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“The Lapp Shall Remain Lapp”: Preserving indigenous culture or creating marginalization?
An Analysis of Swedish Sami Legislation and Manipulation of Sami Identity.

Introduction:

The Sami are an indigenous group of people from Northern Scandinavia and Russia who established themselves in the region after the glaciers began melting 10,000 years ago. As people from central Europe migrated north to Southern Sweden in 1250, and the Sami moved south from Northern Sweden, conflict arose between the two groups. There were many efforts to change the Sami, for example, forcing them to convert from Paganism to Christianity (Zorich 2008). Indigenous cultures were and continue to be challenged in terms of their faiths, identities, and cultural norms. The Sami began herding reindeer about 500 years ago, and today there is a perception of the Sami solely as nomadic reindeer herders that has affected their abilities to determine their path as a people and function in modern society.

Contemporary Swedish society has inscribed Sami identity in several ways. However, while outside determinations of Sami identity intend to preserve the indigenous culture, the efforts have limited and marginalized it. Sweden has passed legislation since the 19th century confining Sami to herding, and controlling their sources of land and land rights (Lantto 2014). Because Sami are commonly perceived as nomadic reindeer herders, efforts by the Swedish government have emphasized and controlled Sami identity through relocating Sami reindeer herders, dividing up herding areas, and defining the rights of herders to reinforce the “Ideal Sami,” a nomadic reindeer herder (Lantto 2014) (Axelsson 2011). This definition of Sami culture

alienates and separates Sami who do not fit this occupation from their indigenous rights. In addition, having this perception of Sami as a standard definition for the people allows for a separation of indigeneity from other Swedes, forming basis for stereotyping and fantasizing Sami culture. In fact, many Swedish municipal schools lack in-depth instruction on the Sami, and children who identify as Sami in these schools feel separated and are placed in a box based on the little (or lack of) instruction in their classrooms (Omma, Holmgren, & Jacobsson 2011).

In a continuation of efforts to preserve Sami indigeneity, Sweden tried to counter racist ideologies and labels of the Sami through the termination of demographic data collection. According to Per Axelsson, a researcher at Umeå University in Sweden, the lack of demographic information available about Sami in Sweden today challenges rights to their culture and contrasts with their desires to be counted and represented through their own interpretations of their identities (Axelsson 2011). After World War II in 1945 Sweden stopped collecting data on ethnicity (Axelsson 2011). While this was an effort to convey the equality of all Swedish people, the lack of ethnic representation of Sami available can have the opposite effect on their interpretation and visibility in terms of diverse Sami identities and lifestyles. With knowledge, opinions are shaped, and stereotypes can be erased, increasing understanding and acceptance of indigenous cultures like the Sami.

The Swedish Government has attempted to define what it means to be a member of the Sami indigenous group; however, these definitions are limiting and exclusive, leading to stereotyping of the Sami and perceptions of them as an inferior group of people. In order to recognize indigenous groups and increase their rights and acceptance from others, they must be given opportunities to express their identities. Looking at Swedish legislation and data collection

of Sami, as well as criteria for participation in Sami institutions such as schools and voting bodies, there is a contrast between what society perceives as Sami indigeneity, and what Sami culture exemplifies from a Sami perspective. This paper will highlight these differences in order to further understanding about the importance allowing the Sami to self-determine, as well as the importance of recognizing ethnicity and teaching culture in order to dissolve stereotypes and address issues that marginalized groups like the Sami continue to face today.

Literature Review:

Swedish legislation regarding Sami people has affected Sami cultural identities and indigenous rights to land. Patrik Lantto (2014) highlights changes in Swedish policies toward reindeer herding and Sami rights. His argument forms the structure for my research, as it describes Swedish legislation and how it has affected the perception of the Sami identity and Sami reindeer herding and land rights. He describes forced relocations and the limited Sami identity accepted by Sweden, revealing that all Sami were expected to herd reindeer in a specific “traditional” way that many Sami communities did not agree with, as well as Sami being expected to herd reindeer as a full time profession. Continuing this history of limitations and forced Sami identity expectations, Patrik Lantto and Ulf Mörkenstam (2008) also list the same legislation, but in addition describe Sami institutions and the creation and leadership of Sami organizations. In particular, they describe legislation in terms of the progression of the Sami Movement, and its modernization. Ultimately, it challenges the Sami ability to self-determine Sami identity under regulation. This issue is a focal point in my argument alongside other related issues such as discrimination, false understandings, and limited access to land.

