THE COLOURS OF THE POLAR LIGHTS (SYMBOLS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SAMI IDENTITY)

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From Lapp groups to the Sami nation

It is generally accepted (even in the Scandinavian countries) up to the present day that the Sami have been a remarkably unified group, that their existence has always been close to nature and based on reindeer herding, and that they have been singing their "ancient" joiks[1] (Mahtisen 2004). This homogenizing thinking is not at all surprising, as outsiders reduce even groups without sovereign nations or autonomy down to less nuanced categories. The Sami have been living on Northern Europe's periphery in an area about 1500–2000 km long and 200–400 km wide (Bereczki 2000: 37). The borders of four countries cross over *Sápmi* ("Sami-land"), the crescent-shaped area where the Sami live. In Scandinavia, those who identify as Sami are numbered around 70 000–100 000. They form the largest minority in Norway, where more than half of the Samis live (Aikio 2003: 35). The smaller portion of the Sami population lives in three other countries, the majority of which are in Sweden and Finland, and there are now fewer than 2000 Samis in Russia (Stepien 2009: 75). Until the 19th century,

[1] The joik is a singing tradition that touches the whole life of the Sami. It exhibits the marks of sacred and the profane symbols, and it is performed by many more people than those who would usually be connected with folk songs and ritual singing. The joiks have many functions: for example, as entertainment, as a communication tool, and as an expression of identity. The joik is also a system for the classification and identification of the Sami's surroundings, a kind of summary of their experiences and knowledge about the world, in which their views about life are reflected and expressed (Tamás 2007: 75–79).

the division of the Sami groups was determined by ecological factors and the *siidas*[2] along the migration routes of the reindeer. These territorial units stretched from the edge of the sea into the interior in parallel lines, where they formed what can be viewed as linguistically, economically, and culturally unified regions. The Sami themselves considered the boundaries between the siidas to be the borders of separation between them, the primary evidence for which is the formation of different dialects. The migrations of the people, tied to predetermined routes and often requiring a forced tempo, meant that the members of each group only maintained contact with directly neighbouring groups, so more distant Sami only knew of each other's lives by information passed on between several group. This means that before the Second World War news did not penetrate to the entire region populated by the Sami (Lehtola 2010: 58). The most common exonyms of the Sami are "Finn" and "Lapp" (which are known from the earliest contact with them).[3] The latter was in almost exclusive use as an exonym for the Sami from the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. The word *Lapp*, which has a pejorative connotation in the North, has been successfully removed from official use thanks to the efforts of these people, and the endonym *Sami* has taken its place.[4] These designations originated primarily from

[2] The *siidas* are territories adjusted to the numbers (50–500 people), needs and natural boundaries of Sami groups, whose central location was the winter quarters. The entire siida community came together in the winter quarters, while family groups lived separately during the milder seasons, when they hunted, fished, and/or wandered together with the reindeer (Näkkäläjärvi 2003: 114–121).

[3] *Finn* and *Lapp* as exonyms can be found in several early sources (Tamás 2007: 31) and geographical names (such as the Finnish Lappi and Norwegian Finnmark) evidence them even today. The word *Lapp* is decidedly rude, even insulting, in Scandinavian countries to this day, and it is not a "politically correct" expression in more distant countries, either. This has caused a change in exonyms and the use of the endonym *Sami* in other languages, including Hungarian in the 21st century.

[4] Until the start of the 20th century, the overwhelming majority of the Sami people were reindeer herders, while the inhabitants of the fjords and the river and lake countries were fishers. These are the occupations

travellers and missionaries. Later, when linguistic and folkloric studies of the Sami began, newer and newer opportunities for drawing divisions appeared, which the Samis themselves also found important, while others valued them for their scientific merit. The different Sami occupations (lifestyles) are also considered distinguishing features among the Samis, as are language and folk dress. The varieties in folk dress, which reflect the geographic and cultural divisions among the people, make this picture literally multicoloured, and they play a key role in the internal and external representation of the Sami. The ten very different dialects are historically the result of the low population spread over tremendous territory, and many of them are endangered today.[5] (Figure 1)[6]

Figure 1. The Sami languages: Southern, Ume, Pite, Lule, Northern, Inari, Skolt, Akkala, Kildin, and Ter Sami.

based on which even the earliest sources (Tamás 2001: 30–32) separate the types of Sami groups: they describe the ocean Lapps as fishing communities, the mountain or forest Lapps as reindeer herders. These two key economic paths were complemented by hunting, gathering, and agriculture and crafting to a lesser extent.

[5] Source: http://hu.languagesindanger.eu/nyelvek-listaja/ (last accessed: 10.09.2015)

[6] The map's source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Sami (last accessed: 10.09.2015)

The multicolouredness of the languages is intensified by the fact that the Sami live in the territory of four countries, which causes many problems as well. Despite this, many of them are not bilingual. Though they consider themselves Sami, the banning of their language for several generations has caused many of them to speak only the official language of their country. Bilingualism, and in some cases (particularly near the borders of three different countries) proficiency in three languages, can be connected with the "unevenness" caused by the fact that the Sami language is only in spoken use, while the written literacy of the Sami is tied to Norwegian, Finnish, Swedish, or Russian.[7] Thanks to Sami *giellabeassi* (language nest) programs in kindergarten and native-language education, reading and writing is becoming increasingly universal among young people, while it is less widespread among the older generations. Samis who learn their native language as adults often do not speak the language of their own territory, and instead speak only or prefer to use the primary, northern Sami dialect. The cause for this is that – though more dialects have orthography – the dominance of Northern Sami is becoming more emphasised (Tamás 2001: 619–628). Considering that (on the basis of the Swadesh list[8]) the differences between even the neigh-

[7] These are supported by my plotting-boards made during my visits to Norwegian and Finnish Sami settlements (in 1999 and 2014). In Kautokeino, for example, an elderly woman called Máret, who speaks three other languages fluently besides Sami, asked me to write to her in Norwegian or English if I write to her, the latter of which her daughter can translate for her, as her ability to read is limited to Norwegian. Although there has been a unified, official written language for the Northerners since 1978, neither the 75-year-old lady, nor her daughters could read nor write in their native language, so they could only communicate in writing in Norwegian and English, which they learned in schools.

