

JOURNAL *of* NORTHERN STUDIES



JOURNAL *of* NORTHERN STUDIES

The *Journal of Northern Studies* is a peer-reviewed academic publication issued twice a year. The journal has a specific focus on human activities in northern spaces, and articles concentrate on people as cultural beings, people in society and the interaction between people and the northern environment. In many cases, the contributions represent exciting interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches. Apart from scholarly articles, the journal contains a review section, and a section with reports and information on issues relevant for Northern Studies.

The journal is published by Umeå University and Sweden's northernmost Royal Academy, the Royal Skyttean Society.



UMEÅ
UNIVERSITY



JOURNAL *of* NORTHERN STUDIES

Vol. 14 • No. 1 • 2020

Published by Umeå University & The Royal Skyttean Society

Umeå 2020

The *Journal of Northern Studies* is published with support from The Royal Skyttean Society and Umeå University at www.jns.org.umu.se

For instructions to authors, see www.jns.org.umu.se

© The authors and *Journal of Northern Studies*
ISSN 1654-5915

Cover picture

Scandinavia Satellite and sensor: NOAA, AVHRR

Level above earth: 840 km

Image supplied by METRIA, a division of Lantmäteriet, Sweden.

www.metria.se

NOAAR. cESA/Eurimage 2001. cMetria Satellus 2001

Design and layout

Leena Hortéll, Ord & Co i Umeå AB

Fonts: Berling Nova and Futura

Contents

Editors & Editorial board	6
---------------------------------	---

Articles

<i>Emelie Fälton & Johan Hedrén</i> , The Neverlands of Nature. Exploring Representations of the Non-Human in Visitor Information Publication Material on Swedish National Parks	7
<i>Kristine Nystad, Benedicte Ingstad & Anna Rita Spein</i> , How Academic Experiences and Educational Aspirations Relate to Well-Being and Health among Indigenous Sami Youth in Northern Norway. A Qualitative Approach	35
<i>Ebba Olofsson & Joseph Folco</i> , Narratives of Displacement and Trauma. The Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit of Nunavik in the 1940s–1950s	62

Reviews

Review Essay: What Makes a Grammar a Modern Grammar? Review of Mikael Svonni, <i>Modern nordsamisk grammatik</i> , Kiruna: Ravda Lágádus 2018 (<i>Florian Siegl</i>)	83
Lars Hermansson, <i>Friendship, Love, and Brotherhood in Medieval Northern Europe, c. 1000—1200</i> , Leiden: Brill 2019 (<i>Bertil Nilsson</i>)	95
Dolly Jørgensen & Virginia Langum (eds.), <i>Visions of the North in Premodern Europe</i> , Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers 2018 (<i>Susan C. Brantly</i>)	97
Lucie Korecká, <i>Wizards and Words. The Old Norse Vocabulary of Magic in a Cultural Context</i> , München: Utzverlag 2019 (<i>Margaret Cormack</i>)	100
Ann-Marie Long, <i>Iceland's Relationship with Norway c. 870–c. 1100. Memory, History and Identity</i> , Leiden: Brill 2017 (<i>Else Mundal</i>)	102
Jarich Oosten & Barbara Helen Miller (eds.), <i>Traditions, Traps and Trends. Transfer of Knowledge in Arctic Regions</i> , Edmonton: Polynya Press 2018 (<i>George W. Wenzel</i>)	104

EDITORS

Editor-in-chief:

Professor Lars-Erik Edlund, Dept. of Language Studies,
Umeå University, SE-901 87 Umeå, Sweden
Tel. +46-(0)90-786 7887
E-mail: lars-erik.edlund@umu.se

Assistant editors:

Professor emeritus Kjell Sjöberg, Dept. of Wildlife, Fish, and Environmental
Studies, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU), SE-901 83 Umeå, Sweden
E-mail: kjell.sjoberg@vfm.slu.se

Professor Peter Sköld, Arctic Research Centre at Umeå University (Arcum),
SE-901 83 Umeå, Sweden
peter.skold@umu.se

Editorial secretary:

Associate professor Olle Sundström, Dept. of Historical, Philosophical, and
Religious Studies, Umeå University, SE-901 87 Umeå, Sweden
Tel. +46-(0)90-786 7627
E-mail: olle.sundstrom@umu.se

EDITORIAL BOARD

Professor Jóhann P. Árnason, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic
Professor emerita Louise Bäckman, Stockholm, Sweden
Associate professor Ingela Bergman, The Silver Museum, Arjeplog, Sweden
Professor Susan Brantly, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
Professor Tatiana D. Bulgakova, Herzen State Pedagogical University, St. Petersburg, Russia
Professor Ken Coates, University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada
Professor emeritus Öje Danell, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Uppsala, Sweden
Professor François-Xavier Dillmann, École pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, France
Professor Thomas A. DuBois, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
Professor emeritus Aant Elzinga, University of Gothenburg, Sweden
Professor Elena M. Glavatskaya, Ural Federal University, Ekaterinburg, Russia
Professor Sherrill E. Grace, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada
Professor Kristin Kuutma, University of Tartu, Estonia
Professor Cornelia Lüdecke, University of Hamburg, Germany
Professor Else Mundal, University of Bergen, Norway
Professor emeritus Einar Niemi, UiT, The Arctic University of Norway
Professor Jill Oakes, University of Manitoba, Canada
Professor Lars Östlund, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Umeå, Sweden
Professor Anssi Paasi, University of Oulu, Finland
Professor emeritus Andrejs Plakans, Iowa State University, Ames, USA
Professor Neil Price, Uppsala University, Sweden
Professor Håkan Rydving, University of Bergen, Norway
Assistant professor Ebbe Volquardsen, Ilisimatusarfik/University of Greenland
Professor Björn Wittrock, Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study (SCAS), Uppsala, Sweden
Professor emerita Takako Yamada, Kyoto University, Japan

EMELIE FÄLTON & JOHAN HEDRÉN

The Neverlands of Nature

Exploring Representations of the Non-Human in Visitor Information Publication Material on Swedish National Parks

ABSTRACT In this paper, we distinguish, make visible, and problematize how the non-human world (often depicted as nature) in Swedish national parks comes into being through representations in visitor information publications, and what the productive effects of those representations are. Through a discursive analysis, we identify seven discursive formations that concern portrayals of the non-human world. On the one hand, it is represented as extraordinary and sublime pieces of wild and pristine nature—and on the other, as ordinary and accessible. Despite this divergence, these kinds of spaces function as national heritage with an elitist status, which creates hierarchizations between national parks and other spaces, but also between the national parks themselves. North and south are assigned different attraction values and portrayed as desirable in different contexts. The north is wild, pristine, and sublime, while the south is safe, available, and always open to tourists. Furthermore, the material generates portrayals of national parks as places for learning, where the non-human world is displayed, explored, experienced, and taught. The uniting force of these formations is the focus of national parks as places of otherness, which turns them into heterotopian neverlands far away from the mainland of modernity.

KEYWORDS heterotopia, visual culture, discourse, power, sublime, nature-culture, elitism, exploration arena, visibility, tourism

Introduction

Deep forests with grounds covered in moss, dark blue lakes with white lilies, extensive mountain areas roamed by reindeer, pitch-black skies illuminated by dancing northern lights, and an archipelago of islands too numerous to count. These are only a few examples of the scenery that can be found while browsing visitor information publications about Swedish national parks. Such publications function as public productions

informed by the intention to enlighten tourists about the parks and make them interested in going there (see Peterson Rai 1988; Grusin 1995; Tschida 2012). Together with other productions and services offered to tourists, visitor information publications contribute to influencing and forming tourists' experiences of Swedish national parks by providing information and telling stories about what is worth exploring. From these representations, there follow values and imaginaries of how tourists should understand the parks, but also how they should relate themselves to those places and how they should behave once there. In other words, visitor information publications produce and communicate representations of the parks and thereby influence human understandings of them and their nature (see Grusin 2004; Patin 2012; Tschida 2012).

One understanding of national parks, which dates back to the 1800s and the establishment of the world's first national parks in the United States, depicts them as environmentalist-oriented protectors of original pieces of nature (Grusin 2004; Gissibl, Höhler & Kupper 2012; Patin 2012). Around the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, several enthusiasts and a growing environmentalist movement worked intensively to persuade the government to establish the first parks in Sweden. The modern industrial development that was marching into society was posited as a threat to the natural world, and the establishment of national parks was considered a reasonable solution to preserve nature intact. Alongside the intention to foster value for natural science, hopes that the national parks could generate economic revenue by welcoming tourists were also expressed (Lundgren 2009; Lundgren 2011). In 1909, the first Swedish national parks were established, at a time when attitudes were influenced by discourses on national identity, natural scientific knowledge production, recreation, outdoor education for public health, and the fostering of the young generations (Sandell 2009; Fredman & Sandell 2014; Wall Reinius 2014). Since then, the parks have been said to preserve Sweden's grains of golden nature, but have never really exhibited strong tourist traditions (Zachrisson *et al.* 2006; Fredman & Sandell 2014), until recently (Fälton & Mels forthcoming).

During the 1990s, policies on nature conservation and the approach to tourism started to transform. From being posited as a threat to national parks, tourism was now approached as an important asset (Fälton & Mels forthcoming). Around the beginning of the 2010s, the Swedish Government (e.g., 2009a; 2009b; 2012) and the national agency responsible for the parks—The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (hereafter SEPA) (e.g., SEPA 2011a; SEPA 2011b; SEPA 2012)—began intensifying their presentation of the national parks as important tourist destinations. This was not only because the parks can offer rich experiences of something unique but also because they can function as essential contributors to involving the public in nature and nature conservation. By attracting tourists to the parks and providing them with knowledge and information, the intention is to capture their interest and engagement, but also to encourage them to spread the word to others (The Swedish Government 2009b; The Swedish Government 2012; SEPA 2011a; 2011b; 2012). Thus, several initiatives to establish these parks on the European market as competitive nature tourism destinations have taken place, and the parks currently face a tourist displacement—a shift in how they are understood in a tourism context (see Foucault 1991a; Foucault 1991b; Foucault 1992).

A central component of this displacement is the desire to display nature to national park visitors and develop a strong visual identity (Fälton & Mels forthcoming). In other words, the visual has become central to efforts to establish the parks as tourism destinations. Visitor information publications play an essential role here because, together with other kinds of productions, they construct a vision of national park visitors (Tschida 2012;

Lund 2013). This paper focuses on embodied representations of the non-human world in visitor information publications about Swedish national parks, which have sprung from the tourist displacement. Its aim is to distinguish, make visible, and problematize how nature comes into being and what the productive effects of those representations are. To support this, we address the following research questions:

- How is the non-human world portrayed and characterized?
- What ontological and epistemological understandings appear, and how are these constructed?
- How is the relationship between humans and the non-human world presented?
- What implications might the above have for how humans understand and relate to the non-human world?

In other words, a primary interest in this paper is the process by which the non-human world in Swedish national parks is positioned and repositioned, but also made and remade through visitor information publications. By analyzing representations of the non-human that emerge in visitor information publications, we discern empirical categories that account for the construction of nature in the context of Swedish national parks and their tourism, provide insights into the tourist displacement that is currently taking place in relation to those spaces, and also problematize how the visual is part of all this. Instead of following deeply rooted traditional Western understandings of the non-human world as a fixed object that is named nature and exists beyond the human realm, representing everything that is not a product of humans, we offer a problematizing approach that rests upon the notion of nature as socially constructed (see Bird 1987; Soper 1995; Hedrén 1998; Grusin 2004; Descola 2013; Castree 2014; Lövbrand *et al.* 2015). Such an approach implies that it is through human ways of making sense of nature that it comes into being (see Williams 1976; Cronon 1995; Soper 1995; Mels 1999; Mitchell 2002; Rose 2011), but that this also occurs through how humans interact with and encounter the non-human world (e.g., Lund 2005; Bird Rose 2015; Jóhannesson 2019). This implies that nature is a cultural phenomenon displaying both immaterial and material bonds that are grounded in time and space, but also that it would not exist without human comprehensions of it (Chaloupka & Cawley 1993; Cronon 1995; Grusin 2004; Castree 2014).

A Discursive Focus on Representations of the Non-Human

To distinguish, make visible, and problematize how the non-human world comes into being in Swedish national parks, we conduct a discourse analysis. Discourses are meaning-making assemblages of representations that give meaning to social and physical realities. These collective structures constitute sets of conditions of existence through which human understandings are shaped (see Foucault 1982; Foucault 1997). Through their operations, national parks offer a combination of representations that materialize through actions, practices, and materials. This enables them to be interpreted as discursive apparatuses that produce, construct, and reconstruct how people look upon the non-human, what they see when they look in certain ways, and also what they know and think, and how they approach it (see Grusin 2004; Mirzoeff 2011; Patin 2012). Thus, it is within discursive fields that the cultural construction of Swedish national park nature circulates. Discourses contain epistemological and ontological structures that prescribe particular ways of looking, seeing, knowing, thinking, approaching, and experiencing the

non-human world, and accordingly they shape how nature is understood and how things are done concerning it (see Bal 1996; Foucault 2001; Mirzoeff 2011; Rose 2016). Discourses also shape the contours of accepted and unaccepted actions in this world. They define what is visible or invisible, comprehensible or nonsense, sayable or unsayable, thinkable or unthinkable, and also normal or abnormal (see Foucault 1991c; Foucault 2001; Feder 2011; Mirzoeff 2011; Castree 2014; Rose 2016).

In other words, discourses are ensembles of representations that constitute a set of conditions of existence, which affect the true and the false within a specific context (Foucault 1982; Foucault 1991c). They construct norms and deviations within the practice of tourism by institutionalizing and professionalizing procedures. Through all of these implicating structures of discourses, power rewards its own pursuit (Foucault 1980). Discourses enable power relations through their production, accumulation, circulation, and functioning. The exercise of power is dependent upon the existence of discourses of truth, which concern what is considered to be true, right, or wrong. This process is called the regime of truth. Who governs is not of interest, but rather how human societies govern, since discourses are socially rather than individually produced (Foucault 1986). Individuals can hold different roles or subject positions, but neither the individual nor the role is powerful in itself. Instead, they afford possibilities for the exercise of disciplinary power (Foucault 1982), which disciplines individuals into different kinds of behaviors and influences how they think about themselves and others (May 2011). On this understanding, power can accrue from anywhere within societies and has no apparent source. It works through culture, customs, organizations, and individuals (Foucault 1994). Thus, power produces knowledge and vice versa. The two imply each other because there can be no power without the constitution of a field of knowledge, nor knowledge without the constitution and presupposition of power (Foucault 1991 *a*). All knowledge is discursive, just as all discourses are saturated with power (Rose 2016).

To be able to study power, it is important to try to understand where it is installed and where its effects arise (Foucault 1982; Foucault 1986). Therefore, it becomes essential for us to identify the normalizing practices that subjectify and objectify the non-human. We understand national parks as discursive apparatuses with attached systems of discourses (see Grusin 2004; Rutherford 2011; Patin 2012) which, in turn, are connected to a myriad of other apparatuses that contribute to the construction of Swedish national park nature. This means that discourses are the results of meaning-making interactions within a web of contributing actors and processes (Foucault 1982). In order to contribute to the understanding of discourses on Swedish national parks and the nature conservation enabled by the practice of tourism, we identify discursive formations. These are systems of representation that together make up a discourse, construct it, and relate its different meanings to each other. They correlate by positioning themselves in relation to each other and creating an order within the discourse (Foucault 1980; Foucault 1982; Foucault 2001; Rose 2016).

Exploring Discursive Formations in Visitor Information Publication Material

The products in which we seek discursive formations, and thereby representations, are visitor information publications produced between 2008 and 2018. This time span corresponds to the displacement in the incorporation of tourism in Swedish national parks (Fälton & Mels forthcoming), which makes our paper an essential contributor to deepening our understanding of what that displacement entails. Visitor information publications are interesting for this study due to their function as appetizers for tourists who

are interested in visiting national parks. These publications frame certain experiences, locations, and activities as appropriate for tourists, which makes them instrumental in influencing tourists' understandings of the parks (Tschida 2012; Lund 2013). But they also incorporate power and power relations. Through their representations, they govern the ways in which humans look upon, see, understand, think of, approach, and experience the non-human world. By analyzing them, we can gain insights into the governing and commodification of the non-human (see Castree 2003; Rutherford 2011).

Two groups of actors have produced our material: nature conservation actors and tourism actors. By the first, we are referring to organizations connected to the development and maintenance of national parks, or organizations that state themselves as being experts in nature conservation questions. SEPA has collected its information into two books: *Nationalparkerna i Sverige* ['The national parks of Sweden'] (Hanneberg, Löfgren & Arnell 2010), and *Naturresevat & nationalparker. Pärlor i den svenska naturen* ['Nature reserves and national parks. Pearls of Swedish nature'] (Abelin [ed.] 2008) and a website, available at www.sverigesnationalparker.se (SEPA 2018b). The book *Upplev Sveriges natur. En guide till naturupplevelser i hela landet* ['Explore Sweden's nature. A guide to nature experiences across the whole country'], produced by the well-known Swedish journalist and television presenter Martin Emtenäs, together with the photographer Mikael Gustafsson (with support from The Swedish Society for Nature Conservation), is another publication that constitutes our material (Emtenäs & Gustafsson 2017). We chose these actors due to their stated role as experts who have the authority to produce knowledge about Sweden's national parks. Even though their main focus is not tourism, their publications are intended for tourists. By tourism actors, we are referring to organizations that take tourism and tourist operations as their primary interest. This part of the material consists of four websites. First, we chose www.visitsweden.se (Visit Sweden 2018b) and its associated online image bank www.imagebank.sweden.se (Sweden.se, Swedish Institute, Visit Sweden, Embassy of Sweden & Business Sweden 2018) due to Visit Sweden's position as the country's official website for tourism and travel information. Second, we chose Nature's Best Sweden's website www.naturesbestsweden.com (The Swedish Ecotourism Society 2018a) because it is an ecotourism label organizer for Swedish nature tourism, and The Swedish Tourist Association's website, www.svenskaturistforeningen.se (The Swedish Tourist Association 2018), because it offers travel within Sweden, directed towards the Swedish market, and focuses on nature tourism. By choosing material produced by these two kinds of actors, who both claim to be producers of "expert knowledge," and play an essential role in Swedish national park tourism, we can gain insight into the representations that they produce and thus contribute to the understanding of how the non-human world in national parks is placed and replaced, made and remade.

Applying Four Analytical Steps to Identify Discursive Formations

In order to identify discursive formations and their representations, we analyze the visitor information publications in a reflexive-explorative manner based on four steps. Instead of basing the analysis on pre-existing analytical frameworks, we allow the material to guide us incrementally in different discursive directions (see Foucault 1982). We understand ourselves not only as analyzers of discursive representations, but also as participants in their production. This calls for a critical and reflexive approach to our research practices (Bal 2003; Pink 2012; Rose 2016; Rose 2017) and is a reason why we try to be as open as possible in how we conduct our analysis.

Step One. Identification of Representational Configurations of Visibilities and Invisibilities in the Pictures and Texts

As we have stated, there is a strong focus on strengthening the visual identity of Swedish national parks, with visual components being emphasized as especially important (SEPA 2012). This is a trend that not only applies to the national parks but is also a pattern in contemporary modern societies more generally, as the visual has become a central part of many of the experiences that humans seek out and take part in (e.g. Mirzoeff 2013; Rose 2016; Sandywell & Heywood 2017). The representations that appear in the visitor information material influence the social and cultural world by possessing the agency and properties of discourses (see Rose 2016; Rose 2017), which make them part of visual culture and the social construction of visual experiences (Mitchell 1995). Therefore, we start our first step with an identification of the structure of visibilities and invisibilities in the pictures and texts of the visitor information publications. Visibilities and invisibilities refer to the discursive proceeding of visibility and its material effects. By focusing on the process of “nomination of the visible” that this idea classifies, we can gain a first impression of inclusions and exclusions in the material (Foucault 2001; Mirzoeff 2011). Visibility concerns questions of how we see, how our seeing is enabled, how we are allowed to see, how our seeing is shaped, who sees, who is seen, and how we see this seeing and unseeing (Foucault 1991a; Hooper-Greenhill 2000). Hence, visibility is a colonial and imperial practice through which power visualizes itself (Mirzoeff 2013). It resides in the productive effects of the relation between power and knowledge and can be noticed in both pictures and texts. It determines what objects and aspects become visible, regulates which ones remain invisible, and orders ways of seeing, looking, knowing, thinking, and approaching (Pajaczkowska 2000; Bal 2003). These performative acts are directed by knowledge, which makes visible aspects that would otherwise have been invisible (Foucault 1991a).

Since our material contains not only texts but also a significant number of pictures (2,043 in total), we decide to develop a way of identifying discursive elements in which the pictures are pivotal. This is also spurred by our criticism of the understanding of pictures as pure “evidence” of truth that primarily function as decorative supporters for texts. By separating the pictures from the texts, and using them as a starting point, we want to question this understanding and highlight pictures as being just as formative, representational, and interpretable as text (see Mitchell 2005; Rose 2016). Two components that characterize our approach and its specific directions are our analysis of collages and the facility in which we conduct our analysis. Instead of printing several pictures, or looking at a group of them on a screen, we create collages of several pictures (see Fig. 1). When designing these collages, each national park is assigned a folder with all of the pictures belonging to it. Then, we divide the national parks and their associated pictures into six categories based on SEPA’s classification of the parks into six different nature types, or biotypes: 1) coniferous forest, 2) broadleaved deciduous forest, 3) mountain, 4) island, archipelago, and shore, 5) ocean, and 6) wetland and marshland. This division is frequently used by SEPA when marketing Sweden’s national parks and is common in the publications produced by other actors as well. Through this division, we can trace similarities and differences in the portrayals and characteristics of different “types” of nature, which can give insights into ways of ordering the non-human world (which at this stage already appear to be positioned according to the ideas of natural science). It also enables us to take a wider perspective concerning Swedish national parks as an institutionalized union, rather than focusing on them as unique individuals. Since our material has two



Fig. 1. An example of how the collages are organized. Due to the copyright of the analyzed pictures and the impossibility of publishing them without permission from their copyright owners, photos taken by one of the authors are used as examples in the collage shown above. Copyright: Emelie Fälton.

other orientations as well, we divide all of our categories into the two subcategories of tourism material and nature conservation material. We make this division in order to identify potential similarities and dissimilarities between the material produced by the two actors.

We conduct our analysis of the collages in a visualization facility called the Norrköping Decision Arena (see Fig. 2). With its nine projectors, its ten input devices, its embracing cylinder-shaped screen, and the opportunity it affords to visualize content from nine computers on the screen simultaneously (Linköping University 2018), this facility offers the unique ability to study ten collages during one session and put them in relation to each other. We go through the categories one by one, taking notes of the patterns of visibilities and invisibilities that we identify. Conducting this analysis in dialogue with each other is something that we consider a strength when analyzing a major set of pictures, because it stimulates reflexivity. We see similar patterns, but we also present new ones to each other and elaborate upon each other's interpretations. In this way, we discuss and interpret the pictures together exploratively, with no predetermined ideas of what to look for.



Fig. 2. The analysis in the Norrköping Decision Arena. Copyright: Emelie Fälton.

When this part of the first step is complete, we do a similar procedure with the texts, focusing on identifying recurring configurations of visibilities and invisibilities, but also seeking a first glimpse of recurring discursive elements. We start by reading them several times without predetermined themes to look for. To organize our analysis, we use color markings to sort out the patterns, which also enable them to be traced afterward (Boréus & Bergström 2018). Then, after completing the reading and analysis one by one, we discuss our findings and merge them together. This process is also designed to promote reflexivity, as we reflect upon the patterns that we identify and merge them together.

Step Two. Structuring Recurring Representational Configurations into Eight Themes

In the second step, we bring the patterns from the pictures and texts together (first column in Table 1), and from these we create eight themes (second column in Table 2). After merging and structuring the discursive elements, we identify ontological and epistemological structures within them and formulate themes to enable a deepening of the discursive analysis in the next step.

Step Three. Formulation of Analytical Questions for Each of the Themes

The third step consists of formulating analytical questions for the themes. Inspired by our theoretical framework, which is permeated by a discursive focus, inspired by issues of power structures and relations, we develop questions that could help us to dive further into our material (third column in Table 1).

Table 1. Overview of the steps and the analytical process leading to step 4

Step 1. Patterns in pictures and texts	Step 2. Merging of patterns into themes	Step 3. Analytical questions related to the themes
<p>Coniferous forest Nature conservation productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of nature involving embracing forests of a dramatic, sublime, calm, and mysterious character that are well-visited by outdoorsy tourists all year round. Offers close encounters with the animal kingdom but also learning experiences through pedagogical operations.</i> Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of everyday nature.</i></p> <p>Tourist productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of everyday nature that is calm and peaceful, offering tourists viewpoints and grand views.</i> Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of nature as exotic, pedagogical operations.</i></p> <p>Broadleaved deciduous forest Nature conservation productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of safe and close nature that is available and open, idyllic, intimate, colorful, and harmonious. Places of traditional Swedish character (e.g., red cottages) with cultivated landscapes that are suitable for tourists during summer.</i> Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of wildlife, pedagogical operations, winter, and views.</i></p> <p>Tourist productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of nature serving as a backdrop that is intimate, safe, close (more emphasized than in nature conservation productions). Tourist places—focus on services, accommodation, and activities.</i> Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of nature as central in itself, wildlife, pedagogical operations, and winter.</i></p> <p>Mountain Nature conservation productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of corrected nature of a sublime, exotic, grand, barren, and typical mountain character filled with animals, but also outdoors-oriented tourists. Places that offer vast panoramas and viewpoints.</i> Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of Sami culture, pedagogical operations, and mountain birch.</i></p> <p>Tourist productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of grand nature offering safe and comfortable mountain experiences for active tourists interested in outdoorsy activities. Vast numbers of tourists and tourist services. Some portrayals of Sami culture.</i> Invisibilities: <i>Pedagogical operations and animals.</i></p> <p>Island, archipelago, and shore Nature conservation productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of nature filled with birds and insects, calm, peaceful, tranquil, idyllic, and serving as a commonplace for outdoor activities and active tourists.</i> Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of mammals, pedagogical operations, or other tourist services.</i></p>	<p>Characteristics of nature</p>	<p><i>What characteristics of nature are embedded in the discursive formations? Is nature a known commonplace or an exotic other? Is it special or typical nature that is represented? Friend or foe?</i></p>
	<p>Non-human subjectivities</p>	<p><i>What kind of non-human subjectivities are embedded in the discursive formations? Who represents the non-human, and how is this “who” portrayed?</i></p>
	<p>Relations</p>	<p><i>What relations between the human and the non-human are embedded in the discursive formations? Are humans portrayed as part of nature or as distanced from it? As kindred or foreigners?</i></p>
	<p>Ways of encountering nature</p>	<p><i>What ways of looking, seeing, knowing, thinking, approaching, and experiencing nature are embedded in the discursive formations? How are tourists supposed to encounter this kind of nature? As a distanced observer or an involved participant?</i></p>
	<p>Interpretation opportunities</p>	<p><i>What kinds of interpretation opportunities are embedded in the discursive formations? Does the material provide ready-made interpretations of what nature is or an opportunity for tourists to interact with it and explore it in their own way? Is nature portrayed as an exhibition or as a wonderland to experience on one's own?</i></p>

Step 1. Patterns in pictures and texts	Step 2. Merging of patterns into themes	Step 3. Analytical questions related to the themes
<p>Tourist productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of accessible and commonplace nature of a coastal character serving as a backdrop for outdoorsy and hiking tourists conducting expeditions. Vast views.</i></p> <p>Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of details of the non-human world, archipelago.</i></p> <p>Ocean Nature conservation productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of available and accessible nature of a typical west-coast character that offers a glimpse of an exotic underwater world with rich fauna and flora. An invitation to see usually invisible marine animals. Places for visitors and watchers who like to learn.</i></p> <p>Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of harshness and storms.</i></p> <p>Tourist productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of barren nature that offer treasures of the ocean (seafood) that can be utilized by fishermen.</i></p> <p>Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of tourists, pedagogical operations, or other tourist services.</i></p> <p>Wetland and marshland Nature conservation productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of nature of a wilderness character filled with wildlife and distanced from humanity. Opportunities to gain a sneak-peek into the animal kingdom and connect with non-humans. Places of outdoorsy character suitable for tourists. Offers an opportunity to learn about nature through pedagogical operations.</i></p> <p>Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of accessibility features and buildings.</i></p> <p>Tourist productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of tourist facilities and outdoorsy tourists in surroundings characterized by agricultural land and settlements.</i></p> <p>Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of wildlife, wetlands, and marshlands.</i></p>	<p>Knowledge epistemes</p>	<p><i>What kind of knowledge epistemes are embedded in the discursive formations? What is portrayed as valid knowledge about nature? Who is a producer of knowledge, and who is a recipient?</i></p>
<p>Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of harshness and storms.</i></p> <p>Tourist productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of barren nature that offer treasures of the ocean (seafood) that can be utilized by fishermen.</i></p> <p>Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of tourists, pedagogical operations, or other tourist services.</i></p> <p>Wetland and marshland Nature conservation productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of nature of a wilderness character filled with wildlife and distanced from humanity. Opportunities to gain a sneak-peek into the animal kingdom and connect with non-humans. Places of outdoorsy character suitable for tourists. Offers an opportunity to learn about nature through pedagogical operations.</i></p> <p>Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of accessibility features and buildings.</i></p> <p>Tourist productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of tourist facilities and outdoorsy tourists in surroundings characterized by agricultural land and settlements.</i></p> <p>Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of wildlife, wetlands, and marshlands.</i></p>	<p>Tourist motives, expectations, and experiences</p>	<p><i>What kinds of tourist motives, expectations, and experiences are embedded in the discursive formations? Why should tourists visit Swedish national parks? Why should they encounter this kind of nature? What will they be able to experience if they go there? What kind of experiences will they take back home with them?</i></p>
<p>Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of accessibility features and buildings.</i></p> <p>Tourist productions Visibilities: <i>Portrayals of tourist facilities and outdoorsy tourists in surroundings characterized by agricultural land and settlements.</i></p> <p>Invisibilities: <i>Portrayals of wildlife, wetlands, and marshlands.</i></p>	<p>Human subjectivities</p>	<p><i>What kind of human subjectivities are embedded in the discursive formations? Who is the ideal tourist, and how is he or she portrayed? What types of activities and actions are made visible or invisible? Who are the locals, and what attributes are they assigned?</i></p>

Step Four. Emergence of Discursive Formations through Analysis According to the Themes and Questions

Our analytical procedure is rounded off by a fourth step, which focuses on analyzing the material once more with the themes and analytical questions as directives. In contrast to the first step, we do not separate the pictures and texts from each other but analyze them in their “original shape,” which means that, instead of “picking them out” from the books and websites, we analyze them as they appear in the productions. We start by going through the productions one by one with our analytical questions in mind. Then, we discuss our findings and decide upon how to structure and present the formations. In other words, steps one to three function as preparational steps for our discursive analysis, while, in the fourth, we are able to dive into the discursive formations and draw conclusions.

Identification of Seven Discursive Formations of the Non-Human in Swedish National Parks

Extraordinary Features of the North as Sublime

The portrayals and characterizations of the non-human world in Swedish national parks offer a palette of different focuses, but one of the most clearly present is the depiction of extraordinary nature with sublime characteristics. Scenic landscapes presenting extensive views of “untouched” land are everywhere in both sets of material, together with descriptions of nature as beautiful, scenic, grand, awe-inspiring, majestic, and magnificent. Pictures of lone tourists gazing towards impressive scenery (Fig. 3) with no other signs of humanity follow one after another and make it seem as though there are only the tourist and the great wonders of nature, within which the tourist appears very small.

Such images, featuring a minimal human presence, someone looking away from the camera and into the landscape, with photo angles set up at a distance, are typical sublime features (Corbett 2002). Even though a central part of the sublime is aesthetics and a reverence for the beauty of the landscape, it is also so much more. With its constant tension between the qualities of pleasure and fear (Brady 2014), it always encompasses that which lies beyond the comprehensible, but also the ordered, and the harmonious. It triggers intense emotional reactions of being overwhelmed, of pleasure and excitement, but also anxiety, through a palette of multi-sensory qualities. The great meets obscurity, the disordered meets the massive, the shapeless meets the tremendous, and the dizzying meets the thundering. The sublime brings together a myriad of challenging aesthetic qualities of nature, offering experiences that contrast with forms of “simpler” natural beauty (Brady 2014):

High mountains and fearful glaciers, it is this inhospitable but awe-inspiring nature that I have learned to appreciate the most after all years in Sarek. A nature with more philosophical than biological elements. (Hanneberg, Löfgren & Arnell 2010: 110)

These portrayals carry a connected dimension of remoteness. With its characteristics of inhospitality and fearsomeness, but also the fact that the visitor must learn how to appreciate it, this kind of nature is different from the safe, “everyday” spaces that are familiar to the visitor (see Soper 1995). It enables experiences not only of the non-human world, but also of those who experience it. The sublime feels. It makes its way into the human body, triggering all the senses, and making visitors feel insignificant, but it also awakens reflections upon the self and self-understanding. Sublimity awakens in encounters be-



Fig. 3. This is an example of a picture of sublime character, with the tourist standing on top of a high cliff and gazing towards the scenery. Copyright: Fredrik Schlyter/imagebank.sweden.se.

tween the human and the non-human; what is central here is the constituted relations between these two worlds that arise, but also the reflexive experiences that come with it (Brady 2014):

The overall impression is laid bare and makes it easier for the wild and the pristine to make its way into the body. Here, you are free from the cluttered everyday life of the cities, the air carefully carrying birdsong and the scents of the forest. This is the most expansive forest in the south of Sweden, nowhere else can one be as deeply embraced by the wilderness. It feels. And it is an exception. (Emtenäs & Gustafsson 2017: 139)

Through such portrayals, nature is depicted as desolate and far away from humanity, almost assigned a divine status. It offers something extraordinary that can only be achieved there. Thus, national parks become places of opportunity for tourists to interact with an extraordinary kind of nature that can only be found in a few areas of the country and needs protection from human presence and utilization. Here, the wild and the pristine play an important role and are classical components of discourses that emphasize nature as something out of the ordinary (e.g., Cronon 1996; Soper 1995; Oravec 1996; Macnaghten & Urry 1998; Castree 2014). With a long history of attracting tourists to certain places that are considered to be “original” nature (Oravec 1996), the parks lure visitors who long for spaces that are different from the ones they experience in their everyday lives (Soper 1995).

The sublime is primarily assigned to the northern parts of Sweden, and especially its mountain areas. Both parts of our material share portrayals of the north as sublime, wild, and pristine, but the tourism material places a much stronger emphasis on portraying the north. It is depicted as a place for redeemed outdoor visitors with experience, stating that everyone “[...] is welcome to visit the landscape if one accepts the conditions that the mountain requires. There is in no way a mountain for beginners” (Emtenäs & Gustafsson

2017: 299). The dangerous character exposed here dates back to the late nineteenth century and refers to the north as something astonishing and desirable (Ödmann, Bucht & Nordström, 1982; Andolf 1990). This relates to the classical notion that an experience of northern nature becomes authentic once difficulties surround it—you need to be able to get there on your own, and it should not be easy (Andolf 1990; Emmelin 1989; Lundgren 2011). This picturing of the north as demanding, dangerous, and wild is part of the stereotypical portrayal of northern areas as other and different (Ödmann, Bucht & Nordström, 1982; Maraud & Guyot 2016). Such depictions reinforce the problematic understanding of the north as empty and in need of exploitative discoveries, while in fact it encompasses many spaces that have faced colonial possession and marginalization for centuries (Lundgren 2011; Sörlin & Jørgensen 2013; Maraud & Guyot 2016).

