of development from Coastal Saami Cultural Days to Riddu Riđđu Festivála

In the analysis of this cultural event, we can point out the following stages of development:

- 1991-1994: the period of the Coastal Saami cultural days, when the organisers were looking for ideas of expressions of Coastal Saami culture. It was time of confusion, debates, frustration and search for oneself. This stage is characterised mainly by confrontation with locals and search for Coastal Saami traditions and culture which actually should be presented.
- 1995-1998 the period of the Riddu Riđđu festival, when the event finally found its form, the idea of the event was formulated and presented to the public still mainly by locals, Saami, some Norwegian and international guests. This stage was a transition from the local event organised by curious young people to the international celebration of indigeneity.

Let us now have an overlook of what actually happened during these periods.

¹⁰⁸ See more, ‘Ingor Ántte Áilo Gaup’ (2007, July 25) [online]. – URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ingor_Ántte_Áilo_Gaup

4.3.1 Young Kåfjordinger: creators of confusion or of Coastal Saami Cultural Days?

Looking through the development of the Coastal Saami Cultural Days into the Riddu Riddu festival, one can notice that the organisation of such an event required grounding in history, knowledge of the culture and traditions. However, the young organisers had grown up in a mixed Saami-Kven-Norwegian environment, without clear understanding of their ethnic identity and hardly knew the difference between Norwegian/Saami and Coastal Saami dish, clothes, games, songs, etc. Some of them had just heard about local traditions but had never experienced them by themselves. For that reason the idea to initiate a Saami event was considered very carefully by the organisers. As Hovland (1996) notices, the content of the Cultural Days in 1991-1992 was mainly seen as a mix of Norwegian, Saami and imported ethno culture, and then consequently the programme got its Saami characteristics. For instance, comparing the Cultural Days in 1992 to 1994 Hovland (1996) finds expansion and focus of interests on a pure Saami culture. But does it mean that this pure Saami culture is in fact Coastal Saami culture?

Looking for a pure Coastal Saami culture and trying to revitalise it, young *kåfjordinger* were desperately in need of the experienced knowledge of the senior local generation. However, parents and grandparents did not help. Moreover, they considered it irrelevant and were irritated by most questions. Therefore, the members of GSN had to define by themselves what was relevant to Coastal Saami culture and what was not. This process of discovering the hidden culture woke up a number of questions concerning the authenticity of traditions in relation to the past and modernity. During those years the organisers were developing their understanding of the above-mentioned issue. As a result GSN had been led by two approaches in understanding Coastal Saami identity and its culture. One can be easily identified as an instrumentalist one: if things are done by a Coastal Saami person, they automatically get a Coastal Saami cultural value; therefore people can create or reevaluate their culture. The other approach is closer to the primordialist way of thinking, according to which the traditional Coastal Saami culture is an innate aspect of human identity, therefore it is still alive in people's hearts and consequently it will find itself; there is no need to create it. One can conclude that the Coastal Saami Cultural Days have been developed based on this ambiguity.

However, in trying to find Coastal Saami patterns, the organisers looked at the culture of inner Finnmark. For a long time the co-existence of reindeer-herding and Coastal Saami was unequal in representation to others. Even the young organisers were influenced by inland Saami culture. As a result, they presented features of the reindeer-herding Saami like *bidos*¹⁰⁹, *joik* and *lavvo*, which enjoyed wide popularity during all Cultural Days, while the Coastal Saami culture

¹⁰⁹ reindeer meat soup

remained hidden. Moreover, the spoken Saami language was represented by inland dialects; *kofta* which could be seen on artists and visitors was also from the inland. Only in 1995 the festival presented a restored Coastal Saami *kofta* and afterwards it became in use during the event. Furthermore, the majority of artists were from the central Saami area. As Hovland (1996) concludes, the general picture of the Coastal Saami Cultural Days in the period of 1991-1995 was marked by the dominance of inland Saami culture, although it was refracted to some extent by different handcraft activities, toys for kids and arrangements by the Coastal Saami farm at Holmenes.

Nonetheless, the festival's orientation of being Coastal Saami was expressed in *Framtid i Nord*, 19 July 1994, by the leader of the festival: "The Cultural Days should reflect local Saami culture" (Hovland 1996:29 my translation). However, the organisers in claiming a pure celebration of Coastal Saami culture sometimes went into the symbolical substitution of culture which in fact was wished and imagined by many. As a consequence of it, this socio-cultural event provoked a conflict inside the community because many older *kåffordinger* noticed that the construction of this pure Coastal Saami identity was a striking collection of Saami elements exclusively from inner Finnmark and from Finish-Saami areas. Whilst the celebration was announced to the public as a reflection of local Coastal Saami culture – food, cloth, occupation and other traditional elements – the reality demonstrated the celebration of a pan-Saami culture. Consequently, this festivity was constantly weighed down by counter-critics from the locals. For instance, a woman from Manndalen commented that many reacted negatively on *lavvos* outside the house: "It could be good to have it in mountains; then one would be called a mountain Saami" and concluded, "First they imported here southerners to make us Norwegians, now they are importing people from inner Finnmark to make us Saami!" (Hovland 1996:27, my translation). This quotation shows that the older generation was much more sensitive to this substitution of culture. They did not accept it and, according to Hovland (1996), the majority of locals defined the Coastal Saami Cultural Days as a representation of 'public middle-class culture', 'Saami culture', 'ethno culture' or local initiatives. Nevertheless the local critics led to questions of what are the local traditions and who is representing a Coastal Saami culture?

In discussions on local traditions, parents and grandparents of the Riddu Ridđu generation finally met the wishes to express their opinions and make a contribution. One can assume that it was again the demonstration of a local ethos, just to show others (especially inland Saami) that they do have their own culture. Another point worth making here is the fact that the Cultural Days provoked revitalisation of Coastal Saami culture by itself on the local level although in a less degree. However, the Coastal Saami Cultural Days were developing from year to year, improvising and implementing something new. For instance, the food context was presented by

the local traditional food: caviar-ball soup rhubarb kissel, pollack bouillon in flat, blood sausages, kid, lamb and a big cake buffet marked the opening day (Hansen 2007). All these dishes were defined by the Saami Youth Union as Coastal Saami cuisine and it was offered for free. Moreover, *duodji* showing was developed and new topics for the local artists' exhibitions were created.

In addition to partly revitalised/invented traditional patterns, other cultural features that characterised *manndalinger* appeared for the first time in many years. According to Hansen (2007), it is a positive attitude to the voluntary communal work. As soon as people became interested in this event, many of them became volunteers. They did a joint work and built the stage, developed the area and sowed the surrounding fields, prepared food and managed other varieties of duties. The whole concept of this two-day celebration was to make it comfortable and attractive to local people and, actually, these people created the environment around them as they felt it. It is important to notice that the locals used to live in the nature and mainly adapted themselves to the environmental conditions around them (Hansen 2007). Their relation to nature and its resources can be considered as a second cultural feature of *manndalinger*. For instance, the simple haymaking and cock hay got an aesthetic value in the new context of the festival field: a traditional hay rack surrounded the stage, which was decorated by children's drawings and hand drawn banners; the sound system was also hidden in haystacks (Hansen 2007). In contrast to people who played just a supporting role, the environment was a main actor of this Coastal Saami Cultural Days, therefore nothing disturbed the view: any plastic signs or advertisement banners. Everything was produced hand-made and distributed locally; even festival tickets were made as bracelets from cloth, leather and wool thread (Hansen 2007).

Moreover, the Cultural Days provoked debates on cultural issues where the questions turned to what is a culture and by whom it can be presented. For the majority of the locals the concept of culture, especially the modern one, was ambiguous. This phenomenon is clarified by Harald Gaski (1997). He explains that the word 'culture' is loaned into the Saami language and therefore there is no traditional concept that covers the whole spectrum of meanings of activities which comprise the components of 'culture' (Gaski 1997:10). Therefore, the Saami understanding of the concept of 'culture' can be explained through the terms which exist in their language. According to Gaski there are *Sámi vuohki* (Saami ways) that means "a way of being, way of living, mentality and values"¹¹⁰(1997:10).

This way of understanding culture shows two different types of societies – individualistic and collectivistic. Indeed, the European and Western communities thanks to public secularization

¹¹⁰In addition there are *dáidda* is in this context a new Saami word for that which is ordinarily defined as art, in contrast to applied art and handicrafts, for which the term is *duodji* (Gaski 1997:10).

are famous by their individualistic culture. Individuality became a main feature of the 20th century and, cultural activities are understood by many first as an art which considers a lot of elite or peculiar people, and to be one of them required one to have individuality and independence. Saami society, on the contrary, is traditionalist and collectivistic. In addition, the Coastal Saami were represented as a religiously organised society where the strict form of laestadianism did give less freedom to be different. Therefore, the majority of locals were in doubts if the Coastal Saami society did have their own artists who could perform Coastal Saami or other cultural acts, eventhough most of them witnessed the flourishing of the ČSV movement in 1970-80s when Saami artists were a great part of it. This is when Saami painters, actors, singers, writers appeared in front of public for the first time. They showed to other Saami people their ‘Saaminess’ by reflecting a mix of the reality and traditions in their art. People, who had been deprived of the opportunity to express their Saami culture, suddenly got their own modern Saami culture. Indeed, it was criticised at first, but finally people accepted it; it spread around and some things even got implemented in everyday life.

Therefore, the necessity to establish the arena for Saami voices and popularise their culture was a basic idea and the bottom line for the Coastal Saami Cultural Days. This concept was based on cultural expression through music, theatre and exhibitions. The Coastal Saami culture for four years was represented by not well-known Saami *joikers* and bands from Sàpmi as well as local Norwegian rock bands; the *duodji* and art-works of local artists were exhibited together and the professional theatre performed, mainly, the pieces of Italian dramatist *Dario Fo*. The organisers got a feedback on the Cultural Days through levelled criticism at the programme and the event in general by the locals. This provoked interest showed that the locals started to be conscious of their Coastal Saami culture and traditions and further comments and support from elders became a firm basis for subsequent development from *Jagi vai Beaiivi* into the Riddu Ridđu festival. We see that the Cultural Days tested Coastal Saami and Saami identity through the representation of their culture on the local communal level. Therefore, the Pre-Riddu Ridđu period in 1991-1994 can be characterized as a retrieval of possible information concerning Coastal Saami Culture, history, language, traditions, a search for Coastal Saami first and then for Saami artists and so on.

4.3.2 Coastal Saami Cultural Days or Euro-Arctic Region/Barents Co-operation? ¹¹¹

Eventually, the four years of successful development of the Coastal Saami Cultural Days was noticed by the Troms County and the Barents secretariat¹¹². They were interested in the further

¹¹¹ The following source was used: Hansen (2007).

development of '*Jagi vai Beivvi*' into the '*Euro-Arctic Region/Barents co-operation*' where the local event was supposed to become a part of the Barents programme. Because of that, the Saami Youth Union was granted 100,000 NOK from the Troms County. However, GSN refused this generous gesture and explained it in the following way:

- The Saami Youth Union wants to keep the festival as a local, popular arrangement and will not take part in a collaboration which is not only cultural but also '*a more extensive political and economic co-operation between lands in the region, neighbouring countries and the world's leading power*'.
- The Saami Youth Union does not want to put on the market the festival as an '*Euro-Arctic Region/Barents co-operation*', the way the programme is offered¹¹³ (Hansen 2007:54 my translation).

The discussion of this case attracted the attention of the media and the political circle, especially the left wing politicians. The idea of promotion of the concord and the will to fight for social values and be against capitalism and cultural benefits, won their sympathy. They started to support the Saami Youth Union in their political and cultural activities. In spite of the general positive media feedback, the critics commented the denial of the grant as a conservatism and misunderstanding from the Union's side.

Moreover, this decision promoted the public recognition in Kåfjord. Locals interpreted it as a demonstration of free-will spirit and common voluntary work which represented a Coastal Saami cultural feature. Particularly in Manndalen, this case became a new story where the village population demonstrated their ethos and stood up against the central power, both Troms County and the Barents secretariat. *Manndalinger* again proved to themselves who they were.

4.3.3 Rethinking prospects of *Riddu Riddu Festivála*

The positive feedback inspired the Saami Youth Union to create an ideological platform for further development of the Cultural Days. Therefore, the idea of connecting all indigenous peoples over the Polar Circle was announced in 1994. According to Hansen (2007) it was a starting point of a strong consciousness of arctic community and arctic people's homeland. '*Jagi vai Beivvi*' became *Riddu Riddu Festivála* that was supposed to be focused on Saami and northern people's cultures. However, the goal to promote northern communities was not so

¹¹² The Barents Secretariat in Kirkenes - Norway - was established in the aftermath of the signing of the Kirkens Declaration. In 1999 the ownership of the Secretariat was officially transferred to the counties of Finnmark, Troms and Nordland. Today, the primary task of the Barents Secretariat is to assist the Barents Regional Council, Norwegian Authorities and other major regional structures. The Secretariat has an extensive network of contacts and cooperates closely with EU institutions and international organizations. Available at "The Norwegian Barents Secretariat" (2007, December 11) [online]. – URL: <http://www.barents.no/about-us.43815.en.html>

¹¹³ Later the Saami Youth Union criticized the organs of Barents co-operation which demonstrated a lack of will to give an indigenous representation by their own activities (Hansen 2007: 54 my translation).

strictly followed, as the festival programmes in the period of 1995-1997 show. Since 1995 Riddu Riđđu had consequently started to attract indigenous artists across the world, South America, Africa, Greenland, Canada, Northern Russia, etc.

In spite of some locals who were still quite sceptical concerning the festival development (Hansen 2007), Riddu Riđđu in 1997 can be described as a popular family merriment with developing international dimension. However, the organisers who were the same but already ‘grown up’ youth faced again the problem of further organization and improvement of the festival. That was one of the main reasons to have a strategic break in 1998 (Hansen 2007). During that year the organisers had been developing a strategy of the further Riddu Riđđu growth. Besides the ideological base, attention was paid to organisational and financial sides as well, which were a main source to strengthen the festival. A low budget and a voluntary engagement mainly from organisers and their families were not sufficient resources anymore to arrange the international indigenous festival. The festival needed a professionally prepared team. Therefore *Riddu Riđđu Searvi*¹¹⁴ – an organising committee for the Riddu Riđđu festival – was established in 1998 and has functioned until nowadays. During the year the *Searvi* staff is represented only by one person (festival leader or a producer). Closer to the festival time, two more persons are invited for a secretary job. There is also external personnel, for instance, Elya Radnaeva is a festival co-worker in Moscow (Russia), with the responsibility for arrangement of the programmes and artists from Siberia, Russia. In addition, the committee developed the festival’s budget¹¹⁵ which included a provisional salary to staff workers, printing/polygraphic and other expenses. *Riddu Riđđu Searvi* became an informational centre that draws outsiders into the festival culture as volunteers, artists or participants. The committee in the course of the last years has accomplished several arrangements and issued publications. For instance, Riddu Riđđu became a member of Norwegian festivals¹¹⁶. Summing up, the aim of the committee is to accomplish and carry the festival through, make it visible and promote cultures of Coastal Saami, Saami and other indigenous people.

Besides, organisational issues, the Riddu team continued to work on the festival’s ideological base. During the pause in 1998, the organisers tightened up the profile and strengthened the focus on northern areas in 1999. The strategy of the festival became to unify all

¹¹⁴ See more, Riddu Riđđu Searvi (2004, October 14): “Årsmelding for Riddu Riđđu Searvi 2002/2003” (2007, October 6) [online]. – URL: <http://www.riddu.com/Arsmelding-for-riddu-riu-searvi-20022003.187195-28531.html>

¹¹⁵ The festival’s budget includes the financial support from Saami Parliament, Troms County and Kålfjord municipality; from Riddu supporters like politicians, actors, artists, arranged concerts, promo-show, lottery, etc.; the additional income from members’ subscription, tickets and other items sale. Most of arrangements are mainly done when the need in money is high, for instance, the debt should be paid (how it was done to reduce a debt after the festival in 2002).

¹¹⁶ It means free announce in newspapers, magazines and guidelines that stimulates the public through advices, festivals’ rate and short observations of summer festivals in Norway, to plane and participate in it.

indigenous people above the Polar Circle and promote Coastal Saami culture on the international arena. The Riddu Ridđu festival leader says to *Nordlys* 16 January 1999,

The world's northern areas represent a cultural and social manifold which is not well known. We wish to strengthen contacts between people from the North and present unique cultures. The Saami language and culture have many common features with other cultures in the arctic areas, though they are not well known (in Hansen 2007:61 my translation).

The following chapter will present the development of the Riddu Ridđu festival in the period of 1999-2006, and particular attention will be paid to the implementation of the above-mentioned development strategy.

Chapter 5

The development of Riddu Riđđu Festivála from 1999 to 2006

This chapter describes the development of the Riddu Riđđu festival in the period 1999-2006 through an analysis of the programme and the participants. The following discussion will show which point of development was reached by the festival, what it gave to the local and international community, how it reflects indigeneity and which questions were provoked by this event.

5.1 Riddu Riđđu Festivála 1999: *New breath*

One of the outcomes of the new festival strategy to unify all indigenous peoples above the Polar Circle was the establishment of an Arctic Youth Camp. By itself, it represented *joik* workshops running for several days, based on the idea that northern cultures are unique but still close to each other. Thirty participants from polar areas between 13 to 30 years of age learnt traditional *joik* and shared their native forms of performing with each other. Finally, it was an exchange of cultural traditions in different art forms, which formed into the final performance on the Riddu Riđđu stage. Participants of the camp from Canada and *Aiaiym* from Altai, *Uragsha* from Buryatia and Mongolia, from Karlsøya and Kåfjord presented a cultural mix of native art forms through throat singing, Indian-Saami drum-dance, *joik*, rock and techno. It is evident that the organization of this camp brought into the festival programme many young indigenous artists from over the world. Riddu Riđđu became a meeting place for northern people not only from Sápmi – *Ante Mihkkal Gaup & Sara Marielle Gaup*, *Lara Stinnerbom Exil Joik Band* and *Sven Henriksen & Inga Juuso Band* – but also from Nunavut/Canada: *Jerry Alfred & the Medicine Beat*, *Aqsarniit* and from the northern Russian regions: *Leonid Syssoev* from Kamchatka, *Andrei Issacov* from Yakutia, *Aiaiym* from Altai and *Chirgilchin* from Tuva. Moreover, the internationalisation of the programme gave birth to multinational groups and performances, like *Biret R. Johnskareng & Temelozin* from Sápmi and Mexico; *Nuoraid Lávdi* from Canada, Greenland, Kamchatka, Yakutia and Tuva. In addition to the musical programme, an exhibition *Eahpparas* by *Stein Erik Sivertsen* from *Dálosvaggi/Olderdaalen* in Kåfjord and a photo exposition by the Russian artist *Vladimir Kuznetzov* were presented during the festival,

In December 1999 Riddu Riđđu was labelled as a new festival and got 80,000 NOK from the State Concerts Committee¹¹⁷ (Aftenposten 17.12.99).

¹¹⁷ *Riksskonsertenes styre*/ the State Concerts Committee granted in total 20,215,000 NOK to 37 festivals (Aftenposten 17.12.99).

5.2 Riddu Riddu Festivála 2000: *Provincial Woodstock*

Northern dance was a topic of Riddu Riddu 2000 mainly represented by East-Siberian ritual dances from Kamchatka, Greenland and Norway (Karasjok). *Itelmen* was the northern people from Kamchatka who performed a celebration called *Alhalalaj*, which is organized every year in September after harvest¹¹⁸. In addition, the festival guests were invited to different courses like *joik* or throat singing, practise in use of northern Norwegian herbs or the Saami language, etc.

The musical programme of the festival was lighted up by Saami and Norwegian pop stars such as *Mari Boine* and *Anneli Drecker*. Other artists from Sápmi were *Sirbmania*, *Gáivuotna Groovcompany*, *Ande Somby*, *Ivvár Niillas*, *Ylva Gustavsson*, *Lars Heaika Blind*, *Acintya*, *Marita Solberg & Herborg Rundberg*, *Kompani Nomad* (Sápmi&Sweden) and *Pulp Vixen*, *Sister Sinister* from Norway. The youngest artist of the year was *Lawra Somby* from Sápmi who performed with the local band *Turdus Musicus*. International artists also took part in the festival: from Greenland: *Karina Møller Makka Kleist*, *Elisabeth Heilmann-Blind*, *Pauline Lumholt*; from the northern Russian regions: *Elvel* from Kamchatka, *Aurora Borealis* from Siberia, *Sabjilar* from Khakassia, *Igor Koskhendey* and *Mongun-ool Ondar* from Tuva. International conglomerates performed as well, the Sápmi-Indian-Spanish-Swedish band *Calbmeliiba* and the Sápmi-Greenlandic-Siberian *Nuoraid Lávdi*. However, most attention got a rock star from Nunavut/Canada, *Lucie Idlout*. She is an Inuit artist from the town Iqaluit famous by provoking stage behaviour¹¹⁹ and gloomy song texts where she describes “loneliness, depression, suicide and alcohol intoxication” (Nordlys 22.07.00 my translation) mainly as problems of her community.

This year the festival broke a record with around 2700 visitors and 120 artists from the whole world who came to Riddu. The main organising force was 150-200 volunteers and 30 people from the festival’s staff. *Nordlys* concluded that ‘with a tent, *lavvo* and all present people, all this together can be characterised as a provincial answer to Woodstock’ (22.07.00 my translation).

5.3 Riddu Riddu Festivála 2001: *10 years jubilee*

The tenth anniversary was an important milestone in the history of the Riddu Riddu festival that marked its development from the local Coastal Saami Cultural Days to an international indigenous event. Therefore the programme was mainly devoted to Coastal Saami. They had a unique opportunity to express themselves through musical and theatre performances, exhibitions,

¹¹⁸ Later an informational bulletin about *Itelmen* people was issued and used at school in Kåfjord (Hansen 2007:62).

