



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK

THE RECLAMATION OF SAMI IDENTITY AND THE TRACES OF SWEDISH COLONIALISM

A qualitative study about the formation of Saminess and Sami identity

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Abstract

Title: The Reclamation of Sami identity and the traces of Swedish colonialism : A qualitative study about the formation of Saminess and Sami identity

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Key words (ENG): Sami identity, Saminess, Sami people, Indigenous People, identity

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The purpose of this study was to study identity formation among Sami people. The aim was therefore to investigate how Saminess and Sami identity is formed and specifically the way the Sami community transfers the identity. Semi structured interviews were conducted and the material was analyzed by the use of a thematic analysis. In the analysis of the material, four main themes were : Transfer of Sami heritage over generations, Sami identity, Expressions about being Sami and Sami attributes. The theoretical framework consisted of Postcolonial theory and theoretical concepts of identity. The main findings showed that the traces of colonialism is still present in the identity-formation of the Sami people and that there is a strong silence-culture related to the experiences of colonial events which consequently also have affected the intergenerational transfer of Saminess and Sami identity. Furthermore, the will to reclaim the Sami identity, heritage and the importance of a sense of belonging is strongly expressed by the participants. This can in turn be seen as a crucial step for the decolonization process of the Sami population as a whole.

Summary in Julevusámegiella (Lule Sami):

Dat átsáidibme guoradállá gávk Samievuohta ja sámieidentitáhtta habbmituvva gá tjalmostahtta gávk sámievuohta manna buolvas buolvaj. Giehtja gatjádallama li dahkatum ulmutjij gejna'l sámieduohke ja guoradallam tjato dej tebmaj ma vuojnujin gatjádallamijn. Da tebma lidjin: Sirddet sámearbbev buolvas buolvaj, sámieidentitáhtta, gávk vuosset sán la sámie ja sámie attributhta. Teoriddja ma adnejuvvujin lidjin postkoloniala teoridja ja identitáhtteoridja. Materiállá vuosidin ajn dat svieriga kolonialisma bajna konstruksjávvnáv sámieidentitáhttaj. Sihtat valdit ruptus sámieidentitáhttav, arbbev ja gulluvasjvuotav la garras hállin da guthi oassálasstin. Dav mahta javllat la ájnas lávkke váldet ruopptot mij la dássjám gájkka sameálmukies (Translation by Anette Kuoljok Spanne).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ILO 169	Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (No. 169)
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human rights
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples
SÁPMI	The Sami land

CHAPTER 1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Since the creation of humankind, people have tried to understand who they are and what role they play in this world. This issue is commonly understood as questions regarding identity. Identity formation is built up of consciousness of the self as one of the cornerstones (Hammarén & Johansson 2009). One of the basic human needs is to have a solid understanding of who we are as a person. If someone is confused or uncertain about their identity, it can, in the long run, give rise to psychological symptoms such as self-contempt and anxiety. This confusion can also lead to struggles in feeling inclusion and belonging to group settings such as in the community (Hammarén & Johansson 2009).

Hammarén och Johansson (2009) claims that, although identity is primarily about the sense of belonging to a collective. Collective identities are what societies worldwide are categorized into, everything from student to activist to Swedes. Some of these collective identities are, however, viewed as subordinate and some as superordinate. According to de Los Reyes & Mulinari (2005), this categorization is traced to the eurocentric and western hegemony dominating the world and still does today. In the Swedish context, the case of the Sami people is essential in this matter as the group was systematically marginalized, categorized as subordinate and inferior to the majority society. Throughout history, the Swedish State has treated the Sami people with oppressing laws and practices. Laws that have systematically controlled, displaced, stigmatized the Sami population, and denied parts of the Sami community their right to identify as Sami and live according to the traditional practices (Samiskt informationscentrum n.d). These practices have consequently affected the Sami people's way of identifying for generations and generations. Many of them have denied their Sami heritage or lived with big shame due to the societal attitudes which portrayed the Sami people with lower value and as something to be shameful. Because of these circumstances, some have directly or indirectly not transferred the Sami heritage to their children or grandchildren (Kråik Jannok, n.d). Thus, the children or grandchildren have ended up in a problematic situation when relating to Saminess and Sami identity. It is, therefore, interesting to see how the colonial practices have impacted in first hand the older generations,

but also how this has moved over the ages and ended up in identification difficulties and questioning of the Sami identity for the younger generations (Elfving 2012).

1.2 Aim of research and research questions

The purpose of this thesis is to study identity formation among Sami people. The aim is, therefore, to investigate how Saminess and Sami identity is formed and precisely the way the Sami community transfers the identity. The idea is not to investigate these questions in relation to the whole Sami community, but rather to get an understanding of these questions in relation to a small sample size of seven people with Sami background.

The research questions are as follows :

- How do persons with Sami background relate to Saminess and Sami identity?
- What are the challenges that persons with Sami background face in the transfer of Saminess and Sami identity?

1.3 Limitations of the study

The study was limited to only include participants from persons with Sami background on the Swedish territory and not from other parts of Sápmi, such as Russia, Finland, or Norway. As the participating persons are furthermore coming from different parts of Sápmi and outside of Sápmi, some of them have brought up the local issues happening at that specific place. I have not gone deeply into the matters particular from each specific area. Still, I have instead brought up the issues mentioned in the material if they have been relevant to the context of the research aim. As the participants were recruited from facebook-groups with a Sami theme - the study has been limited to only include these as the efforts for recruiting participants in other ways were not successful (See the methodological chapter for further explanations). Moreover, the study has not been aimed at understanding Sami issues related to gender. Therefore the examples brought up with this context are only analyzed through the lens of the aim of the study regarding Sami identity. Another limitation was that the first attempt to collect material through the method of memory work was canceled. Thus the collection ended up being done online through individual interviews.

1.4 The research relevance for Social work and Human rights

The global definition of Social work relies on the pillars of human rights and social justice and is supported by theories in social sciences, social work and Indigenous knowledge (IFSW 2014). But it has not always been like this; it was not until 2014 that Indigenous knowledge was recognized in the global definition. The International Association of Schools of Social work (IASSW) and International Federation of Social workers (IFSW) wrote that Indigenous values, knowledge, and ways of transfer knowledge should be recognized within the social work definition, due to the historical neglect and ignorance of the Indigenous perspectives. The aim was explicitly to "make up for the western scientific colonialism" (Mossing 2015).

In Mossing (2015), it is referred to the Sami researcher Margaretha Uttjek that welcomed this inclusion and emphasized the need for the development of Sami-specific social work in Sweden. Uttjek further mentions that Sami knowledge is commonly transferred verbally, and the social work in Sweden does rely on theoretical frameworks and is having the basis in a colonial way of thinking. This is not social work that works for the Indigenous Sami people and needs to be created from the base of the Sami values, society, and from the way Sami knowledge is transferred (Mossing 2015).

When looking at this from the United Nations perspective, the Special Rapporteur on the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health expressed concerns for the Sami people (General Assembly, 2007). The concerns of the Special Rapporteur were in relation to the high levels of drug abuse, mental health issues, and other injuries as a result of the reindeer-herding life. These high levels are higher compared to the general population of Sweden. The Special Rapporteur did additionally make the recommendation to establish a health research center with the main focus on Sami health. Another suggestion to create one specific Sami-focused body as a part of the Ministry of health in the Swedish government (General Assembly, 2007 p. 16 C: paragraph 52, 55, 56, 58).

In the study "Varför söker svenska samer vård i Norge" (Why do Swedish Samis seek health care in Norway?) (Stoor, 2015). Some interesting information can be brought up in relation

to this. The health of the Sami people are not specifically worse compared to the general Swedish population. Although, this is difficult to study as it is illegal to register information in terms of ethnicity in Sweden (Stoor, 2015 p.27). When looking at the knowledge of Sami health in Norway, there is a significant difference. At the University of Tromsø, there is a Sami health research center (Senter for Samisk helseforskning SSHF) that works directly on the mission from the Norwegian government to increase the knowledge about Sami living conditions and health. When it comes to the actual health care for the Samis in Norway, there is an even more noticeable difference as they have the right to "equivalent, linguistically, culturally adapted care services," according to the Norwegian Social and health department (NOU, 1995). Moreover, the regional health companies and centers have been directed to focus on the rights of the Sami patients specifically. This was also the basis for the creation of the SANKS - Sami national competency center (Samisk nasjonalt kompetansesenter), which specializes in mental health care for the Sami people since 2001 (Stoor, 2015 p.28). The Swedish Sami person's health care rights have slightly been increased by the right to use the Sami language in contact with health care (SFS 2009:724). But according to Stoor, the only actual improvement of minority specific health care that has happened since then is a minority department for Sami- and Tornedalen-Finnish caretakers at an elderly home in Kiruna (Idivuoma & Idivuoma, 2013).

Even when Sweden has shown some interest in recognition of the Sami people, the historical background of racist policies, displacement, residential schools, and race biology are still affecting the Sami people today. The experiences and the trauma as a consequence of these injustices and atrocities acted out by the Swedish State is still not officially recognized. Yehuda (2018) explains how trauma can be transferred over generations with the concept of intergenerational trauma. This can be related to what was mentioned previously, that confusion and uncertainty regarding one's identity do, in some cases, lead to psychological issues such as anxiety and self-contempt (Hammarén & Johansson, 2009). As several of the participants mention, as well as the common knowledge of the widespread silence culture regarding the Sami identity and the abandoned the Saminess - it is only to imagine how many people still are in this position of loss of Sami identity or confusion around the identity. It can certainly be discussed as a public health concern.

As the global definition of Social work (IFSW 2014) does include social justice, it gives rise to the thoughts that reclaiming your Indigenous identity is an act of social justice (Charles, 2019). Additionally, to resist the colonial assimilationist policies that have been active in Sweden for decades. When relating the difficulties regarding Sami identity in Sweden, it is definitely a human rights concern as well. The relevant international instruments relating to the right to identity and development of it is as follows:

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (UN General Assembly, 1966) - ratified by Sweden in 1971.

Article 27: In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

European Convention on Human rights (ECHR) (Council of Europe, 1950) - ratified by Sweden in 1952.

Article 8: Right to respect for private and family life

1. Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home, and his correspondence.

Universal Declaration of Human rights (UDHR) (UN General Assembly, 1948).

Article 22: Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social, and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 29: (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UN General Assembly, 2007).

Article 2: Indigenous peoples and individuals are free and equal to all other peoples and individuals and have the right to be free from any kind of discrimination, in the exercise of their rights, in particular, that based on their Indigenous origin or identity.

Article 8: 1. Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture.

Article 13: 1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places, and persons.

Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 169 (ILO) (1989)

Article 7: 1. The peoples concerned shall have the right to decide their own priorities for the process of development as it affects their lives, beliefs, institutions, and spiritual well-being and the lands they occupy or otherwise use, and to exercise control, to the extent possible, over their own economic, social and cultural development

2. The improvement of the conditions of life and work and levels of health and education of the peoples concerned, with their participation and cooperation, shall be a matter of priority in plans for the overall economic development of areas they inhabit. Special projects for the development of the areas in question shall also be so designed as to promote such improvement.

When it comes to Human rights and the levels of responsibility by the states that it regards, it is some things to take into consideration. For the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the European Convention on Human rights (ECHR) that Sweden has ratified, the State has a responsibility to fulfill and protect the rights in those conventions both because of the ratification, but also because conventions are legally binding (Freeman 2004). For the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 169 (ILO) (1989), Sweden has, as mentioned, not ratified it, and it is therefore not legally binding to fulfill. The Universal Declaration of Human rights (UDHR) and the United Nations Declaration of Indigenous Peoples are declarations and are therefore not legally binding to fulfill for the Swedish State.

Summary

With this being said, and when seeing that the recommendations of the UN-report in 2017 are far from fulfilled and with the other above-mentioned information, it is fair to say there is a research gap in the research production on the health of the Sami people and of the research production on Indigenous Social work and specifically Sami social work in Sweden.

Merke/Margareta Uttjek, the Sami researcher at the institution for Social work at Umeå University have expressed her view on the situation: "the legislation and the social security we have in Sweden is conformed to the majority population, and the Sami people are in principle marginalized there" (Sveriges radio, 2017).

To summarize, as the Sami peoples are recognized as Indigenous people both by the international standards and by the Swedish parliament in 1971, it means that the culture and identity should be protected (Amnesty n.d). The Indigenous knowledge and values should be included in the social work profession and for the field of research on social work in general. Thus the understanding of the issues relating to Sami identity as a result of colonial and assimilationist practices is highly relevant. As the Swedish State claims that the Sami people and the Sami culture should be protected and how they have ratified several human rights conventions on the same topic, the notion of revitalization work for the Sami people is needed. Indigenous Sami Social work could be a part of supporting the decolonization process for a large number of persons with Sami background that have either lost the connection to it or have difficulties with the identification process. The relevance of this study is furthermore that it gives rise to a general understanding of the difficulties regarding Sami identity, which themes that could be sensitive, what to think about when doing social work with persons of Sami background. In addition to that, it also shed light on how identity and Indigenous culture are transferred over generations, what expressions resistance can look like after assimilation and colonialism.

1.5 Chapter outline

This thesis has the chapters in the following order: starting with the first Introduction chapter, including problem formulation, the aim of the research, and research relevance for social work and human rights, among others. The second chapter is a historical overview, including some historical background of international laws relating to Indigenous peoples and practices that have had a significant impact on the Sami people, such as the national laws regarding reindeer herders. The third chapter regards previous research related to the research topic. The fourth chapter regards the theoretical framework and includes an overview of postcolonial theory and identity theory. The fifth chapter is an overview of the methodological considerations, discussions regarding the method used, ethical considerations, etc. The sixth chapter is about the analysis and results of the study. The seventh chapter is a concluding chapter, where I summarize the main points brought up, concluding results, and future research on the topic.

2.0 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

This chapter consists of a historical overview of the views of the Indigenous peoples internationally and nationally in Sweden, the Indigenous peoples' conventions, the colonial events and atrocities the Swedish State have done through policies and laws and finishing with a section of Sami resistance, where the organization of the Sami people will be explained, and the resistance through culture will be presented. It is relevant to get a general understanding of the historical context of the Indigenous People to get an understanding of this study and the material I have analyzed as a part of it.

2.1 Historical overview of Indigenous Peoples in the international context

In the international arena, there have been two different views on Indigenous peoples and their rights. Firstly, there is the subordinating view, which relies on the thoughts from times of antiquity and how Aristoteles (330 BC) was thinking. Indigenous peoples were equivalent to the notion of "barbarians" that also were inferior by nature. These kinds of thoughts were later adapted into the views of Christianity and happened in connection to the Europeans expanding enlargement. The second view is contrasting to the first one, as it is based on the idea of Indigenous peoples having exclusive rights due to their indigeneity as well as sovereignty. During the European expansion of colonialism, the discussion regarding legal and political matters regarding the Indigenous peoples got its new formation. When the previously colonized countries gained independence and regained their lands and capital, the Indigenous peoples were still subjected to assimilationist policies, displacement and dislocation, slavery, and other colonial actions (Legters 1988 in Johansson Dahre 2005, p.29).

Johansson Dahre (2005) mentions that it is a common issue all over the world that there is much more recognition of the Indigenous peoples as national minorities, which is contrary to the question of self-determination, where the national states in most cases are reluctant to recognize it. Indigenous peoples do, however, state that they are peoples that have been victims of colonialism and have been forcibly assimilated into the national states. And moreover, how they should not be seen as minorities to the national states (Johansson Dahre, 2005 p. 30).

2.2 The colonial powers and Indigenous peoples

According to Von Glahn (1981), the goal to conquer and the goal to discover was the basis of the first part of the colonization worldwide. The colonial states had the responsibility to deal with the peoples living on the land they had occupied, and it was a decision for each of them to decide which one of these two goals to rely on during their colonial expansion. Even though many colonial states at the same time have discussed the political status of Indigenous peoples throughout history (Johansson Dahre 2005 p.31). So in that sense, it can be seen as a paradox - to in one way colonize and control and in another talk about the colonized peoples' political status. All the way to the end of the 1800-century, it was legitimized and accepted practice to colonize both Indigenous lands and Indigenous peoples as a part of the doctrine of discovery (Johansson Dahre, 2005 p.31).

These kinds of legal and political ideas can be seen in the exclusion of Indigenous peoples from the moral community manifested in the international system. The moral community can be seen as a tool that stood for the inclusion of "civilized" states that wanted to regulate the relations between each other. The continuing exclusion of Indigenous peoples was challenged by many but stayed the same until the latest years, where Indigenous peoples have taken their place in the international community (Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2009 p.1).

As the Indigenous peoples showed opposition to the unfair trade, forced missionary, and the superiority of the colonial states, all wars and violence against them were justified for this reason. The colonial countries did also subordinate the implementation of rights of the Indigenous peoples according to their own lack of interest. This kind of colonial justification and legitimation-processes over the heads of the Indigenous peoples have been a common phenomenon for decades and decades (Johansson Dahre 2005 p.37).

Johansson Dahre (2005) continues to explain the impact of science on the view of Indigenous peoples. Thoughts of development were inspired by concepts such as reason and rationality. This meant that the ideas of saving the Indigenous peoples and assimilated them into the European ways of value and being. Even though the Indigenous peoples were still seen as barbarian and uncivilized by nature, this time gave rise to the ideas of the possibilities to

develop the Indigenous peoples if they were exposed to rationality and reason. The goals of civilization can, therefore, be seen as prioritized before the savings of the Indigenous peoples' purity (Johansson Dahre, 2005 p.45).

2.3 International Labour Organization (ILO) - conventions

Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957 (No. 107)

After 30 years of work for an international document for the national states where Indigenous peoples lived, the Indigenous and Tribal populations convention, no.107 (1957), was adopted. The Indigenous peoples' way of life in terms of underdeveloped culture, economy, and socialization was perceived as an obstacle for the enjoyment of the benefits of society. One of the essential parts of the convention was to assimilate the Indigenous peoples into the colonial State's social structures, but at the same time, protect them from being discriminated against, oppressed, or violated. These two parts of both assimilating and protecting were seen as necessary. The Indigenous peoples' cultures, resources, and socialization-processes were seen as weak, and if they were supposed to be successfully assimilated, the protection was a necessity during the demolishing transition. If the assimilation-process was done without any protection from the colonial State, the International Labour Organization (ILO) claimed that the Indigenous peoples would become marginalized and excluded from the modern society (Johansson Dahre 2005 p.116-117).

The article 7(2) in the ILO-convention no.107 (1957) stated that cultures of the Indigenous peoples should be protected, but only if "(...) these are not incompatible with the national legal system or the objectives of integration programs".

Another article that got devastating consequences was article 12 (1). This article said that Indigenous peoples should :

(...) not be removed without their free consent from their habitual territories except.. in the interest of national economic development". In practice, this meant that the state could consider the possibility to forcibly move Indigenous peoples without their consent when it was needed for the general economic development of the country (International Labour Organization 1957).

When the Swedish government was about to take a stand for a connection to the convention, the responsible cabinet minister said that the convention did not have any immediate interest in Sweden (Proposition 1958: 46, p.20). With this being said, the Swedish government meant that there are no Indigenous people that would be relevant for the enjoyment of the convention in their country (Johansson Dahre, 2005 p. 117). Therefore, their attitude of not seeing the Sami people as not Indigenous peoples were visible.

Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169)

The revision of the ILO-convention no.107 started after many years of critical voices. The Convention no.169, concerning Indigenous peoples and tribal peoples in independent countries, was then established in 1989. The main goal with the revision was to delete the assimilationist nature of the convention in ILO no.107 (Johansson Dahre, 2005 p.118).

In the case of Sweden, the State is a party to most of the Human rights treaties and conventions, votation for the Declaration of the Rights of the Indigenous Peoples was done in 2007. However, ratification of the Indigenous and Tribal convention (ILO 169) has not yet been put in place (International Labour Organization 2017).