Ordinary Features of the Open and Accessible South

While the northern parks get to represent the extraordinary and sublime, the southern parks represent the ordinary and accessible, but also nature that is commonplace and safe. In contrast to the portrayal of the sublime, which focuses on the disordered, this discursive formation focuses on depicting an ordered and accessible nature, offering “simple” ways of experiencing it. Particularly in the nature conservation material, there is a desire to make the parks available and desirable to the masses, which is visible in many attempts to portray them as accessible and open. It should be easy to visit a national park and experience Sweden’s most exclusive nature:

You do not need to reserve a ticket to get access to the experiences in Sweden’s national parks. Nor buy an entrance ticket. All you need to do is enjoy and let yourself be inspired to explore our most exclusive nature. You can start here and now! (SEPA 2018c)

Captions like this one contrast the Swedish parks with other kinds of parks, such as those in the United States, where visitors must pay an entrance fee. Such statements, together with pictures of toddlers running on footbridges, old ladies walking on graveled paths with their walking frames, or people crossing a wooden bridge in wheelchairs, depict the parks as spaces where everyone is welcomed under any conditions. Services available to tourists are central to this portrayal, highlighting (among other facilities) prepared hiking trails, dining opportunities, and guided tours. It is a corrected and organized version of nature that becomes visible here, prearranged to enable people to visit these kinds of places. The pictures that depict this openness and accessibility are framed in close to medium-distance shots, and instead of being the focus, the surrounding environment functions as the location in which tourists’ experiences and encounters take place. These arrangements reinforce a portrayal of nature as an arena for human interaction. In contrast to the images portraying lone tourists meeting the sublime in an encounter with nature, these pictures depict an ordinary focus on interactions between humans. Together, they eat, hike, converse, and explore while their surroundings serve as a backdrop for meaningful encounters. This depicts the natural environs as suitable for human interactions, but also as something that assigns meaning to such meetings (Rehling 2002).

Another type of accessibility and openness that emerges in this discursive formation is the opportunity to roam freely. Even though most images show tourists walking across wooden bridges or along prepared trails, pictures depicting tourists walking in areas with no sign of trails or similar arrangements are also frequent. In an attempt to illustrate a less structured openness, this relates to a right that has become part of Swed-



Fig. 4. The pictures that relate to this discursive formation focus on human encounters and interactions, but also accessibility. Nature is open to everyone, and it is the close and the simple that is emphasized. Copyright: Martin Fransson.

ish identity—the Right of Public Access (Swedish *allmansrätten*). Briefly described, this gives everyone the right to roam freely across the countryside, to put up a tent on private landholdings, pick mushrooms, or similar (Sandell 1997). The frequent presence of such opportunities in our material stresses accessibility, functioning as an aspect of pedagogy that informs tourists about their rights and opportunities, but also emphasizing something very typical of Sweden because it is described as representing a close and open relationship between Swedes and nature (Sandell 1997). Its strong presence stresses the connection between nature and the nation of Sweden.

National Park Nature as National Heritage

Even though conflicting depictions of the extraordinary and the ordinary are strong in our material, they coexist and merge into each other in several ways. Both are portrayed as the national heritage of Sweden, which is constantly depicted as a “country of nature,” having a nature-loving population and offering close connections with the non-human, especially through its national parks:

Nature plays a large role in the Swedish lifestyle. No matter where you are in Sweden, pristine green spaces are never far away. So, it’s not surprising that in 1909, it was the first country in Europe to establish a system of national parks. Nine parks were designated in that first year alone. Currently, Sweden has 30 national parks, all of which are open to the public free of charge. (Visit Sweden 2018a)

The relationship between Swedishness and nature can trace its roots back to the beginning of the 1900s and the moment when the first Swedish national parks were established. Back then, nationalist motives were strong and the “wonders of nature” were seen as national symbols for the country of Sweden, which the parks were intended to both preserve and display (Sundin 1989; Mels 1999). Even though these areas have seen little

tourist focus over their years as national parks (Zachrisson *et al.* 2006; Fredman & Sandell 2014), the initial intention was that they would enable people to connect with the country's nature by functioning as tourist destinations (Mels 1999; Lundgren 2009; Lundgren 2011). Today, such an emphasis is being revitalized and is strongly present in our material. In relation to its national parks, Sweden is described as an ideal tourist destination: "to get close to nature, both tourists and Swedes come up to the mountain areas in the north to get in touch with nature" (Image Bank Sweden 2018a). Through this focus, the parks are depicted as representing Sweden's most precious natural areas, for which they become both representatives and protectors, as well as national heritage. The emphasis on the common interest that they have for Sweden and Swedes is repeatedly stated, and the importance of both the parks and the protection of nature is stressed. The establishment of Swedish national parks is described as "a way to preserve our common natural and cultural heritage" (SEPA 2018d) and the reformation of national parks is described as:

needed in order to make sure that we and future generations will be able to enjoy and be inspired by untouched and interesting nature. SEPA hopes that many people will visit these areas and gently take part in many great nature experiences. (Hanneberg, Löfgren & Arnell 2010: 9)

In other words, these spaces are part of the ongoing recreation of the nation of Sweden, which at the moment is focused on getting people interested in nature protection and making such spaces available to both Swedes and tourists from other countries. Even though both parts of the material display nationalist tendencies, it is emphasized that the national parks also welcome non-Swedes who are interested in nature and Sweden. It almost becomes an urging to get involved and, by visiting any of the parks, tourists are promised not only connections with the non-human world, but also close relationships to Sweden, and the national ethos of Swedishness.

National Park Nature as Elitist and Unique

The national parks are not only portrayed as part of Sweden's pride but also as unique places with characteristics that are found nowhere else. With promises of opportunities to explore and experience the wonders of Sweden's national parks, differences emerge between the nature they represent and other forms of nature. The uniqueness of these areas is constantly stressed and underlined with statements highlighting the exclusive characteristics of the parks: "there would not be anything unique about it, if forests like this one still existed. But forests like this one do not exist. Except for a few, totally unique places" (Emtenäs & Gustafsson 2017: 200), or "one of the world's best places for spotting the northern lights" (Nature's Best 2018), or "one of the mountain world's richest flora" (Abelin [ed.] 2008), or "this is southern Sweden's most extensive forest, nowhere else can you be as deeply embraced by the wilderness. It feels. And it is a liberation" (Emtenäs & Gustafsson 2017: 139). These are only a few examples of this emphasis. Such statements are dependent upon the notion that national parks represent something different than, for example, a nature reserve, or an unprotected area, or even a national park in another country. Even though both parts of the material occasionally refer to the parks as situated in Europe, they are never related to national parks of similar character in countries such as Norway, Finland, or Russia. This reinforces the patriotic orientation and, through this focus, different values are assigned to certain spaces, which is a way of both ordering and controlling the non-human world (e.g. Rutherford 2011; Patin 2012). The national

parks are described as preserving Sweden's finest natural areas, which are not only unique in their characteristics, but also offer their visitors exceptional experiences that other tourism destinations cannot. The national parks are said to offer:

a magnificent whole of different landscapes and experiences. Here, you can wander through leafy beech woods, among imposing mountains, experience coral reefs, rolling sand dunes, magical forests and much more. (SEPA 2018*b*)

Such portrayals depict this kind of nature as exotic and signify it as the closest humans can come to unspoiled and ideal spaces of nature that are really worth longing for. Through the highlighting of their exclusiveness, these national parks are portrayed as being valued more highly than other kinds of nature, which implies a sort of elitism. Both parts of our material contain such depictions, but the nature conservation material (through SEPA's website www.sverigesnationalparker.se) has a specific way of highlighting the exclusive character of the parks:

Our national parks are hosts of Sweden's most scenic nature, consisting of magnificent forests, exotic wilderness, and unique mountain environments. We show this by placing a golden crown in each national park. (SEPA 2018*a*)

The golden crown mentioned above is a three-dimensional extension of a two-dimensional symbol that SEPA has developed to mark the national parks' high value, and the two are frequently visible on the website (Fig. 5). The organization's intention is to place one crown in each park, since "it enhances the whole experience. The golden crown contributes to the feeling and knowing that the national parks represent the finest nature we have" (SEPA 2018*a*). In other words, a stereotypical symbol of power is used to mark the extraordinary character of the parks. The crown has been part of the visual language of the Swedish nation for decades, not least through the symbol of the "three crowns," but also to honor the greatness of the country's monarchs (De Lagerberg 1908).



Fig. 5. Top: the three-dimensional extension of the symbol. Copyright: Ida Lundqvist. Right: the two-dimensional version of the symbol. Copyright: SEPA.



SVERIGES
NATIONALPARKER

In our material, the crown is used to denote the majesty of Swedish national parks, classifying national park nature as ranked more highly than other forms of nature in Sweden. This, together with statements and depictions focusing on the unique characteristics of national parks, contributes to the formation and enforcement of hierarchies, which in turn contribute to understandings of such places as elevated and peculiar others, while aspects of nature with lower levels of protection, or no protection at all, become marginalized and less valued.

National Park Nature as an Observed Object

In line with studies on the social construction of nature (e.g., Cronon 1996; Soper 1995; Williams 1997; Castree 2014), we identify a separation between humans and non-humans in our material, whereby humans are portrayed as “unnatural” and nothing more than temporary guests within the national park: “Wild beautiful nature, hydropower dams, windmills, power lines, and roads. Nowhere is mankind’s exploitation of natural resources as visible as here” (Emtenäs & Gustafsson 2017: 305). Here, it is apparent that spaces protected through their status as national parks are understood as natural, in which the majority of humans are unnatural visitors rather than inhabitants. Such understandings position nature as threatened by humanity, which is assigned a distanced role. Humans are potential intruders, which relates to the portrayal of the extraordinary, where sublime, wild, and pristine nature functions by providing places to which people can escape in order to be amazed by the non-human world. In the nature conservation material, SEPA writes: “The aim is to preserve a larger coherent area of a certain landscape type in its natural condition, or in substantially unchanged condition” (SEPA 2018*d*). In this way, national parks become spaces that only function if the human presence is bound and controlled. This contradicts the discursive formation focusing on openness and accessibility, as well as the one focusing on national parks as a form of national heritage that people should visit in order to connect with nature, and the nation.

However, this discursive formation contains depictions of one interaction between the human and non-human that reinforces the portrayal of humans as visiting guests and nature as a distanced scene for exploration—the one between humans and animals. This interaction is emphasized as particularly necessary when being a national park tourist, as both sets of material are filled with images of animals and descriptions of rare animals that can be spotted in the national parks. These animals offer insights into the non-human world and all of its wonders. Thus, the primary purpose of animals in these parks seems to be centered around entertaining and educating tourists (Rutherford 2011). They are portrayed as beings through which tourists can connect with the wild. Interactions between animals and humans are rare, and most of the pictures depict lone animals being watched and captured through the lens of a camera. Often, there are blurred details in the foreground, which reinforces the feeling that someone is observing and sneaking up on them from outside.

Such depictions create a separation between the distanced and observing tourists, and the observed animal. The strong emphasis on the excitement of watching and tracing animals, together with the underlining of the non-human as spaces that humans visit rather than belong to, defines nature and its inhabitants as objects to be experienced by the subjects, tourists. This assigns humans a privileged position in relation to the non-human (Rutherford 2011; Tschida 2012), and leaves no space for the agency of non-humans, nor any opportunity to step outside of the normalizing structures that separate the human from the non-human. The traditional understanding of nature as



Fig. 6. The material is filled with pictures of animals being gazed at by humans through the lens of a camera. These distant encounters are an important component of attracting tourists to the parks. Copyright: Sebastian Kirppu.

something to be controlled and that serves the world of humans is deeply rooted. Within this, the truth that nature and humans are disconnected continues to serve as a vehicle through which humans tell stories about themselves (Rutherford 2011). All of the things that humanity claims to know about nature say just as much about ourselves as they do about how we comprehend the non-human (Chaloupka & Cawley 1993; Cronon 1995; Tschida 2012; Castree 2014).

National Park Nature as an Exploration Arena for Education and the Mastery of Nature

In both sets of material, experiences that will bring all of the tourists' senses to life are promised, and there is a major focus on how different experiences feel. However, the majority of these feelings are said to be dependent upon vision and the ability to see different things, which relates to previous studies' emphasis on the importance of the visual in tourists' experiences (e.g. Lübbren & Crouch 2003; Burns, Lester & Palmer 2010; Urry & Larsen 2011). Even though it is possible to smell the scent of a bear who just recently got up from the moss and ran away, the experience is incomplete until the bear can be spotted. This portrayal assigns vision a privileged role in relation to the other senses, which is exemplified in the emphasis and promise of enlightened experiences. Both parts of the material depict national parks as places that offer opportunities for learning, but the nature conservation material has a strong focus on enlightening tourists. Pictures of the technologies (Fig. 7) that are used to display nature, together with descriptions of what tourists can learn, support each other and the idea is prominent that tourists should visit the parks not only to enjoy themselves, but also to be educated and enlightened.

This normalization of learning into a distinct aspect of being a national park tourist generates different subject and object positions (see Foucault 1982). Tourists become recipients of knowledge, while the authorities in charge of the national parks become knowledge producers with the "right" to tell stories about nature. Through these technologies of display, tourists' ways of looking, seeing, knowing, thinking, approaching, and experiencing the non-human world are formed, as the technologies define nature by displaying and describing how it should be (see Rutherford 2011; Tschida 2012). It is not



Fig. 7. The nature conservation material contains many pictures of technologies of display that guide visitors through the parks. Copyright: Tomas Årlemo.

possible to distinguish precisely what kinds of knowledge these technologies of display contain by analyzing the images (or their captions), but it is evident that the parks offer tourists not only a chance to learn but also to see things in nature. In a way, this framing of a specific gaze (see Foucault 1994; Urry & Larsen 2011), focusing on natural scientific information about flora, fauna, and geology, that we found in our material, invokes scientific authority and portrays national parks as agents of science, expertise, and trust:

Pick a national park that seems exciting. Read about the animals, the plants, the geology, and the history of the area. Find out what you can do and take part in practical visitor information. (SEPA 2018c)

Such a focus on the knowledge produced by scientists turns the non-human world into something to be mapped, investigated, and controlled. It also helps to reinforce regimes of truth, because scientists are often seen as experts who not only tell the truth but also have the unquestioned right to do so (Rutherford 2011). By communicating scientific knowledge, national parks attain the same “objective” and truthful agency.

In a way, the technologies of display become ways of interacting and connecting with nature through exploration, but it is important to emphasize that these only offer certain frames for how to explore the non-human world in national parks. These embodied visualities make certain parts of the parks visible, while others are left invisible (Rutherford 2011; Bednar 2012), but they also present an implicit notion and visual grammar that the parks should be experienced primarily through gazing. This firm way of “guiding” tourists provides ready-made interpretations of what nature is, but also of what is worth looking at and what is not, which narrows the tourists’ opportunities for bodily and spontaneous encounters between themselves and their surroundings (Lekies & Whitworth 2011; Rutherford 2011; Lund 2013; Senda-Cook 2013). Thus, the focus on displaying nature is an attempt to govern and order not only the non-human but also the means through which humans interact with it (Rutherford 2011; Tschida 2012).

In comparison with the nature conservation material, the tourist material has a less narrow focus on what tourists “should” discover, and instead presents the exploration value as being more connected to extraordinary experiences of nature, with fewer clues about what to look for. Instead of learning about nature and its inhabitants, there is a focus on other types of knowledge, where achieving personal skills and mastery over nature are central. Tourists are not encouraged to look for or be taught about a specific bird, or a particular biotope, but about how to become a dog sled driver or a fly fisherman. This reveals a less interpreted form of nature by communicating the non-human world as an arena for learning experiences rather than being the tutor.

National Park Nature—For Whom?

The tourists visible in our material have homogenous appearances and represent a certain type of people. Although both seniors and children are visible to some extent, it is middle-aged women and men with fair skin and blonde or brown hair who appear the most. They travel in pairs or groups and are interested in discovering the outdoors. By this, we mean that they enjoy being outdoors and active, and are prepared for the conditions that such elements demand. These tourists take part in outdoor activities such as hiking, and dress in clothes that are customized for out-of-doors-inspired adventures:

The tour, over high mountains, through deep valleys and ancient forests and by meandering rivers, is ideal for anyone with a taste for the outdoors, dramatic sunsets, and fresh reindeer stew. Not to mention sleeping in a warm sleeping bag... while a blizzard is raging outside the tent! (Swedish Ecotourism Society 2018*b*)

Many of the tourists who are visible in the pictures wear windproof jackets from Tierra, trousers from Fjällräven, and hiking boots from Lundhags while hiking. In other words, the material portrays the national parks as suited to some kinds of tourists—those who can afford to get there, who are dressed “right,” in expensive branded products and enjoy activities of an active character, but also who those know how to “survive” in this kind of nature. Despite some variations, it is an inveterate outdoorsperson who becomes visible. A person with insights into nature and the ways in which humans can interact with it:

Those wishing to visit the park must have considerable alpine experience and the correct equipment and should be used to spending time outdoors. (Image Bank Sweden 2018*b*)

It is obvious that these users of national parks are upper-middle-class visitors who use these areas as their outdoor havens, while there are almost no signs of local inhabitants or other users. Most surprising is the invisibility of the Sami people—the indigenous people of Sweden. Their homeland, Sápmi, encompasses the northern parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and western Russia (Samiskt informationscentrum 2020), which means that several of the Swedish national parks are located within Sápmi. Just like other indigenous people (see e.g., Hollinshead 1996; Lew 1998), the Sami are often stereotypically portrayed and represented within the practice of tourism. In particular, they are frequently visible in representations of northern destinations as exotic and wild (Saarinen 1999; Pettersson 2006), but also as connected to and part of the natural world (Hultman & Andersson Cederholm 2006). This normalized portrayal of the Sami in tourist material stands in contrast to our material, in which the presence of Sápmi is almost invisible. In one way, it is positive that the Sami are not used for commercial purposes, or portrayed in ways that turn them into tourist attractions to be gazed at. However, this invisibility

of the Sami is the product of an exercise of power that assigns them a subject position of marginalization (see Foucault 1982; Feder 2011) because it seems as though they do not exist in these areas. The commercialization of the Sami without their knowledge has harmful consequences (Pettersson 2006), but so does the act of making them invisible.

The invisibility of Sami culture, and of people with other appearances than the ones mentioned above, marginalizes and excludes many people and makes it seem as though the national parks exist only for a white minority of outdoor-oriented people. National parks are often said to be pieces of national pride and made for the people of the nation (e.g., Frost & Hall 2009; Gissibl, Höhler & Kupper 2012), but this reveals the opposite. The targeted approach toward a specific populace is distinct, and it ignores the broader palette of people living in Sweden. Together, they all contribute to the maintaining of the national parks by paying their taxes but, despite this, they are not all explicitly invited.

Concluding Remarks. Heterotopian Neverlands of Nature

Our analysis has identified and made visible how the non-human world in Swedish national parks comes into being through representations in visitor information publications, but it has also offered a problematization of these representations and their productive effects. These representations of the national parks and their non-human worlds affect relations between the human and the non-human (Grusin 2004; Rutherford 2011; Patin 2012; Gisler 2019). There are several tensions in the portrayal and characterization of the non-human world, depicting nature as wild, pristine, and sublime, but also open and accessible. These exist in conjunction with and enclose several hierarchizations. For example, the northern parks get a lot of space in the tourist material, where they represent pristine, wild, and sublime nature that is only reachable by redeemed and experienced outdoor tourists. In contrast, the presentation of the southern parks in the nature conservation material focuses on their accessibility by highlighting their openness and potential to teach about nature. Something that all the parks share, however, whether northern or southern, is their assigned role as being more highly ranked than other forms of nature in Sweden. Here, the non-human world in the parks becomes something that is unique and worth protecting, displaying, and caring for. Functioning as a national treasure that is said to ideally be open to everyone, this world operates as a cultural heritage that is vital for both the nation of Sweden and its identities. But underneath the surface lurks an elitism that depicts these spaces as only open to a delimited group of people rather than a broad mass—wealthy, active, and outdoor-oriented middle-aged women and men with fair skin and blonde or brown hair. Furthermore, there is an evident gap between nature and culture, portraying humans as contemporary visitors who should gaze upon, explore, and be educated by the non-human world. Here, nature and its inhabitants function as objects and an archive of knowledge, which are made tangible through pedagogical technologies of display. Thus, nature in national parks becomes a kind of educational exploration arena for humans, to which they can escape from their ordinary lives and become visitors in a very different space: the non-human world.

The analysis has also shown that there are frequent expressions of longing for a unique form of nature within the discursive formations. Here, qualities such as the finest nature that is of the highest preservation status are assigned, together with promises of an escape from humanity into a world of pure and untouched land, where wild animals

roam, and there are no struggles or dilemmas. In other words, there are tensions between the extraordinary and the ordinary. On the one hand, nature is sublime, always in some sense far away, distanced, and unreachable, almost utopian. On the other, it is transparent and totally illuminated through educational investments. What unites them, and all of our identified discursive formations, are the representations of the non-human world in Swedish national parks as places of otherness.

Such contradictory features are typical of heterotopias; namely, spaces of social worlds that are constituted by their constructed difference from other social worlds, where the notions, interpretations, and understandings of the surrounding society clash. Unlike traditional utopias, heterotopias represent real places that exist in societies and function as counter-sites to other places (Foucault 1984; Hetherington 1997; Storbjörk 2001). In one way, they function as “enacted utopias in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted” (Foucault 1984: 24). In one sense, the non-human in Swedish national parks is harmonious, free from conflicts, available to everyone, and open. But it also represents extraordinary places of unique character where humans can escape from everyday life, encounter the sublime, connect with the great wonders of nature, and interact with non-humans. It is the purest, most pristine, and genuine nature, to some extent beyond reach, and impossible to fully comprehend. In this portrayal, both sublime and utopian features become visible and appear closely interlinked. Both concern the longing for something perfect located far away, something that is not reachable but only sensed. On the other hand, nature in the national parks is so much more. It works as a place for recreation and for pedagogical activities, where people go for educational purposes. All this takes place within the utopian, almost dreamlike, imaginary of nature within Swedish national parks. The sublime features portray nature as more significant than humanity itself and transform nature into an eternal utopian thread. It becomes grander than humanity itself and invites us to superhuman experiences, but will always be too comprehensive to understand fully. Thus, accumulations of and tensions between understandings constituted by the social world(s) from which the heterotopian one is different characterize the representations of the non-human world.

Traditionally, utopias and utopian thought have been described as places of harmonious and neutral character, where conflicts and severe problems no longer exist (Jameson 1971), but we argue that these reflect ideas about existing principles and power relations in contemporary societies, as they express the ethos of their time (Marin 1993). Thus, heterotopias are fundamental reflections of our time that take shape in relation to external spaces instead of only being internal, like traditional utopias (Foucault 1984). As representatives of the nature of natures—of untouched lands representing the core of the natural world, national parks feature in many of the contemporary discussions and debates about land-use policies and environmental change, and are often seen as establishments of pure environmentalist orientation (e.g., Bednar 2012; Patin 2012; Tschida 2012). Like the fairytale of Peter Pan and his Neverland that enables an escape from aging, national parks in Sweden offer an escape from environmental degradation, places to which people can go to experience “real” nature and pure evidence of environmentalism. In other words, these spaces of heterotopia have a compensating function in relation to other areas, offering a perfect and organized world that stands in sharp contrast to the ill-constructed, disordered, and chaotic spaces outside of them (see Foucault 1984). In Peter’s Neverland, time stands still, none of the children grow up and, in a sense, the non-human world in the national parks is portrayed in these ways. Unlike Peter’s Never-

land, these neverlands of nature do not offer the opportunity to stay young, but they are nevertheless also assigned an enclosed time (at least theoretically). The aging of nature is desired and should be able to occur without the intrusion of humans.

Alarm about deforestation, species extinction, and environmentally damaging procedures are all examples of occurrences against which national parks are said to stand in opposition. With their strong focus on preservation, national parks represent pieces of the non-human that appear to be enclosed in its original shape, in an attempt to save it from the developments and degradation taking place in the surrounding social worlds. But national parks are just another example of the colonization of the non-human world, places where it is ordered and governed according to the premises of the human world. This is particularly reinforced by the strong desire to display nature through technologies of display, as influenced by natural scientists. These provide visitors with an encyclopedia of what nature is and how it should be apprehended, but they also stress the threat posed by humanity to the non-human world and emphasize nature's need for protection.

Encouraging tourists to travel to Swedish national parks becomes a kind of environmentalist activism focused on consumption, which renders the non-human world into a commodified product that offers its visitors experiences of rare nature threatened by destruction (see Rutherford 2011). In other words, this green governmentality represents heterotopias of compensation (see Foucault 1984), which are situated as perfect in comparison to other societal spaces. They provide practices and methods to channel the desires that are present in all ideologies of what a brighter and better future could be (see Jameson 1971; Jameson 1994). Here, the national parks and their non-human worlds become such a dream, or rather a node for basically contradictory dreams created out of the tension between a genuine world that always lies beyond human comprehension—the sublime—and readymade interpretations created through the experts' gaze, which are fully, scientifically stripped of enchantment (see Foucault 1984; Hetherington 1997).

REFERENCES

- Abelin, L. (ed.) (2008). *Naturresevat & nationalparker. Pärlor i den svenska naturen* [Nature reserves and national parks. Pearls in Swedish nature], Stockholm: Designförlaget.
- Andolf, G. (1990). "Turismen i historien" ['Tourism in history'], in *Längtan till landet Annorlunda. Om turism i historia och nutid*, Stockholm: Gidlunds och Sveriges Turistråd, pp. 50–85.
- Bal, M. (1996). *Double Exposures. The Subject of Cultural Analysis*, New York: Routledge.
- Bal, M. (2003). "Visual essentialism and the object of visual culture," *Journal of Visual Culture*, 2;1, pp. 5–32.
- Bednar, R. (2012) "Being here, looking there. Mediating vistas in the national parks of the contemporary American West," in *Observation Points. The Visual Poetics of National Parks*, ed. T. Patin, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 1–28.
- Bird, E. (1987). "The social construction of nature. Theoretical approaches to the history of environmental problems," *Environmental Review*, 11, pp. 255–264.
- Bird Rose, D. (2015). "The ecological humanities," in *Manifesto for Living in the Anthropocene*, eds. K. Gibson, D. Bird Rose & R. Fincher, Brooklyn, NY: Punctum Books, pp. 1–5.
- Boréus, K. & Bergström, G. (2018). *Textens mening och makt. Metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys* [The meaning and power of the text. Method book in social scientific text- and discourse analysis], fourth ed., Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Brady, E. (2014). *The Sublime in Modern Philosophy. Aesthetics, Ethics and Nature*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Burns, P., Lester, J.-A. & Palmer, C.A. (2010). "Introduction," in *Tourism and Visual Culture, 1. Theories and Concepts*, eds. P. Burns, J.-A. Lester & C. Palmer, Wallingford: CABI, pp. xv–xxi.; www.dawsonera.com/readonline/9781845936105; access date 5 Nov. 2019.

- Castree, N. (2003). "Commodifying what nature?" *Progress in Human Geography*, 27:3, pp. 273–297.
- Castree, N. (2014). *Making Sense of Nature. Representation, Politics and Democracy*, London: Routledge.
- Chaloupka, W. & Cawley, R. M. (1993). "The great wild hope. Nature, environmentalism, and the open secret," in *In the Nature of Things. Language, Politics and the Environment*, eds. R.J. Bennett & W. Chaloupka, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 3–23.
- Corbett, J.B. (2002). "A faint green sell. Advertising and the natural world," in *Enviroipop. Studies in Environmental Rhetoric and Popular Culture*, eds. M. Meister & P.M. Japp, Westport, CT: Praeger, pp. 141–160.
- Cronon, W. (1995). "Introduction. In search of nature," in *Uncommon Ground. Toward Reinventing Nature*, ed. W. Cronon, New York: W.W. Norton & Co, pp. 23–56.
- Cronon, W. (1996). "The trouble with wilderness. Or, getting back to the wrong nature," *Environmental History*, 1:1, pp. 7–28.
- Descola, P. (2013). *Beyond Nature and Culture*, transl. by J. Lloyd, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Emmelin, L. (1989). "Turism – friluftsliv – naturvård. Ett triangelndrama" ["Tourism—outdoor life—nature conservation. A triangle drama"], in *Längtan till landet Annorlunda. Om turism i historia och nutid*, Stockholm: Gidlunds och Sveriges Turistråd, pp. 138–163.
- Emtenas, M. & Gustafsson, M. (2017). *Upplev Sveriges natur. En guide till naturupplevelser i hela landet* ['Explore Sweden's nature. A guide to nature experiences in the whole country'], Stockholm: Bonnier Fakta.
- Fälton, E. & Mels, T. (forthcoming) "The Touristic Displacement of Swedish National Parks."
- Feder, E.K. (2011). "Power/knowledge," in *Michel Foucault. Key Concepts*, ed. D. Taylor, Durham, NC: Acumen, pp. 55–68.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and other Writings, 1972–1977*, transl. and ed. by C. Gordon, Brighton: Harvester Press.
- Foucault, M. (1982). *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, transl. by A.M. Sheridan], London: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (1984). "Of other spaces. Utopias and heterotopias" ["Des Espace Autres," March 1967, transl. by J. Miskowiec], *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité*, Oct. 1984.
- Foucault, M. (1986). "Disciplinary power and subjection," in *Power*, ed. S. Lukes, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 229–242.
- Foucault, M. (1991a). *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*, transl. by A.M. Sheridan, London: Penguin.
- Foucault, M. (1991b). "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. P. Rabinow, New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M. (1991c). "Questions of methods," in *The Foucault Effect. Studies in Governmentality. With Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault*, eds. M. Foucault et al., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 73–86.
- Foucault, M. (1992). *The History of Sexuality Vol. 2. The Use of Pleasure*, transl. by R. Hurley, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd..
- Foucault, M. (1994). *The Birth of the Clinic. An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, transl. by A.M. Sheridan, London: Tavistock.
- Foucault, M. (1997). *The Essential Works of Michel Foucault 1954–1984. Vol. 1. Ethics. Subjectivity and Truth*, ed. P. Rabinow, London: Allen Lane.
- Foucault, M. (2001). *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, transl. from the French, London: Routledge.
- Fredman, P. & Sandell, K. (2014). "'Protect, preserve, present.' The role of tourism in Swedish national parks," in *Tourism and National Parks. International Perspectives on Development, Histories and Change*, eds. W. Frost & C.M. Hall, London: Routledge, pp. 197–207.
- Frost, W. & Hall, C.M. (2009). "Introduction. The making of the national parks concept," in *Tourism and National Parks. International Perspectives on Development, Histories, and Change*, eds. W. Frost & C.M. Hall, London: Routledge, pp. 3–15.
- Gisler, P. (2019) "Urban topologies of epistemic change. The zoo and the heterotopia of the map," *Contemporary Social Science*, 18 Sept. 2019, pp. 1–14.
- Gissibl, B., Höhler, S. & Kupper, P. (2012). "Introduction. Towards a global history of national parks," in *Civilizing Nature. National Parks in Global Historical Perspective*, eds. B. Gissibl, S. Höhler & P. Kupper, New York, NY: Berghahn Books, pp. 1–27.
- Grusin, R. (1995). "Representing Yellowstone. Photography, loss, and fidelity to nature," *Configurations*, 3:3, pp. 415–436.

- Grusin, R. (2004). *Culture, Technology and the Creation of America's National Parks*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hanneberg, P., Löfgren, R. & Arnell, S. (2010). *Nationalparkerna i Sverige* ['The national parks of Sweden'], third ed., Stockholm: The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency
- Hedrén, J. (1998). "Om natur- och kulturarvets konturlöshet" ['On the contourlessness of the natural and cultural heritage'], in *Kulturarvets natur*, eds. A. Alzén & J. Hedrén, Stockholm: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposium, pp. 103–122.
- Hetherington, K. (1997). *The Badlands of Modernity. Heterotopia and Social Ordering*, London: Routledge.
- Hollinshead, K. (1996). "Marketing and metaphysical realism. The disidentification of aboriginal life and traditions through tourism," in *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples*, eds. R. Butler & T. Hinch, London: International Thompson Business Press, pp. 208–348.
- Hooper-Greenhill, E. (2000) *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, London: Routledge.
- Hultman, J. & Andersson Cederholm, E. (2006). "The role of nature in Swedish ecotourism," in *Ecotourism in Scandinavia. Lessons in Theory and Practice*, eds. S. Gössling & J. Hultman, Wallingford: CABI.
- Image Bank Sweden (2018a). *Mountains in Abisko*; <https://imagebanksweden.qbank-mediaportal.se/search?q=abisko>; access date 28 April 2018.
- Image Bank Sweden (2018b). *Sarek National Park*; <https://imagebanksweden.qbank-mediaportal.se/search?q=sarek>; access date 4 May 2018.
- Jameson, F. (1971). *Marxism and Form. Twentieth-Century Dialectical Theories of Literature*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Jameson, F. (1994). *The Seeds of Time*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Jóhannesson, G.T. (2019). "Looking down, staying with and moving along. Towards collaborative ways of knowing with nature in the Anthropocene," *Matkailututkimus*, 15:2, pp. 9–17.
- De Lagerberg, J. (1908). "A theory as to the origin of the symbol of the three crowns on Swedish coins," *American Journal of Numismatics*, 43:2, pp. 52–56.
- Lekies, K.S. & Whitworth, B. (2011). "Constructing the nature experience. A semiotic examination of signs on the trail," *The American Sociologist*, 42:2–3, pp. 249–260.
- Lew, A. (1998). "American Indians in state tourism promotional literature," in *Tourism and Gaming on American Indian Lands*, eds. A. Lew & G. Van Otten, New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation, pp. 15–31.
- Linköping University (2018). "The Norrköping Decision Arena – Linköping University;" <https://liu.se/en/research/the-norrkoping-decision-arena>; access date 12 March 2018.
- Lövbrand, E. et al. (2015). "Who speaks for the future of earth? How critical social science can extend the conversation on the Anthropocene," *Global Environmental Change*, 32, pp. 211–218.
- Lübbren, N. & Crouch, D. (2003). *Visual Culture and Tourism*, eds. N. Lübbren & D. Crouch, Oxford: Berg.
- Lund, K.A. (2005). "Finding place in nature. 'Intellectual' and local knowledge in a Spanish natural park," *Conservation & Society*, 3:2, pp. 371–387.
- Lund, K.A. (2013). "Experiencing nature in nature-based tourism," *Tourist Studies*, 13:2, pp. 156–171.
- Lundgren, L.J. (2009). *Staten och naturen. Naturskyddspolitik i Sverige 1869–1935. 1, 1869–1919* ['The State and nature. Nature conservation policy in Sweden 1869-1935'], Brottby: Cassandra.
- Lundgren, L.J. (2011). *Staten och naturen. Naturskyddspolitik i Sverige 1869–1935. 2, 1919–1935* ['The State and nature. Nature conservation policy in Sweden 1869-1935'], Brottby: Cassandra.
- Macnaghten, P. & Urry, J. (1998). *Contested Natures*, London: Sage.
- Maraud, S. & Guyot, S. (2016). "Mobilization of imaginaries to build Nordic indigenous natures," *Polar Geography*, 39:3, pp. 196–216.
- Marin, L. (1993). "The frontiers of Utopia. Past and present," in *Utopias and the Millennium*, eds. K. Kumar & S. Bann, London: Reaktion Books, pp. 397–420.
- May, T. (2011). "Foucault's conception of freedom," in *Michel Foucault. Key Concepts*, ed. D. Taylor, Durham, NC: Acumen, pp. 71–83.
- Mels, T. (1999). *Wild Landscapes. The Cultural Nature of Swedish National Parks*, Lund: Lund University Press.
- Mirzoeff, N. (2011). *The Right to Look. A Counterhistory of Visuality*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Mirzoeff, N. (2013). "For critical visuality studies," in *The Visual Culture Reader*, ed. N. Mirzoeff, third ed., London: Routledge, pp. xxix–xxxviii.
- Mitchell, W.J.T. (1995). "Interdisciplinarity and visual culture," *Art Bulletin*, 77:4, pp. 540–544.
- Mitchell, W.J.T. (2002). "Imperial landscape," in *Landscape and Power*, second ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 5–34.

