



Are We One and the Same?

Scholarly Representation of Gender in Sami Reindeer Herding



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Master of Philosophy in Indigenous Studies
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Spring 2010

Abstract

This thesis focuses on representations of gender in Sami reindeer herding in West Finnmark, Norway. I analyze to what extent are scholarly representations of gender accurate when compared to the local experience of modernization, by focusing on masculinity. This analysis builds on the history of Norwegian reindeer herding regulations from the Lapp Codicil to recent debates on the amendments to the 1978 Reindeer Herding Act to determine when and why gender has become a topic of concern. Mechanization's impact on gendered participation and representation is analyzed by determining to what extent early ethnographic works contributed to the masculinization of reindeer herding. This is contrasted against local narratives that demonstrate how modernizing transportation was adapted in the family and siida differently than described by scholars. Analyzing the relationship between regulations and gendered representation in reindeer herding will argue that current gender discussions have marginalized the gendered experience of men.

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Chapter 1: **Are We One and the Same?: Scholarly Representation of Gender in Sami Reindeer Herding.**

That is why I am showing you the sons and daughters diplomas. Both are raised similarly and encouraged to go into reindeer herding.... I have not made a division between the boys and the girls.... The now a day reindeer [herding] is very man dominated, there are very few women.¹

What is the gender of Sami reindeer herders? Interpretations of this question are primarily discussed at the theoretical level, yet the opening quotation demonstrates how a local narrative can provide a counterpoint. The ending of the quotation directs attention towards “now a day’s” that suggests recent changes in the representation and participation of gender in reindeer herding. This quotation was given by a middle-aged father that has experienced gender shifts in his lifetime. What social developments have occurred following World War II to impact gender in Sami reindeer herding? Internationally, the women’s movement gained prominence and reached pinnacle with the 1975 UN Year of Women. Awareness over human rights grew to encompass a wide range of movements that includes the indigenous rights movement. The Norwegian state blossomed into a civil society managed by welfare state principles of equality. How this was applied to Sami reindeer herders meant increasing attempts at integrating their traditional livelihood into the state system. Like always, reindeer herders expanded their political organizations and socially adapted to changing social and political context to continue reindeer herding. These changes are reflected in the opening quotation when using gender as a gage to measure with.

Going back to the first statement “what is the gender of Sami reindeer herders” can be perceived differently from the theoretical level. Scholarly debates address this topic at the theoretical level, while local narratives experiences changes in gender. The meeting of these two levels allows for an analysis of how scholars have represented the impact of modernization on gender in Sami reindeer herding. Is it comparable to the local experience of gender, with specific emphasis on masculinity? Broadly these questions could assume different perspectives ranging from economy, education, and health. This thesis will focus on two subsidiary points in reindeer herding in West Finnmark, Norway. How has gender discussions shaped the representation of gender through their analysis of government

¹ Informant three, interview 2009.

regulations in reindeer herding? Secondly, how have scholars framed modernization impacts on gender in Sami reindeer husbandry? By the end of this thesis the opening question of what is the gender of Sami reindeer herders will be answered through comparing the theoretical representation of gender to local narratives.

Methods and Sources

Locating sources for this thesis has focused on developing literature reviews and a few interviews. Discourses have been broken down into two main categories of gender and reindeer husbandry. The basis of gender discussions comes from Sami feminist works. These compose the majority of existing gendered research in Sami culture. Additional perspectives were obtained through gendered research that focus on reindeer husbandry and the position of gender in the family and siida. Understanding the reindeer husbandry dimension of these works was done through participant observations that contextualized the works on the history of reindeer herding. Coupling reindeer history works with gender discussions created the meeting point between my two main themes. Literature reviews in this thesis will be restricted to English because of my own language limitations. Missing literature written in Norwegian or Sami will be addressed by reviewing English summaries and assessing the context they were used in. While this approach is limited in its complete comprehension of the Norwegian or Sami texts, it does allow for a degree of understanding. More importantly allows me to understand how these texts have informed scholarly constructions and representations of gender, which is one of my main research questions.

Four interviews have been conducted in West Finnmark, that was guided by my participant observation. Language was one of my limiting factors in obtaining interviews, and this was overcome by using a translator during two interviews. This working relationship stemmed from a personal friendship with a colleague who is researcher in reindeer husbandry and from West Finnmark. She provided contacts from her local community to interview through her family and friends. Her professional skills were provided in exchange for assistance with a building project, a point she emphasized as an indigenous labor exchange. The three interviews conducted through her provide the perspective from her social network. To balance this one additional interview was conducted within the siida that I had spent with for participant observations. Through combining these two perspectives I was able to

participate in activities that informed my interview schedules, and balanced this experience with interviews from my translator's networks.

Four interviews were conducted with three men and one woman from West Finnmark. These interviews were semi-structured to allow for a greater degree of response freedom from my informants. Owing to the limited number of interviews, and to avoid generalization from the experience of a few individuals, this thesis will be primarily comprised of existing literature.

Key Terms & Concepts

Gender

The core definition of gender in this thesis will draw on the works of Joan Scott.² Her formulation of gender relates two propositions where: "gender is a constitutive element of social relationship based on the perceived difference between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power."³ The relationship between the two is not unilateral. Instead, it is a web of four interrelated elements composed of culturally available symbols, normative concepts derived from cultural symbols, politics and social organizations built upon these symbols and concepts, and finally the subjective identity.⁴ At the intersection of these four points is the complex formulation of gender that reflects the relationships between the sexes and how represents power within society affect this dynamic. Gender is not created in a single space, but rather exists across a myriad of places and time. Scott further complicates theoretical analyses of gender by suggesting that various schools of thought - Marxist, anthropological, feminist, and post structuralist - all spin gender according to their particular theoretical bent. Of particular significance for our purposes is Scott's abstraction of gendered constructs from the kinship level.

Gender is shaped by polity, economy, and the cultural context built upon historical process. Similarly, all of these processes have given rise to kinship and the broader social institutions. Embedded within this multitude of levels is the validation through the inclusion of cultural symbols and normative meaning.

² Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053-75.

³ *Ibid.*: 1067.

⁴ *Ibid.*

At first, it may seem contradictory to negotiate gender in a broader deconstructed Foucault sense while simultaneously focusing on it as it applies to Sami reindeer herders in the 20th century. Scott preempts this criticism in her discussion of how gender remains a useful category of historical analysis. She argues that

When historians look for the ways in which the concept of gender legitimizes and constructs social relationships, they develop insight into the reciprocal nature of gender and society and into the particular and contextually specific ways in which politics constructs gender and gender constructs politics.⁵

Scott emphasizes on the structure of thought that should be employed in analyzing gender. She clarifies that this should not be limited to only politics, and can be applied broadly across fields. The reciprocal relationship identified between the constitutive elements and broader institutions of power are central to developing gender as an analytical category.

In examining this approach to gender, Scott's analysis becomes useful in developing a gendered analysis of Sami reindeer herding history. Her attention to the complex process of culture, history, and institutions provides the theoretical foundation for understanding how government industrialization attempts influence the construction and definition of gender. Indeed, approaching gender in this way provides useful insights that expand beyond West Finnmark, and calls into question the historical and cultural process that gave rise to substantial interference into the traditional economies of arctic indigenous peoples throughout Scandinavia.

Reindeer Herding, Management, and Husbandry

Many reputable scholars have weighed in on debates surrounding the categorization of reindeer husbandry, herding, and management. Robert Paine and Tim Ingold have a long standing argument over the distinctions between herding and husbandry. Paine argues that herding is characterized by "the control and nurturance of animals in the terrain" juxtaposed against husbandry which is "the management of the herd as a harvestable resource."⁶ Ingold counters Paine's definition by arguing through control of the total number of animals the herdsman is mediating the pasture and consumer relationship.⁷ Paine's focus on the economic dimension of husbandry, whereby the aim is growth of capital and formation of

⁵ Ibid.: 1070.

⁶ Robert Paine, "The Herd Management of Lapp Reindeer Pastoralists," *Journal of Asian and African studies* 7, no. 1-2 (1972): 79.

⁷ Tim Ingold, *Hunters, Pastoralists and Ranchers: Reindeer Economies and Their Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 112-14.

profit, negates the cultural dimension of this lifestyle.⁸ This point is divided in Ingold's response in which he argues that in husbandry maximizing "the reserves on the hoof" is a desired outcome for husbandry.⁹ Here the economic goal is situated in a valued outcome for herders. This debate between Ingold and Paine introduces this topic, but still fails to grasp the social and gendered dimension of herding and husbandry.

The Sustainable Reindeer Husbandry report outlines the basic distinctions between herding, management, and husbandry through a more contextually-specific manner.¹⁰ The report describes reindeer herding as having a direct relationship through action of working with the herd. This can be done without any ownership to the reindeer. Reindeer management entails different herding systems or organization. For example, different traditional herding methods prevail between reindeer peoples or governmental governing structures. This concept will be drawn on heavily in relationship to the Reindeer Administration regulations in Norway. The Siida represents the traditional reindeer management structure in West Finnmark and will be reviewed below. Reindeer husbandry is the broadest of the three terms and refers to families living or having a close relationship to the animals through different means of ownership.

Establishing the basis of these three terms, this thesis will use the terminology of reindeer husbandry to denote the family-orientated nature of reindeer husbandry in Norway. "Herding" will be used when relating to the continually active process of working in a direct relationship to reindeer management on the local level. The above outline is further supplemented by the companion report's elaboration on the definition of reindeer husbandry. Here the definition is broadened to include social, cultural, and economic systems involved with all aspects of a reindeer,¹¹ including supporting activities and products such as hunting, fishing, and berry picking that tie in to a holistic manner of interacting with reindeer.¹² The significance of the second definition compared to the first is its detail on reindeer products and food gathering. Secondly, focusing on food gathering diversifies the image of reindeer husbandry beyond reindeer meat to the tasks the entire family would engage in. In other

⁸ Paine, "The Herd Management of Lapp Reindeer Pastoralists," 79.

⁹ Ingold, *Hunters, Pastoralists and Ranchers: Reindeer Economies and Their Transformations*, 112-14.

¹⁰ Johnny-Leo L. Jernsletten and Konstantin Klokov, *Sustainable Reindeer Husbandry: Arctic Council 2000-2002* (Tromsø: Centre for Saami Studies, University of Tromsø, 2002), 22.

¹¹ Birgitte Ulvevadet and Konstantin Klokov, *Family-Based Reindeer Herding and Hunting Economies, and the Status and Management of Wild Reindeer/Caribou Populations* (Tromsø: Centre for Saami Studies, University of Tromsø, 2004), 9-10.

¹² Ibid.

words, the second definition better addresses the diverse definition of what qualifies as reindeer husbandry in that it includes the role of women and children, and different roles of men.

Siida

The siida is the continuation of the traditional formation of social organization or unit within reindeer herding. Solveig Joks defines the siida as “an organization of households who cooperate on herding supervision of the reindeer herd.”¹³ The internal organization of a siida is composed of two primary units: baikedoallu and siddadoalu. Mikkel Nils Sara defines the relationship between the baikedoallu and siidadoalu as:

The household unit has to provide means for its own work and sustenance, while also having to meet work obligations within larger co-operative groups, which are called siida.¹⁴

The Siida can be composed different numbers of baikedoallu, that come together in a common pasture area for division of labor.¹⁵ Organizing work and schedules as a joint effort to manage reindeer is the responsibility of the siida.

The siida function depends on the efforts of the baikedoallu units. Here equipment, supplies, and the labor force required to maintain a siida is derived from the baikedoallu.¹⁶ The labor force of the baikedoallu is essential during high demand times of the year. Herd organization during these periods of high labor intensity requires large numbers of people. For example, splitting the herd in the corral, branding, slaughtering selected animals, and separating mixed herds from surrounding siida require large numbers of people. In response to increasing labor demands, the focus of work shifts from the baikedoallu to the broader siida, and then back again when the siida’s work has been completed.

Gendered relations in the siida influence the division of labor and social organization. Joks article demonstrates how gender is organized internally within the siida.¹⁷ She argues that both men and women can inherit siida areas or pastures through their parents. Relocation

¹³ Kirsti Strøm Bull, Nils Oskal, and Mikkel Nils Sara, *Reindriften I Finnmark: Rettshistorie 1852-1960* (Oslo: Cappelen akademisk, 2001), 302. Quoted in: Ellen Inga Turi, "Living with Climate Variation and Change: A Comparative Study of Resilience Embedded in the Social Organisation of Reindeer Pastoralism in Western Finnmark and Yamal Peninsula" (E.I. Turi, 2008), 33.

¹⁴ Solveig Joks, "Women's Position in the Sámi Reindeer Husbandry," in *International Handbook of Research on Indigenous Entrepreneurship* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2007), 250-51.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

of one partner will occur during marriage, unless they are from the same siida. In either example, a baikedoallu will be established for the new couple.

Within this discussion, Joks argues that the individual, family, and siida exist at the micro level. The micro level is outlined as entailing the interactions between different people, or the household level. The middle level focuses upon the community level, and what factors of mobilization and intuitions are required to create this level. The macro level is located at the national level and how policy affects social groups.

A contemporary analysis of the siida outlines its organization of reindeer husbandry. Despite debate and concern that the siida is no longer performing its traditional role, it was demonstrated during fieldwork to be an ongoing source of social organization and governance over reindeer husbandry. Embedded in this organization was traditional governing structure of reindeer husbandry by the reindeer herders.

Literature Review

International literature on the situation of gender in circumpolar indigenous communities is underdeveloped, especially on indigenous men. This is puzzling in recent histories dedication towards understanding how modernization has influenced local communities ability to adapt to changing lifestyles, economies, and political circumstances. The ability of indigenous women to adapt and mediate the implications of modernization have been given a degree of attention against the backdrop of suspicions against gendered research. Indigenous men have not warranted the same attention in literature and this is a failure on the part of gendered researchers. Knowledge gaps on the position of indigenous men need to be addressed to create a stronger understanding of how they are negotiating modernization, and what their experience can explain about the broader community.

The Arctic Human Development Report survey of social, political, indigenous, and gendered development issues in the circumpolar north acts as a report card for future development in the north. The chapter “Gender Issues” in relationship to human security is of particular interest. I argue that gender is a primary signifier and negotiator of prevailing power relationships, an approach that is in line with Scott’s view of the significance of gender for social analysis. “Gender Issues” is unique in its focus on men and women in a

balanced fashion.¹⁸ Equally addressing the constructs of male and female allows for the broader application of research conclusions to the human experience and social organization. The construction of male and female should be further deconstructed to guard against the reification of two categories that are historically stable.

Drawing on masculine scholarship from Karala Jessen Williamson's research will contribute to filling existing literature gaps. She argues that the modernization process in the Arctic has led to a devaluation of men's traditional roles.¹⁹ With increasing out migration of woman, men are left "maintaining their cultural and masculine identity."²⁰ These findings challenge feminist discourse by placing men in a more vulnerable situation than women.²¹ Framing Arctic men as being systematically disenfranchised, Williamson calls on gender equality discourse to address their situation.²² This discussion highlights the emerging masculine studies and a counter discourse to feminism. This approach is needed in order to balance the application of gendered research away from focusing solely on the position of women in society. While this scholarship is interesting and valuable, it fails to develop gender within its entirety. The above author's research into the position of indigenous men is important for creating balance and revealing a gendered experience characterized by the "transition" to modernity.

Transitioning from surveying international literature to a Norwegian context of reindeer herding is simplified through the examination of the Arctic Council works. Two foundation works within circumpolar reindeer herding research have been published by the Arctic Council.²³ Both reports provide a comprehensive overview of the situation in reindeer herding in the circumpolar north, and I will focus on the chapter on Norway and Sweden. Scholarly incorporation of these two nationalities has occurred because of Sweden's union over Norway until the turn of the twentieth century. This separation and its implications for reindeer herding policy will be discussed further in chapter two. It is important to restate that

¹⁸ Karla Jessen Williamson et al., "Gender Issues," in *Arctic Human Development Report*, ed. Niels Einarsson, et al. (Akureyri: Stefansson Arctic Institute, 2004), 191.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., 193.

²¹ Ibid., 191.

²² Ibid.

²³ Jernsletten and Klokov, *Sustainable Reindeer Husbandry: Arctic Council 2000-2002*, 85-109.

there are still many differences between the two, and this author encourages the reader to explore these differences.²⁴

The first report on “Sustainable Reindeer Husbandry” provides a basic understanding of the different social, economic, and national governing policies of reindeer husbandry and management in the countries of the circumpolar north. The chapter on Norway establishes the contemporary economic and social context within Sami reindeer husbandry.²⁵ Highlighting the debate on the introduction of Norwegian agricultural policies from the seventies into reindeer husbandry shows early concern over the position of traditional Sami culture and governing institutions. This is highlighted through the debate on the role of the *siida* with the new policies in the 1970’s. Contemporary impacts of these policies on social and economic matters within reindeer husbandry are skillfully developed. However, this work fails to develop a gendered dimension. This means that one of the long running debates upon the position of women within reindeer herding is largely overlooked.

Shortfalls in the first report is addressed in its successor report.²⁶ Adding focus on social and cultural topics, this report follows a similar chapter structure based on circumpolar countries as the first report. The Norwegian chapter’s emphasis on the family/*siida* cultural significance is well conjoined with economic issues. Within this emphasis is the addition of the discussion surrounding the position of women in reindeer husbandry. Like the first report, this work serves to highlight new information on the policies of the seventies, but situated within a broader cultural and social framework. One of the important outcomes of this is the explicit examination of how these policies have affected women, and what broad trends have occurred to change their position within reindeer husbandry.²⁷ Within this analysis is a comprehensive survey on women, but it lacks the masculine position. It furthers the

²⁴ Roger Kvist, "Swedish Saami Policy, 1550-1990," in *Readings in Saami History, Culture and Language, Iii* (Umeå: Center for Arctic Cultural Research, University of Umeå, 1992), 63-78.

