Davvi Šuvva 1979

Being Sámi, Becoming Indigenous

Vocal and Musical Manifestation of Sámi and Indigenous Movement

Synnøve Angell

Thesis Submitted for the Degree:
Master of Philosophy in Indigenous Studies
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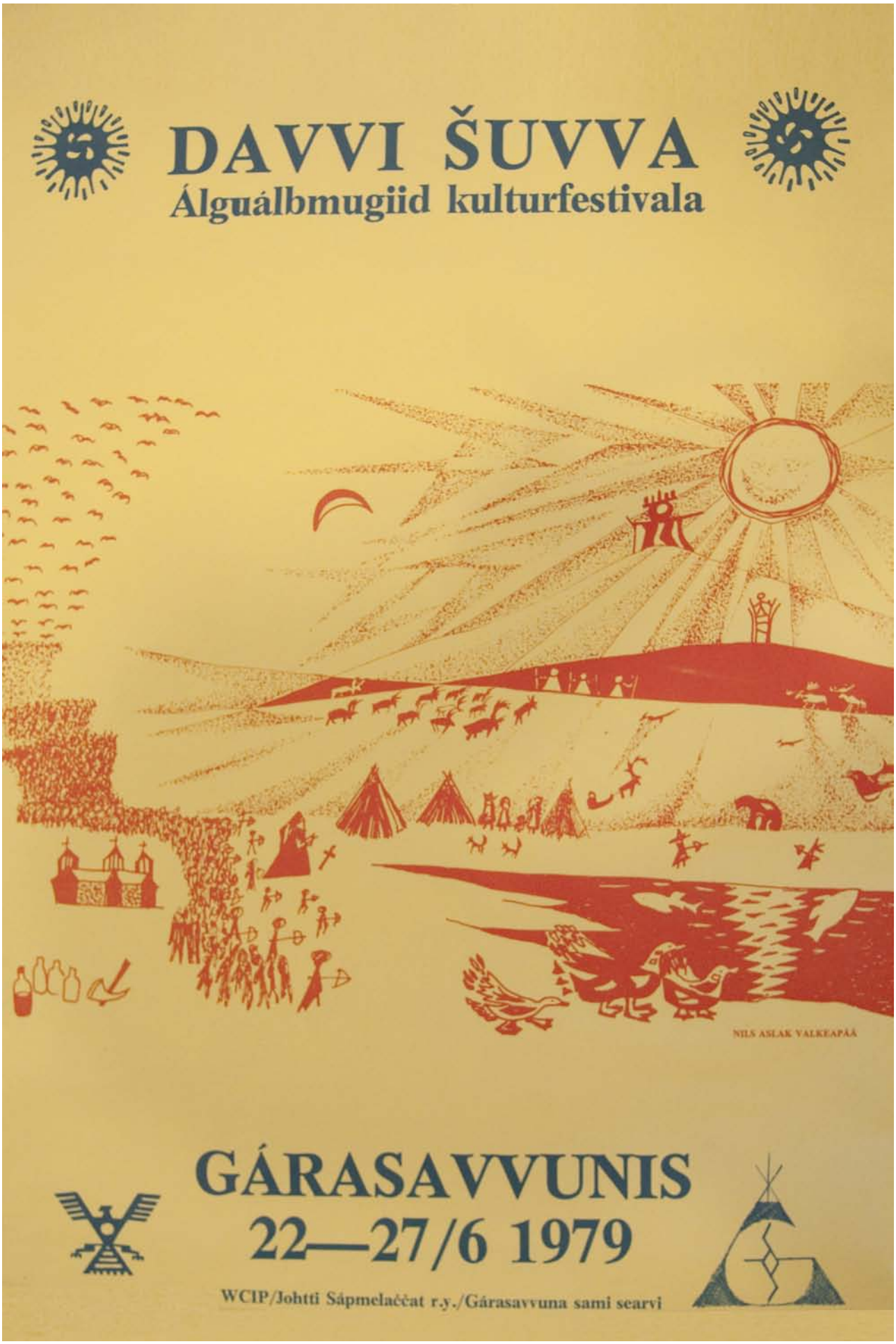
Dedicated to those who made Davvi Šuvva real and to those who share their voices.

Thesis co-funded by a travel grant from the Centre for Sámi Studies, University of Tromsø.

Cover photo taken from www.karesuando.se September 2007.



Festival poster made by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää

Photo from www.karesuando.se September 2007

Map taken from Davvi Šuvva 1979 program

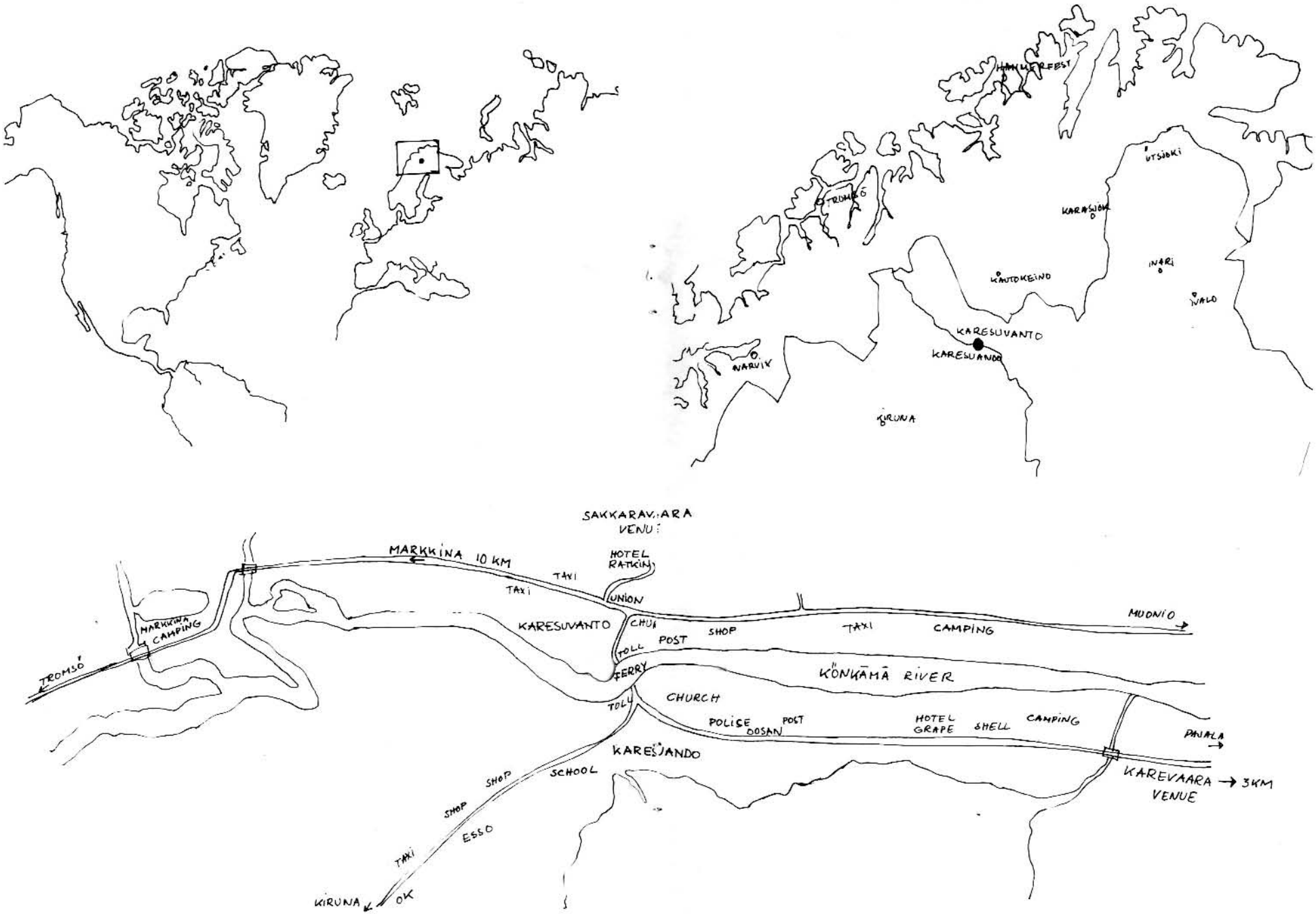


Photo by Nils Gustav Labba, *Samefolket* nr. 8 1979

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Photo by Aslak Aarhus
Nordnorsk Magasin nr. 4 1979

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Photo by Nils Gustav Labba, *Samefolket* nr. 8 1979

Photo by Nils Gustav Labba, *Samefolket* nr. 8 1979

Pelle Niia, Paul Anders Simma and Lars Anders Sikku
Photo by Nils Gustav Labba, *Samefolket* nr. 8 1979

Photo by Nils Gustav Labba, *Samefolket* nr. 8 1979

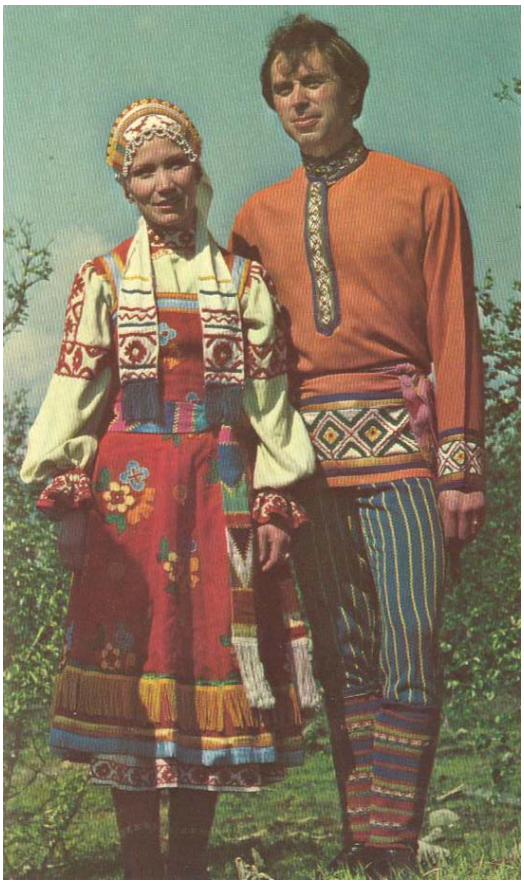

Photo by Aslak Aarhus
Nordnorsk Magasin nr. 4 1979

Oula Näkkäläjärvi and Nils-Heaikka Valkeapää and Piera Balto
Photo, *Sámi Áigi* nr. 12, 29 Juni 1979

Photo by Nils Gustav Labba, *Samefolket* nr. 8 1979

Photo by Aslak Aarhus
Nordnorsk Magasin nr. 4 1979

"…network of singing…"

"Crosswise the Australian continent the Aboriginal people drew lines through the landscape; along these lines the cultural heroes from the Dreamtime had wandered and left behind the sacred mountains and rivers, stones and water holes, clenches of trees. The heroes sang while they walked, and their songs – which still are sung – are not only stories about the landscape; it was through singing that the landscape was created. The songs of the neighbouring tribes linked together verse after verse, and like this the whole of Australia was held up in a social network of singing, which told the traveller where he or she should go and what was to be expected in the remote far away."[1]

[1] Nielsen 1996:25-26, referring to Chatwin's *The Songlines* 1987, my trans.

Acknowledgements

First I would like to say *hui ollu giitu* - thank you so much - to all of you who shared your time, stories and memories with me - *mun lean nu giitevaš* – I am so grateful. Thank you so much to Heaika Hætta, Nils Martin Kristensen, Kalle Mannela, Britta Marakatt-Labba, Lars Anders Sikku, Kjerstin Simma, Ánde Somby, Marry A. Somby, Inghilda Tapio, Nils-Henrik Valkeapää and Magne Ove Varsi for your tales and memories of your experience of Davvi Šuvva 1979; without you this history, tale and thesis would not have become what it is. Thank you to all of you I furthermore have met who have contributed and helped me in different ways. Without your generosity this thesis would not have been delivered as it is.

My deepest gratitude goes to my 'birth helpers'; supervisor Professor Bjørg Evjen and co-supervisor Associate Professor Harald Gaski. Thank you so much, Bjørg, for hours of commitment, patience and persistent encouragement, challenges, structure and advice. *Hui ollu giitu*, Harald, for your cheering and meticulous comments, creative advice and for always reminding me of the Sámi perspective. Thank you to Rachel Issa Djesa for thought provoking input and encouragement along the road. I am much obliged to the Sámi Centre at the University of Tromsø for the funding that made me able to travel all those 1000s of kilometres to do this physical and mental 'archaeological' journey. It has been a great and enriching experience!

Thank you to Professor Mikael Svonni for proofreading, comments and helpful advices on sources. Thanks to John Gustavsen for articles and letting me see a copy of "Vaimmustan lea biegga", a documentary on Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. I would also like to thank Johannes Kalvemo for lending me dvd-copies of the TV documentaries on both Davvi Šuvva festivals.

Thank you to Ole Isak Mienna at Sámi Radio in Kiruna for letting me have 'my own' studio for three days going through all the tape recordings that was done on the festival; I am particular indebted to sound technician Anders Mettävainio for helping me with those fragile tapes again and again. I am also grateful for the help I got from Kerstin Blind at SVT Sápmi for tracking the documentary film "We are all brother and sisters" by Paul Ánde Simma and getting a copy sent from Stockholm to Kiruna while I was there. *Ollu giitu buohkaide!*

Giitu to Lene Anthonsen for helping with details and technical challenges.

I am also very appreciative of hours of conversations on life, writing and Sámi culture as well as disciplinary advices and approaches from friend and researcher Svanhild Andersen. Thank you so much to Hild-Jorunn Oskal, Torill Letto and Hjørdis Kaland for friendship, encouragement and support. Thank you to my mother, my sister and my nephew. And last but not least a big hug and thank you to my class mates Anastassia, Anna, Asebe, Charity, Erick, Gemechu, Kalpana, Kanako, Richard, Rosa and Tonje. *Hakuna matata!*

Tromsø May 19th 2009 Synnøve Angell

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the significance of Sámi and Indigenous Vocal and Musical Expression in ethno and indigenous political mobilizing in the 1970s and particularly in June 1979. My point of departure is the Davvi Šuvva festival; the first Sámi and international indigenous culture and music festival after the establishing of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. It took place on a hill in a Sámi and Swedish/Finnish border village in the north of Sweden and in the middle of Sápmi. My research is based on the interviews with people who organized the festival, artists and audience as well as written contemporary sources, a film about the event and 16 authentic tapes of recordings of the concerts at Davvi Šuvva. The oral sources of eye and ear witnesses represent insider views and experiences and the contemporary written sources of attending news paper journalists and writers from other magazines represent both insider and outsider perspective.

"Davvi Šuvva 1979" also documents the ethno political background of the festival and discusses various perspectives on collective identity. While powwow dance and traditional Native chanting expressed First Nation and Cree Indian identity and Inuit Identity was expressed by traditional drum dance and drum singing Davvi Šuvva also demonstrated how yoik conveyed various Sámi identities.

My intention is to show how and why vocal and musical expressions had, and still have, a particular significance in oral indigenous cultures as a means of struggle. The conclusions reached are that manifestations of Sámi and indigenous cultural expression and resistance like the Davvi Šuvva festival contributed to pride, recovery, dignity and positive self awareness and that the festival as such strengthened Sámi identity and indigenous togetherness and belonging.

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Áigi lea buoremus oahpaheaddji

Time is the best teacher. [1]

Chapter One: Climbing Kaarevarra

From Sakkaravaara and the top of Karevarra hill sound the tunes of flutes, beats from drums, choir song and yoik. The tunes are carried far wide and, for here are no walls that close, the wide mountain tundra with lakes and rivers are 'the halls for celebration'. The Könkämä River is winding through the marshland, and where the river widens to a quiet floating water lies the village of Karesuvanto…The Könkekämä river is the border line between Sweden and Finland, but it seems like the river more than anything else, through all times, has been a connecting line more than a dividing line in the landscape.[2].

This thesis takes as its first point of departure that Davvi Šuvva 1979 was the first Sámi indigenous cultural festival and international indigenous festival, and that this festival as such contributed to strengthening the awareness of a Sámi collective identity and to expand the then awakening consciousness of a common indigenous identity. Second, this cultural and musical manifestation was a result of the establishment of the World Council of Indigenous People in Port Alberni, Canada in 1975 together with local cultural politicians, artists, and enthusiasts. Third, creative and artistic, and especially vocal and musical expression was significant to building up and mobilizing Sámi and indigenous peoples' movement in the 1970s and 80s.

The Davvi Šuvva festival took place on a small hill outside Gáresavvon (Karesuando or Karesuvanto); a little Sámi/ Swedish/Finnish border village in "the middle of nowhere"; that is outside the so-called central cities or places of the four national states which the Sámi people live in, and also not where one would expect an international festival would take place. Why did this event happen? What is the story and the history behind it? How can cultural and musical expression, especially vocal expression, contribute to a conscious awareness of Sámi

[1] Gaski and Solbakk, 2003:50
[2] Hatle in NNM 1979:4 my translation

and indigenous identity? How did people experience being there? To illuminate the perspective of both insiders and outsiders I will also look into how the festival was experienced and perceived by those who participated and attended and those who commented on the Davvi Šuvva festival. My intention is to provide the first such documentation of the festival and what came to be expressed there.

1.1 Sounds of 'davvi šuvva' and the view from Kaarevarra

The sound of the words 'davvi šuvva'[3] came to my ears fourteen years ago. It was the summer of 1995 and for the first time I was attending the Riddu Riđđu[4] festival in Manndalen, a Sea Sámi cultural festival in Northern Troms in Norway. I had no idea what the words *davvi šuvva* meant or what they referred to, but I got the impression that it was something special and I sensed it was significant. Someone later explained to me that it referred to a festival that took place in 1993 somewhere in northern Sweden, a place then unfamiliar to me, at least I thought so at the time. The name of this festival was Davvi Šuvva. The Riddu Riđđu festival was my first time attending a Sámi festival, this being a part of a process of tracing my own Sámi background and identifying myself with my formerly unknown cultural inheritance. So much happened there, there were so many audible and visual impressions simultaneously as I met Sámi people from the areas where my parents and my grandparents came from. I attended an amazing concert with Mari Boine and I heard Nils-Aslak Valkeapää – Áillohaš – live for the first time and also Frode Fjellheim Jazz Joik Ensemble (now Transjoik). I was thrilled and enchanted … and I forgot about Davvi Šuvva.

In the Master's of Indigenous Studies Program, when I read the curriculum in history and anthropology on the mobilization of the Sámi movement the importance of cultural expressions and events were mentioned, but the focus was mostly on ethno-political development concerning 'real' politics; rights to land and water and political organization. The rights to language and culture was, of course, an issue and the course in Representation and Self-Representation provided us with knowledge of Native American and Sámi literature, but I still wanted to find out more about cultural expressions and events and to know what

[3] Translated to 'breeze from the north' by Harald Gaski, 'Northern Šuvva' in Vuvjoš nr.1977, *šuvva* = the sound the wind makes; it is also a verb. (Sámi-dáru Sátnegirji Sami –Norwegian Dictionary) Davvi šuvva was the working title used in 1977and it became the actual name of the festival.
[4] Riddu Riđđu means little storm on the coast.

actually had taken place and what and how culture was expressed. I was especially interested in what had been expressed through music and the voice and how that was experienced and what impact it had, or if it had influenced people. I wondered if the Sámi and other indigenous people experienced something special through the yoiks and songs performed as it was someone's voice, songs, and yoik that had initiated my journey, so to speak, and music in general had had a great significance over the years, both personally and political. Or was it something I imagined must have been the case and wanted to be true? Who was it true for?

When wondering about and searching for the topic of my thesis the words 'davvi šuvva' came back into my mind; I had decided to write about the significance of vocal and musical expression in relation to Sámi and indigenous mobilization and movement. The Davvi Šuvva festival turned up as a point of departure for this possible journey the past, which hopefully would also point towards the future. By that time I had discovered that there had been a Davvi Šuvva festival before 1993; it had been the second Davvi Šuvva festival that people had referred to at Riddu Riđđu. This intrigued me and made me curious to find out more. What was the history behind this first festival? How could it be that such a festival had been organized in the north of Sweden in the early 80s, or was it as early as the late 70s? Some of the people I had asked did not remember exactly when the first Davvi Šuvva took place. The fact that the World Council of Indigenous Peoples - WCIP - was established in 1975[5] made me even more intrigued; could there be a connection here or was it a coincidence? Who made the event happen and who had participated and attended? What was expressed there? What was the broader significance and implications of this festival?

1.2 Former tracks

The phenomenon of gathering people for musical celebrations and competitions has origins far back in history. The concept of music festivals "has been traced as far back as the sixth-century B.C Pythian Games at Delphi, which included musical competitions. In the Middle Ages competitive festivals were sponsored by guilds."[6] Music festivals can be celebrations of religious and ethnic traditions and "can range from a single event to many events encompassing days or series of performances separate from the normal concert season and

[5] Minde 2003:85, Sanders 1999:14 http://www.halcyon.com/pub/FWDP/International/wcipinfo.txt 07.05.2009
[6] http://www.answers.com/history%20of%20music%20festivals p.2 08.12.2006

often, but not always organized around an idea or theme."[7] Rock festivals and some music festivals these days offer music and often do not revolve around a specific theme or subject, but people behind these events often have ideas and visions about what they want to present.

Anthropologist Bjørn Bjerkli has written on home-longing and local village festivals in the north of Norway. The first festivals up north took place in the late 70s, he writes, and then really grew in the 80s. These festivals were events where the local culture was expressed both by amateurs from the village and professional artists expressing both national and international culture. [8]

In Norway, as in elsewhere, there were several cultural and musical festivals that saw the light of dawn in the 70s and onwards, and in North Norway folk song festivals like 'Draugen' and 'Troilltampen' (the last one first took place in 1973) were expressions of protest against central government policy and membership in the EU. Political comments were made and created in the form of protest songs as well as ballads that celebrated the people and the land of North Norway.[9]

On the international level, the Woodstock festival of 1969 which took place on a 600 acre farm in Bethel, New York, is the largest and most known pop/rock festival where 500,000 people attended—it is famous for the artists and the drugs[10] and the hippie[11] movement and their slogan "Make love, not war." Less known is the Monterey International Pop Music Festival that took place in June the year before in California, "often regarded as the beginning of the hippie movement and precursor to Woodstock."[12]

The Sámi Easter Festival in Guovdageidnu in Finnmark began as a concert at the local school in 1971, initiated by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää together with Guovdageaidnu Sámi Searvi. Valkeapää brought musicians and invited and presented local yoikers. According to HeaikaHætta, it was improvised and pretty unorganized, there were even dogs running

[7] Ibid. p.1
[8] Bjerkli 1994:430-437 my translation
[9] Evjen 2001:135 my translation
[10] Evjen 2001:135 my translation and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Woodstock 22.08.2007
[11] "A subgroup of counterculture in the United States in the early 60s, considered dissenting groups together with the New Left and the American Civil Rights Movement… http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hippie 22.08.2007
[12] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monterey 22.08.2007

around.[13] They had another concert in 1972 with success and then the next year and the next. The Easter Festival might have its roots back in the time of the first public minister when weddings started to take place over the Easter weekend. The first public competition for racing reindeer took place in Guovdageaidnu in 1954 and ski jumping also became an Easter event. In 1973, an event hall was built (Plasthallen) which seated 600 people and would come to be important for the future Easter festival.[14]

Folklorist Marit Anne Hauan writes about the Riddu Riđđu festival in: "Riddu Riđđu - a place to learn?" [15] Her point of the departure in approaching the Riddu Riđđu festival is the idea of 'the happy place' being also an arena of conflict and struggle, and the meaning and role of utopia as an ideal for development in society. Inspired by David Harvey's book 'Spaces of Hope' she claims that Riddu Riđđu is such a place; it is both an event and a place[16] which also reinvents the relation between human beings and nature and nature and society.[17]The name Riddu Riđđu means 'little storm on the coast', and she states: "We can actually talk about a little storm that has reached the coast, the land areas and not least the discourse on cultural complexity in the North of Norway."[18]

Anthropologist Øystein Steinlien compares identity management between two generations in his article "Continuity and change in managing identity in a Sea Sámi area."[19] Those he named "the Riddu Riđđu generation" refer to a group of young people who initiated Sámi cultural days by organizing a party and a concert in 1991 when NSR (Norwegian Saami Association) had its annual meeting. These cultural days were repeated the next summer under the name 'Jagi vai beaivvi' (Years or days)[20] and after a few years this event grew to become a Sea Sámi cultural festival as well as an international indigenous festival which takes place in Manndalen in July every summer. In 1995 it was officially named Riddu Riđđu.

Two of the people who initiated these Sámi cultural days which came to be the Riddu Riđđu festival, have both done their Master Thesis in Pedagogy and Education on their experiences building a Sea Sámi identity from establishing this festival; Anita Lervoll, a co-founder and

[13] Interview with Heaika Hætta, musician in the band Sančuary
[14] Hætta 1997:7,14,18 and 20 my translation
[15] Hauan 2003:187 my translation
[16] Ibid.:187 my translation
[17] Ibid.:206 my translation
[18] Ibid.:188 my translation
[19] Stordahl (ed.) 2006:99 my translation
[20] Hauan 2003:187 and Hansen 2007:52-53 my translation

Lene Hansen, the leader of the festival for several years. Lervoll's thesis is called "Vi e små, men vi e mange" Oppdagelsen av egen samisk fortid blant "Riddu Riđđu generasjonen" I Gáivuotna-Kåfjord ("We are small, but we are many" The Discovery of Our Own Sámi Past among the "Riddu Riđđu generation" in Gáivuotna-Kåfjord). Here she "searches to understand what the basic reasons were for revitalizing Sámi identity among people who earlier perceived themselves as Norwegian."[21] She sees the process creating the Riddu Riđđu festival as an identity shaping project and arena. Hansen named her thesis "Liten storm på kysten - Samisk identitet mellom en lokal og en internasjonal arena (Little Storm on the Coast: Sami Identity between a local and an International Arena)[22] The subject of the thesis is "Sámi revitalization and how new forms for Sámi identity came to be expressed through the development of the Riddu Riđđu festival," and how "these new forms for identity became a challenge for the old and established."[23] She also sees the festival and "the artistic expression as an opening to reconciliation to cultural suppression and harassment…"[24] It seems a bit strange that at least the second Davvi Šuvva Festivals is not mentioned in either of the theses.

A study of the Riddu Riđđu festival was also recently conducted by Anastassia V. Leonenko who called her thesis "Riddu Riđđu, joik or rock-n-roll? A study of Riddu Riđđu Festivála and its role as a cultural tool for ethnic revitalization" Her intention is "to show the ambiguity and complexity of the Coastal Saami identity in Manndalen…" and to see how the festival demonstrates the relation between tradition and modernity and how it acts as a visible tool of ethnic revitalization. [25]

For decades Harald Gaski has been doing research on and written extensively on Sámi culture and Sámi cultural expressions of literature, art and yoik and on how the yoik was/is a religious, cultural and political medium. Gaski and Veli-Pekka Lethola have written on the development of yoik and the relationship between yoik and Sámi popular music. Sveriges Radio (Swedish Radio) together with Arneberg, Ruong and Unsgård presented yoik through a book and recordings in 1969, and in 2007 Krister Stoor presented his dissertation "Yoik Tales: A study of the Narrative Characteristics of Sami Yoik". Nils-Aslak Valkeapää recorded *Joikuja*, his

[21] Lervoll 2007:4 and 48 my translation
[22] Hansen 2007 my translation
[23] Ibid.: 1-2 my translation
[24] Ibid.:2 my transation
[25] Leonenko 2008:IV

first LP in 1968 in Finland.[26] At that time it was rather courageous to introduce instruments into yoik and he was both threatened and scolded for presenting such "devilish music," especially from religious "fundamentalists associating yoik with drunkenness, sin and barbaric behavior."[27] In Norway, Deatnogátte Nuorat (The Tana River Bank Youth) became very popular with their Sámi pop music.[28] The exhibition "Sápmi – Becoming a Nation" at Tromsø museum also emphasizes the diversity of artistic and musical expression that flourished during the 1970s and the 80s.