- Mitchell, W.J.T. (2005). *What do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Nature's Best (2018). *Norrskensnatt i Abisko* ['Northern light night in Abisko']; <https://naturesbestsweden.com/sv/produkt/norrskensnatt-i-abisko/>; access date 19 Aug. 2018.
- Ödman, E., Bucht, E. & Nordström, M. (1982) *Vildmarken och välfärden. Om naturskyddslagstiftningens tillkomst* ['The wilderness and welfare. On the origin of nature conservation legislation'], Stockholm: LiberFörlag.
- Oravec, C.L. (1996). "To stand outside oneself. The sublime in the discourse of natural scenery," in *The Symbolic Earth. Discourse and Our Creation of the Environment*, eds. J.G. Cantrill & C.L. Oravec, Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, pp. 58–75.
- Pajczkowska, C. (2000). "Issues in feminist visual culture," in *Feminist Visual Culture*, eds. F. Carson & C. Pajczkowska, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press., pp. 1–21.
- Patin, T. (2012). "Introduction. Naturalizing rhetoric," in *Observation Points. The Visual Poetics of National Parks*, ed. T. Patin, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. ix–xxvi.
- Peterson Rai, T. (1988). "The meek shall inherit the mountains. Dramatistic criticism of Grand Teton National Park's interpretive program," *Central States Speech Journal*, 39, pp. 121–133.
- Pettersson, R. (2006). "Ecotourism and indigenous people. Positive and negative impacts of Sami tourism," in *Ecotourism in Scandinavia. Lessons in Theory and Practice*, eds. S. Gössling & J. Hultman, Wallingford: CAB International, pp. 166–177.
- Pink, S. (2012). "Advances in visual methodology. An introduction," in *Advances in Visual Methodology*, ed. S. Pink, London: Sage, pp. 3–16.
- Rehling, D.L. (2002). "When hallmark calls upon nature. Images of nature in greeting cards," in *Enviropop. Studies in Environmental Rhetoric and Popular Culture*, eds. M. Meister & P.M. Japp, Westport, CT: Praeger, pp. 13–30.
- Rose, D.B. (2011). *Wild Dog Dreaming. Love and Extinction*, Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
- Rose, G. (2016). *Visual Methodologies. An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*, fourth ed., London: Sage.
- Rose, G. (2017). "The question of method. Practice, reflexivity and critique in visual culture studies," in *The Handbook of Visual Culture*, eds. I. Heywood et al., Oxford: Bloomsbury, pp. 542–558.
- Rutherford, S. (2011). *Governing the Wild. Ecotours of Power*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Saarienen, J. (1999). "Representations of indigeneity. Sami culture in the discourse of tourism," in *Indigeneity. Constructions and Re/Presentations*, eds. P. Sant & J. Brown, New York: Nova Science, pp. 231–249.
- Samiskt informationscentrum (2020). *Samer.se*; www.samer.se/; access date 30 Jan. 2020.
- Sandell, K. (1997). "Naturkontakt och allemansrätt. Om friluftslivets naturmöte och friluftslandskapets tillgänglighet i Sverige 1880–2000" ['Contact with nature and the right of public access. On the outdoor life's nature meeting and the accessibility of the outdoor landscape in Sweden 1880–2000'], *Svensk Geografisk Årsbok*, 73, pp. 31–65.
- Sandell, K. (2009). "För människors skull – men för vilka och hur? Friluftsliv och naturturism som hot och möjlighet" ['For the sake of people—but for whom and how? Outdoor life and nature tourism as threat and opportunity'], in *Naturvård bortom 2009. Reflektioner med anledning av ett jubileum*, ed. L.J. Lundgren, Brottbj: Cassandra, pp. 151–178.
- Sandywell, B. & Heywood, I. (2017). "Critical approaches to the study of visual culture," in *The Handbook of Visual Culture*, eds. I. Heywood et al., Oxford: Bloomsbury, pp. 1–56.
- Senda-Cook, S. (2013). "Materializing tensions. How maps and trails mediate nature," *Environmental Communication. A Journal of Nature and Culture*, 7:3, pp. 355–371.
- SEPA = The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (2011a). *Vår gemensamma identitet* ['Our collective identity'], Stockholm; <https://www.naturvardsverket.se/upload/stod-i-miljoarbetet/vagledning/skyddade-omraden/varumarket-sveriges-nationalparker/varumarkesboken-juni-2011.pdf>; access date 21 Feb. 2019.
- SEPA = The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (2011b). *Vår varumärkesstrategi* ['Our branding strategy']; www.naturvardsverket.se/upload/stod-i-miljoarbetet/vagledning/skyddade-omraden/varumarket-sveriges-nationalparker/varumarkesboken-fordjupad-juni-2011.pdf; access date 12 Sept. 2019.
- SEPA = The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (2012). *Designplattform. En gemensam identitet för Sveriges nationalparker* ['Design platform. A common identity for Sweden's national parks'], Stockholm.

- SEPA = The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (2018a). *Guldkronan | Välkommen ut till Sveriges finaste natur* [‘The golden crown | Welcome to Sweden’s finest nature’]; www.sverigesnationalparker.se/om-sveriges-nationalparker/guldkronan/; access date 18 May 2018.
- SEPA = The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (2018b). *Sveriges nationalparker* [‘Sweden’s national parks’]; www.sverigesnationalparker.se/; access date 14 June 2018.
- SEPA = The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (2018c). *Välkommen ut till Sveriges finaste natur* [‘Welcome to Sweden’s finest nature’]; www.sverigesnationalparker.se/om-sveriges-nationalparker/; access date 24 May 2018.
- SEPA = The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (2018d). *Varför behövs nationalparker?* [‘Why are national parks needed?’]; www.sverigesnationalparker.se/om-sveriges-nationalparker/varfor-behovs-nationalparker/; access date 24 May 2018.
- Soper, K. (1995). *What is Nature? Culture, Politics, and the Non-human*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sörlin, S. & Jørgensen, D. (2013). “Introduction. Making the action visible—making environments in northern landscapes,” in *Northscapes. History, Technology, and the Making of Northern Environments*, eds. S. Sörlin & D. Jørgensen, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Storbjörk, S. (2001). *Vägskö. Miljöfrågan, subpolitiken och planeringsidealets praktik i fallet Riksväg 50* [‘Crossroads. The environmental issue, sub-policy, and practice of planning ideal in the case of Riksväg 50’], Linköping: Kanaltryckeriet i Motala AB.
- Sundin, B. (1989). “Environmental protection and national parks,” in *Science in Sweden. The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences 1739–1989*, ed. T. Frängsmyr, Canton: MA: Science History Publications.
- Sweden.se et al. (2018). “Image Bank Sweden,” <http://imagebank.sweden.se/>; access date 14 June 2018.
- Swedish Ecotourism Society (2018a). “About Nature’s Best – Natures Best,” <https://naturesbestsweden.com/en/about-natures-best/>; access date 12 March 2018.
- Swedish Ecotourism Society (2018b). “Fishing Week on the Dalälven River,” <https://naturesbestsweden.com/en/produkt/fishing-week-on-the-dalalven-river/>; access date 8 June 2018.
- The Swedish Government (2009a). *Framtidens friluftsliv* [‘The outdoor life of the future’], Stockholm: Prop. 2009/10:238.
- The Swedish Government (2009b). *Hållbart skydd av naturområden* [‘Sustainable protection of nature areas’], Stockholm: Prop. 2008/09:214.
- The Swedish Government (2012). *Regeringens skrivelse 2012/13:51. Mål för friluftspolitiken* [‘The Swedish Government’s letter 2012/13:51. Goals for the outdoor life policy’], Stockholm; <https://data.riksdagen.se/fil/CBAD1962-6F3C-47CB-A26B-CF3DFD241297>; access date 11 October 2019.
- The Swedish Tourist Association (2018). “Svenska Turistföreningen. Upptäck äventyret Sverige” [‘The Swedish Tourist Association. Explore the adventure Sweden’]; www.svenskaturistforeningen.se/; access date 14 June 2018).
- Tschida, D.A. (2012). “Yellowstone National Park. Place and actor representations in visitor publications,” in T. Patin (ed.), *Observation Points. The Visual Poetics of National Parks*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 119–139.
- Urry, J. & Larsen, J. (2011). *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, third ed., Los Angeles: Sage.
- Visit Sweden (2018a). “Discover untouched wilderness in Sweden’s 30 national parks,” <https://visitsweden.com/national-parks/>; access date 12 Oct. 2018.
- Visit Sweden (2018b). “Holidays in Sweden | Visit Sweden,” <https://visitsweden.com/>; access date 14 June 2018.
- Wall Reinius, S. (2014). “A ticket to national parks? Tourism, railways and the establishment of national parks in Sweden,” in *Tourism and National Parks. International Perspectives on Development, Histories, and Change*, second ed., London: Routledge, pp. 184–196.
- Williams, R. (1976). *Keywords. A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, London: Fontana.
- Williams, R. (1997). *Problems in Materialism and Culture. Selected Essays*, new ed., London: Verso.
- Zachrisson, A. et al. (2006). “Tourism and protected areas. Motives, actors and processes,” *International Journal of Biodiversity Science & Management*, 2:4, pp. 350–358.

AUTHORS

Emelie Fälton is a Doctoral Candidate at the Unit of Environmental Change, Linköping University, Sweden. Her research inhabits the intersections among visual culture, environmental humanities, tourism

studies, cultural geography, and media studies, where problematizations of how the non-human world comes into being through human ways of making sense of it constitute the core.

emelie.falton@liu.se

Johan Hedrén has retired from a position as Senior Lecturer at the Unit of Environmental Change, Linköping University, Sweden. He is engaged in research and teaching in the Environmental humanities. The central themes of his work are ideologies and discourses concerning the environment and sustainable development, utopian thought concerning the same issues, and the relationship between politics and science.

KRISTINE NYSTAD, BENEDICTE INGSTAD & ANNA RITA SPEIN

How Academic Experiences and Educational Aspirations Relate to Well-Being and Health among Indigenous Sami Youth in Northern Norway

A Qualitative Approach

ABSTRACT Increasingly, education occupies the lives of Indigenous adolescents worldwide. This qualitative study is part of the project “Circumpolar Indigenous Pathways to Adulthood” (CIPA), where the overall aim was to identify young people’s stressors in five circumpolar sites, and the resilience processes that safeguard transition into adulthood (Allen *et al.* 2014). The present study explores the everyday lives of young Sami in Northern Norway regarding educational demands and plans, related challenges and stressors and their impact on well-being, health and cultural continuity. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in 2010 (N=22) with reindeer husbandry affiliation (RH: 11) and non-reindeer husbandry affiliation (NRH: 11) adolescents, aged 13–19 (females: 12). School well-being was divided into educational factors (culture-based teaching, e.g. Sami handicraft and outdoor practices), environmental factors (e.g. school canteen) and social factors (e.g. caring teachers), while challenges and stressors were educational (e.g. getting good marks), environmental (e.g. noise) and social (e.g. bullying). Lower secondary school pupils called for more tradition-based teaching. Educational aspirations were highest among females and NRH males. RH males generally planned to continue their traditional lifestyle and showed the strongest place attachment. We also address the maintenance of cultural continuity, which is important for the well-being and health of Indigenous youth.

KEYWORDS adolescents, Arctic Norway, education, health, Indigenous, reindeer husbandry, well-being, cultural continuity, community resilience

Introduction

There is a lack of qualitative research on Sami adolescents living in Norway, and their contemporary life in relation to school experiences, cultural continuity and adaptation to new demands. This study is part of the collaborative circumpolar research project “Circumpolar Indigenous Pathways to Adulthood” (CIPA) (Allen *et al.* 2014). The aim of the present study was to enhance understanding of the contemporary daily life of both young non-reindeer husbandry (NRH) and reindeer husbandry (RH) Indigenous Sami approaching adulthood in a Sami majority context in Norway, with regard to their educational aspirations and future plans, as well as related challenges, stressors and resilience and the impact of these on well-being, health and cultural continuity.

Cultural Continuity, Well-Being and Health of Indigenous Youth

Cultural continuity is considered an important dimension of community resilience and is associated with well-being and better mental health for Indigenous peoples. Oster *et al.* (2014: 3) used “being who we are” as an explanation of cultural continuity, while Chandler & Lalonde (2008: 222) defined cultural continuity as a “workable personal or collective [...] mechanism” that reinforces “responsible ownership of a past and hopeful commitment to the future.” Antonovsky (1979) highlights individuals’ need to feel that events are not totally unexpected and unusual, but understandable and structured, with a sense of continuity and connection.

The preservation of the native language and, in this case, also of the traditional livelihood which includes traditional activities and attachment to the native land, are potential resilience factors and can strongly influence the mental health of Indigenous people, as stated in earlier research (Kirmayer *et al.* 2009; Fleming & Ledogar 2008; Bals *et al.* 2011). Ethnocultural factors, such as cultural activities, ethnic pride and native language were found to be potential protective factors against mental health problems among young Sami (Bals *et al.* 2011). Self-government, land claims, education, health, cultural facilities and native language facilitation all contribute to cultural continuity and have been found to enhance mental (e.g. lower suicide rates) and physical health (e.g. less diabetes) in Canadian Indigenous communities (Chandler & Lalonde 1998). Therefore, cultural continuity in Indigenous communities may be considered a broader determinant of health (Kirmayer *et al.* 2000; Knibb-Lamouche 2012). A useful definition of community/cultural resilience is “the capacity of systems to maintain similar structure and function, despite assault and perturbations” (Allen *et al.* 2014: 607).

Formal Education

Daily life for Arctic Indigenous adolescents is very different than it was for their ancestors, particularly regarding schooling and education. While schooling for Sami in the early twentieth century, as reported by the first Sami author Johan Turi¹ (2012), was a few weeks each year for five years, formal education has today become considerably more important. Sami youth, like Indigenous youth worldwide, spend most of their time at school, reducing their opportunities to participate in traditional practices such as reindeer herding (Nystad 2007). Research on formal education for Sami youth has been concerned with the content and implementation of the curriculum and with use of the Sami language (e.g. Hirvonen 2004; Helander 2012; Keskitalo & Määttä 2011). There have been

several quantitative studies tapping different topics, for example various school-related issues such as educational skills (e.g. good marks), school type (vocational vs. general studies), positive attitudes toward schooling (school satisfaction), school attendance (e.g. drop-outs) and health parameters (e.g. smoking, hyperactivity problems, behaviour problems, musculoskeletal problems) (e.g. Bania *et al.* 2015; Bania *et al.* 2019; Spein *et al.* 2004). Sami and Norwegian upper secondary students attending vocational training had higher regular smoking rates than peers attending general studies (Spein *et al.* 2004). Others, like Bania *et al.* (2015), using baseline data from the Norwegian Arctic Adolescent Health Study (NAAHS) in 2003–2005 among tenth-graders, found higher average marks to be associated with higher educational aspirations. In addition, males and Sami also showed the lowest aspirations.

Data from the quantitative North Norwegian Youth Study (NNYS) in the mid-1990s revealed significantly lower school satisfaction (less school well-being) among 15 to 19-year-old Sami high school students (20%) than among non-Sami (13%), but there were no gender differences among Sami students (Kvernmo *et al.* 2003; Spein *et al.* 2004). In addition, Sami youth living in the Sami highland (Sami-dominated areas) have been found to hold more negative school attitudes (Kvernmo *et al.* 2003). More recently published cross-sectional data from the annual ongoing Norwegian youth study *Ungdata* (Bakken 2019), show school well-being/satisfaction for eighth–tenth-graders to be lower in the study community (53%) than the national Norwegian average (65%), and lower than the regional average for Northern Norway (56%). School satisfaction might have an impact on completion of upper secondary school. Findings from the NAAHS, a quantitative cross-sectional study including 405 Sami tenth-grade students in 2003–2005, revealed no significant ethnic differences in non-completion of upper secondary school between Sami (41.3%) and non-Sami (36.8%) adolescents when controlling for parental socioeconomic status, religion (Læstadianism), reading and writing difficulties and average marks (Bania *et al.* 2016). Generally, there were lower completion rates among Sami (58.4%) and non-Sami (63.5%) tenth-grade male students in the univariate analysis, but these were insignificant in the adjusted analysis. In summary, across ethnicity, males residing in remote areas of Northern Norway were less likely to complete upper secondary school (Bania *et al.* 2016). A recent paper based on baseline data from the NAAHS (2003–2005), longitudinally linked to the National Education Database, found that Sami males were significantly more likely after 8–10 years (23- to 25-year-olds) not to be engaged in education, employment or training (Bania *et al.* 2019).

Historically, schooling for Sami, as for many other Indigenous people, especially boarding schools, has been the main venue for assimilation and has kept children and adolescents away from their parents and everyday family life for most of the year (Minde 2005; Huuki & Juutilainen 2016; Rasmus 2008). However, placing Finnish Sami pupils in Sami families (not boarding schools) was more likely to ensure their cultural continuity (see Huuki & Juutilainen 2016). A Canadian review by Wiik *et al.* (2017) revealed negative outcomes for Indigenous well-being and health in boarding schools, such as poorer mental health and emotional well-being, and some of the papers identify intergenerational effects.

The first Sami author Turi highlighted the colonizing influence of schooling as early as one hundred years ago (Turi 2012: 30), stating: “And their nature [children going to school] is changed as well: their Sámi nature is lost and they acquire a settler’s [colonizer’s] nature instead.” Western values, content and practices continue to dominate teaching in Sami schools in Norway (e.g. Hirvonen 2004; Keskitalo & Määttä 2011; Bæck

2015). The curriculum has been somewhat irrelevant to Sami people, for instance reindeer herders, which may be one reason for lower school motivation. Further, a reasonable assumption is that parents' and grandparents' negative experiences from their own school days, especially from boarding schools, might have an intergenerational effect, by leading to less school support and more negative attitudes towards schooling (Boine *et al.* 2011). Findings from the NAAHS revealed that adolescents whose fathers worked in primary industry tended to have lower educational aspirations (Bania *et al.* 2015).

Education has become important and the time spent at school has increased. Studies have revealed that both the social and physical school environment affect Indigenous adolescents' well-being and health (e.g. Jamal *et al.* 2013). Positive school experiences (supportive peers, positive teachers) potentially influence academic success (Fleming & Ledogar 2008). Moreover, a healthy social school environment may positively affect well-being and health and decrease school absence (e.g. Turunen *et al.* 2014; Maxwell 2016), while bullying is a serious threat to youth well-being and health (Olweus 1995; Smokowski & Kopasz 2005; Jørgensen 2018).

Considering the lack of qualitative studies of the daily lives of Sami pupils/adolescents, we wanted to examine on an individual level Sami pupils' current schooling experiences and future plans. The specific research themes and selected questions included in the Norwegian part of the CIPA are presented in Table 1. Our main research themes included educational experiences, aspirations and future plans. On an individual level, this study considers Sami pupils' current schooling and future plans, and potential challenges or stressors that could impact their well-being and health. Further, we discuss the potential impact of schooling and future plans on cultural continuity and resilience at the community level.

Context. A Sami Majority Municipality in Norway

The adolescents in this study live in a Sami majority community. Their family background was divided into RH or NRH-affiliated. Reindeer husbandry (RH) is a traditional family, community and land-based livelihood. It still holds a strong cultural and economic position, engaging about 40–50% of the inhabitants in the community under study. Reindeer husbandry (Sametinget 2016a: 6) is regarded as the cornerstone of the Sami culture; along with various subsistence activities (e.g. berry picking, fishing and hunting), it carries cultural expressions of Sami identity (Sametinget 2016b: 42), and has through history adapted to changes in society. Adolescents with family ties to reindeer husbandry have duties and are involved in traditional cultural practices (Nystad *et al.* 2014). The native language has a strong position in this municipality; about 90% of the inhabitants speak Sami. The Sami language is promoted in all kindergartens and used as the medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools, and in the Sámi University of Applied Sciences, which is located in the community and offers bachelor's and master's programmes, for example in teacher training, journalism, *duodji* (Sami handicraft), reindeer husbandry and Sami language studies. The Sami curriculum has been used in lower secondary schools since 1997 and is intended to provide high-quality teaching based on Sami language, culture and social life and thus enhance the development of Sami ethnic identity (Udir 2007: 1–2). Phinney & Ong (2007: 279) emphasize that “the core of ethnic identity is a sense of self as a group member that develops over time through an active process of investigation, learning, and commitment.” However, in the Office of the Auditor General's opinion (2019), there are significant weaknesses in the content of the

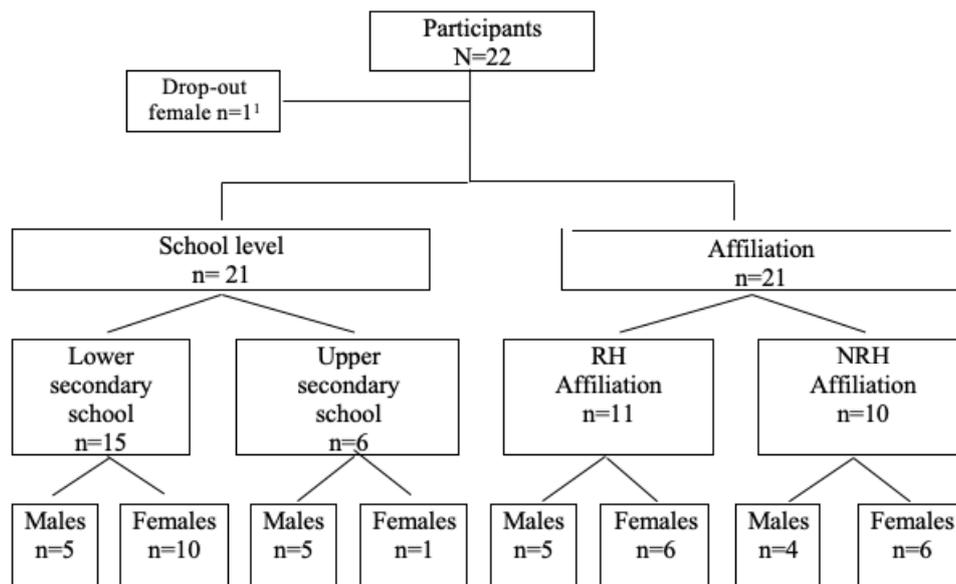
Sami education programme. Moreover, there is a lack of research showing the potential positive outcomes for Sami students of education based on Sami curricula. However, the Sami curricula may play a significant role in building cultural resilience and contributing to the community by maintaining its distinctiveness and thereby its cultural heritage. Ethnic pride and a strong sense of ethnic identity are influenced and partly determined by Sami language fluency and living in a Sami majority area (Nystad *et al.* 2017). Fluency in Sami thus represents a major vehicle of cultural continuity in a predominantly Sami area.

Indigenous communities often struggle financially. The study community has been one of the municipalities with the lowest average income in Norway (Kommuneprofilen, no 2017).

Study Methodology, Design and Participants

This study was part of a circumpolar resilience study, Circumpolar Indigenous Pathways to Adulthood (CIPA), conducted in five circumpolar sites (Allen *et al.* 2014). Interviews were conducted in 2010, with 22 Sami 13 to 19-year-olds (21 pupils, one school dropout, 12 females), of whom 11 (5 females) were from RH families (see Fig. 1). All 22 participants reported Sami self-identification, and 86.3% (n=17) had Sami as their first language. Fifteen participants had a mono-ethnic Sami background, while seven had a multi-ethnic background. Sample characteristics with regard to gender, grade level and reindeer husbandry affiliation are presented in Fig. 1. Participants were recruited using written and oral information in Sami and Norwegian about the project in schools, on local radio and in newspapers. The research protocol was developed in collaboration with the CIPA international steering group. A local representative steering committee (e.g. two students and one teacher) assisted in recruiting participants in schools and adding the site-specific components to the international common research protocol. A more detailed

Fig. 1. Sample characteristics by school level and affiliation of the Norwegian part of the CIPA study 2010



¹ One school drop-out, a female 17 years old with non-reindeer husbandry affiliation
RH = reindeer husbandry, NRH = non-reindeer husbandry

description of both the international and Norwegian part of the CIPA study may be found elsewhere (Ulturgasheva *et al.* 2011; Allen *et al.* 2014; Nystad *et al.* 2014; Nystad *et al.* 2017). The Norwegian part of the CIPA received prior approval from the Norwegian Regional Committees for Medical and Health Research Ethics (REC) 2009/729-2. Voluntary participation was emphasized and participants were given the option to withdraw at any time during the study. For participants younger than 16 years (the age of consent in Norway), informed consent was obtained from parents or guardians.

Awareness of accepted research and ethical guidelines necessitated attention to the young participants' limits and needs, especially those in early adolescence, protection of their integrity and ethical and responsible use of the information.

Interview Guideline

Table 1 shows the main research themes and questions. The adolescents were encouraged to tell about their activities the day before the interview, to provide a life-history timeline, and an outline of issues related to, for example, school, future educational plans and aspirations (Table 1).

Table 1. Research themes and selected questions included in the present paper

SCHOOL

What are the biggest problems young people have with school?

What about you?

How do you deal with such problems?

What would make school better?

Have you ever avoided going to school? Why?

What kinds of things have you learned in school that you think will help you in the future?

If the person is not attending school: Why aren't you in school? What would help you go back to school?

What could we do more of to keep kids in school?

SAMI CULTURE

Tell me about what being Sami means to you.

Do you feel like a Sami?

What parts of Sami traditional knowledge do you appreciate most? Is anybody teaching you about traditional knowledge? Can you be specific about the things you have learned?

When you go outside the community to big Norwegian towns, do you tell people you are Sami, or do you try to hide it? Have you sometimes felt ashamed of being a Sami?

Have you been proud of being a Sami?

What's important to you about your traditional culture? Who do you learn about your culture from?

FUTURE HOPES AND PLANS

Tell me what you think your future will be like.

What do you hope for your future? Has anyone talked with you about this?

Who do you know that has a life like the one you describe? Tell me about him or her.

What do you expect of your future? Has anyone talked with you about this? Please tell me more. Do you see yourself staying in the community or moving away? Why?

What should young people know to become adults around here?

Limitations

The interview protocol was limited by the lack of specific questions on how the adolescents themselves thought traditional and modern demands (e.g. school issues) affected their well-being and health. The qualitative approach and small number of participants mean that the findings are not generalizable, but may reveal deep insights into contextual influences on resilience. The results must be interpreted with caution, as all upper secondary students reporting reindeer husbandry affiliation (n=6) were interviewed in May, a very appealing time of year for reindeer herders, light day and night, calving and migration from the Sami highland to the coastal area. By contrast, in May, school is characterized by exams and tests. This may have influenced some statements, such as finding school boring.

Another issue to be aware of while interpreting the data is the age-related gender bias, as females were overrepresented among participants in lower secondary school, but underrepresented in upper secondary school (5 out of 6 were males, see Fig. 1).

Conducting qualitative research in the researcher's own community might have meant that implicit issues were not made explicit. The community membership and ethnic affiliation of the first author might have influenced the information shared. However, the research process benefitted from the researcher's cultural knowledge and Sami language fluency.

The studies, for example the two main quantitative studies we have referred to (NNYS and NAAHS), had different definitions of Sami ethnicity, which might have had implications for the results.

Interview Process and Data Analysis

The participants were interviewed twice by the first author (except one female, No. 7), either in Sami (n=17) or Norwegian (n=5). The interviews were semi-structured with open-ended questions, providing narrative opportunities (Riessman 2008). All the interviews were taped and transcribed by the first author, and translated into English by a translator who was familiar with Sami culture and reindeer husbandry. The data were analysed using modified grounded theory (MGT). As a member of an ethnic Sami community, the first author had knowledge of the participants' cultural background and everyday lives at school and in the community. In addition, the Sami/Norwegian bilingualism of the first author was also highly advantageous in the interpretation and analysis of the data. The interview and transcription processes required the researcher to listen to and read the raw data several times, which was helpful in the inductive development of codes by identifying themes and comparing those across transcripts. The coding process itself also led to active involvement in the data and forced the researcher to think in new ways. According to Charmaz (2006), coding requires decisions about the codes that make the most analytic sense. The data were coded with initial codes, followed by decisions regarding the choice of the most analytic codes. For instance, adolescents' well-being and challenges in school were divided into three categories and coded as social, environmental and academic challenges and well-being (see Table 2). Considering the small number of previous qualitative studies of Sami students' school-related challenges and well-being, the MGT culturally sensitive bottom-up method was beneficial in identifying themes.

Results

Based on the qualitative data analysis, the following themes emerged: educational experiences, aspirations and future plans, contemporary challenges and stressors, resilience

strategies, well-being and health, and their possible impact on cultural continuity. Summarized data are coded in Tables 2 and 3.

The School Setting. Challenges/Stressors and Well-Being

As shown in Table 2, participants' school challenges and stressors and their well-being were related to educational issues (struggling with schoolwork, getting good marks, qualified and supportive teachers), environmental matters (e.g. classroom noise, poor indoor climate, having a school canteen) and social factors (e.g. social interactions with friends, socially supportive teachers, bullying, peer pressure to take snuff).

"It's Boring to Sit in Class all Day"

The participants reported challenges and stressors, but also well-being linked to educational satisfaction. Some had difficulty with marks or subjects, while others mentioned subjects they liked or considered important; several pointed out the extent to which traditional knowledge was successfully taught in school. Some final-year pupils reported feeling pressure to get good marks, such as this 19-year-old RH female: "I've tried to do my best even during difficult times when I felt like I'd given up on school completely." One 18-year-old RH male considered history, English and Norwegian to be important subjects. He specified: "We have to know Norwegian when we arrive at our summer grazing land." He expressed a fear of losing his language and becoming assimilated: "We may all become Norwegian when we live among Norwegians. It might not take long before we're all Norwegians." Several pointed out the lack of variation in lessons, while others mentioned boredom and being tired of school. Six participants (four females) found school boring, for example due to learning difficulties and lack of friends during breaks (Table 2).

Final-year pupils (tenth-graders) in lower secondary had difficulty with subjects and achieving good marks. One 18-year-old male stated: "It's boring to sit in class all day." More variety in lessons and more practical classes were called for. The reindeer husbandry courses in upper secondary offer apprenticeship programmes after twelfth grade, which the pupils appreciated. Another challenge, as one final-year female student in upper secondary school noted, was the lack of qualified teachers:

The biggest problem at school is to get qualified teachers in some subjects. For example, we have video teaching in history, chemistry and Norwegian language from another upper secondary school. I heard that when they advertise for teachers, they require the applicant to be fluent in Sami language or willing to learn Sami. If I didn't know the Sami language and I was looking for jobs, then this wouldn't be the first job I applied for.

Traditional knowledge was taught at school, but some pupils expressed dissatisfaction with this. One 15-year-old RH female stated: "I learned Sami handicraft, for example how to sew a *luhkka* [a Sami cape]." Others reported learning how to slaughter a reindeer at school, but most traditional knowledge came from their parents, grandparents and other family members, as stated by one 13-year-old female: "My grandparents and my parents sometimes teach me about culture and traditions." One 15-year-old RH female was dissatisfied with the traditional knowledge taught at school:

Nothing is taught about traditional Sami culture in school. We've asked if we could learn how to sew Sami traditional winter shoes made of reindeer leg hide, but we weren't allowed to. We had to sew pencil cases made of factory leather.

One 13-year-old NRH male noted:

We learn, for example, how to set up a *lavvu* [Sami tent] at the school seafarer training camp. Our Sami teacher is going to teach us about reindeer. We're going to slaughter. That'll be fun. We're going to catch reindeer and make blood sausages.

Although the course included several weeks of practical learning, one 18-year-old RH male was not satisfied:

These days we only have one month in the field and I think it should be more. I think you learn more in the field when you're herding reindeer than in the classroom.

"Pupils Were Noisy and Silly"

The second aspect, environmental factors, included noise in classrooms or corridors, poor indoor climate due to old buildings, while access to a school canteen was considered to promote environmental well-being. Some reported getting headaches because of noise in the corridor and classroom, especially with substitute teachers, as one 15-year-old NRH female stated: "We had a substitute teacher, very young, and the pupils were noisy and silly." Similarly, a 15-year-old NRH female reported: "There's so much noise in the classroom—so I can't concentrate." A 13-year-old NRH male reported no social or academic challenges related to school, only problems related to poor environmental well-being: "I have asthma, I react to something in the classroom, and my medication doesn't work." The opportunity to have meals in the school canteen was viewed positively, as one 13-year-old NRH male stated: "They have good food in the canteen, sometimes hot meals too. I go there every day."

The third aspect, social factors at school, included socializing with friends, caring teachers working to combat bullying and harassment, but also bullying, rumours, exclusion and peer pressure. One 15-year-old RH female reflected that the good thing about school was the supportive teachers: "They try to prevent bullying. They try to get all the pupils to be friends with everyone." The positive experiences of the social environment were mainly that teachers tried to prevent harassment, as one female 15-year-old RH female stated: "I think the teachers are doing a very good job. They solve problems like harassment. They talk to the parents as well as the pupils." She also reported rumours among pupils: "There are rumours about people. They sit in the corridor and talk badly about people. I don't like that." She had also experienced bullying in primary school and explained how it had influenced her self-image:

I was bullied when I was younger. Sometimes I lack self-confidence. I think I can't do anything as they told me I'm no good at things. No point even trying. I need support and confirmation that I can do things.

By contrast, one 18-year-old RH-male reported: "I haven't experienced bullying. Among my friends we have humour, sometimes very coarse. Some people might think we're bullying each other. I see it as teasing." A 13-year-old male NRH reported:

I tease. I don't bully. Sometimes I've made comments. I'm not usually the one who starts it. It's hard not to get my own back when I've been teased. Not to say something back or make a comment. [...] To be completely honest, I did bully a boy once. I was bullied myself in first grade.

He confirmed this by saying:

In primary school (grades 1–7) I experienced bullying a lot. A fifth-grader bullied me, threatened me. It lasted half of first grade and happened during breaks. I was afraid. He threatened to kill me. He knew I'd tell the teacher and I just got more threats. After school, I usually went straight to the after-school programme. Bullying isn't allowed there; you can get into lots of trouble for bullying.

In upper secondary school, pupils were more diligent than in the lower grades and less bullying was experienced. Another 15-year-old NRH female reported:

Experiencing bullying every day makes you uncertain about yourself. Your self-esteem decreases. It does something to a person. [...] I was like a lone wolf, in fact [...] The pupils here are very good at hiding bullying. It's a small school; you soon get connected with people.

One 13-year-old RH female argued that one has to be stubborn and speak up against bullies:

Last year something sad happened. One of my friends was ganged up on in class. There were two girls in my class, they tried to bully me but I'm quite tough and I have a lot of friends so they didn't get anywhere with it. I always speak my mind directly and if I get angry, then I can tell people off quite harshly. The two girls got angry when I didn't care about them and they started to harass another girl and she's not the kind of girl that's used to speaking up. They started to harass her about minor things, like, for example, when she asked them if she could join them in playing football and they answered: "It's a game for two only." Another example of how they tyrannized her was interrupting her when she was talking.

The same 13-year-old RH female went on to explain how bullying takes place between girls:

Girls bully by glaring in a nasty way or answering rudely and by spreading malicious rumours about someone to others. The girl being bullied withdrew and started to sit by herself. Her behaviour changed completely and I felt sad about it.

One 15-year-old RH female pointed out the importance of having a social advisor and nurses at school. "They solve problems such as bullying and harassment. They know us better than our class teacher and they help us to choose what to study in future."