2.4 Historical events - regionally and nationally

The creation of the borders between Finland and Sweden in the north and between Norway and Denmark in the south was made in 1751. The Nordic countries and Russia are sitting down and writing a border treaty to share the land between themselves. As the Sami people always lived borderless, they added an addition called Lappkodicillen that would help them handle the Sami people. The Lappkodicillen includes a recognition of the Sami people as one people and with land rights. It furthermore let the Sami people live as before, conduct fishing, hunting, and reindeer herding borderless just as before. During the autumn, the reindeer flock is moving to the winter lands further in the country, and during the spring, they return to feed themselves on the summer lands closer to the ocean (Labba, 2020 p.12).

With the arrival of the 19th century, it also brings more and more closing of the borders, and thus the reindeer flocks are being pushed together on much smaller areas. When the 20th

century begins, Norway has become one nation, and they shut the border entirely as they only want the Norwegian lands to be for the Norwegian people. The Sami people who have been moving their reindeers over the border for centuries are not seen as belonging to Norway, and the reindeer lands are recreated into farming lands for the Norwegians (Labba, 2020 p.12, 30). Labba concludes that according to the Norwegians, there is no room for the reindeer herding as it is extinct, and besides that, it is performed by the extinction race of the Sami people.

In the year of 1919, a reindeer-convention was formed by Norway and Sweden to solve their common issue and restrict the number of reindeers that are allowed to cross the border. With that decision in place, the Sami people living on the Atlantic-coast are consequently forced to leave their lands and homes (Labba, 2020, p.13).

With a start in 1919 and with a continuation until the beginning of 1930, the County Administrative Board (Länsstyrelsen) are upholding the agreement of the reindeer convention by forcibly displacing the reindeer herders and their families. Some families are being displaced as far as 600 km from their original homelands. In the convention, it is said that the movement of the families should be done with considerations of the wishes of the families. Although, the reality showed that the wishes of the families had no value for the County Administrative Board. The Swedish authorities called this intervention dislocation - for the Sami people, one new word was born - *Bággojohtin* (forced displacement) (Labba, 2020 p. 13).

The legal documents created by the lappväsendet (the department for Sami affairs in the County Administrative Board) for the signature by the forced families were formed in the Norwegian and Swedish languages. It is not translated to Sami languages, which brings up the question of how much the persons signing it understood the content. Labba mentions that if the families would know the reality of this, they would never leave their belongings or children behind at relatives' places. In her interviews with forced displaced persons, many of them are saying, "We never got the chance to say goodbye" (Labba, 2020 p. 33).

The time goes by, and the conflicts are growing between the Sami families who are forcibly displaced and the Sami families who receive the new families, which sometimes did not even have the knowledge that the new families would arrive. A new reindeer-convention was created in 1923, and the big moving year was started. The authorities are eager to get the families moved fast, and the Lappväsandet is working on both to show how the families moved with consent and to practically move more families (Labba, 2020 p.50).

Laws for reindeer herders and non-reindeer herders in Sweden

In 1886 the Swedish Parliament established the first reindeer-herding law on the Swedish territory. The primary purpose of it was to regulate the relationship between the nomadic Sami people and the Swedish residents - in other words, the relationship between the industries of the reindeer herding and farming. During the preparation work before the establishment of the law, it was written that the Sami people were the primordial people that populated the northern part of Sweden. In addition to that, how the Sami people have initially been living in fishing and hunting and how the reindeer herding after some time had become their primary livelihood. It was furthermore well known that parts of the Sami population did not have their livelihood from reindeers. Despite this knowledge, the legislators did not take this into account when establishing the law (Torp, n.d).

The 1928 reindeer-herding law, the right to perform reindeer herding was permitted for Sami persons who were members of a Sami village. The Sami population, therefore, got separated into two, the ones being members of a Sami village and the ones without membership. The Sami people without membership were, therefore, entirely stripped of their Sami rights. There have been several investigations into the need to re-evaluate the Sami villages' regulations, so the non-reindeer herding Sami's also could be members of a Sami village and get the Sami rights that are related to fishing and hunting. The parliament and the government have shown no efforts to make this change a reality (Torp, n.d).

In 1971 the previous reindeer-herding law was revised, and the Sami villages were now established as economic associations instead. The rights were now formulated in more equal terms, although the rights stayed the same as from the previous laws in 1886, 1898, and 1928. The reindeer herding Samis and the non-reindeer herding Samis were still having different

legal statuses, and the Swedish State was continuing to make all the definitions and regulations on this issue (Torp, n.d, Samiskt informationscentrum b, n.d).

2.5 Racism and race biology

During the 18th century, theories were arising about how humanity was developing forward. These theories were further on developed into categorizations that meant that different cultures were on different levels. There was one people that was claimed to have stopped in the developing-process - the primitive people. The Sami people belonged to this category and were seen as naturally subordinated. The people that were, on the other hand, seen to have come the furthest in the developing-and civilization-process was the white European people (Samiskt informationscentrum c, n.d).

With the arrival of the 1830s, one mission was arising to declare which people were the Indigenous people to Sweden. Therefore, they started to measure skulls and other archaeological material. The Indigenous people of Scandinavia were then declared to be the Sami people. After some time, the measuring developed to be done on humans, and people were categorized into long skulls and short skulls. The people that belonged to the short skulls were the Sami people, among others. During the 19th century, the short skulls were now seen as the worst and lowest race. This thinking also broadened out in the scientific and political world (Samiskt informationscentrum c, n.d). Herman Lundborg was a race biologist who traveled to the north and started to register, measure and take naked pictures of people in 1910. He was interested in what he called "race-mixing," as he had been told that it was a significant amount of the population that was mixed in the northern part of Sweden. The population mix was between Swedes, Finns, and Sami people. He aimed to prove that this kind of race-mixing was devastating for the development of the human race (Hagerman 2015, Samiskt informationscenter c, n.d).

In 1922 the first institute for race biology was established in Uppsala, Sweden, and Herman Lundborg became the manager. Race hygiene was one of their activities with sterilization of people from what they perceived as the weaker races to prevent mixing that would lower the quality of the population.

Lundborg did although continue his investigations of the Sami people in the north and registered them with the following information :

name, occupation, heritage, age, date of birth, physical traits such as length, head length, head width, least facial diameter, facial width, morphologically face length, the colour of the hair, eyebrows, and eyes (Hagerman, 2015 p.787). In addition to that, they were also categorized in terms of their State of mind - namely feeble-minded or insane. Furthermore, their traits were measured into: "good, less good" or "rowdy, alcoholic, frivolous." Moreover, their social capability was judged as "good enough, well-behaved, less well-behaved or waster" (Hagerman, 2015, p.787).

Another influential person for the public attitude towards the Sami people was Kurt Olivecrona, the judge of the Supreme court, which at the end of the 19th century formulated his ideas like this:

(...) an unchanged condition for every person is that they own permanent housing. The tribes that do not want to leave the nomadic life must with necessity stay in the lower cultural grade and leave room for the more civilized resident tribes and, finally, after a languishing life, die out. The history of humanity shows that the relationship has been like this in all places of the world, and the nomadic lapps must be submitted to the same law and perish, in case they do not want to deal with farming or other occupations which are related to a permanent housing (cf. Cramér, 1981 p.60 in Johansson Dahre, 2005 p.56).

This quote can be said to be a paradox, as Olivecrona mentioned that every people needs to own permanent housing. However, the Sami people have been prohibited from living in houses and systematically been pushed to continue the harsh nomadic life as the State claimed that the Sami people would become lazy and abandon the traditional reindeer-herding if they got a taste of the life of living in houses. Another interesting aspect is how he mentions that groups that do not want to be assimilated and leave their traditional life must stay in a "lower cultural grade." This shows his view of the Sami people and their way of life being of a lower cultural grade. Nevertheless, also with the next sentence, when saying that the Sami people need to leave room for the civilized people as they will slowly die out in any case. He further wants to justify the Sami people's attitude and treatment by saying that people like the Sami people worldwide get treated like this, and that is how it should be.

When Kurt Olivecrona, the supreme court at that time, expressed himself like this, it is for sure people who listened to his words as truth because of his authority and position.

2.6 Forced missionary

The traditional Sami religion started to get opposition and violations during the 17th and 18th centuries. The jojk, the traditional way of expression through deep singing, was forbidden, drums were burned, graves were defiled, and the church collaborated with the State to force the Sami people into the Lutheran church. The mission was to discipline the Sami population as the traditional Sami religion was seen as superstition, and the Sami Gods were described as devils. The reason for burning the drums was because the priests had declared them as the devil's work. Many Sami persons who refused to take part in the Lutheran religion were sentenced to death. One Sami who got executed in 1692/1693 was Lars Nilsson. He was sentenced as his grandchild had drowned, and Nilsson had used the drum to try to get the grandchild back to the earth's life (Svenska Kyrkan, 2018).

2.7 Nomadic schools

In 1913 the law regarding nomadic schools for Sami children was established. It was declared that one teacher was supposed to travel with the Sami families in the mountains to teach the youngest children (Samiskt informationscentrum a, (n.d). The older children were put in winter schools that were permanent, but the level of education needed to be set at a low level to prevent the children from becoming civilized. The conditions of the permanent nomadic schools were that the children were sent away long distances from their parents, not allowed to visit their homes during school-breaks, only allowed to speak the Swedish language, and were punished if they spoke the only language they knew - the Sami language (Huuva & Svenska kyrkan et al., 2016).

2.8 Sami resistance

The national day of the Sami people is celebrated on the 6th of February and happens on that day because of the first Sami congress that happened in Tråante, Trondheim, in Norway. It was held as the first meeting where Sami people from Sweden and Norway, both North Sami and South Sami people, dealt with common issues. It is celebrated in all the countries where

the Sami land is - namely Sweden, Finland, Norway, and Russia (Sametinget, 2020). Elsa Laula Renberg (1877-1931) was a strong driving force for the first congress in Tråante. She was raised during the times where her family lost their lands because of the death of her father. Her strong opinions against the segregating "Lapp should be lapp"-politics resulted in her book called "Inför Lif eller död? Sanningsord i de lappska förhållandena" (In front of life or death? The words of truths about the Sami conditions). In the book, she is describing all the injustices the Swedish State should be held accountable for, but also the strengths of the Sami people that go through all of it and about their longing for freedom (Sametinget, 2020).

2.8.1 Sami organizing in Sweden

The first political effort to organize was made in august 1904 with the establishment of the Lapparnes centralförbund. One month later, Fatmomakke lappförening in the south of Sapmi was created as the first local Sami association. The newspaper Lapparnes Egen tidning, the first all Sami established and written newspaper, were also started in the same year. The Sami people were finally writing about themselves and their issues, as it was supposed to be. The Lapparnes Egen Tidning was in 1918 transformed into the newspaper Samefolket, which is still active today. In 1945 the organization Same Ätnam was established with the focus on the unique Sami handicraft called Duodji. The first public service Sami radio came up in 1952. The Sami youth movement got its most significant spin in 1973, and they created the youth organization Saminuorra (Samiskt informationscentrum d, n.d).

Sametinget (The Sami parliament) in Sweden was founded in 1993 to create a space for the Sami people in Sweden to keep the Sami culture as well as to make it flourish. It was also one way to include the Sami people in the public debate. The Sametinget is unique in its way of being elected by the voters every 4th year and acting as one authority at the same time. However, they do not have the power to establish any laws. The Sametinget do although have one unifying power for the identity of the Sami people, which can genuinely be said to be needed as the Swedish politics have been aimed at separating the Sami people when they gave different rights to non-reindeer herders and reindeer herders (Sametinget, 2019).

2.8.2 Court case

One court case that has got much attention in the media of Sweden is the case of the Girjas Sami village. The case started in 2009 when the Sami village sued the Swedish State regarding the fishing and hunting rights on their traditional land. Girjas claimed that they should be the ones deciding who should have the right to fish and hunt them with reference to ancient memory for them as Indigenous People. The Swedish State argued that they had the right as owners of the land to decide over the fishing and hunting rights. In January 2020, the Girjas Sami village won the court case against the Swedish State. The victory was highly debated in the media, and many claimed that this was a first step towards the justice of the Sami people as Indigenous people (Radio Sweden, 2020).

2.8.3 Resistance through music

Sofia Jannok and Maxida Mäarak are two famous Sami artists with political texts as part of their music. Sofia Jannok's song "We are still here" is one of them, where she sings about the injustices done to the Indigenous People in other parts of the world as well as the injustices done to the Sami people. She talks about the drowning of mining that destroys the reindeer's land and how this leaves the miners with "greedy hands." Jannok then repeats to sing that we are still here, as in that the Sami people are still here no matter what the colonial states have done.

Kill the bison, dig out the reindeer's land
Gold and iron, blood on greedy hands
Drown the lávvu, burn the teepee down.
We raise new ones, survivors we are now.
Because we are still here, we are still here.
We are still here; we are still here (Jannok, 2015).

Another one of Jannok's songs is the song Snölejoninna (Snow-lioness) (2015). In this song, she first sings to a minister and asks if she can mention something, even when ministers always claim that the responsibility is on someone else's table. She brings up that "we commit suicide" as a reference to the high levels of suicide committed by Sami reindeer herders that the Swedish State does not care about. Jannok (2015) continues with singing that one does not want to disappear because we have lived here for thousands of years. She questions if

democracy is democratic when the majority rule over minorities like the Sami people and ends with the statement, "I want to be free, more than inside. If it is something, I belong here".

Hej minister, can we switch a word?
Even when you have such a small table
This actually concerns our globe.
Do you know that we commit suicide?
Because we are too small to exist
Because what concerns few can not be concerned
Can you understand, that one does not want to disappear
when one has lived here since mountains can remember

Is it democracy?
when the masses are ruling over people like us
I want to be free, more than inside.
If anything, I belong here (Jannok, 2015). (My translation).

Sofia Jannok's songs bring a lot of criticism towards the Swedish State for both the colonial things they have done and how they are meeting the Sami concerns with ignorance and excuses. This can be seen as a part of the Sami resistance through culture, and it reaches the people that might not know about these questions as Sofia Jannok is such a famous artist in the whole Swedish population (Forsberg 2016).

Maxida Mäarak's song Matrix

(...) they burned my ancestors
the fifteen one got lost
But they say the wind is turning
we will come back, and the people will rise
We will rise to a dubstep beat
ghetto stiletto
breath the fight all the way here
so all the travail was worth it
Made Sápmi to the norm
Put Sweden in Panic (Summit Music Management, 2017). (My translation).

In the song Matrix by Maxida Mäarak, she brings up how her Sami ancestors were burned with reference to the historical injustices and how the traditional Sami drums were burned, and the traditional holy places were destroyed. She then continues with singing that the Sami people will come back and how they will rise. It can then be interpreted that Mäarak gives reference to the modernization of the Sami culture and the presence of Sami people living in urban areas when she sings that the Sami people will rise to a "dubstep beat, ghetto stiletto."

Then she points out how the fight will be worth it. When putting Sápmi (the Sami land) to become the norm, it would lead to Sweden to get panic, which can be interpreted and relate to the fear of the Swedish State to ratify ILO 169-convention (International Labour Organization (1989), that would lead to them to be forced to recognize the Indigenous land rights of the Sami people. Additionally, also how they would need to compensate for the damages of the mining on the Sami land, among other things.

2.8.4 Sami demonstrations

From 1968 until 1982, the Alta-protest happened, which regarded the plans for building a power plant in the Alta-river in Norway. The protest included demonstrations by Sami people from all over Sápmi and climate-activists that opposed the building-plans. In 1982, as many as 600 policemen were put in place to dislocate the 900 demonstrators. Some demonstrators used peaceful methods such as hunger-striking, while others used small explosives on bridges to show their opposition. Unfortunately, the demonstrator lost, and the power plant was built (NRK Sami Radio & TT, 2010).

In 2013, many people both from the Sami population and others gathered in Gállok, outside of Jokkmokk in Norrbotten county, to protest against the mining-projects of the British company Beowulf Minings. The planned mine was in an area between two reindeer-lands. Therefore this mining would lead to threats against the reindeer-herding and the Sami culture (Jannok, 2013). The demonstrations and considerations regarding the threat against the Lapponia world heritage area, which is just next to the planned mining-project, led to a stop in the mining-process. The latest news now in 2020 is that the British mining company Beowulf Minings says they are tired of waiting and considers taking legal actions against the Swedish State (Hjertström, 2020).

Since 2013 Sami people and climate activists have also demonstrated every Thursday outside the Swedish parliament. These demonstrations regard the mineral legislation, against the mining-exploitation and their parole is "Fast mark, rent vatten, levande kulturarv" (Solid ground, clean water, living cultural heritage) (Hillgren, 2015).

In 2015, many persons from the Sami people traveled to Paris and the climate conference to take part in the Indigenous peoples' demonstrations. The demonstration was done to show their protest against the exclusion of the Indigenous peoples to take part in the climate meetings that affect them in the first place as they live their lives closest to nature (The guardian, 2015). For the climate-meeting in Katowice in 2018, they had learned their lesson. Representatives from the Sami parliament from Swedish, Finnish, and Norwegian were included in the discussions about the Paris-agreement and the climate issues.

Summary

To summarize this historical overview of both the views on Indigenous people internationally, the international conventions for Indigenous peoples, the colonial actions and policies the Swedish State have done to the Sami people and ending with an overview of the Sami resistance, the history of the organizing movement of the Sami people and how resistance through culture looks like currently. The historical impact of the above mentioned colonial views, actions, and laws do have a significant impact on the Sami people as a whole and on the construction of the identity of the Sami people. The impact can be seen in my material through the deep shame for the background, denial of the background, and for some that have `protected` their children by denying them to speak their own language so that they would get more victims of the adverse societal climate against Sami people. This will be further explained in the analysis-chapter.

3.0 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The first step in making a review of the previous literature is to identify the keywords relevant to the research topic. The keywords used in my case were: Sami people and identity, Sami identity, identity formation of the Sami people, and intergenerational transmission of identity. The search for the literature was done through the search tool at the library of Gothenburg University as well as Google scholar. Furthermore, the databases Social Science Database and Social Science Research Network were also used. However, there is one essential observation I made during the literature review. As I was most interested in Sami identity, there was a more significant amount of bachelor's thesis and master's thesis written on this topic. Therefore, this review will consist of several descriptions of the review from students' research and some published material. I evaluate the students' research just as relevant for my literature review as published material as they will make me get an understanding of what is already studied in the field of Sami identity and to place my own study within the field, which is the goal of my literature review. This literature review has the disposition of the different themes identified in the literature about the Sami people and Sami identity. These themes are *Aspects of Sami identity*, *Urban areas and Sami people*, *Categorization of the Sami people*, and *Intergenerational transmission and minority groups*.

3.1 Aspects of Sami identity

One study on the topic of Sami identity was called *Samhällets påverkan på Samers identitet* (The influence of the society on the identity of Samis) by Monika Isaksson. The study had the starting point of investigating how Sami people living in Stockholm related to their identity with a specific focus on the lack of Sami language. Isaksson (2009) used a qualitative method of doing interviews to collect her data. The conclusions she came to was that the identity and sense of belonging for the participants were mainly affected by the historical events. Furthermore, she also claimed that Sami persons raised in an urban setting such as Stockholm and without knowledge of the Sami language and reindeer herding hindered the participants from coming to a full acceptance of their Sami identity.

Another study on the topic was "Vår historias betydelse - En diskursanalys av sameskolans och Svensk grundskolas arbete med identitetsskapande i historieämnet" (The Meaning of Our

History: A discourse analysis of the Sami school and Swedish elementary school's work with identity in history class) by Maria Edlund (2019). The focus of her thesis was to see how Swedish schools, compared to Sami schools, worked with identity development by looking at the teaching and education plans. The method used was a critical discourse analysis on the education-plans between the years 1994 until 2011. The findings of her showed that there was a change in the use of concepts as well as the perception of the Sami during the years. The course plan in 1994 showed culture is crucial for the development and how the Sami knowledge and history should be included in the education. In the year 2011, the perspective of the Sami was deleted as one separate subject but included in the section of getting knowledge about "the others." Edlund (2019) further concludes that identity and culture are not connected to each other in the course plan. The perspective was now more looking at historical views and language in relation to identity.