Before 1979 there had not been a Sámi cultural festival organized in Sweden; but the winter market in Jokkmokk has been a tradition for over 400 years and in more recent years there have been concerts and exhibitions connected to the event, in Ankarede, the Sámi have been celebrating Midsummer for years.[29] First Nations people in Canada and Native Americans in the US have been meeting for powwows[30] for many years, but I have not found literature that there has been an international indigenous festival organized in these areas before the establishment of the World Coucil of Indigenous People.

To my knowledge there have not been any studies conducted on the Davvi Šuvva festivals. When searching for information on the web I found two pages written on the festival from an article in Klassekampen[31] in 1979. Later I found the festival mentioned in the preface of *Trekways of the Wind*[32] and both Davvi Šuvva festivals were mentioned and referred to in Gaski's article "Yoik – Sami Music in a Global world." These six days in June 1979 were the first time that thousands of Sámi from various areas gathered together to present their traditional music, art and theatre for each other and not least together with Native Americans and First Nations People from Canada, Inuit people, Indians from South America, and there was also a group of Komi singers and dancers as well as other minority people.

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[26] Lethola 2000:108

[27] Gustafsen, J. in *Aftenposten* 22.3.1993: "Samisk stjerne i senit" (Sámi Star on Top), written for Valkeapää's 50th birthday March 23rd. My translation (*Aftenposten* is a Norwegian Conservative paper published in Oslo)

[28] Lethola 2000:108

[29] Since the middle of the 19th century the Sámi had gathered for church services twice a year, and since the 1940s or 50s there has been Midsummer gatherings. Fatmomakke sameförening 1904-1979 (Jubileumsskrift) Vilhelmina 1980. Pers. comm. with M. Svonni, my translation

[30] Powwow: a meeting or council with traditional chanting and dancing, or "a social gathering of people who are celebrating various aspects of Indian culture, be they religuos,social, or, in many cases, both. (Lita Mathews 1995:5)" http://sociologyindex.com/pan_indiansism.htm 29.5.2007

[31] A Norwegian left wing paper, then the organ for the AKP (m-l), the Marxist-Leninist Party. From 1991it was an independent left wing paper. Svein Lund was the correspondent associate for the paper. Also pers. comm. with Lund.

[32] Gaski in Valkeapää 1994, preface:2

Against this background, my intention is to document in detail the first Davvi Šuvva festival in an ethno-cultural and historical context and to explore and broaden the view of the festival and what was about. What was expressed there and what did it mean? How did culture speak? What was the significance of vocal and musical expression in the process of becoming both visible and audible as Sámi? What did these vocal and musical expressions mean to indigenous peoples globally? What were the implications of Davvi Šuvva in 1979 for those who attended and participated: the artists, the audience and the organizers? What kind of commentaries were written about the festival by official contemporary papers and magazines? Does Davvi Šuvva have any significance today or is it just a faint memory? Do the expressions of the event have the same meaning today?

All these questions compelled me to and led me to a journey going thirty years back in time and even more, to find threads and traces of this festival. Furthermore, this became a long physical journey to actually find the hill where the festival took place and to track down the people who organized the event and others who had attended, worked, listened, danced, sang, yoiked or performed in some way. When I reached the village I had meant to drive up to Kaarevarra hill, but since I did not know exactly where to drive, I got out of the car when I saw an old wooden sign with the name of the hill. That turned out to be the path to Kaarevarra, actually perfect; a slow arrival on foot felt right. It was really warm; luckily I had brought a bottle of water. Climbing the Kaarevaara hill in Sápmi[33] in the very north of Sweden that warm and sunny day in June 2006 was my way of trying to enter the landscape and the hill where the Davvi Šuvva festival took place. I wanted to see and feel and even touch the hill itself and the surroundings of the event; and not least, I looked forward to facing the view from Kaarevaara, where towards the west on a clear day one can see the mountains in Norway and along the river to the north and across the bridge was the part of Finland referred to as Giehtaruohtas. [34] The "three-state-country" used to be another name used for the area or this region.

[33] Area where the Sámi people traditionally has lived, and is still living; e.g. parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia, called Sámi land or 'Lapland', by foreigners, and still officially in Sweden and Finland. To call a Sámi a Lapp today is seen as derogatory, but Lappland is still the name of the northernmost land area in Norrland, Sweden, and is often referred to as the last wilderness in Europe. According to Wikipedia Sápmi is "Nation of the Sami people" or "the area where the Sami people live in northern Europe" http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sapmi

[34] "The Lappish Arm," directly translated. It means the root of the arm. Pers.comm. with Gaski November 2008

The journey also took me to a cellar at the University of Umeå, to search in the archives of microfilms, and with some help I tracked down a film that was copied at SVT (The Swedish Televison Company) in Stockholm and sent by air and taxi to SVT Sápmi in Kiruna; it reached me just in time. At the Sámi Radio Station in Kiruna I was allowed to go through 16-18 tapes of direct recordings from the festival and in an antiquary in Tromsø I found an article in Nordnorsk Magasin that commented on the festival. Eureka!

1.3 Comments and critical views of sources

The sources for this thesis include interviews and the stories people have told me, e.g. primary oral sources and eyewitnesseses together with what has been written on the festival by journalists and others in sources that represent contemporary magazines and papers from 1979 along with photos. The comments are influenced by the political position of the papers and magazines and by those who wrote them. My material is also based on three days of listening to tape recordings of the performances made those six days, which I was fortunate enough to be able to get access to through an old fashioned tape recorder in one of the studios at Sámi Radio. The recordings are material without comments, but are still from the insider perspective. At SVT Sápmi I got the opportunity to see a copy of the film "We are all brothers and sisters" made by Paul Anders Simma[35], who originally is from Gáresavvon.

In the interviews I asked people what Davvi Šuvva was and what it had meant to them and how they experienced attending and participating in it. Further I asked what the festival meant at that particular time in history and why it was important. The interviews were informal, open and unstructured, like a conversation; but I had those key questions. I took notes and used a tape recorder, when it felt uncomfortable or I sensed that people would feel embarrassed by the recorder at the table I only took notes. Sometimes even taking notes did not feel right and so then I had to trust my memory and write down what I remembered. Once I was told directly to just listen without taking notes. These notes will of course be influenced by my ability to remember correctly.

[35] Paul Anders Simma is a well known Sámi film director who made several films, among them "Stol på ministern" (Trust the Secretary of State) my translation

In general a retrospective perspective features memory as well as forgetting and are colored by experiences of years gone by, and the interviews are always influenced by the communication and relationship between the narrator and the interviewer. My lack of ability to speak Sámi was also something that affected the interviews; I might have been told more and been given additional kinds of information if I had been conceived as an insider. I had myself neither attended the first nor the second Davvi Šuvva and many people that I interviewd found it curious that I wanted to write about it, but they meant it in a positive way; I felt like it was appreciated and that people liked to tell about the festival. Of the main narrators there were six men and five women between the ages of forty-three and sixty-nine, two of them did not attend the festival, one told about a journey to Greenland and the other about musical creativity in the 1970s.

There are probably many stories about Davvi Šuvva; e.g. the stories parents told their children are not part of this thesis. Some of these children attended both the first and the second festivals at Kaarevaara, I met with some of the now grown children who attended and we talked about how they remembered Davvi Šuvva in 1979. One of them spoke proudly of "my ČSV[36] dad" and another remembered the Canadian flag she was given by the Cree Indians, she was proud of having grown up in a ČSV-family. Some people I met accidentally and asked for information that brought me closer to another story and/or the next interview.

In the archives of Nordlys, a social democratic paper published in Tromsø, I found four articles on the festival, the first a press note from May 1979 which I came across by chance. At the university I copied these articles from microfilms. *Nordlys* is still the most widely distributed North Norwegian social democratic newspaper. The right wing newspaper *Tromsø* did not comment on the festival. At the university library in Tromsø I found articles in *Samefolket* (The Sámi people) writing about the festival, it was then an organ for SSR – Sámi State Association of Sweden and Same-Ätnam. A friend gave me a copy of an article in *Sámi Áigi*, then a newly established Sámi paper, called Min Áigi (Our Time) until one year ago.[37] Both these represent insider perspectives. In the cellar of the University of Umeå, Sweden I found and copied articles of the Swedish newspapers NSD - The Norrbotten Social Democrat and Norrbotten-Kuriren, a right wing paper published in Luleå. These papers represent a

[36] *ČSV* stands for the most used Sámi letters and became a Sámi political slogan. Will be commented in chapter three

[37] *Ávvir* is the name of the paper today

Swedish outsider perspective. Nordnorsk Magasin can also be said to represent a “friendly” outsider view as well as the articles in the Norwegian Klassekampen.

Before searching for sources and material I did not have any clear idea about which theories to use as they related to what I found, but I had done some choices on how to do this and needed to get more conscious on what already done and new or alternative ways of doing research. I had chosen a subject, I had elaborated on the research questions and I had a statement and an idea about what I saw and why. A part of my method was reflecting on what I was doing and how I was approaching the material and the different sources and asking if they made sense and if my presentation of them was coherent, exciting and interesting and not the least if it represented some new material and perspectives. It was both doing history and me telling and writing a story.

1.4 On the threshold, in between or outside looking in?

Why did I end up writing on the power of expression? As the writing process has progressed in spurs and leaps and marked by long periods with a desperate feeling of doing nothing, I have come to the conclusion that the reasons for choosing to focus on voice and music in ethno-cultural and political mobilization are personal, familiar, cultural and political. When one grows up in a family where the Sámi part is totally under-communicated or mostly not communicated, speaking up later becomes of great significance, both personally as well as in general.

Many years of practicing both somatic and psychiatric nursing have taught me how essential it is to us to express who we are and how we feel and think about being in the world, alone and together with others. Sometimes it can be problematic, words do not come to us naturally or we can find it hard to speak; then some people sing, dance, yoik or make music, pictures and poetry, or find other ways to express themselves.

I have been amazed and fascinated by the voice as an instrument as well as the anatomy and ability of the ear, and the body’s response to sound waves like songs, yoik and music and how this influences and affects us, and not the least how it affects us when songs are not sung, words not spoken and stories not told. Even in the womb we are very sensitive to sounds,

voices, and songs and it is the last sense that leaves us before going into anesthesia or before dying.

Another reason for my interest in vocal expression might have been my father's silence and his possible reasons for keeping quiet about his Sámi origin. As a grown-up I was told by my aunt, my mother's sister that *áhkku,* my grandmother, spoke Sámi and later I found out that I had relatives in Guovdageaidnu, (actually both my father's parents are listed as sedentary 'lapps' in the censuses). My mother taught us children to count in Finnish. But I remember the way coffee was pronounced sometimes humourously; it was said in the Sámi way – *gáffe,* the same way if something broke apart; it went "gaiken."[38]

This venture or journey into the past and back to the present, felt risky from time to time. It started out as a strong desire and an urge to say something about the significance of vocal and musical expression related to the mobilization of indigenous peoples and especially the Sámi. This also was connected to personal sonorous experiences of vocal expressions like yoik and yoik-like songs and traditional Indian singing, throat singing, and Inuit drum singing. Much of this I heard attending the Riddu Riđđu festival several times and by listening to records, which led me to wonder with curiosity why this kind of music spoke so strongly to me. This also strengthened the urge to know more about the origins of my father and my grandmother's people who owned these voices.

The voices of Mari Boine and Wimme Saari and other Sámi and indigenous musicians, like Johan Anders Bær, (Sámi), Buffy St Marie (Cree Indian) and John Trudell (Santee-Sioux) have fascinated me for many years; they made a great impact on me the first time I heard them: the music, the rhythm, their voices and the words. I have been fortunate to be able to attend several concerts of Mari Boine and Wimme Saari, and not least one with John Trudell in Bergen in 1994. At that occasion, the concert hall was packed and it was deadly quiet when John Trudell spoke his lyrics combined with rock music and traditional Native American chanting. His voice is remarkably powerful and his lyrics are very emotional, spiritual, and clearly political. Trudell had been for several years an activist, spokesman and chairman for the American Indian Movement, AIM. In these later years he has inspired his own people through his voice and lyrics, as well as impressed and moved others around the world, as Mari

[38] Can possibly originate from the Sámi word *gaikut* or *gaikodit* which means tear parts of or torn apart. Sámi – dáru Sátnegirji Sámi – Norwegian Dictionary. The origin can also be Finnish. Pers. comm. with Gaski

Boine has also done now for over twenty-five years. The first time I heard her voice was likley in 1989; a friend who knew that my grandmother was Sámi, sent me the cassette *Gula Gula* (Listen Listen)[39]. It was an extraordinary experience; I had never heard anything like it and it touched me and moved me both emotionally and mentally. I would say that it was her voice and songs that evoked me to initiate the 'investigation' into my own background, a story that had been left silent for years. It started with an emotional experience of a voice and new sounds, speaking to me in a different way than other music had done; it gave me goose bumps and it made sense to me without knowing how to explain it. These sounds and way of using the voice were unfamiliar to me, but they certainly struck me and had an effect on me.

In January 1991 I participated in a yoik workshop in Bergen. The teacher was Ante Mihkkal Gaup, a well-known yoiker from Guovdageaidnu; through this workshop I got in touch with people from the Bergen Sámi Searvi[40]. Acquaintances and connections grew, I started learning Sámi and in July 1995 I traveled up north and attended the Riddu Riđđu festival in Olmmáivággi.[41] Since then I have been there several times, both as a member of the audience and as a volunteer worker. It made a huge impression on me even as the small festival it was in 1995, where around 400 people attended. Over the years I have observed how the Riddu Riđđu festival has grown bigger; appealing to Sámi and other indigenous artists and people from different regions as well as from the areas close by and from all over the world. There are local people who are still somewhat negative about the Riddu Riđđu festival, but the initial protests have silenced. It still thrills me and is a source of inspiration to be there, meeting people, spending time together listening to different kinds of music and more modern yoik, throat singing from Tuva, Mongolia and Nunavut. Young artists from more recents years, with their new and modern expressions, have also dominated the scene.

Another activity that has inspired me and given me a lot of joy and energy over the years is singing and yoiking in Sámi choirs, first for three years in a local choir, Dimitri Joavku, in Guovdageaidnu, and the last six years as a member of Sámi Jienat (Sámi Voices) a project choir with sixty members from all over Sápmi. In addition to the joy and energy, this vocal activity also creates a special kind of community and togetherness, in addition to the members being affected by positive feedback and emotional response from the audience. The

[39] Boine's second recording. Lethola 2002:110
[40] A Sámi association under NSR:Norgga Sámiid Riikasearvi:Norwegian Sámi Association, established in 1968
[41] Manndalen (The valley of Man)

experience of singing old hymns in different Sámi languages, and yoiking both traditional and experimental yoiks have moved the members of the choir and sometimes audience members have been touched and moved to tears, this was particularly the case once when hymns and yoiks were performed in Enare Sámi, a dialect that is on the verge of extinction, like South Sámi.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

Chapter two focuses on reflections on finding Kaarevarra where this event took place, the meeting of narrators and the conduct of fieldwork, methodology and key concepts. I reflect on what I was looking for, where and how I searched for information and data and how I approached and analyzed the material with the aid of key concepts.

The third chapter outlines the ethno-political background and culture as ethno political expression. I consider the power of cultural expressions in general and reflect in particular on some definitions and functions of Sámi yoik.

The fourth chapter deals with the festival itself and how various identities came to be expressed there mainly through yoiks from different Sámi areas as well as Cree Indian chanting and powwow dance and Inuit drum dance and drum singing perfomances. There is a short account of two theater performances and Sámi and Inuit rock will also be touched upon as well as the music of South Ameriacn Indians and the performance of the Komi people.

The fifth and final chapter comments on the intentions and the accomplishment of the festival, and how Davvi Šuvva became a manifestation of Sámi and indigenous cultural expressions and as such a means of struggle. Then follows a discussion on contemporary and retrospective comments to demonstrate the difference betwee insiders' and ousiders' experiences of the Davvi Šuvva festival. Further follows a discussion the various ways too consider the expression of Sámi identity and ideas and experiences of unity, community and indigenouness. Then follows some conclusive comments on the significance of vocal and musical expression and the importance of Davvi Šuvva before some final words on Sámi and/or indigenous expression in the new millennium.

"History after all is true Poetry. Reality, if rightly interpreted, is grander then Fiction." [42]

Chapter Two: How to think about and conduct fieldwork and evaluate sources

This quote can of course be debated and many might disagree; but what is reality and what is fiction and what is history? And if I am doing history, whose history and whose stories do I tell? How did/do I search for it and who do I talk to/with? What did I find out and how should I handle and systemize it? According to E. H. Carr "the function of the historian is neither to love the past nor to emancipate himself from the past, but to master and understand it as the key to the understanding of the present."[43] Sir Geoffrey Elton saw it another way: "He admitted that one could learn at least a few lessons from the past, about the possibilities open to human thought and action, and 'the magnificent unpredictability of what human beings may think and do.' "[44] Or is it so that time is the best teacher? What we convey and write about and the contemporary written comments and oral stories about people and events 30 or 100 years ago will be colored by the culture and time we are living in and the trends of thinking and the disciplinary paradigms of our time. According to the multidisciplinary program of Indigenous Studies, and with the subject I had chosen, it was accepted and expected to approach the issue from various disciplinary perspectives. It turned out to be a challenge and also an enriching experience to utilize various methodological approaches such as historical, anthropological and literary.

According to Kjelstadli "The motive for history is poetic and aesthetic. Perhaps it includes an attitude of flight, escapism or a hunt after a life more full of blood than the one we live ourselves?" [45] The motive might also be to write both history and stories representing

[42] Thomas Carlyle quoted in Kjelstadli 1999:18 my translation
[43] Carr quoted in Evans 1997:191-192
[44] Ibid
[45] Kjelstadli 1999:18 my translation

something we identify with and recognize as being parts of our own lives and also a history many of us feel our life should have been a part of.

Terje Brantenberg writes on the role of the anthropologist "…we frame ourselves as explorers of others - …discovering and unveiling strange and hidden realities, transforming the realities and life-worlds of others into public information."[46] To do this in a proper and ethical way takes attentiveness and diligence, respect and empathy. He goes on to say further "We see ourselves as professional strangers, messengers, mediators and sometimes advocates – not unlike the indigenous shamans – trafficking across social and cultural boundaries, time and space, and conveying our experiences to create new knowledge of others and of ourselves."[47] And *for* others and ourselves, I would like to add. "Like shamans, the ultimate task of our journeys is not just the penetration of different realities, but to return home to tell a story."[48] I can not say I have felt like I was traveling as 'an indigenous shaman' because I do not know how to do that, but this task has certainly felt like a different journey than I have ever taken before. Doing research implies physical and mental crossings at various levels of experiences through both familiar and unfamiliar landscapes. The writing process of presenting an account or telling a tale is like history and anthropology, and it is also about traveling, often to an unknown past but also into the present and maybe even pointing towards the future.

Curiosity is a good reason to do research; I wanted to discover what actually took place and my intention was to demonstrate that vocal and musical expression are significant in mobilizing Sámi and other indigenous peoples who have an oral tradition. "Consciously or unconsciously, we alsi want to use our knowledge of the past for our own purposes in our own time"[49] Dedication and devotion are also very good reasons; ardor and perseverance are excellent vehicles on the road as well. So how then should one travel to look into the content of this 'flowering cultural creativity' and to do research on how it was experienced by those who attended the Davvi Šuvva festival? Where should one search for material and how should one put it together? Would the written, and hopefully, audible and visual material be able to tell me what actually happened? And would my oral sources confirm and complete or oppose the other material? Or was it all a matter of hermeneutics or interpretation of the then contemporary sources and a present elucidation of memories?

[46] Brantenberg 1999:255
[47] Ibid.: 255-256
[48] Ibid.: 256
[49] Evans 1997:192

2.1. The fieldwork

We observe and collect data throughout our life in order to live, cope and figure out how to act and behave in different situations in order to feel secure in this world. We communicate and categorize and find solutions, but not consciously and not too aware of the process all the time. As Holliday says about qualitative research, that it is in many ways "what we all do in everyday life. We have to continually solve problems about how we should behave with other people in a wide range of settings"[50] or as "this natural research" that "happens when a 'stranger' approaches a social group which she wishes to join or deal with."[51] My practice as a nurse for over twenty years observing patients and collecting data, planning procedures and looking for solutions had given me various kinds of useful experiences and skills. However, 'the field' was different this time and I too had changed. I did not possess the same forwardness and courage as I had as a young woman; I was older and perhaps more careful, maybe too careful and unobtrusive sometimes, but then also eager and impatient at other times. I had no white uniform to hide behind, but like before I was the instrument; some of the tools were the same and some were different. Furthermore, it was not a hospital I was going to, but I had throughout many years working in the municipal health service the experience of visiting people in their homes, both as a somatic nurse and a psychiatric nurse. I had the experience of living and working in a Sámi municipality and while there I had been studying Multicultural Understanding at the Sámi University College. As before, I was the one dependent on people being willing to talk to me; but this time I needed their information to complete my studies and possibly to 'cure' myself before bringing what I write back to them.

2.1.1. Reflecting on and preparing for the field

I had decided to try to locate four of the people who had mainly worked on organizing the festival, then hopefully four of the performing artists and then four or more representing the audience. I was advised to call the informants beforehand to get an appointment but found myself postponing it several times. One of the first challenges was my unobtrusiveness or lack of courage or even that I did not like to plan too much. It felt a bit awkward calling someone I did not know to ask for information for my thesis; a feeling of disturbing or bothering people. Later I found that being dependant on people's willingness to give me the data I needed was

[50] Holliday A. 2002:10
[51] Ibid.

quite an unfamiliar situation. Then again, maybe people would really like to tell about the Davvi Šuvva festival. A Sámi student said "Just go and knock on the door, Sámi do not call before visiting," which is often true with people one already knows. Others I talked to that had done fieldwork said these were quite normal reactions - "We've all been there!"- Though it was not much of a comfort. I found that research was not about being comfortable, yet at the same time, it was also an exiting and enriching position to be in. I preferred to go and knock on the door to make appointments with people I did not know. As narrator or 'informant' I guess I would have appreciated to have been asked and have the possibility and time to prepare and /or reflect upon if I wanted to share my story or not. People had jobs or work to attend to or some were ready for vacation. Another important factor was the short time we had for fieldwork and tracing history, so calling people would really have saved me some time. The advantage I had was that 'the field' was close, so I would have the opportunity to visit again.

When reading *Trekways of the Wind* I learned that Nils Aslak Valkeapää was the one who initiated the festival.[52] At this stage of my journey every little discovery felt like a gem of affirmation, one trace leading to another. Sometimes I felt like I had been blessed by serendipity; being at the right place at the right time allowed me to stumble over material and brought me in touch with informants in an informal way. It took time to proceed in this manner, but I felt I could not rush the process while at the same time thinking that I did not have much time. It was a challenge to remain calm and not get stressed at times, doing this also implied a lot of waiting. Sometimes it was a challenge to be conscious of my attitude and response in the interview situation and to be aware of the communication process, without being too self-conscious. My response and non-verbal reactions to what I had been told was a part of the communication; sometimes I asked the wrong questions or I asked a question when I should have waited. Another challenge was the process of systemizing the data. Meeting people like this called for sensitivity and flexibility, concentration, and certain calmness. No interviews were similar; some could turn out to be short conversations while others lasted for hours including meals with homemade bread, smoked reindeer meat and cloudberry jam. That was a very nice part of this journey.

[52] Gaski in Valkeapää 1994, preface

I found that the snowball-effect worked out really well and that fieldwork was not only in Gáresavvon, Guovdageaidnu or Giron/Kiruna. The field was also where I found myself to be most of the time; there were people at the university and in Tromsø that were potential and presumptive sources of data and information and there was information to be found in the archives at the University Library and a shop for antique books and magazines as well.

2.1.2 Arriving in Gáresavvon

After driving 270 km from Tromsø, I reached the small village of Karesuvanto in Finland. It was 110 km from crossing the national border between Finland and Norway. On the other side of the Könkämä River, which was the border river between Sweden and Finland, was the Swedish village with the same name, Karesuando; the mutual Sámi name being Gáresavvon . It was June and twenty-seven years before on precisely this day it was only three weeks until the first international indigenous cultural festival was going to take place. In the horizon towards the southeast, on the other side of the river, Kaaravaara hill can be seen. It was there that the main program of Davvi Šuvva took place. Kaaravaara was easy to locate as it was the highest area around and a big radio mast was built on top of the hill. Earlier, I had been driving through this area several times on my way to Guovdageaidnu, a core Sámi village on the Norwegian side, and had always enjoyed coming here for reasons I did not know. I felt at ease here and the place had a good atmosphere. I used to stop for coffee and something to eat at the Raaja Bar, the local café in Karesuvanto, and then cross the river to Statoil and Eliasson's in Karesuando to buy fuel and reindeer meat. The summer of 2003 the choir Sámi Jienat had a concert; we stayed the weekend rehearsing at the school in Swedish Karesuando and resided at Davvi Hotel in Finnish Karesuvanto where we performed.

Arriving here was different this time, a feeling of excitement and another kind of awareness; I was not just passing by this time—I had a purpose. I had rented a log at Davvi Hotel a little distance away from the main road; it was a good place to stay and it provided the opportunity to withdraw. The cabin was on the Finnish side while most of the people I wanted to interview lived on the Swedish side. The thought of crossing the river and the border every day appealed to me. Both Finland and Sweden had become members of the European Union so the border control was not as strict as before and often there would be no customs officers in view at all at the border station.

The first morning after I arrived I decided to drive up to 'The Place': to Kaarevaara hill where the concerts took place for six days that midsummer of 1979. I was not quite sure how to get there, but I figured out I had to follow the road towards Pajala southeast of Karesuando. I had not checked the map and found that you had to be a local to find the way. After some kilometers I discovered a wooden sign on which "Kaaravaara" was written. I stopped and drove off the road only to find a "road" that it was possible to walk on; it was a path. The weather was nice, it was sunny and warm; it felt like a good idea take my time and enter the area by foot. It took more than one and a half hours to walk to the top, and it was getting hot; there were a few mosquitoes and some flies, luckily it was a bit early yet for the invasion of the "Sami air force"[53]—the hoards of mosquitoes that come around midsummer. It really brought joy to body and spirit limbing Kaaravaara hill. After arriving at what I figured was the top, I realized that I was not correct and the top was still quite far; I had no water left and was hungry and so I decided to come back by car the next day. I had not prepared for such a long walk; thinking it must have been an enormous amount of work to organize a festival on a hill and I wondered why they had chosen Kaaravaara as the main festival area.

The following day after visiting the first narrator I went there by car, it was a bit further to drive than I had reckoned; after approximately 5 km I discovered a narrow, sandy, and bumpy road to the right, there was no sign, but it was headed in the right direction. It was then 5 km more to drive and I realized how hard it must have been to get the materials needed up there to build the stage and to put up the *lávut*—the Sámi tipi or tents—the kiosks and the big tent with the electric aggregate. In 1979, there was no electricity up there, there were no cell phones to communicate if something turned up or went wrong. Later I learned that the organizers had two walky-talkies.

2.1.3 Thoughts and reflections before meeting the narrators

The first hindrance passed when I had the courage to call my first possible informant or narrator the day before I left Tromsø. We made an appointment that I would get in touch when I arrived. Another possible narrator, whom I accidently met in a kitchen in Gáresavvon three years ago, I was lucky enough to be introduced to at Davvi Hotel through Karina and

[53] An expression borrowed from Anna Prahkova when visiting a sacred area at Lujávre (Lovozero) around Midsummer 2005; we were surrounded by mosquitoes.