Table 2. Educational, environmental and social stressors and well-being related to the school setting by gender and age group/grade level (N=22)

Participant number	Educational self-report	Coded as: Stressors vs. well-being	Environmental self-report	Coded as: Stressors vs. well-being	Social self-report	Coded as: Stressors vs. well-being
Females (n=12)						
Lower secondary (13–15 year) students (n=10)						
1 ¹	Favourite subject(s): Sami Handicraft, Food and Health, Economics, Physical Education Challenge(s): Bored at school when she does not understand what is going on in lessons Lack of information presented to pupils	Bored Educational stressors	Caring teachers: Social support and protection against bullying	Environmental well-being	Friends Rumours	Social well-being Mental stressors
2	Favourite subject(s): Likes all subjects Sami handicraft gives opportunity to learn Sami traditional skills	Educational well-being	Likes the canteen at school Noise in the classroom Old school building	Environmental well-being and stressors	Friends	Social well-being
3 ¹	Favourite activities: Practical lessons, projects, laboratory tests, and screen-based activities Inspired by school Challenge(s): Dislikes reading textbooks Boring if the instructions are not good	Educational well-being	- ²	Environmental well-being	Bullying sometimes	Mental stressors
4	Likes outdoor activities at school Challenge(s): Struggles with some subjects	Educational stressors	Caring teachers: Protecting against bullying	Environmental well-being	Bullying (hidden) Exclusion among pupils Easy to socialize	Mental stressors Social well-being
5 ¹	Favourite subject(s): Sami Handicraft, convenient to have the possibility to speak Sami at school Challenge(s): Tries to get good marks	Educational well-being	Environmental stressors	Environmental well-being Health challenges	Friends	Social well-being

6	Favourite subject(s): Sami Handicraft, Social Science and Music Challenge(s): Long days in school, lack of variation in lessons—only using textbooks	Bored Monotonous learning methods	Better than primary school	Environmental well-being	Rumours Bullying Peer pressure to drink and smoke	Mental stressors Peer pressure
7 ^{1,5}	Favourite subject(s): Sami Language Challenge(s): In some subjects, school is boring, lack of variation in lessons	Struggling academically Monotonous learning methods	Nothing special worth mentioning about the school environment		Rumours Peer pressure	Mental stressors Peer pressure
8 ¹	Favourite subject(s): Mathematics, Sami Language and Physical Education		Teachers protect pupils from bullying	Environmental well-being	Rumours Peer pressure (to drink in one's leisure time) Likes the breaks	Mental stressors Peer pressure Social well-being
23	Favourite subject(s): All subjects except Mathematics and Science. Challenge(s): Breaks are boring, not so many to hang out with	Educational well-being Bored	Noise in the classroom School canteen	Environmental well-being and stressors	Bullying in primary school	Mental stressors
24	Favourite subject(s): Mathematics, Physical Education, English and Science	Educational well-being	Noise in school corridor during the breaks	Environmental stressors	Bullying	Mental stressors
Upper secondary (16–19 year) students (n=2)						
14 ^{1,2,3}	Challenge(s): Having video lessons for three hours is boring, lack of qualified teachers, boring if the teacher is not qualified	Bored Teachers lacking competence	To have the school in the community is good	Environmental well-being	- ²	
17 ^{3,6}	Favourite subject(s): Sami Handicraft and Social Sciences. Challenge(s): Lack of variation in lessons, skipping school	Monotonous learning methods Skipping school	Lack of school lunch	Poor environmental well-being	- ²	

Males (n=10)						
Lower secondary (13–15 year) students (n=5)						
	Favourite subject(s)	Educational well-being	The canteen at school is good, but wants free lunch at school	Environmental well-being	Bullying Experiences ethnic exclusion	Social stressors
9	Food and Health, Mathematics and Science					
10	Favourite subject(s): Sami Language, Mathematics, Music and Sami Handicraft Challenge(s): Norwegian and English		Canteen Lack of teachers in the corridor during the breaks.	Environmental well-being and stressors	Rumours	Mental stressors
21	Favourite subject(s): Spanish, Social Science and Physical Education Important subject(s): Natural Science, Social Science and Mathematics	Educational well-being	The head protects pupils from bullying The environment in school is giving the pupil health problems (asthma) Canteen	Environmental well-being and stressors	Nothing special to say about the social environment Less bullying than in primary school	Social well-being
22	Important subject(s): Geography, Mathematics, English and Finnish	Educational well-being	-2		Peer pressure to take snuff Bullying Canteen is good to have at school	Peer pressure Mental stressors Social well-being
25 ¹	Important subject(s): Mathematics and Natural Science	Educational well-being	School is okay	Environmental well-being	Peer pressure Bullying at school, but the pupil has not been bullied	Peer pressure Mental stressors

Upper secondary (16–19 year) students (n=5)				
11 ^{1,2,4}	Favourite subject(s): All subjects are fun at times. Important subjects: English, Mathematics and Norwegian. Good to know Sami handicraft. Challenge(s): Mathematics is difficult	Struggling academically	All students are more diligent here in upper secondary level Teachers show respect for students Disobedience to the teachers	Environmental well-being Nice meeting friends Getting tired of school (been at school for 12 years) Hard to get up in the morning Good to meet friends Social well-being Tired of school Bored
12 ^{1,2,4}	Favourite subject(s): Reindeer Herding Important subject(s): Economics Challenge(s): Mathematics is difficult Missing more practical lessons in reindeer herding	Struggling academically	- ²	Social well-being
13 ^{1,2,4}	Favourite subject(s): Sami Handicraft Important subject(s): Economics (to be able to fill in forms such as income tax forms)	Educational well-being	To have a canteen at school is nice Free food at school would be good	Environmental well-being It is boring to sit in class all day long Bored
15 ^{1,2,4}	Favourite subject(s): Sami Handicraft Important subject(s): Economics (to be able to fill in income tax forms) Challenge(s): Sometimes the subjects are boring because of lack of interest	Bored	Good teachers. We have some noise in the classroom as we laugh a lot	Environmental well-being To be with friends Bullying and exclusion are in the pupil's mind the most challenging situations for youth. Social well-being Mental stressors
16 ^{1,2,3}	Favourite subject(s): Mathematics, as the teacher makes good lessons Challenge(s): Tired and fed up sometimes, but feels it is important to go to class	Bored	The teachers have a sense of humour It depends a lot on the teachers if we like the subject or not.	Environmental well-being I meet friends and pupils I know Good to have the school in the community Social well-being

Notes:

¹ Reindeer husbandry affiliated

² Nothing reported

³ General studies

⁴ Vocational studies: reindeer husbandry course

⁵ Participant was interviewed only once

⁶ Drop-out

Future Formal Educational Aspirations and Plans

Table 3 shows educational aspirations and plans among NRH and RH youth by gender. Females (n=11, excluding one dropout) generally reported high educational aspirations, regardless of their affiliation to reindeer husbandry.

"If I Lived Elsewhere, I'd Miss the Community"

Females dreamed of combining education and reindeer husbandry. One 18-year-old RH female stated "I'd like to continue our Sami traditions with reindeer herding and all our other cultural traditions. I'd like to find employment where I can combine work and reindeer herding." Reindeer work was important for her:

If I lived elsewhere, I'd miss the community, but that's because I'm involved in reindeer husbandry. Working with reindeer is what I value most in my life here. I think it's important to live outside this small community for a while and get an education. And I've always prioritized work with reindeer above school work.

Four of the six RH affiliated males were taking a reindeer course in upper secondary school, a combination of schooling and herding, and had vocational aspirations as they planned to continue reindeer herding. They had no plans to pursue further education, but preferred to continue the family's reindeer livelihood and stay in the community (Table 3). Future educational, work and career plans were strongly associated with the adolescents' plan to stay in or return to their local community after their education (n=11). One 18-year-old RH male said: "I'm bound to this place and reindeer herding is the most beautiful life one can live." One 15-year-old RH female said: "I'd have to find out how often I'd travel back home and to find an overall balance in life." A 13-year-old RH female described moving from the community to an unknown city as follows: "Well, it will be sad ... but I'll make it anyway." The argument for staying in the community was the adolescents' connection to and love of reindeer husbandry, as expressed by one 18-year-old RH female: "I just enjoy being part of the work with reindeer." She further argued that a good arrangement for an educated woman would be to keep the relationship to reindeer herding by marriage, referring to one local woman: "She's involved in reindeer husbandry because she's married to a reindeer herder and she has children and a good job." By contrast, those who planned to leave the community dreamt of good jobs, for example a 13-year-old NRH male who wanted:

A job where I earn good money, own a hotel. I don't intend to live here in the community. It's a small place, everybody knows everybody. It's strange to me.

Table 3. Educational aspirations and future plans by gender (N=22)

Parti- pant number	Reindeer hus- bandry (RH) vs. non-rein- deer husbandry (NHR)	Educational aspirations	Coded as:	Place attachment ¹
Females (n=12)				
1	RH	Astronomy or engineering / researcher	High educational aspiration	Unsure
2	NRH	Media and communication/ TV reporter	High educational aspiration	Yes
3	RH	Athletics or phar- macy/ pharmacy owner	High educational aspiration	Yes
4	NRH	Interior architecture/ interior architect	High educational aspiration	No
5	RH	Media and communication/ not reported	High educational aspiration	No
6	NRH	Professional studies in medicine/doctor	High educational aspiration	Unsure
7 ²	NRH	No data available ²		No
8	RH	Athletics Reindeer herding course/not reported	High educational aspiration and voca- tional aspiration	Yes
23	NRH	Bachelor's in Police Studies/police	High educational aspiration	No
24	NRH	Media and communication/ journalist	High educational aspiration	No
14 ^{3,4}	RH	University/master's degree/dentist	High educational aspiration	Yes
17 ⁵	NRH	RH Herding	No current educational plans	No
Males (n=10)				
9	NRH	Business Hotel owner	High educational aspiration	Yes
10	NRH	Music studies/ musician	High educational aspiration	No
21	NRH	Film production studies/director, film maker		Unsure
22	NRH	Media production	High educational aspiration	No
25	RH	RH course or me- chanical studies/ physical work outdoors	Vocational aspiration	Yes

11 ^{3,2}	RH	No current plans / RH herding	Vocational aspiration	Yes
12 ^{3,2}	RH	No current plans/ RH herding	Vocational aspiration	Yes
13 ^{3,2}	RH	No current plans/ RH herding	Vocational aspiration	Yes
15 ^{3,2}	RH	No current plans/ RH herding Snowmobile mechanic	Vocational aspiration	Yes
16 ^{3,6}	RH	Odontology master's/dentist	High educational aspiration	Yes

Notes:

¹ Do you see yourself staying in the community or moving away?

² Participant was interviewed only once

³ Upper secondary

⁴ Vocational studies: reindeer husbandry course

⁵ Drop-out

⁶ General studies

Discussion

The overall aim of the present paper was to explore potential stressors and resilience factors among young Indigenous Sami during their transition to adulthood with regard to current school issues and future educational aspirations and plans. In addition, we explored the impact of these on youth well-being and health as well as associated challenges and stressors. We also drew attention to cultural continuity as a broader health determinant in Indigenous communities and how adolescents' school experiences and future plans might influence community and/or cultural continuity. In summary, the participants reported both well-being and stressors related to school, categorized as educational factors (e.g. favourite subjects, struggling with grades, and qualified teachers), environmental factors (e.g. noise, old school buildings) and social factors (e.g. bullying, peer pressure, friendship) (Table 2). Future plans and aspirations were strongly related to place attachment. Females were more prone to have plans to move away to attend college or university. Although females reported higher educational aspirations, they were more likely to find school boring (4/6) than males (1/5) (Table 2). RH youth, in particular males, planned vocational studies and to remain in the community, showing stronger ties to both the community (place attachment) and the land (cultural continuity) (King *et al.* 2009). As found in other studies of young adults (Jørgensen 2018), the study revealed possible mental health problems (bullying causing low self-esteem) and physical health issues, such as those found among sixth-graders in elementary schools in Finland caused by poor indoor air quality (Turunen *et al.* 2014). A poor indoor environment may be a health risk and lead to school absence.

Contemporary School Challenges, Stressors, Well-Being and Health

Both positive (e.g. caring teachers, canteen, socializing) and negative (e.g. bullying, noise, poor teaching, learning difficulties, peer pressure, and boredom) school-related issues were reported. Here we revealed boredom and bullying to be challenges faced by Sami youth, which is in line with findings on Indigenous peers in the Russian (Indigenous Eveny in north-eastern Siberia), Alaskan and Canadian (Inuit) parts of the CIPA pro-

ject (Kral *et al.* 2014; Rasmus *et al.* 2014; Ulturgasheva *et al.* 2014; Wexler *et al.* 2014). The main challenges affecting pupils' well-being and health seemed to be social issues such as bullying, rumours, exclusion and peer pressure. Bullying negatively affects self-esteem, learning, health and well-being, and causes depression (Jørgensen 2018). Two participants reported lower self-esteem due to experiences of bullying, in line with other studies indicating that bullying can cause long-term damage to self-esteem (Smokowski & Kopasz 2005) and lead to health problems such as post-traumatic stress, anxiety and depression (Jørgensen 2018). Findings from *Ungdata* (Bakken 2019) in the study community of eighth–tenth-graders revealed higher rates of bullying (10%) than the national Norwegian level (8%) but lower than for Finnmark County in general (11%). A comparison of data on bullying between three of the nine Sami municipalities in Northern Norway and non-Sami municipalities showed higher bullying rates in the Sami municipalities (Udir 2020). Participants reported more bullying in elementary school, which is in line with the annual Norwegian Pupil Survey (Udir 2020; Wendelborg 2020: 7). Our data revealed that rumours, exclusion or bullying were reported by 13 of 22 participants; they were not always experienced by the person concerned, but seen as problematic behaviour also among peers. Bullying among Indigenous Sami may be influenced by the culture, as traditional Sami parenting includes values like hardiness. Hardiness has been perceived as a value in child rearing, especially among those with RH affiliation (Javo *et al.* 2003). Balto (1997) has focused on *nárrideapmi* 'teasing' in traditional Sami child rearing aimed at making children more robust and withstand more (Balto 1997; Javo *et al.* 2003). There may be a fine line between bullying and *nárrideapmi* or joking/teasing and it depends on the relationship between those involved whether they perceive it as teasing or bullying. Among good friends or in safe friendship networks a *hard and tough* way of joking would work well, as noted by some of the participants. Teasing might sometimes be perceived by peers as bullying and is not always as harmless as it seems. In addition, previously published data from the Norwegian CIPA revealed inter-ethnic bullying or discrimination due to exclusion related to ethnicity, as three bilingual and monolingual Norwegian-speaking participants (Nystad *et al.* 2017) had experienced exclusion (bullying) for being Sami. Hansen *et al.* (2008), using data from a population-based study from 2003–2004 on health and living conditions in regions with Sami and Norwegian populations (Saminor 1), including 36 to 79-year-old participants ($n=12,265$; 33.1% ethnic Sami origin), found that bullying had been significantly more frequently experienced by Indigenous Sami than ethnic Norwegians in both state schools and boarding schools. There was a trend that the stronger the Sami affiliation, the higher the prevalence of self-reported bullying. Significantly, more Sami women than men had experienced bullying (Hansen *et al.* 2008).

A Swedish study by Omma & Petersen (2015) conducted in 2008 including 12 to 18-year-old pupils ($n=121$) with Sami self-identification found that 60% of Sami sixth to twelfth-graders reported low functioning and well-being in the school environment, with regard to teacher support and academic performance. A major difference between the paper by Omma & Petersen (2015) and our study was the ethnic community context. The majority of the Swedish Sami youth attended Swedish schools and had Swedish classmates and teachers, while our qualitative study was conducted in a majority Sami context, with ethnic Sami and Sami-speaking peers and teachers, both in the community and at school. The quantitative sample by Omma & Petersen (2015) showed that 24.8% reported being treated unfairly by teachers because of their Sami background, while 14.9% had heard teachers saying something bad about the Sami. In our study, howev-

er, there were no examples of teachers behaving in either of these ways. In the majority context of the Norwegian part of the CIPA study, three of 22 participants reported intra-ethnic discrimination due to poor Sami language skills and low community attachment (Nystad *et al.* 2017). This finding implies that most of the bullying in a majority Sami context was not related to ethnic issues, although it may be more prevalent in a Norwegian-dominated context with a minority Sami population. Hansen *et al.* (2008) revealed that ethnic discrimination among adult Sami was more likely to be reported in areas where Sami were a numerical and cultural minority.

Both the social and physical school environment may influence adolescents' learning capacity, academic achievement, well-being and health (Maxwell 2016; Turunen *et al.* 2014). Here, the participants reported poor indoor air quality and noise, leading to breathing difficulties and headache. In conjunction with a cold climate and an old school building, the length of compulsory schooling and the hours spent in class might influence pupils' well-being (lack of canteen) and negatively affect health (e.g. asthma, headaches). A Finnish study from 2014 (Turunen *et al.* 2014) including 4,248 sixth-graders which investigated indoor environment quality in primary schools revealed that 5.5% reported weekly headaches, while fatigue and nasal congestion were even more common, being reported by 11% of sixth-graders. These symptoms could all contribute to school absence or lower academic performance. Finland, in contrast to Norway, offers free school meals to all pupils. A quantitative study of Norwegian 15 to 17-year-olds (n=2432) found that regular meals and healthy food were of great importance for academic achievement (Stea & Torstveit 2014).

Our data revealed that pupils considered well-qualified, academic and caring teachers to be good support. Good academic, environmental and social quality in school are factors that influence pupils' well-being. School boredom and difficulties with subjects could affect pupils' well-being as much as rumours and bullying. Struggling with schoolwork could partly be due to the lack of qualified teachers, as reported by final-year pupils in upper secondary school. Earlier published data from the NNYS in the 1990s showed (Kvernmo *et al.* 2003) that Sami youth were less pro-school than non-Sami upper secondary school pupils, as measured by parental interest in their schooling, helping with homework, encouraging them in their schoolwork and to continue their studies. Overall, parents of Sami youth showed significantly less interest in schooling than Norwegian parents (Kvernmo *et al.* 2003). Generally, females in Northern Norway experienced more parental support. Sami parents in the Sami highland (the study community) showed the least interest in their children's schooling. However, across ethnicity, parental educational level influenced interest in children's schooling. Both Sami and Norwegian parents with a college or university degree reported significantly more positive attitudes toward education (Kvernmo *et al.* 2003). Findings from the NAAHS in 2003–2005 among tenth-graders (Bania *et al.* 2015) show that parents with higher socio-economic status, measured by *parental educational* level, were significantly less likely to report lower educational aspirations. A recently published paper by Torvik *et al.* stated: "Lagging academically from an early age may influence children's academic careers, with consequences for their mental health and educational attainment in adulthood" (Torvik *et al.* 2020: 5).

School satisfaction among eighth to twelfth-graders in the study community has been found to be significantly lower (53%) than the national average (62%) (Bakken 2019). Compared to data from 2012 (Norwegian Institute of Public Health 2012), well-being has decreased. This concurs with earlier findings (Kvernmo *et al.* 2003; Spein *et al.* 2004). One reason for poor school well-being or truancy could be boredom. In previously published

findings from the Norwegian part of the CIPA project, one male upper secondary school pupil stated:

It's boring to get up to go to school. I'm so tired at school. I've been at school for twelve years. On the other hand, it's easy to get up when I know I'm going to the reindeer herd. (Nystad *et al.* 2014: 661)

School dissatisfaction and/or boredom may lead to problems such as low motivation and truancy. In our sample, some pupils reported playing truant due to bullying and a poor social atmosphere at school. In the quantitative North Norwegian Youth Study (NNYS) (Kvernmo *et al.* 2003) from the mid-1990s, various school-related problem behaviours were explored. Truancy (84% vs. 79%) and arguing with the teacher (57% vs. 47%) at least once during the last year were more prevalent among Sami than non-Sami 15 to 19-year-old pupils. Among Sami upper secondary school pupils, only truancy was more prevalent among females (87% vs. 81%), while all other kinds of problem behaviour (quarrelling with the teacher, being sent out of the classroom) were more prevalent among males (Kvernmo *et al.* 2003). Various school-related problem behaviours (truancy more than ten times in the past year) were associated with about three times higher use of hashish and other illegal substances, and the same trend was seen for smoking and drinking (Kvernmo *et al.* 2003).

Future Educational Aspirations and Plans

The high educational aspirations shown in Table 3 agree with a survey from 2019 (Bakken 2019), as 59% of tenth-graders (n=73) in the study community had ambitions of going to university or college, compared to the national average of 61%, and slightly higher than the Northern Norwegian average of 54% (Bakken 2019). The present study concurs with previous studies with regard to gender differences and lower aspiration among males and Sami (Bania *et al.* 2015). Bania, Lydersen & Kvernmo (2016), using data from the NAAHS in 2003–2005 merged with register data from the National Education Database (n=3987), found significantly higher educational aspirations in upper secondary school among females than males, but no significant ethnic differences between Sami (41.3%) and non-Sami (36.8%). However, higher educational aspirations did not predict future non-completion rate. Adolescent mental health factors were associated with increased risk of non-completion across genders, but the impact varied between the genders. Using the same dataset, Bania & Kvernmo (2016) found that completion of upper secondary school was the only predictor of tertiary education across genders. In addition, mental health problems, such as behaviour problems in females and problems requiring specialist mental health treatment in males, predicted less likelihood of pursuing a tertiary education.

In the NAAHS study in 2003–2005, Sami tenth-graders and males generally had significantly higher vocational aspirations (Bania *et al.* 2015). Overall, data from the NAAHS revealed that 23.7% reported higher educational aspirations, with no significant ethnic differences but with a significant gender difference (females 24.5%, males 20.4%). A recently published paper revealed that “Indigenous Sami do not differ from majority peers in completing upper secondary school and complete tertiary education equally or even more, than majority Norwegians” (Bania *et al.* 2019: 8). This might indicate that formal education is now being considered more important by minority Sami youth.

Our qualitative findings (Table 3) partly support previous findings, as RH females

had educational plans, while four of six males planned to continue reindeer herding and had higher vocational aspirations (Kvernmo *et al.* 2003; Bania *et al.* 2016). According to Bania & Kvernmo (2016), using baseline data from the NAAHS, men residing in the northernmost remote areas were less likely to complete higher education. This gender pattern concurs with previous qualitative findings from the study community, where males had higher vocational aspirations (Nystad 2007). In the study community, we see an increasing gender gap in higher education (lower degree) from 1987 to 2012 (females 9%–32%, males 6%–12%) (Statistics Norway 2012). The NNYS study conducted in the mid-1990s included a question about the desired job at age 40. Among Sami males in general, reindeer herding was the fourth most frequently reported job of choice at age 40. However, among RH males, 12 of 14 wanted to be a reindeer herder, while the proportion among RH females was 12.9% (Kvernmo *et al.* 2003). The lack of higher educational aspirations found among young RH males in the study community might be connected to cultural values and opportunities to continue reindeer herding. A 1999 study from the community revealed that young RH males prioritized traditional ecological knowledge about reindeer herding in response to their families' expectations, as it was important to maintain family traditions (Nystad 2007). Educational aspirations were not the only reason for leaving the community; lack of extended family in the community was a further reason. Poor Sami language skills were noted among three multi-ethnic Sami adolescents who experienced inter-ethnic discrimination or bullying (Nystad *et al.* 2017).

Cultural Continuity and Health

According to King *et al.* (2009), cultural and historical continuity and ties with family, community and the land are factors that keep Indigenous people strong when facing adversity and stress. Intergenerational knowledge transmission, self-government, land claims and formal education promote cultural continuity (Antonovsky 1979; Chandler & Lalonde 1998; Chandler & Lalonde 2008; Auger 2016) and have been found to enhance mental and physical health. Cultural continuity means that events are connected; it promotes ethnic identity, which has been found to improve mental health (Chandler & Lalonde 1998; Kirmayer *et al.* 2009). Intergenerational knowledge and language transmission are considered as a central component in cultural continuity (Auger 2016; Oster *et al.* 2014). The impact of social networks, community and land has previously been discussed by Nystad *et al.* (2014) and was found to have a potentially positive impact on adolescents' self-worth, self-esteem, belonging, and positive ethnic identity and pride.

Traditional knowledge is taught in schools to some degree, but the participants, especially lower secondary RH adolescents, reported that traditional knowledge transmission mainly took place within the nuclear and extended family. A previous paper from the Norwegian part of the CIPA study (Nystad *et al.* 2014) reveals the essential role of parents and family in the transmission of cultural knowledge to the next generation and the important role of males in the transmission of traditional ecological knowledge. Further, the data indicate differences between families in the degree to which traditional knowledge is passed on, due to modern everyday life, Internet use and limited time and opportunities for adolescents to acquire this knowledge. The role of the school is thus more important than ever in the transmission of traditional knowledge and in its contribution to cultural continuity.

The central curriculum and national tests provide guidelines for teaching and Sami traditional knowledge is given limited scope. A study of mathematics teaching in lower secondary school showed that "when the teachers' behaviour was controlled by national

rules, guidelines and textbooks, almost no culturally responsive mathematics took place” (Fyhn *et al.* 2016: 422). Traditional knowledge and culture-based teaching in lower secondary school might to some extent depend on teachers’ personal interest, competence and faith. Teachers need support and encouragement to implement culturally-based teaching (Fyhn *et al.* 2016). Fyhn *et al.* argue: “An improvement strategy cannot be carried require thorough implementation in institutional teaching cultures in an innovative way” (Fyhn *et al.* 2017: 105). Keskitalo & Määttä (2011) argue that schools’ structure and regulations are founded in the modern Western tradition and ideals and that there is a need to develop a school based on both Sami traditions and contemporary Sami societal needs. It is challenging for local and national school authorities to create and implement solutions that promote a Sami schooling concept for the transfer of Sami knowledge. The upper secondary school reindeer herding course and the flexible university college course for reindeer herders (Magga *et al.* [eds.] 2011) are examples of adaptation to new demands; students combine formal education and participation in traditional reindeer herding.

Further, culture-based education strengthens ethnic identity. Shelton *et al.* (2006) argue that ethnic identity is important in ethnic minorities’ psychological development and may serve as a buffer against stress. A public health report in Norway states: “Education in the Sami language and Sami culture in kindergartens and schools helps to build identity and security” (Norwegian Ministry of Health and Care Services 2013: 44).

In this study, RH adolescents are strongly bound to both land and community through reindeer husbandry, as found in a previous study in the community (Nystad 2007). Community-minded adolescents wish to remain despite a possible lower income. By contrast, earlier findings from the Norwegian part of the CIPA study revealed that RH youth valued reindeer herding highly and were eager to acquire more traditional knowledge like the different names of snow and reindeer fur, and various parts of the reindeer carcass and reindeer earmarks, elements in a complex system which is essential knowledge for herders (Nystad *et al.* 2014).

Most Indigenous adolescents in our study community, in particular RH youth, had strong place attachment. Simpson maintains that this is critical to the education of Indigenous students, pointing out that the main goal of mainstream education is a successful career path in a hyper-capitalistic system. Further, Simpson, a Canadian Indigenous academic, argues that Indigenous people instead need to “create generations of people that are capable of actualizing radical decolonization, diversity, transformation and local economic alternatives to capitalism” (Simpson 2014: 23). These factors can strengthen the Indigenous community, increase self-determination and build resilience.

Conclusion

This paper has analysed qualitative data on reindeer husbandry (RH) and non-reindeer husbandry (NRH) adolescents’ school-related well-being and stressors, and their potential impact on individual well-being and community health (e.g. cultural continuity as a proxy measure of adolescents’ future aspirations). Well-being was related to academic (e.g. culturally sensitive education), emotional (e.g. supportive teachers) and environmental factors (e.g. school canteen). Examples of school-related stressors in relation to these factors were boredom, bullying and a bad indoor climate. Negative individual health outcomes were, for example, low self-esteem, asthma, and headache. We also focused on cultural continuity as a determinant of health on the community level, which can be negatively influenced by adolescents’ future aspirations, and positively influenced

by transmission of traditional Sami knowledge in school. Both RH and NRH females showed generally high academic aspirations, while RH males often reported a strong connection to their traditional indigenous lifestyle and plans to stay in the community. Politicians, school authorities, teachers and health workers need more knowledge about Sami adolescents' school stressors and what promotes well-being in the school setting, which again encourages culturally sensitive educational programmes (e.g. the reindeer husbandry course in upper secondary school) and decreases dropout rates. We recommend further research on Sami pupils' well-being and health in school.

NOTES

¹ Johan Turi, a Sami author, wrote the first secular book ever published in Sami in 1910. The book provides insights into Sami life and traditional practices.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to express our gratitude to the young Sami in the community for their participation in and contributions to this study. We also highly acknowledge the advice and support provided during the entire process by the members of the local steering committee and international collaborators, research fellows, young people and elders.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

FUNDING

This research was funded by the National Science Foundation Office of Polar Programs (ARC-00756211) and the National Centre for Research Resources (P20RR061430).

REFERENCES

- Allen, J., Hopper, K., Wexler, L., Kral, M., Rasmus, S., & Nystad, K. (2014). "Mapping resilience pathways of Indigenous youth in five circumpolar communities," *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 51:5, pp. 601–631.
- Antonovsky, A. (1979). *Health, Stress, and Coping*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Auger, M.D. (2016). "Cultural continuity as a determinant of Indigenous peoples' health. A metasynthesis of qualitative research in Canada and the United States," *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 7:4, pp. 1–24; <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/iipj/vol7/iss4/3>; doi: 10.18584/iipj.2016.7.4.3; access date 10 March 2019.
- Bæck, U.-D.K. (2015). "Rural location and academic success. Remarks on research, contextualisation and methodology," *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 60:4, pp. 435–448; doi:10.1080/00313831.2015.1024163.
- Bakken, A. (2019). "Ungdata 2019. Nasjonale resultater" [Youth data 2019. National results]; <http://ungdata.no/Forskning/Publikasjoner/Nasjonale-rapporter>; access date 24 January 2020.
- Bals, M., Turi, A.L., Skre, I., & Kvernmo, S. (2011). "The relationship between internalizing and externalizing symptoms and cultural resilience factors in Indigenous Sámi youth from Arctic Norway," *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 70:1, pp. 37–45.
- Balto, A. (1997). *Samisk barneoppdragelse i endring* [Sami childrearing in transition], Oslo: Ad notam Gyldendal.
- Bania, E.V. & Kvernmo, S.E. (2016). "Tertiary education and its association with mental health indicators

- and educational factors among Arctic young adults. The NAAHS cohort study," *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 75:1, 32086; doi: 10.3402/ijch.v75.3208; access date 3 February 2020.
- Bania, E.V., Eckhoff, C., & Kvernmo, S. (2015). "The influence of mental health, psychosocial factors, and educational aspirations of Indigenous Sami and non-Indigenous adolescents in the Arctic," *Journal of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry and Psychology*, 3, pp. 169–179.
- Bania, E.V., Eckhoff, C., & Kvernmo, S. (2019). "Not engaged in education, employment or training (NEET) in an Arctic sociocultural context. The NAAHS cohort study," *BMJ Open*, 9, e023705; doi:10.1136/bmjopen-2018-023705; access date 3 February 2020.
- Bania, E.V., Lydersen, S., & Kvernmo, S. (2016). "Non-completion of upper secondary school among female and male young adults in an Arctic sociocultural context. The NAAHS study," *BMC Public Health*, 16:1, 960; doi:10.1186/s12889-016-3644-2; access date 3 February 2020.
- Boine, E., Johansen, S.R., Lund, S., & Rasmussen, S. (2011). *Samisk skolehistorie 5* [Sami school history 5], Karasjok: Davvi Girji.
- Chandler, M. J. & Lalonde, C. (1998). "Cultural continuity as a hedge against suicide in Canada's First Nations," *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 35, pp. 191–219; access date 3 february 2020.
- Chandler, M.J. & Lalonde, C. (2008). "Cultural continuity as a moderator for suicide risk among Canada's First Nations," in *Healing Traditions. The Mental Health of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada*, eds. L.J. Kirmayer & G.G. Valaskakis, Vancouver: University of British Columbia, pp. 221–248.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory. A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*, London: Sage.
- Fleming, J. & Ledogar, R.J. (2008). "Resilience, an evolving concept. A review of literature relevant to aboriginal research," *Pimatisiwin. A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health*, 6:2, pp. 47–64.
- Fyhn, A.B., Keskitalo, J.H., & Nystad, K. (2017). "Sámi cultural properties of the numbers three and four," *Journal of Mathematics and Culture*, 11:3, pp. 81–111.
- Fyhn, A.B., Nutti, Y.J., Nystad, K., Eira, E.J.S. & Hætta, O.E.I. (2016). "'We had not dared to do that earlier, but now we see that it works.' Creating a culturally responsive mathematics exam," *AlterNative. An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 12:4, pp. 411–424.
- Hansen, K.L., Melhus, M., Høgmo, A., et al. (2008). "Ethnic discrimination and bullying in the Sami and non-Sami populations in Norway. The Saminor Study," *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 67:1, pp. 99–115; doi: 10.3402/ijch. v67i1.18243; access date 3 February 2020.
- Helander, N.Ø. (2012). "Norgga beale oahppoplána doaibmi guovttegielatvuolta – mo dan meroštallat?" [Functional bilingualism in the Sami curricula in Norway—how to assess it?], *Sámi Diedalaš Áigečála*, 2; access date 20 May 2019.
- Hirvonen, V. (2004). *Sámi Culture and the School. Reflections by Sámi Teachers and the Realization of the Sámi School. An Evaluation Study of Reform 97*, Kautokeino: Sámi University College/ČálliidLágáduš.
- Huuki, T. & Juutilainen, S. (2016). "Mapping historical, material and affective entanglements in a Sami woman's discriminatory experiences in and beyond Finnish boarding school," *Education in the North*, 23:2, pp. 3–23.
- Jamal, F., Fletcher, A., Harden, A, Well, H., Thomas, J. & Bonell, C. (2013). "The school environment and student health. A systematic review and meta-ethnography of qualitative research," *BMC Public Health*, 13:798; https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-13-798; access date 3 February 2020.
- Javo, C., Alapack, R., Heyerdahl, S. & Rønning, J.A. (2003). "Parental values and ethnic identity in Indigenous Sami families. A qualitative study," *Family Process*, 42:1, pp. 151–164.
- Jørgensen, T.M. (2018). "Mobbing og psykisk helse. Hvilken innvirkning har mobbing på barns psykiske helse?" [Bullying and mental health. What impact does bullying have on children's mental health?], Master thesis, Tromsø: UiT The Arctic University of Norway.
- Keskitalo, P. & Määttä, K. (2011). "How do the Sámi culture and school culture converge—or do they?" *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 40, pp. 112–119; doi:10.1375/ajie.40.112; access date 3 February 2020.
- King, M., Smith, A., & Gracey, M. (2009). "Indigenous health part 2. The underlying causes of the health gap," *The Lancet*, 374:9683, pp. 76–85; doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(09)60827-8; access date 3 February 2020.
- Kirmayer, L.J., Brass, G.M., & Tait, C.L. (2000). "The mental health of Aboriginal peoples. Transformations of identity and community," *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 56:2, pp. 607–616.