[8] The American linguist Morris Swadesh's compilation of a basic concepts is the standard method employed in historical and comparative linguistic studies. The following statistical data about the Sami language are derived from Gábor Tillinger's dissertation: the overlap between the neighboring Northern Sami and Inari Sami languages is 90.2%, which is smaller, than between Norwegian and Danish (96.7%) and close to that between Spanish and Portuguese (85.9%). The percentage is the

bouring Sami dialects are greater than, for example, those between Norwegian and Danish, and the "overlap" between more distant dialects is about the same as between the Romance languages (Tillinger 2013), it was necessary to designate **one** language for the purpose of nation-building. Therefore, Northern Sami assumed the role of the national language, while the other languages took on a minority status (minorities within the minority). Naturally, folkloric elements also have their own unique regions with particular features, significantly influenced by different ethnic connections.[9] The lifestyle of the Sami people has been transforming largely since the second half of the 20th century, so that today important differences are evident. A substantial portion of the Sami became city-dwellers, and many who would rather have pursued reindeer keeping were forced to find urban occupations. Due to reduction caused by the "communication of cultural differences" (Eriksen 2008: 41), the differences between the Sami and the majority populations (superficially) began to lessen, and there began a spread and dissolution of the characteristic aspects representing of Sami-ness (the Sami own selves). In opposition to this, reindeer herding remains a central element in the internal and external expression of "Sami identity" and Swedish and Norwegian law guarantees the Sami monopoly in this area. In Finland, however, only 20% of the Sami population is engaged in reindeer herding, and the percentage is even lower in Russia (Lehtola

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same (85.9%) in the case of the neighboring Inari and Skolt. The overlap between Lule and Skolt, which do not border each other, is 71.2%, which matches the "distance" between the French and Portuguese languages, and it is somewhat less than the shared vocabulary of the Estonian and Finn languages (72.3%) (Tillinger 2013: 64-65, 81–90).

[9] A good example of this is the development of the joik tradition, which have significant differences between regions. While the primary, Northern Sami region's joiks, musically and lyrically, are markedly different from the surrounding Swedish, Norwegian, and Finnish folk music, the musical world of the more southern regions has been strongly influenced by the Swedish folk song treasury, and the Karelian epic tradition had a strong influence on the characteristically long texts of the eastern regions (Tamás 2001, Tamás 2007).

2010: 10). Despite this dynamic transformation, the "exoticization" of the Sami in (not only) external discourses remains significant, mirroring discourses connected to native populations worldwide. Depicting archaic people caught in an unchanged state separated from modern progress (with their tents, reindeer, and shaman drums), these images dominate the discourse, connected to this day with ideas of being left behind, inferiority, and similar negative stereotypes. This means that differences between the Sami groups are reduced to seeming insignificance beside the much more obvious differences that separate them from the Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and Russian populations. In other words, for external viewers without an immediate or deep knowledge of the subject, the formed picture appears uniform. The patchwork-like reality of the Sami is geographically, linguistically, culturally, and economically heterogeneous. This variety is complicated by the fact that the criteria of laws determining who can officially be considered Sami vary from country to country.[10] It can be said that due to their minority status, the Sami are in the crossfire of both internal and external determination of their ethnic identity. Nevertheless, the awareness of Pan-Sami identity is now shared among the Sami people, flocking together even in the most distant regions. This required the joint efforts of the Sami intelligentsia, which has grown and strengthened from the middle of the 20th century. The important questions of the movements aimed at beginning this revitalization ask how the Sami can identify themselves and their tighter and more distant communities in the modern world, as well as what national qualities they find important. In order to communicate with the world and many people, they had to find those central symbols, drawn from a variety of sources but still crafted into a unified whole, that project the image the Sami prefer (and, at times, that outsiders expect). The political and cultural interests of the Sami required that such national

[10] The Norwegian poet Aagot Vinterbo-Hohr (born 1936) makes reference to this in the following lines: "grandfathers / were born in eighteen ninety-five / grandmother in eighteen ninety / parents in nineteen forty // native language / banned across four generations // according to the law: / he is not Sami" (based on the Hungarian translation by Johanna Domokos) (Domokos 2003: 19).

symbols be constructed, all while recording and supporting their heterogeneity (Hobsbawn 1990, 1997, Hobsbawn; Rangers 1983). The shaping of these symbols naturally included an emphasis on the linguistic and cultural signifiers of certain regions, which had to be accepted by the entire Sami community. One such element is the word *sámi*, describing nationality, being applied to the entire Sami population in everyday and official use, as well as the name for the entire region populated by them, *Sápmi* ('Sami-land'), which are words from the Northern dialect. Nation-building usually comes along with selecting the groups (and places) to emphasize as having the desired essential qualities of a nation, and the existence of such groups (in the case of the Sami, the northern reindeer-herding communities) determines what symbols are possible or desirable to be emphasized. On the one hand, their minority existence in the four countries is connected to a new kind of center – periphery relationship (in "Sami-land"), and on the other hand, with a new "global" solidarity that connects all people with indigenous status. For this reason, we should take into account at least three relationship systems when we analyse these symbols: national state vs minority, Pan-Saminess vs Sami groups, and aboriginal groups vs Sami. To understand Sami self-determination, a brief historical overview is necessary.