Nils Heaikka who ran the hotel. I had informed them of my reason for staying there and had figured out that she must have been one of the people engaged in the preparation of Davvi Šuvva, which I then confirmed. Then and there began a conversation about the festival and one of the younger relatives who was also there remarked that maybe it was about time for a third Davvi Šuvva; I was exited.

The good thing about being close to the area or the 'field' and knowing people in the Sámi part of the world is that it is a rather small world; many people know each other and are related. Many knew of someone who had participated or attended and told me who to speak with or they had themselves been at the festival. Another way of letting people know about my reason for being in the area, was telling people in the café and in the store; people were curious when they registered a new face in the village.

In some ways I might think of myself as an insider but in most ways I was not. What is considered to be an insider in urban areas was quite another thing for people living there. I was an outsider because I grew up knowing nothing about Sámi culture and my Sámi background; I did not know the cultural codes and far too little of the language when I moved to Guovdageaidnu. Being a Sea Sámi or a 'Coastal Lapp'[54] and representing Sámi Searvi had been easier to do in Bergen, but in a Sámi core area on the Swedish side where a Sámi for many is still a reindeer herder, was something else. And I had not even been at Davvi Šuvva, neither the first nor the second time. Many people there comment on that and found it strange but also a bit astonishing, in a positive way, it seemed.

2.1.4 Reflections on a kitchen table account in Gáresavvon

I will mainly concentrate on and use the meeting with the first narrator as an example, but will also refer to other meetings.

Kalle Mannela had wished me welcome on the phone and I took the chance of going to his house without an appointment that specific day. It was a way of balancing between being too formal and 'doing as the Romans'; actually doing it the Sámi way. He was standing outside

[54] Sometimes I use this 'formerly' derogatory term consciously to fill it with a humorous and if possible, a more positive meaning.

his house just opening the door when I arrived. I presented myself and asked if he was going somewhere; he laughed and said he had just come home. The timing felt right. He invited me to his kitchen table and served me coffee. I told him that I had been a little nervous in advance: "Do I look dangerous?" he said, and laughed. He was a humorous man and I guessed he was in his sixties. I assumed that he would try to figure out what kind of person I was. He did not ask me as much as I had expected; I was used to getting a lot of questions from people when living in Guovdageaidnu; they used to ask me where I came from, who my parents were and where they came from. It was like their way to locate me or map me; it was also important to know if I was close in kin to someone or not.

He unlocked his story by speaking about the time they started building the *goahti* together; the big turf hut[55] at Sakkaravaara. I had to constrain myself not to record this information as we had agreed that this encounter was kind of for getting acquainted. I very cautiously suggested that I might take some notes. His answer was clear: "Now you shall listen!" I felt I was being tested, so I listened and hoped to remember as much as possible. Being eager to get started challenged my patience, to be honest. I said that it must have been hard work and he passed on the story about how they got the material for the *goahti.* Through a relative of Oula Näkkäläjärvi, who was among the main organizers, they were allowed to get the birches they needed from his property. Their size was enormous compared to the low mountain birches. They were transported on an enormous truck from Mounio in Finland, 80 km south of Karesuvanto. It took several days to cleanse the trees. From some photos I saw later, I saw that a lot of people participated in the work, even grandmothers in their traditional summer outfits - *gákti* - and children. North and South American Natives that had participated in the second WCIP- conference in Kiruna had even joined in the work and they signed their initials on the birches. The work that really took a long time was to cover the birch skeletons with turf. Kalle told me that one day he and Olle Utsi were working alone, they were tired and Olle suddenly said: "Now we should have had 10,000 Chinese here." It seems that Kalle had thought without reflecting. After 15 minutes Olle added: "With their own rice." This was the summer of 1977; Nils-Heaikka Valkeapää informed me later that the work with the *goahti* had already begun that winter. The actual plan had been that Davvi Šuvva was to take place in midsummer of 1978.[56]

[55] A big turf hut was built on Sakkevaara, a small hill on the Finnish side.
[56] Vuovjoš nr.1 1977:35 (back page) Vuovjoš or Vuovjjuš was a local Sámi magazine published by Gáresavvuna Sámisearvi, Johti Sapmelaččaid searvi and Sohppara Sámisearvi

"We were young and stubborn,", he said once when explaining how they made it. I had been curious about how old he was in 1979, but I did not want to ask directly, so I made a comment about a date on a birthday card he had on the wall. He later showed me a knife where the date of his birthday was engraved. Being such a long time ago since the event, remembering could be a trial, but my reason for interviewing people was not so much to get the facts right, but to get an impression of the experience and people's memories from preparing for and participating in the festival, about what it meant and what the music meant to them. Impressions, associations, key words and even smells can be a means to call to mind and revive past events. After listening for more than an hour, the visit was coming to an end. There are little things we signal to each other when we feel that talking and visiting is over, like changing the subject or making pauses and sometimes directly getting up and clearing the table of the coffee cups. Sometimes the body moves before we reach the point of thinking of restraining it or being polite, it is just natural. The first meeting was over, it was not at all "scary" and I looked forward to the next one. It is often the act of passing or stepping over all the different thresholds that can be unnerving; mostly the time before the actual undertaking. It is like moving from room to room and you feel that all the rooms are new and unfamiliar to you, so you never know what to expect. You have no control over the field and the people in the field, you feel totally dependant on their goodwill, time, and cooperation to write a thesis. It is a lot of balancing, and it is about verbal and non-verbal communication and respect, ethics and appropriate relations, and it is about trying and sometimes failing, but also mastering and succeeding.

2.1.5 Back to Kaarevarra, getting another outlook

After this visit I directly drove all the way up to Kaarevaara. When I stepped out of the car and walked a little bit downhill towards the west I recognized the place where the stage had been placed; I had seen photos in the article in "Samefolket." It was here that there were some thousands of people the midsummer weekend; it was so good to be here and the view was grand. There were no mountains closing in the area and I remember thinking later of Johan Turi's words about how the Sámi thinks and expresses himself clearer and more distinct when

he is in the mountains or on a hill.[57] Both Kalle and Nils-Heaikka had said that it was quite natural to choose Kaarevaara; Davvi Šuvva was going to be outdoors, in nature, and thus Kaarevarra was the most natural choice.

Samefolket and other papers had published a photo of Áillohaš[58] and Moises Camarra from Peru who were responsible for the opening ceremony. Standing there I tried to imagine the stage and the big circle people made around the stage at Kaarevarra holding hands. Silja was nine years old when she was at Davvi Šuvva with her parents; she remembers dancing with the Cree Indians and being given a Canadian flag. Her sister was six; her father had to find a flag for her as well. Both of them attended the 2nd Davvi Šuvva in 1993. Katri said she would never forget Davvi Šuvva and clearly stated that Davvi Šuvva in 1979 was the "mother of all Sámi summer festivals." Magne Ove Varsi[59] used the same expression when I talked with him.

How should one analyze an interview situation? This was the first meeting, as I mentioned sometimes eagerness and impatience took over unobtrusiveness, but I managed to listen without commenting too much and I wondered if he was saving the rest to find out if I was worth being given the information. I learned that high and perhaps often unrealistic expectations can turn out to be big challenges, like potential frustrations to handle afterwards and a tendency to blame oneself for being a bad 'fieldworker.' After some time and distance, reflecting on and analyzing situations I found to be delicate, I was able to hearten myself to find other ways to approach or accept the situations and move on.

Analyzing interview situations and doing fieldwork made me think of an acting technique I learned at a drama and theater course when I was young, namely the "Verfremdungs-technique" by Berthold Brecht, meaning that you as an actor 'jumps' in and out of your role to get a certain distance to the play you perform; not getting too subjective and emotional while at the same time telling the audience when you are acting and when not. Acting in one sequence and telling the story in the next, demonstrating it by physically moving on stage and thereby changing your angle and place of perspective, in a way balancing subjectivity and

[57] Turi, Johan Sámi author (1853-1936): "When the Sami stands on a high mountain, his mind is clear. If meetings were held there, the Sami would be able to express his opions clearly and concisely." Quote found in "Same, visual artist" by Britta Marakatt-Labba in *Same, same, but different* 2004:24
[58] Áilohaš was Nils-Aslak Vakeapää's artist name and also what friends called him
[59] Director of Resource Centre for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Guovdageaidnu

being in the situation and then trying to look at it from the outside as far as that is possible, mixing familiarity and estrangement in a way, or seeing the familiar as strange.[60]

The theoretical key concepts to be utilized are meant to be analytical tools to elucidate and comprehend what was expressed at the Davvi Šuvva festival, both individually and collectively, and how cultural expression such as yoik, songs, and other vocal and musical expressions can contribute to strengthening cultural, ethnic, and indigenous identity and togetherness. Hopefully, these tools will help to get some insight into "the indescribable complexity of reality"[61] and the creative history of Davvi Šuvva.

2.2 Culture, identities, community and the Fourth World

I have chosen these concepts as instrumental or operational tools to analyze my material and to comprehend the phenomena and processes that took place. Here I will present various disciplinary perspectives of understanding and interpreting these key concepts and different ways of understanding culture and collective identities.

2.2.1 Voicing culture

In modern European epistemology nature has been perceived as opposite to culture, as something that has to be cultivated. In Sámi and indigenous societies nature has been and still is a part of the culture and culture is closely connected to nature. This interesting and intriguing issue will not be discussed further in this thesis, but views or life philosophies reflecting this idea are presented in various ways through Sámi and other indigenous cultural expressions.

How is the word culture understood in the Sámi language? In the introduction to the book *Sami Culture in a New Era* Harald Gaski writes that "The concepts of art and culture are relatively new to the Sami, but we can assume that what they encompass has been recognized so that art and culture have been manifested according to the Sami people's own understanding of their implications long before the terms became part of the language."[62] He says further: "'Culture' is a loan word into the Sami language. There is no traditional concept

[60] Holliday 2002:9
[61] Borrowed from Clausen, A.M. 1995:22 Norwegian anthropologist
[62] Gaski 1997:10

that covers the whole spectrum of meanings of activities which comprise the components of 'culture'. The closest one can come is *sámi vuohki* which is best translated "Sámi ways", that is, way of being, way of living, mentality and values."[63]

A conventional Euorpean way to define culture is to go to the etymological root of the word: the Latin *colere* or *cultura* which means to grow or cultivate. In the Encarta Dictionary culture is defined or understood as: "1) the arts collectively – art, music, literature and related intellectual activities 2) knowledge and sophistication – enlightenment or sophistication acquired through education and exposure to art 3) shared beliefs and values of a group – the beliefs, customs, practices, and social behavior of a particular nation or people and 4**)** people with shared beliefs and practices – a group of people whose shared beliefs and practices identify the particular place, class or time which they belong and 5) shared attitudes – a particular set of attitudes that characterizes a group of people."

As seen in the last paragraph, the concept of culture can be narrowed down to represent art and music. "Art is called *dáidda* in Sami, in contrast to applied art and handicrafts for which the term is *duodji.* Traditionally, *duodji,* has always been connected to the object's practical function…in everyday life".[64] *Yoik*[65] is the Sámi traditional form of music. As many artists see their work, we can think of artistic and musical expressions as forms and acts of realization, a process of getting insight and creating knowledge.[66] But not necessarily as some separate event experienced in closed arenas and concert halls. In an article titled "The Need for Art" Aqigssiaq Møller writes "that the concept of art as we see it today was a necessary – and even vital – part of our ancestors' daily existence and struggle to survive in the arctic environment of Greenland."[67] And as such "Art, and consequently the inner life, was a basic necessity in the struggle for survival. Thus the concept of art never became separate or ultra-sophistical as it was in European thought, but became a natural part of every day life, a way of living, a philosophy, and an attitude to life"[68] - art here seen as creating words and new songs. Arne Martin Clausen defines culture as "Those ideas, values, rules, norms, codes and symbols a human being takes over from the past generation, and which one try to bring further – most

[63] Ibid.
[64] Gaski 1997:10-11
[65] Yoik will specifically be dealt with in chapter three
[66] Clausen 1992(1995):14 my translation
[67] Møller 1993:38
[68] Ibid.

often a bit changed – to the next generation." [69] Here history and time is brought into the definition. He refers to the definition as a descriptive concept of culture and what it describes is "the content of the community that constitutes the society" [70] The definition builds on E. B. Taylor's definition from 1871: "Culture, or civilization, taken in its broad ethnographic sense, is that complex whole, that includes knowledge, belief, art, moral, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as member of a society."[71] This definition has influences from the time where 'primitive cultures' were seen as uncivilized, which Sámi and other indigenous cultures were so defined for a long time. When it is referred to in Clausen's book the part "civilization, taken in its broad ethnographic sense" is left out; it sounds better without it. Hylland Eriksen says it as 'simple' or 'complicated' as this: "Culture is what makes communication possible."[72] With that, he refers to common language, values, habits and experiences as significant elements in cultural communities and common patterns of thoughts that make people understand each other. Without the following explanation it seems hazy and nebulous; birds and animals communicate, even nature communicates according to Sámi and indigenous life views. As Valkeapää asks "Don't wind, waterfalls, fire and *yoik* represent music which has no beginning and no end?"[73] Eriksen's definition focuses merely on the presence and possibilities for mutual understanding and as such 'deletes' perspectives of time, history and tradition.[74]

History and tradition are important parts of Sámi and indigenous culture. Together with definitions and the views presented by Gaski and Møller, the Clausen's definition is the one I find the most appropriate and fruitful. My focus is on how Sámi culture was communicated through voice and music—especially at the Davvi Šuvvi festival—and that vocal and musical expressions together with other cultural expressions were a significant part of Sámi and other indigenous mobilization and movement. Another reason for my focus on audible cultural expressions is the impact and powerful influence of voicing where there had been former imposed silence.

[69] Clausen 1992:27 my translation
[70] 1995:27 Clausen defines society as "a group of people that hold a specific relation to each other, that have something in common." my translation
[71] Tylor in *Primitive Culture* 1920 (1871):1
[72] Eriksen 1997:44 my translation
[73] Valkeapää 1983:60
[74] Ibid.:44 and 56

2.2.2 Ethnic and cultural identity

"The yoik affirms a person's identity. For 'identity' in a Sámi society is not first and foremost to express one's own individuality, but to experience belonging to kin and society" [76]

This thesis' focus on creative and cultural expressions in ethno and indigenous mobilization makes it necessary to look into the concepts of ethnic and cultural identity. First what is meant by the word identity? From which angles and perspectives do the different disciplinary discourses view and discuss individual and collective identity? How has the concept developed and been 'treated' by different disciplines like psychology, anthropology and history?

> "A human who has lost its memory, does not know who he is… A society which does not know anything about it's own past, suffers from a collective loss of memory."[75]

The Latin word *identitas* origins from *idem* which means 'the same'; it has two basic meanings, it also means different from: "The concept consists of two possible forms of comparing between persons or things…"[77] We identify ourselves from whom we are alike and from whom we differ; this process is social or as Hylland Eriksen states: "The smallest unit in society is not the individual or the single actor: it is the relation between two."[78] But a bit earlier in the text he writes that "identity is what a person sees when one looks at oneself in the mirror."[79] This seems slightly simplifyied and contradictory. Psychologically it can be defined as this: "Identity is the feeling of wholeness and continuity in what one is and means"[80] or from another anthropologist's view: "Identity is those parts of the person's self-image which one wants to have confirmed by others."[81] From this we can conclude that identity is both how we see ourselves and how we are conceived and confirmed by others, which can be in accordance with how we see ourselves or incongruent.

[75] Kjelstadli 1999:23 my translation
[76] Jernsletten quoted in Kjellstrøm 1988 in http://home.no.net/gretahys/Tekststudier/om%20joiken.html 10.03.2002
[77] Andersen 2006:14 my translation
[78] Eriksen 1997:35 my translation
[79] Ibid. 34 my translation
[80] Rørvik 1994, taken from Mattias Øra on *Identity* my translation
[81] M. Gullestad 1984 in Øra my translation

Kjelstadli, a Norwegian historian quoted in the box above, also writes "that to know something about old days is to see oneself in a context, to see that you are not a freewheeling atom, but created and shaped also by conditions that were there before we were born"[82] Identity has to be seen in the perspective of history and time, and he further states: "Historical identity almost seems to be most significant where it is not given, and not present as something obvious."[83] According Einar Niemi, another Norwegian historian, the topic of identity has for a long time been researched as "representations of 'patriotism', 'national character', class and ethnicity…the concept as such did not enter the historians' vocabulary until the 1980s and 90s, and not until then was research on identity discussed in terms of theories and methods."[84] He is referring to historical research in Norway.

When is identity seen as something ready, given, or obvious? Are we born with an authentic core or is identity— individual, social or ethnic—something that is constructed or formed from the roles we perform and play at the stage of life and the culture from which we are born into and the culture we have learned? The problem with a pure primordial or essentialist approach and perspective can be a tendency to mystify or romanticize ethnic identity. Another implication is seeing identity—and culture—as something static. According to Nyyssönen "The poststructuralist, constructivist approach and the blooming anti-essentialist attitude to identity, with its notions of constructed identities, has established itself firmly in academic disciplines."[85] The dilemma with an instrumentalist or constructivist approach is a disregard for both cultural dimensions and psychological aspects in addition to viewing human behavior as directed purely by rational and strategic self-interest. It also makes it problematic to differentiate between ethnic groups and other collective groups.[86] Some react to this notion of identity as a 'mere' cognitive construction and something to be chosen, sometimes as a political strategy.

Ethnicity as a concept is still both complex and contested. The etymological origin is from the Greek *ethnos* which means people. Ethnicity is a noun and as such it describes a state of being or "an end state" rather than a process of identification, which is why ethnic identity is a more

[82] Kjelstadli 1999:23 my translation
[83] Ibid. my translation
[84] Niemi in Heimen nr.2- 2006:93
[85] Nyssönen 2007:12
[86] From a lecture in HIS-3018 January 24th 2006

suitable term to use.[87] The Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth is known for his "process analytical perspective on how people organize themselves socially."[88] He focused on the process that takes place at the boundaries between groups of people and how people organize themselves from reciprocal perception of each other as distinctively different. He states that "ethnicity is a matter of social organization above and beyond questions of empirical cultural differences: it is about 'the social organization of cultural difference.'"[89] The point here is that there are no objective cultural differences, but it is peoples' perceptions of cultural differences that create the fundament for these differences. This implies self-identification or self-ascription and ascription from others; the others can also imply members of the same group recognizing you as the same as them and the others outside the group defining you as different from them; as Barth further states "that ethnic identity is matter of self-ascription and ascription by others in interaction, of the analyst's construct on the basis of his or her construction of a group's "culture";…"[90]

One might criticize Barth as having been slightly "obsessed with borders"[91] in analyzing cultural differences, according to Banks "Barth's main contribution is to urge a shift away from discussions of the cultural content of ethnic identity through considerations of ethnic markers such as food, dress, language and so on, towards a consideration of the boundaries that marks the limits of such content."[92] Asebe Regassa argues in his thesis *Ethnicity and Inter-Ethnic Relations: the 'Ethiopian Experiment' and the Case of the Guji and the Gedeo* "that ethnic groups' cultural stuff is as imperative as the boundary and thus both should be viewed as two faces of the same coin rather than separate determinants."[93] He refers to Banks saying that Barth "relies heavily on the very cultural features he claims he is rejecting."[94]

The archaeologist Sian Jones writes that "Ethnic groups are culturally ascribed identity groups, which are based on the expression of a real or assumed shared culture and common descent… As a process ethnicity involves a consciousness of difference…"[95] She also writes that

[87] Nyssönen 2007:18
[88] Stordahl, V. 2006:7 my translation
[89] Barth, F. 1998:6 (1969)
[90] Ibid.
[91] Expression borrowed from lectures in January 2007 by Kramvig and Markussen
[92] Banks 1996:12
[93] Regassa, A. 2007:13
[94] Ibid.: 12
[95] Jones, S. from handout in HIS-2002/3013 January 2006

ethnicity embraces "social and psychological phenomena associated with a culturally constructed group identity…"[96]

The relation people have to the territory they live in is vital; a territory which ancestors have related and belonged for centuries - since 'time immemorial' is an expression often used - before the emergence of borders drawn by national states and taxing and colonizing[97] former inhabitants. Referring to Anthony Smith, Banks writes that the French term 'ethnie,' synonym for an 'ethnic community,' better covers the meanings of the Greek *ethnos*. Ethnie emphasizes "the similarities of cultural attributes in a community rather than biological or kinship-based factors; 'ethnie' serves to unite cultural uniqueness with historical continuity" defined by features as "a collective name; a common myth of descent; a shared history, a distinctive culture; an association with specific territory and a sense of solidarity." [98]

Asle Høgmo wrote in 1986 that "this phenomenon of ethnicity often is conceived as *fourth-world-ethnicity* among social scientists" [99] The Fourth World represents aboriginal or indigenous peoples and is viewed as being different from peoples from Third World countries, or as the front flap to the book *The Fourth World- An Indian Reality* says: "The Fourth World is an alternative to the new world, the old world and, of late, the Third World."[100] Native Americans soon found that the Third world ideology did not fit their way of seeing their own reality. Vine Deloria Jr. wrote in the foreword that his experience with the Third World ideology made him see it as a "fanatic ideology of the American New Left" and he referred to it as a "pernicious doctrine."[101] George Manuel, the former leader of the North American Indian Movement[102] and then the president of the National Indian Brotherhood in Canada, stated in his book that "The Fourth World has always been here in North America",[103] but he also saw the Maori in New Zealand and the Aborigines in Australia and "the Lapps in Sweden"[104] and other indigenous peoples as nations of the Fourth World. "When native

[96] Jones, S. 1997:xii
[97] Colonizing is the word used by Hansen and Olsen for the period of 1200-1550 in *Samisk historie fram til 1750* (2004:151-233) [Sami History until 1750] as also Nyyssönen; other historians might not agree. Many Sámi people talk about their history as one of colonization. I think you mean that Nyysonen does not agree, but that is not clear.
[98] Banks, M. 1996:129-130, Nyyssönen, J. 2007:18
[99] Høgmo, A. 1986:12 My translation You don't have this in the bibliography
[100] Manuel & Posluns 1974
[101] Ibid. ix
[102] 'North American Indian Movement' is the expression Vine Deloria, Jr use on front flap of the book
[103] Manuel/Posluns 1974:214
[104] Ibid. 237

peoples come into their own, on the basis of their own cultures and traditions that will be the Fourth world," an African diplomat had pointed out to him that "political independence for colonized peoples was only the Third World."[105] George Manuel came to be a very significant person in establishing contacts and collaboration in international indigenous arenas. "The Fourth World was not, after all, a Final Solution. It is not even a destination. It is the right to travel freely, not only on our own road but in our own vehicles."[106]

In his dissertation "Everybody recognized that we were not white" *Sami Identity politics in Finland, 1945-1990* Jukka Nyssönen quotes Stuart Hall: "Cultural identities are the points of identification…which are made, within the discourse of history and culture. Not as en essence, but a *positioning*. Hence, there is always a politics of identity, politics of position, which has no absolute guarantee in an unproblematic, transcendental 'Law of origin'"[107]

Collective identity can be built on common interests and belonging to the same ethnic group, it can also be based on belonging to the same territory. The Sámi consists of people from different areas; they live in four countries and speak three Sámi languages and various dialects. The countries are Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia and they speak Central Sámi East Sámi and South Sámi.[108] Like in North and South America, Native Americans and First Nations people live on both sides of state or national borders. This is also the situation for many other indigenous peoples in the world.

There was a diversity of ethnic identities represented at Davvi Šuvva, not all them were to be characterized as indigenous which is the next concept or term to be addressed. International gatherings and conferences faced a growing collaboration between different groups of indigenous peoples. In the 1970s an awakening of this collective awareness of a common overarching indigenous identity flourished and like an opening umbrella it would cover various groups of ethnic and cultural identities which were mobilizing. What can be said to be the beginning of an ethno-political mobilization and movement broadened into an international indigenous movement, which take us to the term "indigenous peoples."

[105] Manuel/ Posluns 1974:236
[106] Ibid 217
[107] 2007:17 (Hall 1998:226) author's italic
[108] In the article "Sámi languages in the Nordic countries and Russia" by Mikael Svonni, professor in Sámi language, who divides Sámi in East, Central and South Sámi languages with North and Lule Sámi belonging to the Central Sámi language group. Kildin, Skolt and Inari Sámi belong to the East Sámi language group and Ume and South Sámi to the South Sami. See map 2008:233-234

2.2.3 Indigenous peoples- First Nations people – Eamiálbmot

In 1979 'indigenous peoples' as a term was not commonly used in official arenas, which different written sources demonstrate; at that time "tribes" and "populations" were the words used such as in the ILO Convention No.107 of 1957[109], which Norway did not ratify. It would take many years of indigenous political struggle to achieve legal acceptance of the term 'indigenous people' in the singular, the plural form with the "s" took people even longer. .[110] The preparatory meeting for the world conference[111] in 1975 took place in Georgetown, Guyana in April, 1974. A definition of 'indigenous people' was elaborated there "for the purpose of delegate status at the proposed conference: The term indigenous people refers to people living in countries which have a population composed of differing ethnic or racial groups who are descendants of the earliest populations living in the area and who do not as a group control the national government of the countries within which they live."[112] Sanders then states that the definition was both a social as well as a political one; the focus is on indigenous populations without power to run and control their political destinies and not on indigenous minorities.[113]

From this insider attempt to define indigenous people it took fifteen years till the International Labour Organization came up with the ILO Convention No 169 in 1989 which Norway and Mexico were the first countries to adopt in 1991.[114] Sweden and Finland still have not ratified the ILO No 169. Art.1 in the ILO Convention No 169 defines indigenous peoples and says that:

1. This Convention applies to:

(a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their customs or traditions or by special laws and regulations;

(b) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations that inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present

[109] "Convention No.107 is framed in terms of *members* of indigenous populations and their rights as equals within the larger society"(Anaya 2004:55)
[110] Barsh, R. 1994:33
[111] The world conference and the establishment of the WCIP will be dealt with in chapter three
[112] Sanders in "The formation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples" wcipinfo.txt 1999:4-5
[113] Ibid. 5
[114] Anaya 2004:59

state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, cultural and political institutions."

And the next paragraph states that

2. Self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply.

While paragraph 3 can be said to take the sting out it; at least many saw it that way:

3. The use of the term "peoples" in this convention shall not be construed as having any implications as regards the rights which may attach to the term under international law.[115]

According to Taiaiake Alfred[116]

> Indigenousness is an identity constructed, shaped and lived in the politicized context of contemporary colonialism. The communities, clans, nations and tribes are just that: Indigenous to the lands they inhabit, in contrast to and in contention with the colonial societies and states that have spread out from Europe and or another centres of empire. It is this oppositional place-based existence, along with the consciousness of being in struggle against the dispossessing and demeaning fact of colonization be foreign peoples that fundamentally distinguishes Indigenous from other peoples of the world.[117]

Lakota anthropologist Hilary Weaver discusses the term 'indigenous identity' in her article "Indigenous identity What Is It, and Who *Really has it?"*[118] She writes that the topic "is truly complex and somewhat controversial. There is little agreement on precisely what constitutes an indigenous identity, how to measure it and who truly has it."[119] Her focus is "cultural identity, as reflected in the values, beliefs and worldviews of indigenous people." And she writes further that "those who belong to the same culture share a broadly similar conceptual map and way of interpreting language." As an ethnic identity, indigenous identity has been argued over and debated for some decades now, but the point here is that the term "indigenous peoples" today encompasses a legal term with special rights.

In "Vuovjoš" 1977 they wrote: "The festival of the Northern Indigenous Peoples…"; in the different written sources like newspapers and articles the term 'indigenous populations' was

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[115] Anaya 2004:303

[116] A Mohawk scholar, professor in the Indigenous Governance Program at the University of Victoria, Canada http://www.earthcall.org/en/who/biographies/taiaiake-alfred.html and http://www.taiaiake.com/about-gta He is a renowned scholar and a radical Indigenous activist http://lincpin.ca/content/Indignous/Mohawk-Anracha-Indigenist-Taiaiake-Alfred-S... 03.05.0009 While I agree that he is brilliant, I think you need to be careful about writing that in the thesis.