¹¹⁹ *Lucie Idlout* performed on the stage in a seal skin miniskirt, however, her dress style provoked members of RSPCA (Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals) in south Canada. The activity of which destroyed fur- and seal skin production industries in Inuit society (Nordlys 22.07.00).

courses, seminars and debates. *Nivkh* from the Sakhalin Island in Far East Russia¹²⁰ was another focus of the festival. They came with the dance group *Mengune Ilgas* and presented *Nivkh*'s celebrations, rituals and the thematic exposition *Komag*. In addition, a seminar was devoted to them and selling of handicraft was organised.

Northern theatre, presented international indigenous pieces: from Buryatia *Historier for en lang vinternatt* (The story of a long winter night) by *Uragsha*; from Nunaat/Greenland *På iskanten* (On the ice edge) by *Kalaallit*; from Cree/Canada *The Virgin Sister Brigitte Virginia Frigid Explains It All For You* by *Pamela Matthwes*; from Sápmi *Cáhkcalaggá golli ja silba* (*Cáhkcalaggá* gold and silver) organised by the *Máinnasgiisa* children's theatre board. *Totalteatret* from Tromsø was invited and performed the most spectacular and touching piece *Siste kveld med mamma* (The last evening with mother). This piece was a great surprise for the audience and critics defined it as an absolute success¹²¹. In addition to the *duodji* exposition, a temporary local exhibition of thirteen Coastal Saami artists¹²² was opened with stewed rhubarb and drinks in the Manndalen's library.

The youngest artists of Riddu 2001 *Jaakko Gauriloff* and *Tiina Sanila* brought to the festival a focus on Skolt Saami music. South Saami music tradition influenced by techno was presented by the creative Saami group *Transjoik* with *Frode Fjellheim*. The well-known *Geir Tore Holm Band* and *Per Ivars Orkester* played together with another local rock bands – *Englebarn*, *Ex Undis* and *Mindtwisted*, who performed in Saami costumes. The international programme presented thrilling artists from Siberia, Canada and Alaska. *Derek Miller* is one of the youngest promising artists from *Six Nation*, Canada who performed impressive lyrics and striking guitar playing. The audience also got an extraordinary amusing concert experience, a fusion of a magnificent voice, throat singing and dances in the face of *Namgar Lkhasaranova* from Buryatia, Russia who was titled 'the voice of Asia' (NRK18.07.01). *Pavlovla Konstantinova* from Buryatia and *Alash* from Tuva demonstrated their singing traditions. The *Pamyua* group included Yupik and Inuit from Alaska and amazed the audience by traditional songs and dances in modern costumes. In addition, the international bands, *Nuoraid Lávdi* from Sápmi, Siberia, Alaska, Greenland and *Tamba Kounda* from Senegal-Norway performed as well.

Beautiful voices from the North were presented on the concert *Lune Strøk. Nordlige Vinder* (Pleasant regions. Northern winds) where artists from the northern regions gathered together and performed different songs and singing traditions. Amongst them were *Evie Mark* and *Sara Beauin* who showed throat singing from *Nunavut/Canada*, *Bolt* from Altai and

¹²⁰ However, the media mainly announced Coastal Saami as one thematic people in 2001.

¹²¹ It was played 20 times in a tent with 200 places and afterwards performed in Tromsø with the same success (Nordlys 05.07.01).

¹²² Ingunn Utsi, Odd Sivertsen, Geir Tore Holm&Søssa Jørgensen, Asbjørn Forsøget, Hege Annedst Nilsen, Alf Salo, Synnøve Persen, Arnold Johansen, Hanne Einarsen, Kristin Taarnesvik, May Liss Nilsen, Unni Myrseth.

Vacheslav Kemlil from Yakutia. The concert was led by *Ande Somby* and *Ivvár Niillas* from Deatnu/Tana (NRK 18.07.01).

A Children's festival with the title *Sea*, organised workshops (e.g. how to build a cabin) and masquerade were also part of the festival (NRK 20.07.01). The Arctic Youth Camp attracted forty young people from northern Russia, Canada and Greenland who practised *joik*, throat singing and other singing techniques and learned dances from the northern areas for four days.

The Riddu Riđđu festival 2001 reached a new record – 3,500 visitors¹²³, among them 200 volunteers (NRK 23.07.01). The organisers got an encouraging feedback from the locals and the international guests. According to the president of the Saami Parliament, the event had now become a popular movement: “I am quite happy that this positive festival takes place in Manndalen” (NRK 21.07.01 my translation).

5.4 Riddu Riđđu Festivála 2002: *The Winner!*

In May 2002 marked the beginning of a new era for the indigenous festival. Riddu Riđđu got an important national recognition through the awarded *Eckbos Legaters' cultural prise*¹²⁴ of 200,000 NOK and a diploma from the *Norwegian Literature Festival* in Lillehammer (NRK 21.05.02). One of the reasons for granting this reward is captured in the following quotation:

Year by year the festival has achieved a public recognition, even among the non-Saami public that has obviously assisted the young Saami from the Coastal Saami territories in acknowledging their culture (Nordlys 23.05.02 my translation).

This year's northern people were represented by *Tuvinian* who consecrated a new permanent stage¹²⁵ by a luck cleaning ceremony (smoke) and musical magic (drums). The new arena gave space for the audience to participate in musical performances and spiritual/shamanistic ceremonies, like, for instance, a traditional slaughter of a sheep organised by the *Tuvinians*. *Tuvinian* hospitality welcomed all to a *yurta*¹²⁶, where guests were treated with green tea with horse milk and charmed their ears by throat singing and tundra story telling. In addition, the offered courses challenged the guests to learn *joik* and throat singing, to play Siberian mouth harp or Australian *didgeridoo*, to practise constructing simple huts like *yurta* or traditional *lavvo* (Nordlys 16.07.02).

¹²³ It was 1000 people more than the last year (NRK 23.07.01), 2,700 tickets were sold (Nordlys 23.05.02).

¹²⁴ The *Eckbos Legaters Kulturpris* is a national prize in Norway and awarded once per year since 1999.

¹²⁵ Thanks to the *Eckbos prise*, the stage was constructed by local artist, architect and art producer *Alf Magne Salo* (NRK 19.07.02).

¹²⁶ *Yurta* is a Tuvinian traditional house with wool on a wooden skeleton (Nordlys 16.07.02). The festival later bought the *yurta* and demonstrations of traditional housing became a new element of the Riddu Riđđu programme (Hansen 2007:66).

*Northern trends*¹²⁷ were the festival's theme with focus on clothes, fashion and how modern clothing traditions are developed among northern indigenous people. Designers from various parts of Sápmi¹²⁸, *Kalaallit Nunaat*/Greenland¹²⁹ and Russia¹³⁰ staged a fashion show where traditions met modernity through exciting creations in skin, fur, silk and wool fabrics. Many were surprised by the show, especially, by *Zoya Dambieva's* (Buryatia) collection. It was an art experience¹³¹, where the designers' inspiration by colours, nature and mythology of the northern areas was embodied in cloth. All six shows had success among the spectators who finally wished to buy clothes and bargained about the price (Tromsø By 24.07.02). In addition, seminars concerning clothes, traditions and feelings were organised. The local artist *Geir Tore Holm* introduced *John Savio* and contemporary art pieces. *Aril Hovland*, a social anthropologist whose research (Hovland 1996) focuses on modern indigenous people and who has fieldwork experience from Kåfjord in the 1990s, led a discussion on modern trends.

The musical programme¹³² was lighted up by Saami stars. *Wimme Saari* presented a hip-hop *joik/ joike rap* and it was a peak of the festival. People who understood the Saami texts were amazed and writhed with convulsive laughter, while others flowed into pop hysteria. The performance by *Nils Magnus Tornensis & Gáivuona Lunttat* from Sápmi impressed the audience by strength of improvisation. *Sara Marielle Gaup*, the youngest artist of the year, performed a traditional *joik* inspired by percussion from Saami and other northern areas. The band *Nuoraid Lávdí* performed with participants from Sápmi, Siberia, Alaska and Greenland. Other Saami artists, like *JA Bær*, *Anders Nils Eira*, *Sara Inga Utsi & Johan Ante Utsi*, *Johanne Ballovarre*, *The Rundbergs*, *Ex Undis* charmed the audience's ears by their singing. *Sainkho Namtschylak* from Tuva presented a vague dreaming jazz with careful house-rhythms. Other artists from the northern Russian regions like *Alash* from Tuva, *Viktor Andreyeev & Vasily Goyev* from Kamchatka, *Olga Alexandrova* from Udmurtia had variable success. *Prosonic Session* from Norway performed house dance music with passages of African and South-American rhythms. Elements of alternative rock from the last 25 years were demonstrated by *Nephilim* from Kåfjord/Tromsø. Among the international stars was *Yothu Yindi*¹³³ from Australia. Instead of the traditional Australian aboriginal instrument *didgeridoo*, people heard ordinary western rock

¹²⁷ The paragraph is based on the following sources: booklet *Riddu Riddu Festivála 2002*; *Riddu Riddu Searvi: 2002*; "Et vintereventyr" Tromsø By 24.07.02.

¹²⁸ Hanne Lena Wilks, Laila Gunilla Wilks, Lise Tapio Piyyja, Anna Stina Svakko.

¹²⁹ Seal Craft, Nika Design, Else Møller.

¹³⁰ Razu Mikhina from Moscow, Erokhhina Nadezhda from Tuva, *Teatr Mody* from Buryatia.

¹³¹ The show took place in the school gym which was rebuilt into an Iceland: the scene was in white and pillars/columns, glass, frost smoke and blue light; all that created a stylish frame around the demonstration and together with music it gave the public a feeling of wander in winter fairly tale (Tromsø By 24.07.02).

¹³² This review is based on the following sources: 'Riddu Riddu 2002' Tromsø By 22.07.02; Archive of Riddu Riddu' programmes available at "Artistarkiv 1991 – 2004" (2007, July 15) [online]. – URL: <http://www.riddu.com/artistarkiv-1991-2004.202637-28795.html>

¹³³ Yothu Yindi recorded an international hit together with *Treaty* ten years ago (Tromsø By 22.07.02)

melodies, sometimes associated with *Dylan* in the 1970s. *Kathy Kettler & Kendra Tagoona* and *Inuit Performance Group* presented musical trends from *Nunavut/ Canada*. *Intrigue* from Sápmi was a cliché of heavy-metal: nasty bold faced types in leather clothes closed Riddu Riddu. *Intrigue* added *joik* to their metal rock and the public drove into ecstasies that joined the metal *joiking*. Afterwards, some people questioned themselves, was *Intrigue* a serious performance or just an irony? In addition, the festival presented the theatre piece *Nastegoahti* with *Ante Mikkel Gaup* from Sápmi; a photo exhibition by *Bente Geving* from Norway, an exposition from Tuva and two current children's art exhibitions from local art schools. The children's festival and IYC were a solid part of the festival.

The winner Riddu Riddu 2002 attracted a lot of international attention, amongst the 75 accredited journalists both from in- and outland, were newspapers *The Gardian* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *BBC* and *Botswana TV* (Hansen 2007:66). The mass media promoted this event internationally as original and important in the context of indigeneity and identity revitalisation. The festival became recognised both locally and nationally.

5.5 Riddu Riddu Festivála 2003: *The best Festival ever!*

In 2003 the *Koryak* people from Kamchatka, Far East Russia were invited. They came together with *Mengo*, a group of traditional and modern *Koryak*, *Evenk* and *Itelmen* dancers established in 1960. In addition to their performance, the audience could enjoy the exhibition "Koryaks" by Paul Harris and a presentation of art and handicraft.

Storytelling was a topic of the festival. The focus on oral tradition promoted the film as a modern tool for storytelling. In this connection, a mini film festival with 39 titles was organised. The selected films were related to indigenous peoples from the North. Films from Kåfjord were a starting point for this festival¹³⁴ and continued with a Saami short films¹³⁵ programme with the contribution of six movies by the Coastal Saami producer *Per Ivar Jensen*. The international programme presented films from Canada, Siberia, Greenland¹³⁶. Among the invited producers were *Aleksej Vakhrusev* (Russia), *Alanis Obomsawin* (Canada) and *Per Ivar Jensen*.

During the festival *Nils Ingvald Gaup* performed his cloth collection inspired by Saami *kofta* and motocross. This beginner designer from Kautokeino was chosen as the festival's young

¹³⁴ 'En thaikvinne i nord Troms' by Ragnar Ballovaré & Keselin; four movies showed the important sides of Coastal Saami culture made by students from the faculty of the visual cultural studies at the University of Tromsø (Tromsø By 04.07.03; 21.07.03).

¹³⁵ 'Cowboys Don't Cry' by Egeil Pettersen; 'Sushi' by Ørjan Jensen, 'Back to Sáivu' by Silja Somby and 'Erklært Samefri' by Anne Kjersti Bjørn (Tromsø By 04.07.03)

¹³⁶ Canadian novellas 'Blood river' by Monkman; 'Only the Devil Speaks Cree' by Pamela Matthews; the documentary 'Is the Crown at War With Us' (2001) by Alanis Obomsawin; the film trilogy about Russian Inuit by Aleksej Vakhrusev from Siberia; 'Eskimo Weekend' by Inuk Silis Høegh from Greenland and a youth film from Chilly Friday as central characters. In addition classical pearls like 'Nanook from the North' 1922, 'Laila' 1929 and 'Djengis Khans Etterkommer' 1928 were shown.

artist with the aim to develop further a Saami fashion style (Nordlys 19.07.03). 70 participants of the Children's camp enjoyed *joik* by *Ulla Pirttijärvi* and a drum course by *Benoit Tamba*¹³⁷. The Indigenous Youth Camp was also arranged.

Despite the many arrangements, the festival was zested with the musical programme. Sápmi artists together with international indigenous musicians presented traditional and new streams in ethno music. The multi-faced artist *Ingor Ante Ailu Gaup*, who is never afraid to try out new musical combinations, presented a new repertoire full of jazz elements. Earlier a guest of the Children's camp, *Ulla Pirttijävri*, came back with a band and sang soft, playful *joik*. *Čuologeadgi* was a *joik*-poesy-dance performance with *Inga Ravna Eira*, *Leammuid Biret Ravdna*, *Inga Juuso* and musicians. A debutant of the Riddu stage was *Kikki Aikio*, a Saami literature scholarship holder, who writes texts in Saami, Norwegian and English. Her melodies were inspired by *Beatles* and modern country. *Goikebiergu*, a Manndalen's orchestra, performed a repertoire of Coastal Saami favourites for the first time on stage. Then a *Saami singing group from Kåffjord* continued to present local famous Saami songs in colourful and humorous manners. Among the other Saami artists were *Johan Ante Utsi*, *Johanne Ballovarre*, *Elle Sofe Henriksen*, *Ánde Somby*, *Ivvar-Nillas* and *Nuoraid Lávdi*. Among the Norwegian bands, *Gåte* gathered the public, by creating a fusion of rock and folk music thanks to their popularity in the last couple of years. Just as impressive was the performance of the group *Yat-Kha*¹³⁸, a folk group from Tuva who renewed their traditional throat singing through using old and new hand-made instruments. They promoted themselves as a politically active underground ethos expressed in throat-punk. This evident fusion of tradition and modernity surprised the audience. *Urna* from Mongolia was characterised by improvisation, spontaneity and a voice which varied from the soreness of the moon to the merciless force of a Mongolian sand storm. Its combination of radiation and artistic perfection, gave a colourful and amazing fusion of intimate stillness, deep moving insecurity and explosive forces (Tromsø By 07.05.03). One of the best exported Latvian folk groups was described by a festival guest to *Tromsø By* (07.05.03 my translation) in the following way: "*Ilgji* gives us music which makes us free". Their music is related to *Karelian* traditions and brings the audience back to the rhythms known from birth and close to everybody. Greenlandic favourite *Chilly Friday* had its first concert in Norway¹³⁹. They created a furore by hard Seattle-inspired rock music, however, *Tromsø By* (21.07.03) called their songs usual and boring. *Joy Harjo*¹⁴⁰ is one of the foremost indigenous American poets. Since the 1970s she has expressed her poesy through music which is described as song-chant-jazz-tribal fusion (Tromsø By 07.05.03). *Maaki*

¹³⁷ However, the highlight of the programme was an overnight stop in Svartskogen where the lucky one managed to see *Háldi*. It is the Saami name for Huldre, Norwegian mythological figure (Nordlys 18.07.03).

¹³⁸ *Yat-Kha* is a winner of *BBC Awards for World Music* in 2002.

¹³⁹ *Chilly Friday* is from Nuuk and played in Canada, Alaska, the Faroes and Denmark.

¹⁴⁰ *Joy Harjo* was born in Tulsa in Oklahoma and a member of the *Muskogees*.

Putulik & Laina Grey presented throat singing from Canada. *Mindtwist* from Kåfjord successfully closed the Riddu Ridđu by playing hard brutal metal and energised people to dance.

“We got comments on Riddu Ridđu 2003 and some people remarked that it has been organised as the best festival ever”, says Hansen¹⁴¹ to *Nordlys* (21.07.03 my translation).

5.6 Riddu Ridđu Festivála 2004: *The peak of internalisation*

Since its beginning Riddu Ridđu has been intended as a meeting place of traditions and modernity. Developing this idea for years, the organisers summarised all their experience and came up with the topic of the festival 2004 – *Technology*. “By this topic we want to show what challenges and chances technology brings to indigenous music, art, culture and rights; and how this also forms an indigenous mentality”, says Hansen to *Nordlys* (17.04.04 my translation).

The northern people are Inuit from Nunavik in Canada. They were presented by the singers *Akinisie Sivuaaraapik & Evie Mark, Maaki Putulik & Laina Grey, Sinuupa* and by the poetic musical commotion project *Taima* with participation of the Inuit *Elisapie Isaac* and the Canadian *Alain Auger*. Besides, the festival also invited some special guests, *San people* from Botswana. *Sano Giraffe Group* included 22 members who presented a dance performance and organised a painting course for adults and children. They also introduced the audience to Bushman’s paintings, graphics and art handicraft.

The festival was opened by *Johan Sara Joavku*, the band *Wai* from New Zealand and *Drum Drum* from Papua New Guinea. *Tyva Kyzy*, a female band of Tuvinian throat singers continued performing songs ‘with club feeling’ in an original way. Among other artists were *Olchey* from Tuva, an international band *Tanya Tagaq/Origami Arktika* from Nunavut/Canada and Norway, *Mara Fahd* and *Crowhexed* from Kåfjord. The Saami were represented by stars like *Niko Valkeapää, Mari Boine* and *Vajas*, a Tromsø based band with *Kristin Mellem, Ánde Somby* and *Nils Johansen*. They bid all to the atmosphere of techno-joik-experience, rhythmic fiddle sounds and merry joik portraits in rock improvisations. Other participants from Sápmi included the artists *DJ-Ande, Hangface, Ivvár-Niillas, Eva Jeanette Isaksen, Fadnu, Lemmuide Biret Rávda, Turdus Musicus*

The spotlight of the festival was the exhibition *Territorial Holiday*, by *Svein Flygari Johansen*, from Alta, where technology played a central role. In his installation was based on video, Internet, photo manipulations, remixes of famous hits, the earth from Svartskogen and golden fish. The piece *Rundt Idstedet* (Around the Fire-Place) was also performed by *Aernien*

¹⁴¹ Lene Hansen points *Herborg Rundberg’s* music to the film *Laila* as the highlight of the festival whereas *Yat Kha* was the best festival experience to the festival producer Henrik Olsen (*Nordlys* 21.07.03 my translation).

Birje from the South Saami theatre. Series of thematic seminars were organised in collaboration with the summer University of Tromsø (NRK 22.06.04).

Riddu Riddu 2004 gathered 3500 guests and fifteen indigenous peoples from four continents introduced their culture to the audience. Never had so many people visited the event before¹⁴². Finally Riddu Riddu could declare itself as an International Indigenous Festival. Hansen states:

We experience an enormous interest from inside and outside the country. People started to come already on Monday when the festival officially starts on Thursday. Moreover, I met a lady from London who had just heard about the festival from the BBC radio programme and had decided to come (Tromsø By 16.07.04 my translation).

5.7 Riddu Riddu Festivála 2005: *There were laughter and mirth and festivity in the air!*

In relation to the topic of Riddu Riddu 2005, *Celebrations*, the festival included a number of small and big festivities, like a traditional Manndalen's hay merriment, celebrations of indigenous people from the Barents region, *yurta* joy and aboriginal rituals. The traditional *hay celebration* represented an old-fashioned merriment "so familiar to our parents' generation", as pointed out by Hansen (Framtid i Nord 07.07.05 my translation). The audience created an atmosphere by setting up hay drying racks to the accompaniment of a local music band. Everybody was invited to try sour cream porridge, goat sausages and *Gahkuu*, Saami bread. The festivities from the Barents region were presented by *Veps*, *Nenets*, *Karelian*, *Komi* and *Kola Saami*, indigenous peoples from this area¹⁴³. "[They] showed a great number of modern and traditional art expressions during the festival week", says Marina Olsen, responsible for the Barents programme (Tromsø By 29.06.05 my translation). The Nenets people set up a *tchum*¹⁴⁴, presented their traditional handicraft, organised a Nenets craft courses and a slide show about the Nenets was presented¹⁴⁵. On Saturday a Barents celebration was performed with food, concerts, fashion show, market and different rituals. In the concert programme participated the comic group *Zarni Anj*, the Veps female chorus *Kevāz 'vezi* and the Karelian folk-rock band *Va-Ta-Ga*. In addition, a film festival took place and the young artist *Unn-Kristin Laberg* from Grovfjord performed the captivating installation *Betydninger* (Meanings) which consisted of a video projection *Ord I* (Word I) and series of signs *Ord II* (Word II)¹⁴⁶. "We want our guests to be active participants in the festival programme, therefore we provide all occasions for celebrations; for instance, for the

¹⁴² However, the Riddu Riddu management took on 4500 guests (Nordlys 17.04.04).