Patrik Lantto and Ulf Morkenstam, "Sami Rights and Sami Challenges -- the Modernization Process and the Swedish Sami Movement, 1886-2006," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 33, no. 1 (2008): 26-51.

Hugh Beach, "The Place of Women in the Modern Saameby: An Issue in Legal Anthropology," *Ymer* 102(1982): 127-42. For a policy specialization in contemporary reindeer herding history with a gendered emphasis Hugh Beach has written one of the leading works. Beach’s legal analysis demonstrates how imposed government policy can create a situation of gendered discrimination within herding. The result is Sami female herders face decreasing direct political representation within the Swedish Sami reindeer herding system.

²⁵ Jernsletten and Klokov, *Sustainable Reindeer Husbandry: Arctic Council 2000-2002*, 106-09.

²⁶ Ulvevadet and Klokov, *Family-Based Reindeer Herding and Hunting Economies, and the Status and Management of Wild Reindeer/Caribou Populations*, 113-26.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 119-21.

feminization of gender, and negates the social, cultural, and economic shifts that have equally affected herding men as masculine individuals (i.e. not just workers).

This thesis will not be focused upon the concept of the “Tragedy of the Commons” owing to space and area of focus. Ignoring this discourse outright would exclude works of relevant authors, and I will use aspects of works related to the commons debate. Garrett Hardin’s “Tragedy of the Commons is one of the main texts in shaping reindeer herding discourses in Norway.”²⁸ The central argument was that common property, or a situation of open access to resources, would lead to overuse by individuals and an eventual population crash. To avoid this situation, Hardin proposes privatization or state regulation/nationalization of common resources. Establishing its self during the 1970’s allowed for the full influence of this text to occur in pasture regulations in the 1980’s. Scholarship in response to Hardin’s 1968 text, continues to shape academic and policy direction in Norway.

Bard A. Berg response to Hardin’s common property theory (CPT) cautions against overly focusing upon one area at the expense of others.²⁹ The result of this is a historical investigation into pasture difficulties in the interior of Finnmark and how the application of CPT as an analytical model has given rise to a situation of problematic grazing conditions that the government sought to avoid. Berg determines if CPT as a tool can be used “(a) to detect and explain important empirical differences, or (b) to construct viable practical solutions to real problems of a ‘commons.’”³⁰ The conclusion is that both points have negative outcomes, because Sami reindeer herding management has never permitted a situation of open access to pastures. CPT helps to highlight a major debate in reindeer herding. Despite not being a focus of this research project, it provides insight into how analytical models and policy impact social organization in reindeer herding communities. Berg is not shy in rightfully criticizing government policy towards reindeer herding management regimes. By historically situating this, it assists in structuring this thesis around the same period in reindeer herding history.

Expanding the national discussion to include gendered literature is best highlighted through the Sami feminist works of Jorunn Eikjok. The inclusion of this author in the

²⁸ Hardin Garrett, "The Tragedy of the Commons," *Science*, no. 162 (1968): 1243-48.

²⁹ Bård A. Berg, "Government Intervention into Sámi Reindeer-Management in Norway: Has It Prevented or Provoked 'Tragedies of the Commons'?", *Acta borealia* 13(1996)no. 2(1996): 69-89.

³⁰ Ibid.

literature review has been selected because of her eco-feminist perspective, and this discourse's active engagement in topics of gender, modernization, and cultural transition. In chapter three and four works from Sami gender discussions will be critiqued in more detail. For the purpose of this introduction, Eikjok provides a sufficient introduction into the gendered debate within the Norwegian Sami context.

Linking modernization and masculinity is one way that Eikjok features the renegotiation of traditional gender roles in indigenous communities.³¹ Traditional roles between men and women were balanced, although she is critical to the use of current notions of equality, and based on equal worth.³² Women's roles involved sewing, child raising, and activities related to the home. The home is not defined by four walls in this analysis and is inclusive of the environment that supports its functioning. In reindeer husbandry, women traditionally managed the family economy. The male role is less developed in this depiction and included hunting, fishing, or raising reindeer in the mountains. In modern Sami culture, men are increasingly confined to traditional activities that include new symbols, like snowmobiles.³³ From Eikjok's perspective, this is problematic because there is less room for expansion and adaptation of masculinity.³⁴ Women are increasingly accessing education and paid employment successfully, while facing increasing patriarchy through the introduction of modern capitalist economies.³⁵

Ethics

Doing fieldwork on site and library research required a reflection upon my own personal background. I became increasingly aware of how my background would influence the personal communications in fieldwork. The dual nature of this influence is a central point of reflection on how a foreign female researcher experiences social and political differences in a new cultural setting. Communication in interviews and informal conversations were shaped by meetings of diverse backgrounds. At times this led to misunderstandings, an assumption of knowledge or shielding from the central issues in discussion and interviews. Conversely, it

³¹ Jorunn Eikjok, "Gender, Essentialism and Feminism in Samiland," in *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism* (Black Point, N.S.: Fernwood, 2007), 110-13.

³² *Ibid.*, 108-09.

³³ *Ibid.*, 110-13.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

also opened opportunities in more in depth explanations and direct experiences with various customs and activities that would not have been possible as an insider.

McDonald and Graham set forward a guide for ethics and research in the north.³⁶ The idea of the community becomes central in this guide where a holistic approach is emphasized. Here, community is outlined as the inhabitants of a given area, but also the area they use to sustain themselves. Having an ethical guide specify a northern focus is significant in creating a regionally and culturally sensitive approach to my own research. The discussion surrounding the role and responsibility of a researcher to indigenous communities challenged how I thought about the research process.

Chapter Overview

The following thesis will be constructed in four chapters. The first chapter, being this introduction, will establish the overall foundation for this thesis. The second chapter will provide a historical context for the development of Norwegian Reindeer Herding regulations impact on gender. Chapter three will analyze how scholars have represented gender in asses the impacts of modernization on gender through focusing on mechanization. Chapter four questions the construction of gendered representation in discussions on regulations. Chapter five will conclude this thesis by summarizing key arguments and themes within the preceding chapters.

³⁶ Jim McDonald and Amanda Graham, "Acuns Ethical Principles for the Conduct of Research in the North: Revised Document Approved by Acuns Council, 28 November 1997," <http://www.yukoncollege.yk.ca/~agraham/ethics/ethics.html>

Chapter 2:

The Development of Reindeer Herding Regulation: 1751 to 2005

In what ways did the historical development of Norwegian reindeer herding regulations consider the siida and Sami traditions in formulating its policies. Starting from the 1751 Lapp Codicil to early debate on the Amendment to the 1978 Reindeer Herding Act this chapter will examine the development of pivotal regulations from the state. The 1751 Treaty of Stromstad was created to settle border questions in the north, and its annex the Lapp Codicil regulated the new border consequences for the Sami. The Lapp Codicil has been selected to start this review because it was the first international regulation on reindeer herding and herders access to border crossing. Emphasizing the siida's relationship to nation states will build on Veli-Pekka Lehtola's argument that the siida is a legitimate place for the construction of history.³⁷ This emphasis summarizes existing research and acknowledges the internal social organization within reindeer husbandry. Rooted in these discussions, the following chapter will analyze the siida's strategies towards regulations. Regionally, this will be focused on the Finnmark experience when possible. This area is unique within the Norwegian context for its strong history of reindeer herding and as the locus of continued protest against unfavorable regulations.

The Siida's Role in Border Creation: 1751-1850

This following section will trace the development of border creation and the influence that the siida had on this process from the Lapp Codicil of 1751 to 1850. Characteristic of the 18th and 19th centuries was nation-states jockeying for territorial sovereignty, political control, and access to the wealth of inland trade networks afforded by the Sami. Leading up to 1751, Norway was still under the Danish Kingdome, and Finland was joined with the Swedish empire.³⁸ Tsarist Russia was expansively located to the east of these two powers. Below is a map taken from 1749 to depict the borders during this period. The geopolitical landscape assists in understanding how these states would approach negotiations on border crossing for the Sami, and what benefits were to be gained.

³⁷ Veli-Pekka Lehtola, "The Saami Siida and the Nordic States from the Middle Ages to the Beginning of the 1900s," in *Kulturens Frontlinjer: Skrifter Från Forskningsprogrammet Kulturgräns Norr*, ed. Kristiina Karppi and Johan Eriksson (Umeå: Umeå universitet, Institutionen för nordiska språk, 2002), 183-202.

³⁸ Steinar Pedersen, "State of Saami Ownership of Land in Finnmark?," in *Readings in Saami History, Culture and Language I* ed. Roger Kvist (Umeå: Umea University, 1991), 71-72.



Map 1749 of Scandinavian Borders with Russia.³⁹

Historian Steinar Pedersen argues that the inland Saami exercised a great deal of resource control through the siida's during the period of the 1751 Lapp Codicil.⁴⁰ Unlike chapter one's definition of a siida, Pedersen defines this organization as "the self-governing Saami bands, disposed over land and resources, just like private land-owners."⁴¹ This interpretation's emphasis on governance equating to ownership is formulated in the nation-state understanding of the concept. Through this Pedersen creates a different historical understanding of property relationships, and how there existed different forms of governance. Comparing this to chapter one's definition based on social organization helps to depict the siida's various and evolving functions.

Northern inland access and resources were principally utilized by the Sami. Thomas Cramer argues that in the ambiguous border situation of Norway and Sweden leading up to the Lapp Codicil:

³⁹ Johann Georg Schreiber, "Das Koenigreich Schweden Und Norwegen," (Leipzig, 1749).

⁴⁰ Pedersen, "State of Saami Ownership of Land in Finnmark?," 72.

⁴¹ Ibid.

the taxes from the Saami were decisive for the sovereignty over the siida-land. The crown that alone taxed the siida as owner of the land had the sovereignty.⁴²

In the context of the early 18th century, having this form of relationship would have been vital for the ambitious northern expansion plans of Russia and the Nordic states. Gaining access to the wealth of the inland trade routes was provided via the Sami siida, and became the determinant in expressing sovereignty over northern territory. In the Norwegian-Danish context, Jebens argues, “it was the land that followed the inhabitants under Danish-Norwegian sovereignty, not the contrary.”⁴³ This demonstration options available to reindeer herders and their siida’s through internal governance and nomadism. The historically significant angle from this summation lies in the degree of options available to reindeer herders and their siida. For example, if terms from one state were not favorable, they had the mobility and territorial autonomy to realign themselves.⁴⁴ This would have served as a clear marker of discontent and protest against any state regulations by reindeer herders. The Lapp Codicil codified this option into international law.

The Lapp Codicil was an auxiliary document formed in connection with the Treaty of Stromstad in the Norwegian and Swedish border negotiations of 1751.⁴⁵ Border formation in area’s extensively used by the had the potential for creating obstacles during seasonal migration. This was viewed as a right of custom belonging to the Sami, so the Codicil did not challenge the herders’ continued use of lands and waters.⁴⁶ Jebens argues that this regulation was based on right of custom and is the essence of the Lapp Codicil.⁴⁷ Legally, the Codicil forms the foundation for future Sami rights in international law. Comparing Jebens with Pedersen’s perspective, this period witnessed the codification of the siida’s territorial rights into international treaties. The Lapp Codicil, then, demonstrates that the international community acknowledged the internal autonomy of the siida relating to territory, resource use, citizenship, and social organization.

As the northern powers continued altering their northern borders after the Lapp Codicil they built similar acknowledgments of siida rights into their international agreements.

⁴² Thomas Cramer quoted in *Ibid.*, 73.

⁴³ Otto Jebens, quoted in *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ An example of this will be discussed in the 1852 Russian Norwegian border disputes below.

⁴⁵ Otto Jebens, "Sami Rights to Land and Water in Norway," *Nordic* 55(1986): 46-47.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

In 1809, Sweden surrendered Finland to Russia and established the Swedish/Russian border the following year.⁴⁸ Norway's came into union with Sweden in 1814.⁴⁹ Through the border negotiation process came a striking example of siida-state relationships. In 1826, Norway confirmed its northeast border Russia and Finland.⁵⁰ Pedersen argues that following this agreement there was no evidence that the Russian Tsar saw himself as a private owner of the lands in question, but rather as the sole crown to collect taxes from the Sami.⁵¹ Continuing in this agreement was the retention of free movement for reindeer herders to their traditional pastures, like in the Lapp Codicil.⁵² This form of relationship arguably supports the idea that the states during this period were not intervening in the siida's internal workings, but were more concerned with optimizing access to their products. In order to achieve these ends, it would not have been in the interest of the state to disrupt the working dynamic of the siida. This stems from decreasing access to the siida's resources and territory if conditions became to unfavorable towards the siida.

The agreeable relationship between Russia and Norway did not last. The 1852 Russian-Norwegian fishing dispute, where Russia claimed large areas of Norwegian fishing grounds, would redefine border crossing and pasture access. This claim was made on the premise of traditional Russian Sami fishing access, a claim that Norway refuted. Russia retaliated through border closures to Norwegian Sami reindeer herders, which was then mirrored by Sweden-Norway.⁵³ The 1852 Kautokeino Rebellion followed the Finnish/Russian border closures, where two Norwegian officials were killed in a public uprising by reindeer herders. Historical interpretation range from religious tensions, increasing pressure from pasture closure, to film productions that suggest the early rise of ethnic nationalism.⁵⁴ Further discussion of this event is limited by the focus of this chapter,

⁴⁸ Berg, "Government Intervention into Sámi Reindeer-Management in Norway: Has It Prevented or Provoked 'Tragedies of the Commons'?", 5.

⁴⁹ Cassandra Bergstrøm, "Claiming Reindeer in Norway: Towards a Theory of the Dynamics of Property Regime Formation and Change" (Universitetet, UMB, 2005), 130.

⁵⁰ Pedersen, "State of Saami Ownership of Land in Finnmark?," 75-76.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Bergstrøm, "Claiming Reindeer in Norway: Towards a Theory of the Dynamics of Property Regime Formation and Change", 130.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ John Trygve Solbakk and Britt Hansen Biti, *Samene: En Håndbok* (Karasjok: Davvi girji, 2004), 59-66; Lehtola, "The Saami Siida and the Nordic States from the Middle Ages to the Beginning of the 1900s." This general text introduces readers to Sami history and culture, but incidentally proposes the motivations for the Kautokeino Rebellion the most articulate form. Recently, a new movie production of the Rebellion has been

however it does represent early form of protest against increasing pressure and unfavorable social circumstances. In terms of border closures, they created not only pasture access problems for the coming year, but also represented a conflicting symbolic shift in the position of the siida.

Form one perspective the claims to territorial expansion had been grounded in customary use of Sami territory, consistent with previous border creation. Its rejection and the following border closure highlights the increasing need of states to express firm territorial sovereignty over their areas, but now at the expense of the reindeer herders. The response of reindeer herders to the border closure was a utilization of social connections through kinship and rights solidified in the Lapp Codicil.⁵⁵ Norwegian herders still had access to Swedish pastures and citizenship that granted them passage to the Finnish pastures.⁵⁶ Not all herders utilized these options, and those that stayed in Norway faced problems of pasture and economy.

The 1854 Reindeer Law for Finnmark came in the aftershock of the Russian-Norwegian border closures. This law became significant for the internal regulation of reindeer herding in a new manner. Leading up to this law, regulation had stemmed primarily from the Lapp Codicil. Bergstrom discusses significant developments in this new law as emerging in new territorial and animal regulations.⁵⁷ In terms of territory, there was the formation of seasonal reindeer districts. These districts were formulated along the siida's traditional territory, however the new strictly defined boundaries were in contrast to the previous flexibility. In these districts came monitoring of reindeer numbers. These changes may have been applied in a Norwegian fashion, but Bergstrom highlights how this new law was "requested by reindeer owners and was seen as protecting their needs and interests."⁵⁸ This can be seen in the light of the state working towards protecting, developing, and acknowledging reindeer herders' rights. The extent of Sami request's and state protection is debatable, but is intended to highlight that regulations were not unilateral. Reindeer herders advocating for their needs is significant in understanding the state-Sami relationship, and how

released in Sami. This production supports the notion of ethnic uprising and organization as the motivation for the Rebellion and has spurred the interest in the topic at the popular level.

⁵⁵ Bergström, "Claiming Reindeer in Norway: Towards a Theory of the Dynamics of Property Regime Formation and Change", 130-32.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 131.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

this process was not new for herders. Having this form of social and political organization demonstrates the awareness herders possessed in securing their lifestyle in a changing social atmosphere. What had yet to change was gendered social organization in any meaningful form that historical records indicate. This could stem from lack of documentation or represent an extension of the internal management and resilience of the siida.

Norwegian Internal Policy Development: 1860-1950

Historiography has termed the period from 1860 to the end of World War II as the period of Norwegianization. This was a state sponsored attempt at assimilating national minorities, and was not unique to Norway.⁵⁹ Minde has written one of the authoritative works upon the Norwegianization process, extending from 1860 to 1980.⁶⁰ Norwegianization is outlined as the conscious and active process by which the Norwegian government attempted to assimilate cultural minorities into the state conception of a Norwegian citizen. Minde's historiography focuses upon this process in the coastal Sami's experience in state schools, using language as the measure stick for the success of Norwegianization. This process occurred across a broad range of social instructions, but Minde's focus on schooling provides a clear point of analysis that relates comparable experiences internationally. Today, the Sami and Kven are national minorities that engage with broader discussions on indigenous rights.