In the article "On the Fringe: News Representations of the Sami" by Pietikäinen (2001), the portrayal of the Sami people in one of the most prominent Finnish newspapers is analyzed. Pietikäinen connects her analysis to the construction of the Sami, the Sami identity, and how that, in turn, would affect the relationship between Finnish people as the majority and the Sami people as the minority (Pietikäinen, 2001 p.638). Another aspect she did look into more closely was how language impacts the construction of identity. She discusses how the Finnish society sees the Sami people and refers to Lehtola's (1997) definition of how the Sami people see themselves. This is explained to be of a complex nature, and that belonging is of high importance. The definition further includes the focus on the notion of sharing - sharing of background, sharing of the homeland, sharing the specific cultural practices, and political understanding. Another aspect of the Sami identification Pietikäinen brings up is the importance of the Sami language. Concludingly, Pietikäinen declares that her findings show that the Sami is positioned on the margins in the news coverage. If it is covered, the portrayal of the Sami is either talked about as Indigenous people with exclusive rights - and how this is supported by the Finnish majority as well as given by them. On the other hand, it was a portrayal of the Sami people as not being Indigenous people, and these questions were related to land ownership. The articles brought up about the Sami Indigenous rights were mainly when talking about human rights in an international context. The articles, on the contrary,

that described the non-Indigenous nature of the Sami were in cases of actual decisions and conflicts with regards to land ownership (Pietikäinen, 2001 p.652).

Lotta Omma (2013) has done a comprehensive study about how it is to be young Sami today. The study is called "Ung same i Sverige: Livsvillkor, självvärdering och hälsa" (Being a young Sami in Sweden: Living condition, identity, and life satisfaction). Questionnaires were used as a method to collect her material for the study. Her informants were school children between 13 and 18 years old that were enrolled in school programs for Sami children. Her main findings showed that a significant part of the Sami children had a proud Sami identity and a positive perception of themselves. 50 % of her informants had experienced negative attitudes and treatment because of their Sami origin, and in the cases of informants with reindeer herding-families, the number was as high as 70%. Moreover, the informants explained they needed to defend their cultural life as well as their way of living (Omma, 2013 p.iii). With this knowledge, she concluded that there is a great need for more knowledge among the Swedish population regarding both the Sami people and the Sami way of life.

3.2 Urban areas and Sami people

One theme I discovered while reviewing the previous literature was that several researchers had studied the identity of the Sami people living in urban areas. Brusling's (2013) study "Samisk(a) identitet(er): En etnologisk studie av fem samer boende i Stockholm (Sami identities: an ethnological study of five Sami living in Stockholm) is one interesting addition to the field. Bruslings' aim with her study was to investigate how the Sami participants living in Stockholm construct Saminess and Sami identity. In her findings, the Sami attributes in the form of symbols were crucial for the participant's identification. The symbols were the Sami flag, the languages, the kolt (traditional Sami clothes), the reindeer. However, it was also clear that these symbols functioned as a boundary between the Swedish and the Saminess as well. Brusling's (2013) conclusion was, moreover, that the historical oppression the ancestors had experienced and the belonging to the collective was essential parts of the identity formation of the Sami people.

One interesting article on the theme of the urban areas and Sami identity is "Urban Sami Identities in Scandinavia: Hybridities, Ambivalences and Cultural Innovation" (Nyseth & Pedersen, 2014). As the title says, the starting point is to investigate how Sami identity is formed and expressed in urban settings. The authors have studied Sami identity in three cities in Sápmi, which was Tromsø in Norway, Rovaniemi in Finland, and Umeå in Sweden (Nyseth & Pedersen, 2014 p.132). As the study continued for several years, the authors did a comparative case study. The first part was semi-structured interviews with municipal authorities with responsibility for the Sami people's social services in the respective municipality. They continued with qualitative interviews with urban Sami people, both in the shape of focus group interviews and individual interviews. From all the interviews, some common issues were raised, such as a sense of belonging, identity in relation to a particular place, and the possibilities to express the Saminess and identity while living in the city. However, there were other issues raised during the individual interviews, such as the sense of loss and desire for belonging (Nyseth & Pedersen, 2014 p.135).

One finding from their study is that there is a sense of ambivalence in the identification at the same time as there are opportunities for a new formation of a Sami culture active in urban settings. Another finding is the impact of the international and national recognition of the Sami people as Indigenous people and the influence of the development of Sami institutions active in the bigger cities (Nyseth & Pedersen, 2014, p.131).

3.3 Categorization of the Sami people

Several of the studies do bring up the Categorization of the Sami people. In Christina Åhgréns doctoral thesis, "*Är jag en riktig Same?*" (*Am I a real Sami?*) (2008) there is one form of categorization of the Sami people in Sweden that are brought up. The first category is persons being raised with knowledge about their Sami background, not being part of a Sami village, but have commonly been in settings with other Sami people. The second category is persons from reindeer herding-families and being raised as part of a Sami village. The reindeer laws and decisions have directly and indirectly had an impact on their everyday life and way of living. The third category is persons raised without knowledge about their Sami background or with withdrawal from the culture as their own decision in the teenage years.

Nevertheless, during their adult life, they started to search for the heritage and aimed at reclaiming it (Åhgrén 2008).

The study by Blomkvist (2019) shed light on this topic when she has studied how the Saminess is described in the Sami newspaper *Samefolket*, between the years of 1970 and 2000. Blomkvist was especially interested in the Categorization between Sami persons who own reindeers and the Sami persons that do not own reindeers. Her theory for understanding the material was the postcolonial theory, and critical discourse analysis was used to analyze the material. The starting point of her research was explained to be that the colonial impact is highly integrated into the society we have today as well as for our social relations. In her findings, Blomkvist (2019) describes that during the 1970s, the focus of the newspaper showed the separation between the reindeer herding Samis and the non-reindeer herding. It included a critic of the Sami politics within the Swedish context as well as showed how unnatural the separation between the reindeer herding Samis and non-reindeer herding Samis actually is. The author continues to describe the change that came during the 1990s in the newspaper that showed that the urge to claim Saminess was not as essential anymore. In the year of 2000, Blomkvist observed that there was a categorization of "third-generation Sami" and "a quarter Sami" in the newspaper. She concluded that this showed how the perception of being Sami had become heterogeneous.

3.4 Intergenerational transmission and minority groups

Under this theme, one of the articles that were found was Haskel and Randall (2009) that wrote the article *Disrupted Attachments: A social context complex trauma framework and the lives of aboriginal peoples in Canada*. Haskel & Randall (2009) shed light on the complex traumas of the aboriginal peoples in Canada and how these are a consequence of the colonial policies that were directly and indirectly aimed at destructing the culture, self-governance, languages, and much more. The authors argue for how the trauma is seen both on a collective and individual level. However, they furthermore bring up how the aboriginals in Canada have been held responsible for their own situation (ibid). The actors of their marginalization and destructed realities deny their own impact that has led to the consequences of the aboriginals. It can thus be said that there is a victim-blaming for the situation they have ended up in

because of generations and generations of colonial destruction. Haskel & Randall claims that this kind of denial and ignorance is deeply enclosed in Canada's historical discourse and representation of Canadian history as a whole (ibid). Moreover, Haskel & Randall discuss how the traumas and victim-blaming also are transmitted over generations, in the so-called intergenerational transmission. This does therefore leave the traumatic colonial impact to be passed over generations and be reproduced and recreated for future generations, which also can be put in relation to the lack of actions for responsibility-claims by the Canadian government (ibid).

Another text covering the topic is Zana Vathi's book chapter *Intergenerational Transmission of Ethnic Identity, Integration, and Transnational Ties* from 2015. The chapter concerns the process of where identity and culture are intergenerationally transmitted. More specifically, Vathi has the means to describe transnational ties and how ethnic identity is formed. Vathi (2015) does, however, bring up the case of how Albanian identity is transmitted over the generations and has furthermore identified three different patterns of the transmission (Vathi 2015). The first one is when the Albanian parents are encouraging the children to take part in the culture and transfer the knowledge about the culture and the history of it, such as traditions when it comes to weddings. The second one is the cases where the parents made the choice of not transferring the culture and identity. The reason for this choice was based on the parents' own experience of discrimination or identity issues. In this case, the parents would not teach the children the traditions, the language, and not bring the children to Albania on vacations (ibid). The parents did, however, in many cases, regret that they did not transfer the cultural identity, customs, and language to the children. The consequence of the parents' decision could lead to the children having a harder time to learn the language and identify with it at an older age. Additionally, the children who had been encouraged by the parents to fully assimilate to the culture of the host country would eventually dismiss their Albanian identity and would not take any steps towards any connection with the culture of the parents. The third category was the Albanian parents, who would have the expectation that the children themselves would keep some of the traditions and continue a symbolic identity as Albanian. Vathi did conclude that the best the parents could do to not let the children fully lose their identity and culture is to have a positive approach to the Albanian culture and to not let the negative stereotypes of Albanians affect this (ibid).

Summary

This previous research has shown some aspects of the topic of Sami identity. One of them is the importance of the sense of belonging, the impact of the historical events, how the lack of the Sami language can be a hinder in the identification-process, how the majority societies have marginalized the Sami people through media as Pietikäinen (2001) mentions and through the teaching material as Edlund (2019) writes. Another aspect was the feeling of loss related to the identity, as Nyseth & Pedersen (2014) shed light on.

Some of the aspects brought up in the reviewed previous research do correspond well to my own findings, such as the importance of belonging, how important the language is as an identity marker and how the lack of it creates uncertainty for many persons with Sami background as well as the categorization defined by Åhgrén (2008). The study of Brusling (2013) with the conclusion of the intergenerational impact from the colonial experiences with a direct effect on the identity-formation of her participants is closely related to my study. Moving over to Haskell & Randall's (2009) explanation of the case of the Aboriginal's traumatic traces that are left from the colonial actions in Canada, how these are intergenerationally transmitted, and how the Canadian state denies their own responsibility and blames the aboriginals for the situation they are left with because of the colonial actions. Lastly, Vathi' s(2015) chapter about the intergenerational transmission of Albanian identity and culture will be relevant to connect to the intergenerational transmission of the Sami identity that will be explored further in the analysis section.

4.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework chosen is the postcolonial theory and theoretical concepts of identity. The postcolonial theory is relevant for my study, and my material as the Sami people and the Sami identity is highly affected by the historical colonial practices as well as the traces of the direct colonialism we see today. The impact of the historical experiences has created different coping strategies for the Sami persons, which have led to denial, abandonment of the identity or culture as well as deep shame for their own background. The theoretical concepts of identity are relevant as the aim of the study concerns the construction and formation of the Sami identity, as well as how identity or parts of identity can be passed on over generations. The concept of mimicry and fragmentation will also be brought up during this chapter.

4.1 Postcolonial theory

The postcolonial theory has many different theoretical directions, but the main common understanding is that the world we have today can only be understood by looking at the impact of colonialism and imperialism throughout history (Loomba 2015). Usually, the postcolonial theory is, although, referred to the impact of colonialism done by the European countries in the 18th century until the 20th century. The colonial domination was acted out socially, economically, politically, and among other levels of the societies. When discovering the traces left by colonialism, it is crucial not to end up in an unintentional reproduction of the colonial way of thought. According to de Los Reyes & Mulinari (2008), there is otherwise a risk that the system of categorization of people as inferior and superior is reproduced and upheld. The theory of postcolonialism does, however, give rise to the explanation of how the categorization of people could be acted out and become normalized in the way it was. And additionally, explanations regarding the continuation or repetition of the colonial identities as well as the postcolonial identities (Loomba, 2005).

Moreover, we do have structures of systematic discrimination and oppression fully included in our societies today. Because of colonial rule, all humans perceive themselves and others with different places in the hierarchy (Loomba, 2005). The oppressive actions and perceptions are highly integrated into the oppressed groups as well as for outsiders. Therefore, the members of the marginalized or oppressed groups can be a part of the

reproduction of the discriminatory oppression and destruction of their own group as a trace from colonialism.

4.1.2 Mimicry

One important concept in postcolonial theory is the concept of mimicry that explains the relation between a colonized person and the colonizing person (Bhabha, 1994 p.86). In the colonial practices, part of it is for the colonizer to make the colonized like her by imposing her culture, values, and understanding of the world on the colonized. When the colonizer starts to mimic these, the result of it will never be an exact copy of it. The mimicry ends up almost like a threat as mimicry is close to mockery. The mimicry is, therefore, a destabilizing factor for the colonizers' domination. The Indian English scholar Homi Bhabha (1994), has used mimicry thoroughly as part of his explanations of the ambivalent colonized/colonizer-relationship. Bhabha describes the subject of the colonized as "almost the same, but not quite" in the mimicry-process (Bhabha 1994, p. 86). When aiming at copying the values, culture of the colonizer, he does not stop with saying that it becomes a mockery. He goes as far as to say that it becomes a menace that makes the colonizer feel endangered. In one way, the limits of colonial discourse can be viewed by the mimicry in the sense that part of colonialism ends up as partly self-destructive (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2007, p.124).

4.1.3 Fragmentation

According to the Cambridge dictionary, the definition of fragmentation is: "the action or process of breaking something into small parts or of being broken up in this way" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). However, the Peace professor Johan Galtung (1990) has written about fragmentation in a much more detailed way. He argues that it is a part of cultural violence and explains it as violence that is directly related to human identity needs (Maddison, 2013 p. 291). To get an overview of Galtung's thoughts, I will first give rise to Galtung's description of cultural violence, as it is this perspective of fragmentation that I have used throughout the thesis. He defines cultural violence as structural or direct violence that is legitimized by aspects of a certain culture (Galtung 1990, p. 291). The fragmentation can be understood in the sense that it divides oppressed and marginalized groups from the inside. The fragmentation works both as an obstacle for the creation of consciousness and for the group's possibilities to mobilize. Both mobilization and consciousness are highly crucial for

the possibilities to resist in situations where the group is being exploited. The categorization nature of the fragmentation is said to be made possible as a consequence of the violence during colonialism, in connection with the disturbance of the traditions of the colonized group that held everyday life together. This form of violence based on the destruction of identity has had a significant impact on the Indigenous identity and other parts of the Indigenous people's lives, as well as the relationship to the colonial state where the Indigenous peoples currently live (Maddison, 2013 p. 291). The identity-formation struggles that Indigenous peoples experience today is besides that more intricate by the historical assimilationist and dislocating policies by the colonial states. Even when they happened in the past, the effects of them are still present (Schwab 1988, p. 77). Galtung supports this statement and gives further explanations' A violent structure leaves marks not only on the human body but also on the mind and the spirit' (Galtung, 1990, p.294). The fragmentation can concludingly be said to have affected the Indigenous identity for generations and resulted in the destruction of the once stable Indigenous identity of the pre-colonial times (Maddison, 2013 p.291).

4.2 Theoretical concepts of identity

From a broader perspective, identity has been perceived as the basis of the study of self-perception. This can be seen in the sociological, psychological, and social psychological fields of research (Helkama et al. 2000). Within these fields, there is a common separation between the notion of social identity and personal identity. According to Helkama et al. (2000), the personal identity consists of the things that make an individual special and the traits that differentiate the individual from others. The social identity, on the contrary, consists of the traits the individual has that is the same as other individuals belonging to the same group (Helkama et al. 2000, p.313). Therefore, I find it suitable to look more into the social identity theory.

4.2.1 *Social identity theory*

According to Stets and Burke (2000), the social identity theory mainly concern the study of how individuals perceive themselves as group members in relation to individuals who are not group members. Helkama et al. (2000) explain how our identity and how we perceive

ourselves are much related to our group membership. Thus, having a social identity means that the individual perceives themselves as similar to other members of the group and the perspective of the individual becomes a group perspective (Stets & Burke 2000).

Helkama et al. (2000) further bring up examples of how social identity concerns the comparison between the own group and the others. But there is an interesting question that he gives rise to that is relevant for the study of Sami identity, namely the question, what are the consequences for the individual when belonging to a degraded minority group? There are the obvious consequences of lower social status that comes with lower wages and lower living standards. However, there is also a psychological impact on the belonging of a minority group. As the social identity theory argues that it is the comparison between different groups that uphold the social identity, the comparison of a degraded minority group in relation to the high valued majority can only show a result that is of negative nature. Tajfel (1978) argues that one individual reaction to this would be to leave the group (Helkama et al. 2000).

Moscovici & Paicheler (1978) bring up a critical point to the social identity theory's lack of focus on different psychological factors of both the minority and majority. They argue that there is a need to study the psychologically strong and psychologically weak groups (Helkama et al. 2000). A psychologically strong minority group is secure of themselves and how their difference is of positive nature and wants recognition for the group's culture and rights. On the contrary, when looking at psychologically weak majority groups, the majority would feel an obvious threat by the existence of the minority group and give rise to prejudicial ideas about the minority (Helkama et al. 2000). Moscovici & Paicheler (1978) reason that in cases where the minority have adapted the majority's degrading perspective of the minority, the comparison between them and the majority are coming from a place of insecurity. The differences between minority groups and the majority groups are perceived as threatening and will most likely end up favoring the majority group. The individuals that are members of a weak minority group would thus end up with feelings of low self-esteem and, in some cases, with shame, denial, or even attempts to leave the group (Helkama et al. 2000).

4.2.2 Groups and collective identity

As the notion of group membership and the relationship between groups have been explored, there is a need to look more into how the formation of groups and the notion of collective identity.

Groups are created by the differentiation of the identities, which in turn gets categorized in one order according to history, social and economic factors. The separation of groups is moreover context-based and differs in their meaning, depending on which context they are in and also by ethnicity, gender, and class. One example could be the opposites international and national; when speaking about international, the word gets its meaning in relation to the opposite national (Hammarén & Johansson 2009). Groups do moreover, have a collective identity - this identity is created by individuals that claim to belong to a group, which can be seen as a strong form of identification. The collective identity can also be restricted in cases where the group expects the individual to have the shared traits to be accepted as a part of the collective identity (Hammarén & Johansson, 2009). In this way, personal identity-work can be set under limitations for the sake of the collective identity. Collective identity can be crucial for previously marginalized or oppressed groups as a way to find togetherness in the fight for justice and their rights. Symbols as representative of the collective are crucial for the collective identity; in some aspects, it can be used to exclude themselves from the majority or to include themselves into their own collective and as valuable for the identification. Pieces of jewelry or clothes can be symbols that can be representative of the collective identity, and wearing the same sort of clothes can be a securing factor for the togetherness of the collective. For persons that have lost their culture or for persons regaining their culture, these kinds of symbols can be a part of the healing as well (Hammarén & Johansson 2009).

4.2.3 Identity and language

I believe that the sense of identity is naturally changed by time and context and in relation to the surrounding. Hammarén & Johansson (2009) stand for the same position and continue with adding the aspect of language to the process of identity formation. As humans are in constant socialization with others, language is an essential building stone of identity. The meaning we give to things is directly connected to the language. The meaning of different words in different languages also gives rise to different understandings of the world and our

own identity (Hammarén & Johansson, 2009). Wellros (1998) follows the same line of thought and discusses that identity and self-confidence are highly influenced by how well we manage the language. The level of language knowledge is also used as a construction of the division between "us and them." Where the ones with no or less language knowledge are excluded from the "us" and thus not included in the commonness of the group (Wellros 1998). In other ways, the language can also work, excluding or including depending on how we say things. For example, if a person says, "We speak his language" or "We do not speak his language." If we lift up our similarities or differences to a person, the outcome will be very different. When focusing on the similarities, the person will become a fellow human, but if we bring up the differences, the person will be identified as a stranger. Andersen & Sörmans give rise to examples of how there is a common expectation that a person that claims to belong to a community based on ethnicity should know the language of the ethnic group. If the person for any reason does not know how to speak the language, the authenticity of the ethnic belonging of the person gets questioned (Andersen & Sörman 2016).