[117] This taken from the article "Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism"; which again "draws on analyses and concepts developed in Taiaiake Alfred, *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*, Peterborough, ON, Broadview Press, 2005:597

[118] Weaver 2001:240

[119] Ibid.

mostly used, while the journalist in Nordnorsk Magasin consequently used the term indigenous people. The indigenous people at Davvi Šuvva were mainly Sámi but there was also a large group of Indians from North and South America, among them many Cree Indians from Canada, there were also Inuit people from Greenland—most of them living in Copenhagen, Denmark—and a big group of people from the Autonomous Republic of Komi in the then USSR.

2.2.4 Community and unity - Oktavuohta

The Sámi word for community, *oktavuohta,* has several meanings connected to various contexts, like unity, and togetherness and belonging.[120] Victor Turner's[121] concept *'communitas'* is understood as an "intensely social feeling of togetherness" and can also be understood as this: "in 'communitas' one stand together "outside" society and the community becomes even stronger by that"[122] or as Jon-Roar Bjørkvold, professor in Music referring to the very same concept, describes it as an 'intensely electrified feeling of community'[123] when writing on the significance of singing in his book *Skilpaddesangen.*

How should one understand this experience of togetherness and belonging? According to Zygmunt Bauman[124] the word 'community' is one of those words that has both a meaning and "a 'feel'…It feels good: whatever the word 'community' may mean, it is good 'to have community', 'to be in a community'" and further "community conveys the image of a warm and comfortable place, like a fireplace we warm our hands on a frosty day."[125] This is another way of understanding the term which appeals to one's psychological and emotional aspects and the positive effects of community and belonging.
According to the Encarta Dictionary the word means both "1. people in area; which mean group of people who live in the same area, or the area in which they live:" This is not the sort of community I am referring to here, even if many of those who attended Davvi Šuvva lived in the same area, but more as "2. people with common background; a group of people with a common background or with shared interests within society, and also the international society,

[120] Sámi-dáru Sátnegirji =Sámi Norwegian Dictionary 1995:388
[121] Anthropologist who developed the concept doing fieldwork in Africa, especially on religious rituals
[122] Nielsen, F.S. 1996:250 Norwegian anthropologist my translation
[123] Bjørkvold, L.R 1998:59 The Song of the Turtle
[124] Emeritus Professor in Sociology at the University of Leeds and the University of Warsaw
[125] Bauman 2001:1

and “3) nations with common history; a group of nations with a common history or common economical and political interests.” Nation is not here to be understood as national states but people or ‘peoplehood’ in the way Canadian First Nations and North American Natives have defined themselves; namely as nations within and nations before European contact. Indigenous peoples and their cultures differ from the culture in the countries they live in and they consider themselves to be distinct from the culture of the majority population in the national states that they were colonized by. The way community is defined here fits with ethnic groups, nations, and indigenous peoples.

The idea of unity was a significant concept in the 60s and the 70s, as it also came to be in the indigenous and the Sámi movement. The Sámi artist Hans Ragnar Mathisen made a graphic illustration in 1978 with the word in Sámi, English and Spanish: “oktavuohta – unidad – unity”, and I remember very well the slogan from Chile: “Un pueblo unido, jamás será vencido” – “A people united will never be defeated”.

When Benedict Anderson speaks of ‘imagined communities’[126] he is referring to the origin and spread of nationalism and in his foreword to the Norwegian edition of *Imagined Communities* 1996 he writes “…in the spirit of anthropology we shall consider nationalism as a common experience of being-in the-world, rather then seeing it as someone else’s ideology.”[127] According to LaBate in her review of Bigenho’s book *Sounding Indigenous: Authenticity in Bolivian Music Performance* referring to Anderson “Anderson listed print culture as one of the key products and means by which people imagined them to share common experiences and identities in the nineteenth century.” [128] Indigenous peoples have built their history and culture on oral traditions handed down through the generations: by storytelling, by singing, chanting, drumming, drawing, yoiking and dancing. Bigenho discusses whether national identity could be developed through other processes, in her book she is exploring an

> alternative mode of feeling membership in imagined communities, modes that, through music performance, are not outside visual representations, but are at once

[126] Benedict Anderson is professor in International Studies at Cornell University, USA. Anderson, B. 1996 Norwegian edition
[127] Anderson, B. 1996:9 my translation
[128] Elizabeth LaBate, then “doctoral student in Ethnomusicology at the University of Austin, Texas”,26.1 2005 http://muse.jhu/journals/latin_american_music_review/v26/26... 27.06.2207

> connected to embodied practice and sonorous experiences…I want to lay out a nation that listens to, dances, and feels an imagined bond. [129]

The kind of community sometimes experienced at political and cultural gatherings can operate like glue and move and inspire people to a greater extent than political documents alone. Vocal and musical expressions can communicate a diversity of identities at the same time and it is a language understood across ethnical and cultural borders that can create energy and a common experience of being together in the world. With this definition of community, I want to elucidate other aspects and effects of collective experiences of being together in the world, like physical and emotional experiences. Singing, yoiking and listening to those voices and what we find to be good music affect us human beings beyond comprehension and it can affect the body in a healing way.

In addition to searching in the archives, reading articles and conducting interviews I also listened to tapes of yoik and other indigenous music, I watched films and a few documentaries. By combining these different sources with theoretical key concepts and the theoretical and practical training as a nurse regarding observation and communication, and by collecting and analyzing data both in a Norwegian and Sámi context, these methodological approaches have brought me to the story of Davvi Šuvva and the history around it and behind it.

[129] LaBate 2005

Chapter 3: History, Politics and Cultural Expressions

As early as 1972 one could read in *Dagens Nyheter*, in Stockholm, June 11th: "We have the same problems and should address them together internationally."[130] It was George Manuel, the leader of National Indian Brotherhood (NIB)[131], who said this when a Canadian delegate at the United Nations' first environmental conference in Stockholm. The Sámi politician Aslak Nils Sara (1943-1996)[132] met Manuel at this conference and this meeting "was one of the most important inspirations for his later international involvement in this issue."[133] Manuel also visited Rensjön, a Sámi village in the vicinity of Kiruna. The same paper brought a photo of George Manuel greeting Johan Kuhminen abnd the headline says: "The Sámi are also Indians."[134]

3.1 The World Council of Indigenous Peoples

George Manuel, a "Sushwap indigenous leader"[135] had for many years an idea and a vision of a common organization for indigenous peoples; through extensive traveling he had established contact with Inuit and Sámi people.[136] A conference for Arctic peoples was organized "at the initiative of individual representatives from Indian and Inuit organizations north of the sixtieth parallel in Canada"[137]; and the International Work Group of Indigenous affairs - IWGIA - conference took place in Copenhagen in 1973. One issue at the conference "was to find a definition of the indigenous people and indigenous identity."[138] Two years later the first international conference for indigenous peoples came to fruition. The World Council of Indigenous Peoples – WCIP - was established in Port Alberni, Canada in October 1975 with George Manuel as the founding president[139]; Aslak Nils Sara represented the Sámi and

[130] Jentoft, Minde & Nilsen, 2003:81
[131] "NIB was founded in 1969 and was an organization for all the Canadian Indians who lived within the Indian local communities…" (2003:83). In US the American Indian Movement, AIM, was established in 1968 or 1969 Check (Matthiessen, P ,1992)
[132] Aslak Nils Sara "was then working in the newly established Norwegian Department of Environment." 2003:82
[133] 2003:82
[134] Ibid
[135] Sanders, D in *Becoming Visible* 1995:109
[136] Labba in Samefolket nr.8 1979:3 and Foreword By Vine Deloria , Jr.to *The fourth World* 1974:ix-xvi
[137] 2003:82
[138] Nyyssönen 2007:212 Pekka Aikio talked about "original inhabitants", Tomas Cramer about "national indigenous minorities", while Aslak-Nils Sara used the term "autochthonous peoples". Ibid.
[139] IGWIA Document 29 The formation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples p.16, by Douglas E.

the Inuit at the board. Ole Henrik Magga and Alf Isak Keskitalo, among others, represented the Norwegian Sámi. The Swedish Sámi were represented by Ingwar Åhren and Nils Mikal Utsi[140], and Pekka Lukkara, Esko Palonoja and Nils-Aslak Valkeapää[141] represented the Finnish side; as an artist Valkeapää was to be in an important role representing the Sámi as indigenous people. Douglas Sanders writes on the opening and the cultural events at the WCIP congress: "The conference was opened by George Clutesi, an elder of the Seshaht people, who sang a traditional prayer…There was a rich pride in culture which showed most clearly in the evening gatherings in the auditorium – with singing, dancing and ceremonies. The richness and diversity of the gathering was hard to absorb. There was never any doubt about the success of the conference. "[142] The Second General Assembly of WCIP took place in Kiruna in August 1977. The main theme was to be "The situation for Indigenous peoples in relation to the International agreements for the protection of man's rights to his life, liberty and land."[143]

On the international level students demonstrated in Paris and San Francisco; civil rights movements marched the streets and "the social movement of the United States began to spin its wheels in frustration over Viet Nam."[144] Native Americans' occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969 and Wounded Knee in 1973 strengthened the awakening of an urban pan-Indian movement that spread to the reservations. The American Indian Movement, AIM, had been established in 1968 in Minneapolis and the National Indian Brotherhood, NIB in Canada was founded in 1969.[145]

The cooperation and connections made, especially resulting from the first IGWIA conference in 1973 and the establishment of WCIP and then the 2nd conference in Kiruna in 1977 were indeed significant for the cultural exchange among indigenous peoples and for the 'birth' and realization of Davvi Šuvva. The editor for Samefolket, Pål Doj, states: "…without WCIP and the contacts that were made, this festival could not have been possible."[146]

Sanders. Also Sanders in *Becoming Visible* 1995:109
[140] Solbakk, Å. pers.comm
[141] Nyyssönen 2007:213
[142] Doc. 29-77:15 and Sanders 1999:6-7 http://halcyon.com/pub//FWDP/International/wcipinfo.txt
[143] IGWIA, Newsletter nr.18 1977
[144] Manuels/Posluns 1974:ix
[145] Mathiessen, P 1980/1992:35-35. The first National Indian Youth Council "was the first all-Indian protest group", founded in 1960 by Vine Deloria Jr. Ibid. According to Anaya 2004:77 (footnote) it was 1961
[146] Labba in Samefolket nr.8-79:3 my translation

3.2 Regional events, local organizations and a poet

We are Sámi and we want to be Sámi; without that meaning being more or less then other peoples in the world. We are one people with our own area of residence, our own language and our own structure of culture and society. We have through history found our way to cope and live in Same-Ätnam and we own a culture which we want to develop and to live on."[147]

In 1953 Same-Ätnam[148] in Sweden together with Lapin Sivistysseura in Finland and the Norwegian Sámi Særvi – Sámi Association were invited to a Nordic Sámi conference in Jokkmokk.[149] The Nordic Lapp Council was established in Kárášjohka in 1956; which has been named the Nordic Sámi council since 1971; now it is called the Sámi Council due to the participation of the Russian Sámi. In 1971 the 7th Sámi conference in Gällivarre adopted the Sámi cultural-political manifesto.[150] One result of this conference was the establishment of a Sámi Language Committee.[151] The Nordic Sámi conference in Inari, Finland in 1976 adopted the principles of the WCIP and officially joined as members of the council.[152]George Manuel attended the conference as guest.[153]

The local magazine Vuovjjuš or Vuovjoš[154] was published by Gáresavvuna Sámi Searvi on the Swedish side (*ruoŧabealde),* Eanodaga Johti Sapmelaččaid Searvi[155] on the Finnish side[156] and Sohppara[157] Sámi Searvi. The main organization behind Davvi Šuvva consisted of people from the editiorial group who were also members of the '*searvviit'* in addition to many local helpers and other members. The cooperation had begun when a common Midsummer party was arranged and people also gathered when Nils-Aslak Valkeapää sang in the church.

[147] Same-Ätnam means Sápmi or Samiland. This quote is from the Sámi Culture Political Program or manifest, quoted on the front page of *Samefolket* nr.2 1977. My translation and the one in Minde 2003:81 The program was adopted at the Sámi Conference in Gällivarre in 1971. Ruong 1969, 1975:200, Minde 2003:81

[148] Same-Ätnam is the name of a Sámi society established in 1944, later re-established as a society for Sámi culture. Ruong 1969:196-7 Today Same-Ätnam is a political party

[149] Ruong (1969)1982:197 my translation

[150] Ibid.:200 my translation, 2003:81

[151] Svonni, M. 2008:239

[152] 2003:86 and Hatle in NNM nr.4 1979:8 my translation

[153] Sanders in Doc.29-77:18

[154] The name was written in both ways. "In a written source from 1743 it is said that the (Thorne) Sami word *vuovjjuš* meant 'sami'." According to Olavi Korhonen the term *vuovjjuš* disappeared and *sápmi* was taken into use possibly because of "the derogatory double-meaning to the word *vuovjjuš* 'lapp' e.g 'patch, a small piece of cloth or hide formed as a gore', which other people in the surroundings vigilantly associated to that word" Korhonen in *Mer enn et språk* (More than a Language) 2007:235

[155] The Sámi Reindeer Herding' Association in Hætta or Enontekiö

[156] Samefolket nr.6-79:10, Gaski 200?:108

[157] Sohppara or Soppero (Övre and Nedre Soppero) are villages south of Gáresavvon.

Kjerstin Simma told me that they later worked together to create a Sámi history group, all of this to get acceptance for and revive the Sámi culture. She was the leader of Gáresavvona Sámi Searvi for ten years. [158] The editorial group in 1979 consisted of Oula Näkkäläjärvi, Kjerstin Simma, Randi Eriksen (now Marainen) and Per Nils Päiviö. Other co-workers were Jouni Labba, Kalle Mannela, Svea Päivïö, Olle Utsi, Lars Labba, Thomas Marainen, Paul Ánte Simma and Per Gustav Labba, Nils Heaikka Valkeapää, Inghilda Tapio; the year before Veikko Holmberg had been the main editor.

Paulus Utsi (1918-1975) a *duodji*-teacher at the Sámi Folk High School in Jokkmokk[159] combined his job as a teacher with writing poetry. Utsi came to be renowned and one of the most outstanding cultural characters reviving Sámi language and culture.[160] Melodies were later composed to his poems and some of them performed at Davvi Šuvva. "Utsi wanted the Sami to preserve their own language as the minority's voice, but also to learn the language of the majority in order to expose the majority's manipulations of the Sami by means of language; they should become aware of language as a trap with which one could ensnare, but also in which one could be ensnared."[161] On the Norwegian side the Nordic Sámi Institute was established and initiated its activity January 1st 1974 in Guovdageaidnu and July 1st the University in Umeå received the first chair in Sámi in Sweden, these were significant events.[162]

The Davvi Šuvva festival was certainly the result of hard and intensive work and preparations by Gáresavvon Sámi Searvi and Johti Sapmelaččaid together with Nils HeaikkaValkeapää, from Hætta or Enontekiö, representing the Finnish section of the Nordic Lapp Council[163] and also members from Soppero Sámi Searvi. The enthusiasm after the 2nd WCIP conference in Kiruna had inspired as well as Nils-Aslak Valkeapää had.

[158] Interview with Kjerstin Simma June 2006
[159] This school was established in 1944, moved to Jokkmokk in 1950 and came to be and still is a cultural centre for the Sámi in Sweden. (Ruong, I.1969, 1982:140-1) Also Sámi from the other countries apply there now.
[160] Gaski 1997:11
[161] Ibid:12
[162] Ruong 1969:141-2 Norway and Finland already had professors in Sámi. (Ibid.) my translations
[163] Vuovjoš nr.1 1977

3.3 The role of Áillohaš

As mentioned, a Sámi delegation attended the WCIP Conference in Port Alberni, among them the artist, poet, musician and yoiker Nils Aslak Valkeapää—Áillohaš—who was chosen as the cultural coordinator of WCIP. On his travels the following years, with groups presenting Sámi culture, they made useful contacts with other indigenous peoples, artists and politicians. His first record Joikuja (EP) was launched in 1968 and the fourth "Sámiid eatnan duoddariid" (LP) came ten years later, a year before Davvi Šuvva. "Sámiid eatnan duoddariid" is a tribute to the Sámi plains and the tundra; some consider it the alternative or real national anthem of Sápmi. Just as a yoik belongs to the person yoiked, "Sámiid eatnan duoddariid" belongs to the plains and tundra yoiked; it can be perceived as the plains presentation of them through the yoik. "It is the yoiked mountain plateaus of Sámiland that are both the subject and object: the yoik is about them and that *are* at the same time the yoik."[164] Áillohaš started out as a classic or traditional yoiker but he would obtain a greater significance as an innovator and became a groundbreaking force for the renaissance of the yoik.[165]

As the coordinator of Davvi Šuvva he might have been the one who gave the festival its name.[166] Different suggestions for the name were discussed with co-workers such as Kjerstin and Svea. Davvi Šuvva is translated into 'Breeze from the North'[167]; it can also be translated or understood as 'the north hums or sounds'.[168] *Šuvva* is a Sámi word which can be said to describe the sound of the wind or the sough of a summer breeze. When I talked with one of the narrators about the naming of the festival she said they decided and agreed early on that the name should have 'a sound' in it. In Vuovjoš nr.1 1977 the name Northern 'Šuvva' was used when information on the festival was translated into English.

One of the main reasons why Gáresavvon was chosen as the site for the festival could be that Nils-Aslak Valkeapää lived in Beattet, on the Finnish side, close to Gáresavvon. The artists that were invited were certainly also a result of connections and contacts made both after the 1st and especially the 2nd WCIP Conference in Kiruna in 1977. After Áillohaš was chosen as an international cultural coordinator, he started traveling with groups, presenting Sámi culture

[164] Gaski 2008:100
[165] Gaski and Kappfjell 2002:155, my translation. Also in Lethola 2002:106
[166] Gaski, pers. communication
[167] Gaski in *Trekways of the Wind*
[168] NNM nr.4 1979:8 Hatle wrote 'nordasus'

and yoik to indigenous people in Canada and Alaska in 1976 and again Canada in 1977. In 1976 two groups of Sámi traveled to Greenland, presenting and representing yoik and *duodji* to the Inuit. There were ten in each group and they gave a broad presentation of Sámi culture. It was organized by the Nordic Sámi Institute together with Kaladilit (Inuit organization).[169] Alf Isak Keskitalo from Guovdageaidnu traveled with one of the groups of Sámi yoikers and *duojárat* (artists making handicrafts) that went to Sisimiut on the west coast of Greenland.[170] In June of the same year a yoik group went on a four weeks tour to Alaska and Canada with Nils Aslak Valkeapää as the leader. It was organized by WCIP. Before Christmas 1977 there was a group of twelve Sámi that went to Russia and held several concerts with traditional yoiks and songs. 'Concerts were given in Leningrad, Moscow and a number of places in the Komi republic. This trip was organized of the Finnish Department of Education.[171]

Pål Doj, *Samefolket,* writes that Valkeapææ was "…the one who worked hardest preparing the festival. He is a real enthusiast and has the ability to inspire people."[172] Nils Aslak Valkeapää was not only a great artist, but also an important Sámi politician and a strong voice for indigenous people. In the film "Vaimmustan lea biegga"[173] that was shown on NRK - the Norwegian television in 2002, the year after his death; Valkeapää was called 'the father of the Easter Music festival' that takes place in Guovdageaidnu every Easter.

3.4 ČSV: Ethnic Identity Expressed

In the article "History, Memory and Myth in Modern Sámi Identity Building"[174] Káren Elle Gaup writes about ČSV: "Čájehehkot Sámi Vuoiŋŋa" - Show Sámi Spirit - or show that you are Sámi (Vis Samisk Ånd). This became a powerful slogan "in the 70s and the 80s, when the Sámi movement really took off, after several attempts to mobilize and organize, first in the beginning of the 20th century, then at the end of the 1940s and especially through the 60s."[175]

The 1960s and especially the 70s were also political decades for young creative and intellectual Sámi; a time of revolt and political protest, not violent as the student revolt in

[169] Davvi Šuvva 1979 program:3 and copy of notes I was given
[170] Interview in September 2006
[171] Copy of notes on preparing Davvi Šuvva also in the original Davvi Šuvva program p.3
[172] Labba in Samefolket nr.8 1979:3 my translation
[173] Copy of the film seen at Sámi Center 2008
[174] Dieđut Nr.3, 2006:91my translation
[175] Ibid.:91 my translation

Paris had been in 1968, and not like the occupation of Alcatraz Island by the American Indian Movement in 1969 or Wounded Knee in 1973. The most well-known and powerful Sámi political protest is the demonstration against the Alta-Kautokeino power plant, culminating in 1981, also with the participation of environmental activist from all of Norway.

Gaup states further: "This was the time that young Sámi wanted their land returned, as well as their language, their self-esteem, culture and property. They wanted to recover everything that was taken from them through the centuries, and their foremost motto was: Show that you are Sámi! 'ČSV' represented an alternative Sámi self image, and it rapidly became a gathering emblem of politically radical Sámi."[176] They have been referred to as the ČSV-generation or the ČSV-movement; many considered them to be very radical Sámi, and they have also been seen as elite Sámi. Under the headline "The Dangerous Movement" Ole Henrik Magga[177] writes in the article, "Sámi activist for 40 years" that ČSV was:

> presented at a literary seminar by Anders Guttormsen in 1972. It was a literary slogan which he challenged us all to fill with meaning. His point of departure was something like 'Čállet Sámi Vieljat!'-Write, Sámi brothers! or 'Čájet Sámi Vuoiŋŋa!' Show Sámi spirit! Several other interpretations were added, also more humorous ones. It became an absolute success! After some time, ČSV became used as a greeting and 'words of struggle'. The slogan became a symbol of Sámi willpower–yes, ideology. We wanted ourselves to define what was good for us and how we should work to achieve the objectives. And that frightened those in power![178]

Becoming aware of an indigenous identity in addition to being Sámi was a rather innovative and rapid process in the late 70s and the 80s of which Davvi Šuvva was a cultural manifestation.

3.5 The Power of Expression

At the first WCIP conference the question was raised "whether the Sami were an indigenous people." [179] When meeting in Port Alberni in 1975 the South American Indians conceived of the Sámi delegates as white Europeans. Despite a broad definition of indigenous people they

[176] 2006:91my translation
[177] Former Sámi parliamentary president and chairman for the UN Permanent Forum
[178] Samtiden 2006:7. my translation
[179] Minde 2003:84

had trouble getting access because of the suspicion of "their lacking" a colonial history and…being "white and rich"[180]. There was aroused acute needs to convince the South American Indians otherwise. Helge Kleivan, the leader of IGWIA[181], "outlined the history of the Sámi in Spanish, in such a way that it was accepted that they were 'White Indians'. Secondly, they were thoroughly convinced that the Sami were genuine indigenous people when the artists made their appearance, especially when Áillohaš (Nils-Aslak Valkeapää) began with his modern *joiker*".[182] It might be wrong that he performed 'modern *joiker*'; it was *one* yoik and it could as well have been a traditional one. Gaski writes: "…when Valkeapää performed a yoik for the assembly the skepticism was blown away and the Sami were accepted on a par with the others."[183]

In general, one can say that we human beings have always had the need to express ourselves; people have been drawing and making music for ages, we know about rock carvings and drawings of symbols on Sámi shaman drums. "Music is a human form of expression that has been connected to both the senses and the divine."[184] We have a need to tell who we are and do it various ways, both for ourselves and to our fellow human beings. It is also essential to bring these expressions of our lives further on to the next generations, telling them about things that have happened, stories and history expressed through music and singing, poetry and art—and written history. This has been significant everywhere and in every culture and it has been used to bring people together and inspire them into political mobilization and liberation movements, such as songs from the Labor Movements or spirituals songs of black slaves, or hymns sung to keep up the spirit when life is hard. When black people demonstrated for civil rights in the US in the 1960s 'We shall overcome' was often sung; it "is a protest song and became a key anthem of the US civil rights movement." It was "recorded by Pete Seeger" and "from 1963 it was associated with Joan Baez, who also recorded it and performed it at a number of Civil Rights marches and years later at the Woodstock Festival."[185]

[180] Nyssönen 2007:214
[181] International Work Group of Indigenous Affairs, established by anthropologists in 1968 (2003:83
[182] Minde in Jentoft et al. 2003:85
[183] Gaski in Minde (ed.) 2008:358
[184] Graff & Gaski 1994:404
[185] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/We_Shall_Overcome 22.08.2007

The songs of Victor Jara[186] under the dictatorship of Pinochet in Chile in 1973 and Miki Theodorakis' songs under the Greek Junta had great significance for people to keep up their courage, hope and belief to continue the struggle to be free someday and to comfort as well. One of Theodirakis songs is called 'Every Morning'; one of the lines says: "Who sings songs to heal our wounds?"[187] Victor Jara and his songs were conceived to be such a threat to the regime of Pinochet, that he was captured, tortured and killed in the very first days of the Chilean coup, September 11th 1973. But his songs continued to live on, and Jara himself was "transformed into a symbol of struggle for human rights and justice across Latin-America."[188] The songs of Victor Jara and Theodorakis were forbidden. The strengthening and uplifting effect and impact these songs had on people obviously intimidated the authorities. The silencing of powerful voices has long been a method to suppress people and try to extinguish the spirit and fire of resistance. The FBI said about the former AIM activist John Trudell that he was intelligent and eloquent; his "effectiveness was a subject of concern to the FBI",[189] they had 16,000 pages filed of their surveillance of him.[190] But they never managed to silence his voice and we still listen to his songs.

Cultural expressions became powerful political expressions. The power of expression in a song like "Si se Calla el Cantor" by Horacio Guarani can stand as an example of such power:

> 'If the singer is silenced also life will be silent
> - Life itself is a song
> If the singer gets silent hope will die, as light and joy
> And the people left standing alone
>
> The workers at the harbor ask: Who will now
> Struggle with us for a better life?
> If the singer is silenced the flower will die –
> What is the purpose of the flower without song?
> For the singer shall be like a light over the country,
> Always fight for the suppressed and
> Never bow its neck in front of the criminals'
>
> If the singer is silenced also life will be silent'[191]

[186] Victor Jara (1932-1973) "was a Chilean pedagogue, theatre director, poet, singer and song writer, and political activist." He also "played a pivotal role among neo-folkloric artists who established the *Nueva Canción Chilena* (New Chilean Song) movement which led to a revolution in the popular music of his country under the Salvador Allende government" http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Victor_Jara 15.08.2007

[187] From a concert on Theodorakis' songs perfomed by the choir 'Mollis', where I attended in 2007.