In the shadow of hostile flags

Although they have never established an independent state in the course of their history, the Sami populated a huge territory until the start of the 18th century. Their territory extended far to the south of its boundaries today. Because of their cyclical migration and the border crossings these required, they frequently had to pay taxes to several states. From the 17th century, Swedish rule intervened increasingly in the lives of the Sami, and the Swedes often took their lands without compensation. At the start of the 19th century, the exact determination of the border between Norway and Russia had a more negative effect than any previous event on the nomadic Sami, as they had until then wintered the herds in the interior and then herded them to the fjord regions in the summer,

but this change put an end to their free movement in the area. Although churches had already been built in Lappland by the 16th century, the most effective period of missionary work was the second half of the 19th century. The Puritan Lutheran movement led by Lars Levi Laestadius (1800–1861) spread from 1840 and achieved significant successes. Shamanism and joiking, seen by outsiders as demonic, were punished by religious and secular authorities alike. Certain items of women's clothing were also banned, primarily the *ládjogahpir*, a sickle-shaped head covering with internal reinforcement (Figure 2)[11] (Solbakk; Solbakk 2005: 111).

Figure 2. *Ládjogahpir*.[12]

[11] The image's source:
https:// www.flickr.com/photos/28772513@N07/5264099407
[12] The image's source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/28772513@N07/5264099407)

These, together with confiscated shaman drums, were publicly burned by the ministers.[13] Though the Sami took up arms against the political and the religious restrictions, the use of intimidation, and the impossibility of economic survival, the Sami rebels were few in number and isolated from one another, so the rebellion was defeated. The leaders were executed or thrown in prison, which created even deeper fear amongst them, and the Sami became even more withdrawn. The events of the 20th century didn't ease tensions until the last third of the century; in fact, the circumstances continued to worsen in many respects. The territory of the Sami continued to contract, while the Norwegian and the Swedish governments employed unheard-of tactics to try to assimilate the Sami. People struggling to maintain their Sami identity no longer had to deal only with the loss of societal prestige and discrimination. They could not use their native language in public, and everything connected with Sami identity was stigmatized. In Sweden, institutes established for the study of racial biology were used to demonstrate their inferiority. The most famous (most publicized) one operated in Uppsala until the 1970's. This was all connected to concrete measures such as sterilization. Under the obove-mentioned circumstances the basic manifestations of Sami identity (language, clothing, tents) disappeared (at least in public spheres) because they had become synonymous with inferiority. In areas of mixed populations where the Sami were a minority, their native language, joiking, and Sami dress could be found exclusively inside Sami homes, carefully hidden away from the eyes of outsiders. Harald Eidheim (Eidheim 1969), writing in his studies about Samis living in seaside settlements and Norwegian fishing communities, describes the struggle against notions of Sami stupidity, dirtiness, fecklessness, ridiculousness and other stereotypes about the Sami cultural markers completely outlawed in external spheres. Although they did not break away completely from every element of the Sami lifestyle, the Sami themselves became in-

[13] This is the subject of the film titled *Iðitsilba* (Burning Sun), directed by Elle Márjá Eira, presented at the 2015 Sami film festival (http://www.isfi.no/eng/resources/ pdf/7SamiStories.pdf).

creasingly used to the fact they could only practice the things condemned and looked down on by the Norwegians or the Swedes (eg. joiking), behind closed doors, often hidden even from their own children. To speak Sami in front of Norwegians or Swedes was considered a provocation, and to appear in traditional dress was social suicide. As a result of the powerful dichotomization (Eidheim 1971), and in order "to save themselves from being labelled, they introduced themselves as Norwegians, and overemphasized everything that they considered part of Norwegian culture" (Eriksen 2006: 360). This all led to a deep crisis for the Sami identity, as well as to the conscious switching back and forth between the externally displayed and internally lived identities. However, the coin has another side, regarding which Thomas Hylland Eriksen's uses the term *paradoxon* (Eriksen 2006: 360). Under the influence of the Norwegian school system and to help force assimilation, the ability to read and write became universal in the Sami circles. This became a requirement of their ability to uphold their interests. Therefore, the Norwegian methods of assimilation, banning the use of the Sami language and requiring them to become part of the Norwegian social system as Norwegians, gave the Sami capacities that later made it possible for them to effectively represent their own political goals. They learned the contemporary tools of nationalism and survival, and learning the Norwegian discourses of power was the price of their survival. The Swedish and Finnish oppression was different from that of Norwegian. Instead of the assimilation of the Sami (their "Swedification" or "Finnification"), here the political intention was to exclude them. The *"Lapp skall vara lapp"* ('the Lapp should remain a Lapp') motto, together with its use of the pejorative exonym, suggested that the Sami are unsuitable for becoming equal members of society (Grundsten 2010: 21).

For all those differences and new trends in international indigenous policy, the Sami reached significant achievements. In the second half of the 20th century, Sami parliaments were founded one after another in the Scandinavian states: on November 9, 1973 in Finland; on October 9, 1989 in Norway; and on January 1, 1993 in Sweden. The Sami Council (*Sámiráđđi*) was formed in 1956. It is a Pan-Sami movement based in Norway, which supports and

represents Samis living anywhere in the world. The familiarity gained in the necessary political-cultural discourses would not have been enough in itself. For their cultural rebirth and the revitalization of their ethnic identity, the Sami needed important symbols that could focus on their survival strategy as the main factor in traditional Sami culture.

The Northern, Pan-Sami, and pan-indigenous discourses

Many important Sami political and cultural institutions are located in the northern Norwegian region of Finnmark, which plays a central role in all respects. Nevertheless, the early all-Sami political efforts started in the furthermost southern regions, where the threat of assimilation appeared earlier and with greater force. In the first years of the 20th century, between 1904 and 1911, the institutions formed in the southern-Sami territories were the forerunners of later movements, which appealed to larger groups. Their efforts were primarily social and cultural in nature. The era's most outstanding figure was Elsa Laula Renberg (1877–1931), a Sami living in Sweden. Her intense political role from the start of the century formed the basis of the international Sami council held on February 6, 1917, in Trondheim. Following this, there were three more ground-breaking meetings through 1937. The Sami guiding principles established in the first third of the 20th century later took on a central importance in the international political struggle for indigenous peoples' rights (Hilder 2015: 23–25).