Reindeer herders experienced Norwegianization differently than the minorities focused on in Minde's work. Whether this was do to their iconic image that was exported internationally or the lack of accessibility because of their nomadic lifestyle, it is possible to distinguish a different perspective in Norwegian regulation towards reindeer. Paine argues that the Social Darwinistic perspective of the time viewed reindeer herding as a historical survival that would eventually demise owing to weak being over taken by the strong.⁶¹ The Common Lapp Law of 1883 was created during the rise of Norwegianization. Norwegian farming settlements had increased in the preceding century that contributed to increasing

⁵⁹ Henry Minde, *Assimilation of the Sami: Implementation and Consequences*, vol. nr 3/2005, Gáldu Čála (Kautokeino: Resource Centre for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2005), 8. The date difference between Minde's analysis of Norwegianization and this chapter has been selected to emphasize the impact of World War II. This chapter is not contending that Norwegianization ended with the War, but has chosen to combine the post war period with the modernization period in chapter three.

⁶⁰ Ibid. For further information upon the Norwegianization process please refer to Minde's body of literature and: Ragnar Nilsen, "From Norwegianisation to Coastal Sami Rebellion," in *Indigenous Peoples: Resource Management and Global Rights*, ed. Svein Jentoft, Henry Minde, and Ragnar Nilsen (Eburon: Eburon, 2003).

⁶¹ Robert Paine, *Herd of the Tundra: A Portrait of Saami Reindeer Pastoralism* (London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 157-59.

conflict with reindeer herders. The Common Lapp Law was developed “to reconcile conflicting interests farther south between farmers and herders, as well as between herders on both sides of the national border.”⁶² The need for a conflict resolving mechanism is telling of changes in social and political climate towards reindeer herding. The state no longer sought to protect or develop reindeer herding customs, as in the Lapp Codicil. The right to continue practicing reindeer husbandry is codified into Norwegian Law that views itself as absolute owner of the lands in question, and by extension regulator of reindeer husbandries activities on state land. Reindeer husbandry could continue as long as it did not impede the preserved advancement of agriculture.

The Common Lapp law created three integral changes that are still in existence today: district divisions, reporting requirements, and common responsibility.⁶³ District divisions established who has the right to herd in an area and when. Based on the siida’s traditional territory the new law lacked the flexible borders of the siida management system. Basing the law on siida borders is suggestive of the states continued codification of traditional herding practices. Reporting required herders to inform the local sheriff upon arrival of their party’s numbers, herd size, and location. Finally, common responsibility resulted in all Sami of an area being held responsible for compensation to damaged farmland if no individual could be identified. Similarly, if a farmer caused damage to the herd they were required to pay compensation.

The Common Lapp Law broke with previous laws in granting the state increased territorial control and regulating power over herders. As mentioned earlier, the siida brought with it territory and citizens to a state. With increasing farming settlement and Norwegianization, the state began to favor agriculture in its formulation of the ideal citizen. This ideal had longstanding implications for reindeer herders ranging from encroachments to user rights to pastures. As a result, Norway silently undermined the Lapp Codicil in favor of its own internal policy that advanced nationalistic goals. For example, in 1897 Norway broke with the terms in the Lapp Codicil that exempted Sami from military service.⁶⁴ Lehtola frames this as an abolishment of traditional siida rights set forth in the Lapp Codicil.

⁶² Bergström, "Claiming Reindeer in Norway: Towards a Theory of the Dynamics of Property Regime Formation and Change", 136-37.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Lehtola, "The Saami Siida and the Nordic States from the Middle Ages to the Beginning of the 1900s," 194-96.

Supporting this interpretation she cites the process of assimilation as one of the main reasons for the changes in legal theory towards the siida.

Norway's departure from the union with Sweden in 1905 initiated the development of Norway's own national policy towards reindeer husbandry. Until this time, Sweden primarily dictated Norway's reindeer herding policy. The Norwegian Act of Reindeer Herd Management of 1933, which remained in force until 1979,⁶⁵ was largely based on Social Darwinist premises that proposed that reindeer husbandry would die out with the progression of modernity (agriculture).⁶⁶ As Minde's work on Norwegianization argues, state policy was not dedicated towards the maintenance and development of Sami culture. This ideological shift combined with increasing permanent settlement by Norwegian farmers in reindeer herding areas created the need for conflict resolving policy. However, the policy of favoring Norwegian agriculturalists continued until the post war period.

The 1933 Act empowered the position of the state further in regulating reindeer husbandry's activities. Entailed in this act was the compulsory counting of herds every five years, maximum herd size per district and individual, registration of reindeer ear marks, and confirming proper seasonal location of the herd.⁶⁷ Paine argues that while the new law claimed the authority to enforce these new changes, this was seldom or not at all invoked due to understaffing and paperwork in the administration.

The period of Norwegianization can be characterized as changing perception in legal theory towards the position of Sami Reindeer Herders. In terms of gender, Norwegian reindeer regulations did not impact gendered participation or organization during this period. The Kautokeino rebellion helps to demonstrate, despite historical difference in interpretation, how reindeer herders were expressing discontent. Of the various perspectives briefly presented on this rebellion, the additional pressure from border closures is best suited for understanding why reindeer herders were experiencing heightened pressure. In addition, the increasing Norwegianization policy contributed to this period's increasing government regulation on reindeer herding.

⁶⁵ Bård A. Berg, *Reindrifisloven Av 1933: Om Den Første Reindrifisloven Som Omfattet Hele Norge : Bakgrunn, Forhistorie Og Innhold*, vol. nr 4 1994, Dieđut (Guovdageaidnu [Kautokeino]: Sámi instituhtta, 1994). For a more detailed analysis on Norway's development of their own reindeer husbandry laws please refer to this work.

⁶⁶ Jan Åge Riseth, "Sami Reindeer Management in Norway: Modernization Challenges and Conflict Strategies," in *Indigenous Peoples: Resource Management and Global Rights* (Delft: Eburon, 2003), 230-31.

⁶⁷ Paine, *Herds of the Tundra: A Portrait of Saami Reindeer Pastoralism*, 158-59.

Rationalization of Reindeer Husbandry: 1950-2005

The motivation for changing regulations from 1950 to 2005 is tied to the intention of bring modernity to reindeer herders by the growing Norwegian welfare state. These two factors of modernization and the developing Norwegian Welfare State are prominent in discussing the post war period. Neither of these processes occurred spontaneously and instead worked in tandem over time.

Modernization was locally experienced through the increasing adoption of traditional lifestyles of nomadic living to sedentarization. Three reasons are commonly cited for encouraging the process of living in permanent settlements from 1950 to the 1960's. Firstly, was the introduction of the national school reform to Kautokeino in 1965.⁶⁸ This reform made schooling compulsory for all children until the age of sixteen, and was an extension of the broader universal education program in Norway.⁶⁹ Secondly, was the development of the Norwegian welfare state. With this came the governmental housing programs in 1958 and 1969, which made possible the construction of "modern" houses if built near to a village.⁷⁰ Sedentarization brought about the final major shift, which was the increasing need for monetary income. This was required to cover the increasing costs with permanent housing and modernizing reindeer herding management.⁷¹

Access to monetary value for reindeer herders was increasingly raised as a topic during the 1960's. In improving upon this situation the Norwegian Welfare state turned its attention to help assist reindeer herders achieve the same standard of living as other citizens. Perceptions of reindeer herding were framed in static and underdeveloped terms. In 1962, a report from *reindrifstsekretaer* concludes:

for centuries little changed in reindeer pastoralism, but that now, on account of unprecedented change and development in the world at large, Saami reindeer pastoralism *must* change, too.⁷²

Unsettling in this passage is the clear perception by the government that reindeer pastoralism has not changed, despite a dynamic history of adaptation and innovation. Changing the

⁶⁸ Berg, "Government Intervention into Sámi Reindeer-Management in Norway: Has It Prevented or Provoked 'Tragedies of the Commons'?", 8.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ulvevadet and Klokov, *Family-Based Reindeer Herding and Hunting Economies, and the Status and Management of Wild Reindeer/Caribou Populations*, 71.

⁷² Paine, *Herds of the Tundra: A Portrait of Saami Reindeer Pastoralism*, 159.

management regime to bring reindeer herding into the world at large would require the advancement of modernization (development) through the assistance of the Norwegian state.

Jan Riseth argues that modernization challenges the co-management strategies between Sami parties and the Norwegian government. His analysis argues that changes in economics impact individual adaptation to livelihoods in new situations. Riseth summarizes modernization into four primary areas associated with reindeer husbandry: technological developments, economical demands, political changes, and increased awareness of market forces.⁷³ These three processes shifted reindeer herding away from subsistence living, and increased the use of mechanized transportation. This point is directly linkable to how reindeer herders adapted sedentary living to their lifestyle. Modernizing transportation during the 1960's was done through including snowmobiles into herding practices, which made a daily commute possible to the herd.⁷⁴ Women were increasingly staying in or near the villages, while men continued herding. A further discussion of the gendered impacts of modernizing transportation will be presented within chapter three of this thesis.

Riseth's final point is contentious in asserting that modernization created an increased awareness on market forces for herders. This is historically disputable building on the role of the siida in providing access to the inland resources to surrounding states during border creation discussed earlier in this chapter. This trade network required considerable market awareness for negotiating prices and identifying valued commodities to outside traders. Erik Reinert's recent economic analysis argues that reindeer herders in the past have demonstrated were more success in a free market economy compared to recent integration into the Norwegian agricultural model.⁷⁵ Riseth could have framed his final argument as modernization changed the form of market for reindeer herders to understand and adapt to. One of the strong points in this work is his analysis of the ways individuals adapt to changing economic situations, and this provides insight in to the role of gendered adaptation to market forces in chapter three and four of this thesis.

Ivar Bjørklund's analysis of why policy goals in reindeer herding by the Norwegian government have not been questioned in the plausibility of integrating an indigenous

⁷³ Riseth, "Sami Reindeer Management in Norway: Modernization Challenges and Conflict Strategies," 230-31.

⁷⁴ Berg, "Government Intervention into Sámi Reindeer-Management in Norway: Has It Prevented or Provoked 'Tragedies of the Commons'?", 8.

⁷⁵ Erik S. Reinert, "The Economics of Reindeer Herding: Saami Entrepreneurship between Cyclical Sustainability and the Powers of State and Oligopolies," *British Food Journal* 108, no. 7 (2006): 522-40.

management system into the welfare state.⁷⁶ The economic and political integration attempts of Sami reindeer husbandry is argued to have occurred along the ideology of the welfare state, conflicts regarding the use of land, and technological innovations by the Sami. Bjørklund description of the welfare state mentality demonstrates how the state saw itself as a caretaker that ensured equal access to the social and economic benefits it provided.⁷⁷ Paine description of the Norwegian welfare state ideological basis best summarizes the intangible core values as a:

sacred premise: equality within a social democratic state—‘sacred,’ for it is on this premise that Norwegian civil society is, ideally, built. The premise has a unitary assumption. It embraces *all* citizens whether ‘Norwegian’ or ‘Saami,’ so that the notion of cultural *difference* is accommodated, where it is, only with considerable difficulty.⁷⁸

The notion of cultural differentiation creates the gap between modernization attempts from the welfare state and Sami reindeer herders. With missionary zeal the state integration process sought to address the needs of the reindeer herders. In the 1960’s this was through the development of the institutional structure to guide reindeer herding into modernity, for example slaughter houses.⁷⁹ Equality of access became the overarching theme for how the state sought to integrate reindeer husbandry. Internally, the unequal distribution of animals or reindeer wealth contributed to the state considering reindeer herding as an anachronistic endeavor in its traditional form.⁸⁰ Externally, the welfare state sought to balance the income discrepancies between the Norwegian and Sami reindeer herders. Combining both the external and internal economic perceptions resulted in the state increasingly perceiving itself as a caretaker to the reindeer herders. From the 1970’s onward the assumption of the caretaker role increasingly developed. Bjørklund’s analysis emphasizes how the policies introduced under this mentality constrained reindeer herders’ flexibility in accessing pastures and distributing animals.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Ivar Bjørklund, "Saami Pastoral Society in Northern Norway: The National Integration of an Indigenous Management System," in *Cultivating Arctic Landscapes: Knowing and Managing Animals in the Circumpolar North* (New York: Berghahn, 2004), 127.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Paine, *Herds of the Tundra: A Portrait of Saami Reindeer Pastoralism*, 157.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 113. For further information on the policies related to rationalization and slaughterhouses during the 1960’s please read part three in Paine’s book. This section also highlights the discontent by herders to the increasing move towards economic control over reindeer herding through the slaughter houses.

⁸⁰ Ivar Bjørklund, "Sami Reindeer Pastoralism as an Indigenous Resource Management System in Northern Norway - a Contribution to the Common Property Debate.," *Development and Change*, Sage 2(1990): 75-86.

⁸¹ Ibid.

The 1970s was a significant period in solidifying reindeer herding administration. Bard A. Berg suggests that this solidification arose from the new and comprehensive reindeer-management policies that were based on economic and biological rationalizations.⁸² The first law came with the introduction of the 1976 Reindeer Management Agreement (Reindrifftsavtalen) and secondly the 1978 Reindeer Management Act.⁸³ These two policies followed the Norwegian Agricultural Model's aim to transition traditional reindeer herding to a modern industrial model of agriculture. By the end of the 1970s, the Norwegian government set out on the path of integrating reindeer herding into an industrial model by controlling the different factors of production (herder, pasture, animal) through laws, regulations, and subsidies.

In 1976, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Sami Reindeer Herders Association (NRL) signed the Reindeer Herding Agreement (Reindrifftsavtalen). The NRL has been the main political organ representing the interests of reindeer herders since 1947,⁸⁴ and carried out negotiations in this agreement. Their involvement was significant in its attempt to create an agreement that was more satisfying to both parties. Significantly, these negotiations represented a philosophical shift from the Ministry of Agriculture – they no longer saw reindeer herding as a dying industry. Instead, the Ministry of Agriculture actively sought methods to improve the living and working conditions of herders. In summation, four primary political objectives were reached in this agreement:

(1) production: optimizing meat production and sustaining the natural resource base; (2) income: securing an income for reindeer herding practitioners and a living standard at the same level as other occupational groups; (3) allocation: allocating total income in a way that would provide occupational security; (4) culture: developing reindeer management as a sustained basis for Sami culture (landbruksdepartement 1976).⁸⁵

⁸² Berg, "Government Intervention into Sámi Reindeer-Management in Norway: Has It Prevented or Provoked 'Tragedies of the Commons'?", 9.

⁸³ These three official policies provide a wealth of research topics, excluding their negotiations, but this thesis does not have the space to treat all aspects. What will follow is an introduction to these three policies, with particular emphasis on the 1978 Act. This Act serves as the focal point within this thesis, and for this reason will garner the majority of attention in this review.

⁸⁴ Bård A. Berg, *Ealáhus Ja Kultuvra: Norgga Boazosápmela??Aid Riikkasearvi 50 Jagi (1947-97)* (Kará?johka: Davvi girji, 1997). Berg's work provides insight into the development and work in the NRL. This source demonstrates how the NRL organized against factors that hindered reindeer husbandry. Of particular relevance is his description of the 1976 and 1978 reindeer policies that were passed.

⁸⁵ Riseth, "Sami Reindeer Management in Norway: Modernization Challenges and Conflict Strategies," 236.

The Reindrifftsavtalen ensured that reindeer herding would continue economically and culturally. The continual annual negotiation of this agreement offers the NRL the potential to gain access to more favorable terms from the government for reindeer herders.⁸⁶ One of the outcomes of this process was the increase in subsidies granted to herders. Allocation of these funds assist with the costs of expenses such as mechanization and loss of reindeer to predators. Managing these funds would be further institutionalized through subsequent Acts.

Integrating Modernization

The Reindeer Management Act of 1978 can be summarized as an accumulation of long standing policy developments that would substantially change the direction of reindeer herding. The act is regarded as the official administration of reindeer herding from the state of Norway and the opening paragraph sets forth:

The objective of this Act is to ensure *socially beneficial use of the reindeer pasture resources* in such a way as provides economic and social security and protection of rights for those whose livelihood is reindeer pastoralism, and *to preserve reindeer pastoralism as an important component of Saami culture.*⁸⁷

Comparing the opening of this passage to the 1933 Act is the acceptance of reindeer herding as a way of life that shall continue, and thus requires integration into the state. This Act administers the right to practice reindeer husbandry, property rights surrounding reindeer, and a vast array of wide and narrow aspects of this traditional industry. Government infrastructure was developed through new political organs on the national, regional, and local level to accommodate the new Act. Berg argues that two overarching goals were initiated within the Act by attempting to reduce the number of herders and reindeer, while increasing the size and productivity of each animal.⁸⁸ The Act and its goals were not meet passively and raised objections from the NRL.

The NRL discontent and criticism of the Act was expressed in numerous ways. One example of this clear articulation is demonstrated in a joint press release by the NRL:

‘It is disappointing that Parliament, in 1978, set aside fundamental Saami interests. The Saami associations, however, will continue to endeavor to get

⁸⁶ Berg, "Government Intervention into Sámi Reindeer-Management in Norway: Has It Prevented or Provoked 'Tragedies of the Commons'?", 10. Initially, the Reindeer Agreement was negotiated biannually.

⁸⁷ Paine, *Herd of the Tundra: A Portrait of Saami Reindeer Pastoralism*, 142.