¹⁴³ Barents celebration project was supported by Troms County and *Barentssamarbeidet*/ Barents co-operation.

¹⁴⁴ *Tchum* is a traditional Nenets tent looking like a *lavvo*.

¹⁴⁵ The slide show was done by *Øyvind Ravna* and *Soja Vylka*.

¹⁴⁶ "I prepared a system where a word or sentences can be presented as a graphic figure and analysed. Based on how a graphic look like, it can be analysed and explained what words or sentences implies," says *Laberg* (Framtid I Nord 05.04.05 my translation).

first time an International Football Cup was organised and seminars were dedicated to celebrations, too”, concludes Hansen (Tromsø By 22.04.05 my translation).

The music programme¹⁴⁷ was also a main part of the festival’s merriment. People were especially happy to see the Tromsø band *Bel Canto* which since the 1980s has been spellbinding their audience by arctic music also on international level. *Anneli Drecker* and *Nils Johansen* experimented with different music cultures and genres from all over the world. The duet *Tungtvann* is described as a mile stone in Norwegian hip-hop because of humour and reading rap in their native plain spoken language (Tromsø By 22.04.05). A young electric power quartet was presented by *The Lites* from northern Troms and Tromsø¹⁴⁸. *Johanne Ballovarre* from northern Troms was praised extravagantly by the media: “[her sounds and voice are] prostrate, admiration and goose flesh”, wrote *by:Larm* (Tromsø By 22.04.05 my translation). The international programme presented a star on the Riddu sky – the Australian rock band *NoKTuRNL*¹⁴⁹ that combined rap, hard-beat and aboriginal rock. Their political and provoking texts, together with music full of groove and energy stimulated the brains and bodies to move. *White Cokattoo* from Australia, on the contrary, performed traditional dances and songs of aboriginal celebrations based on the oldest and unbroken artistic traditions. The poetic collaboration from Taiwan *Sheng Xiang & Water 3* presented a *Hakka* people’s music and *Yongfeng*’s social realistic texts. The project *Djiromansa* combined music from Senegal, Guinea and classical Norwegian instruments, accordion and saxophone. The source of their music is taken from *Diola*, *Mandingka* and *Krio* tribes in West Africa. *Namgar*, guest of Riddu 2002, came back to present sounds of Buryat and Mongolian instruments with her beautiful voice. The colourful and explosive music created only by strong voices and mouth harp was presented by *Cheinesh*, a female throat singers group from Altai. They also performed an Altaic original myth in an intimate concert.

3500 people visited the festival, and as Hansen comments: “the capacity of the festival area is limited and will hardly take more people” (Nordlys 18.07.05 my translation). All indoor facilities were full and the general feedback from the audience was positive.

5.8 Riddu Ridðu Festvála 2006: *An international indigenous festival*

The fifteenth Riddu Ridðu was already known as an international indigenous festival. The program included 95 different arrangements¹⁵⁰ and counted 200 artists. More than 3000 visitors

¹⁴⁷ The following sources were in use: “Riddu Ridðu” NRK 22.04.05, “Riddu Ridðu programmet” 2005 Tromsø By 22.04.05, “Riddu Ridðu 2005 – Artistene” Tromsø By 22.04.05, “Johanne på Riddu” Framtid i Nord 23.04.05.

¹⁴⁸ *The Lites* is a winner of *Rock mot Rus 2004* in Andenes.

¹⁴⁹ *NoKTuRNL* won *Band of the year of Australian Indigenous Music Awards* three times.

¹⁵⁰ Available at “Riddu 2006 - bilder” (2006, August 1) [online]. – URL: http://www.vuonan.no/index.php/artikler/nyheter/riddu_2006_bilder

from different parts of the world had the unique opportunity to gain competence in native cultures and indigenous matters globally.

Guests of Riddu Riddu were the *Nambiquara* people from Brazil who count only 380 members. They participated in the Children's festival and presented *waihu* ceremony with a central element of playing flutes and dancing. The theme of the festival was *traditional food* presented mainly by an art exhibition *Hunger* organised by eight Saami artists¹⁵¹. Paintings, pictures, installations and music gave an understanding of the modern world duality through the metaphorical meaning of food. This topic was also reflected in seminars like cheese-making, baking flat bread and cooking fish dishes. The seminar programme included use of local herbs, Saami language and musical courses in *joik*, Yakut Jew's-harp and Inuit guttural singing. For the first time the *High Energy programme* was presented by mountain bicycling, a rowing contest, canoeing, horse riding, glacier tours, hikes, a Saami language walk and Saami sports activities.

The art programme consisted of a *Poetry Competition* where *Yungfeng* from Taiwan, *Anbjørg Oldervik* from Norway, Inuit *Taqralik Partridge* from Canada and *Easterine Kire* from Nagaland, performing their poetry on the little stage. Southern Saami Theatre was invited with the piece *The Saami Man* by *Ola Stinnerbom* who in addition performed the results of his research on Saami dance. The film programme invited special guests like *Hanno Hyvönen* from Finland, *Grant Saunders* with a film about the aborigines of Australia and *Ernest Webb* from Canada with his films about *Dab Iyiyuu's: namely the Cree people*. The youngest artists became *Ragnhild Dalheim Eriksen* and *Therese Merete Lindseth* who created and sold 252 T-shirts with Saami words and expressions during the festival¹⁵². The most popular signature was *Čappa Nieida* (Nice Girl).

The music programme presented well-renowned artists from Australia, Taiwan, Senegal, Siberia, Altai, Kalahari, etc. Amongst them, the famous female collective *Ayarhaan* of *khomous* (Jew's-harp) players from Yakutia. *Sanntu Karhu&Talvisovat* from Karelia presented an ethno-futuristic rock; *Golden Voice of Tandalai*¹⁵³ from Altai performed a concert in the *yurta* and on the small outdoor stage. Other international artists were the *Khoe Khollektif* from South Africa, the Inuit group *Pamyua* from Canada and Greenland, the Maori princess, *Erena Rhöse*, together with the group *Earth beat* from New Zealand, and *Oki Kano* from Japan one of the foremost performers of contemporary *Ainu* music. The music of the Saami star *Adjágas* was described as both international and original, showing that the traditional art of singing Saami *joik* in a new way can be developed, without losing its traditional touch. The festival promoted a new

¹⁵¹ Hanne Grete Einarsen, Geir Tore Holm, Kristin Taarnesvik, Ranveig Persen, Daban Da, Britta Marakatt-Labba, Randi Marainen.

¹⁵² The enterprise *Huui* organised by Ragnhild Dalheim Eriksen and Therese Merete Lindseth was so popular that they got orders from Finland and Sweden (Framtid i Nord 16.12.05).

¹⁵³ This artist performed at Riddu Riddu in 1999 with the group *Aiaiym*.

provoking name, the 15-year old boy *SlinCraze*, reading a Saami rap from the stage about youth problems in a gangster rude manner. *Mari Boine* who has gained an iconic status and great significance as an artist and promoter of Saami culture both in Sápmi and abroad, closed the 15th festival.

Today Riddu-Riddu is a conglomeration of inner independent festivals: *Children's festival*¹⁵⁴, *Indigenous Youth Camp (IYC)* and *Riddu Riddu Indiville*. The main idea was to give everybody an individual programme according to their age and interests. *The Children's festival* presented activities with movement and challenges from a goat farm to a glacier. For the seventh time Riddu Riddu invited about 30 participants from Russia, Nicaragua, Greenland, Sweden, Finland, Taiwan, South Africa, and India to a cultural meeting in the *IYC*. Days were full of cultural activities like seminars in Saami *joik*, introduction to the song and music of San people along with use of Bushmen traditional instruments (*Khoikhoi Khollectif*). Every participant contributed by sharing their cultural knowledge through singing, playing traditional instruments and performing dances or rituals. In addition, the *IYC* participated in *seminars in the Summer time* on indigenous rights, traditional Saami kin relations and trade interactions along with debates on current politics in the North. This entire programme gave an accumulative result as a final performance on the Riddu stage during the final concert. Riddu Riddu 2006 also introduced *Riddu Riddu Indiville* - an indigenous village especially designed for families and others who want to gain more knowledge on indigenous issues, through courses, seminars, workshops, and a small concert program.

“Participation in Riddu Riddu gives a unique possibility to improve competence about each other and relevant cases which concern indigenous peoples across the world”, concludes Lene Hansen (Nordlys 08.09.04 my translation).

5.9 The Coastal Saami at Riddu Riddu

“*Manndalinger* can only be proud of such a professionally organised festival”, writes *Tromsø By* (21.07.03 my translation). Indeed, Riddu Riddu has developed from a local event to a versatile international cultural festival¹⁵⁵. The programme has been enriched by film, dance, art, debates, fashion, music and has even developed inner festivals. In addition, Riddu Riddu has won

¹⁵⁴ *The Children's festival* is situated on a distance from the main Riddu-Riddu festival in a picturesque valley, between mountains and represents the children's camp, several big *lavvo* with a plenty of reindeer skins around the fire-meeting place with gong announcing the lunchtime, set up at the foot of the mountain. The Children's festival has its own programme including separate courses for children age 4-12, organised by adults and running for a whole day. The theme of the children's festival varies from year to year, but the main things are still the same: fun and games which educates kids in terms of traditional Sámi culture: story-tellers, legends, food and so on. However, participants do not need to be Saami.

¹⁵⁵ Moreover, the festival was certified as *Miljøfyrtårn* (a national environmental leading light/ lighthouse) See: “Miljøtricks for festivaler” NRK 07.07.03; “Riddu Riddu vil bli miljøfyrtårn” Tromsø By 02.07.03

recognition and respect not only among people interested in culture but among the local people of Manndalen who have accepted the festival as something positive (Nordlys 19.07.01). It is no secret that in the beginning, Riddu Riddu did not meet much local enthusiasm in general. "... It is not so easy to be accepted as a cultural festival. We have been accused both as a heathen and as fake saami" points out the festival producer Henrik Olsen (Aftenposten 14.07.00). But gradually locals have accepted the festival. However, Riddu Riddu 2001 was a turning-point. Favourable media reviews and the thematic presentation of Coastal Saami as *northern people*, motivated people to visit the festival. "In this year nearly 300 volunteers came from the local milieu", says Håkon Eriksen (Nordlys 19.07.01 my translation). Even sceptics who had never participated in the festival suddenly appeared as volunteers, showing to others that they are not guests of the festival (Hansen 2007). In later discussions people gave the organisers an encouraging feedback, in the spirit of "I did not expect to see such a high-quality performance".

Since the festival achieved wide recognition, *kåffordinger* demonstrated themselves as an open-minded community. Hansen (2007) finds it as a particular local feature to be tolerant and curious. "The appreciation of our many friends was the most important, they supported us during ups and downs, fertilized our creativity and have shown an incredible spirit to go ahead", says Hansen (Nordlys 23.05.02). Consequently, local artists as representatives of Coastal Saami culture were promoted, thus stimulating the creativity inside the community. Local amateur musicians were invited to play on the same stage with professionals; the gallery exhibited local artists together with international ones. This tactics gave a chance to *kåffordinger* to become artists and create their own life reflection. As a result, it has promoted the development of Saami art for the last decade. For instance, Hansen (2007) tells about the striking amount of figurative artists in Manndalen nowadays. Riddu Riddu became one of the important stages to demonstrate local Coastal Saami culture and its modern trends through exhibitions, installations, performance, music, courses. In fact, this demonstration can be seen as a process of Coastal Saami ethnic revitalisation through cultural means. Here are some examples of that.

The brothers *Bernt&Stein Bjørn*¹⁵⁶ and *Kristin E. Bjørn* had been asked by the festival leaders for a piece which could fit into the context of Riddu Riddu and suited particularly to the Coastal Saami realities. The result of their ten-year creative search was *Siste kveld med mamma* (The last evening with mother)¹⁵⁷. The piece started with a peaceful family gathering on a mother's 60 years birthday party. However, a conflict suddenly popped up when the older brother who had been at the university, decided to come to the birthday in a Kautokeino *kofte*. The clash

¹⁵⁶ Producers were born in northern Troms and applied their personal experience to the piece. Therefore all events are not accidental, e.g. a play of radio reportage from the Alta fight. Audience could also see a stage set by the local artist Geir Tore Holms (NRK 20.07.01).

¹⁵⁷ In the following discussion on *Siste kveld med mamma* were used articles from Nordlys 05.07.01, Nordlys 20.07.01, Nordlys 24.07.01, NRK 20.07.01, Tromsø By 15.11.02.

was expressed in rude expressions, touched good old days of camping drinking, political consequences of Norwegianization policy and the process of Saami revitalization. The latter was illustrated by the shot of a gun and was directly associated with the shooting of road signs in Kåfjord. This appealed right to the home audience through a *Skiltskytter rap*¹⁵⁸ where the damned Coastal Saami were described in curses. However, the hard lyrics provoked neither anger nor insult, and these simple rude words conveyed an emotional truth which touched everybody. The piece was staged in the traditions of folk theatre presenting problems and provoking questions in an amusing way with smack and “elephantine and oddball humour, often criminatory and sometimes with dismissive self irony” (Nordlys 05.07.01 my translation). The numerous media positive feedback defined *Siste kveld med mamma* as a hybrid of anarchistic cabaret, surrealistic info theatre, psychological drama, TV entertainment show, rituals and music.

However, the producers’ goal was to stage the identity of a norwegianized Coastal Saami family which consisted of mutually excluding impulses (Tromsø By 15.11.02). “We wanted to show how difficult it is for everybody in search of their identities. Our piece touches sensitive periods of history of suppression, that is norwegianization, and the complexity of ethnic revitalization”, say *Bernt&Stein Bjørn* to *Nordlys* (05.07.01 my translation). The performance was created through conversations, video- and audioterviews with people. There were two bottom line questions: does a Saami future exist and how do you see it? Does identity connect to language preservation and traditional style of life or to geography, family and ethnicity? (Tromsø By 15.11.02).

These questions are also highly relevant to Riddu Riddu. The festival produces reflections on what it means to be a Coastal Saami and gives a perspective how to be Saami today. For instance, Riddu Riddu 2001 presented an exhibition “to show to public what Coastal Saami artists are creating right now...[and] presents techniques like painting, graphic, photo, sculpture and video”, says *Torun Olsen* (Nordlys 17.07.01 my translation). The artists grew up in a Coastal Saami milieu, then travelled across the world and fulfilled a degree in Fine Arts and by their works expressed a Coastal Saami in the modern world. Riddu Riddu 2004 presented the installation *Territorial Holiday* by *Svein Flygari Johansen* who, inspired by the justice that has been given with reference to the Svartskogen case, showed another aspect of revitalised identity:

I identified myself with the place where I grew up; however, I do not feel myself as an owner of the place...My art deals with identity and landscape, on one side, and ethnicity and territory, on the other side. By territory I mean frontiers and political areas like Svartskogen. Here we deal with possession of areas although the landscape is also perceived as visual and without borders. Ethnic differentiation, fight for a territory, development and resource management created conflict in a local society and menace to

¹⁵⁸ Per Ivar Jensen wrote music to the piece, since the Saami have a strong storytelling tradition, it was done through a rap (Nordlys 05.07.01).

important principles of public rights of access, concludes *Svein Flygari Johansen* (Nordlys 15.07.04 my translation).

It is obvious that a split of identity characterises nowadays the Coastal Saami from northern Norway. They have been marked as a people without a past and now questions of their future are raised. Therefore the seminar *Are Coastal Saami a people without a past?* gathered more than 50 listeners during Riddu Ridđu 2001. Speakers from Tromsø Museum, *Marit Hauan* and *Ivar Bjørklund* spoke about situating identity, perspectives on Coastal Saami history and the importance of traditions and legends in cultural preservation (Nordlys 20.07.01). However, a happy future is not an easy task to undertake. Because the revitalization of the Coastal Saami culture influenced the local society in polarizing ways, some became ‘snipers’, shooting against every Saami sign. Others, especially young people, started to see their background as a resource and a subject to be proud of. This environment created *Totalteater* as a part of the Saami Youth Union of Kåfjord and the Riddu Ridđu festival, as Hansen concludes:

It seems they [Coastal Saami] have to perform something they are proud of and that they can be proud of their village and their Coastal Saami Identity. We got the festival with that content which we wanted to see. The reward for that are our boasting and all people who come back here (Nordlys 19.07.01 my translation).

Therefore, it can be concluded that Riddu Ridđu is about the future; it creates a new generation by educating kids, teenagers and adults in the spirit of cultural diversity and tolerance. For instance, young participants of *Children’s festival 2002* learnt about Coastal Saami culture from the music instructor *Østein Hanssen* from Nordkjosbotn, with a mixed cultural background of Saami, Kven and Norwegian (Nordlys 21.06.02). He taught kids how to play and make musical instruments from goat horns, animals’ bones, fish heads and plants. As a final, children implemented all the new knowledge in a staged performance. The Coastal Saami culture was represented by fishing, hunting and supernatural myths (creation of a sea monster). It shows that Riddu Ridđu plays an important role in the revitalisation process. The festival does not only reflect and remind the locals of their problems. It educates people in terms of their culture and provokes an open discussion on identity issues in the society. *Svein Flygari Johansen* emphasizes the high relevance of the festival to the local people: “Riddu shows us manifold and invites to tolerance” (Nordlys 15.07.04 my translation).

Today Riddu Ridđu is an engine of Kåfjord municipality and it can be considered as a ‘revitaliser’ of the region and promoting it outwards. For instance, the festival was one of the reasons behind the choice of Kåfjord municipality as the annual cultural municipality of Troms in

2002 and a candidate for the annual cultural municipality in Norway¹⁵⁹. Besides that, Riddu Ridđu has a solid accomplishment of the past years and fortified its position as an important cultural institution in Sápmi and Norway¹⁶⁰.

5.10 A Saami imagined community

“I think we can keep the intimacy of the festival. But the atmosphere of the grill party which we had ten years ago is already past. However, we are going to keep the Riddu soul so that people can get the chance to know it”, says Hansen (Nordlys 17.04.04 my translation).

Today the development of the festival is characterised by local and national recognition which consolidated the event and led to internationalisation, presented through a manifold of indigenous people. Accordingly, the diversification of cultures and traditions led to the interesting phenomenon of a consolidation of indigenous groups. However, first a Coastal Saami imagined community was formed and had become stronger in self-representation thanks to its revitalised traditions. For example, after demonstration of the restored Coastal Saami *kofta* in 1995, people started to use it during the festival days, just to show their identity to other Saami and others. However, it is noteworthy, that during the festival, Coastal Saami and Saami people from the northern territories of Norway, Sweden, Finland and northwest Russia were considered as one people from Sápmi by the majority of the guests and even sometimes by themselves. What is more, the Saami actively demonstrated that belonging during the festival, in spite of all existing differences, which was easy to recognise at least through clothes patterns and language. Even the programme did not specify from where the artists came from; all of them had been from Sápmi. It is noticeable, that this feature was developed in the next years proportionally to the festival’s development. The more international guests had been invited, the more Saami people realised themselves as pan-Saami. Therefore one can conclude that the Riddu Ridđu festival became an imagined community (Anderson 1983) not only in relation to locals and Coastal Saami in general as it used to be, but formed a pan-Sápmi imagined community which in its turn included the original Coastal Saami community.

5.11 The formation of global indigenous community

“The Riddu Ridđu festival is a festival actor which through its work has been an important intermediary of Saami and Indigenous culture,” says Finn O. Eckbo, the jury leader during the

¹⁵⁹ Available at Riddu Ridđu Searvi (2004, October 14): “Årsmelding for Riddu Ridđu Searvi 2002/2003” (2007, October 6) [online]. – URL: <http://www.riddu.com/Arsmelding-for-riddu-riu-searvi-20022003.187195-28531.html>

¹⁶⁰ Since the fall 2003 RRS has started to implement a project of development “Riddu Ridđu is a national core festival (*knutepunktsfestival*)”. It means to strengthen festival’s economy, provide a quality securing and promote organisational competence. Lene Hansen was engaged as a project leader. Available at Riddu Ridđu Searvi (2004, October 14): “Årsmelding for Riddu Ridđu Searvi 2002/2003” (2007, October 6) [online]. – URL: <http://www.riddu.com/Arsmelding-for-riddu-riu-searvi-20022003.187195-28531.html>

presentation of the *Eckbos Legaters' cultural prise* to Lene Hansen and Jorunn Løkvold (Nordlys 23.05.02 my translation). Today the strategy of the festival development is to strengthen the communities of people from the North and to form a global indigenous community in addition to the focus on Coastal Saami and Saami in general. Recognition, popularisation and consolidation of the festival promoted this many-sided rapid development.

The traces of internationalization have become obvious from 1996 onward, when the festival started to invite international guests. However, the idea of forming an international community came in the 1990s with the World Indigenous Youth Camp that lately fell into decay. Later the organisers turned that idea into an Arctic Youth Camp which has become a very popular part of the festival. More than 200 youth have participated since its inception¹⁶¹. Since 2004 IYC has been considered as a *youth festival*. The goal of which is to have a meeting place for indigenous youth from the whole world to exchange their knowledge, culture and experience. “The festival is planned as a forum where youth can debate on rights and privileges, identity’s problems and culture across their different histories”, says Olsen (Nordlys 08.09.04 my translation). Riddu Riddu collaborates with youth organisations from different parts of the world to organise youth arrangements.

Consequently, internationalization became the main aspect of the festival development. It was reflected in cultural and political consolidation of indigenous people across the world. However, the main focus of the festival has been cultural connections between indigenous peoples from the North. “A Saami person can have more common things with Inuit from Greenland than with a person who was born and grew up in Oslo” says the festival producer Henrik Olsen to *Aftenposten* (14.07.00 my translation). For that reason, since 2000, the festival has been organised every year with the focus on northern areas. In this connection, natives from the North have been invited to demonstrate themselves and their culture, to share their problems and achievements. The festival has been visited by *Itelmen* from Kamchatka (2000), *Nivkh* from Sakhalin (2001), *Tuvinian* from Tuva (2002), *Koryak* from Kamchatka (2003), *Inuit* from Nunavik/Canada (2004), different indigenous peoples from the Barents region: *Veps*, *Nenets*, *Karelian*, *Komi* and *Kola Saami* (2005). The guests presented their cultural features like food, dresses, songs, dwelling, celebrations, storytelling and through seminars, debates and films. However, all these presentations were framed in a festival topic, like northern dance (2000), northern theatre (2001), northern trends (2002), storytelling (2003), technology (2004), celebrations (2005), and traditional food (2006). The themes reflected indigenous relations to particular subjects and their vision of modernity and traditions.