[188] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Victor_Jara 15.08.2007

[189] Mathiessen, P. 1992:322

[190] An interview with Trudell in *Vårt Land* in 1995

[191] My translation; a song we were rehearsing in '*Nordaførr'*, a local choir in Tromsø. The author is Cuban

Or it can be said in quite another way like Paulus Utsi on the significance and the liberating power of yoik in the book *In the Shadow of the Midnight Sun:* [192]

The Yoik

The Yoik is a Sanctuary for our Thoughts
Therefore it has
Few spoken words
Free sounds
Reach farther then words

The yoik lifts our spirit
Allows our thoughts to soar
Above the little clouds
As its friends
In nature's beauty

3.5.1 What is yoik?

"Yoik is the original music of the Sami"[193] Johan Turi stated in 1910. Gaski writes that yoik "have clear limits as to creation, function and performance. It belongs to a community and makes the person yoiked a part of that community."[194]

"The Sámi folk music is vocal and is called yoik...As other folk music it comes from the Sámi people's spontaneous need for musical expression. Through centuries it has been brought further by oral tradition without being written down."[195] It "has survived missionaries, legal persecution, and derogatory attitude and detest."[196] Still today some Sámi people see yoik as sinful and pagan, associated with drinking. It is also said that yoik had the ability to calm the reindeer.[197]

The yoik has traditionally not been performed as musical art or in front of an audience, it was sometimes spontaneously created by a reindeer herder alone with the herd on the plains or it was composed for the new child. It was created and practiced to remember people, places, or

[192] Gaski, 1996:109
[193] Johan Turi (1910:9)1quoted by Gaski 2008:348
[194] Ibid.
[195] Hætta 2002:93 my translation
[196] Nordnorsk Kulturhistorie1994:404 my translation
[197] Valkeapää in Café Existens

especially strong leader reindeer or a clever herding dog. Johan Turi[198] defined it as art: "The yoik is an art form to remember other people. Some are remembered with hate, some with love, and others with sorrow. And these songs are also dedicated to certain places and animals, to the wolf and the tame and wild reindeer."[199] Turi also claimed that "…yoik is an art of communication among people who know each other…" [200] or as Krister Stoor writes: "Yoik is verbal art, which includes both song and spoken messages."[201] The yoik has also had, and has, functions other than remembering.

"Traditionally, the yoik (from the word *juoigan*) has played an important role in creating a feeling of unity, within the group. It has reinforced a Sami's identity by allowing him or her to feel a sense of belonging in a family and society. In the old Sami society, when a person had received a yoik, he or she was looked upon as a member of the community. One might say the yoik served the same function as baptism and confirmation does today" [202] Becoming 'someone' by being yoiked and named as a child meant acquiring your identity and becoming a part of the whole community, maybe like a ritual of initiation.

In the 18th and 19th century the yoik "became a medium for inside agitation among the Sami, challenging them"[203] to keep and preserve language and culture as a way to resist colonization, assimilation and Christianization. "The *yoik* was chosen as a form of expression not only because of its central position among the Sámi, but also because the yoik had a subtle system of double meanings and metaphorical imagery."[204] The complete content of the yoik, and the context, was then exclusively understood by the local Sámi, the insider. "In a yoik text the intention can sometimes be to tell a story only to the one who knows. For others the content is obscure"[205]

It was in the late 60s and in the 70s that yoik was 'transformed' and moved from private spheres, the tundra and the mountains to public stages and radio. The yoik's traditional

[198] Johan Turi (1854-1936) a Sámi artist and writer, wrote *Muittalus samid birra* (Tales about the Sámi) *En bok om samernas liv* Turi (1917) 1987. The English edition is called *Turi's Book of Lappland* Harper & Brothers, New York and London 1910
[199] Turi 1917/ 1987:163, Gaski (ed.) 1996:45, Hætta 2002:93
[200] Hætta 2002:94 my translation
[201] Stoor, K 2007:177
[202] Gaski (ed.)1996:12
[203] Gaski 1997:10
[204] Ibid.
[205] Gaski 2008:351

context was abondoned and yoik was recorded; the first LP was published in 1968. Áillohaš was the most influential conveyor of Sámi culture and yoik and himself a performer of 'tradition in transition'[206], combining yoik with modern music like jazz. With his music he combined tradition and modernity, though he said once that "it was never the understanding that yoik should be presented as art."[207] In 1974, Deatnogátte Nuorat (the Tana River Bank Youth) became very popular[208]with their pop inspired yoik LP, it even made it to the list at Norsktoppen (Norwegian top-ten list), but some have viewed their attempt to 'modernize' or make yoik popular as commercializing the traditional yoiks. [209] But they absolutely contributed to making yoik known among the Sámi and Norwegian audience.

From this brief dive into the ethno-political and culturally expressive background of the festival, we shall now move into the realm of human voices and "sound of music" and how identities were expressed. One of my main issues and focal points in writing about Davvi Šuvva is my fascination with the human voice as an instrument and the signification and implications of cultural forms—both traditional and newer—vocal and musical expressions in ethno and indigenous political and cultural mobilizing. I have 'reinvented' and reconstructed Davvi Šuvva 1979 to provide an account of the celebration and impact of 'tribal voices' and implications of an indigenous festival.

[206] Gaski 1997:21 and 2000:202
[207] Gaski 2002:196 and Valkeapää 1984:45 in Cafe Existens
[208] Lethola 2002:108
[209] Gaski pers. comm. Interview with Lawra Somby in "Joik fra skumringstimen" (Yoik from the Twilight Hour) http://www.ballade.no/nmi.nsf/doc/art20051102150109259304 18 11.03.09

Chapter 4: Davvi Šuvva: Six days of celebration and 'free sounds'?

My Breath, this is that is what I call this song, said Orpingilak, for it is just as necessary to me to sing as to breathe… Songs, he added, are thoughts sung out with the breath when people are moved by great forces and ordinary speech no longer suffices. Man is moved like the ice floe sailing here and there out in the current. His thoughts are driven by a flowing force when he feels joy, when he feels sorrow. Thoughts can wash over him like a flood, making his blood come in gasps and his heart throb. Something, like an abatement in the weather will keep him thawed up. And then it will happen that we, who always think we are small, will feel even smaller. And we will fear to use words. But it will happen that the words we need will come of themselves. When the words we want to use shoot up of themselves – we get a new song [210]

These words of Orpingilak, an Inuit of the Netsilik People, are chosen to illustrate what songs might be for and when people want to sing and that vocal expression is and can be experienced as sounds of simply being and breathing. And as Krister Stoor expresses "Even if Orpingilak lived in an entirely different environment than our own, we can use his ideas to explain the origin of a yoik."[211] Often I have heard people say that the yoik begins when there are no words to express what one wants say.

Davvi Šuvva was originally meant to take place in June 1978, but for practical and economic reasons it was moved to midsummer of 1979. Nils Aslak Valkeapää got the idea for the festival in 1976-77 which was inspired by his travels and possibly also by George Manuel's vision of a Fourth World movement; surely the establishment of the WCIP and the 2nd WCIP congress and cultural events connected to these and other conferences where also important, then he brought the idea to the Gárasavvona Sámi Searvi[212]. The practical work started in the spring of 1977 by building the big *darfegoahti*—a turf hut—located at Sakkaravarre, a small hill on the Finnish side. It was to host journalists and the different indigenous people that would be presenting themselves in the mornings. The *goahti* was also viewed as a "first

[210] Carpenter 1973:51
[211] Stoor, K in his CD "To Yoik is to Live" Stoor informs about Knud Rasmusen, "the adventurer and ethnographer" that met Orpingilak in 1922. I have heard that Orpingilak was a shaman that travelled with Rasmussen for a while. Rasmussen was a polar explorer, born in Ilulessat in Greenland.
[212] Interview with Kalle Mannela June 2006

concrete sign of indigenous peoples' cooperation"[213] and after the 2nd WCIP Congress several delegates visited the vicinity and also helped with the practical work and signed their names in the wooden skeleton construction.[214] Today there are just some traces left, the *goahti* collapsed several years ago, I was told; but I found the frames of the former entrance and went into the reminiscences of the round ground wall.

Davvi Šuvva was announced as a cultural festival for indigenous people. What was the intention of such a festival and what implications did it have? Who were these indigenous people and how did they express themselves? Had these different expressions something in common? What can these expressions teach us today? Is the impact of these expressions the same today as it was thirty years ago?

When the festival was introduced to the readers of Nordlys in May 1979 Svea Päiviö said: "Our main objective is that the festival shall contribute to strengthening indigenous peoples' feeling of togetherness and also bring us together in other ways than strictly political conferences." She further said that she hoped the festival would create sounds of wind (*šuvva*[215]) over the whole of Nordkalotten.[216] The headline "Sámi from all over the world coming to Karesuando" was the quote of a little girl's description of all the different people coming to Kiruna in 1977 when the 2nd WCIP conference took place there; apropos 'the white Indians' of Scandinavia coming to Canada in 1975. The local magazine *Vuovjoš* wrote:

> The Festival of Northern Indigenous peoples will include music, dance and theatre. The festival will show the enormous resources of indigenous peoples' rich culture. The purpose of the festival is to consolidate the idea…that cultural exchange creates peace. The Festival of Northern Indigenous peoples will mean above all an alternative to the standardized technical flood of culture. Secondly it will encourage confidence in our own inherited traditional culture.[217]

This is written in English, normally Vuojvoš was written exclusively in Sámi, but this number was obviously also meant for WCIP, the invited artists and groups. They were asked to

[213] Vuovjoš nr .1 1977:8
[214] Pers. communication and private photos
[215] Actually the sound the wind makes. H. Gaski has translated Davvi Šuvva with "Breeze from the North" in *Trekways of the Wind*
[216] Gaski in Nordlys May 16th 1979:3 my translation
[217] Vuovjoš nr.1 1977:5 their emphazise

participate at the festival and to contribute "with something of their cultural heritage, which of course still allows you to show somewhat modern aspects."[218]

4.1 The Program

The program[219] was presented in Sámi, Swedish, English and Finnish. The Sámi, the Indians, the Inuit and the people of the autonomous Republic of Komi[220] had one day each to present themselves and their cultures. Kurds were also represented at Davvi Šuvva, but neither they nor the Komi were members of the WCIP. The Komi had hosted a group of Sámi artists in 1977, and were presented as the indigenous people from the Soviet Union.[221] Some expressed disappointment that Russian Sámi could not attend the festival. After the opening ceremony June 22nd the Sámi people presented themselves with concerts and theatre in the afternoon, then an evening concert together with an improvised program and the night ended with a public dance. The room made for improvisations was remarkable; it is the first time I have seen time alloted for improvisation in a festival program.

Saturday June 23rd "Performances by the peoples from Soviet Union" was on the program. The artists from the Autonomic Republic of Komi planned to introduce themselves and present their culture with a concert and folk dance in the afternoon and an evening concert. According to tape recordings at Sámi Radio in Kiruna and articles in Nordlys this was changed; the Inuit and the Komi people switched days.

Sunday was the Indians' day; it began early with an introduction of the indigenous peoples from North and South America. From Canada came the Plain Cree Indians, represented by a powwow dance group led by Bill Britton from Saskatchewan. From South America there were musicians in exile from Peru and Bolivia.[222] There were also other Indians from North America, among them Dave Montana who was then a leader for NIB and sat on the board for

[218] Vuovjoš nr. 1 1977:6
[219] Helena Valkeapää found an original in a cupboard in the kitchen and gave it to me
[220] NNM writes that "the Komi are a Finnish-Ugric people that live at the tundra between Arkhangelsk and the Ural Mountains. They used to be powerful reindeer-herders, but now the area is one of the most important mining industry areas in Soviet." Nr.4, 1979:9
[221] Davvi Šuvva-program p.8. But there were doubts about their background, yet the people had been reindeer herders for years
[222] In addition to the program also Samefolket nr.6 and 8-79 and Nordlys June 27th 1979

the WCIP. He was interviewed by Nordnorsk Magasin and also appeared in the film "We are all brothers and sisters."

Monday morning the Inuit people introduced themselves and the afternoon performance was to start with theatre at three o'clock followed by an evening concert and folk dance and an improvised program and public dance. Tuesday the 26th performances were to be given "by the other indigenous peoples." It did not say who these peoples were. It could mean those groups of people who were invited but could not attend, it depends on how early the program was printed. According to the article in 'Klassekampen' Palestinians and Tibetans were also meant to be present at Davvi Šuvva, but they were not able to attend because of political reasons. The articles further stated that it was difficult for Indians in South America to get permission to leave their countries of residence, and if they did it was even worse to return; the peril of getting arrested and tortured was overwhelming.[223]

Wednesday was the last day and a "joint performance by all peoples present" was planned. The Sámi and the Indians performed at ten in the morning and the Inuit and the Komi in the afternoon, and then a final in the evening with all artists before the closing ceremony.[224]

According to the editorial by Pål Doj in 'Samefolket' that summer "They all came, Cree, Blackfoot, Sushwap, Ojibway, Inuit, Sámi, Komi and Ainu. All represented indigenous populations from the Northern hemisphere of the world; all with a common cause. To meet, sing, yoik, dance and discuss common problems."[225] That midsummer weekend there were approximately 3,500 all together or 1500 visitors every day, the number varied slightly in the different sources. Some articles mentioned that the organizers had hoped for more than 15,000. The traditional Swedish midsummer has been celebrated for years with gatherings around a flower pole, dances and accordion, etc., but I do think that the Sámi had their own gatherings. In addition, this same year there was a big music and dance festival in Jokkmokk which gathered 2,500 participants and was called an alternative culture festival to the more commercial arrangements.[226] It is interesting that this event saw itself as an alternative to commercialized events, as the organizers of Davvi Šuvva saw their festival to have been and

[223] Samefolket nr.6:11 and nr.8.15
[224] Davvi Šuvva Program p.5-9
[225] Samefolket nr. 8 1979:3 The articles in Nordlys and NNM wrote there were no representatives for the Ainu, and I have not seen it mentioned or heard it anywhere else. My translation
[226] NSD June 25th 1979:1my translation

they might not have agreed with this statement. But then it is hard to say that any of those that participated at the music and dance festival in Jokkmokk would have attended Kaarevarra that midsummer weekend. It might be that the non-reindeer herding Sámi participated in the Swedish midsummer celebrations.

Later, I discovered a small announcement for the music festival in Jokkmokk informing partipants that two renowned yoikers participated; Lars Pirak and Johan Märak, so here yoik was presented together with rock, folk and dance music and a Swing Band from Luleå. [227] Why they did not participate at Davvi Šuvva one can only wonder; if they had participated then Lule Sámi yoik would have been represented as well. From my material I have found that the South Sámi were not represented either, they might have been absent because of the 75 year celebration of Fatmomakke Sámi Searvi and the 60 year celebration of Frostviken Sámi Searvi, Ankarede.[228] The reason might also be that the connections between the North and the South Sámi were not yet strong and solid enough and that the cooperation at that time more often went across the national borders e.g. between the South Sámi in Norway and Sweden.

Let us take a closer look into the various art forms, and how the different artists chose to present and express themselves, both culturally and politically.

4.1.1 The artists

There was a lot of excitement in connection with meeting and picking up the Indian artists and other guests from the airport in Kiruna, 180 km from Karesuando. One narrator told me she was so happy to go with Aillohaš in the bus and was thrilled to meet the Indians. From the film "We are all brothers and sisters" it seemed that Aillohaš knew many of them from before, he had travelled previously to Canada and Alaska, and some of them had been at the WCIP congress together in 1977; connections had already been made. The North American Indians, today Native Americans and First Nations People in Canada were represented by a group of Plains Cree Indians from Canada. The group consisted of nine dancers and powwow singers, led by Bill Brittain from Saskatchewan, a hoop dancer.[229]

[227] Norrbottens-Kuriren June 10th 1979:39 my translation
[228] Samefolket nr.6-79:11 Fatmomakke and Ankarede are places much farther south
[229] Hoop Dance. A dance with rings, see the photo

One of the artists from South America was Moises Gamarra, an exile-Peruvian Indian who sang and blew the Peruvian horn. He also attended the 2nd WCIP congress in Kiruna then as the national leader of 36,000 Indians of the Campa Indian tribe, after he fled Peru. He was still the leader in spite of living in exile and saw it as his responsibility to spread knowledge to the world about what happened in countries with dictatorships, persecution and torture. At that time he could not visit or return home, the risk getting killed was too high.[230] He performed together with José Inithuaqua; he had visited Gáresavvon the previous spring and helped work on the *goahti* before he went on bicycle to Hammerfest in Finnmark.[231] From Bolivia came Benjamin Orocha, Jaime Villeneuva and Felix Vilka.[232]

The Inuit presented themselves by MIK - a song and dance group of eleven—and Egon Sikivat from East Greenland, who was one of the few that still performed the traditional drum singing and drum dance.[233] The Inuit were also represented by a hard beating rock group consisting of some young Inuit living in Copenhagen, called Ulo.[234]

The Komi group was the 2nd largest group after the Sámi and consisted of forty dancers and singers. They had their own bus and interpreter. They kept to themselves, which was necessary because of the policies of SSSR and the time of the Iron Curtain. They were viewed as being different and strange; there had even been some very 'unofficial whispering' that these people belonged to the ancient hostile *Čuđit* or 'Tsjude' that earlier had robbed and killed Sámi[235]. Because of the cold war the Komi people probably had agents 'looking after' them; though they did represent an Autonomous republic. Also the language was a hindrance to communication; the two official languages in the Autonomic Republic were Komi and Russian[236].

The Sámi artists consisted of numerous yoikers from the Norwegian part of Sápmi in addition to dancers, singers and *leu'dd* performers from the Skolt Sámi area. There was also a newly

[230] Interview in NSD June 25th -79:12 and Labba in Samefolket nr.8-79:15 (my translation
[231] Tape recordings SR. (my translation)
[232] This is how I heard the names from the recorded tapes; I hope the spelling is correct
[233] Egon Sikivat died in January this year. http://sermitsiaq.gl/inland/article71186.ece 16.05.2009
[234] The name was written Ulo-Rhyma on the tape in SR, Kiruna. Ulo is the name of the traditional knife Inuit women use..Pers. comm. with Ánde Somby
[235] *Čud'* was a term for the Veps people from the Russian or the Novgorod side.Hansen & Olsen 2004:159 *Ruoššačuođit* or *čuođit* (in hundreds) was the name of groups of people used in Sámi fairytales and stories of these migrating marauders according to M.I. Hætta in Berg 2003:197
[236] Hatle in NNM nr.4 1979:9 my translation

established theatre group from Jokkmokk. Actor Nils Utsi from Deatnu (Tana) performed the Sámi history in a one man 'show,' Inghilda Tapio and Marry Somby made puppet theatre for the children and Britta Marakatt (today Marakatt-Labba) from Soppero exhibited her pictures at the school; she told me that it was her first exhibition. These were some of the artists presented through magazines, newspapers, a TV documentary, tape recordings and interviews.

Norrbotten-Kuriren wrote: "The 'ordinary' Sámi has company of a big group of Skolt Sámi who draw attention because of their special outfit."[237] The 'ordinary' Sámi in Sweden were the reindeer herding Sámi, and it is still like this for many. We need to remind ourselves of the Swedish segregation policy that led to a strict division between the reindeer herding Sámi; 'Lapp should be Lapp', and the 'other' Sámi that were forced to be assimilated and in many cases lost their language and their identity through the Swedish school system.[238]

'Klassekampen' noted that the audience there was mostly Sámi, the journalist wrote nothing about the various Sámi groups, but that the audience was even more diverse than the artists: "Here are people from Italy, Belgium, Singapore and even Afro-Americans…"[239]

The opening ceremony consisted of official speeches by local, regional, national and international representatives in addition to music.

4.2 Welcoming and opening ceremony

It is Saturday the 23rd of June [240]1979. From the stage on Kaarevaara hill a young Sámi boy is yoiking; he is maybe eight or nine years old, his name is Ole Heandarat and he is introduced by Nils Aslak Valkeapää. Then, the wise president of the WCIP, Hans Pavia Rosing opens his speech in Inuit by welcoming everyone. He also brings greetings from George Manuel, the president of WCIP, who could not be there due to illness, along with greetings from Argentina, Australia, Canada and Nicaragua. He then says: "I hope all the music will be spread out to the indigenous world and, not the least that this festival will prove to be a means in our struggle

[237] June 25th 1979:12 my translation
[238] In Sweden the assimilation policy period lasted from 1846-1913; then segregation policy took over. The Saami school act of 1913 was adopted to protect "the lapp" from the "encroaching civilization". The segregation period lasted officially until 1971. Roger Kvist 1992:71
[239] Klassekampen July 9th 1979 The copy I got does not show the number of the page
[240] According to the tapes it was June 22nd, but when checking it against "Nordlys" he spokeon the 23rd.

through the Council of Indigenous People. I sincerely hope that we will gain much from this festival in our future work for indigenous peoples all around the world" [241]

According to the program the "Northern Šuvva festival is a continuation of the cultural exchange among the indigenous peoples all over the world. The interchange commenced in 1976 on the proposal of the WCIP… The ethnic festival wish to prove the richness and the high development of these different cultures. But above all we desire to encourage the future possibilities and consolidate confidence in our inherited traditional cultures…"[242] One of the articles in Nordlys on Davvi Šuvva with the heading "Festival for Cultural Independence" further quotes Rosing:

> Behind the song, the dance and the joy is the consciousness of a cruel reality. And Davvi Šuvva is a part in the strivings to open the eyes of the world to the problems the indigenous peoples suffer. Our aim is to achieve cultural independence, as well as social, economic and political….The governments in the Nordic countries and in Greenland understand us and feel pity for us, but that is all they do. In reality they want us to let go of our way of living and become like them.[243]

The indigenous voices and songs were not allowed to be freely expressed everywhere; Indians from South America could not attend the festival due to the severe political situation and risk of persecution and torture.[244] Those Indians that represented Peru and Bolivia at the festival were living in exile in Europe. Ainu people from Japan and Aboriginals from Australia were invited and had meant to be there; they did not get any financial support from the national authorities in 'their' countries. Actually it is just recently that the Ainu people were recognized as indigenous people by Japan, in 2008. The people representing the Kurds lived in Stockholm at that time.

The yoik was still seen as sinful and devilish by many, something only practiced by drunken Sámi, as a mayor in a Finnmark municipality had said… "Yoik is not culture, but a result of uncontrolled drinking."[245] Yoik is still viewed this way by some people today, mostly by strict Laestadians.[246] Some Laestadians in Gáresavvon and Kuttainen were unsure if Davvi

[241] Davvi Šuvva tape II, recordings from Sámi Radio/SR, Kiruna, November 15th 2006
[242] From the program
[243] Andreassen in Nordlys 26th 1979:10
[244] Samefolket nr.6 1979:10-11
[245] Sápmi – Becoming a Nation…http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/AILR/2002/1.html 27.06.2007
[246] Laestadianism, a pietistic revival movement in Finnish and Swedish Lapland and north of Norway in the middle of the 19th century

Šuvva was an event they could participate in of religious reasons, but some elder Laestadian women went with their daughters. It was perhaps not the music in itself that was sinful, but what might follow. It could also be to keep an eye on the daughters. The entrance was 25 kr. and for children and elders the entrance was free.

The deputy mayor from the municipality of Kiruna[247] wished everyone welcome and brought greetings from the Swedish Ministry of Education. He praised the choice of venue as being "very central in Sámi Ätnam and as an important place of connection and place to live for Sámi people. …the oldest ethnic minority in Sweden, and the indigenous people in the Nordic countries."[248] He refered to the reindeer herding Sámi and their migrations which has going on for centuries, and he continued:

> This is an example of a natural area that has been divided in an unnatural way by national borders. It is important that we in many activities work as if the national borders do not exist. The Sámi people's close contact across the borders has meant, and means a lot to the cooperation in Nordkalotten. We need this area to work as one cultural unit that embraces various and multiple facetted cultural expressions…[249]

He further talked about the meeting between four languages and "three separate cultural streams in this area which also is called the 'Three-State-Country.'" These are fairly radical views in 1979, if he really meant all that he said, but it might be interpreted as a 'goodwill' speech for the occasion. Sweden has still not ratified ILO 169 so the Sámi are not legally recognized as an indigenous people.

> Ovlla Näkkäläjärvi wished the guests welcome by saying: "We that have gathered here live under very different political and economical conditions, but one common cause connect us: the demand to live a secure and human dignified life in the land our ancestors have built and lived in. That is why we are her to tell each other and others what we think and feel. First and foremost we will do this through song and dance. We will also express that we do not carry hatred to anyone, not even when we rise against suppression and demand self determination." [250]

There are many ways to express ethno-politics and indigenous politics and culture. Music and

[247] Kiruna was the hosting municipality on the Swedish side
[248] Tape II, SR. It is interesting that he refers to the Sámi as both ethnic minority and indigenous people. In 1979 it was certainly not usual to speak of the Sámi in public as indigenous people in Sweden, it was obviously an indigenous political 'insider term.' It would take years before this term was officially and legally accepted in many countries. Barsh 1994:33-86
[249] Ibid. my translation
[250] Hatle in NNM nr.4 1979:8, the article in Nordlys June 25th quoted Näkkäläjärvi differently. My translation

creativity often reach more people than political speeches and pamphlets. As Dave Monture said when he was interviewed: “The consciousness about our own cultural inheritance is a political awakening… This is a culture festival but at the same time it is an important political gathering. Culture is an expression of how we see life and society. That is why it is impossible to put up a fence between culture and politics.”[251]

4.3 The North sounds, yoiks, chants and dances

Gulatgo eallima jienaid
joga šávvamis
biekka bossumis

Dat lea visot maid áigon dadjat
dat lea visot [252]

The view is magnificent and there are no obvious obtacles for the message of the indigenous peoples. Maybe the thought behind the position of the place of festivity is exactly this, that the message, literary speaking, shall reach far and blow wide over the plains of Könkemä Sámi siida to be received somewhere else in the world.[253]

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, who was the main ‘speaker,’ knitted it all together. With him on stage were two Sámi women who translated from Sámi to Swedish, Finnish and English and even Spanish sometimes, and the other way around, when needed. This worked in an impressive way, the journalist in Nordlys was content with the translation: “Buorit ustibat” (Good friends), Áillohaš continues; “now we can start the real festival and prove that it is not only the mosquitoes who can sing.” Kerttu Vuolab[254], one of the translators then presented the yoik she was to perform; *‘Skátnja/Skádja’*, which means the echo: “One day I went out I saw the echo doing marvelous things, making me dream and see into the future. It was telling me too much…The echo was telling me about the freedom of my people…” She also said “Nothing is like it used to be before, but it does not have to be like before if we believe in ourselves and the future. I think there will be a future for us.” Then she yoiked *Skátnja;* the audience applauded her well and in the background a dog barked.

[251] Hatle in NNM nr.4 1979:10-11 my translation
[252] Nils-Aslak Valkeaää: “Can you hear the sound of life in the roaring of the creek in the blowing of the wind That is all I want to say that is all” From the foreword by Gaski to the program of *Ridn’oaivi ja Nieguid oaidni* - The Frost-haired and Dream-seer 2007. The poem is translated by Gaski
[253] Samefolket nr.8 1979:15 *siida* means both dwelling place, a Sámi village or area where the reindeer herd is Sámi –dáru Sátnegirji
[254] Sámi author from Ohcejohka/Utsjok in Finland, or from the Finnish side (*suomabealde) of* Sápmi

Moises Camarra, a Peru-Indian in exile, opened the concert together with Áillohaš, Gamarra blowing the Peruvian horn and Áillohaš playing a wooden pipe-flute. The Peruvian horn is a traditional instrument used by the Inca to gather people to work.[255] The performance "symbolizes the atmosphere here."[256] Moises Camarra gave thanks for being invited, in Swedish, and thanked the Scandinavian countries. He brought greetings from Indians in Peru; and said that he "comes in solidarity for artists, Indians and minority peoples."[257] He then explains the seven colors in the clothes he is wearing, which represent the rainbow and the colors of the flag of the Inca Empire.

4.3.1"Buorre juoigan!" Yoik, songs and leu'dd from various parts of Sápmi

According to the program the opening ceremony was June 22nd, then there was a concert and a theater performance. From the tape talk from the audience and children's voices can be heard close to the stages. The performances were recorded and broadcast live on Sámi Radio. Swedish TV was also filming; the audience close to the stage was asked to be quiet. That was not always easy when the audience responded enthusiastically to a good yoik in the midsummer night.