Relating to my study

I have used postcolonialism as a way to understand how the traces of colonialism can be seen in my material and how it's still having a significant impact on the construction of Sami identity today. Loombas and de los Reyes & Mulinaris' explanations of the categorization of the colonized groups and how the categorization is reproduced internally by the Indigenous peoples themselves will be used to understand the material. Bhabha's (1994) understanding of mimicry will be used to explain the relationship between the colonizer - the Swedish state and the colonized - the Sami people, where the Sami people have adapted the colonial actions to themselves. Galtung's (1990) understanding of the concept of fragmentation will be used to understand how the identity violence the Swedish state has performed on the Sami people could happen and how it still impacts. As well as Maddison's (2013) explanation of how it can continue to intergenerationally impact, such as in the case of the Indigenous Sami identity. From the theoretical perspectives about identity, I will be able to relate to understanding how the participants perceive themselves as part of the Sami people, how the societal degrading of the Sami people could have had an impact on the participants' identification as well as the perspectives of Moscovici & Paicheler (1978) that could lead to an understanding of strong and weak groups relation to the majority society and the minority

Sami people, and how this in turn could affect on an individual level. Furthermore, Hammarén & Johansson's views of collective identity and how cultural symbols can be used both including and excluding for the individuals. Wellros's (1998) thoughts about the effect of language knowledge can impact self-confidence, and the construction of us/them could be used to understand how participants feel excluded from the community because of the lack of language skills.

4.3 Theoretical limitations and alternative concepts

The limitation of my chosen theories of postcolonial theory and theoretical concepts of identity could be seen in the way that it would only make it possible for me to explain a limited scope of the material. It would be beneficial to have included more concepts or used more theories. Some alternative theories that could have been used are the theory of intergenerational trauma, the theory of stigma, the postcolonial concept of hybridity, the postcolonial concept of the subaltern, or the critical Indigenous theory. As this is only a master's thesis, there was a limited time and space for including those. These theories and concepts could preferably be used for any future research on the same topic.

5.0 METHODOLOGY

In this section, there will be a short summary of the method of the study, continuing to the research design, Indigenous and decolonizing methodology, selected method, and the advantages and limitations of it. Moreover, there will be a presentation of the process of material collection, material choice, and material selection. The validity and reliability will be discussed. And lastly, it will be one section of the ethical considerations of the study.

Short summary

The study consisted of eight qualitative semi-structured interviews; one of the participants decided to drop out because of personal reasons. Therefore, only seven of them are analyzed. The interviews were conducted online, through either Skype, telephone, or messenger video call. As the Sami population is widely diverse, the participants live in both smaller and bigger cities in Sápmi and in Stockholm. Some of them speak some of the Sami languages; a majority of the participants do not speak the language, although all express a wish for knowing the language. Only one of the participants conduct reindeer-herding, which could be a representative number of the limited number of the Sami people that do conduct reindeer herding in relation to the whole Sami population in Sweden. As such, they represent a small portion of the widely diverse Sami population.

5.1 Research Design

Qualitative research is, according to Bryman, based on what the researcher finds essential and how she or he put meaning to things (Bryman 2011, p.368). The research method is quite open, and the themes and research questions can be formed and changed as time goes. Thus, I have put emphasis on describing the process of choosing the method and why it ended with the method, it did with the current circumstances. In qualitative research, it is claimed that the researcher is an essential part of the collection of material. Furthermore, as it is based on the specific concerns of the researcher, it is difficult to find a study that is precisely the same as the other (Bryman, 2011 p.368). In general, qualitative research is more focused on words and deeper meaning behind the participant's reality, in comparison to quantitative research that has the focus on measuring numbers and, as the name says - the quantity of a particular phenomenon. Additionally, the relationship between the research and the theoretical

framework is usually seen through an inductive point of view. This means that it is more about how the reproduction of theories framed and used before (Bryman, 2012, p.36).

The choice of making this thesis as a qualitative study was taken as I wanted to get an understanding on an in-depth level of the experiences of the relation to Saminess and Sami identity, but also of their experiences of intergenerational transfer for it.

Furthermore, I wanted to get the participants to explain their experiences in their own words and explore the themes and the level of importance for them. Hence, a qualitative study was suitable for my study. Moreover, the research approach has been grounded in a social constructionist approach. In most cases, social constructionism refers to the understanding of the world as shaped by historical and cultural factors. The meaning behind things and knowledge production is thus created in the social interactions between humans (Burr 2015, p.4). With this being related to my study, it means that there is a basic understanding that the social construction of the Sami people and the conditions for the group to exist in different parts of society comes from a colonial perspective. This can be seen in the way the reindeer laws and land laws are created by the Swedish state, the way the Sami people are identified and categorized has also throughout the history been done according to the conditions of the Swedish state. Therefore, the dominating part of the society, namely the Swedish state, has thus constructed the way the Sami people are understood as a group and most of the living conditions. Another example could be the assimilation process, which has affected a majority of the Sami people to refer to themselves as *having Sami background*, instead of being Sami. It can also be said that my perspective has been inductive, as the starting point was my data, and the theories were chosen with relevance to it. As Bryman says, "theory is the outcome of research" (2012, p.26).

5.2 Indigenous and decolonizing methodology

As my topic is regarding the Sami people who are Indigenous people, the Indigenous methodology is crucial to have awareness about and to keep in mind during the process of the research. When doing research on the topic of Indigenous peoples, it is crucial to use Indigenous methodology as it regards the understanding of how the colonial powers have had both an indirect and direct impact on our minds and physical and mental health. After this

understanding is in place, there is a possibility to truly regain the power of the Indigenous knowledge and get the culture to bloom instead of being in the survival-mode (Cavender Wilson, 2004, p.72). Throughout the process of the thesis, I believe it has been a common trait to reflect back continuously and to show why the situation of the Sami people looks like it does today and why the survival-mechanisms have been as they have. All of them can be traced back to the colonial impact. To have this basic understanding of the colonial impact, as any person of with Indigenous background, is crucial because it is only after this we can decolonize our minds and make our heritage and culture to bloom and not just survive. Tuhiwai-Smith (2012) sheds light on how academic research in itself has the roots in colonialism. The memory of how studies and research have been done on Indigenous peoples all over the world as a part of colonialism is still present. The researchers measured bodies and skulls of Indigenous peoples in the name of science and believed they knew the truth about them just by the studies they had done. Moving to the current days, where the claims of the colonial powers are based on events from this century as they stand in denial of the Indigenous rights and even the recognition of the indigeneity itself (Tuhiwai-Smith 2012, p.1). This last statement from Tuhiwai-Smith can be directly connected to the Girjas-court case (see page 20 in the historical overview), where the Swedish state had their claims from the time that the borders of Sweden were put up, without recognition of all the centuries the Sami people had lived on the land and what their Indigenous land rights meant in this case. During one of the proceedings of the Girjas-court case in 2015, the representatives from the Swedish states refer to the same citation I mentioned previously in the historical overview-section. The citation from Olivecrona, from the pre-work for the reindeer herding-law of 1886.

The tribes that do not want to leave the nomadic life must with necessity stay in the lower cultural grade and leave room for the more civilized resident tribes and, finally, after a languishing life, die out. The history of humanity shows that the relationship has been like this in all places of the world, and the nomadic lapps must be submitted to the same law and perish, in case they do not want to deal with farming or other occupations which are related to a permanent housing (Olivecrona in Dådning, Lindenfors et al., 2019).

This statement was cited in the court without any comment or elaboration of it. It was, therefore, clear that the representative had no intention to even mention the racist human value the statement shows. And in other words, how this would legitimize how they interpret the legal documents with regards to this question (Dådring, Lindenfors, et al., 2019).

Additionally, my choice of making this study about a topic that is bringing up a topic that relates to my own experiences and background as well as representing the perspectives from my own group is, for me, a part of using an Indigenous methodology. To bring back the study from the typical hands of western urban-based researches with their exotifying "othering" views of the Indigenous Sami people to the hands of me, a researcher with an Indigenous Sami background that almost has lost the Sami identity because of the colonial actions and traces. Looking back at my grandmother that was measured and registered during the Swedish race biology, at my father that grew up with the degrading and humiliating societal views of being Sami that led him to the journey of living a whole life of denying his Sami heritage that was passed down from his own mother. That, later on, made him stand passive and not wanting to transfer his Indigenous heritage and culture to his own children - to me, writing a master thesis of the struggles of reclaiming Sami identity and the intergenerational transmission of it. What if not that is the definition of the proper use and reproduction of Indigenous methodology?

5.3 Choice of method

The choice of method for this study was, as mentioned in qualitative interviews and specifically semi-structured interviews. The first choice was the method memory work, but there were difficulties in both getting a place and date that worked for the small number of persons that accepted to participate in the group and also because of the current situation of coronavirus. As some of the participants were elderly, I did not want to risk any possible transmission of the coronavirus, and therefore I canceled the group meeting with the method of memory work. Therefore, I decided to do individual interviews over Skype or other online tools for video conversations. When doing this change, there were also more persons who wanted to participate in the study.

Semi-structured interviews

The method of semi-structured interviews is a method where the data is collected through interviews where the researcher have some an interview guide with a set questions to cover the topic, but also have space for asking to follow up questions or picking up traces that come up during the interview (Bryman, 2012 p.471). It was suitable for me to use the method of semi-structured interviews as it made the participants able to express their views freely, and long stories or descriptions could be made. Another advantage of the method was that I could do follow-up questions outside the interview guide and go along traces the participants went into during the storytelling in the interviews. As this topic is of a sensitive nature, it could, in some ways, be more comfortable for the participant to express their views or memories. Although there is a high risk of re-traumatization, the risk is high during all the methods as the topic itself is sensitive.

5.4 Sampling and collection of material

At first, I contacted different Sami organizations and asked if they wanted to share my request for participants for my study as I had planned to use the snowball-method for sampling. When contacting the Sami organizations, one answered that they did not have time, and the others did not answer. The snowball-sampling is a type of sampling method where the researcher finds some participants that are suitable for the study and can meet the requirements of the participants of the study. The next step is for these persons to recruit some persons from their network that also fulfills the requirements, and then these, in turn, would recruit another person and so on. This would then continue until the needed number of participants was fulfilled. Bryman (2016) also states that snowball-sampling is especially suitable for studies where the target group is accessed with difficulties. I considered my target group, the Sami people, to be difficult as I am aware of the opposition against studies being conducted on groups. This opposition has its roots in the history of studies conducted on the Sami people, such as the race biology and also during current times, many studies are being done but with a significant lack of knowledge (Bryman 2016 p. 424).

With the lack of answers from the organizations, I posted my request on different facebook-groups with Sami-theme, such as "Samer in Umeå", "Samer in Stockholm," and

"LiksjuoSamit". I finally ended up doing eight interviews, five female participants and three male participants. One of the participants did, although, contact me approximately one month after the interview and asked to get her interview erased from my material for personal reasons. Therefore, it is only 7 of the interviews that are processed and analyzed in my thesis. The qualifications of the participants that I requested were that they had one parent or grandparent that was Sami, that they defined their relationship to Saminess as complicated, and that they thought they had been affected by their relative's relation to the Saminess and Sami identity (See attachment 3 of the post for request of participants). This qualification was chosen as I wanted to have the experiences from individuals who had a close connection to Saminess, which made me limit it to the grandparent being Sami as the furthest. Even though I had limited it to that, a few of the participants ended up having their Sami roots further back than grandparents. This was not an issue as they still had the experiences of difficulty to relate to the Saminess and felt that the older relatives' perceptions and ways of relating to the Saminess had an impact on them. My aim was not to increase the colonial categorization of Sami people as only being Sami if they had a parent or grandparent. It was instead an attempt for me to limit the scope of my study to only include the ones with closeness to the Saminess. The age of the participants varied from around 25 to around 70 years old, but was not important for me when sampling for participants. Although, I was satisfied with the age-span of the participants that represented different age-groups.

Process of interviews

The interviews were conducted on Skype, telephone, and messenger video calls and lasted between 20 minutes up to 1h and 15 minutes. It all depended on how much the participant was willing to share and if they had long stories outside of my questions. All the interviews in the study were conducted individually with each participant. All of the interviews were recorded with the help of the memo-function on my phone after the approval of the participants. Although, all the remaining interviews were recorded and additional field notes were also taken during the interview process. When conducting research, the numbers of participants or interviews can be limited when data saturation is achieved (Fusch & Ness 2015). Data saturation is a well-discussed theme as there is no clear definition of it and there is no size of research that fits for every research. According to Guest et al. (2006), there is after all some common understandings of data saturation in the many definitions. One of

them is that the same themes or topics are brought up during the interviews or material collection, and another one is that the study can be replicated (Fusch & Ness 2015). In the case of my study, I noticed quite early in the interview process that the same themes were mentioned by the participants. I did finish all of the planned interviews anyway and was satisfied with the information the participants had shared with me and felt that I would be able to analyze it, connect to the theoretical framework and previous literature in a suitable manner.

Advantages and disadvantages of interviews over internet-based sources

As I ended up doing my interviews over internet-based sources such as skype and video call on messenger due to the pandemic of coronavirus, there are some advantages and disadvantages to discuss. Hamilton (2014) explains that some of the general advantages of doing internet-based video interviews are that the researcher gets a possibility to get a face-to-face interaction even in cases of long distances to the participants. With the face-to-face interaction it makes it easier for the researcher to catch facial expressions or gestures that could give more depth and meaning to the expressions of the participants. Another advantage is that the researcher can show empathy to the participant and be more supportive of the participant during the interview, compared to interviews conducted over telephone (Hamilton 2014). In my case, it was definitely an advantage that I was able to conduct the interviews with the participants despite the pandemic and with the fact that all the participants lived in different cities with long distances away from me. Just like Hamilton (2014) mentioned as an advantage, I was really grateful that I could see the participants in the video calls of the interviews, and also that they got to see me. In my experience, it made the interviews more personal and made them become more like an actual meeting between them and me. Another aspect, was in relation to that it is essential for me that I am not just a researcher, but that the participants know a bit about me and that I as a person are visible and transparent. It is essential for me in one way as I want the participants to see that there is no hidden agenda of the study, but also that there are more significant possibilities of them to feel confident to share personal stories with me if I am honest about myself, my own background and the study. According to Hamilton (2014), the disadvantages of interviews conducted over internet based sources are the expectations of the participants to have access to a computer or phone with a video-call function. Another expectation is for them to have

access to a high functioning internet connection. If the connection is of poor quality there is a risk that the data can be lost. Both of these disadvantages are a limitation especially for persons with a difficult economic situation who might not have access to these mentioned things. In my first contact with the participants, I asked them if they preferred telephone, Skype or messenger video-call for the interviews, to make it as open for them to decide what they were able to and were comfortable with to use. In case of the internet-connection, it was two interviews where we had some technical issues. The first one was in the beginning of the interview, where we could not connect to each other's skype, but we solved it after some collaboration. The second time was in the beginning of another interview, where it was an echo but it was solved when I changed to headphones. Other than those, there were no technical issues during the interviews. Even when I had participants from all age groups, some could assume that older participants would have technical issues with handling the internet based-sources. But in my experience from my study it was no issue at all in that sense.

5.5 Method of analysis

Thematic analysis with the basis in the empirical material is a well-used method when doing qualitative research. Bryman (2012) argues that the researcher should go through the transcription material thoroughly several times at first and then see if there are specific themes and sub-themes that are visible. Themes can be topics that are repeatedly brought up by several of the participants which have relevance to the research topic or Indigenous ways of expressing a particular phenomenon. After the themes are defined, citations that will represent the themes should be picked out from the material and categorized according to the themes. Bryman (2012) does however express that this kind of methodological process is not described in detail. But this analytical method was still chosen as it would be helpful in the work with raising interesting things from the material (Bryman, 2012 p.579-580).

All of the recorded interviews were transcribed word by word. In this regard, the verbatim method of transcribing was employed. Similarly, to ensure the accuracy of the transcription, the recordings have listened to several times. The transcribed data was also read and re-read several times. All of the eight interviews were conducted in Swedish and were later translated

into English. Limitations of this process are discussed more under the limitation section at the end of this chapter.

The analysis of the material was made through a thematic analysis. Thus, I started my process by reading through my transcriptions several times to get a brief overview of the different stories. Then I continued to read but started making notes and highlighted topics and things that caught my attention and were related to the research topic. According to Bryman (2012) a theme is a category that is identified by the researcher in the data that relates to the research focus and built on codes identified in the transcripts or field notes. So as to generate themes, various features of the data that were considered relevant to the research questions were identified and coded in the transcripts. Furthermore, analytical tables facilitated the researcher to tabulate codes identified in the transcripts under the main themes. Thereafter, when grouping the codes into themes, various factors such as identifying repetitions of topics, transition of topics, exploring similarities and differences in the data were given close attention to as suggested by Ryan and Bernard (2003). Finally, common codes were framed together into a series of separate analytic themes (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). These analytical themes were then grouped together as sub-themes. Lastly, suitable quotes that assisted in capturing the essence of the topic under discussion were generated to the sub-themes (See attachment 2). The gathered data were analyzed under the light of various theoretical concepts in postcolonial theory and identity theory.

The four main themes that were identified were: theme 1 - transfer of Sami heritage over generations, theme 2 -Sami identity, theme 3 - expressions about being Sami, and theme 4 - Sami attributes (see attachment number 2). These four themes did, although, overlap each other in some cases, and some quotes are used in several of the themes. See the sub themes of each main theme in the figure 2 below.

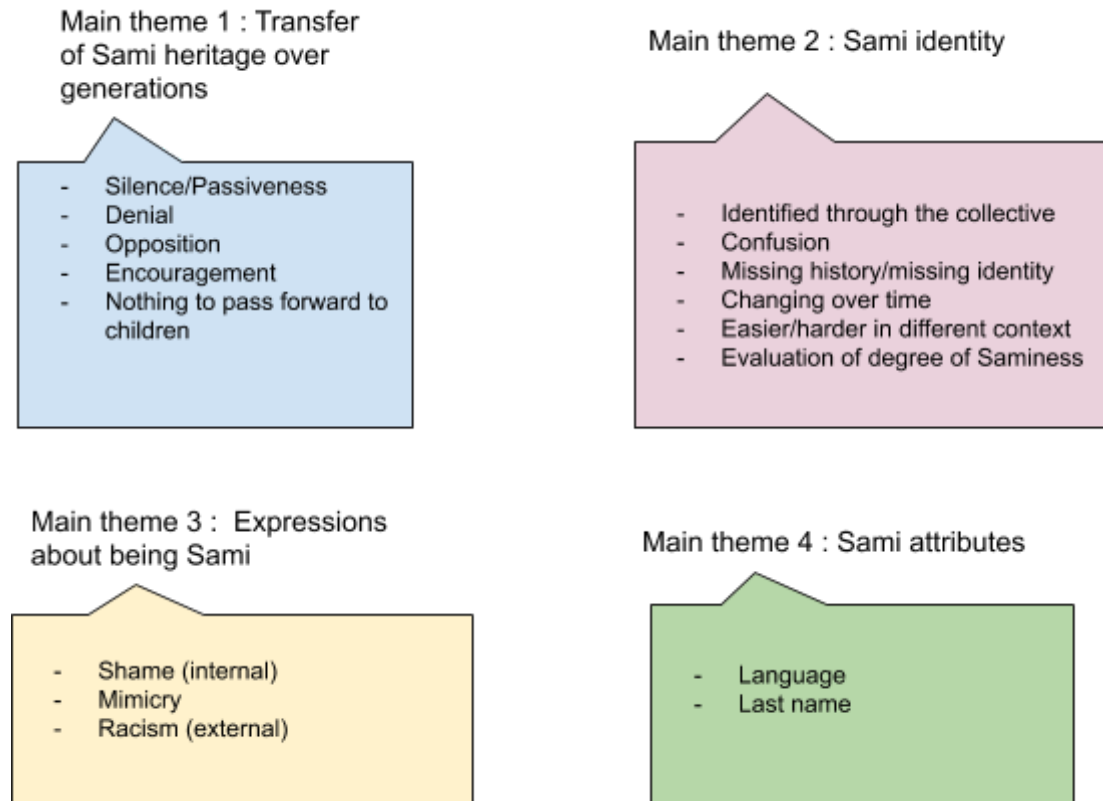


Figure 2 : Distribution of main themes and sub themes

5.6 Validity and reliability

According to Kvale & Brinkmann (2009), the reliability of research can be seen in the way that it is trustworthy and how the findings can be reproduced by another researcher. In my case, the trustworthiness of my study has been given support by the records of the interviews and the transcripts that were made of them. The aim of high levels of transparency has been shown by the presentation of the steps of the analysis, the attachments from the interview-guide, the facebook-post I had for getting participants, and the schedules from the themes found in the material. The quality of research is related to the researcher's way of continuously proof-check, challenging the material and the conclusions as well as how an understanding of the material is applied through the lens of theoretical framework (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). To be sure of validity, I did check the answers in the interviews several times and re-framed them to see if there was a real understanding of the meaning of them. The recordings that later were transcribed were also proof-checked several times to see that everything was in the transcription. As the study covers the experience of a group of seven

people of Sami background, it might not be possible to generalize the findings to be the case of all persons with Sami background. But that was neither the plan as my study is a qualitative study.