¹⁶¹ “It was both funny and knowledgeable to be here”, says a young *joiker* *Sara Marielle Gaup* who had participated in the camp before and came again (Nordlys 17.07.01 my translation). Since 2002 the participants were provided by help of instructors and interpreters.

In addition to cultural presentations, Riddu Riđđu shows itself as an active actor in the political and social dimensions of indigenous people. This has been done through seminars and debates with the agenda of modernity in everyday indigenous people's life, like *SESAM Seminar: rituals and celebrations; indigenous youth between traditional and modern festival cultures; environmental poison and climate changes threatens the Arctic; Nordlys seminar: Sámi and the media – is the closed season over?* (Riddu Riđđu 2005). In accordance with the above-described intention, the festival invited particular indigenous groups, for instance, *San people* from Botswana in 2004, with the purpose to share their culture and life struggles¹⁶².

We have found many similarities in our ways of life and big differences too. Among similarities is the fact that both of us are nomadic people, we have lived in peace with nature and left a few footprints in the country, we have rich handicraft tradition and live in small societies ... We are minorities which have been suppressed by others. But Saami live in a welfare society and have their parliament. We do not have that, we are not recognised as a particular people, says *Dcoo Stella Bob*, one of the dancers of *Sano Giraffe Group* (Nordlys 15.07.04 my translation).

The experience of Saami people's life, their struggles and achievements could be highly relevant to *San people* (thirteen of them travelled to Karasjok to visit the Saami Parliament). At the same time, in Botswana, was prepared a court case on getting back a territory that earlier belonged to the *San people*. Another outcome of this visit was a Norwegian documentary showed at Riddu Riđđu 2005¹⁶³. Media paid special attention to this visit which showed international indigenous cooperation in cultural, social and political dimensions.

One can conclude that two foci of the Riddu Riđđu development on people from the North and other international indigenous guests, finally was shaped in the forming of a global indigenous community. The Riddu Riđđu festival took an open course on internalisation. In September 2005 Riddu representatives participated in the International Children's festival in Naryan-Mar in Russia. The festival focused on northern areas' culture and by that provoked an interest among young people to different forms of cultural expression (Framtid i Nord 28.09.2005). Moreover, *Riddu Riđđu Searvi* initiated the establishment of a *Centre for Northern Peoples* as a transfer of indigenous culture all year round, with focus on northern areas. The same year the *Hakka* people invited Riddu Riđđu to the indigenous festival in Meining in Taiwan, with a wish to share experiences in cultural and identity work among young people. The festival leader

¹⁶²*Kirkens Nødhjelp* for several years had been working with San group through *Kuru Family of Organizations* which conduct development projects in Botswana. The important part of projects is a cultural work e.g. there San people learnt how to use oil paint in their traditional art (Nordlys 09.07.04). Riddu Riđđu Searvi organised this project in collaboration with NORAD and *Kirkens Nødhjelp*. Available at Riddu Riđđu Searvi (2004, October 14): "Årsmelding for Riddu Riđđu Searvi 2002/2003" (2007, October 6) [online]. – URL: <http://www.riddu.com/Arsmelding-for-riddu-riu-searvi-20022003.187195-28531.html>

¹⁶³ The documentary is about thirteen San dancers from the Kalahari Desert who had never before been outside the desert, and then they came to the festival to show others their several thousands years old trance dance (NRK 04.01.05).

of that year, Camilla Brattland said that this was a nice opportunity to get acquainted with *Hakka* people who had already been guests at Riddu Ridđu. This visit strengthened Riddu Ridđu as an arena for indigenous cultures, building the festivals' international network of art and cultural works (Framtid i Nord 09.12.05). These invitations out demonstrate the festival by itself as an active actor in the international community. As such, Riddu Ridđu has created a global imagined community.

5.12 The Riddu Ridđu World

The successful development of Riddu Ridđu still highly depends on public recognition “that gives us an inspiration to work further”, says Guttorm, the festival leader (Nordlys 30.12.00 my translation). For instance, the number of volunteers is growing every year. Now they are not only from the local milieu, there are people from Australia, Russia, France, Germany, Cameroon, South Africa and so on. Here it is interesting to point out the role of the *festival's camp*, which is situated in a field next to the concert area. The guests of Riddu Ridđu are supposed to live there in tents during the festival. However, the organisers noticed a tendency for many visitors to come to the festival just because of the tent area where private festivities took place and sometimes the festival was even ignored. This fact drew another perspective of development. The festival has become a meeting place, a chance and opportunity not only to have a great time, listen to music and see other cultures. It is also an opportunity to meet other people, make friends, travel, share ideas, discuss others experience, learn by doing, create and feel free in a global imagined community. All these can be defined as Riddu Ridđu world.

Today Riddu Ridđu is finally established as a renowned event, “the most interesting in the northern hemisphere”, as described by Astrid Guttorm, the festival leader (Nordlys 30.12.00). Many authorities (members of the Saami Parliament, Norwegian officials, renowned artists, etc.) share this opinion. During the last seven years the festival has got a good reputation. The national and international recognition has attracted many renowned artists, prize winners and international stars to participate¹⁶⁴. This fact also consolidates the festival's status and promotes the image further. In particular, the mass media plays an important role in popularisation of Riddu Ridđu. For instance, newspapers organised quizzes (Tromsø By) and different competitions (Nordlys)¹⁶⁵, an Internet site sells tickets, announces the programme and presents other general cultural matters¹⁶⁶, an on-line web-camera¹⁶⁷ followed the festival course of events, the Internet shop sells

¹⁶⁴ For instance, *NoKTuRNL* won *Band of the year of Australian Indigenous Music Awards* three times.

¹⁶⁵ *Nordlys* organised an action amongst their readers who could share their funny stories happened during the festival or pictures and win 20 festival passes. *Tromsø By* offered one festival pass to a person who could correctly answer on question: What does Riddu Ridđu mean?

¹⁶⁶ See more, Riddu Ridđu Searvi (2004, October 14): “Årsmelding for Riddu Ridđu Searvi 2002/2003” (2007, October 6) [online]. – URL: <http://www.riddu.com/Arsmelding-for-riddu-riu-searvi-20022003.187195-28531.html>

Saami and other indigenous music, films and literature. During Riddu Riddu 2003 the reporter *Egil Pettersen* from TV2, visiting courses and exhibitions, noticed the media mistake of not covering enough arrangements organised by the festival on Friday and Saturday (Tromsø By 16.07.03 my translation). Since that time the development of the media relations became a priority for RRS. Therefore, the next chapter will present the results of the mass media content analysis that light up the main challenges of Riddu Riddu.

¹⁶⁷ See more, “Følg Riddu Riddu live!” Tromsø By 18.07.03

Chapter 6

Challenges for the Riddu Ridđu festival

The development of the Riddu Ridđu festival clearly shows that this event is a reflection on the Coastal Saami first, and the indigenous community, as a whole. Therefore, we could see from the previous chapters that the development of the festival provoked discussions on the following problems – relations between traditions and modernity, creation of local identity and symbolic expressions of an imagined community. Those discussions challenged not only Riddu Ridđu but the indigenous community as whole. Therefore, the festival can be seen as an arena for debates on how to be indigenous in the modern world. This and related challenges will be discussed here.

6.1 Riddu Ridđu audience

“The minister of culture should open Riddi Ridđu because it is the most important festival in Norway, full of people from everywhere,” says the reporter Pettersen from TV2 (Tromsø By 16.07.03 my translation). According to *Nordlys* (08.08.02) the audience of the festival has grown by 30 percent per year since 1996. Indeed, the festival had its own ups (in 2004) and downs (in 2002) which mainly led to a budget deficit¹⁶⁸. However, the goal of the organisers is despite the budget problems¹⁶⁹ to provide a high-quality programme every year. The festival producer Henrik Olsen believes that the success of Riddu Ridđu does not depend on how many people visited the event: “It does not mean a crisis for the festival if the number of people is less than expected” (*Nordlys* 08.08.02 my translation)¹⁷⁰. The speciality of the Riddu is an indigenous culture which is more sophisticated in comparison to mainstream mass culture and therefore more difficult to digest by ordinary people. For instance, Henrik Olsen, notices that the audience in 2002 was a bit different compared to previous years (NRK 22.07.02) – more focused on indigenous issues and ethno expressions. However, as other sources show, the festival during the years has hosted an audience not experienced in ethno cultures. Today the festival brings natives and non-indigenous people together. The mass media content analysis confirmed that this fact challenged the festival. Since 2001 Riddu Ridđu has had the tendency to loose its position as a festival of indigenous music and culture and has become more like a big party among friends:

The concert had never been so amusing and spectacular. However, people had partying as a priority; therefore the public did not appear in front of the stage before the electric techno-

¹⁶⁸ With a purpose to cover the deficit a lottery was organised along with a support concert in Driv (Tromsø) in October, where played Englebarn, Prosonic Session, Sara Marielle Gaup, Lawra Somby, Inga Jusso and Lydteam of Tromsø (*Nordlys* 17.09.02).

¹⁶⁹ The festival was supported financially by Kåfjord municipality, Saami Parliament, artists, support concerts, different grants and other type of fund raising.

¹⁷⁰ In addition Olsen suggested higher ticket price compared to other years and intensified security arrangements can be a reason of fewer visitors.

joik performance by *Frode Fjellheim* and *Transjoik*. Though the public disappeared again until the local bands came back to the stage, the concert continued by artists from Australia and from other parts of the world (Nordlys 23.07.01 my translation).

Namgar Lkhasarova and *Tiina Sanila* were only singing as a background for people who were meeting good friends, partying, sitting and talking during the concert. One could be surprised by seeing this and assume that the profile of the concert was a mistake. As *Nordlys* sums up, “all that [music performance] perfectly fitted to Riddu Riddu’s public a couple of years ago, but now exotic concerts are just lost among the people” (23.07.01 my translation). Many newspapers concluded that the festival moved to the camping area where people preferred to enjoy each other’s company and party. As a result, the festival has lost some of its atmosphere (Tromsø By22.07.02).

Analysing the audience behaviour, one can come with the assumptions that, first, people do not consider the festival as an indigenous event, and therefore the attitude to ethno cultures are ambiguous. Second, the festival area is an alcohol-free zone¹⁷¹. For many people alcohol is one of the main sources of fun and socialization, while the organisers “wish that Riddu Riddu remains a festival for children, youths and adults”, says Hansen (NRK 10.07.02 my translation). Let us see what kind of discussions have been provoked by these two challenges in the mass media and the society.

6.2 Being an indigenous event

Today the Saami people and other indigenous peoples co-exist in a mutual cultural development. In contrast to the Coastal Saami Cultural Days, when the presentation of inland Saami culture was dominant, because of its thought authenticity, today Riddu Riddu represents the indigenous through fusion of tradition and modernity. Most of the cultural performances are an implementation of invented traditions into traditional representation. Therefore, the Coastal Saami do not disappear in the manifold of indigenous cultures. Moreover, the clash of tradition and modernity reinforce their culture through revitalisation and to a certain extent invention. The same can be said in relation to inland Saami and other indigenous cultures. Riddu Riddu has become an arena where the indigenous can demonstrate and discuss their place in the modern world. Let us see through the festival programme which issues have been provoked by presenting indigenous cultures at Riddu Riddu.

¹⁷¹The festival was criticised for several years by many because it was done little to prevent open use of alcohol. Finally the organisers admitted that they did not handle this problem so well during the last years, simply they did not have enough resources to provide security and develop infrastructure (“Strengere Kontroll” NRK 10.07.02). In April 2002 the leader of the festival decided that it is not allowed anymore to use alcohol inside the central festival area (“Vil Stoppe Fyll” NRK 08.04.02).

6.2.1 Representation of traditions and modernity through music expression

“We do not have big stars but we have future stars in our programme” says Henrik Olsen (Nordlys 20.04.01 my translation). The festival presented ‘authentic’ music along with a fusion of traditions and modernity. In this connection some performances were full, others nearly empty. Therefore one of the challenges of Riddu Riđđu is to promote indigenous cultures which requires from spectators to be open-minded and tolerant. Perhaps one of the main characteristics of indigenous representations was expressed by *Erling Steenstrup*, the *NRK* journalist: “Perhaps this year [2001] offered several less known names but it was a very good atmosphere’ (21.07.01 my translation).

The more ‘authentic’ performances had variable success, not all of them were accepted by the audience or were interpreted in different ways (boring, funny, noisy). Indigenous music can be difficult for an outsider to judge, notices *Tromsø By* (22.07.02). The audience used words like ‘real’ and ‘exciting’ to describe most of the native performance. However, the problem is that this ‘real’, original and impassive music is more difficult to digest in comparison to modern Western songs. For instance, *Sainkho Namtschylak* from Tuva presented a vague dreaming jazz with careful house-rhythms, but the way of presentation did not work, the public lost their interest and disappeared (Riddu 2002). Some other artists had also variable success. It can partly be explained by high authenticity of their presentation which was difficult for interpretation by the listeners. Therefore, the public did not attend the performance but just appeared at the end of the act to applaud, then disappeared again. This noticeable fact showed that people were not interested in the performance but appreciated the artists’ efforts.

Most of the people moved from the tent area towards the festival stage under the sounds of a famous artist or hot dance rhythm. Therefore the strength of native music could be defined as to be ‘exciting’. Then a musical performance thanks to a fusion of the infamous traditional with the popular and modern can turn into an exotic experience. For instance, the most innovative contemporary music from the South Pacific Ocean was played for the first time in Europe by the band *Drum Drum* from Papua New Guinea. Their unique sound is a mix of traditional and modern rhythms by the fusion of pacific music with funk, soul and ska. This musical impurity characterised most of the Riddu concerts. In its turn it attracted common people and promoted indigenous culture as a part of modernity.

In this relation *joik* can be considered as an example of successful ‘authentic’ representation. If in the past *joik* was regarded as a noise of drunken Saami, today it is a main cultural element of reindeer-herding and even Coastal Saami¹⁷². This expression of ethnicity is

¹⁷² The commonly spread assertion that *joik* has never existed in Coastal Saami communities is widely argued among locals. For instance, Tor Mikalsen (2007) considers this statement in relation to Kåfjord community as speculations .

studied as a cultural tradition and has developed as a musical stream. Since the 1970s *joik* became an audible cultural phenomenon. The first Saami singers and bands appeared in the 1980s. Riddu Riddu offers a course of authentic *joik*. For instance, in 2005 *Ante Mikkel Gaup* taught 20 participants in the turf hut the history of *joik* and practised animal and personal *joik*. However, people could also enjoy a professional *joik* from the stage. *Alit Boazo* created a modern Saami music by mixing *joik* with new Saami music traditions in an alternative rock. The starting point of *Transjoik's* music is the old South Saami *joik* record implemented in the modern tones of guitar, bass and drums. It is situated somehow between rock, electronic, world music and traditional *joik*. The music of Saami stars like *Adjágas* is described as both popular and 'authentic'. It showed that the traditional art of singing Saami *joik* in a new way can be developed and still remain traditional. The festival promoted the idea that traditions are not static, they are developing along with the modern world. Therefore *joik* on the Riddu stage is not only traditional song, but also includes modern elements of jazz, rock and world music. As a result, sculpted sound simultaneously dignifies and transcends tradition.

Following the Riddu Riddu programme, one can notice that consequently inventions have started to be part of representations of indigenous culture. For instance, the festival promoted a Saami ethno-techno (*Orbina*), a Saami rap (*SlinCraze*, *DJ Amoc*)¹⁷³, a hip-hop *joik* (*Wimme Saari*), Saami heavy-metal (*Intrigue*) and *joik/folk* metal (*Jonne Järvelä & Korpiklaani*). This development of traditional music shows that Saami modernity is to some extent a representation of Western modernity. Many are oppressed by the West, while Saami society accepts outside distortions and actively uses them to develop their culture. For instance, the scholarship winner¹⁷⁴ devoted to northern Norwegian artists at Riddu Riddu 2004 became *Lola*, the finalist of *Saami Idol* from Karasjok. This implementation of Western realities in the local context can be seen as cooperation between the West and the indigenous world. Saami consider the West as a source of inspiration while the West gets fresh ideas from an indigenous culture. The whole Riddu Riddu programme shows that the indigenous people are not afraid to mix realities and be inspired by other cultures (Western). Moreover, one can assume that aboriginal tones merged with Western music create a part of the indigenous modernity that is, indeed, reversed identity.

This becomes evident in relation with the creation of a global indigenous community where international indigenous identity becomes real. For instance, the opening ceremony of Riddu Riddu 2004 was done by *Johan Sara Joavku* and the band *Wai* from New Zealand. This

According to a music researcher Ola Graff, there is a great likelihood that *joik* has existed in Kåfjord before the Norwegianization policy (Mikalsen 2007).

¹⁷³ The 15-years boy *SlinCraze*, read from the stage about youth problems in a gangster rude manner, *DJ Amoc* a young Saami rapper from Enare, read rap in Enare Saami in tight and rebuked style.

¹⁷⁴ The scholarship is sponsored by *Sparebanken Nord-Norge*. The award 750,000 NOK to make a record was presented by County chairman *Roald Rindestu* and the bank's information director *Eva Jeanette Isaksen*.

enthusiastic performance in Saami and Maori was developed from the traditional music to a modern expression. The band *Aotearora* from New Zealand joined the artists and then all together presented an act and told spectators about their music and home places. Moreover, the whole concert was accompanied by a light show, mixing pictures and symbols from the North and the South, ice and northern lights, corrals and ocean waves. “This performance was made thanks to modern technologies”, points *Johan Sara* (Nordlys 16.07.04 my translation) by that emphasizing the importance of implementing modernity in traditions.

I can conclude that Riddu Ridđu promotes the idea of a modern ‘authentic’ music. “It is youthful and fresh to show a will for expression, new development and transformation of indigenous music”, says Hansen (Tromsø By 17.04.04 my translation).

6.2.2 ‘Authentic’ traditions in the modern world

At Riddu Ridđu 2002 Tuvinians demonstrated one of their cultural elements, a traditional sheep slaughter technique. A Tuvinian shaman made a cut between the sheep’s ribs and unfastened the trunk by hands. However, *NRK* writes: “During the demonstration of traditional Mongolian slaughter, a sheep was killed by a man whose hands stung inside the animal’s belly and smashed the heart” (14.08.02 my translation). In August 2002 an animal’s defence committee announced a sheep murder during the festival and that provoked reactions. According to the district veterinary Knut Bach-Gansmo the slaughter was grotesque and evidently outraged the animal’s defence law¹⁷⁵. “The slaughter was performed as an entertainment during the festival”, says Knut Sandbu, veterinary adviser for the Counties of Troms and Finnmark (NRK 14.08.02 my translation). As a result Riddu Ridđu was fined by 10,000 NOK for illegal slaughter of a sheep¹⁷⁶.

However, the festival management declared that during the festival a cultural tradition, was shown, where Tuvinians shared with the audience their over 1000 years experience of sheep slaughtering. “300 people attended during the slaughtering and nobody said anything, moreover, in our district we are used to slaughter animals”, says Olsen (Nordlys 14.08.02 my translation). It was proved that the lamb was not maltreated. “Although this case broke the law, we think that we have a right to spread this knowledge further. The slaughter is a part of everyday life. It seems that the society criminalise a whole generation because of this knowledge”, says Olsen (Nordlys 14.08.02 my translation). The Riddu management regretted that Norwegian legislation was not consistent with important sides of indigenous people’s culture, traditions, religion and knowledge

¹⁷⁵ The animal’s defence law requires to anaesthetize the animal before slaughter. It was not done during the festival. Moreover, today it is forbidden to slaughter animals at home.

¹⁷⁶ “In Norway people follow to the law and rules which are in force and the festival leaders did not follow that”, says Back-Gansmo (Nordlys 14.08.02 my translation). Kåfjord municipality first refused to support Riddu Ridđu 2003, because of the broken animal law, but supported later, however, “[it] does not mean that the municipality accepted what happened last year”, says the Chairman of Kåfjord Bjørn Inge Mo (NRK 19.05.03 my translation).

(NRK 12.02.03). Hansen emphasized that if it should follow the law “Riddu Riddu will lose the reason of its existence” (Nordlys 12.04.03 my translation). Therefore the festival organisers could not agree with the attitude from the state and society.

This case provoked debates on traditional indigenous knowledge (value of the past) and cruelty to animals (value of the present). The main paradox of the situation is that traditions are defined different in the context of the past and of modernity. The value of the slaughtering has been reconsidered by the modern society. If before it was not a cruel act to an animal, today it is, and people should follow the animal’s defence law. This incident provoked many reactions from locals, politicians, mass media, especially after being broadcasted on national TV, in the programme *Tromsø’s bilder*. Riddu Riddu was supported from local Kåfjord musicians, *Mari Boine* and *Sven Roald Nystrø*, the president of the Saami Parliament (Nordlys 16.10.03). Most of them agreed with Hansen’s opinion. Riddu Riddu has a right to demonstrate authentic traditions. However, the majority of the society including the local community did not accept this ‘shocking’ slaughtering ritual. It was condemned and never done again in spite of the explanations from the organisers who wanted to show authentic indigenous knowledge and traditions.