The second wave of the minority unity movement also started in the southern regions, when, during the Second World War, the different Sami groups were moved as part of the evacuations to the western Finnish region of Ostrobothnia. As a result, the widely spread Sami groups who barely knew of each other's existence found themselves confined together in a small space, which created conditions favourable to cooperation (Lehtola 2010: 54-55, 58). Neither the Second World War not the surviving theory of Social Darwinism could stop the emerging Sami

movement. In 1947, the Sami reindeer herders started an organization to protect their own interests. Nine years later, the Northern Sami Council was founded with the goal of bringing together the Sami living in different countries and regions. This is when the idea of a unified Sami nation was irrevocably formed: a nation which, though it does not have its own political borders, can pass laws over territories in which the Sami have lived for centuries. Since this subject was raised internationally, the Sami have played an important part in international talks regarding the rights of indigenous people. At that time efforts to assimilate the Sami were gradually concluding. The most important change occured in 1979 as a result of the protests against the redirection of the northern Alta River and the construction of a hydroelectric power plant. The protest failed in terms of its inability to prevent the construction of the power plant, but it had a positive outcome as well: attention was drawn more than ever to the rights of the Sami, the problems of the northern regions and the protection of the environment. Mostly due the positions they won in Norway, the Sami play an important part in the most significant international forums (WCIP, IWGIA) on the issues of indigenous people, the compensation of affected groups, and programs for rehabilitation.[14] So far, the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, ILO 169, covering the territorial rights of indigenous people, has only been ratified in Norway, and not in the other countries. Despite the limited self-governance enjoyed by the Sami, the separation from external perceptions (and certain stereotypes along with them) and global discourses have not deeply penetrated into the Sami. The term indigenous continued to be strongly connected to the image of a pre-modern, "pagan" person living in harmony with nature (Gaski 2003, Graff 2007, Pentikäinen 1996, Sveen; Rydving 2003). The Sami themselves consider their common denominators with other indigenous people important. They place great value on their commonality with other similarly oppressed

[14] The president of the Norwegian Sami Parliament, Ole Henrik Magga, was the first president of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issue, formed under the aegis of the UN in 2002 (Stepien 2009: 87).

people they have established links with through international politics and cultural connections. As was expressed several times by the founder of the Sami revitalization movement, Nils-Alsak Valkeapää (as well as many other Northern politicians and writers): the voice of the Sami is barely audible by itself, but they form a strong and powerful community to whom the world pays attention when they are united with other indigenous groups.[15] This belief is often visually expressed in the decorations of cultural events and in the creations of Arvid Sveen, Hans Ragnar Mahtisen, and many other Sami artists. Christianity and imperialism are often viewed as conquering powers. Mostly due to these images connected to the pre-Christian world view and shamanism play a determining role in Sami discourses. [16] (Figure 3–5)

[15] The biopic about Valkeapää ("The wind is blowing through my heart") can be watched on YouTube. The importance of pan-indigenous cooperation is expressed several times in it:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ax8eWwrneVE
(last accessed: 09.10.2015)

[16] One of the causes for the "store window-style" interpretation of shamanistic motifs is the "necessity to display" (Bíró 1996: 247), in other words, to show those things that the colonizers were exterminating earlier with fire and steel. These symbols associated with Sami-ness carry within themselves the image of an unconquerable people capable of survival. There is a clear representation of this at the end of a music video by the Sami singer Sofia Jannok, who is from Sweden. It shows a piece of graffiti written in the Sami language: "*LEAT DAS AIN*" ("we are still here"). The video's source:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hr13WV7UkgA (last accessed: 09.10.2015)

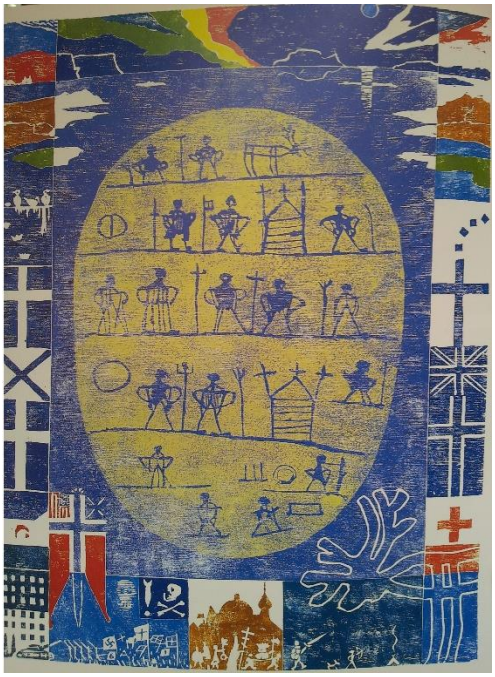


Figure 3. Poster of a historic theme by Hans Ragnar Mahtisen.

Figure 4. Hans Ragnar Mahtisen: Newborn Nation...

Figure 5. Arvid Sven's work[17] about the solidarity of indigenous people and the Sami national endeavour.

[17] The image's source:
http://kreativtforum.no/artikler/kudos/2014/02/asdfg

The image of the natural people is "mystically" connected with a "natural world view", which stems not only from historical discourses, but is also reinforced by contemporary expressions condemning the results of modernization and the pollution of the environment as well as contemporary pagan knowledge-registers (Hilder 2015: 109–148). The construction of Pan-Sami identity is therefore (also) strongly linked with natural, shamanistic, and mythic imagery, which can be considered to be a common denominator with other indigenous groups, for instance, with the construction of the similarly (very) heterogeneous North American Indian tribes' Pan-Indian identity (Kristóf 2007: 153–172).