5.7 Ethical considerations

The most common ethical issues to consider are: confidentiality, do no harm, privacy, informed consent, exploitation, self-determination and autonomy (Hammersley & Atkins 2007). Therefore, these ethical issues will now be elaborated on, as well as the principle of reflexivity and Sami ethical guidelines.

Confidentiality

To respect the participants personal information and privacy are of high importance when doing research. According to Bryman (2012), the personal information shared during interviews should be kept confidential to secure the privacy of the participants. In my research I made the names of the participants anonymous by naming them P.1, P.2, P.3, P.4, P.5, P.6 and P.7 which represented participants 1, 2 and so forth. I also made the village and city-names anonymous when it came to especially the smaller places where the participants easily could be identified. One of the participants explicitly told me not to use her name and the places she mentioned and another one asked for the places and village-names to be anonymous. This made me take the decision to make all of them anonymous. In some cases, I wrote "village in the southern Sápmi" or "city in the northern Sápmi," which would locate the city regionally but not accurately as those definitions are very broad.

Do no harm

The ethical issue of making harm to the participant is much more concrete when it comes to medical research, but it is also common in other types of research. When participating in research it can give rise to old memories and there is a significant risk of re-traumatization. Re-traumatization means that the participant gets to experience the emotions she or he went through during one historical event and experience the same emotions again during the research (Hammersley & Atkins 2007 p. 213). This was one of the ethical issues that I considered as strongly relevant for my research as my topic covered painful memories and

traumatic events experienced by the participants. Although, there are some researchers that claim that the experience of sharing traumatic events could be a relief for a person. Seedat, Pienaar, Williams, et al. (2004) shed light on this notion and explains from their observations from working with trauma survivors that their participants were grateful to share their experiences. However, they do further mention how the upbringing of memories of trauma also could lead to increased levels of psychological distress. During my interviews, I tried to frame the questions to be open, but also with a possibility for them to bring up traumatic memories or topics that are harder to deal with. In the beginning of the interviews also mentioned to them that they could choose not to answer any question or to end the interview at any time. When the participants did bring up emotional or traumatic topics my strategy was to show empathy, give them time and if I would consider the participant to experience any harsh distress during the interview, I had planned to refer them to psychological support online. What I could have done differently is that I could have given the information about psychological support to all of them as there is no way that I would know of all the times any of them felt they needed to get extra support from someone with expertise in psychological support. This can also be seen in relation to the balance between the researchers wish for getting information on a specific topic to fulfill their research aims, in relation to the possible harm it could give for the participants being part of the research and sharing their traumatic memories or needing to experience the memories again while talking about them again.

Privacy

The concept of privacy is likewise a well-discussed topic for researchers as the researchers are making private information public when publishing their studies. The concept is however of a complex nature. Where does the private and public begin? For some, the border between public and private is drawn differently depending on who the persons involved are. It is more common to ask children about their friendships but not as common to ask adults about their patterns with friends without reflection. Another issue related to privacy is how the participants should be able to control and give permission about all the information shared or published from what they have said (Hammersley & Atkins 2007 p. 212-213).

The concept of privacy is relevant to consider for my study as most of the information brought up is of sensitive nature. The sensitive nature of them could be seen in the painful

memories brought up, and therefore it has been essential for me to send the transcribed versions from the interviews to the participants so they could read them through and change things if they wish for it. Memories and personal stories can undoubtedly be seen as a part of privacy, and as the participants gave me the possibility of taking part of their story it was also my responsibility to respect it and take care of the information I got. One privacy issue that happened during the research process was that the eight participants' email-account got hacked by someone she did not want to take part of her information. That is why she contacted me and informed me about it, and as I had sent her the transcription from her interview on her email that person could have taken part in it. She was not comfortable with that, and thus she said she wanted to withdraw her participation which I fully respected. Another issue concerning privacy was the fact of my own Sami background. When making the plan for sampling of participants, I considered reaching out in regions that were not from the same region as I come from. I made this decision as I wanted the persons to be entirely comfortable with sharing their information and needed to think about if my family was a part of any conflict or anything they would bring up.

Informed consent

The concept of informed consent consists of the information the researcher is providing the participant with before the study and how the participation can change his or her mind anytime during the study (Hammersley & Atkins 2007 p. 210). Participation should also involve some kind of consent from the participant before the study. In most cases this is done through a document concerning the participation in the study where both the participant and the researcher gets to sign. It is furthermore discussed in connection to the times where the participant might have agreed to participation, but then forgets that the researcher is using the information the participant is sharing. Other examples can be when the participant gets a close relationship with the researcher and forgets the participation of the study in this case as well. On the other hand it would be disruptive if the researcher always would remind the participant about the participation of the study (Hammersley & Atkins 2007 p. 210-211). Another example could be in cases where the researcher seems to agree with the statements the participant is sharing to encourage the participant, which ultimately gives a false impression. As my interviews were conducted online, I verbally asked for their consent to audio-recording the interviews, gave them information about the study, let them ask questions

if they wanted to before the start of the interviews. This was done as I did not have access to any printer and scanner for making a written consent on paper. I tried to create a written agreement online, but I figured it would be difficult for some of the older participants as it was already quite difficult for me. This was considered with my supervisor and after consulting with him, we decided that the verbal consent was enough. As I had informed them verbally that it was acceptable for them to drop out at any time and with the fact that one of the participants did come to me and stated that she could not participate anymore. Then I felt that I had succeeded in making them feel comfortable to come back to me at any time to withdraw their participation at any time.

Exploitation

The concept of exploitation concerns how the researcher is just collecting information from the participants without giving anything back. In some cases the information is of a very sensitive nature which brings up painful memories and traumatic events are ones again brought to the attention. It is furthermore difficult to measure how much the information a person is sharing is worth in money or other services as a way to give back for their service (Hammersley & Atkins 2007, p.218). In my study, I did not provide any provision in the form of money to give back to the participants. As I posted my request for participants in a facebook-group, they themselves got to contact me if they were interested to be a part of the study. In my opinion, the participants therefore had a free choice to participate if they wanted to.

Self-determination

To take the ethical consideration of self determination into account when doing research is highly important. This means that the researcher makes sure that the participants are a part of the study of free will and that they have been given the information that they can decide to not be a part of the study at any time during the research process (Akbar 2019).

Before the interviews, I therefore told the participants that they could end the interview whenever they wanted, to not answer a question without explanation and that they could pull back their participation at any time.

Autonomy

Lahana et al. (2013) discuss autonomy as one ethical principle. Autonomy regards the notion that the collected material only be used for the research to ensure the autonomy of the participating individuals. Thus, I informed the participants about the aims of the research, how this material would only be used for the purposes of the material and how it would be deleted afterward. I also sent them the transcribed version of the audio-recording so they would see that I did not frame their words in another way than how they said it.

Reflexivity

Additionally, there is another concept to have in mind when it comes to ethical considerations, namely reflexivity. This approach has the starting point that the research will always be a sign of the researchers' position within their social context (Bryman 2012 p. 393). Moreover the reflexivity does take the social context of the researcher as well as the position in terms of culture and politics into account. The motivation behind the wish to study a particular topic is also brought up in relation to reflexivity.

Insider going observationalist

When it comes to my own position with Sami background with some levels of insiderness, there are different topics discussed in connection to this. The position of being an insider is a well discussed topic within the discussions of outsider-insider. The discussions concern what this position in reality means and how to create proper research despite having the position of an insider (Labaree 2002 p.116). There is a common idea that an insider-person must go into the mode of observationalist in order to get an accurate picture of the research topic. The mode of observationalist means that the researcher would create a distance between her- or himself from the research topic and the target group (Labaree, 2002 p.116). One of the advantages of the insiderness is although the researcher has knowledge of the culture and knows the meaning behind things that are taken for granted in the cultural and social setting of the specific group (Labaree 2002 p.116).

The motivation for studying a topic closely related to oneself or one's own background is different from person to person. One general motivation could be to understand where oneself comes from and what one consists of as oneself. A discovery of one's own social or cultural

identity or exploration of experiences close to one's own. A second motivation could be for social justice, especially for researchers who come from a minority group or Indigenous people, where there is a historical oppression of the same group (Labaree 2002 p.105).

The motivation in my case as an insider, can be said to be both to learn about my own experiences through the stories of persons with the same experience, and also for the case of social justice. After I had started requesting for the persons with difficulty in relating to the Saminess, feeling that their older relatives' relation to the Saminess was having an impact on them and had a parent or grandparent that was Sami, I slowly realized the study was also an exploration of my own situation. My own situation as in having difficulties in relating to the Saminess, and being affected by my relatives denial of the Sami background, stories of shame from their childhood because of them being children from a Sami mother and me almost hiding my own reclamation of the Sami heritage from them because of their way of dealing with their Sami background. The stories and experiences expressed by the participants are closely related to me. There have been many similarities and common themes brought up from their stories relating to their Sami background and with the reaction from their families as well as from society. I believe that I have a very similar background to several of the participants and can relate to their stories is a benefit. This can be beneficial as I have been able to understand themes and things they have mentioned on a deeper level. Another benefit of me sharing the background could be in the way that some participants use Sami words for relatives, and other aspects of knowledge of the Sami society that I already have the knowledge about. It could also be possible that my own background in one sense, also created a closeness as I, in time, could share the experiences with them. In one case it was also extraordinarily relevant to share where my family comes from, as we in one interview talked about the categorization between the Sami people and conflicts that are present today. And as I asked him about his experiences of it from his home area, he first wanted to know if I came from that area or somewhere else. I interpreted this to be because he wanted to know if my family was a part of the conflict in his home area, and if so he would have expressed himself in another way. As I explained where my family comes from, which is far from his home area he shared the experiences. My insiderness can also affect the objectivity, but in my opinion, your own bias will always be there no matter how objective you try to be. Another aspect of it could be that me using the lens of Indigenous methodology, then my own

Indigenous background is highly relevant and a benefit. Since the Indigenous methodology is much about reclaiming the Indigenous knowledge, re-frame the colonial academia and research being done on Indigenous people from outsiders - I believe this is one part of the decolonization process—people with an Indigenous background doing research on topics on Indigenous themes and with relation to their own group. As mentioned before, the plan from the start was to work with the method of memory work. If I would get to work with the method of memory work, which is a decolonial method that challenges the traditional and colonial way of having the researcher as setting the rules during the material collection, the whole thesis would also be much more decolonial and in accordance with the Indigenous methodology.

Sami specific ethical guidelines regarding research

To avoid the exploitation of the Sami people and exotification of the Sami population, the Samiid Riikkasearvi (SSR) Swedish regional Sami association has framed some guidelines for researchers. One of them is to have a basic knowledge about the Sami society (Samiid Riikkasearvi 2019). Moreover, they have some questions that are useful for both Sami researchers as well as non-Sami researchers to think about before doing research on a Sami topic or with Sami people. Their questions are framed from the perspective of a researcher reaching out to them as a Sami association, but they are easily applicable for any researcher.

The questions are as follows :

- "Why do we want Samiid Riikkasearvi to participate in the project?
- Who owns the research?
 - Why are we going to conduct this research?
 - Who will benefit from the research?
 - Whose interests will benefit from the research?
 - What possibilities and opportunities will Samiid Riikkasearvi have to influence the research ideas, questions and design of the project?
 - What are the expected results of the project?
 - What happens to the research data – who owns it?
 - How shall we as researchers "give back" to Samiid Riikkasearvi and other research participants?
 - What happens if Samiid Riikkasearvi is not satisfied with the research project?
 - What possibilities will Samiid Riikkasearvi have to exit the project, if the project deviates from agreed protocols?
 - Is Samiid Riikkasearvi only hearva/a decoration (an alibi) for our application? "
- (Samiid Riikkasearvi 2019).

When starting my research process, I wanted to contact a Sami researcher that had good knowledge about the field and my own topic. Therefore I contacted the Sami researcher May-britt Öhman at Uppsala University through email on the 2nd of February 2020 and told her about my research plan and furthermore asked if she had any thoughts or comments about it. She was the one who directed me towards the Sami ethical guidelines of Samiid Riikkasearvi and gave some important recommendations and considerations for me, when doing research with a topic related to the Sami people. She also asked if she could become a sub-supervisor, which I would approve of. Although, I still contacted the program staff at my program at Gothenburg University and asked them if this would be possible as May-britt Öhman has expertise experience and background in Indigenous research and research on the Sami people and if it was possible for her to get a document as proof of that role. As there was no, to my knowledge, any researcher at our program with first-hand experience of Indigenous research and knowledge of research on the Sami people this seemed like a pleasant idea especially from an Indigenous methodological perspective as well as a decolonization perspective. The staff at the program refused to give any document as proof of her efforts in helping me. I told May-britt Öhman about it; she said she would still be able to support me and give comments even without the document. Our email contact did, although, get reduced after this until we did not have a contact at all. In my eyes, the actions of the program staff were confusing to me as they had been teaching so much about decolonizing social work and the importance of Indigenous social work. In my view, this was the opposite of decolonizing social work as they could not write a simple document of the efforts of her when her knowledge and experience could be such a valuable resource in the field of decolonizing social work and Indigenous methodology.

Transparency

During my research process I have tried to be as transparent as possible with the participating persons. I asked for consent before recording the sound during the interviews and sent the transcripts from their individual interview after it was done. Furthermore, I had an explanation of my own Sami background and my own motives for doing the study when I had posted my request for participants in the facebook-groups (See attachment number 3, of the screenshot from the facebook-post). The post attached was from 23rd of February when I still planned to do the method of memory work and with the main focus of intergenerational

trauma which as mentioned have been changed to semi-structured individual interviews with the focus of generational transfer of Saminess and Sami identity.

CHAPTER 6.0 : FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter the findings will be analyzed in relation to the theoretical framework of postcolonial theory, theoretical concepts of identity and in relation to the previous literature on the topic. The disposition of this chapter is as follows : short description of the context of the interviews, presentation of the findings that are divided into four main themes with several sub themes that can be seen in the figure 2 below. These are in turn analyzed in relation to the theories and the previous literature.

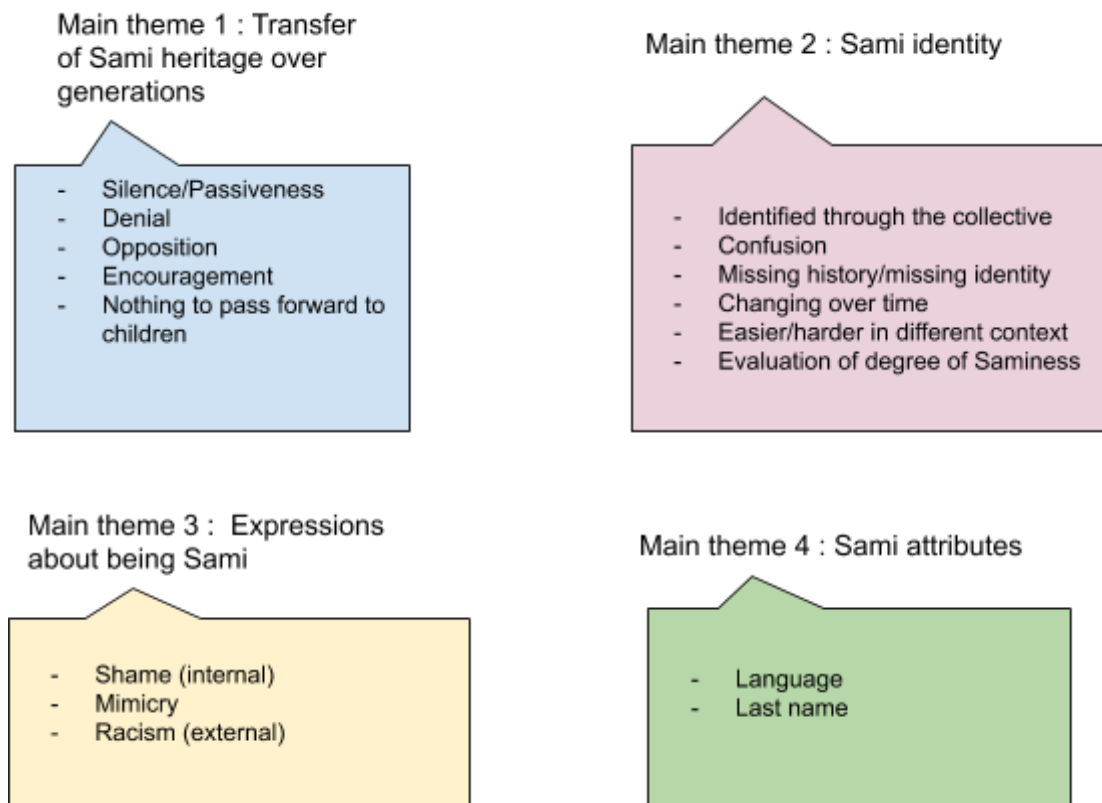


Figure 2 : Distribution of main themes and sub themes

Context of interviews

The interviews did, as mentioned, consist of eight participants with Sami background from the start. These eight ended up being seven due to one of the participants' decision not to

participate anymore. The condition I had requested for the participants was that they had one parent or grandparent that identified as Sami, that they identified their own relationship to Saminess and Sami identity as complex and with some difficulties. All of the participants describe their relationship to Saminess and how the notion of Saminess and Sami identity have been generationally transferred in different ways. As the participants are made anonymous, they are named as P.1, P.2, P.3, P.4, P.5, and P.7 in the analysis below and stands for every participant.

Findings

As the interviews were done over skype and messenger video call, the first few minutes of the interviews consisted of checking that the sound worked for both the participant and for me. This was followed by me asking the question, "Can you tell me shortly about your Sami background?". The participants' answers varied, but some of them included a geographical description as well as a reference to some relative with Sami background. Participant number 1 explained which city she comes from and her relation to the Sami heritage by saying :

P.1 I'm from (name of town in west Sápmi). (...) My grandfather was a reindeer herder and I am partly raised with them.

Others such as participant number 2 started with explaining the region the family originally came from and included the colonial dislocation the Swedish state forced upon them, and finalized the answer by identifying the relation to the Sami heritage by explaining that the grandmother was the last relative that was raised in Sápmi, the Sami land.

P.2 My family is from the (name of region on northern Sápmi), but was dislocated 1926 or 1928 to (name of place in western Sápmi). Where my grandmother was raised, so she is the last one that grew up in Sápmi.

As participant 2 mentions that the grandmother was the last one that was raised in Sápmi, it leads to the thought that the participant put high value on growing up on Sami land.

The geographical description can be related to the fact of the Sami people being an Indigenous people. The culture as well as the whole notion of Indigenous peoples is related to

specific places and the families' connection to that specific place is of importance (Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2009). Therefore the participants bring up the geographical description in relation to their background. It also gives a sense of belonging and understanding of the context of that person. As I have Sami background myself, which they were aware of - the moment they say which area they come from and if they are forest Sami's or not. I unconsciously categorize them in accordance with my knowledge of that Sami area, Sami village and their historical background as for example forest Sami's. The categorization is also part of the postcolonial understanding (Loomba 2005). As the creation of the categorization between forest Sami's and mountain Sami's was done by the colonial state. Even though me with mountain Sami-background do not categorize the mountain Sami-person as subordinate as the colonial power did, but rather as a simple fact of that person's family is primarily based in the forest and not in the mountains like my ancestors.

6.1 Main theme: Transfer of Sami heritage over generations

The first main theme was created as it was a topic that was repeatedly discussed and brought up by the participants in the interviews. The common notion for all of the discussions regarding different ways in the Sami heritage was transferred to the generations after. In some cases it also referred to the lack of transference of Sami heritage or the participants' experiences of opposition in relation to them reclaiming their Sami background and identity.