In addition, the lamb case provoked debates on the revitalisation of the shamanistic tradition among the Saami which vanished 200 years ago¹⁷⁷. Later mass media started to mix together shamanism and new age traditions. The latter was a part of Riddu Riddu 2007 and included healing path along with some other rituals. It provoked a discussion in Norwegian society. While bishops did not see any problem to spread information about other religions, laestadians in Kåfjord did not appreciate these presentations and considered them to be pagan rituals. For locals it was not representation of their culture. Some researchers to a certain extent shared the locals’ opinion. For instance, Harald Gaski in a newspaper (Nordlys) in August 2007 criticized the mix of shamanism and new age that has lead to confusion of authentic and invented traditions. However, those representations gained popularity among the festival guests, especially among youths who saw both authenticity and high values in them. Some people were doubtful about the authentic value of the rituals; others (mainly adults, men, religious people) were quite sceptic and mainly considered the occurrence as a joke.

As we can see, the value of these ambivalent performances is not so easy to define and bring them back as symbols in the modern society. Therefore the revitalisation of the healing or shamanistic traditions can be seen doubtful in modern society because for many it does not bring forward any symbolic value.

¹⁷⁷ See more, “Kirka må med i festivalen” Nordlys 22.05.03; ”Frykter sjamanisme på Riddu Riddu” Nordlys 22.05.03

6.2.3 Revitalised and invented traditions

Riddu Riddu is a test site where revitalised and invented traditions are presented for the first time and then carefully selected by the participants. In other words, the festival has become a symbolic community by itself and shows that ‘culture is in flux’ (Barth 1994). All of the above given examples evidently show the problem of traditions’ revitalisation. Some traditions can be easily revitalised, others is rather difficult to do so, and several are even impossible to bring back. One can assume that traditions are about modernity and just to some extend they have to do with the past. However, the context of the modern world simply does not accept all realities from the past as it was shown by the case of the sheep slaughtering. People tend to choose traditions which fit today’s reality; in other words these traditions should provide a widely accepted symbolic value which is worth bringing forward.

However, this can lead to the reduction of culture to semiotics, something that clearly happened to the Saami. Gaski (1997) notices that even among the Saami *duodji*¹⁷⁸ is more often being used for displaying purposes, instead of for its practical use. The value of cultural traditions is used just to show others the Saami belongings. This fact demonstrates clearly that culture needs symbols to be differentiated and competitive to others. Therefore most of the cultural inventions like restored Coastal Saami *kofta*, cuisine, music (*joik* and songs) were mainly accepted and became symbols of the community. By practising symbols people create and then live in that symbolic reality. For that reason modernised traditions should be carefully selected. The festival showed that authentic traditions can be upgraded only in terms of modernity (modern *joik* presented in variations of rap, metal, pop), while invented traditions represented most of the time the fusion of traditions and modernity (young Saami designers combine modern and old traditions, presenting their works in galleries and fashion show). I can conclude that the value of performance, music and dress can be easily upgraded and is therefore considered as a background for a revitalised culture in contrast to more authentic traditions. Summing up, Riddu Riddu promotes Coastal Saami as representation of modernity.

6.3 Creators of invented traditions and symbols

The festival invites everybody to participate. It creates the problem of mixing individual and collective identities. Indeed, the main inventors of Coastal Saami traditions are *kåffordinger* by themselves who appeal selectively and creatively to the tradition of their ancestors. Elements of the current invention of Coastal Saami culture “become objectively incorporated into that culture by the very fact of people talking about them and practicing them” (Hanson 1989:898).

¹⁷⁸ Modern *duodji*-products are works of art in both form and craftsmanship, but, traditionally, *duodji* has always been connected with the object’s practical function, which is not solely to be displayed for its aesthetic qualities but rather to be used in everyday life (Guttorm 1995 in Gaski 1997:10-11).

Sometimes the anthropologists also can be considered as inventors of culture when during their ethnographical research they inevitably produce cultural inventions which later can become a cultural reality. Researches like Arild Hovland (1996), Bjørn Bjerkli (1996, 1997, 2003), Marit Anne Hauan (2003, 2004) have done their research in Kåfjord community along with some students who did their Master thesis. One can assume that some of the works could produce cultural inventions in the community. But I would say the majority of them mainly brought reflection on and an analysis of the local society and the festival.

However, the creation of collective identity by means of invented traditions is a first concern of the organisers who are interested in the representation of Saami and other indigenous peoples. The previous chapter showed that Riddu Riddu became an imagined community first for the locals, and then for other indigenous peoples from the North. Therefore a global indigenous imagined community has been created by the organisers through the formation of a collective identity by sign substitutions, invented traditions of Saami people from the North and finally from the whole international indigenous dimension. This means that the festival produced reflections first on what it means to be a Coastal Saami and an indigenous person in the modern world. One can conclude that this symbolical connotation was expected to be only positive.

However, people who attend the festival are individuals first. Some of them belong to indigenous peoples and some are interested in revitalization processes. But not so many participants of the festival have a concern in creating a collective identity or becoming part of it. Moreover, the majority (60%) are there just to have a party. In other words, the participation in Riddu Riddu does not have any symbolic value for the majority of the festival audience. These people just see the media reflections forming a picture of an event. It shows that cultures and traditions can also be invented by people for others by pointing at how it happened between Western nations and their colonies: “The invention of tradition for subordinate peoples is part of a cultural imperialism that tends to maintain the asymmetrical relationship of power” (Hanson 1989:890). Nowadays, as the analysis of the Riddu Riddu festival has showed, mass media, political, cultural and other leaders or authorities are also participants of the process of culture invention and symbol production. Particularly mass media plays a great role in constructing the image of the Coastal Saami and the indigenous people in general. Therefore the Riddu management has to deal with modernity and develop media relations.

6.3.1 Media as a creator of symbolic community: *'Drugs, Sex and Rock-n-Roll'* or still *Riddu Riddu?*

Results of the content analysis showed that the mass media is one of the inventors of the imagined community. They do not only reflect particular happenings during the festival, they

express their opinion and make the general image of the indigenous people. They produce symbols which afterwards are used by the society to define things. For instance, the case of the sheep slaughtering during the festival, led to the symbolic creation that all indigenous are pagans and particularly the people in Manndalen are cruel to animals. Indeed, the festival management did not agree with this discussion where indigenous people and particularly *mandalinger* were accused in doing things wrong. But the media described the case in negative connotations, and the image of Kåfjord, Riddu Riddu and the indigenous community as a whole suffered. Therefore, in the polemic, the organisers tried to show another side of the event, like traditional knowledge. These debates showed that media represent an important opinion and shape meaning. However the meaning of the tradition (slaughtering) was explained in terms of the understanding of the modern society. The number of publications shows that the ‘cruel relations to the sheep’ prevailed over ‘the indigenous traditional knowledge’, therefore one can conclude that the sheep slaughtering was condemned by the Norwegian society and definitely considered as a pagan act.

The content analysis also shows other causes of creating negative images of the event. For instance, the mass media paid a lot of attention to alcohol and drug abuse during the festival. “It is a festival elation”, explains the festival producer Olsen (Nordlys 07.08.01 my translation). As long as the mass media reflect alcohol as a part of joy, it does not bring any harm to the festival. However, drunkenness is an ambivalent notion. Therefore, when present, it does not function as a symbol, however, it functions more in relation to individual and collective identity. For instance, as the children and adults’ comfort was disturbed by the suddenly increased alcohol abuse and intoxication (NRK 10.07.02), the organisers implemented a new alcohol consumption policy in 2002 and declared the festival as family friendly¹⁷⁹. The policy changed the attitude of the audience to the festival. Consequently, the party moved to the tent area, where people stayed regardless of the concerts. They showed up at the festival area only for stars, and even then would go from time to time to the camping area (to grab a beer). Therefore the majority of newspapers advised the Riddu leaders to reconsider their alcohol policy “that probably brings people back to the Riddu Riddu stage”. However, Olsen considers it as a mistake “to focus mainly on alcohol consumption and intoxication during the festival instead of cultural representations which are the main value of the event” (Nordlys 07.08.01 my translation). Here we see the problem that the symbolic value (Anderson 1983) of the alcohol becomes negative and moreover, it turns into a symbol of the festival and the community.

¹⁷⁹ The management of the festival with a family friendly profile made the following changes: youth under 15 years old was neither settled to the main camping nor entered concert area after midnight; a family camping was moved from the main camping area; guard society *Trygg Vakt* controlled entrances to the concert area that means neither alcohol or intoxicated persons on the festival area.

The danger here is that the symbol can easily be developed into stereotypes, in the sense that all indigenous people are drinkers. This happened at Riddu Riddu 2004 during the visit of the San people. The festival guests were granted four beer coupons. However, they claimed to have more beer. A leader of the *Kuru* project supported by *Kirkens Nødhjelp* replayed on complaints that the San people were not allowed to drink more, because they were supposed to fulfil their festival programme. Meanwhile the leader of *Kirkens Nødhjelp* did not know about this agreement on alcohol limitation. This case turned into a conflict which provoked a wide discussion in the community and in the press, on drunkenness and indigenous people and who was in charge to allow and to forbid drinking. The participants of the discussion were indigenous researchers, aboriginals, locals, leaders of humanitarian and health organisation, politicians and others.

In addition, media has started to connect the Riddu Riddu festival directly to alcohol and drunkenness by aggravating such details as fights, rapes and other violent activities. The content analysis of publications clearly shows that reports on rape attempts and sexual harassment have been reported since 2003. It turned out that some Saami girls stopped to go to the festival, because young and old men perceived them as benevolent sex-toys¹⁸⁰. “This problem is known and we want to collaborate with other Saami organisations to solve it”, says Christina Henriksen, the leader of the Saami Youth organisation *Davvinuorra* which takes care of Saami women. She reckons that Saami men’s attitude to girls are misunderstood because “Saami men are not worse than others” (NRK 01.08.05 my translation). One can conclude that this example reflects the result of consumed alcohol and not necessarily gender relations in Saami society.

The more the festival gained popularity and audience, the more problems were provoked by the press and discussions in society. Drugs flooded Riddu Riddu 2004¹⁸¹. “This is very serious and we demand now that the festival management solves this problem by giving a clear message to the public that it is not acceptable”, says Bjørn Inge Moe, the chairman of Kåfjord (NRK 19.07.04 my translation). The cultural review of Riddu Riddu 2005 was accompanied by a rape case of a 17 year old girl¹⁸², nine drug abusing people and the confiscation of ten litres of moonshine from one person. Most of the happenings were considered in relation to Coastal Saami (locals), Saami and all other indigenous members. Therefore this also forms the image of indigenous people in the modern world. Media reflections created the following opinion: “Now we are reading about rapes, drugs and fights during the festival. Therefore the municipality

¹⁸⁰ The following sources were in use: ”Samiske jenter lei sex-trakkasering” NRK 01.08.05, ”Voldtekssak henlagt” NRK 02.08.05, *Framtid i Nord* 18.07.05 and 19.07.05.

¹⁸¹ The police notice that it has never been so extensive drug abuse during the festival, 20 people were taken for drug misuse and 250 grams hash was confiscated in total (NRK 19.07.04 my translation).

¹⁸² A lawyer in Tromsø and Finnmark has shelved the rape case from Riddu in July because of lack of evidence. (“Voldtekssak henlagt” NRK 02.08.05).

should cut off the support. One cannot give money to a festival where these things happened”, concluded Einar Soleng from Olderdalen and hoped that Kåfjord municipality supported Riddu in 2005 for the last time (Framtid i Nord 19.07.05 my translation).

Indeed, the organisers regret and hope that such problems would not overshadow the positive sides of the festival (NRK 19.07.04). Therefore they try by means of media relations to promote more positive events which will reinforce the positive image of Riddu Riddu. For instance, the festival was certified as *Miljøfyrtårn* (a national environmental lighthouse)¹⁸³. By this they tried to show that indigenous people have always been close to nature. The green festival promotes an environmental movement and strengthens the environmental profile by using ecologically safe resources and care (Tromsø By 02.07.03). In addition to that the non-alcoholic policy of the last years was continued¹⁸⁴. The festival is presented by interviews with different indigenous representatives, stars and festival guests, musical reviews, cultural announces, quizzes and so on. However, sometimes it does not cover the negative flow of information, and then it becomes a problem.

I can conclude that mass media educate people in terms of indigenous culture by writing about the Riddu Riddu festival. Therefore the organisers struggle for symbolic meaning because as the festival has become an international event, the symbolic meaning depends to a great extent on mass media and the opinions of others. Sometimes even the creation of symbols as well as a global indigenous community does not depend only on the organisers. Mass media creates symbolic value by writing about the event in positive or negative light. As we could see from the above discussion, sometimes media paid too much attention to negative events and destructed positive news like cultural expressions through dances, songs and courses. Thanks to the uncontrolled media reflections, Manndalen can get an image of drinkers, drug addicts, flayers and aggressors. As a result, the image of the festival, the created identity and the global indigenous identity can be seriously damaged or even destroyed. Therefore, one of the main challenges to the organisers is to promote a positive image of the festival by media relations.

¹⁸³ See more, ”Miljøtricks for festivaler” NRK 07.07.03; ”Riddu Riddu vil bli miljøfyrtårn” Tromsø By 02.07.03

¹⁸⁴ The municipal community supposes that Riddu Riddu first is a family event and it is highly unfavourable to serve alcohol during the festival which gathered together many young people (”Får ikke selge øl og vin” NRK 19.06.03).

Chapter 7

Riddu Ridđu as a cultural tool of the Coastal Saami ethnic revitalization

This chapter is a summing up of the discussions and analysis done in this master thesis, based on the empirical and theoretical perspectives presented. The formulated research questions and hypothesis are discussed. Then some perspectives on the festival development in general are reflected upon, especially in relation to Russia.

7.1 Riddu Ridđu and the Coastal Saami revitalisation

The analysis presented points of the complexity of forming ethnic and national identity in Norway and in particular the situation of the Coastal Saami. I conclude looking back through the stages of forming Coastal Saami identity in the historical context, that today Coastal Saami represent a reconstructed identity showing flexibility in the course of history by being suppressed, assimilated, hidden, stigmatized and then suddenly got the chance to be revitalised. As we could see, during the 1980s-1990s young Coastal Saami decided to claim their right to determine their own terms and symbols of ‘Saaminess’, which they feel appropriate to the demands of their own time (Stordahl 1997). However, the revival was not possible in the local community based on more traditionalist movement, like for instance ČSV. First, the symbols and traditions were still hidden or lost. Second, people were not prepared for such direct revitalisation. For instance, the fact of *Samelovens språkregler* (the Saami law of language rules) implementation that led to some level of crisis in the community and separated the society, showed that clearly. Therefore young *kåffordinger* formed the Saami Youth Union where they discussed alternative ways of Coastal Saami revitalisation. Finally, they revealed their potential by starting a small local event. Innovations and new ideas on Coastal Saami past and future involved the local community.

Therefore Hovland considers young *kåffordinger* as social and cultural entrepreneurs or in other words ‘ethnoentrepreneurs’, people who “see the ability to make changes or a potential in their closest cultural and social surroundings and utilizing it to nudge the society in a direction which they find as correct or which leads to their aim” (1996:33 my translation). Ethnoentrepreneurs took the chance to find themselves. In other words, for them Coastal Saami ethnicity became “an artefact created by individuals or groups to bring together a group of people for some common purpose” (Banks 1996:39). This common goal consists of consolidating the Saami status, promoting a claim of Saami’s inner self-determination, advancing the interests of the Saami youth, working on consolidation of the Saami language and Coastal Saami culture. It represented the Saami Youth Union’s vision on the revitalisation of Coastal Saami identity where ethnicity was understood first as to “consist of the subjective, symbolic or emblematic use by a

group of people ... of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from the other group” according to De Vos (in Bacik 2002). It demonstrates Coastal Saami as a flexible society where people were not afraid to be provoked.

Reindeer-herding Saami, on the contrary, represent the ethnos or even ethnosocial organism (Bromley 1974) which according to some primordialist theories is “strongly resilient that persists through generations and through a variety of social forms” (Banks 1996:18). Here ethnicity is considered as an “innate aspect of human identity” (Banks 1996:39). Therefore culture is understood as more an innate aspect of being Saami where traditions have first authentic value and are strongly connected to the past but also bridges to the present (modernity). However, culture in contrast to Coastal Saami has never been considered as an instrument of constructing identity. That is clearly showed by inland Saami celebrations (for instance, the Easter Festival has historical background and traditions, however, the content has been partly modernised by a film programme, etc.). Moreover, the Saami cultural and political revitalization was done successfully by means of traditionalist movements (ČSV) because they did not so much invent traditions, they revitalised them. This main difference between inland and Coastal Saami developed a distinctive attitude to authenticity and inauthenticity in traditions, distortions, cultural inventions and modernity.

7.2 Riddu Riđđu as conglomerate of imagined communities

Looking through the development of the festival, we can see the traces of the expansion of an imagined community. During the first period of Coastal Saami Cultural Days in 1991-1995, the local community did not need to demonstrate their identity to outsiders (however it was a main goal of the Saami Youth Union). The idea was to get the communion of interests and to be unified. Therefore that period can be defined as creating a Coastal Saami imagined community. However, according to the analysed programmes of the festival, we can see that the locals did not accept distortions (invented traditions) as authentic to their heritage. For instance, they were totally against the implementation of elements from the inland Saami culture. However, this ambiguity provoked the collaboration between the elder generation and the Saami Youth Union. This cooperation led to revitalization, though, more often to invention of traditions.

The second period or the Riddu Riđđu festival in 1996-2000 promotes the recognition of the Coastal Saami. They had demonstrated themselves through a confrontation ethos (Bjerkli 2003) again by accepting distortions as authentic to their heritage. However, this invention was mainly a result of fusion of traditions and modernity like fashion show, musical concerts, modern art, theatre performances and so on. As a result, this demonstration and acceptance of distortions made the Coastal Saami imagined community visible. In addition, a Sápmi imagined community

was formed. The latter differed from the Coastal Saami by strong authentic traditions. They did not demonstrate so much flexibility to accept distortions as authentic to their heritage. The course of internationalization was presented by the idea to create a northern community by unifying all native people from the North. This initiative did not form any visible communion among the participants or guests from the North, however, it was reflected in the content of the festival programme.

As a result, Riddu Ridđu appeared not only as an arena for discussions on ethnic identity but it became a test field for that; a place of splashing emotions, a game of switching identity and cultural creation and finally it was a merriment with songs, alcohol, music, dance, costumes, friends and guests. The Coastal Saami youth constructed the reality for several days and let people live in it, test and feel it. In other words, Coastal Saami revitalization by means of cultural tools (festival) created an imagined community which gave others a general idea of Coastal Saami identity that could be accepted or rejected. This 'game' of being 'real' Coastal Saami turned into the forming and demonstration of situating identity (Barth 1994, 1998) by the participants. People have become first Coastal Saami wearing their *kofa*, eating their food, listening to their music, enjoying their art/films, talking in their language and discussing their problems during debates. To some extent the festival created a Coastal Saami imagined community that gave them a possibility to feel comfortable by being a Coastal Saami and share this experience of being with others by practising common culture through revitalised/invented traditions. This experience is outside everyday life. Some of the informants even say that they would never know how to be a Coastal Saami if the festival did not take place. Therefore for some it became an educational arena, for others it was a process of revitalisation of their past. The most important outcome of this is that it brought the local community together, interrelated the generations, replaced the shame by pride and made people (mainly the local youth) proud of their Saami origin. In other words, this festival gave birth to a new Riddu Ridđu generation, who from their childhood can be surrounded by Coastal Saami culture.

The period since 2000 until today has been characterised by the internationalization through the festival programme, activities, guests and participants. As a result, today Riddu Ridđu presents a global indigenous imagined community that has been formed and included Coastal and inland Saami communities. By that time the Coastal Saami imagined community to some degree was already accepted and had even adopted cultural inventions like, for instance, Coastal Saami *kofa*. Some distortions provoked discussions in the local society on revitalised traditions, like in the case of the sheep slaughtering and shamanism. Other invented traditions like the healing path or the media focus on alcohol/drug misuse were hot debated and condemned by the majority (laestadinism influenced people's opinion the most).

Both Coastal and inland Saami are now visible and are main actors in the formation of the global indigenous imagined community. The activity of other indigenous participants is varied. According to the analysis of the festival programme, some natives participate nearly every year (Tuvinians, Inuits, Cree), while others just appeared once (Nambiquara, Khakas). As we can see, the festival still attracts mainly aboriginals from the North. The tendency today is to create a meeting place for all indigenous people from all over the world. Therefore the most active participants of Riddu Riđđu are creators of a global indigenous community. Amongst them one can find representatives from Sápmi, Mari Boine, Adjagas, Ande Somby, Wimme Saari along with other indigenous people from different places of the world: Alaska, Canada, Greenland, Latin America, the South Pacific (Papua New Guinea), New Zealand, Australia, Africa, India and Russia from the West to the East.

This global imagined community acts on the local, national and international level by means of cultural inventions or invented traditions through distortions, sign-substitutions, symbol production, etc. This conglomerate of imagined communities co-exist in simultaneous development and mutual influence, unified by “the image of their communion” (Anderson 1983:15) and produce symbols of themselves. In this sense, we can speak of the community as a symbolic, rather than a structural construct, where Riddu Riđđu specifically gave them confidence in their steady, simultaneous activity. Participants, in accordance with the Durkheimian vein, find in such occasions the reflections of collective understandings or of principles of social structure. As Cohen puts it, “Culture does not consist in social structure or in ‘the doing’ of social behaviour” (1985:98). The focus is on the interpretive ‘reading’ of meaning that the event provides or makes accessible to its participants (Cruikshank 1997). Then people have their ‘narratives’ based on their experience, which will be further interpreted to help them order things for themselves. As Richard Trexler argues, “The purpose of ritual is to achieve goals...The result of ritual action is, finally, the small- or large-scale transformation of both the actor and the audience...”(1980:XIV in Handelman 1990:10). The organisers of the festival see the purpose of the global indigenous imagined community in unifying indigenous people across the world, promoting indigeneity and advancing it as a part of modernity. However, the contemporary purposes vary according to who does the inventing of traditions.