A study by Lotta M. Omma, Lars E. Holmgren and Lars H. Jacobsson (2011) surveys and interviews a group of 876 young Sami, the researchers described results in terms of young Sami's self-esteem, sense of identity, and beliefs about their culture. This article describes how the study relates to the issues that Sami face due to a lack of representation and instruction of Sami culture in schools, as well as depression due to discrimination and ill-treatment, and struggles to participate in Sami culture, especially language. The study, while of a limited group of Sami people in Sweden, discusses issues that face the Sami community today which have been shaped by discriminatory and exclusive Sami policies in Swedish legislation in the past few hundred years. This highlights the outcome of Swedish policies described in Lantto (2014) on Sami today, many of which do not fit into the definition of Sami that is understood and has been defined through the government.

While the state has restricted the definition of Sami identity by exclusively representing and granting rights to Sami who are reindeer herders, the Sami themselves identify in a variety of ways that extend beyond this perception. They identify as people who are of Sami descent and had the Sami language in either their parents' or grandparent's household. The Sami through their cultural and national websites strive to depict the way that they are treated and extend the dialogue. These websites present statistics on the Sami population and important dates regarding the Sami and challenges they have faced. This information presents a background and basis for extending understanding of Sami culture and its representation. For example, *samer.se*, a website run by Samiska Informationscentrumet (The Sami Information Center) presents information on the Sami population; however, the data is limited and estimated.

The uncertainty highlights another issue with Sami identity and understanding: the lack of data on the Swedish Sami population today. Per Axelsson (2011) argues that the process of eliminating Sami demographics from Swedish statistical data collection has led to an erasure of understanding of issues that the Sami face such as ill treatment (Omma, Holmgren, & Jacobsson 2011). Axelsson describes changes in statistical data collection over time in Sweden, emphasizing the elimination of demographic information after the 1945 census in response to World War II. He outlines the categorization and determination of Sami people through the data collection resulting in discriminatory policies, but also how the removal of data collection is discriminatory and consequential in of itself due to the removal or representation and erasure of Sami identity. Axelsson's article relates back to the population data accessible from Samiska Informationscentrumet due to how uncertain and unspecified it is.

The lack of specificity and knowledge is frustrating to researchers who attempt to understand and research Sami cultural identities and contrasting perspectives and issues in the communities. There have been several statements of criticism based on the policy of "equality" or in reality, erasure of important information regarding Sami rights. The article "Ethnic Discrimination" on the website *sametinget.se*, run by the Swedish Sami Parliament, discusses one of the critiques of policies in place for sami from CERD: the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. These critiques listed on the official Sami Parliament Website include how Sami are used for tourism purposes but are neglected in terms of financial support and recognition otherwise. This article discusses the global criticism Sweden faces regarding indigenous rights for their indigenous people. Axelsson also details these criticisms. Both Axelsson and the Swedish Sami Parliament suggest the need for autonomy for Sami people as

well as data collection in Sami communities in order to reflect more accurate identities and to address the needs and issues in the communities.

Disregarding ethnicity and assuming that everyone is equal when communities like the Sami suffer due to structural inequalities such as neglect in terms of environmental issues and land usage, which both represent the perception of the Sami and affect Sami wellbeing is a form of discrimination in of itself. The position that the Sami have been placed in through manipulations of their cultural identities and lack of autonomy reflects the reality for the Sami community which continues to fight for self-determination (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2008). American Sociologist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2008) argues that in the United States racial discrimination has progressed to New Racism through abstract liberalism and naturalization. Abstract Liberalism refers to the idea of "equal opportunity" or choice leading the ways that people live and are segregated. It assumes that race is no longer a problem and disregards issues that minorities face. While these terms are coined to describe race relations in America, they parallel the erasure of ethnic data for Sami communities due to the idea that they are therefore equal because their ethnicity is no longer something that needs to be discussed. Sami issues should be recognized in order to improve wellbeing in the Sami community.

Struggles for land rights against environmental policies and mining, among other industries, affect Sami access to land for reindeer herding and also reflect the way that Sami are treated in decision-making. Rasmus Kløcker Larsen, Kaisa Raitio, Marita Stinnerbom, & Jenny Wik-Karlsson (2017) and Rebecca Lawrence & Rasmus Kløcker Larsen (2017) both describe how Sami are treated in the process of determining the impact of land use for industry and policies for planning the determination of land usage. They discuss how policies in place for

issues such as forestry and mining reflect colonialism and therefore treat the Sami people as less important in decision-making. In addition, they explain how Sami deserve a voice in discourse regarding their access to land. However, expecting them to have the ability to represent their own viewpoints and knowledge at meetings is unrealistic due to the lack of resources available to them. The lack of resources available in order for Sami to be able to enter into these conversations regarding issues that they remain in the middle of. Furthermore, they should have the right to represent themselves and fight for authority over their lands. This disconnect between Sami knowledge and decision making is a form of structural inequality that should be addressed (Kløcker Larsen et al. 2017). The researchers explain the policies and procedures in place for determining impact of land usage on the surrounding communities (in this case the Sami) and argue that Sami voices are skirted around and avoided, even though Sami themselves have a better understanding of how they will be impacted than others. They argue that Sami are treated as inferior and discriminated against not only in society but in political and environmental discourse.