The above-mentioned processes and events—the more intense assimilation of the south, the limited minority rights of the eastern Sami (on the Kola Peninsula)—led to the political and cultural strengthening of the Sami in northern Norway, where the new middle-of-periphery pattern of Sami society was unconsciously formed.[18] The indigenous minority's tremendous geographical distance from the more densely-populated, strategically important Scandinavian regions also helped enable the northern Sami regions' independence. The exotic idea of the "Far North" eventually brought about a rise in tourism. A visit to Lapland meant an imaginary journey into the past and a real experience—with many difficulties and challenges—of idyllic, untouched nature, made more beautiful by the reindeer and the people in colourful clothes herding them.[19] For all that, the North, seen from the perspective of the nation-states as peripheral, became the center of the Sami revitalization. Thereby, the most important symbols also started out in this central region. The first flag (Figure 6), which was used

[18] Of the Scandinavian countries, Norway has the most complete representation of Sami rights. In Sweden, the protection and support of Sami occupations is emphasized. In these two countries, reindeer keeping is the exclusive right of the Sami. In Finland and Russia (despite the fact that the first Sami parliament was formed in Finland), the opportunities available to the Sami are significantly more limited.

[19] Fishing, which received emphasis early on, was less suitable for being the basis of opposition, so its role in identity representation was forced into the background.

from the start of the 1970's until 1986, actually contained the colours and patterns of the folk dress of the reindeer-herding, Northern Sami dialect-speaking groups. The widest blue stripe is the basic colour of their folk dress, and the narrow yellow stripe and the somewhat wider red stripe are the colours of the costume's breast- and shoulder parts, as well as that of the decoration along the edges (Bjørklund 2000: 279). The characteristic green colour from the folk dress of the furtheremost southern regions, primarily in Sweden, only appeared in the flag accepted in 1986, as a fourth stripe.

Figure 6. The first flag.

Beyond these central symbols, the Pan-Sami ideal also appears in emblematic organizations and groups, such as the composition of the Sami football team and the Sami choir. The football team (Figure 7)[20] is made up of Sami from three countries, while the choir's membership (Figure 8)[21] covers all the four countries—in fact, its activities cannot be linked to a base in a single region, as it "wanders" among the centers of several languages (they call themselves *musijkka nomádat*, or musical nomads, on their homepage).[22]

[20] Source: http://tavriya.com.ua/?id=4921
[21] The picture's source: http://www.samijienat.com/govat.html
[22] The website's address: http://www.samijienat.com/musihkka-nomaacutedat.html

Figure 7. The Sami football team in 2008.

Figure 8. The *Sámi Jienat* (’Sami voices’) choir’s members.

Elements of folk dress and folklore in the Sami flag

The flag that today symbolizes the Sami nation (Figure 9) was first used in 1979 in the course of the protests against the building of the hydroelectric plant on the Alta River in northern Norway. It was made official in 1986 on the anniversary of the first all-Sami council (February 6, 1917), at the 13th Sami Conference in Åre (Näkkäläjärvi 2003: 21). The flag, composed of different vertical stripes connected by a ring, carries many meanings. The four stripes represent the Sami groups living in the four countries, while the ring that combines them represents the need to balance out their dividedness.

Figure 9. The current Sami flag.

The four colours show the colours of the traditional dress (and, at the same time, those of the Aurora Bolearis). The ring of the flag is a symbol of many meanings: beyond unity, it represents the Sun and the Moon, the opening to allow smoke to escape at the top of traditional tents, the shaman drum, and migration based on cycles, which is the traditional lifestyle of the Samis (Näkkäläjärvi 2003: 21).[23] Related to this, the blue and the crimson semicircles refer not only to heavenly bodies but to the "dual-dwellings" of the Sami who have separate winter and summer quarters. Visual and verbal symbolism, therefore, connects very strongly with the ideology associated with the flag. Another point

[23] The following section of a Valkeapää poem illustrates the above symbols in condensed terms: "Great ring / on a wandering path / the moon in the opening for smoke / Northern lights / the stars of the sky".

supporting this is that the flag designed by Sami artist Astrid Båhl and the national anthem's text were accepted simultaneously and made official. A genuinely dense literary and poetic language-web exists around the flag. According to the prose folklore texts about the origin of the Sami and the Aurora Borealis, as well as in motifs appearing over and over in epic joiks, the Sami are the sons of the Sun who live their lives matching their own wanderings to the cyclic movement of the Sun (Gaski 2003). The text of the *Sámi soga lávlla,* the "Sami national anthem," written by Isak Saba, draws partially from this tradition, when it describes the Sami as the "shining descendants of Sun-children".[24] The flag's symbols, therefore, are in close connection with Sami literary tradition and object culture: primarily with the colours of the folk dress and the form and motifs of the shaman drum. The flag's colours display primarily the colours of summer dress (the winter dress is a pelt with the fur turned out, whose colours of blue, yellow, red, and green only appear in its ribbon decorations). The *gákti*, the summer dress—for men and women alike—is made chiefly of blue baize, its borders and its neck decorated by colourful—red, yellow, and green—stripes and geometric shapes.[25] (Figure 10-11)

[24] For example, in the *joik* texts gathered and completed by Anders Fjellner. Finn's work was inspired by the rich Finnish folklore collections and publications, thus was born the "Sami epic fragments" titled *Páiven párneh* ("The Sun's son") and the *Pišša Paššan párdne* ('Pišša and Paššan's son'), a work of notable creativity reflecting the conventions of contemporary folklore text-publication. The selection is translated into Hungarian by Anna Bede (Keresztes 1983).