- Kirmayer, L.J., Sehdev, M., Whitley, R., Dandeneau, S.F., & Isaac, C. (2009). "Community resilience. Models, metaphors and measures," *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 7:1, pp. 62–117.
- Knibb-Lamouche, J. (2012). "Culture as a social determinant of health. Examples from native communities," in *Roundtable on the Promotion of Health Equity and the Elimination of Health Disparities*, Washington DC: National Academies Press; www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK201289/; access date 28 Aug. 2020.
- Kommuneprofilen.no (2017). "Bruttointekt for kommuner" ['Gross income by municipality']; www.kommuneprofilen.no/Profil/Okonomi/meny_okonomi.aspx; access date 11 February 2020.
- Kral, M.J., Salusky, I., Inuksuk, P., Angutimarik, L., & Tulugardjuk, N. (2014). "Tunngajuq. Stress and resilience among Inuit youth in Nunavut, Canada," *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 51:5, pp. 673–692.
- Kvernmo, S.E., Johansen, Y., Spein, A.R. & Silviken, A.G. (2003). *Ung i Sápmi. Helse, identitet og levekår blant samisk ungdom* ['Young in Sápmi. Health, identity, and well-being among Sami adolescents'], Tromsø: Centre for Sámi Health Research, University of Tromsø.
- Magga, O.H., Mathiesen, S.D., Corell, R.W. & Oskal, A. (eds.) (2011). *Reindeer Herding, Traditional Knowledge and Adaptation to Climate Change and Loss of Grazing Land*, Kautokeino: International Centre for Reindeer Husbandry; https://oarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/43/Reindeer%20herding%2C%20traditional%20knowledgem%20adaptation%20to%20climate%20change%20and%20loss%20of%20grazing%20land.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y; access date 10 July 2020.
- Maxwell, L.E. (2016). "School building condition, social climate, student attendance and academic achievement. A mediation model," *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 46, pp. 206–216.
- Minde, H. (2005). *Assimilation of the Sami. Implementation and Consequences* 3, Kautokeino: Resource Centre for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.
- Norwegian Institute of Public Health (2012). "Folkehelse i kommunene. Folkehelseprofil 2012 Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino" ['Public health in the municipalities. Health profile 2012, Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino]; www.fhi.no/hn/helse/; access date 19 April 2019.
- Norwegian Ministry of Health and Care Services (2013). "Public Health Report. Good health—a common responsibility," www.government.no; access date 21 February 2020.
- Nystad, K. (2007). "Hindrer verdikonflikten mellom hjem og skole Jussa og Mihkku å ta utdanning?" ['Does the conflict of values between home and school prevent Jussa and Mihkku from taking up education?'], in *Maskuliniteter i nord* (Kvinnforsks skriftserie 6), ed. M. Hauan, Tromsø: Kvinnforsks, University of Tromsø, pp. 143–170.
- Nystad, K., Spein, A.R. & Ingstad, B. (2014). "Community resilience factors among Indigenous Sámi adolescents. A qualitative study in Northern Norway," *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 51:5, pp. 651–672; doi:10.1177/1363461514532511; access date 3 February 2020.
- Nystad, K., Spein, A.R., Balto, A.M. & Ingstad, B. (2017). "Ethnic identity negotiation among Sami youth living in a majority Sami community in Norway," *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 76:1, pp. 1–16; doi:10.1080/22423982.2017.1316939; access date 3 February 2020.
- Office of the Auditor General (2019). "Riksrevisjonens undersøkelse av samiske elevers rett til opplæring i og på samisk" ['The Office of the Auditor General's examination of Sami pupils' right to education in Sami'], Document 3:5 (2019–2020); www.riksrevisjonen.no/globalassets/rapporter/no-2019-020/opplaringiogpasamisk.pdf; access date 3 December 2019.
- Olweus, D. (1995). *Bullying at School. What We Know and What We Can Do*, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Omma, L. & Petersen, S. (2015). "Health related quality of life in indigenous Sami schoolchildren in Sweden," *Acta Paediatrica*, 104, pp. 75–83; doi:10.1111/apa.12786; access date 3 February 2020.
- Oster, R.T., Grier, A., Lightning, R., Mayan, M.J., & Toth, E.L. (2014). "Cultural continuity, traditional Indigenous language, and diabetes in Alberta First Nations. A mixed methods study," *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 13:92; doi/0.1186/s12939-014-0092-4; access date 3 February 2020.
- Phinney, J.S. & Ong, A.D. (2007). "Conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity. Current status and future directions," *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 54:3, pp. 271–281; https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.271; access date 11 February 2020.
- Rasmus, M. (2008). *Bággu vuolgit, bággu birget. Sámemánáid ceavzinstrategijat Suoma albmoškuvlla áso-dagain 1950–1960 – logus* ['Forced to leave home, forced to do well. Sami children's coping strategies at Finnish boarding schools in the 1950s–1960s'] (Publications of Giellagas Institute 10), Vaajakoski: Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy.
- Rasmus, S.M., Allen, J., & Ford, T. (2014). "'Where I have to learn the ways how to live.' Youth resilience

- in a Yup'ik village in Alaska," *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 51:5, pp. 713–734; <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1363461514532512>; access date 1 Sept. 2020.
- Riessman, C.K. (2008). *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*, Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Sametinget ['Sami Parliament'] (2016a). *Sametingsmelding om reindrift* ['The Sami Parliament's report on reindeer husbandry']; www.sametinget.no/Soek?search=reindrift; access date 11 February 2020.
- Sametinget ['Sami Parliament'] (2016b). *Sametingsmelding om areal og miljø* ['The Sami Parliament's report on land and environment']; www.sametinget.no/Soek?search=Sametingsmelding+om+areal+og+milj%C3%B8; access date 13 February 2020.
- Shelton, N.J, Tiffany, J., Eccles, J.S. *et al.* (2006). "Ethnic identity as a buffer of psychological adjustment to stress," in *Navigating the Future. Social Identity, Coping, and Life Tasks*, eds. G. Downey, J.S. Eccles, & C.J. Chatman, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 96–115.
- Simpson, L.B. (2014). "Land as pedagogy. Nishnaabeg intelligence and rebellious transformation," *Decolonization. Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 3:3, pp. 1–25.
- Smokowski, P.R. & Kopasz, K. (2005). "Bullying in school. An overview of types, effects, family characteristics, and intervention strategies," *Children & Schools*, 27:2, pp. 101–110.
- Spein, A.R., Sexton, H., & Kvernmo, S. (2004). "Predictors of smoking behaviour among Indigenous Sami adolescents and non-Indigenous peers in North Norway," *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, 32:2, pp. 118–129.
- Statistics Norway (2012). "Education;" www.ssb.no/en/utdanning; access date 10 April 2019.
- Stea, T.H. & Torstveit, M.K. (2014). "Association of lifestyle habits and academic achievement in Norwegian adolescents. A cross-sectional study," *BMC Public Health*, 14:829; doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-14-829; access date 1 Sept. 2020.
- Torvik, F.A., Eilertsen, E.M., McAdams, T.A., Gustavson, K., Zachrisson, H.D., Brandlistuen, R., Gjerde, L.C., Havdahl, A., Stoltenberg, C., Ask, H. & Ystrom, E. (2020). "Mechanisms linking parental educational attainment with child ADHD, depression, and academic problems. A study of extended families in The Norwegian Mother, Father and Child Cohort Study," *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*; [doi:10.1111/jcpp.13197](https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.13197); access date 20 February 2020.
- Turi, J. (2012). *An Account of the Sámi. A Translation of Muitalus sámiiid birra Based on the Sámi Original*, transl. and ed. by T.A. Dubois, Karasjok: ČálliidLágádus.
- Turunen, M., Toyinbo, O., Putus, T., Nevalainen, A., Shaughnessy, R. & Haverinen-Shaughnessy, L. (2014). "Indoor environmental quality in school buildings, and the health and well-being of students," *International Journal of Hygiene and Environmental Health*, 217, pp. 733–739.
- Udir, The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (2007). "Prinsipper for opplæringen i Kunnskapsloftet, samisk" ['Principles for the teaching in the National Curriculum for Knowledge Promotion, Sami']; www.udir.no/laring-og-trivsel/lareplanverket/kunnskapsloftet-samisk/prinsipper-for-opplaringen-samisk/; access date 30 January 2020.
- Udir, The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (2020). "Elevundersøkelsen" ['The pupil survey']; www.skoleporten.no; access date 21 February 2020.
- Ulturgasheva, O., Rasmus, S., Wexler, L., Nystad, K. & Kral, M. (2014). "Arctic Indigenous youth resilience and vulnerability. Comparative analysis of adolescent experiences across five circumpolar communities," *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 51:5, pp. 733–756.
- Ulturgasheva, O., Wexler, L., Kral, M., Allen, J., Mohatt, G. & Nystad, K. (2011). "Navigating international, interdisciplinary and Indigenous collaborative inquiry," *Journal of Community Engagement and Scholarship*, 4:1, pp. 50–59.
- Wendelborg, C. (2020). "Mobbing og arbeidsro i skolen. Analyse av Elevundersøkelsen 2019/20" ['Bullying and ability to work undisturbed in school. Analysis of the Pupil Survey school year 2019/20'], NTNU Samfunnsforskning; www.udir.no/globalassets/filer/tall-og-forskning/rapporter/2020/mobbing-og-arbeidsro-i-skolen-2019_20.pdf; access date 14 February 2020.
- Wexler, L., Joule, L., Garoutte, J., Mazziotti, J. & Hopper, K. (2014). "'Being responsible, respectful, trying to keep the traditions alive.' Cultural resilience and growing up in an Alaska Native Community," *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 51:5, pp. 693–712.
- Wiik, P., Maltby, A., & Cooke, M. (2017). "Residential schools and the effects on Indigenous health and well-being in Canada—a scoping review," *Public Health Reviews*, 38:8, pp. 1–23; [doi/10.1186/s40985-017-0055-6](https://doi.org/10.1186/s40985-017-0055-6); access date 3 February 2020.

AUTHORS

Kristine Nystad, PhD, Sámi University of Applied Sciences, Kautokeino, and Institute of Health and Society, Department of Community Medicine, Faculty of Medicine, University of Oslo, Norway. Her research interests include Sami youth, gender, education and health, and her doctoral thesis focuses on Sami Indigenous adolescents and resilience.

kristine.nystad@gmail.com

Benedicte Ingstad, Prof. Emerita, Institute of Health and Society, Department of Community Medicine, Faculty of Medicine, University of Oslo, Norway, has conducted fieldwork in several African countries, Cambodia and Greenland. She has written several books on issues of disability, poverty and culture, as well as a textbook on medical anthropology.

Anna Rita Spein, MD, PhD, Centre for Sámi Health Research, Department of Community Medicine, Faculty of Health Sciences, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, Tromsø, Norway, is a psychiatrist. Her doctoral thesis was on substance use among ethnically diverse adolescents in Northern Norway based on longitudinal quantitative data. Her research has focused on substance use (mainly alcohol and tobacco use), religion, and self-reported health among Indigenous Sami youth and non-Sami peers.

anna.rita.spein@uit.no

EBBA OLOFSSON & JOSEPH FOLCO

Narratives of Displacement and Trauma

The Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit of Nunavik in the 1940s–1950s

ABSTRACT The Inuit of Canada have suffered from a plethora of governmental interventions including relocations, residential schooling, and forced hospitalisation due to the tuberculosis epidemic. The hospitalisation of Inuit had a detrimental effect on individuals through physical abuse, disconnection from language and culture, and being removed from their families and communities. These government interventions are examples of structural violence that potentially cause both individual and collective trauma and are recounted through the personal narratives of Inuit Elders. In addition, the ethical concerns of conducting anthropological fieldwork on trauma and memory are investigated.

KEYWORDS Inuit, tuberculosis, ethics, oral history, narrative, hospitalisation, trauma, displacement, structural violence, intergenerational suffering

Introduction

In this article, we explore the trauma of relocation and hospitalisation faced by Inuit, coming from Nunavik in northern Quebec in Canada, who were sick with tuberculosis (TB) in the 1940s–1950s. We compare the hospital experience with the residential school experience. Research focusing on the impact of the TB evacuation on the identities of evacuees has been published elsewhere, by one of the authors of this article (Olofsson, Holton & Partridge 2008). This article continues exploring the theme of identity, but instead of focusing on how individual ethnic identity fluctuates due to cultural context and identification, as was the focus in the other article, this article investigates how historical trauma creates a form of social identity for the group, a topic extrapolated upon by Hirschberger (2018).

At the height of the tuberculosis evacuation in the mid-1950s, the epidemic had wreaked havoc on Inuit families, camps and settlements (Grygier 1994: 54). Approximately 7 to 10 per cent of Canada's Inuit population at the time was hospitalised with a tuberculosis diagnosis (Duffy 1988: 71; Grygier 1994: 71; Jenness [1964] 1972: 143, 146). The literature about the TB-epidemic among the Inuit (e.g. Grygier 1994; Duffy 1988; Jenness [1964] 1972) and among First Nations and Canadians with European descent (Wherrett 1977) have often focused on the work of medical personnel and government officials, not going into depth about the personal experiences of TB patients and the effect this relocation had on both Inuit and First Nations communities. Maureen Lux (2016) has written about the experiences of the hospitalisation both for First Nations (called "Indians" in the past and in historical documents) and the Inuit. The First Nations and the Inuit were treated more or less as the same population by the Canadian government. The history of the TB-epidemic for the First Nations, for example, the Cree Nation, is similar to the Inuit, both the First Nations and the Inuit were evacuated from their home communities and placed in hospitals and sanatoria, and often in so called *Indian hospitals* (Lux 2016).

In this article, we have chosen to focus on the personal experiences of the Inuit who were hospitalised and the effects this had on the Inuit collective. The research questions explored in this article, are the following: What are the similarities and differences between the hospitalisation of the Inuit sick with tuberculosis and the residential schooling of the Inuit and the First Nations? Why is it important for the individual as well as for the collective of Inuit to remember traumatic historical events? We are comparing the hospitalisation of the Inuit to the forced residential schooling of the Inuit and the First Nations, pointing out that there are many similarities, similar events which have been traumatic experiences and directly impacted both individuals and the Inuit collective. We are using the definition of Hirschberger (2018) for "collective trauma" and using it to illustrate the constructing of social identity:

The term *collective trauma* refers to the psychological reactions to a traumatic event that affect an entire society; it does not merely reflect an historical fact, the recollection of a terrible event that happened to a group of people. It suggests that the tragedy is represented in the collective memory of the group, and like all forms of memory it comprises not only a reproduction of the events, but also ongoing reconstructions of the trauma in an attempt to make sense of it. (Hirschberger 2018: 1)

Collective trauma is often the result of structural violence, which is systematic violence directed towards minority groups by the dominant or colonising population group. We are following the definition of "structural violence" formulated by Paul Farmer, physician and medical anthropologist, who has done extensive research about inequalities in health care, including the effects of AIDS and tuberculosis in the third world (Bourgois 2009: 17). Structural violence is not only actions taken against a minority group by a government or industrial corporation, it also includes, actions not taken, for example, not providing health care (Rylko-Bauer, Whiteford & Farmer 2009: 4).

In the context of this article, historical trauma is defined as an event or series of events that have caused physical or emotional scarring for an individual or group. Intergenerational trauma however, stems from the initial historical event or series of events (example displacement to residential schools and sanatoria), and is transmitted through memory and posttraumatic stress disorder (hereafter written PTSD) in subsequent generations; the experiences described by Inuit Elders have had detrimental long-term effects on their lives and those of their families. Research has shown that suffering a trauma can lead to long-term personal and collective suffering:

Traumatic events exact an enormous psychological and physical toll on survivors, and often have ramifications that must be endured for decades. This includes emotional scars, and in many cases standards of living are diminished, often never recovering to levels that existed prior to the trauma. These traumas can occur at a personal level (e.g., car accident, or rape) or at a collective level (war, natural disasters, or genocide), and the responses to such events are not identical. In the latter instance, there is now considerable evidence that the effects of trauma experiences are often transmitted across generations. (Bombay, Matheson & Anisman 2009: 6)

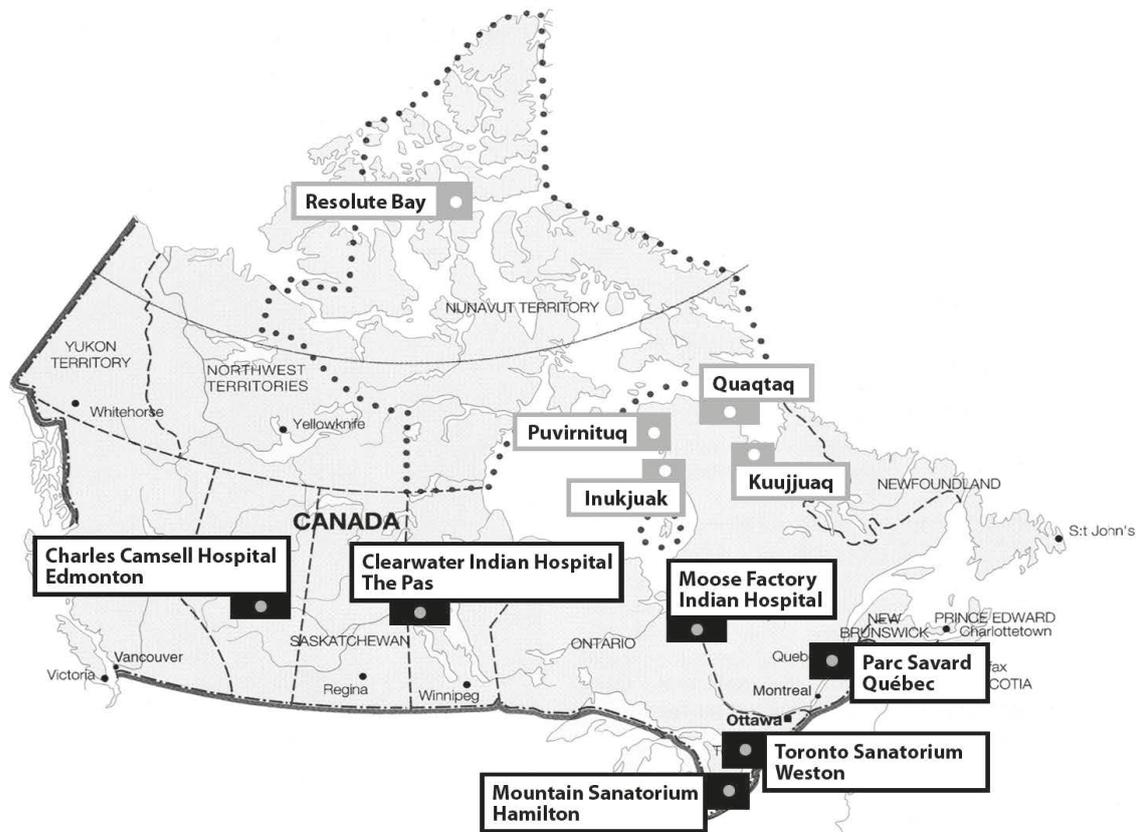
In this article, two stories of hospitalisation of Inuit persons sick with tuberculosis will be recounted in their own words, serving as an illustration of the experiences many Inuit had endured. The research is qualitative with the purpose of understanding the personal experiences of Inuit and does not intend to make larger statistical generalisations about the level of trauma for the entire Inuit collective.

This article is written collaboratively by two authors; Ebba Olofsson conducted the interviews with Inuit Elders, which was done originally for a postdoctoral study (2008), and has written the sections about the hospitalisation of the Inuit. Joseph Folco has written the section about structural violence. The interviews were conducted with the intent of understanding the personal experiences of being removed from your home community and spending many years at a sanatorium or hospital, and later relocated back home. As mentioned previously, the focus was on the individual ethnic identity. The material about residential schooling of the Inuit and the First Nations is taken from the literature. Two of the persons interviewed for the research study had also stayed several years at residential schools (which they mentioned at the interview) and they had also received schooling at the hospitals and sanatoria. Both authors contributed to the article together by making the comparison between the experience of Inuit Elders during relocation and hospitalisation and the residential school experience, suggesting that trauma is experienced both individually and collectively. The comparison is framed by a theoretical discussion of how Inuit have been subjected to structural violence historically through colonisation and the effects this trauma has had on individuals and their families. Moreover, the authors are following Kleinman's approach to the socio-cultural study of disease and illness. Kleinman (1988) distinguishes between illness and disease arguing that disease is that which is symptomatic and felt physiologically, whereas illness is how the person inflicted by the disease and people around that person are handling and understanding the physical effects of the disease (Kleinman 1988: 3–4).

Methods—Practical and Ethical Issues with Collecting Narratives

The methodological approach used for this research involved gathering narratives from twenty-one former Inuit TB patients and two former medical personnel. Former Inuit tuberculosis patients, who were Elders at the time of the interview, shared their stories about their experience of being sent to southern Canada for medical care and treatment for tuberculosis. The first author conducted the interviews as a part of a postdoctoral research project at the Sir Mortimer B. Davis Jewish General Hospital and McGill University in Montreal in collaboration with Avataq Cultural Institute (an Inuit non-profit organisation) in Montreal. The photographs in this article are from Johanna Rabinowitz Collection housed at Health Sciences Archives at McMaster University, in Hamilton. The photographs in this collection were taken mostly by Johanna Rabinowitz but a few

Fig. 1. Map showing the hospitals and sanatoriums used for Inuit and First Nations TB patients in Canada. Map created by Scott Park.



were taken with her camera by other people. The photographs were taken when she was working as a nurse at Mountain San (Hamilton Sanatorium) and when she worked on the *C.D. Howe* hospital boat. She was interviewed for this research project about her experiences and she provided insight about the photographs.

The principal data collection method for this project was oral history. Narratives were collected mainly in northern Quebec—Nunavik—among Inuit Elders who in their youth had been diagnosed with tuberculosis and had been hospitalised due to the illness. The main period for the TB evacuation was the 1940s–1950s, but the evacuation process continued years later. Most interviews were conducted in English, with some being conducted with the help of an interpreter if the interviewee did not speak English. Inuit Elders who participated in this project had specific intentions for how and why these stories were shared; most interviewees believed it was important to tell their story for future generations so that history is not lost.

All project recordings and transcripts of the interviews were donated to the archives at Avataq at the end of the project. This research was conducted differently from standard medical and psychological research. The standard practice is to guarantee interviewee confidentiality and anonymity however our research required a different approach. In addition, the recordings and transcripts are normally destroyed after five years and research institutions request the researcher uses a consent form and each interviewee (or research subject) has to sign the consent form. The consent has to be informed, meaning that the interviewee is not only consenting to the research, but they are made aware of what their

consent and participation entails. This process can sometimes complicate ethnographic research (especially during participant observation) since many people are reluctant to sign a document even if they approve of sharing their life story (Ruttan 2004).

For this research, consent forms were signed by the interviewees, but the additional option was given to each participant whether to be mentioned by name in the publication or to be anonymous. They also had the option to keep the recording and the transcript of the interview at the archives at Avataq Cultural Institute or to have them destroyed. Consent forms, with the options clearly stated so the interviewee could mark their choice, were made in English and were translated into Inuktitut. Another consent form was made for medical personnel. Twenty-one Inuit Elders were interviewed and only two of them choose not to be mentioned by name, which serves as an illustration of how important it is for Inuit Elders to have their names attached to their personal narratives. Before starting the interview, the consent form was explained, and even if the interviewee spoke English, it was sometimes also explained by an Inuk.¹

In addition, the ethical review board at the Sir Mortimer B. Davis Jewish General Hospital was supportive and accepted the process of adapting without any difficulties, even though this entailed deviating from the standard procedure (which is anonymity of research participants and destroying research material after five years). Olofsson was required to submit a question guide with the ethics application, which consisted of semi-structured questions. During the interviews, Olofsson allowed the interviewees to talk freely, if they wanted to, and if needing guidance, she would use the questions in the question guide. We are of the opinion that going through the ethics application process helped make the first author be more prepared for the interviews, made the research project more integrated and most importantly, gave each interviewee a voice.

Historical Background—The Inuit

The Inuit occupied an area from Greenland to Labrador on the east Coast of the North American continent, over the eastern Arctic, up to the northern Arctic, and west to the Northwest Territories and Alaska. Although they lived over a vast area and made up several different groups, they still had at the time of contact with Europeans a similar way of living, according to John S. Matthiasson (1997). They mostly lived not far from the coast and were dependent on the sea for food (sealing, whale hunting, and fishing) and transport, but most Inuit groups also based their subsistence economy on caribou hunting. The Inuit were a migratory people and they moved after their resources (Burch 1997: 119–120; Matthiasson 1997: 78–86). The development of the Inuit in Canada, after the expansion of the Europeans and European North Americans, follows a similar pattern, even though not everyone was affected at the same time and the impact was felt differently from one place to another (Graburn 1969; Matthiasson 1997). Only as late as the nineteenth century were the Inuit in Canada (except for the Inuit living in Labrador) affected by the Europeans or North Americans (Matthiasson 1997: 102).

The Hudson's Bay Company was trading with the Cree and Inuit for furs (Francis & Morantz 1983: 146–150). The Hudson's Bay Company, after the amalgamation with the Northwest Company (1821), expanded further west (Dickason 1997: 342–356). The trading in furs continued. After the turn of the century more posts were opened up in the eastern and western Arctic, both by the HBC and independent traders. Around 1920, the HBC opened more trading posts around Ungava Bay (in Quebec), and the Inuit came to play a more important role in the fur trade than before. In this period, white (Arctic) fox furs became fashionable and were very much in demand. The fur trade flourished,

more and more Inuit became involved in the trade, and it spread over a larger area. Increasing numbers of Inuit came to the trading posts and stayed for longer periods, and some settled permanently around the post and took up different jobs at the Company. After the traders came the missionaries, first from the Anglican Church and later on from the Roman Catholic Church. According to Graburn (1969), the Inuit in Ungava Bay and northeast of Hudson Bay were converted to the Anglican faith in the first decade of the twentieth century, and the Anglican missionaries taught the Inuit to read and write Inuktitut in syllabics—a system of writing that the missionaries already had introduced to the Cree and Ojibwa Nations. The Inuit from Ungava Bay had already, before the Anglican missionaries came, been introduced to the Lutheran faith by the Moravians (Graburn 1969: 117–125). In the western Arctic, the Inuit were also converted in the same period and were taught to read and write in Inuktitut by the Anglican missionaries, but instead using the Roman alphabet (Jeness [1964] 1972: 16). The Inuit remained in most places faithful to the Anglican Church even after the Roman Catholic Church had arrived. After the churches were established, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) arrived. The RCMP was the government's representatives. In addition to keeping law and order, they kept statistics on the Inuit and helped the missionaries with health care among the Inuit (Graburn 1969: 117–125).

The flourishing fox trade lasted until the Depression started in the 1930s, and the difficult times would continue throughout World War II. Many First Nations and Inuit during this period would die of starvation (Graburn 1969: 117–120), even in areas like Kuujuaq, that was considered by Graburn as “so long a center of civilization, more than 100 Eskimos and Indians starved to death in the winter of 1941–42” (Graburn 1969:120). The Inuit could no longer completely go back to their traditional hunting methods since they had become dependent on hunting with rifles. The supply ships failed to arrive or brought too little ammunition, which put even the good hunters in a precarious situation. At this time, the U.S. army opened up air bases at Frobisher Bay, Coral Harbour and Kuujuaq, and offered the Inuit employment and gifts (Graburn 1969: 120). The province of Quebec expanded and obtained jurisdiction over the eastern Arctic in 1917. The federal government intended Quebec to assume responsibility for the Inuit. The Quebec provincial government, which did not want to take on this burden, contended that the Inuit should be considered as “Indians” and therefore the responsibility of the federal government. They even went to court over this matter, and the Supreme Court of Canada declared in 1939 that the Inuit were the responsibility of the federal government and should be considered as “Indians” in terms of their rights. Despite this declaration, the federal government decided that the Inuit would be considered Canadian citizens and have the privileges of Canadian citizens (and not be considered as “Indians” in the legislation) (Dickason 1997: 359; Graburn 1969: 140; Smith 1993: 53).

As when the Europeans colonised the First Nations, the Europeans, Euro-Canadians, and Americans brought with them a lot of diseases for which the Inuit did not have immunity, even a common cold could have a deadly result. Among the Inuit diseases such as measles, pneumonia, and tuberculosis spread (Graburn 1969: 143). Reports on the difficult situation of the Inuit, both in terms of their health—since many Inuit were seriously ill with tuberculosis—and their social condition, came in to the federal government during the 1930s and 1940s from missionaries and from doctors at the American air bases. In the 1940s the federal government decided to ship those Inuit with tuberculosis to hospitals in the south (Grygier 1994: 55–85).

The Evacuation of the Inuit Sick with Tuberculosis

Between 1946 and 1969, the governmental medical evacuation program began known as the Eastern Arctic Patrol. Part of this program involved a ship known as the *C.D. Howe* or “hospital boat” and it was equipped with medical personnel, including medical doctors, nurses, nurse aides, a dentist, X-ray equipment, and X-ray technicians. The Eastern Arctic Patrol would visit the Inuit villages in northern Quebec but also in the High Arctic. All those in the Inuit village where the ship docked, had to board the boat and receive a medical examination. If Inuit were diagnosed with tuberculosis or other serious conditions, they would be transported to a southern hospital for treatment (Grygier 1994: 86; Johanna Rabinowitz 2005; Olofsson, Holton & Partridge 2008). Hospital stays for Inuit with TB often lasted several years and while many returned to their communities, others suffered a different fate. Common reasons for not returning home included death from the illness or disabilities that would have made their former life on the land near impossible to manage (Olofsson, Holton & Partridge 2008).



Fig. 2. Nurse Johanna Rabinowitz escorting children who are returning to their home communities. Photo taken at Mount Hope airport (Hamilton) in 1958. Source: Johanna Rabinowitz Collection, Health Sciences Archives, McMaster University.

Coping with a serious illness like tuberculosis was difficult for the Inuit as it affected them profoundly during the evacuation, hospitalisation and when they returned to their communities. Participants in this research originated from northern Quebec, known today as Nunavik and while some of them remain in Nunavik to this day, others have settled in Montreal and Ottawa. While the medical assistance these Inuit individuals received while in southern Canada was medically beneficial, the process of moving Inuit individuals from their home communities had social and cultural effects that have lasted a lifetime (Olofsson, Holton & Partridge 2008).

Nearly every Inuit² community in Canada today includes individuals, often children at the time, who were evacuated and returned years later from TB treatment in the south. As a result, the TB epidemic and subsequent evacuation had a great impact

not only on individual lives but also on the Inuit community and culture (Olofsson, Holton & Partridge 2008). To understand the impact of the evacuation of Inuit with tuberculosis, it is integral to understand the important role of the nuclear family for the Inuit before the modernisation of their communities, starting in the 1940s, but not fully implemented until the 1960s–1970s (Dorais 1997). The family was the foundation for survival and the division of labour in the Inuit society was based on gender with very little specialisation (only the shaman was a specialist). The men would do the hunting and most of the fishing, while women would do the gathering of berries, eggs, and any other useful vegetation. In addition, the women also did all the sewing of the clothing, tents, boots, and even boats. Women would also be responsible for the young children at the camp since men would often have to go on hunting trips. A man could not survive on his own; he depended on his wife to have clothes and shelter, and to take care of his children. Similarly, a woman could not survive on her own; she needed a husband to provide her and her children with meat. Therefore, a complementary arrangement was deeply entrenched in Inuit culture whereby each gender was co-dependent on the other (Billson Mancini & Mancini 2007).

When a man was taken away and sent to a hospital in the south this meant that his wife and children had to survive on their own or at the mercy of others in the community. The same would happen when a woman was taken away; she had to leave her children, even infants, in the care of her husband (Olofsson, Holton & Partridge 2008). Oftentimes, small children and infants would leave with the hospital boat without either of their parents. This situation created as much anxiety for the family member leaving as the ones staying. The man leaving his wife and children behind would worry about their survival, to the point where people even tried to hide out on the land, knowing that if they were deemed sick, they would have to go to the south. The C.D. Howe ship was equipped with a helicopter and a helicopter platform. The purpose of the helicopter was



Fig. 3. The helicopter is taking off from the hospital boat C.D. Howe in 1958. Source: Johanna Rabinowitz Collection, Health Sciences Archives, McMaster University.



Fig. 4. Adults and children, former TB patients, about to board the aircraft beginning the journey back to their home communities. They all are tagged with information such as their name, disk number,² and name of home community. Photo taken at Mount Hope airport (Hamilton) in 1958. Source: Johanna Rabinowitz Collection, Health Sciences Archives, McMaster University.

to fly ahead of the ship to check the ice conditions before docking at the community, but also to search the land for anyone trying to hide and bring them back to the ship (Olofsson, Holton & Partridge 2008; Johanna Rabinowitz 2005).

The reason the government evacuated people instead of building hospitals and nursing stations in northern Canada, was that specialised care was needed. This was especially true before antibiotics (penicillin) were developed and deemed an efficient medication for treating tuberculosis in the late 1940s and 1950s. Even when treating TB patients with antibiotics, they still had to perform surgeries, such as, puncturing a lung, or hip surgery (depending on where the tuberculosis had taken hold in the body) (Grygier 1994: 55–195; Jenness [1964] 1972: 84–86). Nonetheless, not everybody diagnosed with tuberculosis was evacuated to a southern hospital. Maggie Ekoomiak (2007), interviewed for this study, had to stay for three years at a nursing station in a community in Nunavik. Therefore, although the government policy was not consistent, they wanted to give the impression that it was through photographs and National Film Board movies about the relocations of Inuit and the tuberculosis evacuation (Lux 2016: 109).

Elders Sharing Their Stories

A young man, only about 16 years old, is on the beach in Inukjuak, he is alone and scared. This young man is Adamie Inukpuk, back in his home community after spending many months at a sanatorium in Hamilton. He has returned on the hospital boat and dropped off in Inukjuak without any concern for how he will manage on his own. Someone else has also returned, a child named Annie Tukai, no longer able to communicate with her parents since she has lost the Inuktitut language. She was just a toddler when sent away to the hospital and she has difficulties to bond with her parents when

she is back with her parents. Their stories about hospitalisation and returning home to Nunavik (northern Quebec) are recounted here.

Childhood Trauma—"My Body Overly Necessary Patient"

Annie Tukai, who was sent away, unaccompanied, to Mountain San (Sanatorium) in Hamilton when she was only two years old, explains how this experience has affected her and her interactions with others. She is saddened by the fact that she did not have the same closeness to her parents as her siblings had:

Annie Tukai: I used to think—because there's a great distance between me and my parents, there was no bond for a long time. So, it was like a ... I got use to this life style, but it was different to them. I realised that it must have been hard for my parents to deal with me because when I went back—I wanted to go to the toilet, or I wanted a meal, or I wanted a clean sheet or something like that.

Interviewer: And they were still living on the land?

Annie Tukai: Yeah, they were still living on the land. There were no houses. I remember only one person spoke English and I couldn't speak Inuktitut anymore. I stayed with a family here [Inukjuak] and only one person—Inuk—spoke English. I didn't know anybody. I didn't know my parents. I don't remember coming home, but my sister was born in May and I came home after. I remember living in a half igloo and tent on the top. I remember that maybe they didn't understand so maybe they just let me do whatever I wanted to do. If they went fishing I wanted to go with them. Even though it's cold and I'm small. Stuff like that. I think normally people wouldn't let their children go out fishing. (Annie Tukai 2008)

Inuit children who were taken away and sent to hospitals did not learn how to interact in a family environment or how to show closeness to another person because there was no one there to take their parents' roles and show them affection and caretaking; they had no role models. When they returned, many of these children felt alienated from their parents as they spoke a different language and were accustomed to living in another culture. This is explained by Annie Tukai:

Annie Tukai: I became distant with my parents. My other siblings were closer. They have more human relations [hesitating looking for the right expression] —you know when people have a bond—humanly. I didn't have that [...]—mealtime—no human contact—mealtime—we 're watching TV. [Name of a friend] used to tell me—she the one I used to be in the hospital with—she told me that we used to sit in front of the TV, watching football—boring football—for hours. We're not allowed to go anyway—we just sat there. When we talk about ourselves. We feel comfortable in bed. That's the only time we feel comfortable. When we go inside blankets.

Interviewer: Still today?

Annie Tukai: Yes, when we talk about what is not normal or what was not normal with us. We concluded that—normally kids get hugs—we didn't get that—so the only place we feel comfortable is inside blankets. That's what we came to conclude. I can be overly patient. Even if my mind says that I want to go and do something else—my body can stay for a long time. When people don't like something; they move or they move away from what they don't like. Even if my mind says so my body just sits there and take it.

Interviewer: It's like your body is so used to just staying.

Annie Tukai: Yeah, I call that my body overly necessary patient [laughing]. (2008)

Annie Tukai knows that she was affected by living a life without her family in close proximity and this experience has influenced how she interacts with others today. She also recounts that she has had problems developing a relationship with a man as she felt it was too problematic and difficult to take care of another person (Annie Tukai 2008).

The Story of Adamie Inukpuk—"I Never Had a Chance to Talk About this Before"

Many people have kept quiet about their hospital experience; feeling ashamed or simply not having anyone with whom to share their stories, a similar experience reflected on by those sent to residential schools. Bombay, Matheson & Anisman (2009: 22) use the expression "the conspiracy of silence," which involves children growing up with parents who had endured trauma would not know about it—they never talked about it. The authors point out that the residential school survivors rarely talked with their children about their experience.