Education is a determining factor in shaping identities; however, the education system fails Sami students in two ways: it leaves out discussion of Sami culture and lacks resources Sami children deserve. While Swedish Sami children have the right to learn their minority language (SFS 2009:600), only in the second half of the 19th century did Sami become an official part of the curriculum for Sami youth. An from Samiska Informationscentrumet, “Samiska i skolan” (Sami language in school), describes how the Sami language has been taught in schools, and how Sami children have been treated in the school system. It describes how in Swedish history, the education system has consisted of changing policies on instruction for Sami

children, from assimilation of Sami children to boarding schools removing Sami children from their nomadic families. Today however, the school system has evolved and Sami schools (sameskolor) are inclusive for children who identify as Sami or have other reasons to be in those schools. *Skolverket*, the Swedish National Agency for Education provides information on instruction in minority languages and guidelines for Sami instruction. These two websites and their articles on Sami education provide data on the current state of accessibility of cultural education in schools for Sami children.

Education is an institution that projects and reproduces structural inequality. Specifics on these schools is necessary in order to understand options for Sami children, especially considering the discrimination that many of them face in society today. The Sami Parliament's official website also published an article regarding the discrimination of Sami children in the education system: "Svensk skolpolitik diskriminerar samers barn" (2009) (which translates to: Swedish school politics discriminate against Sami children) by Sara Larsson and Monica Sandström. This article further describes the discrimination against Sami children in the Swedish education system as they lack complete instruction in their minority languages as well as formal instruction on Sami history in the classroom. As described earlier, a lack of instruction on Sami history and culture in schools is translated to discrimination and stereotyping of Sami children, which has detrimental effects on their wellbeing. This research is critical in order to understand the scope to which Sami are marginalized and how structural factors influence everyday life.

While the Sami are reflected as outside of civilization (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2008), Torill Nyseth and Paul Pedersen (2014) argue that Sami identities have translated into urban atmospheres and exist within the parameters of city life. This article helps broaden the scope of

Sami identity to beyond Sami communities (samebyar) and reindeer herding. There is a lack of perspective on Sami identities and the extent to which they are displayed due to the lack of data available on Sami. This article however describes how different Sami institutions are presented in the cities of Umeå, Sweden, Rovaniemi, Finland, and Tromsø, Norway. It describes how Sami people are able to hold onto their identities through symbols in dress and institutions such as broadcasting and museums. Since Sami are only given herding rights if they reside in samebyar, the Sami living in cities are underrepresented and invisible outside of tourism. This article is important in order to understand the ways in which Sami identity is expressed and how they reflect the challenges the Sami community faces in terms of their authority to self-determine their identity which is described by Lantto and Mörkenstam (2008). The perception of Sami people is shaped by the policies that have been placed regarding their rights and culture, and has not significantly changed due to the lack of current information available (Axelsson 2011). This article delves deeper into the Sami's own experiences and lives and argues that despite the injustice Sami face in the determinations of their wide-ranging culture, the Sami continue to express their identities in an abundance of ways.

Methodologies:

When starting my research, I had the goal of analyzing urban Sami identities and different meanings of Sami culture in Sweden. I hoped to represent the ways that indigenous cultures can be expressed to change the narrative for indigenous peoples in terms of how they are understood to create more acceptance and recognition of stereotypes. However, after contacting several professors and researchers at Umeå University in Sweden, Professor Per Axelsson informed me of the lack of demographic data available on Sami people. Because of this gap in

data, I shifted my research to looking at Swedish policies on Sami people as well as institutional definitions of Sami identity. The discovery that Sweden lacks current demographic data on Sami presented issues of its own that I began investigating as a part of my data analysis. My new research goal was to see how state definitions of indigeneity in Sweden form stereotypes and create a system of exclusion, despite having intentions of preserving indigenous culture.

My data comes in three categories: data on Swedish and Sami policies and organizational strategies, data on methods of Sami demographic data collection and changes in the system, and finally the school system for Sami youth. These three data sets come from articles by Swedish researchers regarding Swedish legislation, the Sami movement, and statistical information on Sami (Lantto 2014) (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2008) (Axelsson 2011) in addition to Sami the Sami national and cultural websites *Samer.se* and *Sametinget.se*. Using Timeline JS, I compiled the data onto three separate timelines that represent state control of Sami, stereotyping through definitions, and how state decisions have impact on Sami wellbeing in society. These timelines, embedded on the platform Scalar from the University of Southern California, tell the narrative of the Sami struggle for self-determination, and the contrast between Sami self-defined identity and state-defined identity. In addition, the digital project represents other discrepancies between Sami and state Sami information, such as population statistics. The Scalar project also contains comparative analysis of state actions and movements for indigenous and human rights. Functioning as a website in book format, I strive to tell the story of cultural marginalization and ask questions to further explore options for dissolving stereotypes and improving wellbeing for the Sami community.