[25] The flag of the Seto in Northern Europe can be mentioned for its parallel use of folk dress. Although the Seto flag, like other flags of Northern minorities (Vepsians, Votes, Izhorians, Karelians, Ludians), uses the template of the Scandinavian flags, the cross-shape of the Seto flag is decorated with their characteristic embroidery. The picture's source: http://www.nyest.hu/renhirek/hanyan-beszelik-a-szettut-a-voruites-a-mulgit (last accessed: 09.10.2015)

Figure 10. Sami Women, Kautokeino, 1999.

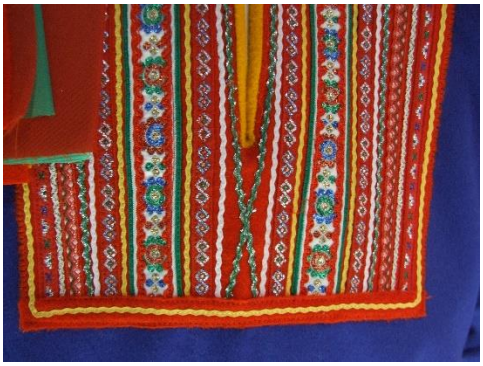
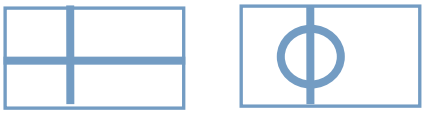


Figure 11. Sami ornamental motifs.

I have already mentioned the objects connected to the ring motif, and it should be noted that on shaman drums, well-known only as museum pieces, the Sun always appears as a central symbol. Comparing the northern countries' and the other minorities' flags, they differ only in their colours, while all are divided by a cross. At first glance, the Sami flag departs from this Scandinavian tradition. If we consider the flag's proportions, and we look at the two narrow stripes, it becomes clear that there is a similarity with the Scandinavian flags. The stripes, overlapped by the ring, can be considered the opposite of the cross motif:



The Sami opinions that do not agree with the central symbolic language also reflect this. In the Sami journal *Ságat*, an article appeared with a fairly provocative title: "The Sami Flag is Ugly and Full of Occult Symbols."[26] The writer, a Sami minister, condemns the flag's ring, representing the Sun, Moon, and the shaman drum together. He would rather see the cross on the flag, as the Sami have not been pagans for a long time. The shamanistic symbols and their interpretations, wrapped in the mist of Sami myth and esotericism, are genuinely not always popular among the Christian Sami, particularly the Laestadians. They bemoan the lack of Christian symbols in the process of building Sami identity, though their opinion does not even begin to reflect the thoughts of the majority, due to the contradictory role Christianity played in the history of the Sami. This does not mean that the Laestadians and other, strongly Christian groups would reject the Sami symbols completely from the sphere of religious life. Sami folk dress

[26] The report's original location: http://www.sagat.no/hovedny-heter/2013/02/16/29982/. The report was mentioned by several Norwegian news outlets, for example: http://www.vl.no/troogkirke/pastor-h%C3%B8sterstorm-etter-kritikk-av-sameflagget-1.59464 and http://thornews.com/2013/02/16/pastor-thesami-flag-is-ugly-and-full-of-occult-symbols/ (last accessed: 09.10.2015)

is used as Sunday dress and for celebrations in the churches, and the pictures and altars in the Sami churches reflect this, displaying Christians wearing folk dress, including the “Lapp Mary” (Figure 12-13).

Figure 12. Sami triptych in the Jukkasjärvi Church by Bror Hjort (1894–1968).

Figure 13. Sami children at their Confirmation.

The symbolic discourse of rehabilitation (?)

Beyond uniting the Sami, the old-new symbols also have a positive influence on the outside world. Sami songs or modes of dress are no longer considered worthless and laughable, but they are rather considered important forms of knowledge that can be used for protecting the environment. In this new and clearer light, the Sami are talented musicians and their material world inspires visual artists and designers. Although many continue to be antagonistic or apathetic towards questions associated with indigenous people, it seems that an increasing number of people want to take part in Sami culture. This new trend has created some fairly ambivalent situations: on the one hand, Sami and "outsiders" have strongly contoured ideas about what is authentically Sami, while on the other hand, we can find the many-sided truth behind the unified mask of these ideals "on both sides". Next, I will describe three occasions in three countries which are associated with Sami dress.[27]

On February 6, 2009, all of Norway looked north. They did this not only because the Sami celebrate Sami National Day on that day but because the royal couple, Haakon and Mette-Marit visited Kautokeino and Karasjok.[28] The couple wears Sami folk dress on the occasion, which they had received for their wedding in 2001 (Figure 14.)[29].

[27] Dress as a national symbol is prominent in Norway and Sweden. The royal family's members in both countries appear in the colors of their countries' flags on national holidays.

[28] Kautokeino and Karasjok are emblematic Sami settlements. The former is the site of the most important cultural events, while the latter is the center of the Sami judicial system and is also where the Norwegian Sami parliament is based.

[29] The picture's source: http://www.finnmarkslopet.no/rhist/article.jsp?id=4091 (last accessed: 09.10.2015)

Figure 14.

Within two days spent in the North, they tried traditional Sami foods, as well as traditional Sami activities from lassoing to riding in a reindeer-drawn sleigh, almost even sleeping in tents. Mette-Marit declined this last activity because of of the -30 to -35°C cold.[30] The media wrote positive accounts of the royal couple's participation in the series of Sami celebrations, although some Sami groups aired criticism. For example, they wrote that Haakon put the "four winds cap" on the wrong side and that both wore overalls beneath the winter clothes they received as gifts from the Sami.[31] The rejection of sleeping in tents and wearing overalls both recalled one of the "homogenizing" themes in Sami folklore, which is that only Samis can stand the cold. The gestures of building bridges and friendship could not shadow the smaller mistakes, such as the incorrect wearing of the cap – no one questioned the positive intentions of the royal couple.