The main theme was then separated into sub themes, that was :

Silence/Passiveness, Denial, Opposition, Encouragement and Nothing to pass forward to children. These will now be elaborated on.

6.1.1 Sub theme : Silence/Passiveness

On the question "How have you experienced that your parent/grandparent has acted for you to take part in the Sami heritage or to not take part of it?", several of the answers included a notion of passiveness or a total lack of it from the relatives' side. The denial can be understood as a result of the fragmentation-process. But also as a form of mimicry, where the colonial policies of degrading and subordinating the Sami people have been adapted into the Sami people themselves. As the Swedish state wanted to assimilate the Sami people and eliminate the Saminess. Some people have abandoned their Sami identity, and lived in denial

for the rest of their lives. Tajfel in Helkama (2000) explains how it can be too painful to carry belonging to a degraded minority group, and how it thus becomes easier to either leave the group or deny the belonging to it. The previous literature about intergenerational transmission by Vathi (2015) brings up the example of how the Albanian parents chose not to transfer the heritage to the children as they have experiences of racism. According to the findings of my interviews and how the participants have explained this, it is most likely the case for these Sami parents who then chose to not transfer the heritage. This notion will be further discussed under the sub theme racism on page 73.

6.1.2 Sub theme: Denial

The sub theme Denial regards the common theme that several participants mentioned during the interviews. In most cases it was mentioned when they described the relatives as denying the Sami heritage or the Sami background.

In the case of P.3, the Sami heritage had been hidden for her until she took a DNA-test and found out about the Sami background. She further explains that her grandmother claims that she had no clue about the roots from the forest-Sami-family, P.3 does in turn not believe her grandmother's statement to be true.

P.3 It took 50 years and a DNA test. So much shame has been laying behind my Sami background. It is something to be ashamed of. (...) It's on my father's side, my grandfather was half-Sami. My father knew about the Saminess, but didnt tell my mother.

P.3 My grandmother is claiming that she doesn't know that she comes from a forest-Sami-family. But i don't believe that.

The quote by P.3 about the shame and how the father did not tell her mother about the Sami background could be related to the study of Vathi (2015). Vathi brought up the case of the Albanian transmission of identity and one of the ways for the families to deal with this was to not transfer the language, traditions and culture at all. Their decisions of not transferring it was as mentioned based on their experiences of racism. P.3 did although mention the families shame for the Sami background, which can in turn be linked to possible experiences of negative perception about the Saminess. It can furthermore be linked to de los Reyes & Mulinari (2008) and their postcolonial claims about the reproduction of groups being categorized as inferior or superior. So in this case, when the Swedish state has been categorizing the Sami people as inferior throughout history, it can be seen as that the notion

of the Sami people being inferior is something that has been reproduced and thus also something that creates shame.

P.4 describes how she sometimes is met with denial or her relatives saying things such as "gosh...", when she brings up the topic of Saminess. P.5 on the other hand, brings up her experiences of her relatives in Sápmi not seeing her as Sami and how their perception of her does not matter. She explains that it is only she, herself that knows what she is and how she feels inside. P.6 describes how he as a child was told not to mention his Sami origins and how he managed the bullying of him when they called him degrading words for being Sami.

P.4 But the times I've mentioned it, they have been like "gosh..." or tried to be like "But we aren't Sami.

P.6 I was told to not say that I was Sami - and everyone who bullied me or called me Lappunge (Sami child in degrading manner) or Lapp devil.

The quote by P.6 and how he was told to not mention his Sami origins in order to prevent the bullying can be connected to Loomba (2005) and her discussions about systematic oppression being fully incorporated into our societies. The situation that P.6 describes could therefore be understood as one example of how systematic oppression had been incorporated into that specific setting that it got to the point where the children were bullied for the Sami background and the parents suggested the children to hide the Sami background. It can moreover be linked to Galtung's (1990) understanding of fragmentation, if this is seen as a case of where the Sami parents suggest the child to hide the Sami background and therefore it becomes a part of the self-destructiveness of the Sami identity.

6.1.3 Sub theme of Opposition

The opposition against identifying as Sami was a common theme brought up by the participants and thus the sub theme of Opposition was created. P.1 mentioned that her grandfather was against her dream of becoming a reindeer herder and actively opposed her aims of doing so. P.3 gives an example of when she was trying to change her last name to her family's Sami last name where she met opposition from her mother. She then answered her mother that she would also have the Sami last name if the history would look differently. This statement by p.3 correlates with the descriptions by Moscovici & Paicheler (1978) and

the notion of stigma attached to a minority group. As the mother opposes the child's wish for changing the last name to a Sami last name, it could be the case that the mother reacts from a point of stigma that is attached to the Sami background and thus does not want her child to get a Sami last name.

P.3 My mother thinks that I'm choosing a side when I'm taking my father's name. But then i've told her, "if the history was different, you would have been named (Sami last name) as married.

P.4 describes that when she brings up that she is Sami, she is met with either denial or non-supportive statements. P.5, with a background of being adopted away from her Sami family, explains how she has met opposition from her Sami family when she has tried to get in contact with them. She mentioned that they question her, and asks if she is really from the same family as them. This could be related to the concept of mimicry (Bhabha 2004). The actions of the families can be seen just like the sub theme of denial as a reproduction of the colonial efforts to assimilate and make the Sami people Swedes instead of Sami's.

P.4 But the times I've mentioned it, they have been like "gosh..." or tried to be like "But we aren't Sami (p.3).

The sub theme of opposition can be understood in relation to the theory of Moscovici & Paicheler (1978). From their perspectives, belonging to a psychologically weak minority group can lead to denial and opposition towards belonging as there is such a great social stigma attached to it. Therefore, this explanation could be used to understand the opposition from the parents in the examples above, as it would possibly give rise to painful memories of discrimination or racism because of the origin.

6.1.4 Subtheme of encouragement

Encouragement for the origin and background is important for the creation of the identity for children. On the question "Have you experienced that your parent/grandparent is proud of their Sami heritage?". A majority said yes with different examples of it in connection to how they were encouraged. The examples from how the family has encouraged them, can be seen as a part of the decolonizing process which is a concept in postcolonial theory (Loomba

2005). The encouragement of going to Sami school, taking Sami jobs or doing the traditional hunting and fishing seen in the case of P.1, P.2 and P.6 can be understood as unconsciously or consciously as decolonial actions. Despite the efforts of the colonial powers to destroy and eliminate the Sami culture, it does still exist. For the ones with pride in it the encouragement of it is a natural action. But for the case of P.2, where the mother had lived a life longing for more Sami expressions, could maybe encourage her son as a way to also see her dreams of having her culture as a part of life through the life of her son.

P.1 They encouraged me to go to Sami high school. Which i did when i turned 18.

P.2 What is interesting is that it has been very encouraging from my grandmother and mother's side. What I work with now. The last three years, or 2,5 years.. it was then I discovered my Sami identity and came out as Sami (laugh) and started to work with Sami questions.

P.2 My mother encourages me to work with Sami jobs and sends all Sami jobs to me. She thinks that it is fun that I have been to the Jokkmokks market and wants to go there with me. We talk much more about the positive, and how hard it was that this and that happened.

The importance of encouragement for development of the cultural identity and cultural background is raised by Vathi (2015) in her example from the generational transfer of culture and identity. She describes that the encouragement from the family is important for the children because it is then much more likely that the children will develop a cultural identity and get connection to the group. From the participants' descriptions of encouragement from relatives, it shows how important encouragement means to them. Such as participant number 2, in the above mentioned quotes about the grandmothers and mothers support for working with Sami issues. As well as the second quote, where participant 2 brings up the example of how the mother is positive towards him visiting the Jokkmokks market and how she also wants to go there with him. From this example and from the way the participant talked about this during the interview, it shows how the mother also gets more positive towards the Sami background and how the son's interest in it makes her more interested in it herself. This can furthermore be linked to the descriptions about collective identity from Hammarén & Johansson's (2009) perspective, in the sense that the encouragement works as a strengthening factor for the participant to feel togetherness with the Sami community.

6.1.5 Sub theme : *Nothing to pass forward to children*

The sub theme *Nothing to pass forward to children* comes out of the stories where the participants shed light on their sorrow for not having "enough" to pass forward when it comes to the Sami culture. Participant number 1 mentions it in relation to her lack of reindeer herding skills and how she thus can not transfer the traditional Sami knowledge.

P.1 To become a reindeer herder you need to have a mentor. But no one in my Sami village was interested in having a girl as an aspirant. (...)And it's kind of hard, because I have nothing to pass forward to my son.

This corresponds well with the descriptions of weak majority groups, (Moscovici & Paicheler (1978) that have been threatened by the minority and therefore acted to eradicate the culture of the minority. This in turn can be related to the postcolonial perspectives (de los Reyes and Loomba), that explain how the colonial aims of eradicating the Indigenous people and culture could be possible after all the years of assimilationist policies.

Moreover, it can additionally be related to the discussions about collective identity by (Hammarén & Johansson 2009). From this perspective, the reindeer herding can be seen as one of the symbols for the Sami collective identity and thus of importance for the continuation of one of the traditional practices. When participant number 1 feels that she lacks the knowledge to pass forward the traditional reindeer herding-skills it can also be a way of sorrow or fear for what happens when the traditional knowledge.

6.2 Main theme: Sami identity

The second main theme was created as the ways in which the participants elaborated upon it during the interviews had a wide range in the content and it was thus considered of interest and relevance to create a whole theme around it. The content of their elaborations concerned both their own process of reclaiming and exploring the identity as well as some challenging factors for the process. The main theme Sami identity was later separated into the sub themes: Identified through the collective, trying to regain, Confusion, Missing history/missing identity , Changing over time , Easier/harder in different contexts, Evaluation of degree of Saminess. These will now be further elaborated on.

6.2.1 Sub theme : *Identified through the collective*

Several of the participants described the process of their identification being supported and validated by the collective and the surroundings. This can be understood by Hammarén & Johansson (2009) that explain how identity is primarily about the sense of belonging to a collective. The participants bring up examples of how their family or other Sami people are mirroring them and justifies both the Sami identity as well as belonging to the collective. This can be seen in the case of P.4 where her surroundings said "Of course you can identify as Sami". And P.4 explains how she feels more secure to identify by this kind of validation. The sense of belonging is also an important issue raised in the previous research, such as in Nyseth & Pedersen's (2014) study "Urban Sami Identities in Scandinavia: Hybridities, Ambivalences and Cultural Innovation".

P.4 I have met people that have raised my Sami-background, and they have said "Of course you can identify as Sami". That it's people around me that kind of, get me to realize that I can actually do it. (p.3)

In the interviews, the participants do mention the history and the colonial practices when they talk about Sami identity and the generational transfer of it. The participants claim that until this day, perceptions of how some Sami people are less worthy than others do exist. It is such traces of the colonial times (Loomba 2008) and de los Reyes & Mulinaris (2005) mention that can be seen in the identity perceptions today.

P. 7 I have no bigger troubles to identify as Sami. But I can feel that there are better and worse kinds of Sami. It's unavoidable to feel that you are not perceived as a real Sami.

P.2 That you don't call yourself Sami because you aren't "full-blood" or have two parents that are Sami. That you would be less Sami because of that. That mentality have I taken with me, it was what I was raised with.

The participants mention both a classification system of some Sami persons being perceived as "real" such as P.7 (see above), and some talk about an internal feeling of feeling inferior and less worthy such as P.1.

The classification system can be directly traced to the laws that divided the Sami people, and claimed that some of them were not Sami and had to leave their traditional Sami life (Torp,

n.d). This can further be understood as one way of mimicry as well. As the Sami people are unconsciously reproducing the same destructive and separating categorization system of themselves (Bhabha 1994, p.86). The colonial categorization of the Sami people can also be understood as cultural violence, as it's a fragmentation of the Sami identity. By creating the dividing reindeer laws of 1928 and others, the division becomes reproduced by the Sami people themselves and the classification system continues. But also through the categorization practices with the race biology-research that was conducted on the Sami people. With the aim of scientifically proving that the Sami people were a lower standing race to legitimize their colonial policies and to hinder a mix of races to keep the white Swedish race clean (Samiskt informationscentrum c, n.d).

The understandings of Galtung (1990) regarding fragmentation can also be used for these examples. As the Swedish state created the categorization and division of the Sami people, the conflicts and divisions were also divided from the inside. This can also be understood in the concept of mimicry, as the Sami people mimic the actions and views of the colonial power and reproduce the division of themselves. The categorization reproduced by the Sami people is also a common topic in the previous research, such as in Lotta Omma's study "Ung same i Sverige : Livsvillkor, självvärdering och hälsa" (2013) and Åhgrén (2008).

6.2.2 Sub theme : Confusion

The sub theme of confusion was created as there was a significant number of participants that claimed that they were confused in relation to Saminess. Hammarén & Johansson (2009) describes how the feeling of confusion is usual when there is complexity when it comes to uncertainty with the identity. It can also be related to the colonial categorization that has separated the Sami people and controlled the identity back and forth. The individuals are thus left with confusion if they are allowed to call themselves Sami or claim belonging to the group. Participant number 4 asks herself if she really can call herself a Sami and explains how she still questions this even in cases where she has support for her Sami identity.

P.4 And then you feel like "But can i count myself as this or not?" Even when I have support. The identity-confusion is still there.

It can also be connected to the notion of collective identity, which works both excluding and including. According to Hammarén & Johansson (2009), the collective identity can work excluding in the sense that there can be certain characteristics that are made up by either the group itself or by societal norms of how a Sami should be. Thus, in the case of participant 4, her own feeling of not fulfilling the perceived characteristics of how a Sami should be can play a role in her confusion and therefore the collective identity can work in an excluding manner.

6.2.3 Sub-theme: Missing history/missing identity

Several of the participants mentioned how they felt that part of their history and identity was missing. Participant number 3, explains how she feels that it is something that has been missing for her. Although, she does feel that she has found her identity and history.

P.3 Something has been missing, but I haven't known what it was. I have found my history. Why I felt so different when I was young. So it's like pieces of a puzzle that falls together.

Participant number 5 explains how she feels like she has been without any identity and this has had an impact on her mental health and wellbeing.

P.5 So very identity-less in that way and you don't feel well by that.

The subtheme missing history and missing identity can be understood in relation to the concept of identity. As Hammarén and Johansson (2009) said it, a solid understanding of ourselves is a basic human need. And as it's a basic need and when the person has confusion, uncertainty or even lacking the identity - it will end up in difficulties as one of the basic needs of having a secure identity is not covered. The persons that lived a whole life without the knowledge of a Sami heritage and suddenly received the information, can get a feeling of understanding of why they always felt like something was missing and now feel that they could have had a totally different life. And as Hammarén & Johansson (2009) claims that it can lead to anxiousness, self-contempt and other psychological issues.

This can be seen in one of the statements of one of the participants that said :

P.5 - It has been a struggle, and it has taken many years to accept that I'm actually Sami. I have felt lost, an outsidership because I don't belong in the Swedish and then I don't belong in the Sami. So very

identity-less in that way and you don't feel well by that.

Participant number 5 describes how difficult her process of accepting herself a Sami has been and how this has affected her well-being. Therefore, Hammarén & Johansson's (2009) statement regarding the mental impact of not having a solid understanding of one's own identity can be reflected in the quote by participant 5 above.

6.2.4 Sub theme : Changing over time

The participants mentioned how their relation to the Saminess and Saminess have changed over time and throughout their life. Some of them, such as participant number 1, 6 and 7 that got to explore their background and identity when they got older. Participant number 7 did although explain how he lacked knowledge about his Sami background until he saw a picture of the family in the traditional Sami clothing.

P.7 I'm one of those that was raised without being perceived as Sami. And that's what I thought until I found my grandfather's pictures with a lot of people in Kolt (Sami clothing).

On the contrary for participants number 4, she did not start her exploration of the identity and background until she moved to a city further away from the hometown. Although, she mentions that the negative societal attitude towards Sami people is very strong and therefore it would be unacceptable and not even possible for her to explore it or reclaim it while still living in the hometown.

P.4 When I was living in (name of hometown), it was as far away as it could be to identify as it. But then when I moved from there, I started to think about it more and explore it more and to reclaim my Sami identity.

This can be related to Hammarén and Johansson (2009) that mentions how our understandings of ourselves and our surroundings are always changing. When our life changes, such as when we get older we can get new meanings to our identity or our position in groups or society. When looking at the examples from 7, this can certainly be described as a moment where the context of him seeing the relatives in Sami clothing as a dealbreaker for him to start exploring the Sami background. For participant 4, on the other hand does bring

up the example of her moving to another city, thus the surrounding of her changed and it became easier for her to see herself and her background in a new light that started her reclamation journey.

6.2.5 Subtheme : Easier/harder in different context

This sub theme was formed as the several of the participants discussed that it was easier or harder to identify and relate to the Sami identity and Saminess depending on which context they were in. In the case of participant number 1, the hometown is the place where she is most accepted and how there is no doubt about her Saminess there. She further explains how it is more difficult when she is in other places where her lack of language skills makes her feeling excluded.

P.1 But when I'm in (hometown), everyone knows that I'm a reindeer owning-Sami. It's a part of my identity. But when I'm at some other place, you lose it because you can not speak the language.

Participant number 4, explains that she belongs in neither the Swedish nor the Sami contexts. P.4 has the experience of having it easier since she moved to a bigger city, where there is less hate towards the Sami people. She continues with saying that she is not open with her Sami identity to her friends in her hometown as she is afraid that she will become the target of their hate if she would. This can be related to the Helkama's (2000) explanation of how belonging to a degraded minority group can leave the individual to either leave or deny their belonging as the group is attached with a social stigma. When the participant number 4 moved to the bigger city, where she perceived that there was not any negative perception of the Sami people, it was possible for her to explore the Sami background and identity.

6.2.6 Subtheme : Evaluation of degree of Saminess

The sub theme of evaluation of degree of Saminess was created out of the participants' stories about both themselves evaluating their degree of Saminess and belonging, but also how others evaluated them due to different factors. Some of them, such as participant number 2, explained how he was raised with the notion that he was not "full-blood" Sami and therefore could not call himself a Sami. This can be related to the colonial categorizations which have

been a part of the Swedish colonial actions for them to get control over the Sami people and the land (Loomba 2008).

P.2 - That you don't call yourself Sami because you aren't "full-blood" or have two parents that are Sami. That you would be less Sami because of that. That mentality have I taken with me, it was what I was raised with (p.5).

The categorization of the Sami people can also be seen in the previous literature by Åhgrén (2008). She brought up the examples of how Sami persons with one or two parents were valued differently.

The participant number 1 brings up the importance of language, and how her lack of language skills make her feel inferior.

P.1 But then you meet someone and you can't say any word in Sami. You get a little inferiority complex, you feel less Sami and less worthy in some way.

This corresponds well with the descriptions of Wellros (1978), as she mentions that the self-esteem of a person is closely related to the knowledge skills. When Participant number 1 feels that her language skills are lacking, her self esteem is thus lower.

Participant number 2 brings up the importance of cultural capital, when it comes to the evaluation. He had experiences of feeling less of a Sami because he did not wear the traditional Sami clothing at the Jokkmokk-market. P.2 felt that it was a separation between the ones wearing the Kolt, and the ones who did not.

P.2 Now it's no one that questions me as a Sami, but when I was in Jokkmokk for example. I could definitely experience the distancing, definitely... between us that wore the Kolt (traditional Sami clothing), and us that did not wear the Kolt. And in that case I felt like less of a Sami. (p.6).

This example can be related to the theoretical concept of collective identity. Such as in the cases where Hammarén & Johansson (2009) mentions how cultural symbols can be used by a collective to exclude themselves from the majority. But in the case above, it ended up giving a feeling of exclusion for participant 2 as well even when he does belong to the collective.

6.3 Main theme : Expressions about being Sami

The third main theme was established as it was relevant to include the various parts of being Sami that was considered by the participants. It was made up out of both the internal feelings and expressions of being Sami and the external impact such as through racism. Under this main theme some sub themes were identified, that was : Shame (internal), Denial (internal) , Mimicry, Racism (external). These will now be further elaborated on.