7.3 Between traditions and modernity: invented traditions in the context of revitalising Coastal Saami ethnic identity

The analysis of the Riddu Riđđu festival clearly shows that today outsiders as well as insiders are producers of inventions (symbols, traditions, sign-substitutions). Therefore the possible interpretation of the symbolical meaning of inventions can have positive and negative

connotations and mainly depends on the audience and how the meaning of the message is interpreted. So, distortions do not depend only on Coastal Saami and the discussion in the previous chapter has proved that their connotations can be negative, neutral or positive. For instance, as the content analysis has shown media to some extent spread the notion of celebrating ‘primitivity’ based on the presentation of such traditions like slaughtering, healing, shamanistic and other ‘cleaning’ rituals. These traditions have lost their value in the present and do not fit modernity. Therefore these distortions are part of the past and difficult to revitalise, they are condemned by the society. In the case of forming negative images the organizers defend their imagined community, invented traditions and sign substitutions, even in arguable cases like the sheep slaughtering. Since the communion of interest for ‘insiders’ is to strengthen the indigenous community, to make people proud of their ancestors, and not to be ashamed of their past, moreover, to obtain recognition today by promoting their indigeneity as part of modernity and build together the future.

This ambiguity between outsiders and insiders in understanding and creating inventions through symbol production and creation of images of indigenous communities shows clearly that culture is in flux. Here I agree with Barth (1994, 1998), that ethnic groups’ distinctiveness should be related to ethnic boundary and not on the cultural stuff, or in other words “rethinking culture provides a useful, no, necessary basis for rethinking ethnicity” (1994:13). Following this idea further, we see that ethnic identity is first a feature of social organization. Therefore Barth’s view shows that the festival is one of the many possible ways of constructing/revitalizing Coastal Saami identity. In this case common problems related to revival like lost or hidden identity do not have prior relevance in the context of the festival. Moreover, I can conclude that invented traditions do not damage the ethnic identity; they just reflect one part of enclosing ethnic boundaries on the Coastal Saami.

Here it is worth mentioning that for the Saami Youth Union culture was first “a form of personal and collective self-fashioning” (Clifford in Hanson 1989:899). Therefore the traditional culture was presented as an invention for contemporary purposes than “a stable heritage handed on from the past” (Hanson 1989:890). Opposite to Keesing’s view (1989), the Coastal Saami have not created a structured past as a political tool, have not celebrated ‘primitivity’. For that reason *kåffjordinger* are not prisoners of ‘real past’ (Keesing 1989). Moreover, invented traditions were a way for them to legitimate or sanctify some current reality or aspiration (Hanson 1989). One can assume that the Saami Youth Union used culture as a tool to differentiate themselves from others, and first of all from inland Saami. The analysis of the festival programmes showed how cultural inventions became the ongoing development of authentic culture. Therefore one can characterize the Coastal Saami society today by ‘institutional reflexivity’ that according to

Giddens is one of the main qualities of modernity (in Bjerkli 1996:13). Nowadays, Coastal Saami Youth are evidently revitalising their culture in all three dimensions, the symbolic, the societal and the technological¹⁸⁵ (Verhelst & Tyndale 2002). Often these dimensions overlap, as for example in the fields of art, law and language and as a result we can see how local cultures and traditions find their place in modernity. With reference to the festival, the institutional reflexivity is mirrored by inventive sign substitutions like Coastal Saami *kofta*, *duodji*, cuisine, art, songs, mysticism (shamanism and healing path). Here I consider the Coastal Saami invented traditions in accordance to Bjerkli's point that "tradition is inextricably connected to the idea and state of modernity" (1996:13).

Therefore I assume that Coastal Saami youth escaped the main trap according to Keesing (1989) and in revitalising/inventing their traditions, they are not 'frozen in time' as the Western world expected them to be. The particularity of revitalising Coastal Saami ethnic identity is that they do not only celebrate 'primitivity', and try to not use Western categorization and perception on themselves. For the majority of the Coastal Saami traditions are bridging the past, the present and the future. First, the Coastal Saami Youth invented traditions in cooperation with the older generation. However, young people wanted to have their own symbols. Both Ivar Bjørklund and Marit Hauan talked about the problem that for a long time symbols they were choosing to express their own Saami identity were not proper (Nordlys 20.07.01). They pointed out that the young generation does not identify themselves with the common idea of Saami in *kofta* at *Finnmarksvidda* with reindeer. Thanks to the youth, Norway today has got another picture of Saami in Kåfjord "as a tribe from the North who prepares the festival", says Bjørklund (Nordlys 20.07.01 my translation).

As far as revitalised knowledge was not enough, the youth promoted a fusion of traditions and modernity. The development of the festival has shown that this confluence was necessary not only for young people but for elders too, and not only for the Coastal Saami community but for the representation of the image of other indigenous communities. One can assume that the reason of this successful fusion and further development of the festival is rooted in the idea that "development is attached to the notion of modernity as the stagnated is connected to the notion of tradition" (Bjerkli 1996:14). This idea is promoted in contrast to a historical approach that treated indigenous people like pagans and 'somewhat backward' (Lofotposten 8.12.1937 in Evjen 1997). In this way, Coastal Saami have succeeded to promote, first, themselves, then other indigenous nations as modern and developed actors of society. Bjørklund praises the youth from Kåfjord and

¹⁸⁵ *The symbolic* such as values, symbols, archetypes, myths, spirituality, religion – or often several different religions; *the societal* is organisational patterns for family and community linkages and support, systems for management, including business management, and political systems for decision making and conflict resolution, etc.; and *the technological* is skills, expertise, technology, agriculture, cooking, architecture, etc. (Verhelst & Tyndale, 2002: 10).

the participants who made the festival an important tribune: “The youth has completely different language. Whereas our generation solve problems through meetings and paper work, they do it through rock’n’roll. They have understood that the most important thing is engagement” (Nordlys 20.07.01 my translation). Nowadays the Saami produce famous national and international singers and bands, film makers, indigenous fashion lines, etc., that are also becoming sign substitutions of a local and international indigenous culture.

7.4 Riddu Riđđu as a cultural tool in Coastal Saami revitalisation: *joik* or *rock-n-roll*?

“We live in a time of upheaval, characterised by groping and uncertainty. Riddu Riđđu is a rock’n’roll and the only sensible festival in Norway”, says Ivar Bjørklund (Nordlys 20.07.01 my translation). Following this idea I can conclude that Riddu Riđđu festival was not a sudden event; it developed as a request from the frustrated local society and assisted in high consciousness of Saami identity. Today the festival seems a right tool for Coastal Saami ethnic revitalisation because it does not only demonstrate ethnicity to outsiders, moreover, it creates a feeling of internal cohesion among those who are represented (Cruikshank 1997). In addition, *kåffordinger* were enrolled smoothly and indirectly in the process of the awaking of local identity. To some extent, the Saami Youth Union was encouraged by the pressure and resistance from locals that showed ambiguous attitude in relation to ethnic and cultural revival. The cultural revival has been mainly done by inventions presented as the ongoing development of authentic culture and produced by insiders and outsiders. Therefore I can say that the first hypothesis based on Hanson (1989) has been proved:

Inventions are common components in the ongoing development of authentic culture, and producers of inventions are often outsiders as well as insiders.

Besides, I see that the festival provides coherence between space, time and behaviour. It does something through the transformation which is distinguished from the living of mundane life and connects to the other world beyond this event. This connectivity provides the relationship between the event and the lived-in world, where the public event is becoming symbolic of something outside itself. Here I can say the Riddu Riđđu festival is a symbolic representation of the Coastal Saami community or, in other words, an imagined community where invented traditions are situated. However, the previous discussion has shown that not all invented traditions are accepted; therefore their symbolic meaning in relation to a Coastal Saami community can be accused. Therefore, this conclusion leads to a partial conformation of the second hypothesis based on Anderson (1983) and Cohen (1985):

The Riddu Riđđu festival is a symbolical representation of the Coastal Saami community or, in other words, imagined community where invented traditions are situated.

One of the most important outcomes of the festival is that Riddu Ridđu provokes discussions inside, first Saami, and then other aboriginal communities, on their place in the modern world, their relation to traditions and modernity, the dilemma of authenticity and inauthenticity of culture. Moreover, these issues are discussed not only inside indigenous communities, by means of mass media but they are also represented in the modern society. Therefore the festival can be seen as a representation of relations between native and non-indigenous communities in the context of modernity. As the analysis has shown, Riddu Ridđu reflects and promotes Coastal Saami and other indigenous groups as a part of modernity through cultural expression first. The festival shows that indigenous cultures and traditions can be upgraded without harm to authentic traditions. Moreover, it demonstrates natives not as 'primitive' or 'frozen in time'; on the contrary, they, their culture or invented traditions are presented as reflections on modernity. Thus I can confirm the third hypothesis based on Bjerkli (1996):

Coastal Saami invented traditions or cultural inventions are reflections on modernity.

Summing up, I see the Riddu Ridđu festival as successful in using cultural tools in the case of ethnic Coastal Saami revitalisation. The further development of the Riddu Ridđu festival can be seen as consolidation and promotion of the global indigenous community along with further cultural inventions in case of Coastal and to some extent Saami community. Moreover, the festival has the possibility to become one of the main actors on the international indigenous arena, promoting the idea of cultural sensitivity and awareness between indigenous and modern society, developing ethno-relations through representation of natives as part of modernity and educating others by means of culture.

7.5 Further perspectives

In conclusion, I could say that my fieldwork started with the visit to Manndalen in 2005, continued with a trip across the Sápmi Land and was completed by the participation in the Riddu-Ridđu festival in 2006 and 2007. The indigenous environment gave me a unique experience to see the relations between traditions and modernity expressed in various ways. It helped me become a mediator or facilitator between two different worlds of national and ethnic, local and mainstream culture. This neutral position of observer between non- and indigenous societies required from me attention, independency from opinions, cultural sensitivity and tolerance. Certainly, I went through presumptions, and confusion, prejudice and miscomprehension, sympathy and cultural shock during my studies, my fieldwork research and the process of writing this thesis. However, I believe that this thesis will show the reader the amazing world of indigeneity represented by the Riddu Ridđu festival as it appeared in front of the author.

For me, this master thesis represents a great value as a source of analytical and practical information for further creation and implementation of cultural events within the Russian reality. The analysis of the Coastal Saami society gave me an experience on how ethno-relations inside a country can be developed and function. The Riddu Ridđu festival showed an example of self-independent and developed indigenous management. I have experienced the relations between modernity and traditions in relation to indigenous societies and its cultures during this international indigenous event. Riddu Ridđu demonstrates that indigenous culture is not a decoration for strangers or just fun; it shows that culture is a way of being and a part of a person and therefore it can be concluded that performance is life. For people who have been suppressed for a long time, it is a big step to present themselves on an arena. That is why some events during the festival are just impossible to explain and it gives a special value to Riddu-Ridđu, because every year is unique and every performer leaves a part of her/himself on the stage. While other celebrations focus on abstract things and just give people entertainment, Riddu Ridđu touches the Coastal Saami and other indigenous persons so that to wake up their spirits. They are becoming the object and the subject of the festival. Showing and sharing their culture, they provoke the curiosity of other people to the differences and by that develop cultural sensitivity and tolerance. I see it as the strength of the festival and the backbone of indigenous identity. Riddu Ridđu becomes a celebration of recognized and revitalized identity. Therefore, the festival is taken so personally and emotionally, by many of the Coastal Saami. It makes me believe that the festival has a future and perspectives to develop and promote indigenous identity over the world.

Much to my surprise, the geography of the Riddu Ridđu global indigenous community covered the Russian Federation from the West to the East: Altai (Altaic, Mongol), the Barents region (Karelian, Kola Saami, Komi, Nenets and Veps), Buryatia (Buryat), Kamchatka (Chukchi, Evenk, Itelmen, Koryak), Khakassia (Khakass), Sakhalin Island (Nivkh), Tuva (Tuvian), Udmurtia (Udmurt), Yakutia (Yakut). During the festival in 2006 and 2007, I had conversations with Tuvinians, Yakut, Kola Saami, Komi, Karelian and Buryat. Most of the participants were artists from folk theatres, singers or participants of the IYC. However, all of them were just astonished by the facilities of the Saami people and their ability to independently create the festival and attract so many international participants. My ideas presented in the first chapter on Russian indigenous celebrations (*indigenous days*) were confirmed by discussions with natives from Russia. Among the possible reasons of absence of such independent events like Riddu Ridđu, they referred to lack of financing and interest from the majority of the society, minorities' absenteeism and the understanding that "nobody needs that, and then what is the point of doing it, if nobody would even appreciate it". However, I met also people with optimistic spirit who despite all obstacles were trying to promote their culture. Yet, they represent cultural traditions as

'frozen in time' and as such demonstrate the maximum of 'authenticity'. I found it as a problem for the representation of indigenous cultures in modern societies, especially in case of Russia where so many groups exist. Inability can be a possible problem in creating such a festival as Riddu Ridđu. Therefore I consider Riddu Ridđu as an astonishing experience for indigenous participants from Russia who could see the relations between traditions and modernity in a new context of indigenous society. Moreover, I believe that natives from Russia becoming part of the global indigenous society, will bring fresh insights back home and through it will establish collaboration and then would be able to change attitudes among Russians to indigenous people, at least starting on the local level. The demonstration of indigeneity as a part of modernity seems to me as a main tool of development and establishing ethno-relations inside the country. In my turn, I will use this research as a background for further development of indigenous events in Russia.

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Appendix I

Glossary

Saami terms

- Ája-centre* is a Coastal Saami cultural centre, situated in Manndalen.
- Biđos* is a reindeer meat soup
- Boazosapmelaš/
badjeolmmoš* -in northern Saami- a reindeer herding Saami
- Dalon* -in northern Saami- a group of non-reindeer and not living by the sea Saami
- Dáidda* a new Saami word for that which is ordinarily defined as art, in contrast to applied art and handicrafts, for which the term is *duodji* (Gaski 1997:10).
- Dáža* is any non-Saami person
- Duodji* is the authentic and artistic handicrafts made by the Sámi, based on Sámi traditions, design, patterns and colours are called *duodji*. The term relates first to the handicraft itself and then to the Sámi way of life. Within *duodji* one can distinguish three traditions: native, borrowed and a synthesis of the two. The native traditional handicraft is based on antler, bone, wood, outer birch bark, pewter and leather. The borrowed handicraft consists of silver for the traditional dress *gakti* or *gákti*, drinking vessels, spoons and smith work. The handicrafts as well as *gakti*, including such garments as caps, belts, and shoes differ from each other and demonstrate from which region in Sápmi land they are. Nowadays young Saami designers combine modern and old traditions, presenting their works in galleries and fashion show (e.g. Riddu Riđđu). Available at Samesløjdstiftelsen Sámi Duodji, 2005. 'Duodji in the Sámi Culture'. (2007, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.sameslojdstiftelsen.com/?p=42>
- Gahkuu* is traditional Saami bread
- Gáivuotna* is the Saami name of Kåfjord municipality, which stretches along the E6 and is represented by a long shoreline and valleys where villages – Nordnes, Manndalen, Skardalen, Kåfjorddalen, Birtavarre, Skattvoll, Trollvik, Olderdalen, Normannvik and Djupvik – are situated around the fjord (Hovland 1996).
- Gáivuona Samenuorat -Kåfjord Sameungdom (GSN) - The Saami Youth Union of Kåfjord*, was shifted on the New Year's Eve 1990 in Manndalen, Kåfjord. This union gathered young people together from Kåfjord, particularly from Manndalen (mainly from the eastern bank of the river, *Storvoll-sia*), Birtavarre and Olderdalen (Hansen 2007).
- Gáivuona Sámesearvi -Kåfjord Sameforening- The Saami Union in Kåfjord*. The union was established 26. April 1977 and was named *Álmmáivággi Sámiid Særvi*. Today the organisation has members from the whole *Nord-Troms* with the main office in *Gáivuotna-Kåfjord*. The union conducts different projects in relation to local history and culture; cooperated with other institutions through organising arrangements like celebration the Saami Day, 6 February, etc. See more information concerning GS activities at <http://www.vuonan.no>. Available at 'Gáivuona Sámesearvi' (2008, February 12) [on-line]. – URL: http://www.vuonan.no/index.php/min_birra_om_oss/gaivuona_samesearvi.
- Gákti* is a piece of clothing worn by the Sámi in northern Scandinavia, Finland and Russia, both in ceremonial contexts and while working, particularly when herding reindeer. The clothes are characterized by a dominant colour adorned with bands, plaits, tin art, and a high collar. The associated cap has traditionally been the garment that differentiates which *sida* its bearer is from. Other, more specialized, accoutrements include shoes and belts. Available at 'Gákti' (2007, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gákti>
- Guovdageaidnu* is the Saami name of Kautokeino village, the cultural centre of reindeer herding Saami, situated in Finnmark.

<i>Jagi vai Beaiivvi</i>	-a year then days- is the name of the Coastal Saami Cultural Days in the period of 1992-1994 which took place in <i>Olmmaivaggi</i> (Manndalen) in <i>Gáivuotna</i> (Kåfjord) municipality in Norway. In 1995 the festival was renamed as <i>Riddu Ridđu Festvála</i> .
<i>Joik</i>	- <i>yoik, joik</i> or <i>juoiggus</i> - is a traditional Sami form of song. Originally, <i>joik</i> referred to only one of several Saami singing styles, but in English the word is often used to refer to all types of traditional Saami singing. Some believe that <i>joik</i> is one of the oldest forms of music in Europe. <i>Joik</i> used to be play of an important part in former religious practices and became a taboo in the advent of Christianity. According to Ánde Somby (1995) <i>joik</i> is prohibited in certain areas even today. The structure of <i>joik</i> by itself does not have anything in common with European songs. It does not have a beginning, middle or an end. A <i>joik</i> starts suddenly and stops just as abruptly. Thus <i>joik</i> is more circular rather than linear. In terms of techniques <i>joik</i> has traditionally been sung a-capella, deep in the throat with apparent emotional content of sorrow or anger sometimes accompanied by a drum or sometimes with other instruments. Improvisation is a base for <i>joiking</i> . This type of song can be deeply personal or spiritual in nature. In everyday life <i>joik</i> accompanied either tending reindeer herds or gatherings in the evening. Available at 'Joik' (2007, September 10) [on-line]. – URL: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joik ; Somby, Ánde (1995) 'Joik and the Theory of Knowledge' (2007, September 10) [on-line]. – URL: http://www.uit.no/ssweb/dok/Somby/Ande/95.htm
<i>Joiker</i>	is the person who does not <i>joik</i> about someone or something, but one simply <i>joiks</i> someone or something. In a manner of speaking, a <i>joik</i> has no object; usually it is just a reflection on a person or place. In this instance, a <i>joiker</i> is attempting to transfer 'the essence' of that person or place into song - one <i>joiks</i> their friend, not about their friend. It usually has short lyrics or no lyrics at all although then exists other forms of <i>joik</i> such as the epic type. In the case of northern Saami areas, most <i>joiks</i> are personal, that is, tied to a specific person. A <i>joik</i> is often made for a person at the time they are born. Available at 'Joik' (2007, September 10) [on-line]. – URL: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joik ; Somby, Ánde (1995) 'Joik and the Theory of Knowledge' (2007, September 10) [on-line]. – URL: http://www.uit.no/ssweb/dok/Somby/Ande/95.htm
<i>Kárašjohka</i>	is the Saami name of Karasjok village, the cultural centre of reindeer herding Saami, situated in Finnmark.
<i>Lavvo</i>	-in northern Sami: <i>lávvu</i> , Skolt Sami: <i>káávas</i> , Inari Sami: <i>láávu</i> , Finnish: <i>umpilaavu</i> , Norwegian: <i>lavvo</i> or <i>sametelt</i> , and Swedish: <i>kåta</i>) is a temporary dwelling used by the Sami people of northern Scandinavia. It has a design similar to a Native American tipi but is less vertical and more stable in high winds. It enables the indigenous cultures of the treeless plains of northern Scandinavia and the high arctic of Eurasia to follow their reindeer herds. It is still used as a temporary shelter by the Sami, and increasingly by other people for camping. Available at 'Lavvo' (2007, November 10) [on-line]. – URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lavvo
<i>Olmmaivaggi</i>	is a Saami name that was given back to Manndalen in 1999. However, the road sign was established only in 2005. Available at Mikalsen, T. (2005): 'Skilting er Viktig for Samisk Språk' (2007, July 20) [online]. – URL: http://www.vuonan.no/artikler/pressemeldinger/skilting_er_viktig_for_samisk_sprak
<i>Riddu Ridđu</i>	- <i>small storm at the coast</i> -is an annual Sami music and culture festival held in <i>Olmmaivaggi</i> (Manndalen) in <i>Gáivuotna</i> (Kåfjord) municipality in Norway. The goal is to bring forward both Sami culture and that of other indigenous peoples.
<i>Sámi soga lávlla</i>	is the Saami national anthem
<i>Sámi vuohki</i>	-Saami ways- that means a way of being, way of living, mentality and values (Gaski1997:10).
<i>Siida</i>	family groups consisted of a number of households 'baiki', and each were having defined areas for fishing, hunting and gathering which were recognised by neighbouring <i>siidas</i> . (Berg 1996 in Avendano 2006). Nowadays the term <i>siida</i> is commonly used to define a group of herders and their herds.

ČSV

is a combination of frequently used letters in the Saami language. "The abbreviation may contain many meanings, e.g., Čájet Sámi Vuoŋŋa! Celebrate Saami Spirit! ČSV came to represent the positiveness of being a Saami" (Stordahl 1997:154).