My limited data ultimately shaped my research goals. The data came from various sources including peer-reviewed journal articles and Sami cultural and national websites. The timelines I created themselves are a platform where the data is stored, and functions like a database. The idea is that the data will be more accessible, and that the holes in my research will be brought to attention. Understanding issues with lack of recognition, Sami categorization, labelling, and ultimate consequences of labelling will help further discussion on indigeneity and challenges that indigenous peoples have faced and still face today.

Analysis:

Through the compilation of three timelines regarding the inequalities that Sami people have faced and continue to face today, definitions of Sami culture surfaced. Different policies that have been implemented over time have reflected the ways that Sami people are depicted by the state and presented to society. State legislation has heavily impacted Sami access to land. For example, many policies implemented since the 1800s have controlled Sami reindeer herding, both by trying to preserve it the way the government thought it was supposed to be, but also limiting herders abilities to develop new methods and make their own decisions regarding the profession (Lantto 2014). The Reindeer Herding Acts enacted in 1886, 1898, and 1928 all restricted Sami abilities to herd. They defined and redefined qualifications in order to herd reindeer with the intention of settling disputes between reindeer herders and farmers, as well as defining reindeer herding as a full-time profession. These policies prevented Sami from herding part time, despite economic challenges facing the practice. The Second Reindeer Herding Act of 1928 stated that Sami could only herd if their fathers or grandfathers practiced reindeer herding as a full time profession and did not live in a permanent residence (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2008).

Therefore, Sami were forced to be nomadic in order to have land rights and indigenous recognition. A nomadic lifestyle, despite Sami having been on their land before Swedish settlers, implied that the state had the right to control Sami lands and that Sami had no ownership rights. The state feared the Sami settling down, assuming that it would prevent productivity (Lantto 2014). This legislation is an example of the categorization and limitation of Sami people and their rights, and a definition of Sami leaving many people excluded who did not herd reindeer or had maternal roots.

As the Sami are a people that cross country borders, they were affected by border disputes between nordic nations. These disputes and closures of national borders between Norway and Sweden and Finland and Sweden led to disproportionate levels of reindeer in the northernmost regions of Sweden. As Sweden defined the “ideal Sami” as a nomadic reindeer herder, relocations were seen as an acceptable way to deal with population issues. This policy disregarded the differences in traditions between different Sami communities, as well as the fact that displacing Sami families affects their wellbeing and comfort in the same way that moving disorients others (Lantto 2014). Sami were considered separate from civilization and policies reflected efforts to keep them restricted to the traditions outlined by the state (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2008). These policies not only separated Sami from other aspects of Swedish society, but also were a form of excluding and refusing to recognize members of the Sami culture who did not live “traditional lifestyles” full-time. These acts defined Sami solely as reindeer herders, and only permitted herding as a singular profession, causing conflict regarding rights to land and water for the indigenous people in Sweden (Lantto 2014).

Sami culture extends beyond samebyar (Sami local communities) into different regions of Sweden and into urban society (Nyseth & Pedersen 2014). Cities such as Umeå, Sweden have significant Sami populations that represent their various Sami cultures symbolically and through means that are not represented in state policies (Nyseth & Pedersen 2014). As seen in policies regarding the education of Sami children, children who did not fit into the state perception of “Sami-ness” (Nyseth & Pedersen 2014, 133) were sent to municipal schools to educate them into assimilation (Samiska Informationscentrumet). Therefore, migration to cities is seen as a form of assimilation rather than a new place to express indigenous identity (Nyseth & Pedersen 2014). However, as Sami populations are increasing in Scandinavian cities, there is an increased demand for institutions that support and continue the representation and preservation of Sami culture. Many urban Sami have lost connections to Sami communities and attempt to reflect their identities through other means, such as through symbolic apparel, language, and education (Nyseth & Pedersen 2014). Today, five Sami schools teaching children from years one through six exist in five Northern Swedish cities. These schools have formal instruction in the Sami language (*Samiskolstyrelsen*), and are a result of hundreds of years of policies surrounding the education of Sami children. Since the 1600s, children in Sami families have been placed in schools with motives such as teaching Christianity and maintaining children from nomadic families as nomads. However, formal instruction in Sami only became official in Sami education in 1962 (Samiska Informationscentrumet). The schools designed for Sami children were intended to preserve Sami as they were in terms of what the state considered to be Sami-like as well as what the state thought was best for Sami children, such as the decision to have all Sami learn in Swedish made in 1877 despite the community’s dominantly spoken language. Today’s

sameskolor, run by *Skolverket* (the Swedish National Agency for Education), are open to all Sami children who self-identify as Sami as well as other children with reasons to attend the Sami schools. However, these schools are limited and struggle to maintain educated faculty who can teach in Sami (*Skolverket*).