⁸⁸ Berg, "Government Intervention into Sámi Reindeer-Management in Norway: Has It Prevented or Provoked 'Tragedies of the Commons'?", 76-77.

the Norwegian state to recognize and honor Saami concepts of law and tradition.’⁸⁹

This diplomatic yet assertively objectionable statement focuses on the perception that Sami tradition has been disregarded in the new Act. Understanding how traditional Sami practices were excluded requires a further analysis of the changes to the reindeer management regime below. In addition to publications, reindeer herders expressed discontent with the Norwegian state over the Alta Damn affair from the late 1970’s to early 1980’s.⁹⁰ This protest was over the long standing proposal to damn an area extensively used by reindeer herders. The national and international following of this event contributed to placing both the Norwegian reindeer herders and broader Sami population at the forefront of discussions concerning minority and indigenous rights. This protest can be seen as further political activism by the reindeer herders and additional groups against Norwegian intervention and regulation.

The first alteration to reindeer herding governance structure came through the introduction of the production unit (PU).⁹¹ This introduction was one of the largest reorganization changes introduced within the history of reindeer herding regulations. A production unit can be seen as a “herd of reindeer owned and managed by one responsible leader, or collectively by parties to marriage.”⁹² Kuokkanen outlines production units in terms of a reindeer household functioning as an administrative term that refers to the family members that fall under a production unit.⁹³ Individual ownership of reindeer is less important in this definition, because membership falls under the leader of the unit, which since the 1978 Act is usually a man. Debate concerning the definition of a production unit in the Norwegian reindeer management model is responsive against its infringement on the role of the *siida*. Comparing the two definitions above is indicative of the difference between reindeer management regimes perspectives on the available labor force. The *siida* is

⁸⁹ Paine, *Herds of the Tundra: A Portrait of Saami Reindeer Pastoralism*, 170.

⁹⁰ Henry Minde, "The Alta Case: From the Local to the Global and Back Again," in *Discourses and Silences: Indigenous Peoples, Risks and Resistance* (Christchurch, N.Z.: Department of Geography, University of Canterbury, 2005), 13-34.

⁹¹ Berg, "Government Intervention into Sámi Reindeer-Management in Norway: Has It Prevented or Provoked 'Tragedies of the Commons?', " 78-79. There exist different titles for production units in both English and Norwegian. Operational unit is another common title, and *Driftsenhet* is the common Norwegian term.

⁹² Reindeer Husbandry Act: §4 quoted in Turi, "Living with Climate Variation and Change: A Comparative Study of Resilience Embedded in the Social Organisation of Reindeer Pastoralism in Western Finnmark and Yamal Peninsula", 35.

⁹³ Reinert, "The Economics of Reindeer Herding: Saami Entrepreneurship between Cyclical Sustainability and the Powers of State and Oligopolies."; Rauna Kuokkanen, "Indigenous Women in Traditional Economies: The Case of Sámi Reindeer Herding," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 34, no. 3 (2009): 500-01.

composed of a loose constellation of households defined by kinship and marriage, where as the production units are introduced and regulated by the government. This distinction between management regimes has influenced the perception of gender in reindeer husbandry, and will be discussed in chapter four.

Production units were introduced to assist reindeer herders' increased need for funds to cover costs of fuel, machines, transportation, and other equipment or fences. Motivating this new categorization was the optimization of reindeer herding and streamlining government subsidy dispersal, negotiated through the Reindeer Agreement.⁹⁴ In order to facilitate this transference of cash subsidies, the new act created the production unit that was to be given to the head of the household who would direct the subsidies accordingly in their production unit.⁹⁵ Within the development of the production units in reindeer, this Act came to regulate who can "officially" participate in reindeer herding. This means that individuals should own or fall under a production unit to remain in compliance with official policy.

Gendered analysis on the implications of production units and the 1978 Act demonstrate the unintended effects of modernization regulations. Rauna Kuokkanen calls attention to the state's perspective in her analysis of the position of women reindeer herders in traditional economies.⁹⁶ Her article argues that state policy marginalizes women, resulting in less participation. The 1978 Act's production unit registration is often correlated with this marginalization of women through the male dominance of registration.⁹⁷ Kuokkanen argues that the gendered ramifications occur in "who receives subsidies and grants to the status and recognition of women..."⁹⁸ Gendered analysis provide insight on the relationship between the economic regulations in the Reindeer Agreement, changes to the reindeer management regime in the 1978 Act, and their influence on gendered participation, organization, and

⁹⁴ Berg, "Government Intervention into Sámi Reindeer-Management in Norway: Has It Prevented or Provoked 'Tragedies of the Commons'?", 78-80. Despite the attempt at easing the task for the government, the introduction of the PU complicated who could and could not be a reindeer herder. The idea had been for the father to head the PU, and when he was unable to an heir was to take over. However, following the initial introduction the state was forced to deal with multiple claims from a single household to be PU owners. Moreover, Berg demonstrates how combining state subsidies with favorable environmental conditions lead to increasing reindeer herds that were not being slaughtered at previous rates.

⁹⁵ How subsidies are dispersed in productions units requires further research and therefore can not be developed further within this thesis. Within informal conversations it was highlighted how this changed during the 1980's from a system of calculated labor per person to transference of one large sum. In terms of gendered discussions, the difference in subsidies calculations would be significant between these two models and as such should be researched further.

⁹⁶ Kuokkanen, "Indigenous Women in Traditional Economies: The Case of Sámi Reindeer Herding," 499-504.

⁹⁷ Ibid.: 501.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

representation within reindeer husbandry. Exposing how these factors are connected tie back to Riseth and Bjørklund's analysis of modernization and the welfare state, and provide a new perspective to analyze this topic from.

The second transition pushed for the modernization of reindeer herding from the traditional to modern industrial model.⁹⁹ The ideal of economic optimization of reindeer herding was to be achieved through focusing on meat production.¹⁰⁰ Inspiration was drawn from the Norwegian agricultural which is characterized by "small units of primary production, but with a strong focus on achieving economies of scale in processing and distribution."¹⁰¹ Reinert argues that implementing the "Frodist" approach to production was to assist the development of reindeer herding incorporation into the planned economy.¹⁰² Subsumed within the meat production focus was the goal of decreasing or maintaining smaller herds, to avoid overgrazing in the Garrett Hardin's depiction. This goal was worked towards through several methods, but in relationship to production units, it was done through increasing subsidies while maintaining low target meat prices. Reinert argues that if the Ministry had increased the meat prices there would have been less need for subsidies for living expenses.¹⁰³ Combining this argument with the constant push for decreasing herd size could have potentially avoided the drastic increase in herd size during the 1980's.

Criticisms of the 1978 Reindeer Herding Act focus on the exclusion of the *siida* and culturally-relevant aspects of Sami Reindeer Herding. As discussed in chapter one, the *siida* is a cultural institution that is based on kinship to organize reindeer herding through family constellations, and was one of the traditional bodies of regulating pasture usage.¹⁰⁴ Production units were seen as one way of creating a division between the traditional custom of *siida* regulation and the imposed system of governance.¹⁰⁵ During the negotiation of the 1978 law, one committee had recommended the removal of production unit in favor of *siida*

⁹⁹ Berg, "Government Intervention into Sámi Reindeer-Management in Norway: Has It Prevented or Provoked 'Tragedies of the Commons'?", 10-12.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Reinert, "The Economics of Reindeer Herding: Saami Entrepreneurship between Cyclical Sustainability and the Powers of State and Oligopolies," 525-26. The "Frodist" approach emphasizes standard mass production of products.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Bjørklund, "Sami Reindeer Pastoralism as an Indigenous Resource Management System in Northern Norway - a Contribution to the Common Property Debate.," 80.

¹⁰⁵ Jernsletten and Klovov, *Sustainable Reindeer Husbandry: Arctic Council 2000-2002*, 88-89.

shares.¹⁰⁶ This was reviewed after the fact as being more favorable towards the realities of reindeer herding, and symbolically less violent towards traditional Sami reindeer herding. Despite this, siida shares were not included in the 1978 Act but would emerge in the latter amendments to the Act.

In 2001, the “Proposal for an Amendment to the Norwegian Reindeer Herding Act” was published. The Sustainable Reindeer Husbandry report by the Arctic Council provides one of the earliest reviews on this Amendment.¹⁰⁷ The report highlights how the new proposal from an expert committee charged with the task of reviewing the 1978 reindeer herding law. The goal of this review was to examine the administration and internal functioning of reindeer husbandry, inclusive of the legal status of herders as owners and relational beings.¹⁰⁸ The committee states that:

The single reindeer owner seldom operates alone, rather in a form of partnership, the siida. The committee stresses the importance of giving the siida a more prominent place in the future legislation.¹⁰⁹

Highlighted is the focus upon the role of the siida in regulating inter-human relationships and number of reindeer. This takes into account the traditional organization of negotiation of pastures and number of reindeer. By addressing this situation a more accurate understanding of the herding/pasture relationship is being developed by the Ministry of Agriculture including the traditional Sami systems.

Secondly, this report emphasizes “Co-ordinate recruitment” towards the continuation of reindeer herding. The Sustainable Reindeer Husbandry Report explains this development as addressing the issue of transmitting siida shares to the next generation.¹¹⁰ This means that the owner of a share can now establish a coordinated share for one of their children after the age of fifty. The co-share would have the same responsibilities and rights as the primary owner of the share, but will help to maintain recruitment to the industry in a smoother system of transition. Examples of the problematic nature of this transition system will be examined in chapter three with a gendered emphasis. The intention of this new amendment is to provide increased cultural continuity between the Norwegian reindeer herding administration and the

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 106-07.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

Sami reindeer herding administration. Through *siida* shares and allowing for smother transitioning of the right to practice reindeer herding there is the hope of improving reindeer herding in Norway.

Administrating Reindeer in Norway

Currently reindeer herding in Norway is administered through the Ministry of Agriculture 'Reindeer Husbandry Administration' body. This is located Alta, Finnmark. Ellen Inga Turi succinctly overviews the bureaucratic governing system of reindeer herding into its regions, levels, and functions.¹¹¹ There are six reindeer herding regions that are further subdivided into seventy-eight districts. The district's purpose is for grazing, and can operate as seasonal or year round pastures. An example provided by Turi on the seasonality of districts happens when a "winter *siida* splits up to different summer *siida*."¹¹² At the local level, there are the family units, production units or (*Driftsenhet*), as defined by the 1978 Reindeer Husbandry Act.¹¹³

In the reindeer herding administration exist multiple levels of governance. At the district level there is the District board, which is elected from production unit leadership. Its function is to "represent the interest of reindeer pastoralism in the respective districts.... [and] to attend to pastures according to laws and regulations." Above the District board is the Regional Board (*område styret*) and the Sami Parliament. The Regional Board membership is appointed by the county council (*fylkesting*) and acts as an advisor and premise provider for the administration. The Sami Parliament is elected by registered voters from the Sami population from Norway, and helps facilitate administration. Finally, the Norwegian Reindeer Husbandry Board (*reindrifststyret*) "is the superior body to the area board and the court of appeal for decisions adopted by the area boards. The Association of Sami reindeer Herders in Norway, the livelihoods own interest organization, suggest members to the board. In the end, the members of the board are appointed by the Ministry of Agriculture."

Aside, there is also a committee for earmarks in the various reindeer herding areas. It is this committee's role to approve the official registration of earmarks and alterations to in

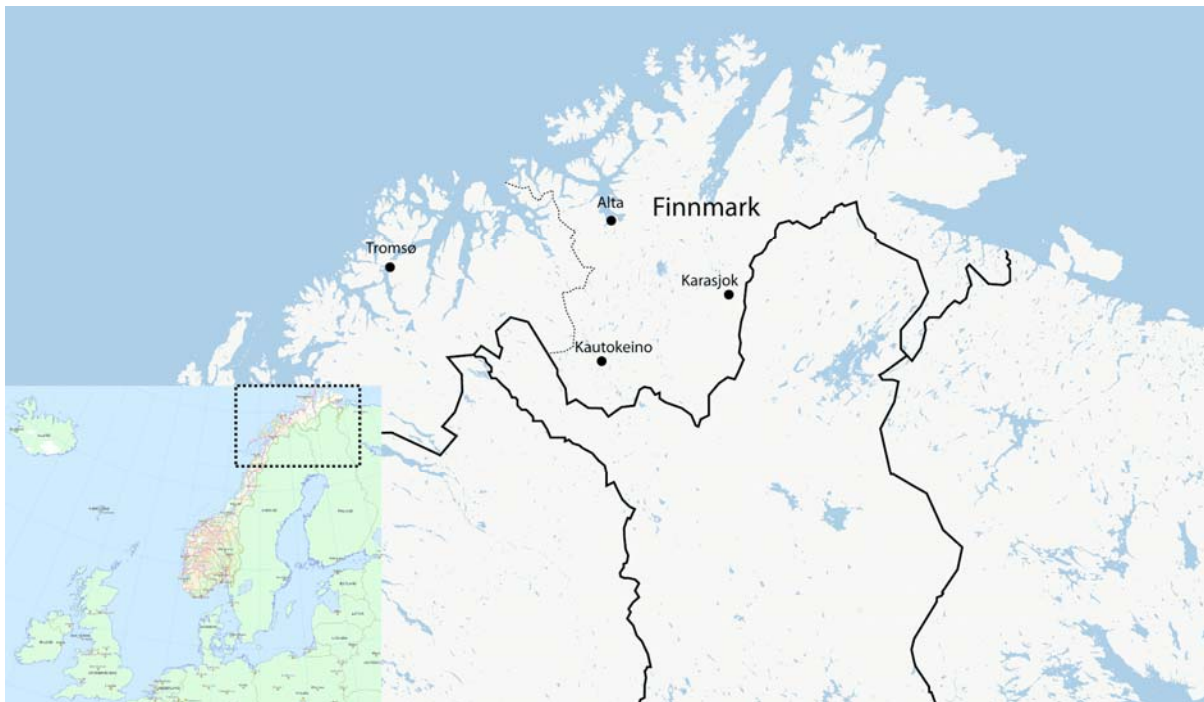
¹¹¹ Turi, "Living with Climate Variation and Change: A Comparative Study of Resilience Embedded in the Social Organisation of Reindeer Pastoralism in Western Finnmark and Yamal Peninsula", 35-36.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ As discussed above these have been renamed *siida-share* as of the 2007 Reindeer Husbandry Act.

their given area. These members are elected by leaders within the district boards, and appeals are handled by the reindeer husbandry board.

This administration covers an extended area where reindeer herding is conducted. The map below focuses on Finnmark because of my focus on West Finnmark and the Reindeer Husbandry Administration that is located in Alta.



Map 2010 of Northern Europe and Finnmark.¹¹⁴

Conclusion

Tracing the development of reindeer herding regulations from the Lapp Codicil to the debate leading up to the amendment to the 1978 Act demonstrates the changing attitude from the Norwegian state to the reindeer herding Sami. During the first period of border creation the siida relationship to the surrounding states caused additional considerations of reindeer herders to be codified into international law. The siida's territory and economic potential combined with a nomadic lifestyle gave the siida's the ability to influence international borders. In the second period of Norwegianization came changes in the legal perspective towards reindeer herding in Norway. Increasingly state policies were flavored by Social Darwinist principles that elevated sedentary and agricultural living. Legally reindeer herding

¹¹⁴ Bjørn Hatteng, "Map of Finnmark " (2010).

faced increasing regulations that attempted to institutionalize the right to manage reindeer herding.

Following World War II came three ideological developments through rationalization, modernization, and the rise of the Norwegian Welfare state. These three forces reshaped regulations more than previous periods by integrating reindeer herding into the Norwegian Agricultural model. Modernization and the welfare state sought to provide reindeer herders with a higher quality of life, and to integrate reindeer herding into an industry through the 1976 Agreement and the 1978 Act. Meat production and production units were two of the major changes in the reindeer administration structure that has centered predominately in gender discussions. Reindeer herding Sami organized to form the NRL, which has represented them in negotiations with the state. This has been one significant outlet for expressing frustration with regulation development and the management of reindeer husbandry. Gender became a topic of concern because of changing lifestyles and regulations from the state in the post war period. Because of modernization and rationalization gendered social organization has been impacted in reindeer herding, and this has created its own discourse that will be explored in chapter three and four.

Chapter 3: Gendering Mechanization

*The Sami were the first to pick up the skis and the first to throw them away!*¹¹⁵

Cultural adaptations to new forms of technology assist, and provide insight, into transition periods. Historically examining the modernization of transportation in reindeer husbandry highlights changes in herding methods and social organization. The opening quotation is indicative of how proud this reindeer herder was in transitioning to snowmobiles, because of the efficiency they brought to herding.¹¹⁶ Scholarly perceptions have varied in interpreting changes in transportation methods in reindeer herding, and this reflects on the period of writing and external interpretation. The difference between these perspectives is an interesting meeting point between ethnographic interpretation and local narratives. How did early ethnographic works deal with the position of gender in debates on the impacts of modernizing transportation in Sami reindeer herding? Is there any comparison of gendered representation in the individual narratives of reindeer herders to the theoretical interpretation?

Modernization

We have already discussed some of the ways that technological developments impacted the lifestyle of reindeer herders. Bjørn Bjerkli's discussion on tradition and modernity reveals a reciprocal relationship of construction where tradition "reflects an idea of the past instead of the past seen as a reality."¹¹⁷ Contemporary use of this idea is mobilized in expressions of cultural distinctiveness or protection against external influences. Modernization in its simplest understanding is the loss of tradition, again emphasizing the relational approach between these two concepts that are rooted in the reinterpretation of the idea of history.¹¹⁸ This perspective in Bjerkli's work deconstructs how traditionalism is used in land use cases in Northern Norway. Summarizing his conclusion on the application of tradition in cases involving the state or other institutional authorities warns against the construction of tradition created from external comprehensions of what tradition is within the minority culture. This will serve to reinforce specific cultural symbols and identities, at the expense of different cultural symbols, in conforming to external understandings of tradition. Bjerkli's findings

¹¹⁵ Informant one, interview 2009.