"Beallji gullá
guhkibui
go čalbmi
oaidná"[258]

The artists are not always presented here in the succession they came; I have tried to organize them after the places or areas they came from. Áillohaš began by introducing Berit Ellen Balto, a traditional yoiker from Kárášjohka: "We are aiming towards the future, but we start from the basis; the old yoik is our foundation."[259] Already here the past, present and future are represented in one sentence. Berit Ellen Balto often travelled and performed together with Áillohaš; since the yoik was now brought on stage, she used to ask the audience if there was anyone who disagreed with her to perform a particular person's yoik,[260] because it is the one who is yoiked who owns the yoik. The *gákti* she wears tell us that she was from Kárášjohka as did the yoiks she performed. Another yoiker from Karašjohka was Piera Balto; he yoiked

[255] Hatle in NNM nr.4 1979:9 my translation. Also photo by Labba in Samefolket nr.8 1979:15
[256] Andreassen in Nordlys June 26th 1979:1
[257] Tape recordings, III, SR, Kiruna
[258] "The ear remembers longer than the eye." from Gaski – Solbakk 2003:75
[259] Tape V, SR
[260] Magne Ove Varsi

Áillohaš, in his very own way, as he said. Piera Balto's yoik LP called *Piera Juoiga* was released the year before.[261]

From Guovdageaidnu came Ánden Mikko or Mikkel Bongo, he used a guitar string as his accomaniment, that was unusual, traditionally no instruments was used to accompany yoik. He was sitting on a chair and on the floor was a guitar with a string connected to a knife he held in his hand. He yoiked and used the string as an instrument; this made a unique sound which he was known for. A one string instrument called *Bongolaika* was used at the boarding school for the reindeer herders' children where yoik was only allowed after school.[262] When he introduced his first yoik or *luohti*[263], he told the audience about the lake he was going to yoik, *"Stuorrajávri"* (Big Lake) and the reason; "because we are having trouble with people making artificial lakes."[264] Someone shouted Buorre! Most of the audience knew that he was referring to the damming of the Alta-Kautokeino River. That summer the demonstrations were mounting against this power dam construction and many Sámi activists together with Norwegian environmentalists would participate in the struggle against the Norwegian Government's decision. While the audience was talking in the background, he continued yoiking a valley where he used to work. The mosquito was also yoiked. In this way he was praising and remembering nature and landscapes he knew and felt connected to, and he made the audience remember; even the mosquito was praised in this way even though it mostly bothered people. And not least, he also brought politics onto the stage. Then followed various person yoiks and some of the audience showed their appreciation by shouting "Buorre juoigan!"

After Ánden Mikko followed Lásse Ánde or Anders Gaino, also from Guovdageaidnu. From the audience someone shouts "Giitu! Buorre juoigan!" Also he yoiked different peoples' personal yoiks and it was obvious that some in the audience knew the place where this person came from; someone shouted Mironjávri - the name of a small place north of Guovdageaidnu. From this I reckon that this person wanted to communicate that he recognizes the person and/or that he is from Mieronjávre himself. Ánde Somby, from Sirbma, a small Sámi village

[261] Gaski 2000:206, Stoor 2007:57
[262] Aarseth in Lund, Boine and Johansen 2005:276-8 my translation
[263] The North Sámi term for inland traditionally yoik
[264] He is referring to the Norwegian Government decision to dam the Alta-Kautokeino River. That summer environmentalists and Sámi were busy planning demonstrations and protest actions. Already in 1970 there was a demonstration in Máze, north of Guovdageaidnu, against these plans. In *Sápmi – En nasjon blir til* 2000:38

close to the Finnish border in Finnmark, did *Gumpe luothi* - Yoik of the Wolf, a yoik he still performs in various ways, then he yoiked the mountain *Rástegaisá*. From Unjárga (Nesseby) came Olav Dikkanen, he yoiked the Varanger fiord in East Finnmark. Before the yoik he said that one could say that the Sámi have been living in these areas for 4000 years. Joahn Andersen came FromVárjjat (Varanger), the easternmost fiord in Finnmark. He represented the Sea Sámi people and started yoiking the North Sea. He was the first yoiker presented as a Sea Sámi; most of the Sámi at the festival came from the winter places as Ánde Somby called them.[265] The next song Andersen introduced as an old song from the time when taxes were taken from the Sámi people.[266] "The King's men came with boats to collect taxes, men with deep pockets and very small hearts. They took young girls when people could not pay, so this song is about the young girl's sorrow."[267] This demonstrated that yoiks and songs have many different functions; they also convey both politics and history, often indirectly and hidden in double meanings. The yoiks he performed were different than those from the inner part of Finnmark and the Karesuando area; as the *leu'dd* that followed they were a bit melancholic, they had more lyrics and were sort of melodious. He got a lot of applause.

The next artist was Helena Semenoff, a Skolt Sámi from Sevettijärvi, northeast of the big Inari Lake in the northernmost area of Finland. Semenoff did traditional *leu'dds* from that area, one was accompanied by accordion; they were quite different from what was performed before. "Compared to the North Sámi yoik, the Skolt Sámi *le'udd* is more melodic and epic."[268] "The Skolts have been evacuated several times due to war. During the Winter War of 1939-40 they were evacuated to Finland, the USSR and Norway."[269] Their traditional clothing was very different from the *gávttit* from Kárašjohka and Guovdageaidnu, Hætta or Enontekiö in Finland and Gárasavvon, Finland and Sweden. One might assume an influence from Russian folklore, maybe also in the le'udd. Nordnorsk magasin wrote "The first record with Suenjel Sámi has come…maybe the 'Suenjel le'udd' will contribute to the struggle surviving in the forests north of Enare."[270] Helena Semenoff was one of the performers on this record.

[265] In the interview he referred to Gárasavvon, Guovdageaidnu, Kárášjohka and Enare as winter places.
[266] In a period the Sámi had to pay taxes to three national states, Norway, Sweden and Russia.
[267] Tape SR, Kiruna
[268] The North Sámi yoik represents the inner Sámi areas in the three Nordic countries http://www.siida.fi/saamijiellem/english/leudd.html 01.10.2007
[269] Erkki Lumisalmi 1996:126-127
[270] Hatle in NNM nr.4 1979:11

Then Leo Gauriloff, another Skolt or Nuortta Sámi (East Sámi), entered the stage. He spoke in both Finnish and Swedish about life and problems of the Skolt Sámi. One of his songs was called Sámi blues, and then followed an old Skolt Sámi melody with a new text about an old Sámi from Suenjel.[271] He shouted to the audience: "If you can't hear me; I play rock' n roll or punk rock." He played guitar. Maybe the technical equipment was failing or the audience was talking or both; from the tape I heard people applauding and laughing and from the background more and more talking, it is getting late on Friday night and it is Midsummer in the Arctic and Gauriloff said he speaks 'dårlig dárogiella,' which means bad Norwegian—often said as an ironic joke.

The Friday evening concert ended, according to the tapes, with a group from Kárašjohka and Unjargga (Nesseby) who sang more ballads and pop-like songs, one of them a Buffy Saint-Marie song translated and adapted to Sámi. Ann Jorid Henriksen sang, Amund Jonskareng played the guitar and Halvdan Nedrejord conducted the Hammond organ. I got the feeling of the "last dance" atmosphere from the music, the audience was getting noisy and someone was shouting, a microphone was missing on stage, the guitar and the keyboard could be heard, but the voice hardly…it is Friday night and Midsummer in the Arctic.

According to Nordlys, *Ivnniguin*[272] (With colors), a group from Guovdageaidnu played afterwards. I did not find the recordings of 'Ivnnit' at the Sami Radio in Kiruna. Nordlys was the only paper which one wrote about 'Ivnniguin': "…the only Sámi rock group. Their self composed music with their own lyrics really grooved and the audience spontaneously started to dance. It is the first time we hear yoik combined with rock and it worked excellent."[273] Previously, *Ivnnit* had the experience that yoik was not very popular among their own. Once they played at a public dance and the audience booed and shouted in protest when they opened with yoik. The vocalist performed another yoik, the drummer's heart was beating hard; he was sure they would be thrown out, but after a while the audience stopped complaining.[274] Here they were welcomed by the people, even if not everyone thought that 'rock'n yoik' had anything to do with each other.

[271] Suenjel is where the Skolt or East Sámi used to live; it is in the same area as Petchenga or Petsamo in Russia close to the Finnish border. They were also referred to as Suenjel Sámi or the Suenjel people

[272] Nordlys wrote "Ivnit",they got the name wrong. In recent years the group has performed in Guovdageaidnu at the Easter Music Festival, and they are still very popular and have now recorded a new cd, thirty years after their debut. Ođđasat 03.09.07

[273] Andreassen in Nordlys June 26th 1979:10 my translation

[274] From an interview with Áilo A. Gaup in *Hverdag* nr.5-6/1979:7.He was, and still is, the vocalist in *Ivnniiguin*. My translation

The drummer was only fifteen. “I remember that I was proud and I felt it was an honor to play there, on the same stage as Áillohaš. He was in many ways our most important source of inspiration. It was his music that gave us the courage to play Sámi music with rock instruments.”[275] The vocalist was Áilo Gaup, or Iŋgor Ánte Áilo, and Roger Ludvigsen played the bass, on guitar Per Áilo Logje and Nils Martin Kristensen treated the drums. Their teacher Sverre Hjelleset played acoustic guitar;[276] he had been slightly worried to bring the boys to a festival and even abroad, Nils Martin said. The group had to be escorted to Kaarevarra by the police to reach their own concert, because the road was almost blocked by cars and people wandering uphill. People had parked their cars and put up tents along the 5 km road to Kaarevarra. He and Roger, who was only fourteen, were thrilled to be there. Nils Martin said there were a lot of Sámi hippies there, and ‘the elite Sámi’ were dancing the raindance with the Indians in the night at Markkina.[277] “It was a lot of ‘ugga bugga,’” he said.

Helena Valkeapää from Enontekiö and Kerttu Vuolab sang about the time when “the borders were closed by strangers and the Sámi could no longer migrate freely with the reindeer. When the pastures became inadequate, some started with cows…”[278] The border between Norway and Sweden was closed in 1752 and the border to Finland was closed in 1826 so the Sámi had to choose which country to be registered in and what nationality to take. Kerttu also sang for all the children present and then three young girls sang about how the Sámi areas have become smaller and smaller.

Thomas Marainen from Soppero had written a special song for the festival, the song’s name was ‘Davvi Šuvva’ like the festival; the melody was composed by Halfdan Nedrejord. It was performed by Åsa Simma, then sixteen years old. A friend sang it to me in the kitchen outside Gáresavvon and her mother helped to translate it for me. The lyrics speak about the wind from the north that is growing stronger and stronger making waves in the water, and about the ear receiving the whistling sound of the yoiking voice. The wind wishes us peace all over the world. In the third verse all the indigenous people are wished welcome; here we gather to strengthen togetherness. ‘All over the globe the wind shall blow, join singing and continue working together’.[279] In 1993 it was Åsa Simma who was in charge for the 2nd Davvi Šuvva.

[275] Interview with N.M.Kristensen
[276] Photo in *Hverdag* 5-6 1979:4 and pers. comm. with Kristensen
[277] Some of the artists lived at Markkina in Finland, 10 km west of Finnish Gáresavvon
[278] Tape recordings, SR my translation
[279] A narrator copied the song and translated it to me from Sámi to Swedish

Finnish TV made a documentary of the festival and sent a cut of her performing the song at the first Davvi Šuvva; she commented that people did not know so much about the Sámi in 1979. She also said she was "so happy that we can make such an event in little Karesuando. The Sámi here has been looked upon in a negative way."[280] But old Kaisa at the gas station had said in 1979, if anyone should manage to organize something in Gáresavvon, it had to be the Sámi, but then Kaisa was not Swedish.[281]

4.3.2 "They promised to take our land – and they took it"[282]

It was the first time *Dálvadis*[283] or Johkamohkki Teahterjoavku, as it was referred to in the papers, was performing for such a big audience, and the subject was the Sámi people's fate when the mining industry 'occupied' Sámi Ätnam in the North of Sweden in the 17th century. Through texts, music, and movement the actors tell about fifteen Sámi who protested against the wrongdoings and injustice; fourteen were killed by the King's men. The one who survived was considered a big hero among the Sámi; therefore the play was called *The Fifteenth hero.*[284] In the play they have placed the 15th hero in the present, and "he speaks to the Sámi people and reminds them that the slavery is not finished. The exploitation of the reindeer pastures is going to the fullest, lakes for fishing are made artificial and rivers dammed and put in pipelines. Who is reaping the profit? Not the Sámi people,"[285]Harriet Norrlund said. She and Doris Rimpi were both directing and acting together with several others. The group used yoik and shamanism as sources of inspiration; they aspired "to create a "new" theater, a theater that can remind about the shaman ritual."[286]

Actor Nils Utsi did a short version of Sámi history which he performed all on his own; "He comes yoiking across the stage; suddenly he stumbles and falls all over, turns around and says: 'Aha!—it is the border between Norway and Finland.' Then he stumbles over the border between Sweden and Finland before he acts a missionary that tells the Sámi not to speak their language – God does not understand Sámi!"[287] Later he expressed how the Sámi areas got

[280] Video tape from Finnish TV documentary seen in the home of Nils Heaikka Valkeapää in Enontekiö
[281] This is a typical way of under-communicating a message of ethnicity. Kaisa was Finnish. Pers.comm. N.N.
[282] Klassekampen July 9th 1979:8
[283] *Dálvadis* was the name of first Sámi theatre group, established by Harriet Norrlund and Doris Rimpi in 1971. Tape IV is missing at SR. Pers. comm. with Harriet Norrlund April 1st 2009
[284] The play was based on an actual event that occurred connected to a riot caused by forced labour in a coal mine. Arntsen in Berg 2003:172
[285] Hatle in NNM nr.4 1979:9
[286] Arntsen in Berg 2004:171-72. The correct word here would be *noaidi*, the Sámi word for shaman
[287] Klassekampen July 9th 1979:8

smaller and smaller, showing this by shrinking himself into a ball like figure without space to move and he read to the audience: "They have given us a lot of promises, even more than I can remember. They kept but one: 'They promised to take our land – and they took it!' Then he suddenly rose to his feet, stretched his arms out and shouted: Likkadekket!(Reis dere!)"[288] (Stand up!) The journalist in NNM commented on "the consciousness of the existence of a Sámiland" and that "the national borders do not work as absolute hindrance anymore" and "Sámi artists find ways to work together across these borders."[289]

The same year Sámi writers established Sámi Girječallid Searvvi [290] (Sámi Writers' Association), Sámiid Dáiddačehpiid[291] (Sámi Artists' Association) and Sámi Duodji was also established.

4.3.3 Inuit drum singing, choir song and rock

The photos in 'Samefolket' tell us that the festival had now been moved into the big tent because of the weather. The audience applauded fiercely when the Inuit song and dance group 'MIK'[292] came on stage. They started with a song about hunting the whale and the next song, called "Very calm water," was about the tragic accident of a seal hunter. The audience was asked to help and was instructed to tramp and dance while they were singing the story.
Through old Greenlandic songs arranged for choir they "expressed the Inuit's joie de vivre and their close relationship to nature."[293]

Carla Hane sang 'lullabies' which impressed the audience and the journalists. She also sang about the Sámi man who came to Greenland and the Inuit woman who wanted to join him when he went back to Sámiland. There were already connections being made.[294] From the applause it sounded popular. Then the whole group danced to the accompaniment of accordion; there were sounds of rash feet on stage and yohoos! and ihiis!- It sounds fun and the audience is enthusiastic, they shout and whistle and applaud heavily.

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[288] Ibid. The correct way to write is *lihkadehket* from *lihkkat* which means to move or stand up from a lying position. Sámi – dáru Sátnegirji 1995, Norsk – Samisk Ordbok 2000 (Sámi - Norwegian Dictionary)
[289] NNM nr.4 -79:9, my translation
[290] Gaski in *Čálagovat*, 1998:40
[291] http://www.samiskkunstnersenter.no/default.asp?cmd=15 15.03.09
[292] Andreassen in Nordlys June 26th 1979, my translation
[293] Ibid. my translation
[294] There were Sámi from Guovdageaidnu that came to Itinnera, close to Kapisillit in the Nuuk fiord in the early 70s to establish a herd of domesticated reindeer. In 1888 there were two Sámi that crossed the ice of Greenland with Fridof Nansen

The last song before the next performance was called 'The Big Moon,' and it was actually about the sunset! Then what followed made the greatest impact, according to the journalist from Nordlys: Drum singing and drum dance from East Greenland, by Egon Sikivat.[295]

> Dressed in just skin trousers Sikivat intensely conveys the emotions of the unlucky seal hunter drowning by singing, drumming and dancing both the ice and the poor man going through the ice and finally disappearing in the ocean, desperately crying for help. The applause is enormous."[296] The earlier function of drum dance was "to reconcile people after conflicts, but also to make people happy and to entertain if someone felt sad or blue."[297]

From the stage a voice is heard talking and shouting to the music—after a while I hear they are singing in Inuit. *Ulo* had entered the stage. The applause is scarce, it sounded like a small audience or maybe they did not feel too enthusiastic about the music? To me it sounded like a very short performance; the reason was missing amplifiers. One of the sound technicians[298] told me that this concert was to be set up again in the evening at Dosan[299], because of the technical problems and missing equipment. This was also the evening when rain, thunder and lightening made it necessary to bring all the people down from Kaarevarra for a while. Someone fetched an amplifier in Kiruna, which is a journey of 360 km both ways. NNM shows a black and white photo of a shouting young Inuit. They had chosen to use modern musical expression which some did not like; one I talked with said that he preferred traditional Sámi yoik and other traditional indigenous expressions. He said that no one would think of coming there to play rock. He might have forgotten that there was also a Sámi rock band performing at Davvi Šuvva in 1979. "Today we are supposed to be so inclusive," he said. According to another narrator the evening concert with the Inuit rock group was the best.While probably more than one participant would claim that only the traditional expressions like yoik, drum singing and Native or Indian chanting were 'the real stuff' or the genuine and authentic indigenous expression which was the way indigenous people should represent themselves.

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[295] Egon Sikivat was still performing as a drum dancer in Greenland in 2005 Cultural nights in Nuuk, 2005 http://www.katuaq.gl/database.asp?lang=ang&num=526 03.09.2007

[296] Andreassen in Nordlys June 26th -79:10

[297] Anda Kuitse, Tunu at East Greenland said this on drum dance. www.arinn.no/2005 September 2005

[298] Interview with Lasse Sikku

[299] Dosan is public house in Karesuando where different events like public dance and concerts took place. It is still in use.

The Inuit finished their performance by singing "their real national anthem: 'Nuna assilasooq' (Det langstrakte land) and the audience rose to their feet to honor them."[300]

Greenland, now officially named Kalaallit Nunaat[301] got their Home Rule in May that year; the official national anthem then was "Nunarput utoqqarsuanngoravit (Du vort gamle land)." After 1979 "Nuna asiilasoq" became officially equal to the other one.[302]

4.3.4 Music from the Andean and the Incas and Plain Cree Indian powwow[303]

June 24th was the day of the Indians from North and South America. It opened with the blowing of the Peruvian horn and then Aillohaš introduced the group from Bolivia which consisted of Benjamin Orocha, Jaime Villenueva and Felix Vilka. They started with a traditional song and the audience sounded really enthusiastic and gave them a big hand.

"Dear brothers," one of them says, "we greet you sincerely from the Andean Mountains. We want to strengthen our friendship and our dance with other indigenous peoples in the world…" and the words love, peace and liberty are also mentioned. Aillohaš translated this into Finnish, when translated into Sámi Kerttu Vuolab added "…ráhkis oappát," (dear sisters). The 'dear brothers' had consequently been used as a greeting several times and 'the sisters' had been left out or forgotten, even if it was the late 70s. The UN Women's year had been celebrated in 1975. This way of greeting might have been influenced by the way of talking among brothers in AIM and members from the NIB in Canada, whose leaders and boards were dominated by males at that time. Sisterhood came later; but there were many 'sisters' working to prepare Davvi Šuvva and also participating both as artists and organizers as I guess there were a lot of women doing the practical work of preparing other meetings and conferences.

The group continued with traditional tunes and songs about people, nature and mountains, the atmosphere sounded great and the group was rewarded with solid and enthusiastic applaud, someone was whistling and shouting. "Our people write many songs about the nature, the next is about a mountain." The third song is made by Victor Jara; it is about the Plow. The

[300] Andreassen in Nordlys June 26th 1979:10
[301] Kalaallit Nunaat means Land of Human Beings
[302] http://www.napa.gl/cms/docs/fakta-grl.pdf 04.02.09
[303] "The word pow-wow derives from the Algonquain for a gathering of medicine men and spiritual leaders in a curing ceremony." http://cherokeeblackfeetculrural.bizopiaweb.com/default.aspx?tabid=668486 09.03.09

fifth song originates from the Inca Empire and is one of the principal songs from the drama of when the Inca Empire was nearly destroyed by the Spanish colonization. "I will sing the song in Quechua[304], one of the indigenous languages in South-America." The song sounds very melancholic. In between the songs they spoke about their home country, telling the audience that Bolivia is not only known for the high plains, but also for the rainforests which cover 2/3rds of the country. Then they sang about the rainforest, and about a forgotten city called Santa Cruz. The audience applauded fiercely afterwards and shouted for more: "Eambbo, eambbo!" And they got what they asked for; the sound of many hands clapping continued for a long time after this song, it was like the good atmosphere at Kaarevarra came out of the tape. Aillohaš greeted the South American brothers and spoke in words of solidarity and support: "With horror we Sámi have heard how the press, radio and TV tell us what happens in South America…" he mentioned murders and suppression before he continued: "You can be sure that in our hearts we are at your side. We do not have any money to give you, but our hearts and sympathy. We have a little present to give you, from the festival."[305] This was translated into Spanish, Aillohaš continued in Sámi and people applauded spontaneously.

Peruvian Indians were then introduced; José Inithuaqua, who some people had met before; he had been visiting Sápmi last spring and helped build the turf hut and then he went on bicycle to Hammerfest. Together with Moises Camarra, he played music from the Andes Mountains. Moises thanked José for the ceremony made earlier, to the Sun and the Earth, and he greeted 'dear Sámi brothers and audience.' The ceremony that was referred to was one of friendship and brotherhood; there are photos of three grown up Indians and Ole Heandarat, the Sámi boy who yoiked, there was a fire was lit and there was prayer and the artists and audience gathered around. The Indians were drumming and Ole Heandarat yoiked.

Camarra and Inithuaqua played several tunes and songs from Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru, the audience clapped in the same tact as the drums and the sound of this and the characteristic flutes together with whistling was carried from Kaarevarra to the village and the river, I imagine. They also played 'El Condor Paza' and finished by a song dedicated to "all our Sámi brothers in Sámi land without borders, and of course our brothers from Bolivia"[306]

[304] "Quechua "was the language of the Inca empire, and is today spoken in various dialects by some 10 million people throughout South America…" http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quechua 04.09.2007
[305] Tape recordings, SR, Kiruna
[306] Ibid.

Ailohaš presented the next group by saying: "I know you are waiting specially for this group. Welcome to our brothers from Canada, Saskatchewan Cree Indians – Bill Britton and his company." The photos taken show us that half of the group consisted of women. [307] The fierce sound of applause tells that there was an enthusiastic audience. The sounds of numerous bells, a leather drum,the traditional Indian way of singing or chanting and the rapid movement of feet, were coming from the speakers in the studio. "Hey-ya-hey-ya!" They were doing the Strait Grass dance first and then a more modern one before the Owl dance and the Sneak-up Dance where the dancers imitate the prairie chicken, people applauded spontaneously. From the photos I have seen there were eight performers; the main dancer, Bill Britton, danced with rings which he caught with his legs and from them he created different patterns, like an eagle with wings and the globe, etc. "He impressed the whole Davvi Šuvva with his Hoop Dance[308], he danced with such a rhythm. We were a bit overwhelmed of this Indian dance and we learnt that the powwow singing reminded us so much of the traditional yoik."[309] When Bill Britton was interviewed by Nordlys he stated: "Our Indian people have always been a strong nation and that is why you can see us dressed as today…" The growing confidence and increasing identity awareness, especially in young Indians, gives him faith in his people's future, the journalist wrote.[310]

The made for TV film on the festival "We are all brother and sisters" showed a short sequence from the powwow dance of the Cree and the traditional folk dances of the Komi people who were to perform Monday.

"Good drums get the dancers out there; good songs get them to dance well. Without drum groups there is no music. No music, no dance, no powwow."[311] Every dance was introduced by one of the dancers telling the audience what kind of dance it was and from the rhythm of the drum and movement of feet it told if it was a fast or a slow dance, and how the actual animal or bird moved, I imagined, and all the time the bells were tingling. From the photos in NNM we can see the group in their colourful outfit; their heads were decorated with feathers and also the backs of the men. The front page in 'Nordlys' brought a photo of the Cree

[307] Photos seen in 'Nordnorsk Magasin' and 'Samefolket'
[308] I saw a Hoop Dance demonstrated by a Dîné or Navaho Indian from Arizona at the Riddu Riđđu festival two years ago; it was quite impressive what could be done by one person dancing with ten rings, picking them up from the ground with the foot and creating numerous figures, also he did the eagle and the earth.
[309] Interview with Ánde Somby
[310] Andreassen in Nordlys June 27th -79:1&10 My translation
[311] Wikipedia on powwow drumming http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pow-wow 03.03.09

Indians with the subtitle: “Skin, feathers and glass beads. Who in Europe would dare to put such elements together and achieve such a beautiful and harmonious result?” What is being expressed here? Maybe genuine interest and enthusiasm combined with admiration from a well-meaning and knowledgeable ‘outsider,’ but also seeing them as exotic, which maybe they also seemed to some of the Sámi who had never met Indians before. One of the Sámi women I talked with said while laughing: “We were crazy about them. But they were so proud and I did not know their codes.”

The difference between the Norwegian journalist and the Sámi was that many Sámi saw the Cree and the other Indians as a part of them; “It was us!” or as an old Sámi from Mertajärvi had greeted the foreign guests: “I have not met you before, but it feels like I know you.” He was one of the local Sámi who yoiked, I was told.

The headline on the front page in Nordlys June 27th quoted one of the Peruvian musicians: “We do not want to become like you” and the journalist wrote “Why should they want that? Look at our own western clothes, so grey, without joy and devoid of life. In stead they wore their traditional costumes with pride as a sign of self-respect, dignity and belief in their own culture.”[312]

4.3.5 The Komi people came, sang and danced

The Komi people performed the day after, there were two tapes covering their performance so it must have been a rather extensive program. This sequence opened with Aillohaš reading a poem and one of the official leaders for the group greeted the festival and people there with these words: “Let the peace between the nations strengthen and let the warmth and love in our hearts blow into fire. We bring greetings to you; the Sámi people. Let the light and the colour of our dawn fill our hearts with joy and warmth today. We bow deeply for all of you.” And then dancing and singing for hours it seemed. According to one narrator they even danced over and destroyed the puppet theatre; “they were so white and strange” she said and Áillohaš

had worked so hard to get the Russian Sámi to come. “We were so disappointed.”[313]
It did not sound like there was the greatest enthusiasm among the local Sámi either. Several people said it was impossible to get in touch with the Komi but this had its political reasons,

[312] Andreassen in Nordlys June 27th 1979:1
[313] Interview with Marry Ailonieida Somby

and in addition there was no common language to speak except for music. Maybe music was not enough when a group of people was viewed as strangers and even as descendants from people believed to have been marauders—but then there were some who enjoyed their performance.

Nordnorsk Magasin wrote "The Komi people is not a member of WCIP, but a group of Sámi artists visited them in 1977"[314] and they are paying a visit to the Sámi. The Finnish Ministry of Education organized the trip in 1977, where a group of twelve represented the Sámi with traditional yoiks and songs, both in Leningrad (St. Petersburg) and Moscow as well as in several places in the Komi Republic.[315] In Norrbottens-Kuriren the Komi were presented as reindeer herding people from the Soviet Union, later in the article they were referred to as Russians. In NSD they are said to be a people in the Soviet Union. The article further says that the "Komi people are one of the many Finnish Ugric minority groups in Soviet." They used to live on the tundra between Archangelsk and the Ural Mountains and were powerful reindeer herders; now the area is one of the most important mining industries in the Soviet Union. Of 300,000 Komi, just a thousand earned their income from reindeer herding that had become a 'collective business'.[316] The sources are scarce on their performance and since they were not allowed to communicate with journalists it was not possible for anyone to get to know them, but there are several photos of the group. And Samefoket wrote before their performance that it was looked forward to.