The lack of Sami language instruction affects Sami who wish to learn their minority language (Omma, Holmgren, Jacobsson 2011) (SFS 2009:600). Young Sami who do not attend Sami schools experience inadequate and even nonexistent instruction regarding their heritage. For this reason, other peers see their identity as different and easy to stereotype and mock. Young Sami experience ill-treatment due to their heritage and identity because of the absence of education regarding Sami culture. Without education regarding the realities and histories of Sami cultures, negative and/or limited perceptions of the Sami communities arise. Negative statements and ideas such as all Sami having issues with alcoholism are shared among peers, harming the confidence and self-esteem of those who identify as Sami in these situations (Omma, Holmgren, & Jacobsson 2014). It is important not only to encourage and continue to provide instruction in the Sami language both inside and outside of the classroom for Sami who wish to continue experiencing and sharing their cultural identity, but also to teach others about the Sami community in ways that go beyond the surface level and touch upon realities such as the fight for indigenous rights, the way Sami culture extends beyond samebyar, and representations deeper than the portrayals performed for marketing and tourism purposes. Education is a major factor in improving the treatment of Sami as well as maintaining their culture and cultural expressions. In the past, educational policies reflected the separation of Sami from civilization (Lantto &

Mörkenstam 2008), and today there continues to be a divide between what is known of Sami culture and what Sami people participate in and reflect (Omma, Holmgren, & Jacobsson 2014).

Another reason that Sami cultural identities as well as knowledge regarding Sami communities are erased is because of the lack of demographic data available on Sami people. In the past, a statistical demographic survey called *Tabellverket* received information about Sami people from Swedish parishes, starting in the 1700s. This survey showed the number of people who identified as Sami and counted the Sami population. Starting in 1860, censuses were collected in Sweden which also collected ethnic information. *Tabellverket* was structured in a way that represented Sami people as inferior. Through different categorizations of Sami people, the way in which they were conveyed in this demographic overview reflected Sami as a lesser group of people. For example, from 1760 to 1800 Sami were grouped in a demographic category alongside prisoners and the poor. This categorization shows a similarity between these three groups of people, despite the fact that the Sami do not belong in that group. Demographic data about Sami was used to continue efforts to maintain Sami as inferior. In turn, the erasure of separate information regarding Sami demographics was intended to erase differences in equality, deeming everyone in Sweden as equal (Axelsson 2011).

However everyone in Sweden is not equal. Sami people are still discriminated against, and structural differences reflect inequality. Sami people are still fighting for rights to land and one in three reindeer herders consider suicide (Somby 2015) due to this struggle for access to land that was originally theirs (Zorich 2008). The school system does not provide sufficient education in Sami subjects and Sami living outside of samebyar are challenged in terms of their identities (Omma, Holmgren, & Jacobsson). Still, only ten percent of Sami live in samebyar and

membership qualifications are strict and the application process makes it difficult for Sami without a “homeland” (Nyseth & Pedersen 2014, 34), or roots in Sami communities. The lack of data available regarding the Sami population not only erases the size and significance of the community, but also makes initiatives to improve life for Sami people challenging. The United Nations critiques Swedish policies on indigenous peoples because of the lack of concrete data available to use in order to work to eliminate challenges that those indigenous people face. The government still issues statements using an estimate of the Sami population as 20,000 people from data collected in the 1970s. This estimate only reflects reindeer herding Sami. The actual number of Sami is likely to be more than twice what they are referencing. The Sami people are still facing structural challenges as well as poor treatment and negative perceptions due to the history of policies regarding the Sami people. Without this demographic data, these issues cannot be addressed (Axelsson 2011).

Conclusion:

The Sami continue to push for self-determination and autonomy. If they are given the opportunity to represent their own communities and express their cultures that exist in Sweden, there can be a greater promotion of understanding and depth regarding these Sami cultures. Legislation and policies regarding institutions such as reindeer husbandry and education have categorized Sami people as a specific, exclusive, definition. Efforts over many hundred years have pushed to keep the Sami identity in this definition as the “ideal,” nomadic, reindeer herding Sami (Lantto 2014). However, this definition of Sami identity fails to encompass the various Sami identities in Swedish society. Most Sami people do not herd reindeer and many who wish to struggle due to restrictions in participation (Samiska Informationscentrumet). Young Sami

face discrimination outside of institutions reflecting their culture, such as in schools and in the workplace, and Sami reindeer herders experience even more ill-treatment (Omma, Holmgren, & Jacobsson 2011).