¹¹⁶ Traditionally transportation used sledge reindeer, skis, and walking.

¹¹⁷ Bjørn Bjerkli, "Land Use, Traditionalism and Rights," in *Acta Borealia* (Basingstoke: Taylor & Francis, 1996), 3-21.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 12-14.

challenge a static definition of tradition by demonstrating that tradition is not fixed, or rooted in a specific moment in history, but continually adapted locally: “in the past they did it like that’, ‘That’s the way we do it’ and ‘We will continue to act in this way in the future.’”¹¹⁹ These statements formulate the red line between the past, present, and future that emphasizes the internal understanding of adaptable use.

The relationship between researcher and researched contributes to the understanding of modernity. Bjørg Evjen’s investigation of the meeting point between researcher and subject demonstrates how this relationship changes according to social and political contexts.¹²⁰ Focusing on the southern Sami in Norway, Evjen demonstrates how the Southern Sami increasingly became more active in the research process. Tracing this development from the late 19th century of assimilation to contemporary politics of representation, Evjen links increasing participation and ownership of research to the development of ethno-political activism. She argues that the power dynamics of researcher and researched changed because as the Southern Sami became more empowered in politics and increased their access to education. Using the internal perspective on tradition versus modernization adds another dimension to research that was lacking until recently in scholarship.

Polarizing modernization versus tradition risks oversimplifying how groups experience these constructs. What is considered tradition or modern in reindeer herding demonstrates the difficulty to negotiate these binaries:

What can you call ‘traditional’? Older people have said to me that ‘before the snowmobile came,’ their reindeer management was traditional. For then, reindeer were also draft animals. Young people who have grown up with the snowmobile will say that it is part of ‘their’ tradition. People who were grandparents during the war [World War II] have told me that milking and subsistence economy were the hallmarks of traditional management.¹²¹

This passage highlights how tradition versus modernity in reindeer husbandry is informed by individual position. This challenges the fixed notion of tradition and modernity, suggesting that they are fluid concepts that are continually redefined. Approaching tradition and modernity in this respect supports Bjerkli’s understanding by bridging the past to the future through adaptation. The opening quotation of this chapter is a further example of how

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 9-10.

¹²⁰ Bjørg Evjen, "Research on and by 'the Other'. Focusing on the Researcher's Encounter with the Lule Sami in a Historically Changing Context," *Acta Borealia* 26, no. 2 (2009): 175-93.

¹²¹ Dag T. Elgvin, quoted in Paine, *Herds of the Tundra: A Portrait of Saami Reindeer Pastoralism*, 145.

cultural adaptation to new technologies is part of modernization, but is still an extension of traditional values directed towards the continuation of reindeer herding.

Acknowledging the changing definition of cultural symbols that denote tradition and modernity, this chapter will start its focus on the generation that considers snowmobiles as a form of modernization. This has been selected for two reasons. Firstly, the ethnographic descriptions of the introduction of the snowmobile provide a meeting point to examine how researchers represented the transition and gender. Secondly, by comparing individual narratives of the event it is possible to examine the accuracy of early ethnographic works and how gender was represented and impacted in the transition to mechanized transportation.

Early Debate and Theory on Mechanization: 1963 to 1985

One methodological problem with the early research on Sami herding is the geographical focus on Finland. Works on this topic primarily focus on the Finnish Sami experience through the foundational work of Pertti Pelto *The Snowmobile Revolution: Technology and Social Change in the Arctic*. This text is commonly cited as the basis for research into the introduction of snowmobiles to Sami reindeer herders.¹²² Pelto's work will be used sparingly later in the chapter where relevant. Using this text in a limited manner departs with the common historical approach that uses his work as the primary text. Despite this and the prominence of Pelto's this review has elected to focus on Tim Ingold's work for a stronger theoretical overview of existing works in 1973.

Ingold's survey of anthropological debate is one of the strongest theoretical introductions to how snowmobiles impacted Finnish reindeer herding.¹²³ Analyzing Ingold's text will provide the basis for determining how ethnographers have addressed this transition during the 1960's and 70's. Localizing this debate to West Finnmark will be done through the *Herds of the Tundra*.¹²⁴ Robert Paine provides a historical overview of the adaptation of snowmobiles by reindeer herders, and the controversy this has caused up to 1990. The political debates presented in Paine's work will not be the focus, rather his demonstration on how modernizing transportation occurred organically in Sami reindeer herding.

¹²² Pertti J. Pelto, *The Snowmobile Revolution: Technology and Social Change in the Arctic* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Cumming, 1973).

¹²³ Tim Ingold, "The Tin-Plate Reindeer: Further Thoughts on the Snowmobile in Lapland," in *Unexpected consequences of economic change in Circumpolar Regions* (Manchester 1975), 1-23.

¹²⁴ Paine, *Herds of the Tundra: A Portrait of Saami Reindeer Pastoralism*.

Romanticization of reindeer herders as a static cultural community is one of the main limitations in ethnographic early texts. Implicitly in this perception is the divide between the onslaught of modernity that herders will not withstand, and the desire to segregate and preserve a culture that is thought to be dying out. From this perspective, the introduction of modernized transportation would carry negative connotations in research conclusions in an attempt to forwarn against the loss of culture and tradition. Ingold and Paine's work possesses less of this romanticization, which strengthens their works' consideration of ongoing internal developments in Sami reindeer herding.

Introducing the Snowmobile to the Tundra

In a follow up report to Petlo Tim Ingold's argues that anthropological investigations into snowmobiles are characterized by description rather than critical analysis.¹²⁵ Ingold's 1973 work analyzes the internal direction of anthropology and his perception of the lack of critical research on herding, family, society, and economy. To address these deficits, Ingold asserts that he will move past the descriptive to form an anthropological investigation of attitudes towards snowmobiles and their implications in three areas of specialization: reindeer herding, household maintenance, and prestige management. Ingold constructs his research against three "preliminary" conclusions prevalent in ethnographic findings of the early 1970s.¹²⁶

The first claim, according to Ingold, argues that to acquire snowmobiles herders increased their annual slaughter. This proved problematic in ensuring the future stability of the herd and family's lifestyle. Secondly, snowmobiles have allowed for "concentration of power in the hands of big-owners, pushing the small-owner out of business."¹²⁷ Concentration of reindeer herding to a limited number of families or individuals was problematic for those that had been marginalized and limited their social options for continuing this cultural tradition. Finally, extending the previous point on wealth concentration, Ingold remarks on apprehensions of creating a wealth gap between reindeer herders.

Ingold counter debates these three concerns on the effects of snowmobiles. First, he refutes the first points by providing evidence that there has been no drastic change in

¹²⁵ Ingold, "The Tin-Plate Reindeer: Further Thoughts on the Snowmobile in Lapland," 1-5. This analysis was conducted during Ingold's fieldwork with the Skolt Finnish Sami, in 1971-1972. Permission to include this work was granted by Ingold through email communication in March 2010.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

slaughter rates.¹²⁸ Ingold indicates external sources of monetary income, like casual labor and welfare benefits, as the financial source for acquiring and maintaining snowmobiles. Secondly, Ingold contends that Sami herding systems ensure that large-scale ownership is not a precondition for participation in reindeer herding.¹²⁹ This argument relates back to chapter one's discussion of the siida system's role in management of reindeer herding. Lastly, the wealth gap is deconstructed to show a generational differentiation in approaching risks in herding, and the difference between values surrounding wealth.¹³⁰ For example, younger generations can risk financial loss through investing in new technologies because they lack financial commitments. Lacking the financial commitments to maintain households or children, the younger generation has available capital to invest in new technologies. Lastly, Ingold argues that decreasing control over the herd and poor grazing conditions, coupled with the new younger generation, gave rise to the adjustments to snowmobiles.¹³¹ These debates show what the early discourse centered on in the early emergence of snowmobiles, and how these discussions would shape future research on modernizing transportation.

Placing modernization of transportation in a broader theoretical discussion, Robert Paine argues that adaptation of snowmobiles by reindeer herders challenges the state rationalization program.¹³² Paine asserts that modernization can be seen as forcefully incorporating Sami pastoralism into the state, or a process that they have undertaken on their own initiative.¹³³ Under the second point Paine demonstrates how modernization and rationalization are not guaranteed to work in tandem, owing to internal adaptation of new transportation technologies by reindeer herders. By decentering the location of modernization away from the emerging welfare states rationalization program, reindeer herders are demonstrating internal adaptation in herding practices.

Snowmobiles were introduced to Kautokeino in the 1960's. Paine argues that with this introduction participation in herding required everyone to obtain a snowmobile. Unlike other authors, Paine introduces the reader to the increasing debate surrounding the adoption of mechanized transpiration by the Sami towards the end of the 1970s and early 1980s. Linking the right of reindeer herders to continue herding as outlined in clause 10.3 of the

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Paine, *Herds of the Tundra: A Portrait of Saami Reindeer Pastoralism*, 145-55.

¹³³ Ibid., 141-42.

Reindeer Act: “the right to use customary [vanlige] conveyance and transport means that are necessary for reindeer pastoralism.”¹³⁴ The meaning of “customary” is debatable in this clause; to the assistant deputy minister (ADM) “customary” means traditional. As discussed above, creating a definition of tradition is difficult when considering internal, external, and individual perspectives. If the strict definition of pre-mechanization is applied as suggested by one generation, would this mean no mechanized transportation at all? Alternatively, would the younger generation’s definition of tradition lead to complete and unregulated access to mechanized transportation? Externally, in what manner could the Reindeer Administration determine what is traditional? Bjerkli demonstrates that when state regulations are formed to conserve tradition, the result is based on an external interpretation of a cultural ideal that can exclude internal diversity and change. This debate would develop during the 1980s when the ways that the Sami utilized nature came under question from conservationists who were concerned with preserving the ecology of reindeer herding areas.¹³⁵ Either way the debate returns to the issue of self-determination of the reindeer herding Sami, and how their modernization of transportation challenges state rationalization of reindeer husbandry.

Lacking in the above reviews on the introduction of snowmobiles was any significant focus on gender. Early ethnographic works did not include gender analysis, or addressed the subject indirectly. This is representative of this period of reindeer herding research that focused on masculine activities in reindeer herding, without characterizing them as masculine. I argue that this is where early ethnographic works normalize masculinity in reindeer herding. The female role was addressed through analysis of the home, but this was never situated in any early feminist or gender analysis.

Individual Reflection

The above introduction to the earlier debates in the transition to mechanized transportation provides the basis for moving towards the narratives from those who actually experienced the transition from within reindeer husbandry. The emic knowledge, and perspective, of the informants is important, as they are the only ones who can actually give an account, though biased, of what shaped the transition and how that transition shaped them. In addition, teaching me about reindeer herding through interviews and participant observations was not a new activity to any of the below informants. To different degrees these individuals were

¹³⁴ Ibid., 150.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 151-54.

aware of how research should be conducted and what terms they would be willing to share information on. This supports Evjen's theory that the meeting between "Sami" and researcher has changed towards the empowerment and respect for the southern Sami's willing participation.

Informant one is a male middle-aged reindeer herder from West Finnmark. Raised into reindeer husbandry with his family, he continues to be active in herding and advocating for reindeer husbandry rights. His political activities have included working in the NRL and other political organizations to improve the situation of reindeer husbandry in Norway and internationally. Drawing on this background, he was able to provide information on the development of regulations and how these impacted herding practices.

Informant two is a middle-aged woman who has a rich knowledge of reindeer herding. This stems from growing up within a reindeer herding family from Kautokeino, and she continues to practice herding today. Her family is both directly and indirectly engaged within reindeer herding. She is a mother of sons and daughters who have traveled various career paths, ranging from herding to professional occupations. Informant two does not hold a production unit, but this was not seen as an issue in our interview. Her personal narrative of the transition to mechanized transportation will serve as the foundation for the following chapter.

Informant three was also from Kautokeino and has been engaged with reindeer herding throughout his life. He was in his middle age with a family and owned a production unit. He has both sons and daughters that are involved within herding. Members of his extended family are also involved in herding, while others have chosen different career paths. Those that have chosen other professional occupations are still involved in herding in different ways, and this was attributed to informant three's inclusive approach to herding in his family and *siida*. Furthermore, he has been active in the district boards on herding matters.

Informant four is the son of informant two and has been raised in reindeer husbandry. His primary occupation is reindeer herding and he manages his own herd. Informant four is between twenty five and forty years old. He has been working full time in reindeer husbandry since his teenage years, and wishes to continue this lifestyle.

Informant two and three will guide this chapter because of their personal experience with the transition and similar ages. Two key points of difference between these two

informants towards this analysis is gender and ownership of production units. Informant four will be included to expand upon his mother's perspectives and to introduce a younger masculine perspective.

Introducing Snowmobiles to the Family

Understanding transportation systems before mechanization in the family environment assists in explaining how snowmobiles influenced herding methods and participation. What is often overlooked in recent analyses of adapting mechanical transportation is that this has occurred over the past one or two generations. Informant two recalls that "I am not such an old person, but even when I was younger it was different."¹³⁶ During the period before mechanization, informant two recalls how her family only used walking, skiing, and transport reindeer during the winter.¹³⁷ Men, women, and children all participated equally in herding prior to mechanization. In a simplistic summary, informant two asserted that then "a walking girl could get as far as a walking boy." Paine argues that with transportation reindeer there was no gendered priority of access. He observes that "[g]irls didn't have to beg a ride... with their brothers."¹³⁸ However, Paine associates mechanized transportation with male herders by suggesting that girls would have to beg a ride from their brothers at all. This assertion is demonstrative of how the transition impacted gendered participation and how masculinity was increasingly being attached to mechanized transportation. One reason for this development is that snowmobiles changed herding methods .

Contrasting earlier approaches to herding is the new method that arose with increasing reliance on snowmobiles. This is depicted to have changed the relationship between herd and herder. Using the snowmobile:

... often sends reindeer ... into panic flights. The roar of the motor is constant, unlike the shout of a herder, and the snowmobile is fast enough to keep the pressure of panic on a flock, no matter how far ahead it tries to run. The reindeer which finally becomes less sensitive to roaring engines ... has *not* become more tame. On the contrary, he has often become harder to handle and demands the escalation of herding mechanization.¹³⁹

The change in these two approaches is a primary point of investigation for anthropologists that studied reindeer herding. The "brute force" herding method emerged as Sami herding

¹³⁶ Informant two, interview 2009.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Paine, *Herds of the Tundra: A Portrait of Saami Reindeer Pastoralism*, 148.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 146.

practices incorporated snowmobiles , and is characterized by increased damage to pastures, frightening noises from machines, and decreased contact with the herd.¹⁴⁰ Informant one described this form of herding as tougher physically than the previous method.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, in describing this new method of “brute force” herding anthropologists increasingly used masculine terms and undertones. In their observations, herding is depicted as rough, chaotic, and stressed when compared to the pre-mechanization era of “calm.”

At the theoretical level, reindeer herding’s transition to mechanized transportation altered herding methods and started to limit participation for both women and men from the 1960’s onward. This mechanization was experienced at the local level and from a family perspective. Interview participants did not agree on a common date that signaled when mechanization substantially impacted gender. This appears to have occurred at different times in each family, making a generalized statement problematic. In addition, when directly inquiring about snowmobiles, informants found this to be an uninteresting question or had a response that sounded prepared for external researchers. Indirectly framing how modernizing transportation affected gender relations surfaced in interview questions concerning the gendered division of labor in the family. This was unexpected since these questions did not explicitly address transportation, and will be woven into my analysis.

Informant two’s discussion on when her family started using snowmobiles during the 1960’s reveals inter-family relationships of adapting modernized transportation.¹⁴² She recalls there were many problems with the scooters breaking down, and particularly on one trip to the herd with her father. The scooter had broken down due to problems with a missing screw: “[h]owever, of course we had brought our skis with us, the traditional ski’s and boats.”¹⁴³ The skis were described as a very natural item to bring, and a combination of skis and snowmobiles continued in herding until the 1970’s.¹⁴⁴ The mechanical difficulties of these early machines were a strong consideration when organizing to work with the herd. Informant two continues to recall how she managed to find the screw and reached her father again in the distance:

¹⁴⁰ Pelto, *The Snowmobile Revolution: Technology and Social Change in the Arctic*, 131.

¹⁴¹ Informant one, interview 2009.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Muller-Wille Ludger and Pertti J. Pelto, "Technological Change and Its Impact in Arctic Regions: Lapps Introduce Snowmobiles into Reindeer Herding," *Polarforschung* 1, no. 2 (1971): 142-48. Early ethnographic journals describe the process of trial and error in adapting snowmobiles into herding practices. Factors that influenced this process was access to economy, natural terrain, and available work force.

I said “well I don’t know how to find my way in this forest, I don’t know the direction” and he said “that is no problem.” So he tied ropes to both my arms, sitting in the sledge...he was steering through the mountains.

This memory sheds a different perspective on the introduction of snowmobiles than depicted by the three authors surveyed above. The humor and humanity of this story helps to demonstrate how the early works focused extensively on “brute force” methods in herding which was an alternative experience in the family. Studies that focus on the increased masculinization of mechanized transportation overlook how the transition was experienced as a family affair. There is a clear combination of traditional navigation through a dual transportation system: skis and snowmobiles. At this junction in informant two’s narrative, snowmobiles did not create a barrier to her participation in herding. In contrast to Paine’s description of sisters begging their brothers for rides, informant two’s story of learning how to drive the snowmobile ended with her ability to chauffeur her brother between town and home.