Adamie Inukpuk is one such person who had, until the interview, never had an opportunity to talk about his hospital experience. He was sent to Moose Factory Hospital and to Mountain San in Hamilton when he was a teenager (around 14–15 years old) where he stayed for a few years. The interview was the first time that he talked about that experience. The memories were emotionally difficult to recollect during the interview and serves as an illustration of how difficult experiences in childhood and adolescence affect a person throughout their life. Moreover, it demonstrates how silent Inuit have been about their experiences, not knowing whether others had similar experiences.

During the interview, Adamie Inukpuk asked if other people had suffered similar experiences when being sent away to the hospital. He compared the stay at the hospital to being in jail. He was not (as many other tuberculosis patients) allowed to walk around in the hospital for the first months he was there, but once he was better, he was allowed to walk around inside the hospital. The patients had to follow a strict schedule of eating and sleeping. They would have to take a nap in the afternoon and then go to bed after supper. He revolted against all the injections and pills he had to take, which resulted in the doctor explaining that it was better for him to be at the hospital than in jail where he would be sent if he disobeyed. Adamie Inukpuk also experienced violence and bullying by Cree³ teenager patients who ganged up on him and he shares horrifying accounts of being beaten by these other patients and how these incidents motivated him to train and build up his physical strength to be able to defend himself.

He had schooling at the hospital—a teacher would come to the hospital ward a few times a week to give classes, mostly English classes. Once he was restored to health, he was allowed to travel back to Inukjuak. The return to his home community also posed challenges: he was the last one to leave the boat and no one was told that he was coming, so no one was there to meet him. After disembarking, he was left on the shore of Inukjuak where he stayed until one person took pity on him and saved him.

When the boat dropped me off in Inukjuak, they didn't tell me where I was going to stay, where I'm going to be. One day I was playing at the shore, out on the beach in Inukjuak and I was getting bit by mosquitos. I remember a man that saved me. (Adamie Inukpuk 2008, in translation)⁴

Eventually, his father and his stepmother came to town (not knowing that he was there, but going there to do some business in town) and he was brought home with them: "I'm very happy I had the chance to talk about this. I never had a chance before to talk about this difficult time in my life" (Adamie Inukpuk 2008, in translation). Adamie Inukpuk was crying when talking about this incident, the bad memories being so overwhelming, but still it was important for him to tell his story.

Traumatic Experiences of Residential Schools and Hospitalisation Due to Tuberculosis

The effects of Inuit being sent to hospitals and sanatoria in southern Canada are similar to that of First Nations and Inuit being forced to attend residential schools. In both instances, there are documented cases of Inuit being forcefully removed from their communities, resulting in childhood trauma. In both cases, children were forced into situations often lacking love and parental guidance, and often involving physical abuse (Olofsson, Holton & Partridge 2008; for the residential schools: York 1990; Stout Dion & Kipling [eds.] 2003). Therefore, we suggest in this article that the experiences of hospitalisation and residential schools are traumatic experiences that may have detrimental effects both individually and collectively. Collective trauma is different from individual trauma because there is a change in the way of thinking and functioning within the community:

Collective traumatic events can be directed at groups based on political, racial, religious, or cultural beliefs, and can be as random as single natural disasters or those purposely conducted for an extended period [...], as in the case of the Residential Schools. (Bombay, Matheson & Anisman 2009: 22)

Bombay, Matheson & Anisman (2009: 23) bring up how collective trauma affects the whole society or community, "mass trauma have included erosion of basic trust, silence, deterioration in social norms, morals and values, and poor leadership." Moreover, on the community level, both residential schools and forced TB evacuations resulted in family members not knowing where their children, nieces, nephews or grandchildren were taken, or if they would ever return. Forced removals and relocations also resulted in individuals being placed in a completely different cultural context, where another language was spoken, other kinds of food were eaten, and different housing was used. Organisation of time was very different from what most children were used to in their Inuit and First Nation communities: most patients and students adhered to a very strict daily schedule of eating and sleeping.

In addition to being physically removed from their home communities, evacuated children were also physically removed from their cultural learning environments: many young children lost or never learnt the language of their parents, or had forgotten or never learnt important cultural skills such as hunting and making clothing (Olofsson, Holton & Partridge 2008; for residential schooling: York 1990; Stout Dion & Kipling [eds.] 2003). Bombay, Matheson & Anisman (2009) point out that Indigenous people of Canada, suffered many different assaults:

Numerous assaults against Aboriginal peoples in North America (and elsewhere) have persisted for generations. These cumulative assaults were evident and manifested in battles over land rights, loss of culture, language, and identity, as well as poor health and social conditions (Bombay, Matheson & Anisman 2009: 22).

Experiencing multiple collective traumatic events is also the case for former Inuit TB patients; many of them had not only been sent to a hospital but had also attended a residential school (Marcus 1995). These events were all part of the intention of taking land and resources from the Inuit and to assimilate them into Canadian society (Lux 2016).

Maureen Lux points out in her book *Separate Beds: A History of Indian Hospitals in Canada, 1920s–1980s*, that the governmental interventions were all part of the same governmental policy:

Many patients recognized the strict discipline and rigid routine in hospital as a continuation of their residential school experiences. Indeed, many became ill in school and were moved from one institution to the other and back again, as students, patients, and, for some, workers. (Lux 2016: 109)

This policy was also sometimes contradicted by interventions encouraging Inuit to live a “traditional life” without the benefits of Canadian modernisation such as the High Arctic relocation in 1954 of Inuit families from Inukjuak (Marcus 1995). Markoosie Pat-sauq (also interviewed for this study 2005, 2008), was subjected to several governmental interventions: he was relocated to the High Arctic from Inukjuak in northern Quebec, he was sent to a sanatorium since he had contracted tuberculosis and he was sent to residential school (see Olofsson, Holton & Partridge 2008). The individuals who were suffering through these interventions of hospitalisation, residential schooling, and relocations, experienced feelings of being powerless pawns in the hands of the Church, Canadian Government, and Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Marcus 1995).

The interactions at these institutions (residential schools and hospitals) were less affectionate and at times the patients were submitted to physical abuse. While the physical and sexual violence seems to have been less at the hospitals than at the residential schools (Lux 2016), when hospitalised, most children were deprived of love and parental guidance. Similar to the residential school experience, when patients returned to their communities, they were perceived as different to others due to these experiences, which made it hard for their parents to interact with them. It was difficult for parents to create the same bond with the children that had been away as they had with the children who had stayed, even if both the parents and children longed for that bond and connection (Olofsson, Holton & Partridge 2008; for residential schools: York 1990).

Making Sense of Bad Experiences

Storytelling can serve many different purposes, and one of them is healing from bad experiences. In Elder care, life-storytelling is used as therapy, and researchers such as Kenyon and Randall point out that the narrative for Elders (also called *narrative gerontology*) has several aspects. One aspect is placing oneself in a larger context. The individual life stories are framed by the larger context that the stories are part of (Kenyon & Randall 2001; Schacter 1996). Talking about and comparing your life stories to other's stories can potentially ease the pain, especially those pains connected to feeling alone and solitary in your suffering.

The possibility also exists that the transmission of intergenerational post-memories (or collective memories) may perpetuate the lived experience of collective traumas thereby sustaining their effects over time. It is equally possible that sharing of recollections might also serve to provide a foundation of collective support and the establishment of interpretations that allow the events to be placed within a historical and cultural context. (Bombay, Matheson & Anisman 2009: 28)

“The historical and cultural context” is the larger story. Historical trauma discourse can be helpful for individuals to see their suffering at least partially explained by colonialism and assimilation. As Maxwell points out, the Inuit health centre Mamisarvik in Ottawa has a program for Inuit to learn the history of colonisation. By learning about this history, each individual can gain strength by realising how this history of colonialism contributes to their feelings of pain and suffering (Maxwell 2014: 418).

During the hospitalisation the TB patients struggled as they were ill and away from family and friends at the time they needed them most. In their communities, many families would not get any news about a family member’s death until many months later due to the sporadic mail service at that time, and TB patients would on their side lack news about family members back home. TB patients would fall into depression due to worry (Pauloosie Kanayuk 2005). Despite the difficulties however, former TB patients still try to see the positive aspects in their experience. Many interviewees mentioned that without the medical care, they would not have survived the tuberculosis, as this quote from the interview with Pauloosie Kanayuk illustrates:

I cannot believe that the government already existed in 1912 and were responsible for every citizen in Canada—did they forget the people in the North? They make laws and legislations and yet they didn’t think about the people in Northern Quebec. Having said that, I’m not judging them in regards to this issue. They have done a lot to help us to date, but I’d still like to tell that I haven’t forgiven them for what they did to us. Although, I thank them for giving me back my health. (Pauloosie Kanayuk 2005)

As with residential schooling, there is a mix of positive and negative reactions to the hospital experience; former TB patients were healed physically at the hospitals, and as Anne Tukai (2008) pointed out, they learnt how to manage in Euro-Canadian society while removed from their families and culture. Lux (2016) also gives examples of conflicting opinions of the hospital experience and mentions that compared to residential schooling, the hospital stay seems to have been less cruel and violent (Lux 2016: 101). That is not to say however that these hospital environments were free from abuse. Children as well as adults would endure punishments such as having “privileges” like visiting rights, and walks at the hospital taken away for disobeying medical personnel. The children could also be physically disciplined for not listening to the nurses. Two interviewees mentioned that the nurses would hit the children with a large wooden ruler to keep them in place and also that children would be forced to wear a straitjacket for several days if refusing to obey the medical personnel (Imaapik “Jacob” Partridge 2007, 2008; Markoosie Patsauq 2005; 2008; Olofsson, Holton & Partridge 2008). At Charles Camsell Hospital in Edmonton, the patients would have a cast put on if they refused to lie in bed during rest periods (Staples & McConnell 1993). Another issue is that the patients were not at the hospital or sanatorium voluntarily. When TB evacuations procedures began, drastic measures were taken to make sure all individuals who were sick were removed from the community and taken to a hospital in southern Canada, as describe earlier in the article.

When at the hospital, Inuit and First Nations patients were not allowed to leave until the doctors decided they were fit to do so. If a patient tried to leave early, they could be jailed, put in isolation at the hospital, or moved to another hospital that was more difficult to escape. There is one known case of a man who was brought to the hospital in leg irons by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) (Lux 2006: 117–119). The storytelling of the historical trauma, in this case the hospitalisation, is a way for the

Inuit Elders to overcome the experiences and to heal. In addition, Inuit Elders are, when passing on knowledge to the next generation, also constructing meaning and creating a social identity for the Inuit collective (Hirschberger 2018). The suffering, which the Inuit endured at the hands of the state and its employees (priests, government officials, medical officers, RCMP, and so on) to change their lives and to relocate to live elsewhere, is the narrative of the social identity of the Inuit collective. This is the history that is making them who they are today as a group:

Collective trauma, however, does not necessarily have negative impact on group identity and cohesion and often bolsters affiliation with the group through a feeling of shared fate and destiny—an integration of the traumatic experience into one’s identity and narrative. (Hirschberger 2018: 4)

Hirschberger claims that the stories of lived experiences passed on to future generations creates cultural continuity as the collective’s values and norms are passed on, allowing for historical continuity, and how historical events “are seen as causally interconnected and are incorporated into the group’s current identity” (Hirschberger 2018: 7).

Structural Violence, Trauma and Collective Suffering

The Canadian government has admitted and apologised for its involvement in relocations, residential schooling, and forced hospitalisation of Inuit due to the tuberculosis epidemic in the 1940s–1950s (CBC News 2008; Global News 2019).⁵ These interventions were implemented to deal with the state’s perceived threat of Indigenous people in the latter half of the twentieth century:

The rise of expert and objective medical authority supplanted often meddle-some Christian missionaries, and redefined what was commonly known as the “Indian Problem,” or the anxieties Canadians experienced by Aboriginal people’s continued legal and cultural differences. (Lux 2016: 3–4)

The perceived “Indian Problem” and the subsequent development of these institutions were fuelled by coercive neo-colonial ideologies sought to assimilate Indigenous communities. Foucault’s stance is that modern government constitutes a space in which the negative and positive dimensions of power come together:

[...] it is a space in which technologies of domination work through the individual acting on himself, and in which the technologies by which individuals act on themselves coalesce to form structures of coercion. (Bevir 1999: 350)

The ultimate aim of these government sanctioned institutions or technologies of domination, residential schools and southern hospitals (sometimes hospitals especially for First Nations and Inuit patients, so called, *Indian hospitals*), was to further assimilate Indigenous peoples and attempt to justify its interventions as being necessary for the betterment of Canadian society (Lux 2016).

These interventions as well as decisions not to intervene are what medical anthropologist Paul Farmer has termed *structural violence*. As Paul Farmer argues, structural violence does not usually involve weapons in a conventional sense but instead, often involves actions and political initiatives that require justification (Farmer 2010). Bourgois (2009) points out, following Farmer’s definition of structural violence, structural vio-

lence is not only actions taken by the state or people in power, it is also actions not taken, such as, not providing adequate health care and education. The evacuation of Inuit sick with tuberculosis is only one example of structural violence implemented by the Canadian government as a means to discriminate against and further control Indigenous communities: there is a pattern to the reproduction of inequalities generated by the actions of state officials: “[M]ost people who are killed by structural violence are the victims of systematic discrimination” (Gupta 2013: 687).

In the case of the Inuit and the tuberculosis crisis of the 1940s–1950s, lives were lost not only due to disease but also through collective social suffering on a psychological level that has had detrimental effects. While patients at these sanatoria suffered physically, they also were victims of coercive ideology; structural violence implemented through state policies and the actions of their primary caregivers. The ideological discrimination described above with respect to the hospitalisation is further evidenced through the National Film Board’s propaganda films. Sponsored by the state and Indian Health Service, films like *No Longer Vanishing* (1955) and *The Longer Trail* (1956) depict hundreds of images of First Nations and Inuit patients, “portrayed as smiling and happy [...] [and] films depicting the hospitals as fundamental in the process of integration and assimilation” (Lux 2016: 124). The institutions sought to control Inuit bodies, while the propaganda films and photography were used to control the general public’s perception of hospitalisation of Inuit as well as First Nations individuals to convey a notion of the benefits of these interventions for Indigenous communities and the general Canadian public. Therefore, structural violence in the case of the TB crisis had two components: firstly, the physical and psychological trauma and secondly the ideological coercion through forms of media. As the examples in this article demonstrate, Inuit Elders recount suffering from physical abuse, forbidden cultural associations with language and history, and the effects of being removed from their families and communities. This relocation during the TB crisis also had a social impact through collective suffering, disclosed when Inuit Elders describe being forced to leave their communities and the difficulties and challenges of reintegration once discharged from the hospital or sanatorium.

Kleinman (1988) distinguishes between illness and disease arguing that disease is that which is symptomatic and felt physiologically, whereas illness:

[r]efers to how the sick person and members of the family or wider social network perceive, live with, and respond to symptoms and disability. [...] The illness experience includes categorizing and explaining, in common-sense ways accessible to all lay persons in the social group, the forms of distress caused by those pathophysiological processes. (Kleinman 1988: 3–4)

The “illness experience” is the experience of the distress of the disease and for the Inuit also the cure, where families were separated and individuals were submitted to forced bed rest, surgery, and they were also medicated without giving their consent. The Inuit continue to struggle collectively with the “illness experience” as a result of the trauma suffered from colonisation, the disenfranchisement of Indigenous peoples, forced relocation into residential schools and hospitalisation, and the destruction of former cultural practices and Indigenous forms of healing and medicine. Today we see the long-term impact of the collective trauma, which the Inuit lived, illustrated with the staggering statistics from Inuit communities in Canada. Compared to the rest of the Canadian population, the Inuit living in the Inuit regions have a higher rate of smoking (63% compared to 16%), lower life expectancy (72.4 years compared to 82.9 years), and an alarming suicide

rate which varies from 5 to 25 times higher than the rest of Canada (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2018).

As Maxwell points out the popular explanation in psychiatry for the social issues in Indigenous societies have been bad parenting, but instead Maxwell is claiming that the reason for the social issues is that the historical trauma is passed on to the next generation:

Where the psychiatrists of the 1980s blamed 'traditional parenting practices' for the actual and presumed social problems suffered by indigenous families, today's mental health and child development professionals increasingly invoke the transmission of historical trauma by parents and grandparents. (Maxwell 2014: 423)

Inuit Elders who were hospitalised have a higher risk of suffering an overall emotional distress still today due to past trauma since the experiences are similar to the experiences lived by survivors of residential schools, as we have shown in this article. Research on the impact of residential school shows that this trauma is affecting the following generations (York 1990; Stout Dion & Kipling [eds.] 2003). It is a historical trauma that cannot be resolved since the Inuit continue to live a situation of structural violence. The Inuit living in the Inuit regions are suffering high numbers of crowded homes (52% compared to 9%), higher rates of tuberculosis (181/100,000 compared to 0.6/100,000) (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2018). The Inuit organisation Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2018, explains the high suicide rates in the Inuit regions in following way:

The high rates of suicide in Inuit Nunangat⁶ are a symptom of the social and economic inequities that have existed between Inuit Nunangat and most other regions of Canada since the Inuit began to be impacted by colonization and the transition off the land into permanent settlements. The stress our people experienced during this transition, coupled with the prejudice and social inequities families faced in settlements, led to enduring social challenges that create risk for suicide in our communities. (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2018: 18)

Although each historical trauma is different, similarities exist between Indigenous peoples forced residential schooling and Inuit patients in sanatoria, which we see in the way trauma and PTSD continues to haunt victims, their families, and their communities (Bombay, Matheson & Anisman 2009).

Conclusion—Trauma Revisited

In this article, we have explored in depth the life stories of two Inuit Elders who were evacuated and hospitalised and how this impacted their lives individually. The article also draws on interviews with 19 other Inuit Elders who also were hospitalised as well as interviews with two nurses working especially with the Inuit patients. Only individuals quoted or mentioned in the article are listed at the end before the bibliography. The research questions, which are explored in this article, are the following: What are the similarities and differences between the hospitalisation of the Inuit sick with tuberculosis and the residential schooling of the Inuit and the First Nations? And, why is it important for the individual as well as for the collective of Inuit to remember traumatic historical events? During relocation and hospitalisation, Inuit suffered cases of physical abuse, were disconnected from language and culture, and removed from their families and communities. These government interventions are an example of structural violence and its negative impact was extrapolated on in the personal narratives of Inuit Elders

included. This research project also proposes that the trauma of hospitalisation for children and youth had an enduring psychological impact on individuals that continues into adulthood.

As Maxwell (2014) and Bombay, Matheson & Anisman (2009) point out, the recognition of historical trauma provides some options for healing and empowerment. Individuals can find comfort in hearing other individuals' stories, knowing that they are not alone. By sharing the individual truths of this cultural trauma, we can more readily acknowledge its true damage, and more effectively develop plans for healing. The individual truths also make up the social identity of the collective. That is the reason why it is important to remember and to pass on the knowledge to the next generation about collective traumatic events; the collective trauma serves as construction of meaning and the formation of social identity (Hirschberger 2018).

Similar to the trauma of residential schools, the TB evacuees have potentially suffered a similar fate. In both cases, state-sponsored structural violence and neo-colonial ideologies aimed to coercively civilise, educate, and ultimately assimilate Indigenous groups into Canadian society (Lux 2016). The structural violence experienced by the Inuit was both physical and ideological: their bodies were coercively controlled through displacement to sanatoria while ideologically, their minds were coerced into believing that this institutionalisation was ultimately for their personal benefit. In addition, propaganda films and photographs disseminated by the National Film Board sought to convey an image to the general public of these state-run facilities as necessities, neglecting to show the negative impacts of hospitalisation. Although the consequences of these institutions continue to be dealt with individually and collectively, it is important to highlight the resilience and strength of the Inuit community. Inuit Elders want to share their personal narratives; it empowers the storyteller and gives a voice to those who were unable to share their story. The narrative of suffering, similar to the many other populations who endured suffering as a collective over many generations, becomes part of identity making for the collective. It is important to pass on the knowledge of historical traumatic experiences to the subsequent generations, in order for the coming generations to know what events made them who they are today (cf. Hirschberger 2018).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Our sincere thanks to Annie Tukai, Adamie Inukpuk, and all the other interviewees who shared their stories and gave their kind permission to use them. We would also like to thank the Health Sciences Archives, McMaster University, for their permission to use the Johanna Rabinowitz photo collection, especially archivist Melissa Caza who prepared the photographs for publication. In addition, thank Scott Park and Tara Holton, for the permission to use the map. We would also like to thank the editors of *Journal of Northern Studies* and the anonymous reviewers, as well as the editor and proofreader Ashley Jean Blazina, for their suggestions for change. This research was funded by the Fonds québécois de la recherche sur la société et la culture; the National Network for Aboriginal Mental Health Research; the Culture and Mental Health Research Unit of the Sir Mortimer B. Davis Jewish General Hospital (Montreal); the Avataq Cultural Institute; and "Roots of Resilience. Transformations of Identity and Community in Indigenous Mental Health" of the Canadian Institutes of Health Research.

DEDICATION

In memory of Imaapik “Jacob” Partridge and all the Inuit Elders who lived through a profound transformation of their society.

NOTES

- ¹ *Inuk*, singular form of *Inuit*, used for up to three persons.
- ² Every Inuit was given an identification number by the Canadian government with the Eskimo Disk List System, developed in the beginning of the 1940s. The number was engraved on a metal disk, which could be worn as a necklace (Smith 1993: 60–63).
- ³ The Inuit and the Cree are longstanding enemies going back in history before colonisation.
- ⁴ The interpreter translated the extract in third person (he) instead of translating in first person. The extract has been changed into first person to get closer to his original words.
- ⁵ Stephen Harper (the Prime Minister of Canada at the time) gave his apology for the residential schooling 11 June in 2008 (CBC News 2008). 8 March 2019, the Prime Minister Justin Trudeau gave his apology for the TB evacuation of the Inuit (Global News 2019).
- ⁶ Inuit Nunangat is the territory of the Inuit consisting of the four northern Canadian regions, including Nunavik (northern Quebec) and Nunavut (the High Arctic).

REFERENCES

Personal communications and interviews quoted or mentioned in this article

Former TB patients:

Maggie Ekoomiak, 2007, Ottawa

Adamie Inukpuk, 2008, Inukjuak.

Pauloosie Kanayuk, 2005, Puvirnituk.

Imaapik “Jacob” Partridge, 2007, 2008, Quaqtaq (Montreal and Kuujuaq).

Markoosie Patsauq, 2005, 2008, Inukjuak.

Annie Tukai, 2008, Inukjuak.

Medical personnel

Johanna Rabinowitz, 2005, 2006, 2007, Hamilton. Nurse at Mountain San (Hamilton Sanatorium) and worked one session on the hospital boat.

Photo collection

Johanna Rabinowitz Collection. Health Sciences Archives, McMaster University, photographs prepared for publication by archivist Melissa Caza.

Literature

Bevir, M. (1999). “Foucault, power, and institutions,” *Political Studies*, 47:2, pp. 345–359.

Billson Mancini, J. & Mancini, K. (2007). *Inuit Women. Their Powerful Spirit in a Century of Change*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC.

Bombay, A., Matheson, K. & Anisman, H. (2009). “Intergenerational trauma. Convergence of multiple processes among First Nations peoples in Canada,” *Journal de la santé autochtone/Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 5: 3, pp. 6–47.

Bourgeois, P. (2009). “Recognizing invisible violence. A thirty-year ethnographic retrospective,” in *Global Health in Times of Violence*, eds. B. Rylko-Bauer, L. Whiteford & P. Farmer, Santa Fe: School of Advanced Research Press, pp. 17–40.

Burch, E. (1997). “The Eskaleuts. A regional overview,” in *Native People. The Canadian Experience*, eds. R. Bruce Morrison & C. Roderick Wilson, Don Mills: Oxford University Press, pp. 67–77.

CBC News Web Site (2008). “Government apologizes for residential schools in 2008;” <https://www.cbc.ca/archives/government-apologizes-for-residential-schools-in-2008-1.4666041>; access date 3 Sept. 2020.

Dickason, O.P. (1997). *Canada's First Nations. A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*, Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

- Dorais, L.-J. (1997). *Quaqtaq. Modernity and Identity in an Inuit Community*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Duffy, Q. (1988). *Road to Nunavut. The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit since the Second World War*, Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Farmer, P. (2010). *Partner to the Poor. A Paul Farmer Reader*, ed. H. Saussy, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Francis, D. & Morantz, T. (1983). *Partners in Furs. A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay, 1600–1870*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Global News Web Site (2019). "These wrongs will never fade.' Trudeau apologizes for mistreatment of Inuit during TB epidemics;" <https://globalnews.ca/news/5034403/justin-trudeau-inuit-tuberculosis-apology/>; access date 3 Sept. 2020.
- Graburn, N. (1969). *Eskimos without Igloos. Social and Economic Development in Sugluk*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Grygier, P.S. (1994). *A Long Way from Home the Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Gupta, A. (2013). "Structural violence and politics," *Economy and Society*, 42:4, pp. 686–692.
- Hirschberger, G. (2018). "Collective trauma and the social construction of meaning," *Frontiers in Psychology*, 9, pp. 1–14; doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2018.01441.
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (2018). *Inuit Statistical Profile 2018*; www.itk.ca/2018-inuit-statistical-profile-3/; access date 2 Sept. 2020.
- Jenness, D. [1964] (1972). *Eskimo Administration II Canada*, Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America.
- Kenyon, G.M. & Randall, W. (2001). "Narrative gerontology. An overview," in *Narrative Gerontology. Theory, Research, and Practice*, eds. G. Kenyon, P. Clark & B. de Vries, New York: Springer Publishing Company, Inc., pp. 3–18.
- Kleinman, A. (1988). *The Illness Narratives. Suffering, Healing, and the Human Condition*, New York: Basic Books.
- Lux, M.K. (2016). *Separated Beds. A History of Indian Hospitals in Canada, 1920s–1980s*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Marcus, A. R. (1995). *Relocating Eden. The Image and Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic*, Hanover & London: University Press of New England.
- Maxwell, K. (2014). "Historicizing historical trauma theory. Troubling the trans-generational transmission paradigm," *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 51:3, pp. 407–435.
- Matthiasson, J.S. (1997). "The maritime Inuit. Life on the edge," in *Native People. The Canadian Experience*, eds. R. Bruce Morrison & C. Roderick Wilson, Don Mills: Oxford University Press, pp. 78–114.
- Olofsson, E., Holton, T. & Partridge, I.J. (2008). "Negotiating identities. Inuit tuberculosis evacuees in the 1940s–1950s," *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 32:2, pp. 127–149.
- Ruttan, L. (2004). "Exploring ethical principles in the context of research relationships," *Pimatisiwin. A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health*, 2:1, pp. 12–28.
- Rylko-Bauer, B., Whiteford, L. & Farmer, P. (2009). "Prologue. Coming to terms with global violence and health," in *Global Health in Times of Violence*, eds B. Rylko-Bauer, L. Whiteford & P. Farmer, Santa Fe: School of Advanced Research Press, pp. 3–16.
- Schacter, D. (1996). *Searching for Memory. The Brain, the Mind, and the Past*, New York: BasicBooks/HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.
- Smith, D. (1993). "The emergence of 'Eskimo Status.' An examination of the Eskimo Disk System and its social consequences 1925–1970," in *Anthropology, Public Policy, and Native Peoples in Canada*, eds. N. Dyck & J.B. Waldram, Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. 41–74.
- Staples, A.R. & McConnell, R.L. (1993). *Soapstone and Seed Beads. Arts and Crafts at the Charles Camsell Hospital, a Tuberculosis Sanatorium*, Edmonton: Provincial Museum of Alberta.
- Stout Dion, M. & Kipling, G. (eds.) (2003). *Aboriginal People, Resilience and the Residential School Legacy*, Ottawa: The Aboriginal Healing Foundation.
- Wherrett, G.J. (1977). *The Miracle of the Empty Beds. A History of Tuberculosis in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- York, G. (1990). *The Dispossessed. Life and Death in Native Canada*, London: Vintage U.K.

AUTHORS

Ebba Olofsson holds a PhD in Cultural Anthropology from Uppsala University, Sweden. She is currently Professor in Anthropology and Methodology at Champlain College in St-Lambert, Canada. She is also an Affiliate Assistant Professor at the Department at Sociology and Anthropology at Concordia University. Olofsson has done extensive research on identity issues for people with mixed European and Indigenous parentage, both with the Sami of Sweden and Indigenous peoples (Inuit and First Nations) in Canada. She conducted a postdoctoral study about the tuberculosis epidemic among the Inuit in the 1950s in Canada. Her research interests are issues about identity, health, gender, kinship, subsistence, and colonialism, among the Indigenous peoples in Scandinavia and Canada.

ebbaolofsson300@gmail.com

Joseph Folco graduated in 2011 from McGill University with a Bachelor's of Arts majoring in Anthropology, with a minor in Sociology. He completed a Master of Arts in Social and Cultural Anthropology from Concordia University with a focus on the subfield of Medical Anthropology. Folco was awarded the 2013 Outstanding Graduate Student Award from CASCA (Canadian Sociological Association) for his research and thesis, "A Crisis of Masculinity? The Intersection of Gender, Illness and Selfhood in the Narratives of Prostate Cancer Survivors." Furthermore, his thesis was featured in the Concordia University newspaper in February 2015, as well as in the Concordia University Graduate Student Conference in 2017. In addition to acting as a Teaching Assistant for two years during his graduate studies he has guest lectured at Champlain College St-Lambert.

joseph.ep.folco@gmail.com

What Makes a Grammar a Modern Grammar?

Review of Mikael Svonni, *Modern nordsamisk grammatik*, Kiruna: Ravda Lágádus, 2018, ISBN 9789198279634, 308 pp.

Introduction

North Sami, by any means the most and probably best researched of the Sami languages, occupies a special, if not unique, role because its traditional core area stretches over three countries. Although Sami discourse often downplays the role of national borders because family relations can cross national borders (especially for those whose languages are spoken in more than one country), North Sami is certainly split by a major linguistic border: individual national languages—Continental Scandinavian (bokmål, nynorsk, Swedish) and Finnish—are known obstacles in North Sami language pedagogy, research and last, but, not least grammaticography. Whereas Latin grammar served as *tertium comparationis* for early Sami grammaticography, this was replaced by a mixed Finnish/Latin perspective in the nineteenth century to which a Continental Scandinavian perspective was added in the later part of the twentieth century, especially in Norway and Sweden (though for obvious reasons not in Russia). Even though the role of Finnish/Finnic in Sami studies has changed significantly and is certainly less prominent today, Finnish/Finnic remains a valid *tertium comparationis*. Nevertheless, the relationship of Sami linguistics and Finnish/Finnic linguistics outside Finland is probably best characterized as uneasy.

Due to the fact that the majority of North Sami speakers reside in Norway, it does not come as a surprise that most of the pedagogical materials, including concise reference grammars, have been produced there (e.g., Nickel [1990] 1994; Nickel & Sammallahti 2011). With the publication of Mikael Svonni's *Modern North Sami Grammar*, the first comprehensive pedagogically oriented grammar of North Sami published in Swedish has finally become available.¹ For this, the Swedish-speaking learner of North Sami and a North Sami from Sweden are certainly thankful—an existing gap has finally been closed.²

Grammars and their Users

The preface of *Modern nordsamisk grammatik* (pp. 5–6) sketches the emergence and the target audience of this grammar. The grammar is tightly connected to Svonni's "Introduction to North Sami linguistics" (2015), but a different book written for a different audience. Nevertheless, the overlap is extensive and remains visible on almost every page.³ As Svonni himself mentions, the grammar is the result of 25 years of teaching and research; this means that work on this grammar was started after the publication of the first edition of Nickel's grammar, but before the appearance of its revised edition (Nickel [1990] 1994). Svonni's grammar is targeting university students and to a lesser degree high school students and language professionals, but likewise linguists interested in North Sami (p. 6). The place of this reference grammar is therefore in North Sami philology/linguistics and/or Sami studies. The grammars by Nickel ([1990] 1994) and Nickel & Sammallahti (2011) were also compiled for a similar audience. This point needs to be

emphasized, because North Sami is still taught and studied outside Sápmi, e.g., within Finnic and Finno-Ugric Departments and occasionally even in Departments of Scandinavian Studies which have a somewhat different perspective on the language. Svonni's approach to cover North Sami "on its own" is certainly justified, because the need of grammatical materials for language learning within the context of native pedagogy as well as language revitalization remains a critical task, even for the biggest of all Sami languages.

When Metalanguages Clash

From the perspective of the language learner with a Continental Scandinavian linguistic background who has been educated in Continental Scandinavian grammar and may have learned two or more Indo-European languages as foreign languages during secondary education (e.g., English, French, Spanish, German), virtually everything in the context of Sami grammar is unfamiliar: agglutinative morphology,⁴ consonant gradation, case, attributive versus predicative forms of adjectives, the lack of a transitive verb of possession, postpositions, verbal agreement markers just to name a few. For the language learner from Finland or with a background in Finnish or more general Finnic, most of these categories are unproblematic.⁵ Although this observation is indeed trivial, the role of Finnish and Finnish grammaticography for Sami studies is often considered as a burden from which Sami linguistics must free itself. It is of course true that the historical-comparative perspective which has occasionally overemphasized the role and importance of Finnish has left traces; after all, insights from historical grammar (e.g., that most Sami cases are cognates of similar cases in Finnish/Finnic) cannot be converted into synchronic, let alone grammaticographic, arguments. Nevertheless, Finnish and in fact Finnic, remain a valid *tertium comparationis* because the historical proximity between Samic and Finnic implies typological proximity as well. However, this certainly does not mean that the use of similar labels would imply similar functions, nor that North Sami, or Sami grammaticography, in general, should be degraded to a kind of "comparative grammar" with Finnish as the preferred or only point of reference. This perhaps naive excursion becomes, unfortunately, quickly relevant in the context of Svonni's grammar. The central and most controversial innovation of Svonni's grammar is a new classification of the spatial case system of North Sami (Svonni 2015: 43–45, 52–56; Svonni 2018: 44–47). Svonni has broken with earlier grammaticographic traditions (he explicitly refers to Finnish grammaticography in this context) and postulates new case labels and partly new functions. What Svonni has overlooked is that case labels should be motivated based on their primary function, and not via "potential problems" which similar Finnish case labels could imply.⁶ The overall motivation to break with grammaticographic traditions is Svonni's interpretation that spatial cases in North Sami encode in one "internal" spatial case series what Finnish does with two case series; this approach is certainly new for the reviewer, but Svonni claims that, this interpretation would derive from Bo Wickman's teachings in the context of a lecture on Sami language history (sic!) in Uppsala in 1984. This footnote remains the only reference in this section; any reference to published accounts are missing. Svonni also assures the reader that his new classification is more adequate because it would "follow contemporary linguistic terminology," but a reference is missing here as well. Even though the reviewer understands Svonni's attempt to separate North Sami grammaticography from the influence of Finnish grammaticography, the spatial case system is perhaps not the best candidate to start with when the other language of comparison available is Continental Scandinavian. Interestingly, and a bit

ironic in this context, Svonni decides to postulate separate genitive and accusative cases (pp. 53–57), which are motivated in the same “historicizing Finnish approach” (with a historical-comparative footnote on South Sami!), but several pages later this approach is considered unsuitable for the spatial cases. In the following, I will subsume a number of examples which show why the proposed re-classification stands in sharp contrast with the new proposed labels. First, I will have a look at the illative case which has become an allative case in Svonni’s grammar. The prototypical semantic difference between an allative case and an illative case, as the Latin label suggests, lies in the encoding of movement in relation to the point of reference (INTO vs. ON TOP). Whereas the allative prototypically encodes movement above/on top/upon a surface (e.g., to put a book on a box), the illative prototypically encodes movement into/inside (e.g., to put a book into a box). When looking at the examples provided by Svonni (2018: 58–59), the prototypical examples encode INTO and not UPON/ON TOP. This does not mean that an interpretation on top would be impossible, but this is nevertheless far from being the prototypical use of this case: *Galgá ballat iddesárrat go vuolgá meahccái leago vuojáhallas vai leatgo dál beassan sisa áiddiid gaskkii*. ‘One has to fear early in the morning, when going into the forest, whether (a reindeer) has been driven over or whether they (=reindeer) got into (=the railway corridor) between the fences’ (Sameradion).⁷ As reference grammars are required to cover prototypical functions first and secondary extensions later, the proposed new classification is misleading. Whereas the illative can be paraphrased with a postposition such as *sisa*, as seen in the example above, the prototypical encoding of the concept ON TOP remains the task of the postposition *alde* and its illative case-marked form *ala*: *Mii leat olles áiggi figgan oažžut ráddádallamiid ja odđa evttohusaid beavddi ala*. ‘We have tried many times to get negotiations and new proposals on the table’ (Yle Sápmi). Finally, as for the functions of the illative, this section does not mention the encoding of the agent of adversative passives with *-hallat*. This is at least mentioned in the grammar later (Svonni 2018: 209) but without any cross-reference between the two sections, which would be required.