The Sami identity stretches far beyond that which the government has defined it as. It extends into urban society, city life, the media, and professions beyond reindeer husbandry (Nyseth & Pedersen 2014) (Omma, Holmgren, Jacobsson 2011). It is important to understand the power that the state has in controlling the definitions of what it means to be Sami, and how these have affected the way that Sami people experience their lives. The issue of Sami identity is a struggle regarding the environment, the land, minority languages, and education. The erasure of Sami recognition at the national level affects efforts to improve the factors listed above. There is a significant lack of information about the Sami population and other demographics, and this shortage affects the ability to address inequality and the structure of policy and institutions for Sami. While these policies and decisions intended to preserve Sami culture and protect it, they reflected the stance of the government regarding the Sami people rather than the needs of the community itself. The process of exclusion that was formed through the extensive categorization and limited representation of Sami further marginalized the community. While the Sami help support local Swedish economies through tourism, they lack the rights needed to exercise the culture that the state expresses that they are. The Sami culture should be seen for more than its fantasy.

Annotated Bibliography

Axelsson, P. (2011). 'In the National Registry, All People Are Equal': Sami in Swedish Statistical Sources. *Indigenous Peoples and Demography: The Complex Relation between Identity and Statistics*. In. P. Sköld & P. Axelsson (Ed.), (117-133). Berghahn Books.

Per Axelsson, a Senior researcher at the Centre for Sami Research at Umeå University in Umeå, Sweden wrote this article as a part of a greater collection of articles regarding the representation of indigenous people demographically through statistics. This article discusses the ways in which the Sami people have been represented and counted in Sweden throughout history, looking at collections for Swedish censuses, state definitions of Sami identity, and categorization of Sami people. This article highlights the ways in which the Sami identity has been manipulated and rendered invisible through the lack of demographic data collection done today and since 1945. This article provides important information for my research on the (mis)representation of Sami people and stereotypes that form through governmental indigenous identifications and control as well as erasure through the attempt to render everyone equal. This idea of equality however compares to Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's article on "New Racism," or on how racism and ethnic discrimination embodies itself today by leaving out discussions of race and ethnicity, therefore marginalizing ethnic populations.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2008). New Racism. Color-Blind Racism. And the Future of Whiteness in America. *Mapping the Social Landscape: Readings in Sociology, 5th Edition*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

This article, while not directly relating to the Sami people or even to Sweden, discusses a new form of racism that is often looked over and under discussed. Color-Blind Racism is a form of racism that stems from the lack of acknowledgement that racism exists and from ignoring race and structural issues that people of color face. It is the idea that race should not matter anymore and therefore should not be discussed. However, in this process, it leads to further marginalization of minorities as their problems and cultures are not recognized. Similarly, Sweden has used policies of Color-Blind Racism through the lack of acknowledgement of demographic information and the lack of collection of information on the amount of Sami that exist in the nation, as well as their rights, struggles, and issues that they would like to have addressed. Not talking about race and ethnicity can further create racist ideologies. I think this article relates well to my research because it describes how lack of discussion of ethnic groups such as Sami leads to the representation of them as what has been expressed in the past, as well as it leading to not addressing important issues regarding indigenous peoples.

Kløcker Larsen, R., Raitio, K., Stinnerbom, M. & Wik-Karlsson, J. (2017). Sami-state collaboration in the governance of cumulative effects assessment: A critical action research approach. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*. 64: 67-76.

This article by researchers at Stockholm Environment Institute, the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, a member of the Vilhelmina norra reindeer herding community, and a member of the Swedish Sami Association, is a study of how Sami reindeer herders

and Swedish civil servants interact and form decisions on mining, wind energy, and forestry. It discusses the ways in which colonialism and inequality impact decisions in indigenous-state collaborations. Ultimately, it describes how Sami should have more rights to express their concerns, but also, how through legacies of colonialism, Sami are left out of discourse due to lack of resources and ability to get involved.

Northwestern University Knight Lab. *Timeline JS*. Retrieved from <https://timeline.knightlab.com/>

Timeline JS is a digital tool that creates timelines using Google spreadsheets. This tool allows users to input their time periods, titles, and descriptions of their information. It also allows for the use of images and media files in order to enhance the experience of the timelines. This tool is helpful in creating stories and outlining different experiences and occurrences in history.

Lantto, P. (2014). The Consequences of State Intervention: Forced Relocations and Sami Rights in Sweden, 1919-2012. *Journal of Ethnology & Folkloristics*. 8(2): 53-73.

This article is written by Patrik Lantto, the Director of the Centre for Sami Research at Umeå University in Sweden. The article goes through Swedish policy from 1919 to 2012 regarding Sami people, through the lens of one Reindeer Herding District (RHD) in Vapsten, Norrbotten County, Sweden. This article has proven to be particularly helpful in outlining Swedish laws and policies which I am analyzing as a part of my digital project by making a timeline. The article discusses in detail the ways in which Sami have been forced to relocate, Sami land rights and struggles for access to land and water, and the ways that the Sami people have been perceived and treated. This article points to various Swedish policies that contribute to the stereotyping of all Sami as reindeer herders, and the idea of the “Ideal Sami.”