Hindrance vs. Help in Recent History

Early concern over obtaining financing for mechanized transportation, and the creation of wealth gaps between herders has never fully materialized. Paine argues that “[w]hen all have snowmobiles, no one person,... is ahead of another, but everyone may be worse off.”¹⁴⁵ By placing the consequences onto the social group, rather than the animals, this quotation demonstrates a Garrett Hardin-style argument on how the total population would be impacted. The high cost of mechanized transportation is still a large factor in continuing reindeer herding. One estimation from the 1980’s on the annual expenditures by Kautokeino reindeer herders on mechanized transportation is two-thirds of their annual income?, with an additional thirty-five percent dedicated towards the purchase and maintenance of snowmobiles.¹⁴⁶ Confirming these estimations is difficult and subjective, but is intended to demonstrate an estimate of the associated costs. Covering these costs is often done through the family or production unit. Production units from the 1980s onward do receive limited subsidies towards the costs of mechanical transportation.

High costs of purchasing and maintaining snowmobiles is a considering factor when participating in herding:

¹⁴⁵ Paine, *Herds of the Tundra: A Portrait of Saami Reindeer Pastoralism*, 155.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 145.

extra helper[s] should have a motor vehicle on her own or his own because maybe the man or the head of the siida... usually does not have extra money to buy extra motor vehicles....So the motor vehicle are both obstacles and help in the work.¹⁴⁷

Situating motor vehicles as both a help and hindrance to participating in herding is an important outcome of transitioning from skis and transportation reindeer. Determining when this transition was solidified is still difficult. However, Paine's brief attention to gender noted that young men often use the snowmobiles the most, and are in the worst position to cover the costs.¹⁴⁸ Paine's brief point of attention to this gendered aspect combined with individual narratives suggests that snowmobile use transitioned during the 1960's and 1970's. By the mid 1980's, when he would have made this observation, snowmobiles were associated with male reindeer herders and both an obstacle and help towards reindeer herding. Indirectly, informant two's narrative supports this through the gendering of individuals and discussions on participating in reindeer husbandry.

The discussion on the high costs of mechanized transportation ties into increasing costs associated with sedentary living. This creates the need for additional incomes that the subsistence economy generation from pre World War II would not have required. In discussing the high costs of living informant two links modernity with mechanization:

And today we have the motorized world and we also have the modern world, so in the modern world you need more money to sustain your living. And you have in my family you have these fancy clothing you need to buy so the girl needs to find paid job in addition to manage.¹⁴⁹

Addressing the increasing costs associated with sedentary living and the explicit attention to the motorized world changes the way individuals adapt to economic situations. This was one of the primary concerns expressed by Pelto and Ingold in the impacts of modernizing transportation. Resolving this issue turns the discussion back to economy and how families can adapt their situation to cover the increased costs associated with modernized transportation. Linking the last two quotations by this informant points to women acquiring additional income to supplement the rising costs of motorized herding. This is stated explicitly in the second quotations, and indirectly in the association of the man being the siida

¹⁴⁷ Informant two, interview 2009.

¹⁴⁸ Paine, *Herds of the Tundra: A Portrait of Saami Reindeer Pastoralism*, 145.

¹⁴⁹ Informant two, interview 2009.

leader.¹⁵⁰ Is this division of labor inherent in reindeer herding families' division of labor or is this gendered division in participation and economy the result of the transition to modernized transportation? Answering this question brings forth a mixture of both "traditional" gender roles and how they have adapted to modernized economic situations to continue reindeer herding.

My third informant emphasized the impacts that mechanization had on division of labor. This discussion emerged in relationship to raising his sons and daughters into herding. His narrative did not address the transition period of motorization, but situated his response concerning adaptation in herding methods.

So, yes those motor vehicles and mobile phones are helping very much in reindeer husbandry. And like I said about these diplomas, you maybe be thinking that the girl cannot do anything in the reindeer husbandry or as much in the reindeer husbandry. But I think that if a girl has a light snowmobile, she can do as much as a man in the reindeer husbandry.¹⁵¹

Informant three suggests in this statement that the market for lighter snowmobiles might meet the needs of women and thus increase their participation in herding. This father has found ways for his daughter to participate in reindeer herding by adapting available technologies and institutions to advance her professional skills. It became very apparent when I had tried to talk about gendered participation that this was perceived to be an irrelevant issue because of creative problem solving, like the light snowmobile. He states:

That is why I am showing you the sons' and daughter's diplomas. Both are raised similarly and encouraged to go into reindeer herding.... I have not made a division between the boys and the girls..... The now a day reindeer is very man dominated, there are very few women.¹⁵²

In this family, there has been no distinguishing between boys and girls in regards to their upbringing in reindeer herding. If there was the potential for me to miss this point of pride, the direct pointing to the two large frames upon the wall with the diplomas clarified the

¹⁵⁰ Siida leaders are not inherently male, as informant one recalled how his Aunties were often the leaders of his siida during the 1960 and 70's. The reason for their leadership selection was based on their strong skills in reindeer herding and milking. Milking reindeer was traditionally associated with women's work, and his family continued this transition until the 1960's. Informant one emphasizes that this did not confine women to only milking, as one Auntie was not particularly talented in this role and instead was a very strong lasso thrower. Demonstrating how families adapted roles and tasks based on skill and required labor, rather than rigidly defined notions of gender roles.

¹⁵¹ Informant three, interview 2009.

¹⁵² Informant three, interview 2009.

situation to me.¹⁵³ What was left unclarified was why the industry has become male-dominated. When asked why there are so few female herders, informant three responded “like I told you before about the motor vehicles and meat prices being low, and the women must find other jobs.” Relating these three factors together assists in explaining the broad reasons for changes in gendered participation. Identifying these three factors is an important point for not only the transition to motorized vehicles, but for the discussion in chapter four.

Robert P. Wheelersburg’s analysis of the modern transportation system’s impact on the Swedish Sami herders’ summer activities demonstrates this transition in herding strategies, economy, and social organization.¹⁵⁴ Breaking with Pelto and Ingold’s analysis, Wheelersburg includes observations on the impact of modernizing transportation on gendered divisions of labor and participation, in the mid 1980s.¹⁵⁵ He argues that herding is a masculine activity with female participation limited to the summer months. This division in gendered participation is supported by the maintenance of two separate, permanent, seasonal dwellings for summer and winter. These two living locations allow for daily commuting between the herd and family for male herders. Wheelersburg suggests that female participation in the calf marking, berry picking, and fishing during the summer is facilitated with airplanes.¹⁵⁶ In winter, he argues that women may lose the ability to participate in the winter herding since they are not using snowmobiles at the same rate as men. This perspective is valid in the extent of a cautionary note towards decreased female participation, but negates the broader trend of women accessing incomes from outside of reindeer husbandry during this period.

Prior to increased use of mechanized transportation, informants recalled increased family participation in the annual cycle of herding. The childhood memory of informant four also contrasts Wheelersburg’s demonstration of how gender has adapted. He recalls that:

¹⁵³ My translator was one of his relatives and later described to me how inclusive he was in bringing all of the family to the fence and corral. I was unaware until this meeting that my translator had reindeer, since her father had chosen a different lifestyle and did not apply for the production unit. Her uncle spoke of this distinction within their family as him being the professor of the mountain and his brother the professor at the college. Both roles were equally valued and served to maintain the family’s involvement in reindeer herding, as his brother was a professor of reindeer husbandry at the Sami University college. This suggests that within this siida/family there is an acceptance and encouragement of different professions to enhance the strength of reindeer herding within their family.

¹⁵⁴ Robert P. Wheelersburg, "New Transportation Technology among Swedish Sami Reindeerherders," *Arctic Anthropology* 24, no. 2 (1987): 99-116.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*: 114-15.

when I was a little boy we were living together up in the mountains because... it was not necessary for my mother to be in the village, because they got enough money in that time, because you could not spend so much money at that time.... We had only one car, and we hardly used the car because we were up in the mountains almost all the time.... So we did not spend so much money at that time... It was very usual all the families had all the family there, the kids, mother and father....¹⁵⁷

Informant four strongly positions his mother's presence in this memory. Arguably, this suggests that the herding experience ceased to be a daily family affair. In describing how the decreased female participation affected his experience in herding, he expresses frustration towards performing traditionally female roles, such as cooking. Coming back to a cold cabin and then making food, which he terms to be bad, was the surface level of his frustration. The problem stemmed from the lack of company, rather than the lack of meal preparation.¹⁵⁸ This is understandable when comparing the childhood recollection of living with his family in the mountains, which provided increased access to the herd. Now "[w]e drive up to the mountains, go around for the reindeers, take a lunch in the cabin, and then drive down."¹⁵⁹ This daily drive was not seen as the problem when using snowmobiles to access the reindeer, rather the decreased access time during the trip was described as problematic. Decreasing contact and control of the herd has been highlighted in the works of Ingold and Paine as negative effects of mechanized vehicles. This perception was shared by informant four, who valued his skill level in herding.

How this process explicitly impacts the experience of Sami men presents a different picture. This emerged in interviews when discussing what kind of partner one would desire to continue reindeer husbandry.¹⁶⁰ This question was always met with giggles and laughter from the young to the mature respondents, and the standard response of turning the conversation towards me and asking what was I looking for. However, in the male responses, a different tone presented what they would find desirable. Here informant four's response highlighted

¹⁵⁷ Informant four, interview 2009.

¹⁵⁸ Trude Gjernes, "Perceptions of Risk and Uncertainty among Sami Women Involved in Reindeer Herding in Northern Norway," *Health, Risk & Society* 10, no. 5 (2008): 505-16. One point of emphasis in this article was the attention female respondents placed on meal preparation that was practical and healthy for the environment. This suggests that women still encompass this role, and informant four's complaints about food stem back to the lack of female participation.

¹⁵⁹ Informant four, interview 2009.

¹⁶⁰ Robert Paine, *Camps of the Tundra: Politics through Reindeer among Saami Pastoralists*, vol. vol. 129, Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie B, Skrifter ([Oslo]: Novus, 2009), 33-39. For an anthropological overview of contemporary partnership and marriage rituals please review Paine's text.

how both men and women make sacrifices to continue reindeer herding in Kautokeino. This could involve staying in the community and working to support reindeer husbandry in their family through cash incomes:

On the other side there is also a sacrifice for me. Because if I did my choice like my sister to go and take my education I could do that and maybe get the good work and earn a lot of money and live almost anywhere I want, and I could have wife who can't make shoes for me, like my hunting area is very small, when I am chasing a woman I can not chase or take a girl from the city who just does not know anything or things to do.¹⁶¹

Male respondents emphasized repeatedly how having a spouse raised with a background in reindeer husbandry would be the best option. To have a partner who posed the knowledge on how to make the gahkti, shoes, and other required materials would be an advantage.

Conclusion

Early ethnographic works on the modernization of transportation focused on the masculine role in reindeer herding. This discussion returns to Scott's construction of gender and Eikjok's linkage of snowmobiles to new forms of masculine identity. In addition, Einar Niemi's analysis on national minorities in Norway demands scholarly awareness on the use of categories.¹⁶² "Categorising is a matter of definition, to a great extent, and in the exercise of definition lies an exercise of power." (*sic*)¹⁶³ Niemi's argument on the latent power of categorization in the public space, and in research, is shaped through scholarly research methods. Choices in data collection techniques can alter or maintain categories that contribute to expressions of power. Early scholars diminished women's roles in reindeer herding by focusing exclusively on masculine roles. Through classifying reindeer herding as a primarily masculine activity and associating mechanization with this gender, women were excluded from the desired category of analysis. For example, the example of the brother allowing his sister to ride his snowmobile was provided by Paine as demonstrating the gendered shift in herding. This point is subtle in its normalization of mechanization and reindeer herding as masculine, but why is the brother *allowing* his *begging* sister to ride on the snowmobile? What is naturalized in this relationship from the depiction of Paine? I argue

¹⁶¹ Informant four, interview 2009.

¹⁶² Einar Niemi, "National Minorities and Minority Policy in Norway," in *International Obligations and National Debates: Minorities around the Baltic Sea* (Mariehamn: Åland Islands Peace Institute, 2006), 397-99.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

that Paine has normalized his perception of masculine roles in reindeer herding in this example presenting a hierarchy in gendered access to mechanization. This perspective is contrasted through the narratives of my informants.

Comparing scholarly works to the personal histories of informants who experienced modernizing transportation highlights the difference in gendered perceptions. Ingold's works demonstrate how narrow categories of research did contribute to perceptions of reindeer herding as masculine. Informant two's experience with her family contrasts the masculine 'brute force' herding methods outlined by researchers. Her family's adaptation of snowmobiles to their needs was not recalled as a drastic or harsh transition, but rather an experience shared in the family. This was characteristic of her experience during the early period of the transition during the 1960's and 1970's, when snowmobiles were not a gendered obstacle to participation or perceived as explicitly masculine.

Robert Wheelersburg's article argues that mechanized transportation has affected female participation by decreasing their winter involvement.¹⁶⁴ His predictions on the ability of women to participate in the winter herding are dismal and suggested a loss of traditional knowledge associated with this season. Contrasting this with the narratives of my three informants provides a different perception for participation and economic support of modernized transportation systems. Informant three helped to expand on this point in his discussion of division of labor in his family and children raising. Low meat prices and modernized transportation were the first two reasons provided for the masculinization of reindeer herding. Low meat prices contributed to a decreased income for herders, while facing the increasing costs associated with modernized transportation. These two factors led to the need of women to find paid employment outside of the home to supplement reindeer husbandry in the family. This final point was described by all four informants as the families' method of adapting to the economic systems required to continue reindeer husbandry. Ingold's early assertion that subsidies would cover the costs of the new transportation is half of the answer. The review of scholars underdevelops this gendered shift in employment of women who seek additional employment to support the household.

¹⁶⁴ Wheelersburg, "New Transportation Technology among Swedish Sami Reindeerherders," 99-116. This work is being included, despite the Swedish focus, because it addresses the impact that mechanization has on division of labor, gendered participation, and family adaptation.

Informant four's experience provided suggestions on how the masculine experience has been shaped by the decreasing female participation. The masculine experience was not developed in the three sources reviewed on modernizing transportation, despite the masculinization of the research focus. Future research was suggested by starting to address partner selection in the herding experience of Sami men.

Chapter 4:

How Have Scholars Constructed the Representation of Gender in Reindeer Herding?

Chapter two outlined the history of reindeer herding regulation and the lack of gendered discussion prior to World War II. In assessing changes in reindeer husbandry, following the war, the importance of modernization has been given substantial weight. The rise of gendered discourses has brought forth a myriad of discussions, ranging from the impact of modernizing transportation to gendered participation. The 1978 Reindeer Herding Act has frequently been at the centre of gendered discussions for its unintended effects. This chapter will assess how gendered discussions on the 1978 Act accounted for the experience of Sami men, by focusing on the relationship between production units and gendered representation.

History of the Women Libbers-*Rødstømper*

Sami feminist anthropologist Jorunn Eikjok argues that the women's movement in the Sami community began in 1978¹⁶⁵. Surrounding this date was the rise of ethno-political activism on the Alta Dam affair and controversy over the 1978 Reindeer Herding Act. Eikjok recalls that the overarching question in the 1970's was if Sami women were facing oppression in their communities and cultures.¹⁶⁶ The Sami movement promoted the image of equality as being an innate quality of Sami culture and this creating a point of distinction between "western" concepts of gender.¹⁶⁷ Sami women in the 1970's were labeled as "the strong Sami women" to portray internal stability against the "Western" cultures that were being internally challenged by second wave feminism.

Research in the 1980's faced a lack of research on women in Sami society. With limited research to build on Sami feminists and gender research began assessing the situation of Sami women. One text from this period that exemplifies form of research is the UNESCO conference paper presentation by Vigdis Stordahl.¹⁶⁸ Examining the conditions of Sami women is set against the complicated ethnic relationship between Norwegian and Sami culture, and how these differences have historically, been overlooked. This is problematic to

¹⁶⁵ Jorunn Eikjok, "Indigenous Women in the North: The Struggle for Rights and Feminism," in *Indigenous Affairs*, ed. Jens Dahl and Lola Garcia-Alix (Copenhagen 2000), 38-41.

¹⁶⁶ Eikjok, "Gender, Essentialism and Feminism in Samiland," 113-14.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Vigdis Stordahl, "The Condition of Sami Women and the Ways and Means Which Can Be Used for Improving Certain Situations," in *UNESCO-Conference in Karasjok* (Karasjok: s.n, 1983), 1-13.

Stordahl as understanding the relationship between ethnic status and gender is required to understand how social systems are continued and maintained.¹⁶⁹ Applying this approach to the current condition of Sami women, Stordahl argues that by understanding these relationships it is possible to assess if development measures for the Sami are succeeding and if those development measures are improving the situation of Sami women. Using reindeer herding as an example of attempts at development measures, Stordahl raises concern over how regulation can impact gendered division of labor:

... because it clearly shows how externally initiated processes of change, which do not understand the complexity of reindeer herding, and the significance of local rules of sexual division of labour, may have serious consequences for both reindeer herding, and the society which it is a part of. Also, those externally initiated processes of change have been resisted by those affected by them. Thus, by stressing the lack of comprehension of the dynamics of reindeer herding, we may perhaps influence those who are planning the future of this activity.¹⁷⁰

The timing of this speech in 1983 demonstrates awareness of how the 1976 Agreement, and the 1978 Act, was seen to impact divisions on labor and social organization in reindeer husbandry. Unlike Eikjok, Stordahl briefly draws attention to the resistance of the impact of modernization and regulation; which had been imposed by cultural outsiders. By not segregating resistance into a gendered context, it is possible to infer that resistant individuals were both male and female. The remainder of Stordahl's analysis emphasizes the ways women have been marginalized through regulations, but also their avocation for increased recognition. This text is indicative of the gendered activism and debates in the 1980's.