Norwegian terms

Bunad

is a traditional Norwegian costume, typically of rural origin. *Bunads* are local to Norway's traditional districts, and the result both of traditional evolution and organized efforts to discover and modernize traditional designs. The designs are typically elaborate with rich embroidery. The *bunad* is characterized by double-shuttle woven wool skirts or dresses for women, accompanied by jackets with scarves. Colourful accessories like purses and shoes, scarves, shawls and hand-made silver or gold jewellery complete the outfit. The *bunad* for men generally consists of a three-piece suit that also is very colourful and heavily embroidered. Traditionally Norwegians had two *bunader*, one for special occasions and one for everyday wear. Available at 'Norway. Daily life and social customs' (2008, February 15) [on-line]. - URL: <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-225474/Norway#752971.hook>

Kofta

- knitted jacket; coat of a (folk) costume- is a Norwegian and Swedish name for a long 'Saami coat' both males and females, in other words *gákti* (Kulonen et. al.2005: 129).

Kåfjordinger

-*kåfjordadalinger*- the local term to define inhabitants of Kåfjord municipality. However *kåfjordinger* do not include the people from Manndalen (Hansen 2007).

Lyngenkofta

is the Coastal Saami dress from the Lyngen region which went out of use in the middle of 1800s. *Lyngenkofta* became possible to reconstruct thanks to Ole Thomassen's manuscript dated by 1896. Gáivuona NSR did it and presented the first time during the Riddu Riddu in 1995. Available at 'Lyngenkofta' (2007, October 16) [on-line].- URL:http://vuonan.no/lyngenkofta/hefte_sjoesamisk_klesbruk_i_gamle_lyngen/01_innhold

Manndalinger

is the local term to define the population of Manndalen in Kåfjord municipality (Hansen 2007).

Mørketida

is the period of the polar night in northern Scandinavia. It starts in the end of November and continuous until the end of January. The polar night is the night lasting more than 24 hours, usually inside the polar circles, however in case of Norway the twilight between 11a.m. and 13a.m. is the case.

Terms from other languages

Didgeridoo

-or *didjerid*- is a wind instrument of the Aboriginals of northern Australia. It is sometimes described as a natural wooden trumpet or "drone pipe". Musicologists classify it as an aerophone. A *didgeridoo* is usually cylindrical or conical in shape and can measure anywhere from 1 to 3 metres (3.2 Feet to 9.8 Feet) in length with most instruments measuring around 1.2 metres. Generally, the longer the instrument, the lower the pitch or key of the instrument. Keys from D to F# are the preferred pitch of traditional Aboriginal players. There are no reliable sources stating the *didgeridoo*'s exact age, though it is commonly claimed to be the world's oldest wind instrument. Available at 'Didgeridoo'(2008, February 26) [on-line].- URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Didgeridoo>

Khomous

is a Yakutian name for a jew's harp, which looks like a pair of scissors with a metal tine sticking through the middle. Yakutians traditionally used the *khomous*, which was said to have been made by gods and possess a magical voice, to accompany their throat-singing.

Tchum

is a traditional Nenets tent looking like a *lavvo*.

Yurta

-from Turkic "dwelling place" in the sense of "homeland"- is a portable, felt-covered, wood lattice-framed dwelling structure used by nomads in the steppes of Central Asia. Traditional yurts consist of a circular wooden frame carrying a felt cover. The felt is made from the wool of the flocks of sheep that accompany the pastoralists. The timber to make the external structure is not to be found on the treeless steppes, and must be traded for in the valleys below. Available at 'Yurt' (2008, February 26) [on-line].- URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yurt>

Waihu ceremony

is an important ritual for the *Nambiquara* people from Brazil. *Waihu* is sacred flute playing. The flutes are made of bamboo. Each flute has a note, and the melody is made up of the different single sounds each individual player makes. This sacred flute playing is for men only and women are forbidden to see it. Available at 'Nambiquara people Waihu ceremony' (2008, February 26) [on-line].- URL: <http://www.riddu.no/index.php?id=334429&showtipform=1&cat=48057&gb=>

Appendix II

Indigenous participants at Riddu Ridđu Festivála

Indigenous participants from the North

- Inuit* -'the people', known as *Eskimo*, however, in Canada and Greenland is considered pejorative, – a general term for a group of culturally similar indigenous peoples inhabiting the Arctic regions of USA (Alaska – 38.000), Denmark (Greenland – 47.000), Canada (28.000) and Russia (Chukotka Autonomous Region and Magadan Region – 1.500). In total there are 115.000 Inuits. Until fairly recent times, there has been a remarkable homogeneity in the culture throughout these areas, which have traditionally relied on fish, marine mammals, and land animals for food, pets, transport, heat, light, clothing, tools, and shelter. The Inuit language is grouped under Eskimo-Aleut languages. Available at H.B. Кочешков, Л.А. Файнберг 'Эскимосы' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.narodru.ru/peoples1307.html>
- Inupiat or Iñupiaq* -from *inuit-* people - and *piq/t* real, 'real people' – are the Inuit people of Alaska's Northwest Arctic and North Slope boroughs, the Seward Peninsula and the Bering Straits region. Barrow, the northernmost city in the United States, is in the Inupiat region. Their language is known as Inupiat. Available at 'Inupiat' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inupiat>
- Kalaallit Nunaat* -'Land of the Greenlanders' – is Greenland, a self-governing Danish province located between the Arctic and Atlantic Oceans, east of the Canadian Arctic Archipelago. There are about 40.000 Inuit (85% of the local population) and also 7.000 Inuit in mainland Denmark. Available at 'Greenland' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenland>; 'Inuit' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.geocities.com/athens/9479/inuit.html>
- Kven* are a national minority in Norway. The term 'Kven' was originally the Scandinavian name for the Finnish people living in the area around the Gulf of Bothnia, known as early as the Middle Ages. From the XV century onwards, they moved from the coastal regions of the Gulf of Bothnia and eventually reached the fjords and coastal areas of Northern Norway. In the XIX and XX centuries, the term has been used for the contemporary Finnish immigrants in Northern Norway and their descendants (Niemi 1997).
- Nunavik* -'place to live'- is the northern third of Quebec, in the Canadian Arctic and subarctic where Inuits also live. Available at 'Nunavut: Canada's newest territory' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: http://www.essortment.com/all/nunavutcanadat_rdkb.htm
- Nunavut* -'our land' – the Inuit territory was created by Canadian state 1 April 1999 and carved out of the Central and Eastern area of the Northwest Territories. There are live 18.000 Inuits and *Iqaluit* is the largest community in *Nunavut*, with a population of 3,600 people. *Nunavut's* official language is *Inuktitut*, for this is the mother tongue of 85% of its population. Other Inuits also live in the Canadian Arctic and subarctic: the northern third of Quebec, in an area called *Nunavik* 'place to live'; the coastal region of Labrador, in an area called *Nunatsiavut* 'Our Beautiful Land'; in various parts of the Northwest Territories, mainly on the coast of the Arctic Ocean and the *Yukon* territory. Available at 'Nunavut: Canada's newest territory' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: http://www.essortment.com/all/nunavutcanadat_rdkb.htm; 'Inuit' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inuit>
- Yupik* -*Yup'ik-* are a group of indigenous peoples of western, south-western, and south-central Alaska and the Russian Far East. They are not considered to be Inuit either by themselves or by ethnographers, and prefer to be called *Yupik* or *Eskimo*. The Yupik languages are linguistically distinct from the Inuit languages. *Yupik* include the Central Alaskan *Yup'ik* people of the Yukon-Kuskokwim delta, the Kuskokwim River, and coastal Bristol Bay in Alaska; the Alutiiq (or Suqpiq) of the Alaska Peninsula and coastal and island areas of south-central Alaska; and the Siberian Yupik of the Russian Far East and St. Lawrence Island in western Alaska. The Central Alaskan *Yup'ik* are by far the most numerous group of Yupik. The Central Alaskan *Yup'ik* who live on Nunivak Island call themselves *Cup'ig* (plural *Cup'it*). Those who live in the village of Chevak call themselves *Cup'ik* (plural

Cup'it). The total population is about 21.000. Available at 'Yupik' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yupik>

Indigenous participants from the Russian Federation

Altaic

The Altaics were often incorrectly called *Kalmyks* because of the similarities in the appearance of the two peoples. The name *Altai-kizhi* (*Altai-kishi*), "the people of Altai", spread in the 1840s. Another name for them, *Oirot*, originated in Oyrat, a Mongolian tribe that once ruled over Altai. Until 1947 the Altaics were officially known as *Oirots* and their territory the Oirot autonomous region. In 1947 Oirot was officially replaced by the term Altaic and the territory was the Altai republic. There are North Altaics: *Tubalars* live on the river tributaries to the Katun and Biya; *Chelkans*, also *Lebedins* live in the river basin of the Lebed; *Kumandins* live on the River Biya; *Shors* live on the upper reaches of the River Tom and on its tributaries the Kondoma and Mrasu (Akmras). There are South Altaics: *Telengits* live in the valley of the River Chu; *Altai-kizhis* live on the middle reaches of the Katun and on its tributaries (historically known as Mountain Altaics and White or Frontier Kalmyks; *Maimalars* live in the valley of the River Maima; *Telesses/Telosses* and Ulan-kizhis; *Teleuts* live in the Kemerovo area. Nowadays the Altaics live in the Sayan uplands in the Altai. According to the 1979 census data the total number of Altaics was approximately 60,000 of whom 50,203 lived in the Altai republic and it makes up only 29.1 % of the population. Available at 'The Altaics' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.eki.ee/books/redbook/altaics.shtml>

Buryat

- the self-designation is the *Buryayad* or the *Buryayat* 'wolf'. Buryats live the Republic of Buryatiya is located in the South-Central region of Siberia along the eastern shore of Lake Baikal; the Ust-Ordynsky Buryat autonomous region of the Irkutsk area and the Aginsk Buryat autonomous region of the Chita region. The Buryats can be divided into the following ethnic groups: the Bulagats (the Ust-Ordynsk Buryat autonomous region), the Ekhirits (the Barguzinsky, the Bayandaevsky and the Kudarinsky areas of Buryatiya, the Ust-Ordynsky Buryat autonomous region), the Khongodors (Buryats of the Irkutsk area outside of the Ust-Ordynsky Buryat autonomous region), the Khorins (the Aginsky autonomous region of the Chita area, the Khorinsky and other areas of Buryatiya), Buryats of the northern areas of Buryatiya (the Bauntsky etc.) and the Selenginsk Buryats (the central and southern areas of Buryatiya). In the Russian Federation live 417.400 persons including: Buryatiya – 249.500, the Irkutsk area – 77.300, 49.300 of them in the Ust-Ordynsk Buryat autonomous region, the Chita area – 66.600, 42.300 of them in the Aginsk Buryat autonomous region, in other areas of Russia – 24.000, including in Moscow – 1.500, St. Petersburg – 1.000 persons. Available at 'The Buryats' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: http://russia.rin.ru/guides_e/4707.html

Chukchi

-the self-designation is *lygoravetlyan* 'true, genuine man'; however, *ankalyn* 'coastal man' is the coastal Chukchis; *chavchu* reindeer man' is 'the tundra Chukchis. The Chukchis live in the extreme northeastern part of Siberia, in the area between the Chukchi and Bering Seas, which extends from the vicinity of the mouth of the River Indigirka to the Bering Straits in the east, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Kamchatka Peninsula in the south. Administratively, they belong to the Chukchi Autonomous District of the Russian Federation (Magadan Region) and to the Lower Kolyma District of the Yakutian Republic. The vast area (660,600 km²) the Chukchis inhabit is a region with a harsh arctic climate. The Chukchi Peninsula belongs to the permafrost zone of the tundra, and the Chukchi Upland is predominantly mountain tundra, partly frozen desert. The Chukchi counted 15,183 in 1989, 70.3 % were native speakers. Available at 'The Chukchis' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.eki.ee/books/redbook/chukchis.shtml>

Evenk

- the self-designations are *evenk*, also *orochen* 'an inhabitant of the River Oro', *orochon* 'a rearer of reindeer', *ile* 'a human being', etc. The Evenks were formerly known as *tungus*. The Evenks inhabit a huge territory of the Siberian taiga from the River Ob in the west to the Okhotsk Sea in the east, and from the Arctic Ocean in the north, to Manchuria and Sakhalin in the south. The total area of their habitat is about 2.5 million km². According to the administrative structure, the Evenks inhabit, the Tyumen and Tomsk regions, the Krasnoyarsk district, the Irkutsk, Chita, and Amur regions, Buryatia and Yakutia, the Khabarovsk district and the Sakhalin region. However, their autonomous national territory is confined solely to the Krasnoyarsk district, where 3,200 of the 30,000 Evenks live. Close to 12,000 Evenks live in Yakutia. A large Evenk community (the Solon, the Tungus, the Ainak, the Nakagyr and the Orochon) lives in the northeast of China, close to the Soviet border, while others inhabit areas of Inner Mongolia and Manchuria. Available at 'The Evenks' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.eki.ee/books/redbook/evenks.shtml>

Itelmen

- the self-designation *itenme'n-itelmen* 'an inhabitant of dry land, a human being'. Since the mid-18th century, the Itelmens have been known as the Kamchadals, later it came to denote all the Russian-speaking local inhabitants of Kamchatka. The Itelmens inhabit the area between Sedanka and Sopochnoye on the Western coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula. In the 18th century they

inhabited almost the whole of the peninsula, but their habitat later decreased considerably. On an administrative level the territory of the Itelmens forms a part of the Tigil District of the Koryak Autonomous Territory in the Kamchatka Region of Russia. The Itelmens form a rather small part of the total population 2,480 in 1989, native speakers 19.6 %. Available at 'The Itelmens' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.eki.ee/books/redbook/itelmens.shtml>

Karelian

- *karjalaiset* or *karjalazhet* on the North and South Karelia, *liüdi* or *liügi* and *livviköit* in Olonets, East Karelia, speakers of the Ludic dialect called themselves *lüüdiköit* /*luudikoit*. The Karelians are the original Baltic-Finnic tribe in the area between Lakes Ladoga and Onega. However, the Finns from Finnish Karelia have also been called Karelians, although they speak a Finnish dialect. The Karelians are widely distributed over a large territory. The Karelians of Karelia live chiefly west of the St. Petersburg-Murmansk railway line in the Karelian Republic and their administrative centre is Petrozavodsk. The Tver Karelians inhabit areas west of Moscow. The southernmost Karelian villages are located in the vicinity of Rzhev and on the Djorzha, a tributary of the River Volga. The Karelians live in the Novgorod region (Valdaj) and in the St. Petersburg region (Lodeinoye Polye). A small number of Karelians is reported in Siberia where they are known as Korlaks. A couple of thousand Karelians are scattered throughout Finland where they are becoming finnicized. Karelians counted 138,400 in 1979, 55.6 % were native speakers. Available at 'The Karelians' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.eki.ee/books/redbook/karelians.shtml>

Khakass

- the Tatars of Minusinsk, the Tatars of Abakan, the Turks of Abakan, the Turks of the Yenisey – the Khakass themselves have used their own tribal designation (*sagai*, *has*, *peltyr*, *shor*, *koybal*, *hyzyl-kizhi*). The Khakass live in Siberia, on the middle reaches of the River Yenisey and on the upper reaches of its tributaries, the Abakan and the Chulym. On an administrative level they belong to the Khakass Autonomous Region in the Krasnoyarsk District of the Russian Federation -- an area of some 61,900 km²). The northern and eastern parts of the region are flat steppelands (the Abakan-Minusinsk Basin), while the southern and western regions are mountainous. They counted 80,000 in 1989, among them 76.1 % are native speakers. Available at 'The Khakass' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.eki.ee/books/redbook/khakass.shtml>

Kola Saami

- *saam'* - *saamm'lja* 'Lapp' belonged to proto-Baltic-Finnic tribe. Other people called the Lapps *fenn* ~ *finn*, then the Vikings introduced the name Lapp into Swedish, Finnish, Russian (лопъ, лопарь) and later into German, Hungarian, Estonian etc. and is a translation loan of the Lapp word *vuowjosh* which means 'a wedge-shaped piece of cloth or leather' as well as 'a small group of fishermen and hunters'. Today Saami themselves consider the name Lapp derogatory. As late as 1917, the Kola Lapps were found all over the peninsula. In 1926 they were mostly in four parishes: Kola-Lapp (Кольско-Лопарская), Aleksandrovo, Ponoï and Lovozero (Luyavr). Their territory has considerably diminished since the beginning of collectivization. In 1989 the majority of Lapps lived in the Lovozero National District (85% of reindeer) which makes up 37% of the Murmansk Region. Kola Saami counted 1,890 in 1989, 42.2 % were native speakers. Available at 'The Kola Lapps' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: http://www.eki.ee/books/redbook/kola_lapps.shtml

Komi

- 'man' - By the 17th century the Russian ethnonym *Sirene* (*Siriane*, *Zyryane*) was established. Komi people live mainly between the Pechora and Vychegda rivers, southeast of the White Sea, in the northern European area of Russia. The Komi comprise three major groups: the *Komi-Zyryan* of Komi republic (415,900 km²) and in the surrounding regions, on the Kola Peninsula, in the Nenets Autonomous Region, in the Archangelsk Province and in many different places in Siberia; the *Komi-Permyaks* live in Komi-Permyak Autonomous Region (32,900 km²) to the South of the Perm Province, in the north-western part of the Perm and Kirov provinces of the Russian Federation, and in many parts of Siberia (Tyumen Province); the *Komi-Yazua* (*Yazva*) or *Krasnovishersk Permyaks* live in the North-Western part of the Perm Province, to the East of the Komi-Permyak Autonomous region and South of the Komi republic and in the upper of the Kama river. There are approximately 300,000 Komi living in the Russian Federation. Available at 'The Komis' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: http://russia.rin.ru/guides_e/4745.html

Koryak

- 'at the reindeer', 'with the reindeer' – traditionally nomadic reindeer-herding tribes use the name *chavchu* 'reindeer rearers', 'rich in reindeer', the resident tribes *nymylan* 'resident, settler'. The Koryaks live in the northeast of Siberia, in the northern part of the Kamchatka Peninsula and on the adjoining mainland from the Taigonos Peninsula to the Bering Sea. The traditional roaming area of the nomadic Koryaks has been west of the Kamchatka Central Range, up to the Itelmen settlements. Administratively the Koryaks live in the Koryak Autonomous Area of the Kamchatka Region of Russia (from 1933 to 1937 the Koryak National District). This covers 301,500 km² in all. Among 40,000 of the population Koryak represented by 6600 people, it is 23,9% from the population (*Koryakene*, Riddu Riddu Searvi, 2003), 52.5 % were native speakers in 1989. The Koryak territory is mostly forest tundra and tundra in the subarctic climate belt. Available at 'The Koryaks' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.eki.ee/books/redbook/koryaks.shtml>

Mongol

- *Monggol* – the *Tumed*, *Chahar*, *Ordos*, *Bargut (Barga)*, *Buryats*, *Dörböds*, *Torguud*, *Dariganga*, *Üzemchin (Üzümchin)*, *Bayid*, *Khoton*, *Mingad*, *Zakchin*, *Darkhad*, and *Oirats (Öölds or Ölöts)* are all counted as tribes of the Mongols and can be roughly divided into Eastern and Western. In a wider sense, the Mongols include all people who speak a Mongolic language, such as the Kalmyks of Eastern Europe. The Mongols live in Mongolia (85% numbering approximately 2.7 million. Among those, the *Khalkha*, *Uriankhai* and *Buryats* are counted as eastern Mongols. The Oirats, living mainly in the Altai region, belong to the western Mongols.); in China (5.8 million Mongols, most of them live in the Inner Mongolia autonomous region, followed by Liaoning province); in Russia (The *Mongols* counted roughly half a million people. Amongst those the Buryats belong to the eastern Mongols and the *Oirats* in the Russian Altai and the *Kalmyks* at the northern side of the Caspian Sea are the western Mongols); and a few other Mongols live in central Asian countries. Available at 'The Mongols' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mongols>

Nenets

- 'man'- The older and more widespread name for the Nenets is Yurak-Samoyeds, or simply Yuraks. The Nenets live in the polar regions of northeastern Europe and northwestern Siberia from the Kanin Peninsula on the White Sea to the Yenisey delta, occupying the central place among the Samoyed territories. They also inhabit the Arctic Ocean islands and the Kola Peninsula. Administratively, their habitat is divided between the Nenets Autonomous District of the Arkhangelsk Region and the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District of the Tyumen Region. Combined, this covers a vast territory of about 1 million square kilometres. A part of the Nenets also inhabits the Taymyr, or Dolgan-Nenets Autonomous District belonging to the District of Krasnoyarsk. The native land of the Nenets is the tundra and forest tundra, a country of permafrost, numerous rivers and vast marshy areas. Along the banks of the River Ob the Nenets settlements reach the dense forest area of the Siberian taiga. The Nenets are the most numerous of the Samoyed peoples in 1989 counted 34,665 among them 77.1 % are native speakers. Available at 'The Nenets' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.eki.ee/books/redbook/nenets.shtml>

Nivkh

- 'man' – the self-designation is *Nivh* on the River Amur and *N'ivhgn-N'igvn*, on Sakhalin Island. Various Nivkh tribes have also named themselves according to the area they are settled in, for example *Chombing* 'the people on the River Chom' and *Mybing* 'the people on the River My'. The Nivkhs live in the Far East, on the Lower Amur, on the coast of the Ohkotsk Sea on the river's estuary, and on Sakhalin Island. In the administrative sense, they belong to the Khabarovsk district of Russia (the districts of Takhatin and Lower Amur), and Sakhalin region (the districts of Rybinov, Kirov, Alexandrov and Shirokopad). In the past, their habitation was more extensive. The Nivkh population is not compact and they mostly live side by side with the Russians or the Negidal people. Nivkhs counted 4,673 in 1989, native speakers were 23.3 %. Available at 'The Nivkhs' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.eki.ee/books/redbook/nivkhs.shtml>

Siberia

is the name given to the vast region constituting almost all of Northern Asia and for the most part currently serving as the massive central and eastern portion of the Russian Federation, having served in the same capacity previously for the U.S.S.R. from its beginning, and the Russian Empire beginning in the 16th century. Geographically, it includes a large part of the Eurasian Steppe and extends eastward from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, and southward from the Arctic Ocean to the hills of north-central Kazakhstan and the national borders of both Mongolia and China. It makes up about 77% of the Russia's territory (13.1 million square kilometres), but only 30% of Russia's population (42.2 million people). Available at 'Siberia' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siberia>

Tuvinian

-*tyva*, *soyoty*, *soyony*, *uryahacy*; historically known as *Uriankhai*, from the Mongolian designation. There are two groups: the *Western Tyva* (majority) and *Eastern Tyva/ Todja* (only 5%). Tuvinians are the main inhabitants (198, 400) of the Tuva Republic (170,500 km²) called also Tyva, or Tannu-tuva which is located at the geographic 'centre of Asia', in south-central Siberia, Russia. Tuva borders north-western Mongolia and occupies the basin of the upper Yenisey River. Its relief consists of two broad basins, the Tuva and Todzha and high mountain ranges, including the Eastern Sayan and Western Sayan to the North. The Altai, Tannu-Ola, and Sangilen ranges of mountains enclose the republic on the West, South, and South-East. The Eastern part of the republic is forested and elevated, and the West is drier lowland. According to the census 2002, there are 244.200 Tuvinians in the Russian Federation, 40.000 in Mongolia and 3.000 in China. Available at С.И. Вайнштейн 'Тувинцы' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.narodru.ru/peoples1271.html>

Udmurt

-*udmurt*, *vudmurt*, *odmurt*, *udmort*, *ukmort*. *Chud otyatskaya* and *votyak* are considered as offensive. The Udmurts live in an area between the rivers Vyatka and Kama in the Republic of Udmurtia (42,100 km²) where 497.000 of the Udmurts live. The rest are mainly in the Provinces of Perm, of Kirov and Yekaterinburg and the Republics of Bashkortostan, Tatarstan and Mari El of the Russian Federation. Occasional Udmurt settlements are also in Siberia and the Far East. They also live in Kazakhstan (16.000), the Ukraine (9.000), Uzbekistan, Byelorussia and in other countries.