Turning to the locative case (whose label is the only one which as such remains unproblematic), its coverage (Svonni 2018: 60–62) contains two major shortcomings. First, the locative case encodes, as its name suggests, a general location, but not prototypically ON TOP, which the following pair of examples demonstrate: *Mii leat sápmelaččat, geat leat bivdán min jogas, nu go leat čudiid jagiid dahkan ovdal dán*. ‘We are Samis who have been fishing in our river, so as Samis have been doing this for hundreds of years before’ (Yle Sápmi). *Gáva-Ilmár ja Gáva-Ilmár Raine loaktiba joga alde oppa geasi*. ‘Ilmari and Raine Tapiola spend the whole summer on the river’ (Yle Sápmi). In this context, another grammaticographic shortcoming needs to be mentioned. Svonni covers only the locative’s function encoding location in space, for which two examples were reserved. The metaphorical extension that the locative can express location in time as well is not mentioned in this section where it actually requires mentioning:⁸ *Eanodaga gielda ja Sámediggi čoahkkaniit oktii jagis ovttasbargočoahkkimii*. ‘The parish of Enontekiö and the Sami Parliament meet once a year [lit: in a year] for a joint session’ (Yle Sápmi); *Oktii mánu deaivvadit Jiellevári vuorrasat boradit ja ságastallat sámi čoahkkananbáikkis Valljes* ... ‘Once a month [lit: in a month], the elder Gällivare Samis meet in order to eat and chat in Sami at Vallje community center...’ (Sameradion). The remaining four examples in this section sketch the role of the locative for the encoding of possession, but again, a number of grammatical properties which should be mentioned in a pedagogical grammar remain uncovered. Whereas a regular locative marked noun phrase can be fronted

(though requiring extra stress and perhaps some additional discourse particles) *Gávppis mii oastit biepmu* ‘In the shop we buy food,’ the locative marked possessor is bound to initial position: *Máhtes lea beana* ‘Mattias has a dog’ (Svonni 2018: 61). Switching constituents to *Lea beana Máhtes*. ‘A dog has Mattias’ would hardly be grammatical (even with heavy stress). Finally, regardless of Svonni’s approach to discard the possessive function and replace it with a new term “locative of disposal” (Swe: *dispositionslokativ*), his idea that this locative-of-disposal-construction encodes a kind of temporary possessive relation remains questionable. In the following example with an inanimate possessor, the possessive relation is permanent: *Biillas lea manualala giirakássa, njealljejuvllatgeassi ja dieselhohtor* ‘The car has stick shift, all-wheel-drive and a diesel engine.’⁹

As for Svonni’s decision to split the traditional locative case into two cases, locative and ablative, with one homonym case marker, this solution is perhaps suitable from the perspective of language learning, but has no linguistic reality—neither in synchrony nor in diachrony. From a diachronic perspective, it is well-known (and shortly mentioned by Svonni) that the two former independent cases locative and elative have fallen together in North Sami and beyond (see e.g., Korhonen 1981: 223–224).¹⁰ The postulation of a tripartite system in North Sami, which as such is attested in South, Ume, Pite and Lule Sami would of course make North Sami appear closer to its southern relatives, but the point of reference requires the postulation of two separate cases (locative and elative) which cannot be distinguished by morphological means at all. In the Sami languages to the south, the function to form mapping is synchronically and diachronically unproblematic as distinctive case morphology exists. For convenience, this is exemplified with data from Ume Sami around Arvidsjaur (Siegl 2017a: 273–274): *tsäkij sebiuv prütnej* ‘And (he) put his tail into the ice hole’ (illative *-j ~ -je*); *riebbie biessij ja etnij gaihkide del bierguide jugo lin datne lüöptesne*. ‘The fox got inside and got all the meats which were in that njalla’ (inessive *-sne*); *die suoladij gūlijde almatijjste* ‘And he stole fish from the man’ (elative *-sta ~ -ste*). Summing up, the overall benefit of reclassifying the illative case as allative case and splitting the locative case into two separate cases remain unconvincing and unmotivated, even without taking Finnish as tertium comparationis. Therefore, the allative remains better to be covered as illative and if a case encoding separation/movement should really be required for pedagogical reasons, a more appropriate case-label is indeed elative (movement from inside): *Bensinna dahje eará boaldámušaid biila ii geavat ollege, buot johtinfámu oažžu elrávnnjis* ‘Gasoline or other kinds of fossil fuel the car does not require at all, all its power it gets from electricity’ (Yle Sápmi).

Grammaticography, Linguistic Theories and Endangered Languages

A reoccurring concern in the discussions focusing on grammaticography in the context of endangered languages is the role and place of linguistic theories for grammar writing (e.g., Mosel 2006; Rice 2006; Genetti 2014). A major argument brought forward in this discussion has obvious parallels in North Sami grammaticography—a comprehensive grammar can remain valuable and relevant for a long time, an argument which applies without any doubts to Nielsen’s grammar (Nielsen 1926–1929). The ultimate reason why Nielsen’s grammar has remained “readable” and “comprehensible” is its design, because it was based on a fairly traditional concept of grammaticography. A similar, theory-low¹¹ approach is propagated in functionally-based approaches to endangered languages. As this review article is not the place to reproduce this discussion, its central concerns are the following: first, grammatical theories are scientific trends. A grammar cast into a specific analytical framework may become incomprehensible quickly, especially if the

theory develops, fails or is altered to such an extent that grammar reading three decades later requires a comprehensive research-historic background which cannot be expected or taken for granted by followers of the theory, let alone outsiders.¹² Second, grammar writing is certainly a marginal genre in linguistic writing because it requires a fairly comprehensive approach to language and skills, starting with phonology and ending in semantics/pragmatics, which in days of ongoing specialization cannot be taken for granted (e.g., Mosel 2006).¹³ Third, endangered languages have few researchers at their disposal and the “life expectancy” of a grammar of an endangered language is by definition much longer, which a look at the history of North Sami grammaticography easily proves.¹⁴

As Svonni (2018) has stated in the preface, his grammar is a reworked version of Svonni (2015), which was written in a generative framework (fortunately not incorporating the most recent trends) based on his lecture manuscripts. But even a superficial look quickly reveals that quite a few generative concepts have found their way into the pedagogical grammar, such as “thematic roles,” “phi-features,” “VP,” “ergative verbs,” “small clauses.” Whether such concepts should be incorporated into the analytical framework of a pedagogical grammar is a controversial question. In most instances where such terminology is used, Svonni offers at least a short explanation and further references to contemporary general linguistic textbooks. Presumably, the generative framework on which the grammar is based is also responsible for the adjective ‘modern’ in its title; the header is otherwise not motivated.¹⁵ However, it is a bit surprising that the grammar’s structure and the major linguistic terminology of this grammar are otherwise rather traditional, relying on concepts such as supines, gerunds, auxiliary (Swe: *hjälpverb*) or surprisingly “old-fashioned” and indeed misleading terminology such as “verbgenitiv” or a newly coined category “verbessiv,” labels mixing morphological concepts belonging to different parts of speech merged into a terminus technicus which can only be motivated diachronically. The terminological imprecision of this label is that it is not the verb which is marked, but its nominalized form. As for the overall structure of the section focusing on infinite verb forms, a morphologically centered approach should cover forms belonging morphologically together in the same section. Svonni’s decision to cover the past participle after the infinitive and the present tense participle much later is morphologically unmotivated. In the remainder of this section, I will approach the controversial topic “ergative verb” (pp. 173–175). Even though this is but a minor section in the grammar and a minor category, its theoretical impact is certainly not trivial. In Swedish generative syntax, “ergative verbs” (in English generative syntax more often referred to as unaccusatives) is a class of verbs which allows both intransitive and transitive use e.g., ‘to melt’ (Platzack 1998: 118): *Isen smälte* ‘The ice melted’ vs. *Solen smälte isen*. ‘The sun melted the ice’. Its translational equivalent *suddat* ‘to melt’ is also discussed by Svonni (2018: 173–174) in this context: *Muohta suddat* ‘The snow melted.’ What makes the comparison between Swedish intransitive *smälta* and North Sami *suddat* futile is the fact that the verb in North Sami undergoes causativization (and thereby transitivization) and becomes *suddadit* ‘to melt’ (transitive); furthermore, this is indeed the regular causative, but not an “ergative verb ending” which is discussed in this section; conspicuously, Svonni mentions the causative form, but does not offer a clausal example, although such can be found without problems: *Stuora osiin Norggas leat lieggagrádat leamaš mannan vahkkoloahpa, mii suddadii muohtaga ja ráhkadii sovlliid*. ‘In most parts of Norway, the temperature had been above 0° last weekend, which melted the snow and created slush’ (online *Ávvir* 25 April 2019). The text continues with several diagnostic tests employed in generative syntax, which as such are not really expected in a pedagogically oriented reference grammar and are out

of place. For example, *suddat* lacks a passive form which is actually expected, because intransitive verbs cannot be passivized in North Sami. Why *suddat* should be called ergative/unaccusative although its transitive counterpart is in fact a regular causative^{16 17} and why a group of verbs in North Sami should possess a set of “ergative verb endings” remains unclear. It is highly appreciated that Svonni covers derivational morphology in depth (pp. 156–189), for which language learners will be thankful. On the other side, the practicality of a generative label deriving from Germanic generative syntax, which in its original sense cannot even be applied to North Sami, is dubious. When approaching the label “ergative” from the perspective of typology, the pair *suddat/suddadit* cannot be ergative either. Causativization of *suddat* results in transitivization and the subject *muohta* becomes the object *muohhtaga*, all following the standard nominative-accusative case marking pattern of Sami. In prototypical ergative languages such as Chukchi (a Siberian isolate), ergativity results in a different case marking pattern where the only argument of an intransitive verb is marked by the same case as the second argument of the transitive verb (in Chukchi called *absolutive*; note that both nominal arguments must be marked on the transitive verb in Chukchi as well). The first argument of the transitive verb is marked by the ergative case, a case reserved for this argument only:¹⁸ *Cawcəw raytə-γ?e* <Chukchi[ABS] go.home-3SG> ‘The Chukchi went home’ (Tyn’etegyn 1959: 8) vs. *Kejŋ-e cawcəw iw-nin* <bear-ERG Chukchi[ABS] say-3SGA.3SGO> ‘The bear told the Chukchi’ (Tyn’etegyn 1959: 8). The same case-alignment is triggered in Chukchi when an intransitive verb undergoes causativization and becomes transitive: *uttuut eret-γ?i* <stick[ABS] fall-3SG> ‘The stick has fallen down’ vs. *ətləγ-e uttut r-eren-nin* <father-ERG stick[ABS.SG] CAUS-fall-3SGA.3SGO> ‘Father made/let the stick fall down’ (both examples from Nedjalkov 1976: 191). Whereas the concept ergativity in generative linguistics differs markedly from what ergativity means in functional-typological linguistics (e.g., Dixon 1994: 18–22), the verbs in this section of the grammar do not belong to either type. Leaving the theoretical perspective behind, the reviewer wonders whether this concept is really of benefit for the language learner and the instructor relying on this grammar. The concept ergative is certainly not general knowledge for either user and its place in a pedagogical reference grammar is unmotivated.

General Remarks

Modern nordsamisk grammatik follows standard arrangements of grammar writing and as such is certainly not particularly modern but rather structuralist; the morphology part is entirely semasiological, the syntax part predominantly semasiological as well; clearly onomasiological chapters are absent. This statement should, however, not be considered negative, because the semasiological perspective is mandatory for languages rich in morphology, especially for the language learner who has to acquire form first.

Chapters 1 and 2 cover “front matters” in the sense of Mosel (2006: 47). Chapter 3 covers phonology and gradation (pp. 20–40). It may be argued why gradation should be considered a phonological feature, as gradation is not triggered by phonological constraints; the appearance of gradation is bound to certain syllable types and certain inflectional forms whose pairing does not match; after all, the distribution of strong versus weak forms in the finite verb paradigm is not bound to the same paradigmatic cells. This would allow the use of stems and stem distribution and a distinctive section on morphology. By addressing consonant gradation in the chapter on phonology, Svonni follows the conventions of Nickel ([1990] 1994) and Nickel & Sammallahti (2011). Due to the fact that morphology is outsourced to phonology (a standard procedure in most generative

approaches), chapter 4 on morphology is short (pp. 41–43) and as such uninformative, discussing morphemes and parts of speech. Chapter 5 (pp. 44–87) covers nominal morphology and chapter 6 finite verb morphology (pp. 88–128). Infinite verb forms are covered in chapter 7 (pp. 129–144). Chapter 8 (pp. 145–155) covers the remaining parts of speech, adverbs, particles, pre- and postpositions, coordinators, subordinators and interjections. Chapter 9 covers word formation (pp. 156–189) followed by chapter 10 (pp. 190–235) on phrasal and clausal syntax. Chapter 11 (pp. 236–251) covers the syntax of the noun phrase and a short chapter 12 the phrase types adpositional phrase, adjective phrase and adverb phrase (pp. 252–253). An appendix of almost fifty pages length (pp. 254–302) subsumes inflectional paradigms. A short list of references of two pages length and an index (pp. 305–308) finalize the text.

As already mentioned above, although the grammar calls itself modern, it is not particularly modern in structure and other technicalities. Linguistic explanatory materials are a typical example of *linguese*. Linguistically, there is nothing wrong with examples such as *Bárdni liikui niidi* ‘The boy liked the girl’ (p. 59), but due to the fact that North Sami is indeed a privileged indigenous language with a belletristic tradition and electronic corpora at its disposal, such resources have yet to be implemented in North Sami grammaticography. Furthermore, when comparing written North Sami with spoken North Sami, where discourse particles and clefting play a prominent role, grammaticographic *linguese* has a strong artificial flavor. This means that spoken language would have required at least some kind of coverage. A second shortcoming, again of a more technical nature, is the lack of a comprehensive chapter on the major varieties of North Sami in Sweden.¹⁹ Given that Svonni is a North Sami from the Swedish side who has published several papers on North Sami as spoken in Sweden, one would have hoped to find a compact section subsuming these varieties. This does not mean that Svonni has excluded such information, but this cannot be retrieved without considerable browsing (e.g., a footnote on locative formation on p. 60, morphology of conditionals and its dialectal variation on pp. 112, 113; a dedicated conditional paradigm on p. 289 and possibly even more). Third, a short note on written North Sami and variation within the North Sami speech area continues to be a *desideratum*. The benefit of such an overview for the language learner is to be expected because orthographic variation beyond “lexical dialectal features” (e.g., *ipmirdit* vs. *áddet* ‘to understand’ or *ustit* vs. *skibir/skihjár* ‘friend’) is well-known. A good example is the orthographic representation of North Sami clitics. From the perspective of grammaticography, it is a bit surprising to see that Svonni has opted for an approach which puts particles and clitics into a category *particles* (pp. 148–152). Clitics such as *=go*, *=han*, *=ge*, *=bat* etc. are not particles like *gal* or *dal*, as the latter may, but need not, cliticize, while the former have to. Moreover, particles like *gal* or *dal* are not even mentioned in this section, even though such discourse particles appear in written Sami, both in quoted direct speech and in formal written registers: *Die dal de lea min trenen, muitala Länsman*. ‘This is so, well, our training, says Länsman’ (Yle Sápmi); *Sulo gal ii áiggo reiset gosage*. ‘But Sulo does not intend to travel anywhere’ (Yle Sápmi). Moreover, Svonni’s analysis and orthographic representation of clitics is indeed an unconscious application of Finnish grammaticography. What Svonni considers to be particles but then analyzes as clitics are written bound to their hosts; this is also their standard orthographic representation in North Sami in Finland where this practice is certainly influenced by Finnish orthographic principles. Nevertheless, in North Sami writings from Norway and Sweden, clitics are often written as separate words e.g., *Earát go don maid háldit suohtastallat, dadjá Pippi sirkusniidii. Mon han maid lean máksán* ‘Did

you want to entertain the others as well, says Pippi to the circus woman. I have paid as well' (Lindgren & Nyman 1996: 18) or *Mánát han liikojit go lea liekkas, dan gal oaidná*. 'Children really like it when it [the water] is warm, one can see this' (Sameradion). In fact, both orthographic solutions are given in a prominent North Sami pedagogic handbook whose use is certainly not restricted to language pedagogy alone (Pope & Sára 2004: 185–187). This orthographic variation is unfortunately not mentioned by Svonni, even though it is pervasive in North Sami texts published in Sweden or Norway: *Ledjet go gullan ovdal?* 'Have you heard it before?' (NRK Sápmi); *Jo, lean sápmelaš', leago dat dutnje váttisin?* 'Yeah, I am a Sami, is this a problem for you?' (NRK Sápmi). Variation can even appear in two adjacent sentences: *In leat goassage leamaš riegádanbeaivvis, gos heasta lea leamaš mielde...* 'I have never been at a birthday party where a horse was along' (Lindgren & Nyman 1996: 24); *In mon ge leat leamaš dákkár feasttas ovdal...* 'I have never been at such a party before either' (Lindgren & Nyman 1996: 25).

Finally, as already mentioned above, Svonni's grammar and his "Introduction" part in several respects from earlier approaches, though not all of them can be covered in this review. Although one finds occasional statements that other terminology has been used in earlier research, direct references are seldom provided. An exception is the concept "verbal essive" which appears to be new and restricted to Svonni (2015; Svonni 2018: 135–137), which covers what Nickel & Sammallahti (2011: 296–298) call *aktio essiv*. Whereas occasional cross-referencing with Nielsen's grammar is found (e.g., concerning the verbal essive pp. 135–137 which Nielsen called *gerundium II*), cross-referencing with Nickel & Sammallahti (2011) is almost entirely absent.

Final Evaluation and Outlook

With the publication of *Modern nordsamisk grammatik*, Mikael Svonni, who has already contributed to Sami Studies and Sami cultural life with several monographs as lexicographer (Svonni 2013),²⁰ editor (Turi 2010; Turi 2018), translator (e.g., *Varra mii lea golgan*), sociolinguist, educational linguist and theoretical linguist (e.g., Svonni 1993; Svonni 2015), has now contributed to another field of Sami studies, namely grammaticography. Svonni's grammar is, regardless of the criticism uttered above, a very valuable and long-awaited resource filling an enormous gap. In comparison to its direct predecessor (Ruong [1970] 1974), *Modern nordsamisk grammatik* is a remarkable step forward, not only because this grammar was written by a native speaker of North Sami, but because it is the first truly comprehensive grammar on North Sami²¹ published in Swedish. Two properties deserve to be highlighted from the perspective of pedagogical grammar writing. First, in all major recent grammars, whether in Ruong's pedagogical grammar or the descriptive and/or reference grammars compiled by Nielsen, Nickel and Nickel & Sammallahti, the coverage of possessive suffixes results in several pages of tables (e.g., Nickel & Sammallahti 2011: 103–111). Svonni's decision to discuss the basic properties of possessive suffixes shortly and relegate the tables to the appendix (pp. 267–273) is more than justified, because possessive suffixes are indeed marginal in contemporary Sami and do not justify a lengthy discussion spanning several pages. By relegating them to the appendix, this category remains retrievable for the language learner and language professional if encountered; here the emancipation from Finnish grammaticography is indeed more than justified. The second merit is Svonni's decision to present all paradigms also in the appendix of his grammar. This solution, already found in Svonni (2015) and fortunately preserved, saves both the language learner and reader from extensive browsing in e.g., Nickel's and Nickel & Sammallahti's grammar when a simple form needs to be cross-

checked. A third merit is technical. Whereas Svonni (2015) was published as a soft cover, a book format not necessarily useful for long-lasting and intensive use, the reference grammar is published in hard covers and a much more pleasing typesetting. This decision enhances usability, readability and will certainly increase the book's "life expectancy."

As Svonni's conscious and subconscious effort has also shown, it is far from simple to untie North Sami grammaticography from Finnish grammaticographic traditions. In any case, untying calls for cautious implementation. In the context of spatial cases where Svonni has attempted this, the emerging re-classification does not convince the reviewer. Whether Svonni is aware that his approach to clitics is equally "Finnish" remains unknown to the reviewer. In the eyes of the reviewer, complete separation is hardly possible and impractical: Finnish remains an essential *tertium comparationis* from a structural-typological perspective, for better or worse.

Last but not least, as all recent pedagogically oriented grammars of North Sami saw revised editions after several years (Ruong [1970] 1974; Nickel [1990] 1994 → Nickel & Sammallahti 2011), the reviewer hopes that a possible second edition will incorporate a number of changes targeting the primary audience of this grammar—this will make a good book even better. Although *linguèse* is certainly a valid genre in grammaticography, it should be enhanced with corpus data and data from spoken language; it needs to be emphasized once more that North Sami is a privileged endangered indigenous language as such resources are available; therefore, such means should also be used. Furthermore, the example base requires extension, because too many basic case functions have remained uncovered; additional cross-referencing within the book is required as well. Also, the index must certainly be expanded; whereas the verbal abessive can be found with ease because it has a header of its own and is mentioned in the index, nominal caritive forms must be found by browsing. Whereas these suggestions are all technical, the overall role of generative terminology/theorizing should be reconsidered as well. Especially for the language learner without obvious interests in Sami linguistics (according to the grammar's preface, such users are considered to be part of the target audience), reduction of generative terminology would be of obvious benefit as well, because this saves the learner from learning both a language and a metalanguage at the same moment. The target audience for those who are interested in such categories have likely acquired language skills and can be directed to Svonni (2015).

This brings the reviewer to the question asked in the header: what makes a grammar a modern grammar? Regardless of the analytical framework a grammar is based on—whether generative or functional—a modern grammar should not rely on categories whose terminological history has proven to be problematic such as *supines* and *gerunds*. Furthermore, a modern grammar should not rely on "traditional" terminological misnomers such as verbal genitive and create similar new ones such as verbal *essive*. The place of such labels where the morphology of different parts of speech are merged should be in a footnote, but no longer in the running text.

NOTES

¹ However, this is not the first pedagogical grammar of its kind in Sweden. The first pedagogical grammar was compiled by Israel Ruong ([1970] 1974). Because Ruong's grammar was written while the so-called Bergsland-Ruong orthography was in use, it fell into oblivion after the introduction of the current North Sami orthography in 1979 because it was not updated.

² Whereas Norwegian is not a serious obstacle for those whose native or second native language is Swedish, Norwegian is an obstacle for university students of Sami from Finland. Even though every Finnish

student is still exposed to varying degrees to Swedish in secondary education, Continental Scandinavian “in a different orthography” is, in fact, beyond reach (which the reviewer could witness while working in Finland). Although Finnish students struggling with Continental Scandinavian could also find a Swedish grammar “more comprehensible” this audience is certainly not the main target of Svonni’s grammar.

- ³ One “slip of the pen” needs to be mentioned; on p. 178, the original Sami header *kausatiivgeažus* (causative suffix) *-dit* remained untranslated.
- ⁴ The fact that all languages within the Samic branch are far from being prototypical agglutinative languages is not important in this context.
- ⁵ This Swedish learner, who is not the primary target of Svonni’s grammar, is certainly privileged and language teaching has a more favorable starting point. This audience has recently received a dedicated textbook in two print runs (Hedlund & Larsson [2011] 2015) which can draw on ample comparisons with Finnish.
- ⁶ The assumption that the North Sami locative would fulfill the same functions as the Finnish inessive is naive and essentially incorrect as if one would claim that the function of the North Sami accusative case would be the same as that of Dolgan, a Turkic language of Northern Siberia. Even though Dolgan has an accusative case, Dolgan, in comparison to North Sami, uses three different cases to mark objects. The function of the accusative case is to mark definite objects; indefinite objects are encoded with the nominative case. The third case used in object marking is the partitive case, whose use is otherwise heavily constrained. Even though Finnish and Dolgan have a partitive case and Dolgan’s case label comes indeed directly from Finnish grammaticography, nobody ever considered that both cases “would encode the same.” In fact, both cases have astonishingly little in common, but on functional grounds, the label partitive remains justified (Siegl, accepted for publication).
- ⁷ Clausal examples come from the reviewer’s collection of North Sami online news (starting 2017–) taken from the homepages of Sameradion (Sweden), Yle Sápmi (Finland) and NRK Sápmi (Norway).
- ⁸ This is even more important as temporal relations are encoded by other cases as well, e.g., the genitive. However, Svonni’s covering of the genitive case (pp. 53–55) focuses on the genitive in adnominal possessive constructions and as *casus rectus* and leaves the temporal function unmentioned: *Duorastaga lea bassi ja bearjadaga Ohcejoga skwlaguovddáža oahppiin lea olgobeaiivi* ‘On Thursday is a holiday and on Friday is outdoor day for the pupils from the school center of Utsjoki’ (Yle Sápmi). This function is likewise not mentioned in the section on adverbials (pp. 195–196); what the reviewer (and other grammar, e.g., Nickel & Sammallahti 2011: 249) considers genitive is analyzed as accusative by Svonni (p. 57). This re-interpretation and the evolving problems have to remain outside the scope of this review for restrictions of space.
- ⁹ <https://nesseby.custompublish.com/cppage.6031544-27451.html>; access date 1 June 2020.
- ¹⁰ Korhonen’s reconstruction of the Samic/Finnic inner case series has been disputed in recent years, but this does not affect this discussion, which looks at the later simplification which happened in Sami.
- ¹¹ Even though one occasionally hears that grammaticography is a theory-neutral or at best a descriptive enterprise, this argument is futile, because the postulation of phonemes, morphemes, parts of speech, noun phrases etc. can never be done without a theoretical concept.
- ¹² An illustrative example from Sami studies is the South Sami grammar by Bergsland (1946).
- ¹³ As the reviewer himself has published a grammar (Siegl 2013), though not a pedagogical grammar, the grammarian’s challenges are indeed far from being trivial.
- ¹⁴ By focusing on comprehensive grammars, the time depth becomes easily visible: Friis (1856), Nielsen (1926–1929), Nickel ([1990] 1994). With the publication of Nickel & Sammallahti (2011) and Svonni (2018), this picture has somehow changed.
- ¹⁵ Svonni refers to Christer Platzack’s (2011) textbook on minimalistic syntax, which is not available to the reviewer. An earlier textbook available to the author by Platzack (1998) has the label “modern” in the sub-header as well.
- ¹⁶ The transitivity increasing function of *-dit*, among its other functions such as reflexive, reciprocal, momentaneous, frequentative, continuative, diminutive and connative (the labels come from Nickel [1990] 1994: 223) and its causative semantics is, of course, mentioned by Svonni (2018: 178).
- ¹⁷ When looking at the examples in the section, the degree of lexical idiosyncrasy (which is to be expected in derivational morphology) is tremendous. For example denominal *ráigánit* is derived from *ráigi* ‘hole’ which is a noun and most of the other examples derived with *-nit* come from nouns as well, so these examples do not follow Swedish *smálta*. The examples for the so-called *ergative derivations in -muvvat*

(and related) and *-stuvvat* are denominal again, and likewise do not follow the pattern of Swedish *smälta*. The only verbal derivation is *-sit*, but due to the lack of clausal examples, it remains unclear whether the derived verbs really alter transitivity. Based on their translations, the verbs in this group are middles, inchoatives, but certainly not examples of the kind of *smälta*.

¹⁸ Glossing, translation and phonological transcription of Chukchi data are the author's.

¹⁹ Even though North Sami is no longer spoken exclusively in Sweden's northernmost areas due to the forceful relocation of Karesuando Samis a century ago, at least the dialectal basics of the original area of departure could be covered. A grammar of this kind is, of course, not the forum for the discussion of grammatical features of what has become Västerbotten North Sami, a variety which is weakly covered in Sami dialectological studies.

²⁰ Also, the dictionary app based on Svonni (2013) requires mentioning.

²¹ A peculiar though unexplained detail in Ruong's career is that after having worked on his native language Pite Sami (and extensive data gathering on other Sami languages), his further linguistic efforts focused on North Sami and North Sami language pedagogy only (Siegl 2017b).

REFERENCES

- Bergsland, K. (1946). *Røros-lappisk grammatikk. Et forsøk på strukturell språkbeskrivelse* ['A grammar of Røros Lappish. An attempt at structural description'] (Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning. Serie B. Skrifter 43), Oslo: Aschehoug.
- Dixon, R.M.W. (1994). *Ergativity* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 69), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Friis, J.A. (1856). *Lappisk Grammatik. Udarbeitt efter den finnmarkiske Hoveddialekt eller Sproget som almindest tales i norsk Finnmarken* ['A Lappish grammar. Based on the major dialect of the Finnmark district or the language which is spoken in the Norwegian part of the Finnmark district'], Christiania: Cappelen.
- Genetti, C. (2014). "Walking the line. Balancing description, argumentation and theory in academic grammar writing," in *The Art and Practice of Grammar Writing* (Language Documentation and Conservation Special Issue 8), ed. T. Nakayama & K. Rice, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 121–134; <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/4588>; access date 30 June 2020.
- Hedlund, C. & Larsson, L.-G. (2015). *Ii dušše duoddaris! Lärobok i nordsamiska* ['Not only in the mountain! A North Sami textbook'] (FU Läromedel 24), Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- Korhonen, M. (1981). *Johdatus lapin kielen historiaan* ['Introduction to Lappish language history'] (Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seuran toimituksia 370), Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura.
- Lindgren, A. & Nyman, I. (1996). *Dovddat go Pippi Guhkessuohku?* ['Do you know Pippi Longstocking?'], Jokkmokk: Sámeskuvlastivra.
- Mosel, U. (2006). "Grammaticography, the art and craft of writing grammars," in *Catching Language. The Standing Challenge of Grammar Writing* (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 167), eds. F. Ameka, A. Dench & N. Evans, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 41–68.
- Nedjalkov, V.P. (1976). "Diathesen und Satzstruktur im Tschuktschischen," *Studia Grammatica*, 13, pp. 181–211.
- Nickel, K.P. [1990] (1994). *Samisk grammatikk* ['A Sami grammar'], 2nd ed., Karasjok: Davvi Girji.
- Nickel, K.P. & Sammallahhti, P. (2011). *Nordsamisk grammatikk* ['A North Sami grammar'], Karasjok: Davvi Girji.
- Nielsen, K. (1926–1929). *Lærebok i Lappisk. Bind I–III* ['Textbook in Lappish. Volumes I–III'], Oslo: Institut for sammenlignende kulturforskning.
- Platzack, C. (1998). *Svenskans inre grammatik. Det minimalistiska programmet. En introduktion till modern generativ grammatik* ['The inner grammar of Swedish. The minimalistic programme. An introduction to modern generative grammar'], Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Platzack, C. (2011). *Den fantastiska grammatiken. En minimalistisk beskrivning av svenskan* ['The fantastic grammar. A minimalistic approach to Swedish'], Stockholm: Norstedts.
- Pope, K. & Sára M. (2004). *Eatmigiela giellaoahpu váldogirji* ['The mothertongue learner's handbook'], Karasjok: Davvi Girji.
- Rice, K. (2006). "Let the language tell its story? The role of linguistic theory in writing grammars," in *Catching Language. The Standing Challenge of Grammar Writing* (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and

- Monographs 167), eds. F. Ameka, A. Dench & N. Evans, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 235–268.
- Ruong, I. [1970] (1974). *Min sámegiella. Samisk grammatik* [‘Our Sami language. A Sami Grammar’], Uppsala: Utbildningsförlaget.
- Siegl, F. (2013). *Materials on Forest Enets, an Indigenous Language of Northern Siberia* (MSFOu 267), Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Siegl, F. (2017a). “Tryggve Sköld och umesamiskan. Intryck från en oavslutad språkdokumentation” [‘Tryggve Sköld and Ume Sami. Impressions from an unfinished language documentation’], *Norsk Lingvistisk Tidsskrift*, 35, pp. 252–290.
- Siegl, F. (2017b). “Ume Saami. The forgotten language,” *Études Finno-Ougriennes*, 48; <http://efo.revues.org/7106>, doi: 10.4000/efo.7106; access date 30 June 2020.
- Siegl, F. (accepted for publication). “Der Partitiv im Taimyr Dolganischen,” *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougriennes*, 98.
- Svonni, M. (1993). *Samiska skolbarns samiska. En undersökning av minoritetsspråksbehärskning i en språkbyteskontext* [‘Sami language spoken by Sami school children. An investigation on language competence in the context of language change’] (Umeå Studies in the Humanities 113), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Svonni, M. (2013). *Davvisámegiella-ruotagiella, ruotagiella-davvisámegiella sátnegirji. Nordsamisk-svensk, svensk-nordsamisk ordbok* [‘North Sami-Swedish-North Sami dictionary’], Karasjok: ČálliidLágádus (first version published 1990 by Sámi girjijt in Jokkmokk).
- Svonni, M. (2015). *Davvisámegiella – sánit ja cealkagat. Láidehus sámii lingvistihkkii* [‘The North Sami language—words and clauses. An introduction to Sami linguistics’], Kiruna: Ravda Lágádus.
- Svonni, M. (2018). *Modern nordsamisk grammatik* [‘A modern North Sami grammar’], Kiruna: Ravda Lágádus.
- Turi, J. (2010). *Muitalus sámiiid birra* [‘An account of the Sami’], Kárášjohka: álliidLágádus.
- Turi, J. (2018). *Mátkemuitalusat ja iežá muitalusat* [‘Travel accounts and other accounts’], Kiruna: Ravda Lágádus.
- Tyn’etegyn (1959). *Саввэвен тэмһэте. Сказки Чэуэу* [‘Chukchi Fairy-tales’], Magadan: Magadanskoe knižnoe izdatel’stvo.

Florian Siegl
Unaffiliated
florian.siegl@gmail.com

Reviews

Lars Hermansson, *Friendship, Love, and Brotherhood in Medieval Northern Europe, c. 1000—1200* (The Northern World 85), Leiden: Brill 2019, ISBN 9789004400078, 282 pp.

The present volume is a translation of a book published in Swedish in 2009 by Lars Hermansson (LH), professor of history at the University of Gothenburg. That book has now been brought up to date with the latest research, and has also to some extent been adapted to international readers. As regards its theme, it links up with LH's doctoral thesis from 2000 with the title *Släkt, vänner och makt. En studie av elitens politiska kultur i 1100-talets Danmark* ['Kindred, friends, and power. A study of the élite's political culture in twelfth-century Denmark']. Anyone who wants to have an advanced level refresher on Danish political history in a broad perspective with a specific focus on the twelfth century may benefit from reading both books in a row.

To start with, LH maintains that the high medieval society was considerably different from modern society, since the hierarchic state was not there. Therefore, the way people tried to obtain security and confidence was quite different from that of our time, often consisting of agreements or treaties that were concluded between individuals and confirmed by, for instance, ritual toasts of peace. This was often referred to in the written sources using the terms *friendship* and *love*, which denoted decisive personal connections. To these two terms, one more central term was added, namely "fraternity." Together, they formed basic elements of the group culture that characterized the society. The medieval political thinkers found their arguments for such a culture in the writings of the philosophers of classical antiquity, as well in those of Christian thinkers, especially the Church Father Augustine's *De civitate Dei*. In the light of a presentation of earlier research concerning *friendship*, LH brings forward his thesis for the study as a whole: "Ideology, beliefs, and emotions were integral parts of medieval political culture" (p. 13). This means that political and spiritual aspects of friendship cannot be separated, which motivates studies of bonds of friendship in order to understand "structures and processes" in history, in LH's case, in the High Middle Ages in Northern Europe.