In the previous two decades, feminist research has expanded to new levels and depth by linking the Sami situation to the broader international community. In the past decade, this research has expanded to new levels through linking the Sami situation to the broader internal community.¹⁷¹ Rauna Kuokkanen research has been at the forefront of Sami gendered research during this period and is internationally recognized through her text in *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*. Her application of postcolonial feminist analysis to the

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 1-2.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 5-6.

¹⁷¹ Chandra K. Roy, "Indigenous Women: A Gender Perspective," *Gáldu čála* 1(2005): 1-37. Roy's comparative text demonstrates the development of gender research on Sami women to the international level. From 2000 onward, publications like Roy's, appear with increasing frequency and arguably demonstrate the rising global network of indigenous women. Her work will not be reviewed since the supporting research is taken primarily from Eikjok and Kuokkanen, and therefore would not contribute any new information to this analysis.

current situation of Sami women explores challenges facing women in political participation, reindeer herding policy and practices, and sexual violence.¹⁷² These arguments continue to challenge the representation of women from the 1970's through reviewing the myth of the strong Sami woman.¹⁷³ By illuminating how this representation of women creates a dilemma locally for Sami women, Kuokkanen demonstrates the negotiation between upholding traditional culture and contemporary demands on women.¹⁷⁴ According to Eikjok the event that created this dilemma, and decreased the position of women in the community, comes from the integration of Sami communities from subsistence to modern market economy.¹⁷⁵

Decreasing female participation in reindeer herding is the second major research theme during this period. Kuokkanen's article on indigenous women in traditional economies argues that because of external regulations, women are being marginalized in reindeer herding.¹⁷⁶ Solveig Joks recent work provides an overview of the position of women in reindeer husbandry.¹⁷⁷ Male dominance and perception is attributed to regulations that emphasize meat production and higher registration of production units to men. Evidence is demonstrated in the registration of production units where only 17% of the production units belonging to women in research before the 2007 Amendment.¹⁷⁸ Even with changes implemented since the 1990's, women's access to production unit's ownership has not produced significant changes in the industry, because these changes often entail having women placed under a man's production units. The obstacle within this situation is the lack of access to important taxes, rates, and dues provided through government subsidies from the 1978 Reindeer Herding Act to the production unit's owner. Meaning that even with alterations to the Reindeer Act, women are still subjugated to a husband or male relative within the industry and do not have direct access to the economic benefits.

Joks argues that this has created a situation where women's activities are valued at the micro level and invisible at the middle or macro level.¹⁷⁹ The cause of this situation is linked

¹⁷² Rauna Kuokkanen, "Myths and Realities of Sami Women: A Post-Colonial Feminist Analysis for the Decolonization and Transformation of Sami Society," in *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism* (Black Point, N.S.: Fernwood, 2007), 72-92.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 73-76.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ Eikjok, "Indigenous Women in the North: The Struggle for Rights and Feminism," 37-39.

¹⁷⁶ Kuokkanen, "Indigenous Women in Traditional Economies: The Case of Sámi Reindeer Herding," 499-504.

¹⁷⁷ Joks, "Women's Position in the Sámi Reindeer Husbandry."

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 246-48.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 252.

back to both government policy, emphasis on the 1978 Reindeer Herding Act, and shifts within reindeer herding practices. Through this analysis, Joks accounts for both internal and external factors that have led to what she argues to be a decreased recognition and value of the position of women within reindeer husbandry at the middle and macro level.¹⁸⁰

Reviewing the history of the women's movement and research in Sami culture demonstrates an active engagement with internal and external politics of representation, interpretation, and use of history, and how modernization/regulations affect social organization. Analyzing modernization is an important topic in indigenous feminism when compared to other forms of feminism, because modernization has impacted indigenous communities in a unique manner. Structuring arguments as cause and effect from government intervention or the introduction of modernization dominates the post 1990's dialogue on gender.

The Researchers Frame of Local Narratives

The position of men has largely been underdeveloped, and analyzing the use of case studies from the local narratives helps to demonstrate how this is occurring theoretically. Gendered research on the impacts of the 1978 Act focuses on the ways women are marginalized or made invisible at the middle to macro level of representation.¹⁸¹ Linking the theoretical to the local level is carried out by authors to humanize the impacts of regulations, and two cases of divorce and spousal death will be presented to illustrate this approach. The literature used for this demonstration was written in 2009, meaning the cases cited have occurred since 2000. Using recent examples has been selected to build on the history thought in the Sami women's movement.

The first example illustrates a divorce case from 2005 where production units complicated the division of assets:

...a young Sami woman who separated from her husband lost her share of reindeer-herding subsidies. She and her husband had shared a reindeer-owning household, but she had always had her own reindeer and reindeer mark... Upon divorce, however, the full amount of subsidies was paid to her ex-husband, although she had the custody of their three small children.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 255.

¹⁸¹ Solveig Joks, "Kvinneperspektivet I Fremtidig Samisk Reindrift," *Ragifer* 10 (2005): 13-19.

¹⁸² Kuokkanen, "Indigenous Women in Traditional Economies: The Case of Sámi Reindeer Herding," 502.

The breakdown of the family unit or gendered dynamic is not taken into consideration when formulating the 1978 Act's regulation on production unit membership. Kuokkanen perceives these as "continuing patriarchal and sexist policies" which make it difficult for women in reindeer herding to continue their traditions practices. Sami female politicians have been advocating against the gendered discrimination in reindeer herding regulations.¹⁸³ Kuokkanen's example fails to develop two key points. Firstly, in the construction of the example it suggests that external acknowledgment of this traditional activity requires the validation of the reindeer herding administration. This is a top down approach that does not demonstrate any form of protest from the young mother against the reindeer administration or in private law towards her former spouse. Secondly, the primary concern in this example is on subsidy access, which continues to be negotiated annually as part of the 1976 Reindeer Agreement. Production units provide the structure for dispersing subsidies, but the Agreement controls the funding and therefore should have be further analyzed in Kuokkanen's article.

The second example features an older Sami woman whose husband had recently died:

Another recent case involved an older Sami woman who lost the right to the family summer pasture after the death of her husband. Their summer pasture area—where reindeer herders are mandated to migrate annually according to the Reindeer Herding Act—was seized by other reindeer herders of the area, making it impossible for the widow and her son to conduct the annual summer migration. As a result, the reindeer Herding Administration threatened the family with a forced slaughter of their herd.¹⁸⁴

In this example, Kuokkanen furthers her argument on how the Act has discriminated against women by not considering altercations in family organization. The lack of development on why other reindeer herders overtook the pastures in question was not explored in this text, nor were any protests from this family presented. In this light, the women presented in the above to cases appear to be invisible to the system and do not present any form of protest against the imposition of these regulations.

Representing the female experience in these two examples lacks the clarification on their individual positions in reindeer herding. Linking the local to theoretical level requires clarification on individual background and why these cases have been selected. This at first

¹⁸³ Ibid.: 502-03.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.: 503.

glance may seem like a ridiculous question towards a text that is theoretical committed to demonstrating the female experience, but what would a clarification of the female experience bring? Reindrifftsforvaltningen has stated that women with low visibility in current reindeer husbandry are composed of those that; work full time in the industry, work full time outside the industry and still participate part time in husbandry, work part time in and outside the industry, and those women that consider husbandry as a future occupation.¹⁸⁵ This different classification presented of female participation is composed of a wide range of participation, suggesting a diversity of female experience in the industry. Creating a deeper understanding of the range of female involvement in reindeer husbandry I argue will create an understanding of where complaints or contentment for the regulations is coming from. Diversifying the female experience is necessary to demonstrate how women are impacted by reindeer management regulations and what specific groups are impacted. In addition, the above two examples did not highlight the masculine experience in imposing regulations or how the death of a spouse may impact the male experience in reindeer husbandry.

At the beginning of this section I set out to demonstrate how scholars have represented the impacts of regulations. Drawing on Kuokkanen I framed two examples that place women in a largely victimized position. The presence of men are not included in these analysis, or if they have faced any exclusion from production units. I argue that this approach suggest a situation of open access for men, and closed for women. This is not the case, since briefly mentioned in the second example was the son. His future in reindeer husbandry would have been taken away from him with the loss of pastures, and this point was not developed in Kuokkanen's analysis

Do Reindeer Herding Men have a Gender?

The discussion thus far in the chapter has focused on research on the position of women. This has been done at the theoretical and local level of analysis, leading to the assertion that perceptions of reindeer herding have been masculinized. Drawing on examples and theories from 2000 onward, the following section will asses the theoretical construction of this assertion to determine its accuracy and to determine if gendered discussions challenge this representation in reindeer herding. Then in what way has this masculine representation at the theoretical level reflected the local level?

¹⁸⁵ "Women in Reindeer Husbandry in Norway," in *www.reindrifft.no* (Alta Norway: Reindrifftsforvaltningen).

Leading recent discussion on masculine representation is Jorunn Eikjok's text "Gender, Essentialism and Feminism in Samiland."¹⁸⁶ Eikjok cites the introduction of the market economy as the reason for the decrease in female status and the masculinization of reindeer herding and resource management regimes.¹⁸⁷ This was done through the inclusion of European hegemonic masculinities that excluded women from the public sphere, and placed increasing emphasis and power on traditional masculine activities. The consequence for indigenous masculinity, according to Eikjok, is the increasing association and limitation of their "manliness" to traditional activities and lifestyles that do not afford role maneuverability.¹⁸⁸ Women adapt with more success, despite increasing patriarchy, to modern education and employment. Eikjok concludes that indigenous men are increasingly becoming the "losers" because of their difficulty adapting to the new system. Her solution is continued advocacy for using women's experience and knowledge in advancing indigenous societies development.

Kuokkanen's work uses a similar approach as Eikjok when deconstructing the relationship between colonialism and the myth of the strong Sami women. The position of Sami men differs between these two authors. Eikjok attempts a symbolic analysis of the position of Sami men and does weakly demonstrate their difficulties with modernization. Kuokkanen's text lacks any form of substantial development on the position of Sami men past expressions of patriarchy, political exclusion, and violence against women. Examining her use of material and the disregard for the position of men is best summarized in her challenges to the myth of the strong Sami women:

A common way to disregard Sami women's concerns is to refer to the fact that Sami women are already "better off" than Sami men because they are stronger and because the loss of traditional livelihoods has not impacted them as radically as men.¹⁸⁹

It is ironic that this chapter sets out to explore the marginalization of Sami women, while they are turning this system of gendered silence upon Sami men. One strikingly contentious point is what research has been carried out to determine how Sami men have experienced the loss of tradition and in what ways can this be quantified this as more radical than the experience

¹⁸⁶ Eikjok, "Gender, Essentialism and Feminism in Samiland," 115.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 108-21.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 111-12.

¹⁸⁹ Kuokkanen, "Myths and Realities of Sami Women: A Post-Colonial Feminist Analysis for the Decolonization and Transformation of Sami Society," 73.

of Sami women. The transition of traditional livelihoods is a gendered event that requires going past mere stereotypes of employment and cultural activities.

Eikjok introduction of “European masculinities” fails to make explicit what this broad concept of masculinity entails.¹⁹⁰ From inference of her use of European masculinity, it refers back to Robert Connell’s extensive body of literature. Drawing on Connell’s 1995 definition of hegemonic masculinity as the:

configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or it is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.¹⁹¹

The presence of a gendered hierarchy in this version is established to maintain dominance over women and subjugated masculinities. It is understandable why Eikjok would draw reference to this earlier definition of hegemonic masculinity which is linked to a international white business masculinity. The concept of a global monolithic, hegemonic, masculinity draws legitimacy from within the triangle of class, ethnicity, and gender. Linking Eikjok’s use of European masculinities to modernization arguably favors economics’ as the primary source of legitimacy, at the expense of gender and ethnicity. This is problematic for oversimplifying the feminist theory Eikjok is drawing on that exposes the myriad of relationships between these three elements. In addition, Connell’s text argues that within these relationships is the formation of different masculinities in a local context.

Eikjok’s and Kuokkanen’s development of masculinity risks essentializing the masculine experience to a homogenized definition that lacks historical development in a cultural context. This theoretical construction is counter argued by Connell through contextualizing local formation: “Masculinities are configurations of practice that are accomplished in social action and can differ according to the gender relations in a particular social setting.”¹⁹² By diversifying gendered relationships in the local and cultural settings, there is an incorporation of subordinate masculinities that challenge and legitimize hegemonic masculinities. In addition, it opens analytical room to demonstrate the ways that

¹⁹⁰ Eikjok, "Gender, Essentialism and Feminism in Samiland," 116.

¹⁹¹ R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 77.

¹⁹² R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender and Society* 19, no. 6 (2005): 836.

hegemonic masculinity draws from subordinate masculinities to maintain its position.¹⁹³ From this argument Eikjok and Kuokkanen's text could incorporate Sami masculinity into their critiques of modernization and incorporation of an external patriarchy. This would diversify current gendered discussions and introduce a multidimensional hierarchy of gender that is inclusive to both masculinity and femininity. Creating this in the local cultural context would highlight the cultural difference between Sami and Nordic cultures, and internally diversify gender analysis between reindeer herders and settled Sami.¹⁹⁴

Complicating the hierarchies of gender is required to further advance the use of masculinity, and to expose the multitude of relationships that construct each other. In relating the concept of hegemonic masculinity to patriarchy, Eikjok is articulating a discourse that reifies negative attributes of hegemonic masculinity. Counter arguments to this use point to masculine power deriving from the female experience and not the structure of subordination.¹⁹⁵ Holter summarized in Connell argues that:

we must distinguish between 'patriarchy,' the long-term structure of the subordination of women, and 'gender,' a specific system of exchange that arose in the context of modern capitalism. It is a mistake to treat a hierarchy of masculinities constructed within gender relations as logically continuous with the patriarchal subordination of women.¹⁹⁶

Distinguishing between patriarchy and masculinity supports feminist advocating for the end to patriarchal systems, and demonstrates that it is not inherent in masculinity. Supporting further contextual analysis of how institutions and norms are expressing subordination and rather than an inherent trait in masculinity. However, these process and institutions require analysis and in this regard current gendered research has demonstrated how modernization has masculinized reindeer herding regulations, and perceptions, since World War II.

Present in both authors' works is the identification of the relationship between modernization and external patriarchy, which has decreased the status of women. This has been done through focusing on, and increasing the status of, masculine activities, such as

¹⁹³ Both Pyke and Connell's articles highlight the relationship between subordinated masculinities and hegemonic masculinities. Research into this relationship has emerged since the 1990's with the development of masculine scholarship. Unfortunately, this has yet to be developed in indigenous masculinities and this chapter will attempt to demonstrate how this can be accomplished. A full analysis of indigenous masculinity in relationship to hegemonic masculinity would be outside of the scope of this thesis.

¹⁹⁴ Reindeer herding and settled Sami is a brief example. There is a diversity of Sami groups that are culturally and regionally distinctive, and this example is not intended to diminish this diversity.

¹⁹⁵ Connell and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," 839-41.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*: 839.

reindeer herding. I argue that the flaw in analyzing the relationship between external patriarchy and traditional masculine activities is the assumption that these two masculinities are congruent. Meaning that if Eikjok and Kuokkanen's analysis streams from feminist deconstructions of ethnicity, class, and gender; they have failed to determine if Sami masculinity is equal in these three categories to the external masculinity or patriarchy. Eikjok to a limited degree addresses this by asserting how "[t]raditional masculinity in Indigenous societies is restricted because of the lost status of traditional industries."¹⁹⁷ No further development is provided aside from these highlights, but does initiate the examination on the Sami male experience.

Approaching masculinity in this manner creates a disconnect between the theoretical to the local level. If reindeer herding and other social institutions are being masculinized through external patriarchy that is being internalized by Sami men, then why are they less successful in adapting or relating to these new gendered developments? Arguably, this occurs in the differentiation between hierarchies of internal versus external masculinities that have impacted the representation of Sami men. At the theoretical level the application of masculinity to institutions by feminist scholars does not challenge this representation, but enforces the patriarchal system of gendered representation (feminism sought to challenge).

Representation of reindeer herding men creates a bridge between feminist theory and gendered analysis of social organization in reindeer husbandry. Joks work has been included throughout this thesis, and argues that women have been made invisible at the middle to macro level of representation through the masculinization of reindeer husbandry through production units and the emphasis on meat production.¹⁹⁸ The theoretical effect of Joks discussion on the position of women in reindeer herding consequently degenders reindeer herding men. This degendering becomes apparent in her discussion of the recent attention on women's position in reindeer husbandry. An example of this is found in her analysis of the first seminar on women in reindeer husbandry held in Norway in April 2001.¹⁹⁹

In the group discussions, one group exploring the attitudes faced by women concluded that women are often perceived to be a homogenous group.²⁰⁰ This is attributed partly to the perception that women's interests are not given the same emphasis as men's

¹⁹⁷ Eikjok, "Gender, Essentialism and Feminism in Samiland," 116.

¹⁹⁸ Joks, "Women's Position in the Sámi Reindeer Husbandry," 246-56.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 253.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

interests within reindeer herding. To address this situation the Norwegian Reindeer Administration facilitated a seminar in 2002 to address the situation of women's politics within reindeer husbandry.²⁰¹ Anne-Kathrine Fossum's, Director of the Ministry of Agriculture in 2002, speech is summarized by Joks as calling for an:

Integration of a gendered perspective in the reindeer husbandry means a reintegration of the woman's perspective, because the development has forced women away from reindeer husbandry. Economical framework conditions and the changes of production form have led women to other activities, and to activities that secure an income (ibid.:7-8).²⁰²

In this speech, the Director highlights central factors for the gendered shift within reindeer husbandry, mainly role of economic framework's and production forms. These two key points encompass the macro level regulations that created the conditions for decreasing female participation within reindeer husbandry. However, it falls short in addressing what aspects of the economic framework have caused this shift and how this has influenced the experience of men. In discussions surrounding the masculinization of reindeer husbandry through social and economic means, the arguments employed have neutralized male reindeer herders into a homogenized and static group; simply to formulate the female experience. Conversely, this same structural analysis should be employed to highlight how the macro and middle level regulations caused gendered shifts that also influence the masculine experience in unexplored ways.