Lantto, P. & Mörkenstam, U. (2008). Sami Rights and Sami Challenges: The modernization process and the Swedish Sami movement, 1886-2006. *Scandinavian Journal of History* 33(1): 26-51

This article by Patrik Lantto, the Director of the Centre for Sami Research at Umeå University and Ulf Mörkenstam, an Associate Professor and Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science at Stockholm University in Sweden, describes the Swedish Sami movement for recognition and self-determination, and power within the government through organization and the development of different Sami organizations. In addition, it discusses the ways in which Swedish policies have excluded members of the Sami community in Sweden based on their identification and professions as reindeer herders or not. The information explained in this article is helpful in understanding how Sami have mobilized and how policies have affected their perception, wellbeing, and understanding by Swedish people.

Larsson, S. & Sandström, M. (2009). Svensk skolpolitik diskriminerar samers barn. Retrieved from <http://www.sametinget.se/10809>

This is an article from the Swedish Sami Parliament's official website about how Swedish school politics discriminate against Sami children. The article discusses how Sami children are neglected by the school system and how schools have given Sami children lesser instruction in order to keep them where they are. In addition it describes efforts to change the school system for Sami children and increase instruction on Sami history and in the Sami language. It brings up structural discrimination and how there is a lack of instruction by teachers on Sami, which therefore leads to discrimination and stereotyping of Sami culture. This on-line article compares well to the article: "Being a Young Sami in Sweden: Living Conditions, Identity and Life Satisfaction" which among other factors in young Sami life, describes how young Sami are perceived by their peers in the classroom. In order to reduce discrimination and increase understanding and acceptance of indigenous peoples like Sami, they must be understood through education about their cultures on a deeper level. In addition, as the Swedish Language Act (SFS 2009:600) states, Sami is an official minority language and members of the Sami minority have the right to learn their language.

Lawrence, R. & Kløcker Larsen, R. (2017). The politics of planning: assessing the impacts of mining on Sami lands. *Third World Quarterly*. 38(5): 1164-1180.

This article by Rebecca Lawrence, a Professor in the Department of Political Science at Stockholm University and Rasmus Kløcker Larsen, a Professor at the Stockholm Environment Institute, discusses how industrial plans on Sami lands affect Sami people and lack understanding of true impact on Sami people due to skirting around and avoiding actual knowledge and critique by the Sami. It describes how Community-based Impact Assessments do little to recognize indigenous rights in Sweden and how therefore, actions are taken to use Sami lands for mining which affect the community and its wellbeing. Environmental as well as other industrial efforts have major impact on indigenous peoples and their access to land. This article goes in detail about how planning decisions are made and how they leave Sami out of the discourse, despite them being most qualified to talk about the situations discussed in planning.

Nyseth, T. & Pedersen, P. (2014). Urban Sami Identities in Scandinavia: Hybridities, Ambivalences, and Cultural Innovation. *Acta Borealia*. 31(2): 131-151.

This article by Torill Nyseth, of the Department of Sociology, Political Science, and Community Planning and Faculty of Humanities, Social Science, and Education, and Paul Pedersen, of the Center for Gender Research, and Faculty of Humanities, Social Science, and Education at the University of Tromsø—Arctic University of Norway, discusses three cities in Scandinavia with significant Sami populations. It describes how the Sami identity translates to urban atmospheres and balances with city life, such as education, work, and other institutions. The article details symbols of Sami identity,

clothing worn, workplace attitudes, and other ways that Sami culture is exemplified in the three cities: Umeå, Sweden, Rovaniemi, Finland, and Tromsø, Norway. This article is important in order to understand how Sami identity has developed and how it is perceived by other Swedes. In addition, it details of how Sami identity stretches to more than reindeer herding, the main definition and factor according to Swedish policy.

Omma, L M., Holmgren, L. E. & Jacobsson, L. E. 2011. Being a Young Sami in Sweden Living Conditions, Identity and Life Satisfaction. *Journal Of Northern Studies 1*: 9-28.

This article is a study of how young Sami in Sweden perceive themselves and how they identify. It discusses the opinions and viewpoints of young Sami through a quantitative survey as well as qualitative interviews. It determines that most young Sami who participated in this study wanted to preserve their culture, learn their language, and participate in reindeer herding. It also concluded however, that Sami history and culture is underrepresented and under-instructed in schools, leading young Sami who do not attend Sami schools to be marginalized and discriminated against. It discusses the importance of representation, the desires of young Sami to learn more about their culture, and the struggles that Sami face due to structural discrimination and challenges to indigenous rights. These points are important in order to understand how Swedish policy and institutions affect Sami wellbeing, as well as how Sami cultural identity is expressed.