Then Kerttu informed the audience about the evening program, The Kurd group was going to inform the participants about their people and the critical situation they were facing; the Kurds were on a hunger strike to protest and demonstrate against the terror they were exposed to in Iran and Iraq.[317]

The same evening Leo Gauriloff was going to sing and tell about the east Sámi and their situation. Then the Cree Indians would dance and she hoped the public would join the dance on the hill. The film about the festival opened with a big circle of people holding hands on top of the hill. This was one of the events most remembered by many; it made a lasting

[314] Hatle in NNM nr.4 1979:9 My translation
[315] Davvi Šuvva program p.4
[316] Hatle in NNM nr.4 1979:9 My translation
[317] From the film "We are all brothers and sisters"

impression on people. Adults and children, Sámi and Cree, Inuit, South American and Kurds were walking around the top of Kaarevarra to the sound of drums.

At some point it seems to me like the recordings suddenly stops and I hear Áillohaš' voice: "Dear friends, we have now come to the last concert," and he thanked the audience for being wonderful and he thanked the beautiful Northern sky for the good weather, most of the time… The woman who translates these concluding words sounded really sad: "The Northern Sound is coming to an end. Already we can say that the same kind of festival will probably be organized next year some other place." People applauded. Even I got sad; feeling like I had been at Davvi Šuvva for three days, in my own way.

Áillohaš then read greeting telegrams and then he himself was introduced as "the one who has made Sámi yoik known in Finland and elsewhere."[318] The yoik he performed was about his love for all indigenous people. It is a melodious yoik and his voice sounds a bit melancholic. Then came the yoik 'Sámi Eatnan Duoddariid' (The Plains of Sámi land) that many say should be the real Sámi national anthem, which Valkeapää composed and wrote; Leo Gauriloff accompanied him on guitar. It is a tribute to the cold, hard and barren plains or tundra, the lakes and the silver stars; home of the Sámi children.

This has been a presentation of the main vocal and musical performances at Davvi Šuvva 1979 and the artists representing both indigenous people and other minority people. How should one understand and interpret these expressions? What can we conclude from this material?

4.4 "We came first…we will never move!"[319] Are we all brothers and sisters?

The history behind these expressions was in many ways common, the Sámi, the Indians and the Inuit referred to their history of a colonial background. Both the Sámi and the South American Indians referred to previous history in their yoik and songs; Johan Andersen sang

[318] Tape recordings SR

[319] From a graphic linoleum by Rannveig Persen, then a member of Máze Joavku, Maze Art group. Klassekampen July 9th 1979. This was the slogan one of the Committees of the Norwegian Parliament Commwas met with when that came to the small village of Maze as early as 1970. The village was planned to be flooded but the people refused to move. From "Sápmi – en nasjon blir til." 2000:38

about the time taxes were collected and the girls where taken when money was scarce; the three girls from Gáresavvon sang about Sámi Ätnam becoming smaller, the same was conveyed by Nils Utsi through his play. The Cree and the Inuit performed history. The Inca descendants sang about the Inca Empire before the Spanish took over the land and almost destroyed it.

There were stories about and descriptions of Sámi culture and values, about the land, the people, persons and areas, past conditions and the future, history. Issues about Sápmi becoming smaller and being exploited were expressed both though yoik, song and theatre performances. 'Shoreless shores' written by Paulus Utsi and his wife Inger Huva Utsi[320] was sung by Katarina Utsi; the text points to villages gone and old shores robbed by strangers. The last verse goes:

I see ancestors
who were stubborn and strong
Just look around
We have to suffer great injustices
The strangers violate us
Their greed has no limit

In the film "We are all brothers and sisters" Dave Monture said: "The most important we have are land and water. The greed for indigenous land…the pollution of the environment…the Western world's destructive ways. The Western society is totally out of sync."[321] The rhetoric of Native American and First nation people from Canada was to a certain extent much tougher and harsher than the Sámi way of talking.

The Inuit and the Sámi represented themselves both through traditional vocal musical expressions and choir song, pop, and rock. The Cree did not mix their traditional dances and powwow chanting with any modern rhythm, even if their performance had been adapted to the stage[322]; but it had been said that two of the women would do a more modern dance.

[320] Gaski 1996:114
[321] Notes from the film.
[322] Labba in Samefolket nr.8 1979:19

Through these various expressions I found that the close relationship to nature, the land, and the elements was common, as was the relation to the surrounding landscapes and animals and birds—and even the 'Sámi air force'—the mosquito. A mountain in Sápmi was yoiked, another mountain in Bolivia was sung about, a valley was remembered and an old sacred city and the rainforest. The Inuit honoured the animals they had been hunting for ages and sang about the perils of living in these areas. In addition to yoiking animals the Sámi yoiked personal yoiks of both the living and those who had passed away. The South American Indians sang about the swan. The Cree imitated the prairie chicken; one dance was called the Owl dance.

Both the Sámi and the Inuit had chosen to express both traditional vocal music and more 'modern' songs, as well as pop and rock. The music of the 60s and the 70s also had its influence among indigenous people and many of the young people identified more with the blues, pop and rock, but that did not mean that they left out their traditional inheritance, but rather mixed it together and they sang in their own language. Áillohaš started reviving the yoik, or what has been referred to as a "renaissance of the yoik," by adding modern instruments to the disapproval of many Sámi, as he expressed it in *Greetings from Lappland.* "…I have been throttled spiritually. Condemned to hell. It was the believers who came up with that notion, since *yoiking* could also accompany intoxication. In my case the crime was that I was distorting an ancient culture because I started using musical instruments, and renovated *yoik* ever so slightly. It was a manifestation of Sami nationalism."[323]

Another obvious common feature was that these traditional and cultural expressions had actually survived and were now being reclaimed, recovered, and revived and that was a great reason for celebration. The history of land being exploited and lost in various ways, their language forbidden, and cultural expressions being viewed as primitive and pagan, as well as being forbidden, was common. Drum songs, drum dance, yoik and Native American dance had been forbidden in recent history; drums were taken from the Sámi and the Inuit and burnt by missionaries that found their religious and musical activities to be sinful[324], indecent and devilish. "Native American dance traditions and religious practices survived a ban by the United States Government during the second half of the 19th century, when cultural events had to go underground. The dances and ceremonies were either held in secret on reservations,

[323] Valkeapää 1983:56 The subtitle to the English version is *The Sami – Europe's Forgotten People*
[324] Gaski 1998:10

or were masked as other activities."[325] The common background for their traditional musical expression was spiritual and shamanistic. The yoik was seen to belong to this ancient belief and as a way to communicate with beings that were invisible to most. The yoik had been a means to go into a trance.[326] "An interview done with Lawra Somby says that according to Sámi mythology yoik is originally an elf like language, given to the Sámi by the elfish people called *ulddat.* They shall have existed in another dimension than ours, but at the same time and the same place..."[327]

The yoik had almost disappeared in the coastal areas of Finnmark and had been on the brink of extinction in many other areas. When the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation planned to record traditional yoik in the beginning of the 1950s they were told from various sources that the yoik was dead.[328] In the United States the ban against Native dance ceremonies was lifted in 1933, in the 1950s and 60s the awareness of its significance grew "throughout the Plains regions when Sioux, Crow and Blackfeet tribes began to sponsor intertribal gatherings for fun and dancing"[329], but it was in the 70s when the powwows were really revived and became widespread. In the primary school in Guovdageidnu yoik was forbidden even till the end of the 1980s,[330] even though Áillohaš brought yoik to concerts and on stage in the Easter concerts in the early 70s.

The Inuit and the Indians brought the drum on stage at Davvi Šuvva, but it seemed that the Sámi were still careful not to use the drum in public, maybe it was unthinkable in 1979. Krister Stoor confirms this caution in "Yoik film".[331] "For the Inuit as the Sámi the drum was the only instrument that existed before other cultures came into the picture, and it was reserved for religious rituals."[332]

Another issue was hope for a better future and freedom which was expressed by the Sámi yoik *Skátnja/Skádja* and that was also one of the intentions behind the festival. The last words

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[325] http://www.bbhc.org/events/powwowHistory.cfm 09.03.09
[326] Gaski (ed.) 1996:12
[327] http://www.ballade.no/nmi.nsf/doc/art20051102150109259304 18 11.03.09 Johan Turi writes that the Uldat "are descended from the race that our first forefathers bound under the earth…that some Uldas were very clever at *joiking*, the Lapps often hear them, and they first learnt *joiking* from the Uldas." Turi 1931:193-194
[328] Arnberg, Ruong and Unsgaard 1969:65
[329] http://www.bbhc.org/events/powwowHistory.cfm 09.03.09
[330] Lund, Boine and Johansen (eds.) 2005:66
[331] "Yoik film A documentary film on the native Sámi form of musical expression" directed by John Weinstock, University of Texas
[332] Labba in Samefolket nr.8 1979:18

in Nils Utsi's play encouraged people to move, to stand up. One of the narrators told me "It was a time of alteration/conversion and awakening. People woke up from sleeping and suppression…"[333] In addition to dreams for a better future there were topics addressed such as freedom for the people and love and respect for ancestors, relatives, animals and land areas etc.

Most of the yoik performers were men, from the material I found that there were two women that did traditional yoik and one did *le'udd.* But there were several Sámi girls and young women who sang. The theatre group consisted mostly of women, according to the photos in Samefolket. The Cree group was mixed like the Inuit MIK group. Both of the rock groups consisted of men, which was usual at that time, and perhaps still today.

The instruments that were used were mostly made of material from nature and also from animals: Wooden flutes, a Peruvian horn, the *charango*; a small Andean guitar traditionally made of the shell of an armadillo, a mammal with a hard-plated body[334], an instrument that is "played in all villages in South America."[335] The skin that covered the drums was made of deer skin. Bells were used and the characteristic *Bongolaika,* the 'self-composed' one string instrument with guitar and knife, which got its name from the man who started using it.
Another thing in common with these expressions is the way one uses the voice; it is quite unlike the 'Western' or the classical European way to sing. When you yoik you fetch the sound deep down in the throat, "larynx is pressed down and the vocal cord is tight."[336] It is movements with the lips and the tongue which makes the sound vary. Ánde said that "the powwow (at Davvi Šuvva) chanting reminded us of yoik." In his web article on yoik Ánde Somby states: "To me yoik is not only music. Yoiks are drama and literature – poetry and stories. Yoik is a way to understand the world – who we are – what knowledge is – what is important in a life."[337]

Through the different Sámi yoiks and theatre performances, the Inuit drum singing and the Cree Indian powwow chanting and dances the audience was taken through various indigenous

[333] Interview with Britta Marakatt-Labba
[334] Encarta Dictionary: English
[335] Tape recordings, SR, Kiruna

117 *Juoigasa birra* About yoik http://home.no.net/gretahys/Tekststudier/om%20joiken.html 11.03.9 my translation
[337] http://www.jus.uit.no/ansatte/somby/juoigNOR.htm 11.03.09

landscapes and ‘soundscapes’; they were taken through history and politics from older and recent times and experienced the diversity of Sámi culture.

What these cultures also have in common is an oral tradition through yoik, chanting and drum songs which are not just stories yoiked, sung or music played, but they are these particular peoples’ history books together with the storytelling tradition. And since songs, stories, and history deal with our identities, so too does yoik.

Chapter 5: "The identity was there, it was the expression of it that had to be found."

The history behind it and this story about Davvi Šuvva has been conveyed now and it is possible to say when and where the story began, but maybe not where it ends or if it ends or has ended; maybe it is like a yoik—there is no beginning and there is no end. What can be drawn out of this event? Were the intentions behind Davvi Šuvva fulfilled? Which identities were represented there? What did Davvi Šuvva mean to those attending and participating? What was the significance of these vocal, musical and creative expressions and what kind of implications did they have? What was the commentary written by the contemporary media and how should one understand these comments from today's perspective?

"As Long as We Continue

To *Joik*, We'll Remember

Who We Are"[338]

5.1 Mission completed – intentions fulfilled?

The festival was thought to be "an alternative to the commercial culture we are fed with everyday and it is also a way of showing each other the value of our culture."[339] It was also an objective to "consolidate confidence in the inherited cultures."[340] In Vuovjoš nr.1 1977 it was written that "The festival of Northern Indigenous Peoples will include music, dances and theatre. The festival will show the enormous resources of the indigenous peoples' culture." The cultural exchange and previously mentioned travels to Greenland, Alaska, Canada and the Soviet Union were written about in the program and that "These visits to our brothers have strengthened our conviction that such events are necessary. The warmth with which we are received makes it our duty to do our best to make Davvi Šuvva 1978 a success." [341] Davvi Šuvva was a direct continuation and result of the cultural exchange that was initiated by WCIP and Nils Aslak Valkeapää as the chosen cultural coordinator. In Sámi he was called 'njunos ålmajin'[342]

[338] Borrow from the title of Jones-Bamman's dissertation from1993. I have been searching for the source to this quote in Jones-Bamman, but have not been able to find it. In the first *luohti on* Krister Stoor's cd *To yoik is to live* from 2003 he says: "We yoik, therefore we remember, therefore we are." These, he says, are words given to him by one of his former students

[339] Samefolket 1979 nr.6:10 my translation

[340] From the program of the festival p.3

[341] Ibid. This was obviously written before it was decided that Davvi Šuvva was to take place in 1979

[342] That was how it was written in Vuovjoš nr.1 -77:3; in Sámi- daru Sátnegirji 1995:366 *njunušolmmái* - leader

which directly translated means one with the nose in front, a leader or a 'frontrunner'[343]. He did an incredible job as a coordinator, but there would have been no Davvi Šuvva without the local frontrunners and coordinators; the two local Sámi associations and Sámi artists together with other indigenous artists and the international frontrunners in WCIP and those who came before.

Cultural and political gatherings, events and ethno-political movements are dependant on initiatives and organization on three levels; there are often individual enthusiasts and front-runners who bring ideas and inspiration to local or regional communities and associations and create and establish the needed associations together with others with the same ideas and interests. This level Barth referred to as the "field of entrepreneurship, leadership and rhetoric;"[344] or the median level. On this level it would also have been difficult to organize such an event without funding from the macro level e.g. the Nordic countries, with the exception of Norway[345], but the Norwegian government had earlier contributed "to WCIP from the time of the Kiruna conference in 1977 onwards."[346] Barth was discussing these levels especially connected to "ethnic identity as a feature of social organization, rather than a nebulous expression of culture"[347]; these analytical levels can also be utilized on the building and mobilizing of indigenous communities and movement. But such a process is also dependant on timing and serendipity, being at the right place at the right time and finding and meeting the right people to cooperate with, as Nils Heaikka Valkeapää said: "It took a lot of trust and confidence in each other to put together Davvi Šuvva"[348], another narrator said "There were many strong wills"[349]; which are needed as well, even if they sometimes lead to conflicts. Discussions and conflicts are also part of creativity and building and 'the nebulous expression of culture' is among the signi- ficant bricks in the fundament. Davvi Šuvva was clearly a result of international indigenous cooperation in the 1970s and the establishment of the World Council of Indigenous People.

[343] I borrowed the expression from the name of a performance by First Nation people from Manitoba; a play I saw in Manndalen the autumn 2005. It has now become a film. The film is made to honour Native long distance runners that attended boarding schools in Canada.
[344] Barth, F. "Enduring and emerging issues in the analysis of ethnicity" in SOA compendium 2005
[345] Sweden contributed with 70,000 kr, Denmark with 100,000 kr and Finland 121,000 Finnish mark.(NSD June 28th -79:8. The Nordic Council of Culture had also contributed. Norrbottens-Kuriren June 25th -79:12
[346] Jentoft et al. 2003:88
[347] Barth in SOA 2005:12
[348] Interview September 2006
[349] Interview June 2006

Davvi Šuvva can certainly also be said to have been an alternative to the commercial culture at that time and that it made the people who particpated—performers, organizers and audience—proud of and confident in their own culture and the expression of it. The sharing of these experiences and being together for several days contributed to the broadening of the circle so to say, new perspectives opened up for many and the horizon widened concerning how people perceived themselves; there surely must have been the adage 'before and after Davvi Šuvva.' A greater 'we' was growing on various levels; the Sámi who met there became aware of that there were many people with similar ideas, but who also were different, both in their manners and expressions, but a consciousness of belonging together was growing. There was an idea developing, and also an experience, of being and becoming "one people" and people began to embrace different ways of being Sámi and different ways of expressing Sáminess. But it was not paradise or utopia either; it may not have been an issue at the festival, but not everybody agreed upon who was a Sámi and how one was to be a Sámi and what was the authentic or 'correct' way to convey Sámi culture. There were disagreements about whether the traditional yoik was the only genuine and authentic musical way to convey to yourself and to others that you were a 'real' Sámi and expressing this was the only way Sámi culture would survive the commercial pressures from the 'outside.' Rock music was popular and many young Sámi preferred rock 'n' yoik and believed that it was acceptable and maybe even better to do both yoik and rock—it was expressing yourself as Sámi that was significant. Yet again, some Sámi viewed instruments and rock music as a threat to genuine Sámi culture.

One issue that was addressed was borders and lack of borders: "We wish to make the festival borderless, and show that the Sámi are independent of borders." This expressed that the Sámi people belonged together in spite of national state borders. Davvi Šuvva took place in Sápmi on the Swedish and the Finnish side; many came from Norway and most had to cross the bridge over the river border. One person remarked about the sedentary-types: "When I say sedentary, I really mean sedentary; they never even cross the river." When we had this conversation I cannot say for sure if the comment was meant for the time when the first Davvi Šuvva took place or if it was meant in general when; this uttering tells us something about how the sedentary were perceived by some of the migrating reindeer herding Sámi. The issue of borders was reinforced by the daily crossings over the Könkämä River; one of the sound technicians I spoke with said he thought neither the customs officers nor the ferry personnel were too happy about all the traffic. The film team had one car on each side of the river to make the work easier. From this I assume that the men working there were Swedish and

Finnish: But how could he be sure that they felt this way about it? Could it be his expectations about their attitude towards the Sámi or was 'everyone' like that? Many have had the experience that the attitude towards the Sámi was mostly negative and condescending; another person said that even if the municipality and landowners had been skeptical about the festival in the beginning they ended up being positive about the event later. It meant good business for Gáresavvon. "The emotions were mixed," one person said.

The Davvi Šuvva festival can also be considered an idea and the vision of a utopian ideal of "the happy place"; an imagined community but also 'an arena of conflict and struggle' as Hauan approached the Riddu Riđđu festival as "a place to learn".[350] Gaup states in the article in Dieđut:

> All stories, Sámi expressions and symbols that came up in the ČSV time were embedded in 'the dream about Sápmi', not as our own nation, but as an autonomous area. 'The dream about Sápmi', or was it maybe the 'myth about Sápmi', existed as the Sámi culture's stories about existential important questions; among them equity, freedom, independence, diversity.[351]

The Davvi Šuvva festival was also meant to convey hope and faith in a better future for Sámi and all indigenous people, as Aqqigsaq Møller said in his opening speech: "I hope all the music will spread out to the indigenous world, and not the least that this festival will prove a means in our struggle through the Council of Indigenous Peoples. I sincerely hope that we will gain much from this festival in our future work for indigenous peoples all around the world." [352] This takes us to how cultural expressions can be a powerful means of transformation and empowerment in addition to 'real political' entrepreneurship.

5.2 "Culture as a means of struggle"

This was the headline in Nordlys June 25th after the midsummer weekend at Kaarevarra, the journalist is mostly referring to the opening speech of Oula Näkkäläjärvi where he spoke about the different conditions indigenous peoples lived under and that it was natural to use the culture as a means to fight. "Davvi Šuvva is the first great example of this. That the festival

[350] Hauan 2003:187 my translation
[351] Gaup 2006:93-94 my translation
[352] Tape SR, Kiruna

came to take place is first and foremost due to the established cooperation in WCIP."[353]

Pål Doj, the editor in Samefolket wrote: "It is considerably easier to get money for a cultural festival than a world conference for indigenous minorities that deals with politics, self-determination and economic realities. Cultural festivals are not that dangerous, but guess if it has been talked politics through these festival days."[354] Like a yoik Davvi Šuvva can be interpreted as having layers of meaning, some lyrics, some events and conversations where just to be comprehended by 'the inner circle' or the insiders. For others it was meant to be enjoyed and understood by many, like family, friends and supporters, while others enjoyed the atmosphere of togetherness, the music and nature; some came from far away, some came from Luleå and some could probably even be characterized as "outsiders" or even "wanna-bees".

Edward Said states "Culture is a way to fight extinction and oblivion."[355] Many people experienced this at Davvi Šuvva and this was especially felt by those who have had to flee their countries to be able to express themselves without being in danger of being exposed to terror and murder. Peruvian Indian Moises Camarra said: "It is good that Sámiland can organize a festival of this kind. For us it would have been impossible." [356] The forbidden songs of both Victor Jara and Theodorakis as well as the banning of Native American powwows, the silencing of the Inuit drum singers and the Sámi shamans and yoikers tell us about regimes that understood and feared the power of cultural expression.

"The end of the 1960s and the beginning of 1970s can be characterized as a 'new époque' in Sámi culture political work. At the same time a similar activity of political consciousness took place among other indigenous population groups in the world."[357] Vocal cultural expression was a significant part of the raising of awareness and a collective identity; this is the reason why I emphasize that becoming audible is as important as "becoming visible." Inherited cultural expressions, such as those that had been banned and forbidden over the years, became a powerful weapon for reclaiming culture. Breaking the silence of formerly forbidden and

[353] Andreassen in Nordlys June 25th 1979:1 and 13 my translation
[354] Labba in Samefolket nr.8-79:3 my translation
[355] Said, E. 2007 Edward Said was a renowned critique of culture and literature and has been a significant spokesman for the Palestinians in US.
[356] NSD June 25th 1979:12
[357] Ibid.

hidden voices gave this gathering at Kaarevarra an extra powerful dimension which created energy and made people confident and enthusiastic about their culture.

Under the interview with Ánde Somby he was thinking back to the autumn of 1979 when Nils-Aslak Valkeapää came to Oslo; "…the symbolic force it had, it increased the will to fight 400%. Even before that "Sámi eatnan duoddariid" had actually been 'the song of struggle' – it kept people together; they did not become afraid, even when the police stood there with plastic shields." Ánde was referring to the hunger strike and the demonstration outside the Norwegian Parliament in October that year "…when we sang 'Sámi eatnan duoddariid', when we yoiked it...that experience made me understand the general power of songs of struggle." The record "Sámi eatnan duoddariid" was released in 1978[358] and the yoik came to be an alternative national anthem and many still think of it as "the actual national anthem the Sámi have today; it was to have an enormous power in the ethno-political mobilization."

The cultural activity in the 1970s also had contributed to strengthening the North Norwegian regional identity and self-consciousness [359] as well as cultural and musical activity in Norrbotten and Thorne Valley.[360] This awakened the local and regional Norrbotten and Thorne Finnish identity, and the 'manifestation of flowering cultural creativity'[361] among the Sámi awakened a positive breakthrough and validation of Sámi culture. As Britta Marakatt-Labba reflected on after years in one of the southernmost cities in Sweden, when she came home and found that "We can! And we what we do counts; it has value. We had been running around in Gothenburg attending concerts with all these progressive groups and then suddenly one discovers we do have our own musical tradition, yoik and poetry and theater… It was fantastic to realize; and not to forget Sámi art, pictures and paintings." Davvi Šuvva 1979 was till then the greatest gathering and manifestation of both Sámi and other indigenous peoples' culture. This contributed to the strengthening of Sámi self-consciousness, individual and collective identity and self-image. "We became proud of being Sámi," Káren Elle Gaup said.

[358] Lethola 2002:109 It was produced by Indigenous Records, Helsinki
[359] Larsen in NNM nr.4 2007:28
[360] NNM nr.4 1979:11
[361] Gaski (ed.) 1997:29 (Eidheim 1992)

5.3 Contemporary and retrospective comments on Davvi Šuvva

According to the interviews and many of the articles written on the festival it was a successful gathering in spite of practical and technical problems in addition to the rain, thunder and lightning on Midsummer Eve. Both the articles and the interviews are primary sources and both eye-witnesses and listeners; the tricky thing doing interviews almost 30 years after the actual event is both the issue of forgetfulness and that one does not remember 'correctly' but the greatest benefit of oral stories is that they provide us information that is not available anywhere else. Together with written contemporary sources, oral stories consist of a potential chamber of treasures.

The friendly outsider articles in Nordlys were positive and enthusiastic about Davvi Šuvva and what was expressed there; the paper had several interviews with various Sámi and indigenous artists and politicians. For four days it contained photos and big headlines on the front pages with follow-ups inside the paper. The articles said nothing about the rain and the thunder, the absent amplifiers or that the electricity went down, but it informed the readers about the content of speeches and the situation of the South American Indians. The journalist interviewed Bill Britton, the lead dancer from the Cree group and wrote that Davvi Šuvva, in addition to the music and the dance, had been "an explosion of colors. The woven pearls of the Inuit and the decorous feathers of the Canadian Indians, the South American's textiles and not the least the many different Sámi traditional clothing have contributed to a fantastic visual impression. Through their clothing artists and audience have demonstrated their vitality and cultural distinctive character."[362] She was obviously impressed and perhaps colored by the white man's/woman's guilt as she added "this exuberant bliss, surplus energy, harmony – all this is threatened by the 'civilized' world's behavior to indigenous peoples."[363] But then it was really true for many at that time.

The almost three page article with several photos in color in Nordnorsk Magasin was very positive as well, it was enthusiastic and also informative. Nordnorsk Magasin was then, as it is now, a cultural magazine in North Norway; in addition to history and literature it was occupied in various cultural expressions at Nordkalotten like music and theatre. Liv Hatle was the one who wrote about Davvi Šuvva. Later I found out that it was her who had translated

[362] Andreassen in Nordlys June 27th 1979:front page
[363] Ibid. "The journalist was our friend" Kalle Mannela told me in April 2009

Valkeapää's *Greetings from Lappland* from Finnish to Norwegian and it is obvious that she was familiar with the concept of 'indigenous peoples' and the Fourth World. She did not use the terms 'indigenous population' or 'minority group' except when writing about the Komi. In that way she can be seen as an insider concerning cultural indigenous knowledge, but she was an outsider when it concerned cultural competence and ethnic identity. The Komi were not officially defined and ascribed as being indigenous, how they defined themselves at that time I have not found in any of my material. There were no interviews with any of them, but the leader of the group spoke to the audience.[364] The journalist in Nordlys consequently used the term 'indigenous populations' on all of them; the Sámi, Inuit, Indians, Komi and Kurds.

The Swedish journalists from NSD and Norrbotten-Kuriren can be said to represent the complete outsider in terms of commentary. The attitude in the Swedish papers in Norrbotten was not especially positive or enthusiastic, on the contrary, it seemed quite negative at times; the festival was mentioned once on the front page in NSD, in one sentence; Norrbottens-Kuriren though had one photo of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Moise Camarra on the front page on June 25th. But Kuriren in advance had provided publicity for Davvi Šuvva; June 12th they interviewed Kerstin Simma who informed readers about the festival and the program. The headline in NSD June 25th said: "The minority festival did not tempt the audience."[365] And the journalist started the article by stating: "It seems like the cultural festival of the minority populations really is becoming a minority festival"[366] and continued on what went wrong and that only 3,500 of the 'anticipated' 30,000 people came, he was referring to the Midsummer weekend. According to NSD, approximately 12,000 visited Davvi Šuvva those six days.[367]

Norrbotten-Kuriren's focus in the heading June 25th was also on the number of visitors; that there was around 1,500 visitors a day and not the expected 15,000; and even that number created traffic chaos, the journalist wrote. But inside both of the papers there was more and less a whole page on the festival; the journalist in Norrbottens-Kuriren's seemed more friendly in his attitude than the one in NSD, he wrote about the background leading up to the festival and stated: "The idea for the festival was born on the minority meeting in Kiruna in 1977." He was referring to the 2nd Conference of the World Council of Indigenous peoples. But the repetitive emphasis of the 'minority' in the Swedish media did not exactly broaden the

[364] Tape records, SR
[365] NSD June 25th 1979:12
[366] Ibid.
[367] NSD June 28th 1979:8

horizon for the readers or open their eyes and ears for other angles to view indigenous peoples and other terms for them. It tells us how the Swedish media viewed the Sámi at that time and it probably reflected a general attitude towards 'the Sámi minority population.'