The shame is a topic explained by almost all of the participants. This is done in relation to how their parents and relatives relate to the Sami identity and Saminess, but also in their way of transferring the knowledge to the generations after. P.1 brings up the example of how her grandfather was so ashamed of being seen in the traditional Sami carrying-sack, as people would directly see that he was a Sami. P.2 claims that his grandmother probably lived with shame during her whole life. He further mentions that all of the story-telling she has done to him, has had the starting point in shame. P.3 do although mean that it is the Swedish state that created everything that is shameful for being Sami during the times just before the second world war. This shame can just as some of the previous mentioned sub themes, be according to the postcolonial theory (de los Reyes & Mulinari (2005) understood a result after all the colonial efforts to degrade, and subordinate the Sami culture and Sami people. This will in many cases become internalized and believed to be true after decades of these policies and actions.

6.3.1 Sub theme : Shame (internal)

The sub theme of shame, was created out of the many examples of how the parents and relatives carried shame for the Sami belonging and background. When looking at the perspectives of Moscovici & Paicheler (1978) with the explanations of psychologically weak majority that creates prejudices about the minority, which then in turn reproduces the psychologically weak minority group that are left with low self-esteem and shame because of the belonging. It gives clear connection to the stories by the participants. Participant number 3, explains how the Swedish state has created a lot of shame for the Sami people.

P.3 The Swedish state has created so much shame. Just the names have been big problems in the Swedish society. It is at the same time, before the second world war - they are putting the basis for everything that is shameful about being Sami.

She gives the examples of how just having a Sami name would leave the person with shame and many problems in the society. When relating this to Moscovici & Paicheler (1978), the concept of weak majority groups that are threatened by the minority and want to create prejudices and negative views about the minority can easily be applicable to the Swedish states actions against the Sami people. Moving to the participant number 2, that brings up the example of his Ahkka (grandmother) that carried a great shame throughout her whole life, and moreover, how all of her stories about the past were created out of the feeling of shame.

P.2 My Ahkka has probably been ashamed her whole life. (...) Her stories are having the basis in the shame and the uncomfortable things with being Sami.

This corresponds to the descriptions about the weak minority group by Moscovici & Paicheler (1978), that got to carry a heavy burden because of the social stigma the weak majority had attached to them. Which then in turn would leave the minority with low self-esteem and shame because of them belonging to the minority. The Sami people could then be understood as the weak minority group, where the members are left with shame due to the Sami belonging and heritage. It can further be connected to Helkama's (2000) explanations of what happens to an individual that is a part of a group that is societally degraded. In some cases, he explains that it gives rise to deep shame, and in other cases the individual feels that the social stigma is too hard to carry so the person only sees the choice of leaving the group and identity.

Moving to participant 4, that mentions when she is trying to talk with her father about something related to Saminess. She gets met with an attitude that it is nothing to talk about. Or in other cases with denial of it. She explains that she believes that his way of acting like this is because of a possible shame. P.5 describes her mother's choice of moving away from the family at a young age and how the mother got pregnant and gave birth to her without the family's knowledge. She further mentions that she sees this as it was because of the shame of being Sami she did this, and that is what made her give her up for adoption.

P.4 It's a lot like that when I'm talking to him. It is nothing to think a lot about. And on some occasions he denies it. It's hard for him to talk about. I guess it lays shame behind it..

P.5 She (the mother) moved away from the family home when she was 16 years. She got me without the family knowing. And that's kind of like, it's about her shame of being Sami. That made her adopt me away.

Bhabha's (1994) understanding of mimicry as the relationship between the colonized and colonizer, can in much bigger stance be seen in the way the colonized reproduce the colonial ways in relation to Saminess when looking at the cases below. P.5 explains that she experienced the exact same race biology and racism when she was in northern Sápmi. And how this is embraced without consciousness. In the case of P.1, we can see how the family sees that the new husband being reindeer herder as something bad can also be seen as mimic and reproduction of the colonial views.

6.3.2 Sub theme : *Mimicry*

Several of the participants shed lights on examples of how they could see that their relatives reproduced negative views on themselves. This would in turn be identified as mimicry of the colonial actions and thus this sub theme was identified. Participant number 2, describes how her mother's family had a paradoxical relationship with Saminess. This was said because as the mother was told she should only learn Swedish and not the Sami language.

P.2 Her family probably had an ambivalent comprehension of how they were gonna act. They had told her, or as she experienced it, that she was not gonna learn the language. And that she was not going to be Sami, it was better to be Swedish." It's better that you learn Swedish (p.2).

This can be related to the concept of Mimicry, (Bhabha) as it shows how the colonized group is acting in a similar way as the colonizer. Therefore a reproduction of the colonial views and actions are brought upon their own group.

The postcolonial theory is explaining how we still today can see the traces of the colonial times (Loomba 2008). When looking at the quotes regarding racism, we can see how the stories of colonialism and assimilation are so present to the participants even when they do not have first hand experiences of it, but have rather heard all the stories from the family and with knowledge of the history. P.1 does however claim that she experiences that there is too much racism in her hometown, and how she gets to be accountable for untruthful prejudices about the Sami people. P.2 draws it to the responsibility of the Swedish state and how the state needs to admit in front of themselves of their colonialism as well as how they are still

colonial in their ways of dealing with many things they encounter.

6.3.3 Sub theme : *Racism*

The sub theme of racism was created out of the many stories about the racism the relatives or the participants themselves experienced. The colonial traces are brought up by P.3 which says she has been to the race-biological institute in Uppsala and seen the pictures taken of the Sami people and others. She says she found pictures of her relatives there and described the inhuman nature of race biology, when they took naked pictures of everyone from small children to adult men on podiums. She then continues to mention how it was also hard to get housing when having a Sami last name. P.4 mentions the assimilation of the Sami people and how it was seen as ugly to be Sami and how this perception is still present until this day. P.5 goes in another direction and talks speculate if the Swedish state had an agenda to separate the Sami children from their Sami background when adopting them far away from their Sami roots and neighborhoods.

P.3 I have been at the race-biological institute in Uppsala and seen the pictures. I can only speculate... I have seen the naked pictures of my relatives. From small girls to adult men on podiums from all angles. But then I know that Sami's had a hard time getting an apartment because of their Sami last name.

P.4 All this hate towards Sami people or when the Sami people become Sweden-ized. That it's ugly to be Sami and the hate that continues to a big extent.

P.5 You start to wonder what really happened when they were adopting. When they have been adopting children, away from their Sami background. That they didn't look at the family, but adopted them into Swedish families. (...) what if it was that kind of politics that you placed out the children to get them away from their roots. So they should get away from the roots so we get Swedes instead.

The racism can in one hand be understood through the postcolonial perspectives by (Lomba and de los Reyes (2008). When portraying a group with negative attributes, it is much easier to control the group and to take the land and work in a way that favours the colonial actors. When looking at it from the perspectives of Moscovici & Paicheler (1978), the Swedish state has worked in accordance with a psychologically weak majority as they have felt threatened by the Sami people and attached negative attributes and prejudices about them. Furthermore, it can additionally be connected to the previous literature by Omma (2013), where she in her study found that 50% of her informants and 70% of informants with reindeer herding parents had experiences of racism and discrimination because of the Sami origin and culture.

6.4 Main theme : Sami attributes

The fourth main theme was created to include two crucial attributes for the Sami identity and Saminess. The attributes were language and last name and they were both elaborated on during different sections in the interviews and correlated with the other themes. Therefore, the sub themes were named : Language and last name. These will now be further elaborated.

The importance of the language is a common theme in the previous literature as well, such as in the study of Isaksson (2009). She explained how her participants were hindered in their identification as Sami people by their lack of knowledge of the Sami language. The importance of the Sami language is furthermore expressed in many of the interviews with the participants. In some cases such as with P.4, she explains that she has her own prejudices of how a Sami person is. A Sami person should, among other things, know the language. In the case of P.1 she does on the contrary explain how her family have not spoken the language at home, which started with her grandfather not being allowed to speak it in schools. Hammarén & Johansson (2009) views about the importance of language in relation to identity can be used to understand this. They claim that the language is a natural part of our socialization-process as humans. The language we use, gives different meanings to our realities and is a big part of our identities. The example of the parents of P.1's parents to decide to not speak the Sami language even at home, could be seen as a form of mimicry (Bhabha 1994). The parents saw the attitudes against the people with Sami heritage, so they decided to abandon the language.

6.4.1 Sub theme : *Language*

This sub theme was identified as several of the participants mentioned how important the Sami language is for the acceptance of Sami identity and belonging. The participants gave examples of how they did not feel as "real" Samis because of their lack of Sami language skills, but also how they saw that it was an automatic acceptance in the Sami community when speaking some of the Sami languages. This corresponds well to the literature by Wellros (1998), that explained how important language skills are for self-esteem but also how it works as a separation between the ones that are included in the "us" and excluded to the

"them". The language is also of importance in the sense that the assimilationist policies that have been in place during the history, such as in the cases of Sami children being forced to learn and speak Swedish when the only language they had heard was the Sami language at home (Huuva & Svenska kyrkan et al. 2016). But also, in the cases where the Sami people were forced to sign agreements in Swedish, when they only knew the Sami language during the process of forced displacement during the 1920's and 1930's (Labba 2020). The lack of language skills in Swedish was also a part of the colonial aims of excluding and misleading the Sami people from the processes that affected their whole lives.

Participant number 1, brings up the story of how her father was not allowed to speak the Sami language in schools and if he would, he would be a victim of violence.

P.1 And regarding the Sami language, they didn't speak it at home. Because we belong to a forest-Sami village, it started already when he was in school and wasn't allowed to speak it, if they did, they got beat up (p.1).

This corresponds well with Moscovici & Paicheler's (1978) explanations of the weak majority group. A weak majority, would feel threatened by the minority group and therefore want to act in accordance with favoring the majority group and erasing everything that is a part of the minority group such as the language.

P.4 - It's my own prejudices, or not prejudices but thoughts about what a Sami is and what a Sami is not. Then I think that you should know the language. You should have grown up with the culture.

Another aspect, when looking at the Participant number 4's example of her own prejudices of how a Sami should be could be seen as a paradox. The language has systematically been erased by the colonial assimilation policies, and still she sees it as the main part of being a Sami and how she therefore should not be included in the "us" of being a Sami.

6.4.2 Sub theme: Last name

This sub theme was identified as several of the participants mentioned the last name being of high importance for both their own identification but also how others perceived them.

Participant number 1 mentioned that her choice of taking her husband's Swedish last name has made a big impact for her; she therefore has to fight a bit more for keeping the culture.

P.1 You get to fight a bit more for the Sami language. Because you don't get the culture from home. And my name is (Swedish last name).

Participant number 2 was explaining how his experiences of having a Sami surname to refer to as his family's makes him automatically accepted as a part of the Sami community in the home village. This was the case as his family's surname is a well-known Sami surname that everyone in that village and elsewhere knows who they are. For participant number 2, this was a double-sided feeling to get this kind of advantage because of the family's surname. He felt that it should not be in this kind of way, but at the same time, he felt very satisfied in the situations where he got the positive acceptance from mentioning his family's surname.

P. 2 I have free-card, by saying my last name or my family's name. So if I say my family's name, I can be accepted directly in Sami contexts. Which I can feel is wrong, but that's how it is. In one way it's also comfortable for me in this situation, when I'm taking it back.

The quote by P.2 can also be connected to the notion of collective identity by Hammarén & Johansson, where the shared traits are working as an inclusive matter. So when the members of the Sami context realize his belonging to a Sami family, it means that he shares the same background as them and will be included and accepted as a part of the group. Me, myself also have experiences of this kind of acceptance when mentioning my family's surname. When I was requesting for participants in Sami facebook-groups and when contacting Sami researchers, I found it important to show my own connection to the Sami community and not part of the "outsiders" that lack knowledge about the culture and that are just interested in studying the Sami community as something exotic and unknown. I also mentioned the Sami village and place my grandmother was born and lived in. This was important as it lay meaning in the places too and the persons reading the request would automatically categorize me and identify me in a certain way, but also give weight to my authenticity as Sami and as being included in "us"-notion. When connecting the importance of the last name to the fact that the Swedish state for centuries tried to assimilate the Sami people to Swedes and how the church made the Sami last name into Swedish last name, there is a decolonial factor to reclaiming the last names and taking them back. This can be seen in Loomba (2008), that explains how changing the last name of an Indigenous or minority group makes the eradication of the culture a possibility and is clearly a part of the colonial agenda.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to study the identity formation among Sami people. The aim was further to investigate how Saminess and Sami identity is formed and specifically the way the Sami community transfers the identity.

The research questions was :

- How do persons with Sami background relate to Saminess and Sami identity?
- What are the challenges that persons with Sami background face in the transfer of Saminess and Sami identity?

By looking at the previous research on the topic and the findings of my study, there are some conclusions to be made. The purpose and the aim of the study - to study the identity formation among Sami people and specifically the way the Sami community transfers the identity can be seen in the main themes that were identified in the material.

These were: transfer of Sami heritage over generations, Sami identity, Expressions about being Sami, and Sami attributes. The themes were analyzed and increased the understanding of them through the postcolonial theory and theoretical concepts of identity. The findings show that the Sami identity of the participants is profoundly affected by the historical impact, the collective and the family. This was corresponding well to the study of Brusling (2013) who also concluded in her study of Sami identity, that the colonial injustices experienced by the Sami ancestors, did affect the identity formation of her participants.

The answer to the first research question : *How do persons with Sami background relate to Saminess and Sami identity?*, is that there is some uncertainty and insecurity regarding the right to identify and claim the Sami identity, as well as a great longing for reclamation of it. Several of the participants mentioned the process of regaining Saminess with examples of sadness because of everything that is lost and how it has been something that has been there all the time. Another aspect of it was that they claimed that it is easier or harder to identify in different contexts. One of them said that it is easier in the hometown as everyone knows her there, others said that it is harder in the hometown as the hate towards Sami people is so

strong there. The categorization of Saminess that was brought up in the previous literature was also visible in my material. Several mentioned how they feel less worthy, less of a Sami, how there is a system of calling people “full-blood” or “half-blood” when talking about categorization. Another one mentioned how she knew she had her own prejudices about how a Sami should be. The categorization and evaluation from within the Sami people was a common theme in the previous literature as well. Such as in Blomkvist's (2019) study about the perceptions of the Sami people in the newspaper *Samefolket*. Mimicry was a strong concept brought up as well, with reference to the family taking on the colonial mindsets and degrading the Sami people and in other cases of how the family themselves were reproducing the historical racism and how she believed this was embraced unconsciously.

The second question was : *What are the challenges that persons with Sami background face in the transfer of Saminess and Sami identity?*.

This can be answered, in the way that the historical impact of the older generations does get transferred over the generations. The shame and denial of the Sami identity by parents and grandparents made it harder for the persons from the generations after to feel secure in their Sami identity. The difficulty in identifying with the Sami origin due to the parents shame and denial, was also brought up in the previous literature by Haskell & Randall (2010), although their case concerned the aboriginals in Canada. Some of the participants explicitly described how their relatives did not identify as Sami and how this in turn, led them to feel that they could not identify as it. Some of the participants did although mention how they were encouraged by the relatives to take part in different things to develop their Saminess. The encouragement could be related to attending a Sami high school, being taught how to hunt, fish and to relate to nature or how they have been welcomed by relatives when trying to reclaim their Saminess and Sami background. The encouragement for the exploration of identity correlated with Vathi's (2015) study that concluded how important the relatives encouragement was for the children's identity formation. In other cases, related to the intergenerational transfer of Saminess, some participants mentioned how the lack of it or how the denial of it has made them feel that they have nothing to pass forward to their children. Throughout a majority of the analysis there was a clear connection to the colonial impact and how mimicry is something visible still today. In both the abandonment of the culture and identity, the denial of it, the shame of it as one part of the colonial goals is to destroy the

Indigenous culture and detach the people from their culture and identity. When the colonialism has assimilated into the Sami people themselves, it can be seen that the colonial power has succeeded in their aims of destructing the Indigenous culture. This was further understood in relation to the postcolonial perspectives of Loomba (2008) and de los Reyes (2011) as well as Bhabha (1984), who described the Mimicry. The consequences of this are although far more devastating for the Sami culture, and for the existence of a strong Sami identity and Saminess. The findings of my thesis is an important addition to the field and the knowledge production about the colonial impact on the Indigenous Sami peoples identity formation and the impact of intergenerational transfer of Saminess and Sami identity. Several essential aspects of the identity-formation, the issues with it and how the resistance of the persons with Sami background manage to decolonize and reclaim their Sami roots and Sami identity were brought up. This is of high relevance for the social workers dealing with Indigenous peoples or other groups that have a historical background in being exposed to colonialist atrocities, or other significant atrocities that can affect the cultural community intergenerationally.

Discussion

My first aim with this study was to investigate the notion of intergenerational trauma in relation to Sami identity. During the study process this focus changed to indirectly talk about the intergenerational trauma with other words. In the stories from the participants they did bring up their relatives experiences of assimilation, racism and forced displacement. These actions are evidently traumatic experiences. However, I found that it was a challenge to phrase questions for the participants with the words of trauma and in some cases I felt that some of the participants did not consider the colonial experiences as trauma, even when they were extremely painful and leaving the persons with open wounds from what happened. Therefore, the choice of changing the aim and research questions to not include the intergenerational trauma. Although, I believe there is a significant need to talk about and do research about the intergenerational trauma of the Sami people. Because when the injustices the Sami people have been exposed to are brought up, it has usually been despised as that the Sami people were mistreated in the past, but that it belongs to the past and should not be brought up over and over. These kinds of statements show the high levels of ignorance and lack of knowledge of the traces of the historical and how persons with Sami background still

suffer from the colonial traces today. This gives even more reason to the need for both research, public understanding and recognition of the intergenerational trauma of the Sami people. The history of the Sami people is a part of the Swedish history - therefore the still continuing consequences of it should be recognized. Another aspect of it, is how the non-recognition of intergenerational trauma has led to the majority of the persons with Sami background, standing without knowledge of their Sami heritage or with uncertainty if they have a right to reclaim their roots and Sami identity. The officially recognized Sami persons are already a limited number compared to the real number of everyone with Sami background in Sweden today, that either has lost their identity or abandoned it as a survival strategy. The survival and prosperity of the Sami people are of significant importance. If the experiences of the Sami people would be recognized as intergenerational trauma and talked about in the public debate, there would be a much higher number of persons wanting to reclaim their Sami background and to be a part of the decolonization process of the Sami people. During the process of analysis of the material, I found myself in a feeling of repetition when connecting the themes to the theories. This can be seen as a limitation and it would have been beneficial for me if I would have used more theories as I got the feeling of just repeating the same things that were visible in the material.

CHAPTER 8 : FUTURE RESEARCH

Some aspects related to my study are the gender issues brought up during some of the interviews. There is a need to not only talk about the issues from the outside, but also the issues from the inside and to have an intersectional perspective to understand the different power dynamics and how they work together. The construction of the Sami identity is not only a matter of ethnicity, but also other aspects. A 25 year old lesbian Stockholm-citizen with working class background, norm ability, being raised without any direct Sami context with difficulties in her identification process as Sami, will have other experiences and difficulties compared to the 60 year old, straight trans woman from the upper class, living in a small mountain-village on the border between Norway and Sweden and being raised by reindeer herding parents with difficulties in her identification as a Sami. Therefore, I

encourage a perspective of intersectionality for the possible future research on the experiences related to Sami identity. And as previously mentioned, the importance of research on the intergenerational trauma of the Sami people. Additionally, I would like to see Indigenous Sami social work-research as well as Sami social work-practice. The starting point should preferably be with the basis in Indigenous or decolonizing methodologies to hinder the reproduction of research that goes the errands of colonialism and naturally be conducted by persons with Sami background. When doing the practical Sami social work, I would advise that the Norwegian examples of Sami health care would be taken as a role model. There is lots of knowledge and experience to learn from the Sami mental health care at SANKS and the Centre for Sami Health Research (CSHR) at the Arctic University of Norway.