The literature and my interviews with herders both reveal that men are expected to continue herding as a major part of their masculine role. Informant four highlighted his perception of how his sisters were encouraged to attend school and then find high paying jobs, whereas he was socialized more towards reindeer herding.

The other thing is also that men's have never been good to be educated like in the schools, like we were very bad the boys. We were not thinking so much about the education, we were just saying that we don't want to learn anything, we just want to go to the mountain and work with reindeer and this is not the place for use. And the girls, maybe the parents were making decisions for us, I am not sure but I guess so. It was very normal, almost all of the girls take the grad school very seriously. They make a point of it.²⁰³

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid., 254.

²⁰³ Informant four, interview 2009.

In this example, the socialization and career direction is directed towards reindeer herding. It is difficult to assess the broad application of this experience that was formed roughly twenty years ago, and additional perspectives demonstrate the contemporary relevance.

Kristine Nystad's conference paper focuses on the reasons why young men in Kautokeino are not accessing education at the same rate as women in the community.²⁰⁴ Based on a community analysis, she argues that there is a conflict between the schools' knowledge and the traditional values required to participate in herding. This is further situated in the values assigned in the home towards working with reindeer. One of Nystad's informants felt:

that his parents thought it was essential to complete at least compulsory education (10 years in Norway). They also said that he could go on with his education later, in case they one day gave up reindeer herding. The opposite, i.e., getting an education first, and then perhaps taking up reindeer herding afterwards, was out of the question.²⁰⁵

Literature upon this experience, and that of informant four, is still limited. Acknowledging this limitation, this passage demonstrates the conflict in values that Nystad was emphasizing. European education is valued, but can come into conflict with learning the necessary traditional knowledge that is required for herders. The high value assigned on the continuation of herding within a family is increasingly placed upon men. The contribution that reindeer herding gives to the family extends past an industry to a lifestyle that is interwoven with cultural tradition and identity:

The identity reindeer herding gives us is important. Without the herding the children will lose a part of their identity; they would neither be Sami nomad, nor resident. The whole family would lose a part of its identity. This is a life style I could not be without. . . . Besides; there is no other job opportunity for my husband . . .²⁰⁶

In this quotation from a reindeer herders' wife, the importance of her husbands role in the family is emphasized and being more than an occupation, but a source of identity and unity. What is important to understand is the high status that is associated to the continuation of this tradition, and why gendered divisions of labor have adapted to ensure the continuation of

²⁰⁴ Kristine Nystad, "Sami Men between the Myth and the Modernity," in *WIPCE* (Hamilton, Aotearoa - New Zealand: Konferanserapporten fra WIPCE 2005 - digitalt form (CD), 2005), 1-11.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 1-2.

²⁰⁶ Gjernes, "Perceptions of Risk and Uncertainty among Sami Women Involved in Reindeer Herding in Northern Norway," 513.

reindeer husbandry. Gendered research needs to further develop this value at the local level, and the ways it has historically developed. This would help to provide additional insight into the social organization and values in the siida and family. In addition, the last sentence that explains how her husband does not have any job opportunities places the masculine role in a position of having less role maneuverability than women. This point is vital for future gendered research when discussing marginalization in reindeer husbandry. Gendered marginalization from participating in reindeer herding should be expanded to also include pursuing external activities and roles.

When comparing these Eikjok, Kuokkanen, and Joks perspectives on gender in Sami cultural traditions several commonalities emerge. Kuokkanen's links the situation of indigenous women to the experience of third world women. This analysis is a fitting example of how gender can transcend national boundaries. However, in deconstructing national boundaries based on gender, ethnicity, and class she fails to situate indigenous women in developed country's positions far enough when discussing the identity formation based on the "other." This analytical shortfall is an extension of Chandra Mohanty's pioneer work on position of third world women within colonial discourse, and their homogenization by western women as one monolithic category the "other."²⁰⁷ This serves as one of the central critiques of all three authors works which has homogenized Sami, or indigenous masculinity, as a discursive point of comparison without understanding its historical formation or contemporary diversity. One central point in this discourse is the distinguishment, or clarification, on what constitutes masculinity? Lacking clarification upon this point is suggestive of Sami masculinity having more in common with Nordic expressions of masculinity, which should not be concluded.

Conclusion

The first section of this chapter critically analyzed gender literature on the decreasing female participation in reindeer husbandry. This process was linked to the historical context in chapter two and the beginning of this chapter to demonstrate how there are ongoing process of social change that have impacted this altercation in female participation. For example, increased sedentarization and need for additional monetary income are two such factors. The three key authors demonstrate how regulations have influenced female participation, and

²⁰⁷ Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," *Feminist Review*, no. 30 (1988): 61-88.

externally were made invisible in reindeer herding. Production units were argued by gendered researchers to represent the official invisibility imposed on women, and though these administrative units came marginalization to participate in reindeer herding. Reindeer husbandry is still inclusive of women's roles, and the research presented did demonstrate the numerous ways women are still active and pivotal plays at the local level.

Gender discussions have not accounted for the experience of Sami men to the same degree that the women's role has been analyzed. Theoretically the existing analysis's in feminists works are underdeveloped and homogenize Sami men. I argue that this homogenization of Sami men is incorrectly linked to European masculinity. This denies the role of cultural identity and local process that contribute to the experience of Sami men, and by making these linkages their experience has been negated. I highlight this point through the introduction of limited existing research and informant narratives how modernization has impacted the male experience. This was done through partner selection, education, and value of reindeer herding as an identity to spouses. These topics differ from production units and regulations in the women's discussions, but prove to be relevant topics for reindeer herding men.

Chapter 5

What is the Gender of Sami Reindeer Herders?

Modernization impacts on gender from mechanization and regulations has been assessed by analyzing the interplay between theoretical representations of gender and local narratives. In this meeting point between research and local narratives the representation of Sami reindeer herding men has been focused on to challenge existing gender discourses that focus on the position of women. I have accomplished this by documenting how gendered scholars have developed discourses on the position of women in Sami culture and reindeer husbandry, and how this has overlooked the position of men. Modernization is constructed to include the mechanization and regulation developments in the 1970's, because of the 1976 Reindeer Agreement and 1978 Reindeer Act.

Thus far this thesis has been composed of four chapters. Chapter two's analysis questioned how Sami reindeer herders influenced the development of reindeer herding regulations in Norway from the Lapp Codicil to 2005. Chapter three's assessment of the difference between early ethnographic works documentation of modernizing transportation was challenged through the development of local narratives. Chapter four's deconstruction of Sami scholars' analysis on the impacts of production units relating to the representation of gender in reindeer herding was challenged by masculinity theories and local narratives. These chapters establish the foundation for the following conclusion that will answer to what extent are scholarly representations of gender are accurate when compared to the local experience of modernization in mechanization and regulations.

Changing Representations of Gender

The representation of gender in Sami reindeer herding is a recent debate. Chapter two demonstrates how prior to World War II gender was not a topic of concern in academic debate, reindeer herding policy, or in political activism of the Sami. This changed following World War II because of sedentarization and the push towards modernization. Modernization initiatives were developed both from within reindeer husbandry and externally from the rising welfare state. Increasingly reindeer herding was viewed as a masculine activity, and this process was accelerated through mechanization and reindeer herding regulations.

Concern over increasing masculine representation do not appear in any substantial form from World War II to the 1970. Ethno-political activism during the 1970's changed this

situation when Sami female activist started protesting the politicization of the strong Sami women image. I argue that is when gendered representation became a topic of concern for the women's movement, which led to the development of current gender discussion in Sami culture.

The early women's movement challenged the representation of gender during the 1970's and 80's by highlighting the disconnect between the local and theoretical level. The central point of critique during this time was the use of the strong Sami women image, and the how this representation oppressed women from expressing gendered frustration. Formulating this within the Sami ethno-political movement created a location where early scholars developed their critique of external and internal uses of gender representation. I contend that these continuing works can be viewed as protests against internal politicization of gender and the impacts of externally imposed regulations.

Early activism drew attention to the lack of research on the conditions of Sami women by demonstrating the need for additional knowledge on how modernization was impacting Sami communities. The iconic status of reindeer herding became a focal point in these discussions for its representation of a traditional Sami lifestyle. As demonstrated in chapter four, Vigdis Strodal raised concern over the unknown effects of reindeer herding regulations on gendered social organization. Increasing regulations on reindeer herding are correlated to the marginalization of women. Increasing masculinization of reindeer herding was protested through the development of research on the position of women, and the effects of regulations. Because of the lack of research during the 1970's and 80's, the meeting point between the theoretical and local level was limited. This was not due to a lack of local narratives, rather to the limited theoretical works on gender in Sami cultures.

The development of gendered discourse that followed continues to develop gendered analysis on the impacts of modernization and discrepancies in gender representation. Bridging local experiences to the theoretical level has moved past its early limitations through the establishment of a Sami gendered discourse. This allowed discussion of representation to increasingly merge local examples into theoretical discussions. Added into these discussions, in the past decade, is the impact of mechanized transportation and its association with reindeer herding masculinity. This is significant in signaling a small shift in the gendered discourse to include masculinity.

Chapter three and four both emphasize the lack of research on men as gendered subjects. Arguably, the introduction of changing gendered representation at the theoretical level did not include men as gendered subjects during the early activism of the 1970's and 80's. Masculinity was included at the theoretical level through external perceptions of reindeer herding that were advanced through the introduction of production units. Gendered discussion on representation since its conception have discussed the negative attributes of masculine representation when elevated through modernization or external emphasis, but continue to fail in addressing this impact on the local experience of Sami reindeer herding men.

Women are Gendered—Reindeer Herding is Masculine

The masculinization of reindeer husbandry has been one of the central debates discussed throughout this thesis. The gendered discourse has documented how modernization, production units, and emphasizing meat production in the 1978 Act led to the masculinization of reindeer herding. Gendered scholars have attempted to demonstrate how this perception emerged and to prescribe methods for creating an inclusive gender model of participation and perception in reindeer husbandry. The emerging question was: have these scholars reached their goals of awareness and altering perceptions of gender?

Theoretically, the debate surveyed has failed to change the representation of reindeer herding as masculine on the macro level. This seems paradoxical considering their dedicated documentation of the ways women contribute to reindeer husbandry, and their exposure of the masculinization of the reindeer herding system. Additionally, these scholars homogenize the masculine experience at the higher levels of analysis, while ignoring their experience at the local level. These two analytical shortfalls work in tandem to form a cycle of gendered silence. Discussions that challenge the invisibility of women at the higher levels of representations segregate their gendered experience as unique. This reinforces masculinity as the normative basis for analysis, which is further enhanced by under-researching the masculine experience at the local level. According to this argument, women have gendered experiences at the local level, while masculinity is confined to a monolithic group at the institutional or middle to macro level of analysis. These arguments undermine the spirit of gendered discussions, and it is the intention of this author to address this situation.

Deconstructing gender researcher arguments reveals a gendered bias against men, and a marginalization of their masculine experience. The development of masculinity and the masculinization of institutions has lacked systematic research on the construction of masculinity. Eikjok's contention that the introduction of patriarchy embedded in European masculinity has presumed a relationship to Sami masculinity. I argue against making such links without analyzing the historical formation of Sami masculinity, and how it relates to European masculinity. Drawing on recent discourses in hegemonic masculinity demonstrated the need to create a complex contextually based hierarchy of gender that includes a relational approach between men and women. I support the further application and development of Robert Connell's arguments because it attempts to complicate gender analysis is linkable to Joan Scott theoretical framework. In this regard, both authors are calling for an analysis that is aware of how gender is formed in relation to its contextual settings that is historically informed. Connell's argument is rooted more than Scott's in power and hierarchies when discussing subordinated and hegemonic masculinities. This approach is applicable in the situation of reindeer herding men when incorporating Eikjok's and Kuokkanen's arguments that highlight the colonial relationship between Sami society and the national Nordic cultures. Analyzing the dynamic between European masculinity and reindeer herding masculinity, to generalize two diverse categories, would further gender and masculine scholarship by demonstrating how bilateral validation between a local indigenous population is interacting with the classical hegemonic masculinity.

Readdressing the theoretical approach of gendered discussions should be done at the family level. I argue this point because it was through participant observation and interviews that I was made aware of the discrepancies between individual histories and discussions on gendered representations. Chapter three's focus on modernizing transportation demonstrates this, when comparing the families adaptation of snowmobiles to early ethnographic works. Tim Ingold and Robert Paine's text are examples of how the position of the researcher category of study and presentation contributes to the invisibility of women by focusing exclusively on the masculine roles. Gender negotiations on mechanization were naturalized as masculine at the expense of erasing the female experience. Comparing the personal narratives of my informants to Ingold and Paine's construction demonstrated how mechanization was not exclusively masculine in its transition, and rather adapted by the family to continue efficient reindeer herding.

Joks provides the strongest approach to the family level in reindeer husbandry by focusing upon division of labor. This approach analysis shifts the focus away from representation and directly deals with how reindeer husbandry is organized in the siida and household. This analysis highlights how gendered division of labor fluctuates throughout the year, depending on the labor requirements by the siida and how the household responds to address labor needs. Gendered representations of participation in reindeer husbandry are demonstrated not to represent the local situation through Joks demonstration of active female participation. In addition, I support Joks analysis because she calls attention to the highly adaptable nature of gender in reindeer husbandry. This is an important argument in understanding how gendered social organization has adapted modernization to continue reindeer husbandry.

What is not addressed within this discussion is how the household and siida addresses the masculine expectations attached to herding continually throughout the year. Discussions have demonstrated the various ways women's roles have been diversified and still contribute to husbandry, but they have not addressed why men are primarily remaining the active herders. This question delves further into the expectations attached to the masculine role in reindeer husbandry.

Expectations of continuing reindeer husbandry, coupled with decreased female participation, increases the workload placed on men. Traditionally, having a greater degree of family togetherness in daily herding would have allowed for the gendered division of labor to share the workload. The lavo and activities of the children would have been primarily a female responsibility that would allow for the continuation of traditional knowledge not gained in the classroom. For men, this would have meant that they had less organizational work in terms of living arrangements and guaranteed that the children would be more active in learning herding practices. The male informants response to how having decreased female participation in active herding indicated that they felt that they had much more work they had to do, returning to the cabin was less welcoming, and men often wanted to go back to their families. This form of separation affects the masculine experience by creating a masculine space that was not advocated for.

In regulations, gendered researchers have demonstrated the invisibility of women at macro level of representation, owing to the masculinization of reindeer husbandry. They have documented this transition and argued for how these undesirable affects of modernization and

regulations are altering gendered social organization. Theoretically, their debates have made masculinity invisible in how modernization and regulations have affected their social experience of herding. This aspect has been negated in favor of homogenizing men into a genderless category, by attaching it to the institutional representation created by external perspectives. This approach to theory should not be considered a full and complete analysis. By denying the diversity of experience of reindeer herding men as a gendered category, and focusing on the invisibility of women these theorists are making gender an invisible category through their attempts at highlighting gender. The analysis presented should be categorized as women's studies because of their failure to develop the masculine experience within reindeer husbandry. One counter argument for this assertion in favor of the feminists' works is the explicit focus on the subjection of women in society. Addressing this theoretical framework, Eikjok and Kuokkanen fail to focus on the individual background of their female informants and the ways this shapes their experience. Within the general Sami discussion, this broad approach is more lenient, but citing examples within reindeer herding negates specialized diversity in reindeer husbandry. For example, in discussing protests from women within reindeer husbandry on the implications of regulations and modernization one crucial point of categorization is: does this informant come from reindeer husbandry, is this her primary occupation, or does she access additional employment outside of husbandry? Background information pertaining to these questions is needed to demonstrate the range of experience within the female population, and what segments of women are expressing discontent with the affects of changes in gendered social organization.

Further research upon this topic is required to create a truly gendered discourse on reindeer husbandry. Firstly, men and women need to be diversified into the wide variety of roles and backgrounds to better understand how modernization and regulations are influencing different groups and levels of analysis. Secondly, research focusing on gender issues should be carried out by men within and outside of the profession. The majority of gendered research today has been written by women and this is reflected within the content. Having a masculine perspective on gender analysis would contribute to a different understanding of the gendered experience. In formulating these conclusions on scholarly construction and representation of gender, it is noteworthy to discuss how these criticisms towards gendered discussion are similar to those employed by second wave feminism. The enforcement of uniformed binary gender categories in researching Sami gender requires a

reevaluation in the theoretical approach, to address the same marginalization that they advocate against.

Interview List

1. Male reindeer herder from West Finnmark. Interviewed in 2009 and he is between the ages of forty to sixty years old. In text citations will refer to him as Informant two.
2. Female reindeer herder from West Finnmark. Interviewed in 2009 and she is between the ages of forty to sixty years old. In text citations will refer to her as Informant two.
3. Male reindeer herder from West Finnmark. Interviewed in 2009 and he is between the ages of forty to sixty years old. In text citations will refer to him as Informant three.
4. Male reindeer herder from West Finnmark. Interviewed in 2009 and is between the ages of twenty-five to forty. In text citations will refer to him as Informant four.

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