Norrländska Socialdemokraten and Kuriren seemed to be more interested in the guests that came from abroad. The journalist from Kuriren recognized several of the guest artists from the WCIP conference in Kiruna in 1977 and NSD wrote how Gamarra had shaken the WCIP conference by his account of how he had fled Peru. NSD had photos of the Sámi women from Sevettijärvi as well as the nine year old yoiker 'from the North of Norway' who was appreciated. Reading this with today's eyes it seems strange that Ole-Heandarat was referred to as a North Norwegian yoiker and not a Sámi yoiker from Máze. Kurien wrote that "There was obviously not found any Swedish yoiker….The Norwegians and the Skolt knew their thing." There are no Norwegian yoikers as far as I know, and the Sámi certainly did not see them as Norwegian or Swedish yoikers; it might be that the journalist did not even consider or reflect on using 'Sámi yoiker' to inform the audience of their ethnic belonging as people—in his eyes they were Norwegian or Swedish. Moses Camarra was interviewed, but none of the Sámi artists were, not even Valkeapää. Kalle Mannela said he remembers the negative attitude well.[368] One of the most significant issues for indigenous people was to be accepted and recognized as peoples, the Sámi in their respective countries; one way to do this was to celebrate their traditional cultural expressions to strengthen and consolidate their identity and self-esteem.

Samefolket, the journal of the SSR and Same-Ätnam, represented the insider view. It also commented on the number of visitors as an issue for the press. Mannela said that it had been a conscious choice to limit the information about Davvi Šuvva to be able to handle the festival.[369] Samefolket also provided a critique of the lack of equipment and scarce information and poorly marked roads and the absence of electricity in the big tent. Later in that interview, Mannela said that it had been hard work and that they had succeeded in gathering indigenous people to a common cultural festival. One of the others that had worked on the preparations for Davvi Šuvva said that they had never imagined that the festival would become such a great event; people had come up to them afterwards talking about how

[368] Pers. comm April 2009
[369] Labba in Samefolket 1979 nr.8:16

wonderful it had been; "it spread like ripples in the water."[370] Another said "it was so much fun" as well as "hard work" and she felt like sleeping for a week afterwards. Some of the women did not even have time to go to Kaarevarra at all that week; one of them had been present at only one concert.

Sámi Áigi had a large text headline on the front page on June 27th with a photo of Oula Näkkäläjärvi, Nils-Henrik Valkapää, and Piera Balto. The middle pages inside were covered with photos of various artists at Davvi Šuvva; one of them showed the prayer ceremony of brotherhood. June 28th NSD had a short note on the final day of Davvi Šuvva in Gáresavvon and wrote that the organizers had received an impressive response from both participants and the large audience. The future of the festival was to be discussed and it might be that it would return, maybe even the next year, but in another country.[371] The attitude of the journalist seemed to be friendlier after the Midsummer weekend.

The people I interviewed and those who shared their stories and memories from the festival were first hand sources, eyewitnesses and insiders; some were organizers of the festival and ČSV activists, others were Sámi artists that belonged to or identified with the ČSV movement; but not all of them, the drummer in *Ivnniguin* said: "I was not ČSV, I was so young." Their stories are retrospective commentaries based on memories featuring time gone by and reflections, seen in the light of who they had become and what subsequently happened. Our memory and ability to remember things are colored by interpretations and a veil of oblivion, as well as our unconscious need and/or conscious desire to leave something out, to select and filter out what we do or do not want to share with someone from 'the outside.' Being an insider and fluent in Sámi I would perhaps have gotten a different story or maybe even more stories. In the beginning when I was around for information there were some people who did not want to be interviewed, some said they did not remember very much. One even said "I do not remember anything; I was so much in love." For a short time, one narrator mixed the WCIP conference in 1977 with Davvi Šuvva and others mixed it a bit in the beginning of the interview with the second Davvi Šuvva; so much was going on in the 70s and in the beginning of the 80s one narrator said. The Sámi world was still small and it was often the same people that were active; there was still a lot to do for so few. A festival like Davvi Šuvva was a brilliant way to get 'the grassroots' involved and committed, but I did not find any written

[370] Pers. communication
[371] NSD June 28th 1979:8

source that says that this was an intention of the festival; the main objective was to strengthen the feeling of indigenous togetherness.

"It was a lot of colors and enthusiasm, a lot of energy and many committed and enthusiastic Sámi. This was the atmosphere before Alta, it was building up towards the Alta case; no one was talking about it, but you could feel the energy."[372] It was perhaps not talked about during the concerts, but it certainly was mentioned and discussed around the fires at night and elsewhere. Britta Marakatt-Labba said she remembered all the smells, the colors and the emotions; she was especially happy to be there with her mother and sister who were Laestadians. "I managed to get them along; that was really fantastic…I took a lot of photographs and slides when they sit listening to the music. We made a fire there and made coffee and fried reindeer meat. It was a lovely feeling." Many mentioned and remember Áillohaš and the Cree Indian dances and the big circle. "I remember especially Áillohaš…The Indian dances I do remember…we made a big circle and danced around, that is a memory that has stuck. And the shimmering of the midnight sun, all the dancing and the yoik, and these special Indian songs…"[373]

Most of what happened at Davvi Šuvvi was positive and joyful, in spite of hearing the stories about suppression, persecution and murder in South American, Iraq and Iran; there was not much to be embarrassed about except the lack of sound equipment. *Horagalles*, the ancient Sámi god of thunder and lightening, could not be easily controlled. Some believed that it was the Cree Indian dance that made it rain "cats and dogs." One person said that it was pretty unorganized with people coming and going all the time; that is how festivals often are. But then, it was the first indigenous festival, it took place on a hill 10 km from the village and the organizers had two walkie-talkies. One even said: "People did not come for the music, but to be together" but without the music, no Davvi Šuvva and no sounds from the north.

5.4 Which identities were expressed?

By the statement "The identity was there…" I understand that there was no doubt about the identity of being Sámi. Those who mentioned their Sámi ethnic and cultural identity referred

[372] Interview with Ande Somby February 2007
[373] Interview with Britta Marakatt-Labba April 2007

to their belonging to reindeer herding families, as Káren Elle and Britta had, they felt confident as Sámi, like the man who said those words "The identity was there," though he did not have a reindeer herding background, and the young rock performing Sámi belonged to a sedentary family in Guovdageaidnu. Then there were others who did not comment on identity or background, possibly it felt obvious or unnecessary to discuss.

There were, and are, different local identities or "significant social distinctions."[374] In a village like Kárášjohka one operated within three categories of Sámi, *badjeolbmot* (reindeer herding or migrating Sámi), *dálonat* (sedentary) and *meronat* (Sea Sámi)".[375] The same way of categorizing was, and is to be found in other villages. But still, most seem to feel confident and knew where they came from and where they belonged; as Mannela had said, the festival was first and foremost for the Sámi and he was glad that the majority of the visitors were Sámi even if they did not dress in Sámi clothes. [376] Wearing a *gákti* was a distinct way of showing your 'Sáminess,' or also showing that you were ČSV; as one person said: "Of course I wore the *gákti*; I did not want to feel like as an outsider."[377] Ethnic identity markers are both internal and external.[378] According to the concepts of both ethnic and indigenous identity, it is not only a matter of self-definition or self-ascription, the others in the same group, community or people must recognize and accept you as being the same as them. We identify ourselves with those we feel are like us and from those we differ from. In a process of ethnic and indigenous mobilization, the majority and/or the people representing the national state authority become the others or 'the opposite', in such a phase dichotomization is a part of the process. But the focus on Davvi Šuvva was not so much on ethnic identity as on becoming indigenous and a 'member' of the Fourth World. It might be said that a diversity of identities were expressed at the same time; through yoik a local identity was expressed at the same time as ethnic identity, and it was now also an accepted expression of being in and belonging to the 'global family' of indigenous peoples.

From today's perspective, an international festival of this kind, one might say that there were not a lot of people present at Kaarevarra; but when I was attending Riddu Riđđu in 1995, there were approximately 400 people there. With 'competing' midsummer events and Sámi

[374] Stordahl 1996:83 my translation
[375] Ibid my translation and italics
[376] Norrbottens-Kuriren June 25th 1979:12
[377] Interview with Marry Ailonieida Somby
[378] Svonni in Seurujärvi-Kari & Kulonen (ed.) 1996:112

anniversaries, 3,500 visitors in the weekend sound very good and approximately 500 each day on average. Working so intensely and so hard over such a long period to prepare an event like this, I do not find it difficult to understand the dream and expectations some of the people involved had about several more thousand climbing Kaarevarra hill. It is actual a sensation that Davvi Šuvva, this northern breeze, made the world come to a hill in a small Sámi village in 'the middle of nowhere.' The same can be said of the development of the Riddu Riđđu festival in the north of Troms. Some of the people I spoke with view Riddu Riđđu as a follow up of Davvi Šuvva.

In the beginning, the Sámi movement consisted of Sámi elite politicians and ČSV activists; among the radical ČSV there were clear opinions about who was Sámi or not, and how to be Sámi. According to V.Stordahl,[379] there are also strong claims on taking a stand for your ethnic identity. "ČSV represented a message about a sign of *collective life experiences*… Many found that participation in the ethno-political interest organization was a liberating experience; life found its place related to a Sámi-Norwegian dichotomy."[380] The artist Synnøve Persen expressed it like this:

> Our thoughts flew out of closed cages. A movement emerged. ČSV. We wanted our land back, our language, our self esteem, our culture, our property. We wanted everything back that had been taken away from us during centuries. An unorganized movement which had as its primary maxim: 'Show that you are Sámi'.[381]

"The Sámi history, the myths and the symbols were revitalized and got, if not new, but a condensed content and meaning."[382] But was the Sámi movement for all of the Sámi in 1979? Lene Hansen, who belongs to the Riddu Riđđu generation, states in her thesis *Little storm on the coast* that "the flowering time of the 70s and the Alta-case did not get much influence related to ordinary people along the coast and their Sámi self perception… This purist ideology provided a breeding ground for severe demands to who the Sámi society shall accepted as their own... and paradoxically enough, this contributed that the cleavage between inland and coast grew wider."[383] As far as I have found, this conflict was not much touched upon at Davvi Šuvva in 1979, but it certainly became an issue on the Norwegian side in the years to come.

[379] Stordahl, V: *Same i den moderne verden (Sámi in the Modern World)* 1996:85
[380] Ibid.:87 My translation, the author's italic
[381] Ibid.:87 (Synnøve Persen 1986) My translation
[382] Gaup in Stordahl (ed.) 2006:91 My translation
[383] Hansen 2007:24 my translation

There were sixteen years between the first Davvi Šuvva festival and the first Riddu Riđđu festival in 1995, when the festival got its name. It was a differnt time and situation in 1979; a strict or purist attitude is not an unusual phenomenon in the early phases of building an ethno-cultural and political and an indigenous movement, or any movement for that matter. In the 1970s, the Sámi mobilization mostly moved people from the inland areas of Sápmi and Sámi identity was strongly attached to the livelihood of reindeer herding. But the discussion of who is Sámi has been going on for a while now in various ways and with multiple approaches and perspectives. And the discussions and conflicts between the inland and coast are still there, though the cleavage between the Sámi is hopefully not as deep as it was before.

The different yoik expressions at Davvi Šuvva also tell us about various Sámi groups, like from the coast of Finnmark and the East Sámi living in the forests north of Lake Enare. There were also Sámi from the area around Gáresavvon that lived from hunting and fishing. The South Sámi and their *vuelie* were not represented. Like the East Sámi, the South Sámi language and culture differentiated from North Sámi; the *vuelie* is more epic and melodious, it is also more melancholic like the *vuolle* from the Lule Sámi areas can be.

How to unite all these different Sámi identities; did they all feel they had something in common? I do not think it was obvious to everyone being there. One said she thought it was "important from those from the outskirt areas to get to know us";[384] then she laughed and said: "Now I'm being ego" or one might call it a "core-Sámi-centric." Having a reindeer herding background was evidently the most Sámi you could be.

Through the different yoiks one became aware of the diversity of Sámi culture, there was no homogenous Sámi culture, as often believed and officially expressed in stereotypes, and sometimes in the discourse of the Sámi themselves. The Skolt Sámi leu'dd was very different from the yoik from the winter places in the inland like the South Sámi *vulie* is also quite different, though it was not performed by anyone at Davvi Šuvva. As previously written one of the reasons that the South Sámi did not attend could possibly be the 75 year celebration of Fatmomakke Sámi Searvi and the 60 year anniversary of Frostviken Sámi Searvi.[385] The South Sámi culture and language differentiated from the North Sámi and the connections

[384] Interview September 2006
[385] But I can not say that there were no South Sámi attending.

between them had previously been scarce. Through the various yoiks that were performed we also learn that there are different Sámi dialects and languages.

In addition, the different *gávttit* inform us and those who were there about one's belonging to various places and areas. These are among the cultural and ethnic identity markers often written about like language, subsistence, or ways of living. From this it can be concluded that the identity was both here and there. There was obviously different ways of being Sámi and this was expressed through the different vocal traditions as well as the more modern musical expressions, for some performers 'yoik'n rock' or rock in Inuit was the best way to stand up and be heard. It can also be said that the different expressions varied according to geographical places and landscapes; that the physical environment might have an influence as well as the culture we are tuaght and raised within. Those who were really familiar with yoik could easily tell the difference between a yoik from Kárášjohka and Guovdageaidnu. As mentioned in chapter 4, the yoik from the Sea Sámi area differentiated a lot from the yoik from the tundra or the mountains. Then again, there were a few left that practiced *le'udd*, but there had probably been local differences and variations in that area too.

But still "It was us!" and there was a strong feeling of togetherness, not only between the Sámi; this togetherness also embraced the Indians and the Inuit. Earlier there had been connections especially between Sámi representatives and Canadian Indians and Inuit after the Conference for Arctic peoples in Copenhagen in 1973[386] and the WCIP conferences in 1975 and 1977.

"It was in the middle of the 70s that I began to get in touch with people from Kárášjohka and the coast, which was something unfamiliar; it was step one and step two and then came WCIP and Davvi Šuvva and then the view started to widen out."[387] One person from the Norwegian side thought it was exiting to meet the Swedish Sámi boys and a third could not remember very much from the festival because she was so in love. There were a lot of different encounters; it seems like ethnicity did not matter that much as long as you belonged to 'the indigenous family.' Káren Elle Gaup said: "The openness was special; if you saw a Sámi you just said Hi! - it was the same with the Indians. It was us! or he or she was one of us. It strengthened the feeling of indigenous people belonging together; …got this feeling of being a

[386] Minde 2003:82
[387] Interview with Britta Markatt-Labba

part of. Our horizon widened, before this we hardly knew each other…the world opened up and Sápmi became bigger and bigger."[388] So even if the physical territory of Sápmi had become smaller as performed by Nils Utsi, the mental landscapes had broadened and so had the conception of who the Sámi were; that might change both the mental and geographical map. "A map, where Sámi place names indicated this land area, was drawn by the Sámi artist Hans Ragnar Mathisen in 1975."[389]

According to Benedict Anderson's concept of 'imagined communities,' one cannot characterize some communities or societies as genuine or false, "community must be differentiated from each other after how they are conceived."[390] Among the Sámi in this area there were, and are, strong connections and ties across the national borders through kin; the Sámi kinship system has been and still is tighter and stronger than the ordinary kinship system in the Nordic countries.[391] This added to the strengthening of identity, community and the feeling and experience of belonging. Many Sámi discovered that they were part of another and larger circle consisting of other indigenous people, many felt related to the Canadian Indians and also the Inuit people, while the Komi were viewed to be strangers. In this way, the Komi became 'others', they were not members of WCIP at that time and were not seen as indigenous in the way that the Sámi, Indians and the Inuit saw themselves, neither were the Kurds. "Indeed, identity is always based on power and exclusion. Someone must be excluded from a particular identity in order for it to be meaningful."[392] One comment about the Komi group was that they came, did their dance and left. They probably would have wanted to mingle and communicate if they had been allowed.

The Kurds compared their situation with the Sámi people, also living in four different countries. The term indigenous was obviously mostly used by 'insiders' and the 'elite politicians' knowing the political correct expressions, 'the language' or the rhetoric at that time. Culture can be a facet of identity, like ethnic and local identity, and at Davvi Šuvva in 1979 there was also the overarching indigenous identity. Weaver sees identity as "always fragmented, multiply constructed and intersected in a constantly changing, sometimes conflicting array. Although in reality the various facets of identity are inextricably

[388] Interview with Káren Elle Gaup
[389] Stordahl, V. 1996:89
[390] Anderson 1996:20
[391] Erke 1986:25-37
[392] Weaver, H. 2001:244

linked…"[393] Identity is about self-ascription, how you define yourself and how this is defined and recognized or ascribed to you by others in the same community and or group of people. Further, it also about how (or whether) this is accepted and recognized by 'the others', those you define yourself as different from or even as opposed to, in the case of minority/majority and asymmetric power relations.

At Davvi Šuvva there was a 'crossing over' of various identities which can be said to be expressed at the same time; seen from today the focus was on acceptance and recognition of being Sámi and becoming indigenous together with the other 'tribal' peoples. There was a discovery of having more in common than history with the Inuit and the Indians; there were similarities in values, beliefs, and worldviews and ways of expressing these that made it possible to consider them as being collectively indigenous. In this case, the ethnicity was not seen as contrasting or conflicting, one probably also focused on similarities rather than differences. "Indigenous peoples are not 'the others' – they are us."[394]

Aillohaš' yoik in Port Alberni in 1975 managed to convince the South American Indians that the Sámi were indigenous people. The differences, lack of information and knowledge, and not least, the total lack of ability to communicate at the festival, placed the Komi people in the unfortunate position of being strangers and outsiders. This, I assume, strengthened the experience of the other peoples' sense of belonging together. A common verbal language to communicate in and the opportunity to dialogue is a significant factor in understanding each other, even if it was the language of the majority or the former colonizers, as English and Spanish were for many of the participants. In addition to sharing the experience of songs, yoik, dances and music, the sharing of cultural expressions became another way to communicate which open doors to understanding and solidarity.

5.5 The Signification of Vocal and Musical Expression

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää wrote in 1984 that the yoik was "a political symbol in itself. A symbol of Sámi. As it always had been." And later "Yoik is not only music. The functions of the yoik goes much further than that. They are ways of social contact. A way to calm reindeer. To

[393] Ibid
[394] Gaup 2006:96

scare wolves. Yoik was never meant to be presented as art."[395] But yoik was also now on its way to becoming communicative art performed and presented on stage; it did not have to be hidden away anymore. Looking back Ánde Somby said that Valkeapää's *Joikuja* record of from 1968 and the record of Deatnugatte Nuorat from 1974 had prepared the way; "the yoik could feel warm on stage. It was no negotiations in this any more, if yoik belonged on stage, it was maybe then the traditional yoik started to find its form on stage." At the same time, reflecting on what happens when yoik is brought on stage: "The feature of dialogue becomes a challenge when the yoik came on stage, it became a monologue. That was maybe the part of the negotiation that was central in the Davvi Šuvva time, the yoik was now on stage, but how should it be? What kind of form should it have?"[396]

The Davvi Šuvva festival was a celebration of a diversity of ethnic and indigenous identities and voices; "The tribal voice in the new political discourse."[397] "Only through this direct contact as we get at such gatherings can indigenous peoples learn to know each other and actually experience that they are in the same boat. That you are not alone in the world."[398]
The yoik acted as a common language at the meeting in Port Alberni: "The music of the Inuit and the Indians can be called yoik. Just by listening one is convinced by the similarities."[399] These were reflections Nils-Aslak Valkeapää had after the establishment of WCIP. Ánde Somby further commented that "Davvi Šuvva was an important link and maybe that link that zoomed out or widened the picture; by saying we were not alone in the world with these kind of problems.[400] There are many others and we are a part of that global movement, so this language of tones and tunes was significant."

"The Sámi music became an important arena to express 'Sáminess' and especially the yoik was underlined."[401] It can now be ascertained that Davvi Šuvva 1979 was an arena and a meeting place for this 'Sáminess' together with 'Indianess' and 'Inuitness' and as such an expression for indigenousness. Davvi Šuvva provided and filled Kárevarra hill with a new meaning, the hill got a new connotation and value after this festival, the landscape probably still looked the same but it was here where 'it' happened; Kaarevarra also became a

[395] Valkeapää: "Ett sätt att lugna renar" (A way to calm reindeer) Café Existenz nr. 24 1984:43-47
[396] Interview with Ande Somby
[397] Gaski (ed.) 1997:25
[398] Valkeapää in *Greetings from Lappland* 113
[399] Greetings from lappland 1983:17
[400] He is here referring to the Alta case.
[401] 2006:92

'soundscape', a place of voices. This journey made me understand the special way a friend uttered the name of this hill once, with honor in her voice. She had been at Kaarevarra at the 2nd Davvi Šuvva in 1993 and was among those who tried to coordinate a third one. Britta said "Davvi Šuvva was very good for Gáresavvon; there had been so much conflict there. We would have needed a Davvi Šuvva again, a Davvi Šuvva number three to get people…" here she went silent. "Then a lot of people would have come, it would make the place come alive and tourist business would go well. This is something that would have a positive effect on our village." And I wonder if she meant "to get people…" join and come together again. Káren Elle Gaup said "Davvi Šuvva had a gathering effect. I miss that togetherness. It should happen something that unite us again. Then it was "Our future – Our Language".

After this midsummer weekend, Pål Doj started the editorial in Samefolket writing: "Karesuando in midsummer. A celebration of cheer and delight without any comparison. Such an event has never before been organized in Same-Ätnam. And it will be difficult to repeat it; at least not for many years."[402] He did not know how right he would be, though the organizers had expressed that a similar festival would take place in one or two years in another place or another country. Dave Monture had also expressed that he hoped that this could be an annual event. Perhaps Doj realized what a tremendous exertion and endeavor Davvi Šuvva had been and that it would take a lot of resources and effort to repeat it.

The human voice is the closest thing to an instrument we have, and we have the ability to hear long before we are born; after six months in the womb "the myelination of the auditory nerve"[403] takes place which makes us able to hear, and hearing is the last sense we lose before dying. The baby knows its mother's voice before any and synchronizes and moves rhythmically with her and other surrounding voices; rhythm seen here as a function of culture.[404] A good voice singing or yoiking has the ability to calm us and even heal, like how a yoik can calm the reindeer. In the book *The Dance of Life* Edward Hall writes that wherever music is played on this earth there can be witnessed synchronicity between the listening people; "Because there is a beat to music, the generally accepted belief is that the rhythm originates in the music, not that *music is a highly specialized releaser of rhythms already in the individual*. Otherwise, how does one explain the close fit between ethnicity and music?

[402] Samefolket nr.8 1979:3 my translation
[403] Hall, E. 1984:178 Anthropologist
[404] Hall 1984:178

Music can also be viewed as rather remarkable extension of the rhythms generated in human beings."[405]

It can now be established as a fact that Davvi Šuvva 1979 was the direct result of the founding and the first WCIP conference, and as such, the first Sámi indigenous and international indigenous festival. It can also be ascertained that Sámi cultural and artistic manifestations, vocal and musical expressions, strengthened both individual and collective Sámi identity and contributed, along with powwow dance and drum singing, to the awareness of belonging to the world's indigenous peoples. It was in the 70s that yoik really entered the public stage and the Davvi Šuvva festival contributed to a celebration and renaissance of formerly hidden voices and showed the way to pride and dignity since it worked as a tool for recovery and decolonization of the mind. As such, Davvi Šuvva deserves to be called the "mother of all Sámi summer festivals."

5.6 Sámi or indigenous musical expressions in the new millenium

Lásse Johnsen Kvernmo, a young Sámi musician, released his first CD after Easter this year. In an interview in Nordlys on April 8th he describes his music as Sámi west coast rock[406] and said that his American producers understood the Sámi concept better than the Norwegians; "in Norway the music was norwegianized."[407] He further states that "Sámi music has to do with background; you must have felt the language, the setting and the harassment in your body. It is your identity, not the genre that decides."[408] He claims that as a Sámi musician in Norway you are not taken seriously unless you yoik and that it is easier to be Sámi in Los Angeles than in Kárášjohka.[409] Where does this take the yoik in this new millennium? It is still "our language and our future" but in another way than in the 1970s. The yoik is still alive but in different ways, it has been mixed with jazz, rock, punk, techno and rap and the functions have changed. The Sámi group Adjagas makes new yoiks and leaves the traditional yoiks as they are, "They keep the fire going and connect past and presence."[410] The traditional yoiks are still to be heard at weddings and on the Sámi plains when reindeer herders still yoik while

[405] Ibid. 179 The author's italic
[406] His CD was produced in USA by Skidd Mills and Ben Grosse
[407] Nordlys April 8th 2009:46
[408] Ibid.
[409] Ibid.
[410] Kramvig, B. in "Gjenerobrer fortida med joiken" (Reconquering the Past with Yoik) http://www.culcom.uio.no/nyheter/2008/firekeepers.html 03.11.2008

watching the herds from their snowmobiles and late at night in local pubs people yoik alone or together, even in pubs in Tromsø. And luckily, drunken people have had the courage to break the silence and as such they have contributed to saving the yoik and keeping the tradition alive.[411]

In the article "Yoik – Sami Music in a Global World" Gaski expresses concern about 'cultural fusion' of yoik and other indigenous expressions ending up as world music or a 'common indigenous sound'[412]. He further writes "Traditions change, and there is a question mark over what is authentic…How does one define tradition, and who determines what is traditional?" [413]. Later he asks "What happens for example when yoik is mixed together with Native American chanting, or when traditional yoik is performed as throat singing inspired by the Tuvan people of Siberia?"[414]

One of the traditional yoiks on Piera Balto's LP from 1978 has ended up on a CD in the USA called "Sacred Spirit" produced in 1994; the yoik is called *Normo-Jovnna* from Kárášjohka was now called "Ly-o-lay-ale loya" on the "Sacred Spirit" CD. The "counterclockwise circle dance" is mixed with Native American chanting without reference to the origin.[415] According to Stoor the yoik "is abducted from the Sámi in the global perspective, but that it probably always will stay Sámi in the local perspective."[416] Another way to perceive this is the yoik's immense capability to impact people and influence other people's music, and it might also be seen as a migration and expansion of yoik, similar to stories that wander, or also called urban myths or legends. But again, this evokes the issue of property and copyright.

These are certainly significant and interesting issues to be discussed and addressed. There is no space for such another long discussion in this thesis; but hopefully, and with anticipation these questions will be further debated and elaborated on in the future.

[411] Also referring to *Takk til de tørste* (Thanks to the Thirsty) Poem by Marry Ailonieida Somby in TRYKK 2005 Forfatterstudiet 2004-2005 Universitetet i Tromsø 2005 with permission of the author
[412] Gaski in Minde (ed.) 2008:359
[413] Ibid. 2008:355
[414] Ibid. 357
[415] Stoor 2007:57 On the back of the cd it only says that track 3 is not a traditional Native American song
[416] Stoor 2007:57

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