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Attachment 1 : Interview guide

- 1) Vilket område är du född och uppvuxen i? (Which area are you born and raised in?)
- 2) Kan du berätta kort om din Samiska bakgrund? (Can you tell me shortly about your Sami background?)
- 3) Hur upplever du att din förälder/mor-eller farförälder har agerat för att du ska få ta del av det Samiska ursprunget eller för att du inte ska ta del av det? (How have you experienced that your parent/grandparent have acted for you to take part of the Sami heritage or to not take part of it?)
- 4) Har du upplevt att din förälder/mor-eller farförälder är stolt över det Samiska ursprunget? (Have you experienced that your parent/grandparent is proud of their Sami heritage?)
- 5) Finns det situationer där din förälder/mor-eller farförälder har skämts över det Samiska ursprunget? (Is there situations where you parent/grandparent have been ashamed of their Sami experience?)
- 6) Finns det situationer där du upplevt att din förälder/mor-eller farförälder har uttryckt hat mot sitt Samiska ursprung? (Is there situations where you have experienced that your parent/grandparent have expressed hate towards their Sami heritage?)
- 7) Hur upplever du att din förälder/mor-eller farförälders förhållningssätt till det Samiska har påverkat dig? (How do you experience that your parents/grandparents approach to the Saminess have got an impact on you?)
- 8) Vilka historiska händelser tror du att din förälder/mor-eller farförälder påverkats mest av i sin relation till det Samiska? (What historical events do you think have had the most impact on their relation to the Saminess?)
- 9) Vad anser du själv att du tagit med dig av det som din förälder/mor-eller farförälder fört vidare eller dolt för dig? (What do you consider that you have taken with you from what your parent/grandparent have transferred or concealed from you?)
- 10) Hur relaterar du själv till det Samiska och Samisk identitet? Är det självklart? (How do you, yourself relate to the Saminess or Sami identity?)
- 11) Har du själv fördjupat dig i den Samiska historien eller närmat dig det Samiska på egen hand? Varför/varför inte? (Have you immersed yourself in the Sami history or approached it? Why/Why not?)
- 12) Upplever du att din relation till det Samiska förändras beroende på sammanhang? Exempelvis om du är i sammanhang med många samer eller i sammanhang med inga samer långt bort från Sápmi. (Do you experience that your relation to the Saminess changes depending on the context? For example if you are in a context with many Sami people or in a context with no Sami people far away from Sápmi.)

- 13) Upplever du att din relation till det Samiska förändrats över tid? (Do you experience that your relation to the Saminess have changed over time?)
- 14) Har det funnits någon/några händelser i ditt liv som varit avgörande för hur du relaterar till det Samiska? Is there any happenings in your life that have been settling for how you relate to the Saminess?
- 15) Vilka delar tror du spelat störst roll för hur du relaterar till det Samiska idag? Till ex. genom berättelser från släktingar, Samiska språket, kulturella sammanhang, Samiska smycken och kläder. (What parts do you think have played the biggest role for how you relate to the Saminess today? For ex. through stories from relatives, the Sami language, cultural gatherings, Sami jewelries or clothes).
- 16) Hur hade du önskat att din relation till det Samiska såg ut idag? (How would you wish that your relation to the Saminess looked like today?)
- 17) Vad skulle staten kunna ta för ansvar för att reparera den skadan de gjort? (What do you think the State could do to take responsibility to repair the damage they have caused?)
- 18) Är det något annat du vill nämna som jag inte frågat om som du tycker är viktigt att jag tar upp? (Is it something else of importance that you would like to mention, that I have not asked about?)

Attachment 2 : Themes in tables

Theme 1 : Transfer of Sami heritage over generations

Sub-themes:	Silence/Passiveness	Denial	Opposition	Encouragement	Nothing to pass forward to children
Participant 1			<p>“He was clear that this was not gonna be anything more than a hobby... he has it directly.. when I was a teenager it was my dream to become a reindeer-herder. And he has directly opposed it, because women have nothing in the reindeer-forest to do, then for pleasure” (p.1).</p>	<p>“They encouraged me to go to the Sami high school. Which i did when i turned 18” (p.1).</p>	<p>“To become a reindeer herder you need to have a mentor. But no one in my Sami village was interested in having a girl as an aspirant. (...)And it's kind of hard, because I have nothing to pass forward to my son”. (p.4).</p>
Participant 2	<p>“I think it's the silence-culture that has created this that you don't speak about the bad and that's why you don't speak about the culture either. That you haven't dared to speak about anything of</p>			<p>“What is interesting is that it has been very encouraging from my grandmother and mother’s side. What I work with now. The last 3 years,</p>	

	why you feel ashamed of expressing yourself Sami and that it hasn't been talked about at all” (p.3).			or 2,5 years.. it was then I discovered my Sami identity and came out as Sami (laugh) and started to work with Sami questions “ (p.5).	
Participant 3	I'm trying to recreate it with the help of everything i can find. But it takes time and not everyone wants to talk, not everyone wanna remember”(p.2).	“My grandmother is claiming that she doesn't know that she comes from a forest-Sami-family. But i don't believe that” (p.1).	“My mother thinks that I'm choosing a side when I'm taking my father's name. But then i've told her, “if the history would be different, you would have been named (Sami last name) as married” (p.2).	“I have an uncle alive - I have taken a lot of help from him. He has written fourteen books about Sami's and Sami culture. I actually have a writer and photographer that wrote a lot about the Sami” p.1).	
Participant 4	“He probably has a lot of ...it's hard for him to talk with him about it. And you feel that it's something to tip on your toes around with the questions. So it's not much at all really. (...) But not something that he's actively been trying to like “you are also Sami” (p.1).	“But the times I've mentioned it, they have been like “gosh... ” or tried to be like “But we aren't Sami”(p.3).	“But the times I've mentioned it, they have been like “gosh... ” or tried to be like “But we aren't Sami”(p.3).		
Participant 5	“And this you can read about. That you get quite. You don't talk about things, you put the lid on, put everything on and pretend that it's	“No matter what people think about it, up in Sápmi. Because you also meet the people that don't think	“The family has questioned me. They have wanted to see papers to see that I'm telling myself	“I've had contact with my close-cousin, I think it is. She has been very welcoming,b	“Me, myself have three children that I wanna hand over this to. And i want them to get it better than

	raining. (...) It's so painful that you can't bear to talk about it. We are a lot like that in the family, we don't say anything, we are silent" (p.6).	that it's ok. But then I just think that they can't know that. That's only me who can know how I feel on the inside "(p.2).	to be" (p.2).	ut I've only had contact with her for 3 years. So she has tried to tell me about all the things she knows related to Saminess "p.1).	i've had it" (p.5).
Participant 6		"I was told to not say that i was Sami - and everyone who bullied me or called me Lappunge (Sami child in degrading manner) or Lapp devil". (p.3)		"They taught me how to hunt, slaughter, fish and survive in the nature and care of sheeps. But I never got the experience of reindeers. Me and my brother are probably very good hunters, fishers and survivors in nature" (p.2).	"My family have gone through a lot and naturally we think that it's sad that the Sami people are still being treated badly (...). Both those that I truly feel sorry for are our children and grandchildren that know they are Sami's, even my wife is it and a part of the Indigenous people without being it" p.5).
Participant 7		"What bothers me the most is the collective sorrow. And how big parts of the people, in principle, denied their Sami identity" (p.5).	"Possibly questioning, but now I am also in-sensitive when it comes to these things. So it can easily have happened without me noticing it. It's not so interesting for me, but what		

			ive experienced in the Sami context.. it's the hierarchy” p.4).		
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Theme 2 : Sami identity

Sub-theme s:	Identified through the collective	Confusion	Missing history/missing identity	Changing over time	Easier/harder in different context	Evaluation of degree of Saminess
Participant 1	“It sounds sick when I say it. But when I'm in (hometown), everyone knows that I'm a reindeer owning-Sami. Its a part of my identity.” (p.2).			“It has changed over time. But I don't know if it's because oneself have become older. Or because it's not as obvious anymore. I don't really know, it's like I stagger my identity in some way” (p.4).	“But when I'm in (hometown), everyone knows that I'm a reindeer owning-Sami . Its a part of my identity. But when I'm at some other place, you lose it because you can't speak the language” (p.2).	“But then you meet someone and you can't say any word in Sami. You get a little inferiority complex, you feel less Sami and less worthy in some way”. (p.1).
Participant 2			“Just the fact that you don't call yourself that and haven't done it. Its so hard to take in your mouth, to say that you are Sami. And what it means, ye you don't know. You		“I think it's easier to identify myself as Sami among other Sami people, but also harder sometimes”. When I'm in (home village), where everyone thinks it's	“That you don't call yourself Sami because you aren't “full-blood” or have two parents that are Sami. That you would be less Sami because of that. That mentality have I taken with me, it was

			have to find out when you have lost your culture. How to take it back “(p.5).		obvious that I'm Sami, because everyone knows my family.	what I was raised with” (p.5).
Participant 3			“Something has been missing, but I haven't known what it was. Have found my history. Why I felt so different when I was young. So it's like pieces of a puzzle that falls together” (p.1).			
Participant 4	“I have met people that have raised my Sami-background, and they have said “Of course you can identify as Sami”. That it's people around me that kind of, get me to realise that I can actually do it. “ (p.3)	“ And then you feel like “But can i count myself as this or not?” Even when I have support. The identity-con fusion is still there.” (p.4)	“I have talked to others with similar experiences. And out of that I have started to find a Sami identity that I used to feel.... something is missing.” (p.2).	“When I was living in (x-hometown), it was as far away as it could be to identify as it. But then when I moved from there, I have started to think about it more and explore it more and to reclaim my Sami identity (p.3).	“I don't experience as much hate towards Sami people here. (I dare to show myself as Sami here in some way. But if I go to my (x-hometown), I never mention it. So they don't know that I identify as it, or have the heritage. Because I know of all the hate towards Sami people there”. (p.2).	“Its my own prejudices, or not prejudices but thoughts about what a Sami is and what a Sami is not. Then I think about that you should know the language. You should have grown up with the culture”. (p.4).
Participant 5	“I have got good help from Johannes Marainen that	“I have felt pretty lost, one alienation	“So very identity-less in that way and you	“The first years, from 18 and above. I	“It's an outsider-ness that is very subtle. It's	

	wrote "Karesuando.-sam esläkter"(Karesuando Sami families). And I called him and talked with him and he said "Of course you should be a part of the book, no matter what people think in the family" (p.1).	because I don't belong in the Swedish and then I haven't felt at home in the Sami. (p.1)	don't feel well by that." (p.1)	didn't tell anyone, and didn't think i was Sami, I was Swedish - that's it. I have denied it."	hard to put the finger on, but I notice it when I'm in Sami contexts. And it's very difficult, cause if i'm not Swedish and im not Sami. I don't get to belong here and don't get to belong there" (p.2).	
Participant 6			"We weren't allowed to speak or write in Sami in school in the 50's and 60's and in my work life I have only got use of it a few times. A problem in many ways, but the most important was that we, the children lost our history and culture. But that was probably the States and the politicians plan. I think that Sweden stole my identity related to the language" (p.3).	"It is not until I became retired that I got interested" (p.2).		"Me, like most of the Sami's - that according to her, are not Sami's - don't have the energy to fight. Which is probably wrong. We do really have big problems both internally between Sami's and externally against the ones that accept Sami's" p.5).
Participant 7		"But I can hear from my relatives that haven't		"I'm one of those that was raised with not		"I can feel that there is better and worse Sami's. You

		<p>come that far yet. Can't say they have experienced anything, but the feeling about if you are allowed...if you are allowed to wear the kolt (Sami clothing) or to view yourself as Sami. That feeling is quite, if not widespread but present” (p.3).</p>		<p>being perceived as Sami. And that's what I thought until I found my grandfather's pictures with a lot of people in Kolt (Sami clothing) “ (p.1).</p>		<p>can't avoid feeling it, that you are not seen as a real Sami” (p.2).</p>
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Theme 3: Expressions about being Sami

Sub-themes:	Shame (internal)	Mimicry	Racism
Participant 1	<p>“He had a memory from when he was a child about a carrying-sack. And he was so ashamed because he had it, cause then everyone would see that he was a Sami. Such attributes that are seen and heard, they never wanted to pass forward” (p.1).</p>	<p>“My grandmother's parents weren't reindeer owning-Samis, and it was a scandal that she got together with a reindeer herder. She has got many taunts for it, not just by her parents but from other relatives on that side too” (p.2).</p>	<p>“Then there's a lot of racism even in my (hometown). You get to stand accountable for things like, you are an allowance recipient, that you don't do anything else than to sit at home and send out your reindeers on the roads” (p.2).</p>
Participant 2	<p>“My Ahkka has probably been ashamed her whole life. (...) Her stories is having the basis in the shame and the uncomfortable things with being Sami.”(p.2)</p>	<p>“Her family probably had an ambivalent comprehension of how they were gonna act. They had told her, or as she experienced it, that she was not gonna learn the language. And that she was not going to be Sami, it was better to be Swedish.”Its better that</p>	

		you learn Swedish” (p.2).	
Participant 3	“The Swedish state has created so much shame. Just the names have been big problems in the Swedish society. It is at the same time, before the second world war - they are putting the basis for everything that is shameful about being Sami.” (p.1)		“I have been at the race-biological institute in Uppsala and seen the pictures. I can only speculate... I have seen the naked pictures of my relatives. From small girls to adult men on podiums from all angles. But then I know that Sami’s had a hard time getting an apartment because of their Sami last name” p.1).
Participant 4	“Its a lot like that when I'm talking to him. It is nothing to think a lot about. And at some occasions he denies it. Its hard to him to talk about. I guess it lays shame behind it.” (p.1).		“All this hate towards Sami people or when the Sami people become Sweden-ized. That it's ugly to be Sami and the hate that continues to a big extent” (p.2).
Participant 5	“She (the mother) moved away from the family home when she was 16 years. She got me without the family knowing. And that's kind of like, it's about her shame of being Sami. That made her adopt me away” (p.1).	“It is actually the same historical racism and race biology that the Swedes have performed on us Sami. So one have embraced it. And I don't think one is conscious about it, one is just doing it. (p.4).	“You start to wonder what really happened when they were adopting. When they have been adopting children, away from their Sami background. That they didn't look at the family, but adopted them into Swedish families. (...) what if it was that kind of politics that you placed out the children to get them away from their roots. So they should get away from the roots so we get Swedes instead.” (p.3, 6).
Participant 6		“After years of fighting they gave up and changed names to (typical Swedish last name) (...) Three of the siblings to my grandmother emigrated to North America to get away from the Swedish Sami problems “ (p.1).	“Even though, they were assimilated more more, they still had problems with things like racism, discrimination, hate, animal abuse, the neighbors bull-shit talking and rightslessness. Many police reports were done between 1930 and 1960,

			but the police never had time. (p.1).
Participant 7		“As it's never been any merit to be a Sami, at least during my childhood, I can understand my parents, like all other wise parents they tried to do what's best for the children. By not starting to mess with things about being something other than swedish. So during my childhood, I've been raised with this as a non-question” (p.1).	“To cut off the culture and the history that it is based in. They were in principle denied to perform their culture “(p.3).

Theme 4 : Sami attributes

Sub-themes:	Language	Last name
Participant 1	P.1 “And regarding the Sami language, they didn't speak it at home. Because we belong to a forest-Sami village, it started already when he was in school and wasn't allowed to speak it. if they did, they got beat up” (p.1).	“You get to fight a bit more for the Sami language. Because you don't get the culture from home. And my name is (swedish last name)” (p.4).
Participant 4	“Its my own prejudices, or not prejudices but thoughts about what a Sami is and what a Sami is not. Then I think about that you should know the language. You should have	

	grown up with the culture". (p.4).	
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Attachment 3 : Post for request of participants



Frida Euge
23 februari

Tänker du att traumat från dina äldre samiska släktingar påverkat ditt tvekande/ifrågasättande av din samiska identitet?

Skulle du vilja vara med i en minnesarbets-grupp på just det temat? Då kan du läsa vidare!

Jag heter Frida Olofsson och är student vid masterprogrammet i socialt arbete och mänskliga rättigheter vid Göteborgs Universitet. Men kommer från Gällivare och har min släkt från Báste čearru.

Har precis börjat min masteruppsats på temat hur intergenerationellt trauma påverkar relationen till samiskhet och samisk identitet. **Därför söker jag nu deltagare till en minnesarbets-grupp för att processa temat tillsammans.** Jag känner själv att jag påverkats av mina släktingars trauman i min relation till samiskhet och samisk identitet. Därav känns det viktigt att studera vidare på hur det ser ut bland fler med samisk bakgrund som också anser att de tidigare generationernas trauman och överlevnadsstrategier påverkat oss till den komplicerade relationen till samiskhet och samisk identitet som vi har idag.

Etiska överväganden

I och med vår historia med hur samer systematiskt exploaterats i vetenskapens namn har jag utgått från Sámiid Riikkasearvi (SSR) Svenska samernas riksförbunds riktlinjer som är viktiga när en gör forskning med samiskt tema och har deltagare som är samer.

Metod

Metoden minnesarbete går ut på att en grupp av deltagare bestämmer teman kopplat till ämnet som ska tas upp. Därefter kan ex. en bild eller film visas för att få fart på minnena. Varje deltagare skriver sedan ner ett konkret minne från en situation med temat i tredje person för att minnena sedan ska bli del av den gemensamma minneshistorien. Alltså läggs alla deltagares minnen ihop till en gemensam samling av berättelser på temat. Något eller några av de minnen kommer sedan väljas ut av gruppen som ett tema att analysera tillsammans och arbeta vidare med i gruppen.

De deltagare som önskas till gruppen för minnesarbetet ska helst:

- ha en komplicerad relation till samiskhet eller samisk identitet
- anser att traumat från äldre släktingars trauma påverkat ens ifrågasättande/tvekan till samiskheten
- har/haft en förälder eller mor/farförälder som är same

Minnesarbetet skulle pågå i gruppträffarna på 1-2 gånger på några timmar i förslagsvis Umeå, men självklart utifrån vad deltagarna har möjlighet till.

Låter det intressant? Är något oklart? Har du andra synpunkter och tankar? Skriv gärna till mig!

English translation of the above facebook-post :

Do you feel that the trauma of your older Sami relatives have affected your hesitation/questioning of Sami identity?

Would you like to be a part of a group for memory work on just that theme? Then you can keep reading!

My name is Frida Olofsson and I am a student at the masters programme in Social work and human rights at Gothenburg University. But originally I come from Gällivare and my relatives are from Báste cearru.

I have just started my master thesis on the theme of how intergenerational trauma affects the relation to Saminess and Sami identity. Thus I am now searching for participants for the memory work-group to process this theme together. I have myself been affected by my relatives' traumas in my relation to Saminess and Sami identity. Therefore, it feels important to conduct further studies on this and how it looks like for more persons with Sami

background, that also feels that the previous generations traumas and survival-strategies affects us to the complicated relation to Saminess and Sami identity we have today.

Ethical considerations

Because of our history of how Samis have been systematically exploited in the name of science, I have based my study in the Samiid Riikasearvi (SSR) The Swedish Sami regional associations guidelines that are important when doing research on a Sami theme and with participants that are Sami.

Method

The method of memory work is done through a group of participants that decides the subject that will be brought up. After that, a picture or a video can be shown to raise the memories. Every participant writes down a concrete memory from a situation with the decided theme in third person so the memories can be gathered to the collective history of memories. In other words, all participants' memories are gathered to the collection of stories on the theme. Some or several of the memories will then be chosen by the group as a theme to analyze together and work with.

The participants that I wish for to be apart of the group for the memory work should preferably :

- Have a complicated relationship to Saminess and Sami identity
- believes that the trauma from the older relatives trauma have affected their questioning/hesitation to the Saminess
- Have/had a parent or grandparent that is Sami

The memory work would happen during group meetings of 1-2 times during some hours in Umeå as a suggestion, but of course it would be according to the availability of the participants.

Does it sound interesting? Is something unclear? Do you have other opinions or thoughts? Feel free to write to me!