According to the census 2002 there are about 637,000 of Udmurts today in the Russian Federation and 747.000 in total. Available at В.Е. Владыкин, Л.С. Христолюбова 'Удмурты' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.narodru.ru/peoples1278.html>

Veps

-the etymology of the designation Veps is obscure – the self-designations are *vepslaine*, *bepslaane*, *Ыдиник* and *Ыдилaine*. In the past, in Russian sources, the Veps, and also the Votes and Estonians, were called *Chud*, nowadays Veps are called *chukhars* or *chukhnas*. The present-day habitat of the Veps is between the lakes of Ladoga, Дднисјдрв (Онега) and Valgjдрв (Белое озеро), where they live in three separate groups. The first, the Дднис- or Northern group is situated in Karelia, near Дднисјдрв, to the south of Petroskoi. The Дднис-Veps call themselves Ыдиник or Ыдилainen. The Central Veps, the most numerous group, live in the St. Petersburg region of the Russian Federation, on the River Oyat. The Southern Veps live in the eastern part of the St. Petersburg region, on the northwestern edge of the Vologda province, on the River Leedjxgi. The Southern and Central Veps have infrequent contact, and the Northern Veps are separated from them by the River *Сьвдгri* (Свир) and the interpolation of Russian settlements. The geographical and administrative division is the reason why only a few Veps ave any distinct idea of the number and location of their compatriots. Since 1928, some Southern Veps have migrated to Siberia, in the Kemerovo region of Russia (85 families in all). There are other dispersed Veps in the Soviet Union. Recent immigrants have also reached towns in Estonia. Although census data in the Soviet Union is extremely unreliable, 8,094 Veps in 1979, native speakers were 38.4% the figures clearly indicate the rapid and irrefutable diminishing of the Veps population. Available at 'The Veps' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.eki.ee/books/redbook/veps.shtml>

Yakut

-*Sakha*, *Tungus*, *Jekos*, *Urungkhay Sakha*. There are *Amgino-Lenskie Yakuts* live between rivers Lena, Aldan and Amga as well as on the left bank of Lena; *Viluiskie Yakuts* live in Viluj basin; *Olekminskie Yakuts* live in Olekma basin; *Northern Yakuts* live in the tundra area of Anabar, Olenek, Kolyma, Yana and Indigirka basins. There are 380.000 Yakuts in the Russian Federation, 362.000 live in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia/Yakutia), Khabarovskiy kraj which is situated in the north-east of Russia. There are about 456,000 speakers (Russian census, 2002) mainly in the Republic of Sakha in the Russian Federation, with some extending to the Amur, Magadan, Sakhalin regions, and the Taymyr and Evenki Autonomous Districts. Available at В.Н. Иванов 'Якуты' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.narodru.ru/peoples1309.html>

International participants across the world

Aboriginal Australians

-"first or earliest known, indigenous,"- the use of "Aborigine(s)" or "Aboriginal(s)" as a noun, has acquired negative, even derogatory connotations among some sectors of the community, who regard it as insensitive, and even offensive. The more acceptable and correct expression is "Aboriginal Australians" or "Aboriginal people", though even this is sometimes regarded as an expression to be avoided because of its historical associations with colonialism. "Indigenous Australians" has found increasing acceptance, particularly since the 1980s. The term includes both the Torres Strait Islanders (live in the Torres Strait Islands between Australia and New Guinea) and the Aboriginal People (live in mainland Australia, Tasmania, and some of the other adjacent islands), who together make up about 2.4% of Australia's modern population. The term Indigenous Australians encompasses many different communities and societies, and these are further divided into local communities with unique cultures. Although there are over 250 spoken languages, fewer than 200 of the languages of these groups remain in use — all but 20 are considered to be endangered. It is estimated that prior to the arrival of British settlers the population of Indigenous Australians was approximately 318,000 - 750,000 across the continent. The latest Australian Bureau of Statistics 2005 snapshot of Australia shows the indigenous population has grown at twice the rate of the overall population since 1996 when the indigenous population stood at 283,000. The preliminary census of Indigenous estimated resident population of Australia, at 30 June 2006, is 517,200. Available at 'Indigenous Australians' (2008, March 12) [on-line]. – URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indigenous_Australians

Ainu

"*human*"- are an ethnic group indigenous to Hokkaidō, the Kuril Islands, and much of Sakhalin. It has been speculated that parts of northern Honshū and the southernmost third of the Kamchatka peninsula also may have been inhabited by Ainu people in pre-modern times. The term *Utari* (ウタリ?) - "comrade" in Ainu - is now preferred by some members of this minority. There are most likely over 150,000 Ainu today; however the exact figure is not known. Ainu is the traditional language. According to research by Alexander Vovin, in 1996 only 15 fluent speakers remained, and the last speaker of the Sakhalin dialect had died in 1994. Most Ainu today are native speakers of the Japanese or Russian language. Available at 'Ainu people' (2008, March 12) [on-line]. – URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ainu_people

Bolivia

there are 50% of the indigenous and 30% of part-indigenous population, it makes 85% of total country's population. Among them about 2.5 million people speak *Quechua*, 2.1 million speak

Aymara, while *Guaraní* is only spoken by a few hundred thousand people. The languages are recognized; nevertheless, there are no official documents written in those languages. However, the constitutional reform in 1997 for the first time recognized Bolivia as a multilingual, pluri-ethnic society and introduced education reform. In 2005, for the first time in the country's history, an indigenous *Aymara* president, Evo Morales, was elected. Available at 'Indigenous peoples of the Americas' (2008, March 14) [on-line]. – URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amerindian#Bolivia>

Bushmen

- *San, Basarwa, !Kung or Khwe* – are indigenous people of southern Africa which spans most areas of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Botswana, Namibia and Angola. They were traditionally hunter-gatherers, part of the *Khoisan* group, and are related to the traditionally pastoral *Khoikhoi*. Starting in the 1950s, through the 1990s, they switched to farming. The total population is about 90,000. Regions with significant populations are Botswana (55,000), Namibia (27,000) and South Africa (10,000). They speak various *Khoisan* languages. Available at 'Bushmen' (2008, March 12) [on-line]. – URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bushmen>

Cree

is a misnomer applied to various peoples indigenous to North America, namely the *Nehiyaw, Nehithaw, Nehilaw, Nehinaw, Ininiw, Iiliw, Iynu, and Iyyu*. These peoples can be divided into two major groups, those that identify themselves using a derivative of their historical appellation *Nehilâw* and those identifying themselves using the word "person", historically *Iliniw*. Both groups share a common ancestry but are now divided mainly along linguistic lines. Those residing west of the *Ontario* border all the way to the Rocky Mountains tend to refer to themselves "*Nehilaw*". The second group includes all the groups east of James Bay use the historical term for man "*Iliniw*" are were mistakenly called *Montagnais* and *Naskapi* as well as *Cree*. Both major groups speak languages of the *Algonquin* language family. The *Cree* are the largest group of First Nations in Canada, with over 200,000 members and 135 registered bands. This large number may be due to the *Cree*'s traditional openness to inter-tribal marriage. Together, their reserve lands are the largest of any First Nations group in the country. The largest *Cree band*, and the second largest First Nations Band in Canada after the Six Nations Iroquois is the *Lac La Ronge Band* in northern *Saskatchewan*. Available at 'Cree' (2008, March 12) [on-line]. – URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cree>

Diola

-the *Jola*- is an ethnic group found in Senegal, Gambia, and Guinea-Bissau and estimates approximately by million people. They predominantly inhabit the region of Casamance, in Senegal. They speak the *Jola* language which includes a variety of dialects. Available at 'Jola people' (2008, March 12) [on-line]. – URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jola_people

Gambia

officially the Republic of The Gambia, commonly known as Gambia, is a country in Western Africa. It is the smallest country on the African continental mainland and is bordered to the north, east, and south by Senegal, and has a small coast on the Atlantic Ocean in the west. Flowing through the centre of the country and emptying into the Atlantic Ocean is the Gambia River. On 18 February 1965, The Gambia became independent from the British Empire. Banjul is its capital but the largest conurbation is Serekunda. Available at 'The Gambia' (2008, March 14) [on-line]. – URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Gambia A wide variety of ethnic groups live in the Gambia, each preserving its own language and traditions with minimal intertribal friction. The *Mandinka* are the largest ethnic group with 40% of the population, followed by the *Fula*, the *Wolof*, the *Jola*, and the *Serahuli*. The *Aku* also live here although only constituting a small community. Approximately 25,000 non-Africans live in the Gambia, including about 20,000 Europeans and 2,500 people of Lebanese origin. The total population estimates 1,367,124 (July 2000). Available at 'Demographics of the Gambia' (2008, March 14) [on-line]. – URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_The_Gambia

Hakka

- in Mandarin: *Kèjǐā*- is a subgroup of the Han Chinese people who live predominantly in the provinces of Guangdong, Jiangxi, and Fujian in China. Their ancestors were often said to have arrived from Northern China or Central China centuries ago. Today the presence of Hakkas is pan-China (especially southern Chinese provinces); Jiangxi, Guangdong, Fujian, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand. The total population is estimated 30 - 45 million worldwide. In Taiwan, *Hakka* people comprise about 15% of the population and are descended largely from Guangdong: they form the third largest population group on the island. Many Hakka moved to lands high up in the hills or remote mountains to escape political persecution. They speak Hakka language. Available at 'Hakka' (2008, March 12) [on-line]. – URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hakka>

Khoikhoi

-'people people'- or *Khoi*, in standardised *Khoekhoe/Nama* orthography spelled *Khoekhoe*, are a historical division of the *Khoisan* ethnic group of south-western Africa, closely related to the *Bushmen* or *San*, as the *Khoikhoi* called them and to the *Bantu*. They had lived in southern Africa since the 5th century AD and, at the time of the arrival of white settlers in 1652, practised extensive pastoral agriculture in the Cape region, with large herds of *Nguni* cattle. They were once known to Europeans as the *Hottentots*, a name that is now considered derogatory. Available at 'Khoikhoi' (2008, March 12) [on-line]. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khoikhoi>. The *Khoikhoi* have largely disappeared as a group, except for the *Namas (Namaqualand)* of south-western Africa,

who still live as pastoral nomads. Most *Khoikhoi* now are settled in villages, living as farmers and labourers. Their language belongs to the *Khoisan* group and is called *Nama*. *Khoikhoi* people are about 55,000 mainly in Namibia and in the West-South Africa. Available at 'Khoikhoi' (2008, March 12) [on-line]. – URL: <http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/society/A0827555.html>

Krio -the *Sierra Leone Creole* – are an ethnic group in Sierra Leone, descendants of various groups of freed slaves from the West Indies, the United States and Britain, which landed in Freetown between 1787 and about 1855 (or possibly as late as 1860). They make up about 4% (236,000) of the country's total population, and live primarily in the capital city of Freetown and its surrounding suburbs. The Krios speak a distinctive creole language, Krio, based on English and African languages. The Krio language is widely spoken throughout Sierra Leone. Available at 'Sierra Leone Creole people' (2008, March 14) [on-line]. – URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sierra_Leone_Krio_people#Modern_Culture

Mandingka -the *Mandinka* (also known as *Mandingo*) – are a *Mandé* ethnic group in West Africa, primarily in The Gambia (where they form the majority of the populations) and Guinea, with large populations in Mali, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Liberia, Guinea Bissau and even small communities in the central African nation of Chad. *Mandinkas* speak the *Mandinka* language which is similar (and largely mutually intelligible to *Mandé* languages such as *Bambara*, *Soninke* and *Maninka* or *Malinké*. *Mandinka* is spoken by some five million people. The total population is 6.5 millions. Available at 'Mandinka people' (2008, March 14) [on-line]. – URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mandinka_people

Māori - 'normal', 'natural' or 'ordinary'- is the indigenous Polynesian people of New Zealand. Early visitors from Europe to the islands of New Zealand generally referred to the inhabitants as 'New Zealanders' or as 'natives', but *Māori* became the term used by *Māori* to describe themselves in a pan-tribal sense. They speak *Maori* (*Te Reo Māori*) language; it is one of the official languages of New Zealand. The total number of Maori is approximately 725,000: in New Zealand they make up only 14% of the population (632,900), in Australia 72,956 (descent), in England approx. 8,000, in United States approx. 3,500 in Canada 1,305 and in other regions approx. 8,000. Available at 'Māori' (2008, March 14) [on-line]. – URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Māori>

Mexico the CDI identifies 62 indigenous groups in Mexico, each with a unique language, although certain languages have multiple dialects which may be mutually unintelligible. In 2005, the indigenous population was estimated at 12 million, some 11% or 12% of the national population. Many have been assimilated into the Mexican Spanish culture abandoning their traditions and languages. The majority of the indigenous population is concentrated in the central and south-eastern states. According to the CDI, the states with the greatest percentage of indigenous population are: Yucatán, 59%, Oaxaca, 48%, Quintana Roo, 39%, Chiapas, 28%, Campeche, 27%, Hidalgo 24%, Puebla, 19%, Guerrero, 17%, San Luis Potosí, 15%, Veracruz, 15%. The list of indigenous groups with a population of more than 100,000; more than 20,000 and less than 100,000; less than 20,000 is available at 'Indigenous peoples in Mexico' (2008, March 14) [on-line]. – URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indigenous_peoples_of_Mexico

Muskogees - *Muscogee* or in traditional spelling *Mvskoke*- are known as the *Creek*, an American Indian people originally from the south-eastern United States. Most *Muscogees* were removed to Indian Territory, although some remained behind. Modern *Muscogees* live primarily in Oklahoma, Alabama (near Poarch Creek Reservation in Atmore (northeast of Mobile), Georgia, and Florida. Their language, *Mvskoke*, is a member of the Creek branch of the *Muskogean* language family. The *Seminole* are close kin to the *Muscogee* and speak a *Creek* language as well. The *Creeks* are one of the Five Civilized Tribes. The total population is about 50,000-60,000. Available at 'Creek (American Indians)' (2008, March 14) [on-line]. – URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muskogees>

Nambiquara -*Nambikwara*- reside in the south-western part of the Brazilian Amazon. There are alternative names: *Southern Nambikuára*, *Nambikuára do Sul*, *Nambikwára*, *Nambiquara*, *Anunsu*, *Nhambiquara Halotesu*, *Kithaulu*, *Wakalitesu*, *Sawentesu Negarotê*, *Mamaindê*, *Latundê*, *Sabanê*, *Manduka*, *Tawandê Hahaintesu*, *Alantesu*, *Waikisu*, *Alaketesu*, *Wasusu*, *Sararé*. The word "Nambi" means mouth. "Kwara" is a small palm reed dart that is worn in a hole in the lower lip. The *Nambiquara* are especially noted for their unique nasal flute, played under the nostril using natural respiration. Other names for this tribe have been Tanamare, Cabixi, and Waikoakore - "those that sleep on the floor" due to the lack of a hammock in their material culture. The *Nambiquara* are located in the north-western region of Mato Grosso, and are located in 10 villages along the Porto-Velho-Cuiabá highway. They are primarily hunter gatherers. The *Nambiquara* are one of the small tribal peoples of Brazil, numbering around 380 in the tribe. Their language is called *Nambiquara* language. Available at 'Nambiquara - Nambikwara Indians' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. – URL: <http://indian-cultures.com/Cultures/nambiquara.html>

Nicaragua

the majority of the Nicaraguan population is *Mestizo* (mixed Amerindian and White 69%) and *White* (17%) with the majority being of Spanish, German, Italian, or French ancestry. *Mestizos* and *Whites* mainly reside in the western region of the country and combined make up 86% of the Nicaraguan population, approximately 4.8 million people. The remaining 5% are *Amerindians*, the unmixed descendants of the country's indigenous inhabitants. Nicaragua's pre-Colombian population consisted of many indigenous groups. In the western region the *Nicarao* people, whom the country is named after, were present along with other groups related by culture and language to the *Mayans*. The Caribbean coast of Nicaragua was inhabited by indigenous peoples who were mostly *Chibcha* related groups that had migrated from South America, primarily present day Colombia and Venezuela. These groups include the *Miskitos*, *Ramas* and *Sumos*. In the nineteenth century, there was a substantial indigenous minority, but this group was also largely assimilated culturally into the *Mestizo* majority. In the mid-1980s, the government divided the department of Zelaya - consisting of the eastern half of the country - into two autonomous regions and granted the black and indigenous people of this region limited self-rule within the Republic. Available at 'Nicaragua' (2008, March 14) [on-line]. -URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nicaragua#Ethnic_groups

Papua New Guinea

is one of, if not the most heterogeneous nations in the world. There are hundreds of ethnic groups indigenous to Papua New Guinea, the majority being from the group known as *Papuans*, whose ancestors arrived in the New Guinea region tens of thousands of years ago. The others are *Austronesians*, their ancestors having arrived in the region less than four thousand years ago. There are also numerous people from other parts of the world now resident, including Chinese, Europeans, Australians, Filipinos, Polynesians and Micronesians. Papua New Guinea has more languages than any other country, with over 820 indigenous languages, representing twelve percent of the world's total. Indigenous languages are classified into two large groups: *Austronesian* languages and *non-Austronesian* (or *Papuan languages*). With an average of only 7000 speakers per language, Papua New Guinea has a greater density of languages than any other nation on earth except Vanuatu. Population estimate 5,887,000 in July 2005. Available at 'Papua New Guinea' (2008, March 10) [on-line]. - URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papua_New_Guinea#Demographics

Senegal

there is a wide variety of ethnic groups and, as in most West African countries, several languages are widely spoken. The total population of the country estimates 11,987,121 (July 2006). The *Wolof* are the largest single ethnic group in Senegal at 43%; the *Peul* and *Toucouleur* (also known as *Halpulaar*, *Fulbe* or *Fula*) (24%) are the second biggest group, followed by others that include the *Serer* (15%), *Lebou* (10%), *Jola* (4%), *Mandinka* (3%), *Maures* or *Naarkajors*, *Soninke*, *Bassari* and many smaller communities (9%), including the *Bedick* ethnic group. About 50,000 Europeans (1%) (mostly French) as well as smaller numbers of Mauritians and Lebanese reside in Senegal, mainly in the cities. French is the official language, used regularly by a minority of Senegalese. Most people speak their own ethnic language, especially in Dakar, *Wolof* is the lingua franca. *Pulaar* is spoken by the *Peuls* and *Toucouleur*. Portuguese Creole is a prominent minority language in Ziguinchor, regional capital of the Casamance, where some residents speak *Kriol*, primarily spoken in Guinea-Bissau. *Cape Verdeans* speak their native creole, Cape Verdean Creole, and standard Portuguese. Available at 'Senegal' (2008, March 14) [on-line]. - URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Senegal#Demographics>

Appendix III

Riddu Ridđu 2006 in pictures



Seminars in the Summer Time



The Seminar's Audience



**Spontaneous Jam Session of Komi (Komi republic, Russia),
Ainu (Japan) and San people (South Africa)**



**Joik Seminar (teachers from Kautokeino,
Finnmark, Norway)**



Indigenous' Cuisine Seminar



Hunger, an Art Exhibition



Riddu Riddu 2006, the Main Festival Stage



The Audience during the performance (the main stage)



The Bar Area



Artists from Yakutia, Cola peninsula (Russia), Greenland, Cape town (South Africa), Kautokeino (Norway), northern Sweden and northern Finland



Indigenous Youth Camp 2006: Ainu (Japan), Amerindian (Nicaragua), Buryat (Buryatia, Russia), Hakka (Taiwan), Inuit (Greenland), Komi (the Komi republic, Russia), San (South Africa), Tuvianian (Tuva, Russia), Coastal Saami (Kåfjord), Cola Saami (Luyarvi, Cola peninsula, Russia), Lule Saami (Sweden), inland Saami (Finnmark in Norway, Finland, Sweden).





The audience of the Small Stage



The Khoe Khollektif, San People from South Africa (Small Stage)



The Children's Camp



The Tent Area: the author with Saami guys from northern Norway, Finland and Sweden



The Children's Festival



The Riddu Riddu Area: Yurta, Tchum/ Lavvo, Coastal Saami turf hut and the Youth Tent Area