LH devotes the first chapter to antique philosophy, Greek as well as Roman, and also to late antique theology on friendship in order to demonstrate what was fundamental for the medieval thinkers with regard to what they imported. LH establishes that the classical authors were mainly interested in the essence of friendship and less in what he calls "pragmatic friendship."

Despite being a comparatively short chapter, it constitutes an elucidatory survey of the view of friendship, and, not least, of the different meanings it had among the great philosophers, politicians, and church fathers. LH shows that especially "virtue" in some different forms played an important role for the establishment of friendship according to the non-Christian thinkers. For the Church Fathers on the other hand, love and friendship were essential parts of their belief in the possibility to reach a "sacred order of society."

In the second chapter, which deals with "friendship and social formation," the focus is on the twelfth century. LH's point of departure is that the twelfth century was considerably different from the previous ones and therefore especially suited for a deeper study,

which is quite obvious, at least as regards the Scandinavian realms. LH connects the analysis of on the one hand “the ecclesiastical elite” to the late antique Christian writings when using the Danish source material that can be found in the collection of letters of Abbot William of Æbelholt. “The secular elite,” on the other hand, is the subject of a short opening section with examples from different sources intended to elucidate “the link between the twelfth-century ideology of friendship and the social formation of the aristocracy” (p. 64). The most extensive contribution to the elucidation is collected from Saxo Grammaticus’s *Gesta Danorum*. With the help of Saxo’s writing, the friendship between Bishop William of Roskilde and King Svend Estridsen, as well as between Bishop Absalon and King Valdemar, is analysed. LH’s text shows clearly that he is familiar with the source material and the conclusions are convincing. He is able to show how very important both secular and Christian antique writers were when it comes to expressing friendship in writing in the twelfth century, both among the Church’s ministers and the aristocracy. Interestingly, the two groups do not seem to have differed in this case.

After that, and in the next chapter, LH moves on to study the bond of friendship with a focus on different types of rituals rather than written sources, thus representing the oral and visual phenomena that contributed to confidence being achieved. Through rituals, different alliances were made official also in an interplay with the Christian God. LH starts out from Fredric Cheyette’s designation of Scandinavian as well as West European medieval society as an oath-taking society.

The last chapter is the most extensive one (pp. 140–240). There, “friendship and lordship in twelfth-century Scandinavia” are dealt with. It is mainly the hierarchic connections that are studied, i.e. bonds of friendship within the political sphere founded on super- and subordination. LH exemplifies with narrations found in the Old West Nordic saga literature, clearly putting his study in relation to earlier research into this corpus of texts with regard to Iceland and Norway. As regards the sources, Snorri’s *Heimskringla* and the anonymous *Sverres Saga* are self-evident points of departure. Another part of this chapter is specifically devoted to Denmark during the period called “the great age of the Valdemarians,” i.e. from 1157 until 1247. At the end of that period and until the coming into being of the *Brödraskapslistan*, knowledge is available, at least concerning the confraternities among the Danish aristocracy. LH analyses them in a wider European and ecclesiastical perspective. The confraternity’s patron saint played an important role, among other things as a witness to the taking of the oath at the admission to the confraternity in the culture of the oath-taking society. Also, the great role played by intercessions for still living brothers (and sisters, for that matter), as well as for dead ones, should be underlined. That God and Christ were very important components in the interplay between the members of the confraternities, monasteries and saints becomes obvious in the illustrations on page 221 and page 223, even though there is always a risk that actual conditions as regards religious ways of expression are simplified when one tries to illustrate them graphically.

Towards the end, LH underlines that the main conclusion of his study is “that we cannot draw a sharp dividing line between pragmatic and spiritual friendship. [...] the bond functioned both to structure and to constitute society” (p. 248). In an interesting and learned way and with the help of his comprehensive knowledge in the field, he has clearly shown precisely that.

Bertil Nilsson

Dept. of Literature, History of Ideas, and Religion
University of Gothenburg, Sweden
bertil.nilsson@lir.gu.se

Dolly Jørgensen & Virginia Langum (eds.), *Visions of the North in Premodern Europe*, Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers 2018, ISBN: 9782503574752, 370 pp.

An impressive amount of erudition has gone into this project, not to mention linguistic skill. The cultures being surveyed span from ancient Greece and the Roman Empire to Early Modern Spain and Italy, ending in late Eighteenth-Century Paris. All of this is made accessible to an interested lay audience. All quotes are translated to English, and most authors take special care to describe the historical context about which they are writing, which means one need not be an expert to follow along. This contextualizing can lead to some unavoidable repetition, but nevertheless enables the individual entries to stand alone. Another welcoming feature for the intellectually curious is the Appendix, which provides translations of excerpts of primary source material. This buffet of expertise is available through open access, so everyone can stop by for a nibble or a full meal.

The editors, Dolly Jørgensen and Virginia Langum, introduce the volume with the statement: “The North is both a geographical region and an imaginative concept that varies, transforms, and coheres diachronically and synchronically according to the perspective adopted” (p. 1). A nod is made to Edward Said’s *Orientalism*, but rather than the West defining the East, the bulk of the essays describe the South trying to make sense of the Otherness of the North.

In the first chapter, Pär Sandin looks at Early Greek Literature and the Hyperboreans, or the people from beyond the North wind. The view of the North seems to have been split. Some, such as Herodotus, thought the Hyperboreans were of the Scythian type, a rough and somewhat barbaric group with an affinity for horses, and others, most notably Pindar, depicted them as supernatural and sacred as well as “emblems of the perfect mortal condition” (p. 23). A thread that goes through many of the contributions in the volume is a consideration of the usefulness a given perception of the North might possess. What is the goal? Most often such depictions say more about the culture that produced them than any reality. That is certainly true of the Romans, according to Lewis Webb:

Thule and Hypeborea, recurrent manifestations of northern alterity through-out Greek literature, were appropriated and transformed by Roman authors, not to disparage or praise northern societies, but as a self-reflexive discourse on Roman imperium and autocrats. Essentially, Thule and Hyperborea were not particularly dystopian or utopian spaces for Roman authors but, instead, were useful metonyms for Rome. (p. 52)

In Mirela Avdagic’s look at early Greek and Roman geographers, the Romans in particular have a clear use for this evolving field:

It should be noted that the development of geography as a discipline was closely connected to the expansion of the Roman Empire, and the writers were engaged in describing the “inhabited world” and “known world” to meet the needs of the growing Empire. (p. 64)

Further, it is this unknown, barbaric world that brings about the doom of the Roman Empire.

The Northmen famously settled in Normandy, giving that region its name. Barbara Auger looks at the written accounts of the history of Normandy, generated by firmly

Christian medieval writers who had very little material evidence of early Norman settlement. As Auger states, “[a]s non-Christian, the pre-baptism Northmen belonged to a fantastical other world polarized by infernal elements: sacrifice, blood, war, cold wind, polygamy” (p. 96). They are, however, eventually assimilated into the Christian narrative, much as the Northmen themselves assimilated into the local culture. This same Christian narrative is of keen importance to the Latin history writing of Twelfth-Century Norway, described by Stefan Hope. In this case, the historians are writing against the narrative of Norway being populated by beastly barbarians. Their focus is on the native holy men, such as Saint Olaf, thereby subsuming Norway into the salvation history of the Christian world (p. 111).

For me personally, one of the most interesting contributions in the volume came from co-editor Virginia Langum, “Cold Characters. Northern Temperament in the Pre-modern Imaginary.” In recent years, there has been much discussion about whether the concept of race is applicable to medieval thought. As Langum succinctly sums it up:

The debate centres upon how medieval thought understood differences between groups, whether difference is an essential, material, biological matter, or whether difference is more culturally conceived, with groups bounded by language, law, conventions, and customs. (p. 124)

Langum takes the approach of examining these ideas through the lens of medieval medicine, and how climate and geographical factors might influence the balance of the four humors: cholera, blood, phlegm, and melancholia. These might also be expressed in terms of a balance of elements: cold, hot, wet, and dry. The balance of these elements could express themselves in terms of both temperament and external markers, such as skin color. Arabic thinkers thus could explain that the “cold and dry southerners were intelligent but weak, and the hot and wet northerners were stupid and strong” (p. 126). The French writer, Jean Bodin, could then go on to argue that this was why people from the North drank to excess: the body is greater than the soul, so the soul cannot dominate (p. 130). In other words, they can’t help themselves.

Vicki Szabo’s essay on the northern seas takes an ecocritical approach, sifting through accounts of transforming animal populations and monstrous whales, and interpreting them as “climate bellwethers, presaging more monstrous and massive ecological challenges that defined the premodern North” (p. 176). Also, with an ecocritical angle, Dolly Jørgensen considers Olaus Magnus’ *A Description of the Northern Peoples* (1555) and his *Carta marina* in terms of the dangerous and useful animals depicted and how they are inferred to have been created by climate and geography.

Jeremy Deangelo looks at how images of the Sami impacted the perception of the Scots during the reign of James I. He tells the interesting historical anecdote of how James’ wedding to Anne of Denmark was delayed in the autumn of 1589 because of storms in the North Sea. Anne had to turn back to Denmark, where James then sailed to meet her and stayed over the winter at the Danish Court. The bad weather was blamed on witchcraft, the magic of the Finnar (Sami). As a result, James entered into a series of witch hunts directed toward the North focusing on weather magic. Dawn Hollis also looks at Scotland as a particular incarnation of the North.

Mateo Ballester Rodriguez’s essay on the images of the North in Early Modern Spain contained much information that was new to me. One of Miguel de Cervantes’ last works, *The Travels of Persiles and Sigismunda. A Northern History* (1617) features the North prominently as a barbaric realm. Francisco López de Gomara was an important

chronicler of the New World, and he had lengthy chats with Olaus Magnus in Bologna and Venice, yet perpetrates the enduring myth of a day lasting half a year and one night another half a year, as well as the belief held by the ancients that in the North when people grow old, they kill themselves (p. 251). Spanish authors imagined the unknown savages of the North in terms of the known savage, which for Spain was the indigenous American (p. 244). Because they were unknown, the people of the North were invested with marvellous and fantastical qualities that the indigenous Americans did not share.

The red thread of the usefulness of various depictions of the North returns vividly in the essay by Helena Wangefelt Ström and Federico Barbierato, which views depictions of the North in the context of Early Modern Italy and its struggles with the Protestant reformation. The issues are summed up in a story about Queen Christina's reception in Rome after her conversion and abdication. She was to be given temporary housing in the Vatican in a place called the Tower of the Winds, which was decorated with frescoes depicting the four winds:

Upon his [the Pope's] request, the biblical motto on the northern wall, *Omne malum ab Aquilone* (All evil comes from the North), was hastily painted over with a thick layer of paint to avoid the risk of offending the prominent guest. This rushed coverage and makeover of a wall was also a metaphorical act: a major change of identity was taking place, with some elements needing to be publicly eradicated while others could be usefully retained. Although the North had persistently been associated with the brave, dangerous, powerful, savage, bold, and evil, Christina's visit forced a quite literal cover-up of such evil associations. (pp. 279–280)

Indeed, the North had suddenly become quite useful for Catholic propaganda.

In his essay on the Faroe Islands and the Early Modern North, Kim Simonsen traces a general move from imagining the North as a place of darkness, death and evil towards an elevation of everything medieval “including the *Ossian cult*, the adoption of Nordic mythology, and de Staël's sublime image of the north” (p. 292). Stefan Donecker looks at the characterization from Jordanes of the North as “the womb of nations” and its use as a tool to enhance the prestige of the Swedish kingdom during *stormaktstiden*, the Swedish era of great power (p. 321). This, of course, culminates in Olaus Rudbeck's presentation of Sweden as the lost Atlantis. The final essay of the volume by Päiva Maria Pihlaja is written from a history of science perspective and shows how the French astronomer Jean Sylvain Bailly revisited Rudbeck's arguments, removed the patriotic content and instead harnessed “the idea of a universal progress, the starting point of which was a single northern location” (p. 343). Bailly suggests that the first advances in astronomy and of human civilization took place in Spitsbergen, an idea that was hardly welcomed in Enlightenment France.

In short, *Visions of North in Premodern Europe* covers a lot of ground, both literally and historically. There are some fresh perspectives presented upon some old issues, and it is indeed a valuable resource with something for everyone.

Susan C. Brantly
Dept. of German, Nordic, and Slavic
University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
sbrantly@wisc.edu

Lucie Korecká, *Wizards and Words. The Old Norse Vocabulary of Magic in a Cultural Context*, München: Utzverlag, 2019, ISBN 9783831648108, 300 pp.

This book is a welcome addition to studies on magic in medieval Icelandic literature. It deals primarily with the thirteenth century, and aims to determine the cultural meaning of magic at that time rather than reconstruct historical practices. The author does not lay claim to comprehensiveness, but collects evidence primarily from sagas of Icelanders and kings, lawbooks, and mythological texts, as they reflect “the variety of the vocabulary better than translations or texts with foreign subject matter” as well as thirteenth century Icelanders’ attitudes to their own past and cultural heritage (p. 3). However, *fornaldarsögur* make frequent appearances, and although foreign hagiography translated from Latin is mostly omitted, other religious works are not; passages are quoted from the Norwegian homily book, the penitential of Bishop Þorlákr, the statutes of archbishop Páll, and “sakeyrir biskups ok konungs,” a legal text dated by the editors c. 1280. With the possible exception of the last-named, all of these works must have been in Latin at some stage, although it could be argued that those who turned them into Icelandic would have chosen a different level of discourse than they used for learned translations of Latin hagiography. This is, however, an assumption which remains to be proved, and one wonders whether a more detailed discussion of translated saints’ lives on the one hand, legendary sagas on the other, would have provided useful evidence from genres where magic might (or might not) be configured somewhat differently than in sagas of Icelanders and kings. Korecká in fact notes interesting differences between *fornaldarsögur* and sagas of Icelanders on a number of occasions, for example in her discussion of *gandr*.

The value of the work lies in its presentation of the vocabulary of magic grouped according to its basic meaning, treating together terms connected to knowledge, action, crossing boundaries, the distant past, power, deceit, chanting or speaking, and the “ways of magical practice,” i.e. runes, *gandr*, various forms of *-riða* (of which the best known is probably *trollriða*), *fitónsandi*, *spá*, and *völva*. The discussion of vocabulary is framed by an introduction about the concept of “otherness” and concluded by a summary chapter entitled “Wizards and Words.”

Korecká’s discussions of each type of term include close readings of passages chosen to illustrate the range of significances the terms can have in different contexts, depending on the social status and gender of the participants, time, and place of the episode. She distinguishes between what might be called “clerical” and “lay” attitudes, the “clerical” ones being found not only in legal and ecclesiastical texts but also in the sagas of Christian kings such as Saint Olaf and Olaf Trygvason.

It has often been noted that magic was considered acceptable before the conversion, and the examples confirm this view; Korecká emphasizes the point by underlining ambiguities of the texts themselves, as well as the use of magic by both sides of a conflict. She draws conclusions regarding the degree of positivity or negativity associated with each term in the different genres of literature in which it appears, and how this reflects the potential disturbance of the social system in each case. She makes valuable comments on how the literature manages narrative distancing from magical practices that might seem to be suspect. The book contains a good discussion of the ways shape-shifting is envisioned under *hamrammr* (pp. 107–134) which should be required reading for all students wanting to write term-papers on this subject.

The value of the volume should be clear from the above. The drawbacks are few but one, at least, is extremely unfortunate: the lack of an index, which prevents the reader from reviewing the evidence for a particular term. Since many passages contain more than one term relating to magic, the reader needs more help with cross-references than has been provided, and the reviewer has been unable to confirm her suspicion that the terms *mæla um* (p. 210) and *mæla fyrir* (p. 233), both in the section on chanting of speech, have not received their own treatment, nor has *formáli*, translated as ‘curse’ on p. 232 and clearly referring to some kind of magical formula on pp. 232–234. Anyone interested in the possible magical connotations of the word *ljóð* will also be frustrated. I would likewise have liked to see a more focussed discussion of *sjónhverfing*, ‘illusion,’ a term which Korecká sometimes contrasts with “real” magic (cf. pp. 172–173, 182, 211). In fact, it is an important type of visual magic and deserves its own treatment in a book like this.

Of particular value are the author’s comments on which terms are found—or not found—in which genres of texts. *Útiseta*, for example, occurs primarily in legal ones (including penitentials). However, her assertion that *úti* does not mean ‘outdoors,’ but rather ‘leaving the sphere of civilized human society and contacting forces from other worlds’ (p. 70) needs substantiation. While Korecká’s characterization is reasonable, the common understanding is that the individual performing *útiseta* is, in fact, sitting outside on a grave mound. On p. 82 she states more accurately that “The ON sources do not describe exactly what the practice of *útiseta* consisted of.” Since she rejects the received understanding, a critique of it would have been welcome.

A few translations need a bit of tweaking: on p. 73 *forfir* should be ‘offerings’ rather than ‘sacrifices,’ The foster-mother of Barði is not “goodwilled” in general, but specifically goodwilled towards the sons of Guðmundr (p. 148). In *Laxdæla saga* (Ch. 37), Hrótr orders that no one *look*, not *go*, outside, and I would have preferred something like ‘he walked into the spell’ [*seið*] rather than ‘he came to the enchanted place.’ With reference to *Ynglinga saga* Ch. 14, the sons of Visbúr are not themselves being enchanted (pp. 191–192), and in *Stjórn*, King Saul makes the woman herself sit on the prophet Samuel’s grave, rather than making her find someone to do so (p. 254). The key word in the passage quoted on pp. 217–18 is *seiða* rather than *álag* or the equivalent. In the discussion of Katla in *Eyrbyggja saga* on p. 211, it is disingenuous to state that although she uses *sjónhverfingar* to hide her son, she is not necessarily a sorcerer—aside from the *sjónhverfingar*, no reader of the saga can doubt that she was magically involved in Gunnlaugr’s death.

There are relatively few typos and fewer that make a difference: *in* for *is* after *focus* on p. 207 gives the reader momentary pause. More serious is the fact that the negative particle *ó* (v in the edition used) is missing before *visa* in a quotation from *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar in mesta* in the last line on p. 252.

Korecká’s concluding ten-page chapter titled “Wizards and words” ties together themes that have been examined in detail for the individual concepts, such as “the power of the word,” otherness, positive or negative evaluation of terms, and “magic as a cultural concept.”

It is inevitable that readers will disagree on individual points of interpretation, but the texts on which Korecká’s interpretations are based, as well as the basis for those interpretations, are set out clearly. This useful and well-thought-out study will be of value to every reader of medieval Icelandic literature.

Margaret Cormack
College of Charleston, USA
University of Iceland
cormackM@cofc.edu

Ann-Marie Long, *Iceland's Relationship with Norway c. 870–c. 1100. Memory, History and Identity* (The Northern World 81), Leiden: Brill 2017, ISBN 9789004335622, 301 pp.

Ann Marie Long's book is based on her PhD-thesis from University College, Dublin, 2014. The subject of her book is to examine how the memory of the relationship between Iceland and Norway from c. 870 to c. 1100 was made meaningful and relevant to Icelanders living in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the period in which the surviving sources were composed. The author emphasizes that what she is interested in is not the actuality of the relationship, but the Icelanders' interpretation, or creation, of the past that was to establish a new identity in the new country.

All stories about the past are in fact creations of the past, but as Long emphasizes, the picture of the Icelandic past given in the written sources is not the same in all texts, but rather changes over time. Long's main sources for the interpretation of the Icelandic past in the period c. 870 to c. 1100 are first and foremost *Íslendingabók* and *Landnámabók*, and she also uses kings' sagas, sagas of Icelanders and other written sources when required. The self-esteem of the Icelanders in the Icelandic sources is compared to the picture of Icelanders and their early history in Norwegian sources, *Historia Norwegie*, *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium*, and *Ágrip*.

Long's discussion is comprised of a number of interesting themes in early Icelandic history concerning the relationship between Norway and Iceland: The heroic depiction of the settlers and the settlement, the multifaced picture of the Norwegian king, Icelanders' legal right in Norway and vice versa are the topics at the core of the discussion. Among several possible stories about the *landnám*, in the Icelandic "official" version Ingólfur Arnarson is nearly elevated to a mythic figure, while in the Norwegian chronicle *Historia Norwegie* he has to flee the country together with his foster-brother because they have committed murder. Another figure who is depicted differently in Icelandic and Norwegian sources is the Norwegian king Haraldr hárfagri. In the Norwegian sources he is first and foremost the king who united Norway. In the Icelandic sources the portrayal of this king was gradually changed from a rather neutral figure, who happened to be king in Norway at the time when the emigration from Norway to Iceland started, to a tyrant from whom the aristocratic settlers had to flee to keep their freedom. This negative portrayal of Harald hárfagri is the common one in most of the sagas of Icelanders, but it developed late and certainly must be seen in connection with a growing Icelandic identity.

Long attaches importance to the question of the legal rights of Icelanders in Norway and the Norwegians' legal rights when in Iceland, as well as to the Norwegian king's policy towards Iceland and Icelanders in the sources describing the period up to c. 1100. As she points out, the king's policy towards Iceland in this period has not attracted much attention among medieval scholars, at least not compared to King Hákon Hákonarson's policy towards Iceland in the period leading up to the union between Norway and Iceland in 1262–1264. In connection with the union in the thirteenth century two legal documents, the so-called *Gizurarsáttmáli* (1262) and *Gamli sáttmáli* (1302), giving the Icelandic terms for accepting the Norwegian king, has got much attention. Long draws attention to another document, the so-called *Óláflög*, which originally must have been an oral agreement, but is preserved in writing in the *Konungsbók* manuscript of *Grágás*. This document is in the sources spoken of as a treaty between King Óláfr Haraldsson (king 1015–1028) and the Icelanders. In some of the sources describing the Norwegian

king's involvement in Icelandic affairs the king is portrayed in a positive light, as is King Óláfr Tryggvason in his role as the king who Christianised Iceland. Long wonders whether the Norwegian king's influence in Iceland in this early period was more far-reaching than earlier believed. If so, the Norwegian king's involvement in Icelandic domestic affairs might either have been omitted or reduced in the works of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Icelandic authors to create a past suitable for that period. This is an interesting question, and in Long's discussion of the relationship between the two countries and the relationship between Icelanders and Norwegian, she points out many details that indicate that the Norwegian king—in spite of the geographical distance—had influence on Icelandic internal affairs, and there is no doubt that many Icelanders, especially the Icelanders who were members of the king's *hirð*, accepted the Norwegian king as their king.

The development of an Icelandic identity in the Middle Ages complicated in some ways the relationship between the two peoples. The Norwegian origin was part of the new Icelandic identity, and the common history in the past connected the two peoples to each other by blood. At the same time, the Icelanders must have felt it necessary to mark their distance from the Norwegians in order to be able to appear as a people of their own. Long describes the process of creating a new Icelandic identity by the creation of their own past on the basis of the common memory of the people, and she does it through interesting discussions of a wide range of sources.

There are of course issues one could put one's finger on. When Long states that all the Norwegian histories (*Historia Norwegie*, *Historia de antiquitate* and *Ágrip*) "are remarkable for their brevity" (p. 51), one may wonder whether she really means that. It is true of *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium*. *Ágrip*, too, is a relatively short text, but we must remember that the last part of the text is missing, and as far as *Historia Norwegie* is concerned, there is reason to believe that what we have is only the beginning of the original work. The text following the prologue, starts with: *Incipit liber primus* ... ['Here begins the first book ...'], and the text as we have it is only the first book, and perhaps indeed only a part of the first book. The text ends with the arrival of King Óláfr Haraldsson in Norway in 1015, but from the prologue we can see that the text originally must have covered the whole period up to the author's own time. This indicates that this Latin chronicle originally consisted of several books and was rather comprehensive.

After having stated that the Norwegian histories "are remarkable for their brevity," Long continues: "it is the Icelandic authors of skaldic verse and the *konungasögur* that effectively document Norwegian history, both for the distant past and its contemporary kings." This is a very common presentation of the historical sources, but it is worth mentioning that all the *hirð*-skalds of Haraldr hárfagri were Norwegians and that the Icelandic dominance within the field of skaldic poetry started only around the year 1000—judging from the preserved sources. Long's focus is on the creation of the past in texts looking back on the period c. 870–c. 1100 from some distance. She pays, however, attention to sources such as the so-called *Óláfslög*, and she clearly shows the relevance of seeing the development of the Icelandic self-image in later texts on the background of the situation of the first century after the settlement. Perhaps also skaldic poetry from the same period could have worked as a background against which to see the later written sources?

There are also some problems connected to using *Fagrskinna* as an Icelandic source, as Long does. Most scholars agree that this saga most likely was written in Norway, and have done so for a long time. Whether the author was Icelandic or Norwegian is much more uncertain. However, if he were an Icelander, he had certainly lived in Norway for

a long time and had started to look at life from a Norwegian point of view. When Long writes about *Fagrskinna* that this saga “displays overtly pro-Norwegian sentiments” (p. 231), this is exactly what we should expect. It would perhaps have been better to use *Fagrskinna* as a Norwegian source, but the best course of action would have been to not use this text at all because of the uncertainty connected to the question of the homeland of the author. However, these objections do not have great consequences for Long’s findings. *Fagrskinna* is not an important source to her, and using skaldic poetry would most likely have supported her views.

Long starts her introduction to the book by saying that historians of medieval Iceland have generally followed two paths. They have either studied Iceland’s political evolution from the settlement up to the end of the Free State period in 1262–1264, or they have written constitutional and legal history on the basis of sagas and law codes. However, since events prior to 1264 are difficult to document because of lack of available sources, she claims that most recent works have tended to focus on later periods (p. 1). This is perhaps an oversimplification of the situation. In recent years many books and a great number of articles on medieval Iceland have been published world-wide, and the authors of all these works together cover many different fields of Iceland’s history and culture. Memory and identity, which are central concepts and areas of investigation to Long, are among these topics that have been popular among Old Norse scholars for several decades now. However, Long’s discussion of Iceland’s relationship with Norway in the period c. 870–c. 1100, the creation of the Icelandic past and the development of an Icelandic identity is no doubt one of the most interesting works on these topics to have appeared in recent years. The comprehensive bibliography shows that Long is familiar with most of the previous relevant literature on the subjects she investigates, and the book is completed with a useful index.

Else Mundal

Dept. of Linguistic, Literary and Aesthetic Studies
University of Bergen, Norway
else.mundal@uib.no

Jarich Oosten & Barbara Helen Miller (eds.), *Traditions, Traps and Trends. Transfer of Knowledge in Arctic Regions*, Edmonton: Polynya Press 2018, ISBN 978177212372 (Softcover), 318 pp.

Research on the traditional knowledge systems has been a part of studies on northern peoples since the 1960s when what is commonly termed Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) became integral to understanding Sami reindeer pastoralists and Inuit seal hunting adaptations. Today, however, it is recognized that TEK is an element, but far from the whole, of peoples’ complex ways of knowing (Usher 2000). For instance, among Canadian Inuit, what is termed *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit*, or IQ, is understood as being “all aspects of Inuit culture, knowledge, values and worldview” (Rasing, in the volume under review, p. 25) and has even been incorporated into formal policy-making by the Government of Nunavut (see Nunavut 1999).

Traditions, Traps and Trends is exceptional in several ways. The first is that most contributions examine information exchange in terms of its flow within Indigenous communities and from Indigenous sources to the majority cultures that typically dominate the contemporary information environment. Second, while studies of traditional knowledge generally focus on a single society, this work includes material that spans the Inuit Homelands of Nunavut and Nunatsiavut in Canada, to Greenland, then on to the Sami of Norway. Last, it provides windows on not only knowledge transfer through direct interaction, but also how various media (theatre, film) and formerly exclusive colonial situations (museums and galleries) can be powerful tools for transfer and continuity. Importantly, while all the papers here emphasize processes of knowledge transfer, they are clear that this is by no means a matter of one avenue being universal to all situations and societies.

The editors, in their introduction, provide excellent overviews (pp. xxiii–xxvii) of the *Traditions, Traps and Trends* eight contributions and readers should regard the Introduction as integral to the wholeness of the volume. This being said, the book can be divided into two “sections” united by the themes of traditional Indigenous knowledge and the passage of that knowledge at various scales.

The first part consists of five Inuit-focused papers (Rasing, Laugrand & Oosten, Van Dam, Olsthoorn, Buijs) discussing aspects of knowledge transferral between Inuit and between Inuit and Qallunaat in historical (Olsthoorn), intergenerational (Rasing) and various contemporary cross-cultural venues (Buijs, Van Dam, Laugrand & Oosten). The contributions on Inuit are ably introduced in Rasing’s ethnographic overview of Inuit and non-Inuit approaches to learning, and the differences between these pathways. Laugrand and Oosten follow on this, especially in regard to the quasi-formalizing of IQ in governance since the formation of Nunavut and Van Dam brings this to point in her discussion of the importance of Inuit traditional knowledge in Nunavut’s educational system.

The other two Inuit chapters move away from Nunavut and look at knowledge exchange in Eighteenth Century Labrador/Nunatsiavut (Olsthoorn) and a collaboration between Greenland Iivit and museum researchers (Buijs). Olsthoorn’s focus is knowledge exchange through an historical lens, namely the reciprocal transfer of language-literacy skills in which Moravian missionaries were “schooled” in Inuktitut by Greenlandic and Labrador Inuit and the Moravians introduced literacy by putting Inuktitut into written form. Cunera Buijs’s “Living Objects” contribution, on the other hand, is very contemporary and describes how the co-partnering of museum staff and East Greenland Iivit Elders in a virtual repatriation project elicited information well beyond the basic identification of ethnographic objects. As Buijs notes, the partnership evoked questions touching on issues from the dynamics of Iivit knowledge transfer to how Inuit Culture is perceived by European viewers and establishes the potential of museums function as contact zones “where various meanings, norms, and values, and different cultural backgrounds can meet” (p. 145–146).

The second section is comprised of three papers on the transfer of knowledge between Sami and non-Sami Scandinavians and non-Nordic Europeans. The first (by Miller) focuses on the survival and transfer of knowledge integral to traditional Sami healing. The other two contributions, both by Zоргdrager, concern how perceptions held by the national majorities around the Sami have undergone modification, in one case through the reinterpretation of two traditional yoiks revelatory of Sami emotional culture and in the other how the survival of oral history of a signal event in Sami-Norwegian relations has influenced a long-held negative narrative.

Miller's focus is the individuality of a certain category of traditional knowledge, namely about Sami healing and its contextualization in a culturally-centered etiology. As she notes, such knowledge, and its practice, has survived Norwegian prohibition which until relatively recently categorized it as primitive and irrational. She provides deep case analysis of Sami traditional healers' understanding of illness (and wellness) incorporates spiritual, as well as physical, components that transcend the individual to include community. She explains that such knowledge, rather than being held in common, is very much the provenance of special practitioners selected by and receive deliberate training from established knowledge holders with "generational" handover involving "preparation, education and transfer" (p. 193).

The volume's two final articles are by Zorgdrager and cast a historical perspective on how traditional knowledge as presented through media (respectively, the yoik and film) modified dominant outsider narratives about Sami culture, society and history. In the first Zorgdrager examines how repeated translations and interpretations of two classic romantic yoiks by European scholars across some three centuries influenced outsider perspectives on the Sami as emergent details of meaning and metaphor in the yoiks became appreciated as a cultural literature revelatory of Sami society and homeland.

The second concerns a signal mid-nineteenth century happening—the 1852 Kautokeino Rebellion and subsequent punishment of the Sami participants—in Sami-Norwegian relations. Its thread is how the oral history about the rebellion's roots and its aftermath passed through succeeding generations and so opened a window via theatre and film to the Norwegian public, effecting re-evaluation and reconciliation about the Kautokeino incident.

Traditions, Traps and Trends is a volume that reflects the breadth of Indigenous knowledge systems; as it happens here, those of Inuit and Sami. Each contribution provides insight into the complexity and wholeness of these systems by illuminating the values and beliefs that meaningfully animate livelihood and social life. The contributors have also made it clear that "traditional" does not mean that indigenous knowledge is a static and esoteric compilation of facts and memories applicable only to some earlier time. What makes the book more than a collection of ethnographic snapshots is that the authors, whether focused on Inuit or Sami, show that it is the openness of these systems—their capacity to receive and transmit information within and beyond their ostensible boundaries—that makes and keeps them as relevant as ever.

REFERENCES

- Nunavut (1999). The Clyde River Protocol; www.gov.nu.ca/sites/default/files/files/010%20-%201999-00-00-Clyde-River-Protocol-English.pdf; access date 8 April 2020.
- Usher, P.J. (2000). "Traditional ecological knowledge in environmental assessment and management, *ARCTIC*, 53:2, pp. 183–193.

George W. Wenzel
 Dept. of Geography
 McGill University, Canada
 george.wenzel@mcgill.ca

Northern Studies Monographs/Nordliga studier

The *Journal of Northern Studies* hosts two monograph series, *Northern Studies Monographs* (publication languages English, French and German) and *Nordliga studier* ['Northern Studies'] (publication languages Danish, Norwegian and Swedish).

Northern Studies Monographs (ISSN 2000-0405)

1. Heidi Hansson & Catherine Norberg (eds.), *Cold Matters: Cultural Perceptions of Snow, Ice and Cold*. Umeå 2009.
ISBN 978-91-88466-70-9
2. Giuseppe Nencioni, *The Italians in the Arctic Explorations: A Critique of the Reinterpretation of Nationalism*. Umeå 2010.
ISBN 978-91-88466-76-1
3. Ann-Catrine Edlund, Lars-Erik Edlund & Susanne Haugen (eds.), *Vernacular Literacies: Past, Present and Future*. Umeå 2014.
ISBN 978-91-88466-86-0
4. Ann-Catrine Edlund, T.G. Ashplant & Anna Kuismin (eds.), *Reading and Writing from Below: Exploring the Margins of Modernity*. Umeå 2016.
ISBN 978-91-88466-88-4
5. Andrej Kotljarchuk & Olle Sundström (eds.), *Ethnic and Religious Minorities in Stalin's Soviet Union: New Dimensions of Research*. Huddinge 2017.
ISBN 978-91-7601-777-7
6. Anne Heith, *Laestadius and Laestadianism in the Contested Field of Cultural Heritage: A Study of Contemporary Sámi and Tornedalian Texts*. Umeå 2018.
ISBN 978-91-7601-827-9

Nordliga studier (ISSN 2000-0391)

1. Olle Sundström, *"Vildrenen är själv detsamma som en gud": "gudar" och "andar" i sovjetiska etnografers beskrivningar av samojediska världsåskådningar*. Umeå 2008.
ISBN 978-91-88466-74-7
2. Gunnar Gjengset, *Matti Aikio: verk og virke*. Umeå 2011.
ISBN 978-91-88466-77-8
3. Ann-Catrine Edlund (eds.), *Att läsa och att skriva: två vågor av vardagligt skriftbruk i Norden 1800–2000*. Umeå 2012.
ISBN 978-91-88466-81-5
4. Ann-Catrine Edlund & Susanne Haugen (eds.), *Människor som skriver: perspektiv på vardagligt skriftbruk och identitet*. Umeå 2013.
ISBN 978-91-88466-85-3

The *Journal of Northern Studies* is a peer-reviewed academic publication issued twice a year. The journal has a specific focus on human activities in northern spaces, and articles concentrate on people as cultural beings, people in society and the interaction between people and the northern environment. In many cases, the contributions represent exciting interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches. Apart from scholarly articles, the journal contains a review section, and a section with reports and information on issues relevant for Northern Studies.

The journal is published by Umeå University and Sweden's northernmost Royal Academy, the Royal Skyttean Society.



UMEÅ
UNIVERSITY



ISSN 1654–5915