Other more dramatic events reveal that the Sami react very sensitively if someone uses their symbols in a way that reveals they do not know the symbols' code. In Finland, the case of the beauty queen served as an important lesson. The winner of the Finnish Miss Universe 2007 contest represented the country in Sami dress (however, the dress was not made by Sami, but was mass-produced in Hong Kong). As a result, there were protests in

[30] Source: http://www.seher.no/royal/sover-ute-i-35-minusgrader-36740 (last accessed: 09.10.2015.)

[31] Source: http://norwegianne.net/2009/02/09/haakon-and-mette-marit-in-finnmark/ (last accessed: 09.10.2015)

the northern Finnish city of Rovaniemi. Several hundred young people marched through the streets with Sami holding English signs (directly avoiding Finnish) to send a message to the world beyond the Finns. The mottos of the protests were: "Respect my culture!", "I like real things!", "Not for sale!", "This is our dress, this is our identity!" and "Burn fake!" (Hilder 2015: 159). Lars Miguel Utsi expressed in a release that they were protesting because the industry associated with tourism was flooding Lapland with "fake folk dress" and "fake Samis".[32] According to him, this is an unacceptable, new sort of discrimination that treats the Sami like they were worthless. Tourists encounter "fake Samis" and the pale imitations of their material culture in the North, and they think that this must be what genuine indigenous people are like as they experience the glittering empire of Santa Claus. Among the signs from the protests, one had the slogan *Dá lea miss Sápmi*! ('Here is Miss Sápmi!'), which a young woman dressed in *genuine* folk dress held while standing beside a table, on which imitation Sami clothing "made in Hong Kong" like that worn by the Finnish beauty queen were spread, thus demonstrating the powerful contrast between the two. As was revealed by the releases, these show a problem with deeper roots than any isolated incident. Klemetti Näkkäläjärvi, President of the Finnish Saami Parliament from 2008 to 2015, also expressed how much harm the Finnish tourism industry does to them, as cheap imitation Sami objects mass-produced in China, among them folk dress, flood businesses not run by Sami in Lappland.[33] The gifting of clothing (which is always home- and handmade) and folk dress is important in Sami circles to this day. It has ritual meaning, as it represents acceptance as well as becoming a member of society. By contrast those who order and market the Finnish goods neglect the meanings behind them but also pay no attention to accuracy or quality. Although handmade Sami goods that are certified authentic (*duodji*) also exist on the market, these have difficulty competing

[32] Lapland is the English equivalent of the Finnish Lappi, which is the official designation of Finland's most northerly region.

[33] Oral remarks. Klemetti Näkkäläjärvi spoke on this topic at a round table arranged by the Loránd Eötvös University, Faculty of Humanities, during his November 2014 visit to Hungary.

with the mass-produced, cheap goods. Naturally, to a certain extent, tourism contributes to the survival of the indigenous people, and the Sami form their "own" tourism industry, which is impossible to confuse with Chinese imitatations and copies.[34]

A Sami boy dressed in folk dress appeared in the first round of the 2014 "Talang Sverige" talent competition. His appearance was emphasized both in the interviews conducted with him and in his conversation with the judges when he came on stage. Jon Henrik Fjällgren explained that he loves Sami folk dress and his clothing was made by his mother. He himself is of South American "Indian" descent, and he was adopted by a Sami family as a baby. A film was shown before his stage performance revealing that many looked down on him and made fun of him for his skin colour in his childhood, and also for the fact that he was part of a reindeer herding Sami family preserving traditions. Despite these, he bravely introduced the Sami culture's treasures to the broader Swedish audience, so he prepared a joik for the talent show. During Jon Henrik's performance, many people broke into tears, and after the song the members of the jury as well as the audience gave a standing ovation, so overcome they could barely speak.[35] A few weeks and rounds later, Jon Henrik left as the nationwide program's winner. In 2015 he joiked before the Swedish royal family under Swedish flags, accompanied by a Royal Swedish

[34] Sami fashion designers increasingly try to adjust the patterns, colors, and motifs to the "templates" desired by young people. Modern Sami clothes designed uniquely are popular in Sami and non-Sami circles alike. They always emphasize, though, that the historical symbolism of the clothing must be accurately preserved in the world of the modern fashion. In August 2015 Sigga-Marja Magga held a presentation about the work of Sami handmade products and the work of fashion designers in Oulu. She stressed that the *duodji* still carries very important meanings today: it is connected to a system of norms, and it is also the symbol of the Sami fight for human rights (Magga 2015: 448-449).

[35] The contest's broadcast can be viewed on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v =woEcdqqbEVg

Army Orchestra during the Nationaldagen festivities.[36] It has become a tradition on the Swedish National Day for a Sami singer to take the stage as a special performance, and many Sami singers in addition to Jon Henrik have become famous among the Swedish audience (Figure 15[37] -16[38]).

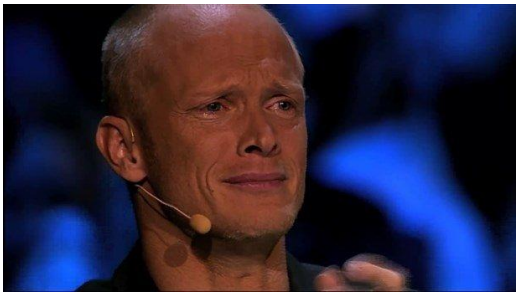


Figure 15. One of the jury members, Tobias Karlsson, while listening to Jon Henrik joiking.

Figure 16. The winner with his parents.

[36] Other Samis have been guests of honor at these events in recent years: Sophia Jannok in 2013 and Ingá-Máret Gaup-Juuso in 2014, accompanied by Loreen.
[37] Source: http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2327&artikel=5793990 (last accessed: 09.10.2015).
[38] Source: http://www.op.se/noje/musik/dagen-efter-succesegern-jon-henrik-fjallgren-slapper- skiva (last accessed: 09.10.2015).