Partida, R. Suffering Through the Education System: The Sami Boarding Schools. UTexas History Articles. Retrieved from <https://www.laits.utexas.edu/sami/dieda/hist/suffer-edu.htm>

The University of Texas at Austin's Department of History developed a website with different articles regarding the Sami people. These articles range from information on the history of the Sami people to in this case, how the Sami were placed in schools and how the education system was a system of oppression and how it developed. This article published on the history website was helpful in finding background information regarding Sami educational policies throughout history.

Skolverket. (2016). *Läroplan för sameskolan, förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet*. Sweden: Wolters Kluwer.

This is a teaching guide (in Swedish) for Sami schools, pre-schools, and after school care by Skolverket, the Swedish National Agency for Education. It outlines curricula in subjects such as sciences, mathematics, history, modern languages, Swedish, etc, but most importantly to my research, it discusses how Sami history and Sami language should be taught and the rules around it. This handbook is helpful because it describes how the Sami school system works and Integrates Sami curriculum with other educational standards. It is a primary source document about Sami schools in Sweden.

Somby, L. I. (2015). En av tre har vurderet selvmord. *NRK Sápmi*. Retrieved from <https://www.nrk.no/sapmi/en-av-tre-sliter-med-selvmordstanker-1.12241358>

This is an article written by Norwegian journalist Liv Inger Somby discusses the realities of mental health for the Sami population in Sweden. Translated, its title is “One of three have considered suicide” and discusses suicidality in the Sami community. This article was important in determining how Sami wellbeing is affected by Swedish policies.

Zorich, Z. (2008). "Native Sweden." *Archaeology*. 30.

This article is written by an archeologist working in Sweden. I find this piece interesting because it brings another dynamic to my work as it is from a different perspective than most. This piece explains the history of the Sami and different struggles they've faced. A recurring theme that I have encountered in my readings is cultural preservation despite marginalization, oppression, and efforts to change the Sami people. Zorich describes how conflict arose when Sami met Swedish settlers halfway in the country, and describes the challenges that the Sami people have faced, such as being forced to convert to Christianity. This article gives a historical perspective on Sami, which is important in order to understand the current situation in Sweden.

(2017). Ethnic Discrimination. Retrieved from <https://www.sametinget.se/10173>

This is a page on the Swedish Sami Parliament's official website describing the criticisms that Sweden has received internationally regarding their treatment of Sami. It describes the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and how it is an important factor in eliminating ethnic discrimination. It touches upon reports that Sweden and the Sami have sent to CERD and critiques that CERD has on the policies in place for Sami. One point especially that stands out and is important to my research is how many Swedish municipalities use the Sami for marketing purposes by fantasizing them and making them like a tourist attraction, but they do not give the Sami the financial support or autonomy that they need. This page highlights issues with Sami rights that exist today.

(2017). How many Sami are there per reindeer? Retrieved from <http://www.samer.se/4529>

This is a webpage with statistics on how many Sami there are in Sweden, what the estimates are for their population, about how many reindeer there are, and other numerical data. In addition, this page highlights different Sami organizations and Swedish legislation that have been formed and implemented. It also brings up Sami languages and their prevalence. This website is one of Sweden's Sami websites. It discusses different issues and strives to educate people on Sami culture.

(2017). Sameskola. Retrieved from <https://www.skolverket.se/skolformer/grundskoleutbildning/sameskola>

This is a page from the Swedish National Agency for Education describing what Sami schools are and who qualifies to attend. This page is specifically useful in terms of definitions of Sami identity from Sami institutions, which contrast from definitions described by the state. It gives basic background on Sami schools and what they are, as well as what they strive to achieve.

(2017). Samiska i skolan. Retrieved from <http://www.samer.se/1188>

This is a webpage describing the Sami language and its instruction in schools. It describes different dates in Swedish history that have to do with Sami instruction in schools as well as how Sami were treated and placed in schools. It brings up important points such as who was given Sami language instruction, the types of schools that Sami children were forced into, and how the language is taught today. This information is valuable for the creation of one of my time-lines for my digital project that deals with the institution of education and how Sami are affected by the current and past education systems.

(2017). The Samebys organize the reindeer herders. Retrieved from <http://www.samer.se/4555>

This is a webpage describing the districts present today for reindeer herding in Sweden and how they are used. It was useful for determining what these districts called samebyar are defined as and how they function.

University of Southern California. (2016) *Scalar 2*. Retrieved from <https://www.scalar.usc.edu>

This website displays a digital tool called Scalar 2 that is a free resource for web design and displaying online work. The digital tool formats projects as virtual books, allowing for the possibility to have pages in the projects on a linear path, like pages or chapters in a book. The tool allows users to embed work from other websites, as well as media.