These three cases demonstrate that ethnic tensions are present even today in the North. Sami rights received legal protection primarily in Norway and Sweden. Despite this, the two (Norwegian and Swedish) examples illustrate well that the two countries are following different paths in the rehabilitation of the Sami. This could all have historical causes, as Norway wanted to erase the cultural markers of Sami-ness: to assimilate by force and change ("Norwegianizate") the Sami (Bjørklund 2000, Minde 2005), while Sweden primarily aimed to exclude them: they denied rights to them and took steps (such as sterilization) to lower the Sami population, which signified that Sami are an inferior "race" that will never be equal to the Swedes (Grundsten 2010)). This is why in Norway today the political efforts towards rehabilitation aim for the acceptance of distinctive Sami elements and cultural equality, which the Norwegian royal couple appearing in an official capacity wearing Sami clothes illustrates well. In Sweden, the steps towards achieving social equality are more readily observable. The primary symbols of Sami-ness (such as their dress and the joik) have gone from being looked down on to being accepted, even celebrated by the Swedes in the discourse for equality (and compensation). It is yet to be decided whether the political background despite the positive changes seen in political spheres was not as significant as that in Norway. For a more nuanced understanding of the situation in Norway, it is necessary to know that, although the Finns and the Sami consider the northern region historically the home of the Sami, we hardly find any settlements in Lapland where the Sami comprise a significant majority. The mixing of Sami and Finns was much more prevalent there; as a result, many Finns have started to herd reindeer. They learned reindeer keeping from the Sami, they adopted the related tool usage and terminology (like other elements of regional folklore) while changing them to suit their own preferences. The majority of Sami in Finland today feel that political processes are increasingly excluding them from reindeer keeping, which is a vital, iconic branch of their self-identification, so many must choose other occupations out of necessity (Näkkäläjärvi 2014: 109−125). After long discussions, the acceptance of Convention C 169 of the ILO was included in the daily agenda of the Finnish Parliament.

The Sami watched the events with great anticipation, but only the Swedish minority partially voted for them, and the Parliament rejected the proposal. As a result the Sami did not received the right to control their land and natural resources, which among other things would have helped strengthen the economic position of reindeer keeping. As a resul of the actions of the tourism industry, in the eyes of the Sami, more and more cultural elements pass into outsider's hands. It is understandable that in this context culture plays an ever more valuable role. The Sami nation can be accessed through culture. Because Sami do not have their own state, their culture is the one (thing) that is exclusively the common property of the Sami in the sense of national property. The use of their symbols in situations independent of them, even if it is done with good intentions, causes panic or disapproval in Sami circles.[39] As we see, relationships are multifaceted, and they are influenced by current ideologies and events. The lack of understanding connected to Sami clothing does not appear only in Finn-Sami relations, as we see in the criticism about the Norwegian royal couple's not completely proper dress. In Sweden, one of Sofia Jannok's videos from 2015 shows how to put on the folk dress, while she strongly criticizes Swedish democracy in the lyrics.[40]

Conclusion

The performances of Sami politicians, singers, visual artists are impossible to imagine without Sami dress or other visual symbols of Sami identity, which all come along with the processes of revitalization and rehabilitation. Ethnic symbols can be easily picked and built in by the nation-construction, as I explained by

[39] In such situations, the Sami do not react by jealously shutting others out, but rather by emphasizing national values, striving for certain standards of quality within their borders, and seeking international protection and regulation (in the same way as "Hungaricum" and its foreign equivalents).

[40] Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UGc7c8U2aps (last accessed: 09.10.2015)

the design of the Sami flag. Ethnic symbols are becoming institutionalized in this process.

The "North's" earlier interpretations—as a wild and uninhabited "no man's land" waiting to be conquered by civilization—are today unacceptable (Broderstad 2011: 893, Hilder 2015: 120–129). The ever-present Sami symbols remind us: the North was never only a bleak wilderness. This arctic landscape is the home of the Sami, where every hill, valley, river, and stone has the appropriate story of their own. It is a place of memory, the stage of Sami history. Apart from public writing place names in the Sami language another visible result of the achievements of the ethnic revitalization is the frequent presence of Sami flags and people wearing traditional dress.

Although territorial autonomy is impossible for the Sami, the blue, red, yellow, and green colours mark the symbolic reacquisition of land by the Sami as well as the need for the validation of their rights. This presence, reinforced by visual symbols, appears every time Sami issues are dealt with, whether in political or in cultural spheres. From the colours in the creations of Sami visual artists to political placards, from the logos of official institutions to the appearance of musicians on stage, the indigenous "world of the four colours" appears in all.

Apart from the complete folk dress, we can often find everyday (not ethnic) clothing decorated with jewellery, Sami writing, or shaman drum motifs. These elements link the ethnic identity and the national endeavours. Poetically speaking, we find everywhere the "pictures / the imagery of pictures / symbolic / images of drum pictures / fancy / picturesque world"[41]. The widespread appearance of the figures that decorate the drums' membranes are

[41] Translated from the Hungarian translation by Johanna Domokos (Valkeapää 2001: 27).

not only a reference to the Sami world picture before the arrival of Christianity.[42] (Figure 17[43], 18[44], Figure 19[45])

Figure 17. Sofia Jannok wearing her *risku* (the traditional female brooch for a scarf), which also serves as her protective symbol.

[42] In the same way we see in the use of the rock art of Alta, the use of this treasured motif also expresses the desire for the legitimization of "ancientness," thus the right of the Sami to their own territory is also reinforced.

[43] Source: https://www.google.hu/search?q=sofia+jan-nok&biw=1920&bih=969&source=l nms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0CAYQ_AUoAWoVChMI-weXX28KKyQIVyfxyCh2U8Ac k#imgrc=ze1xn0s36XUfMM%3A

[44] Source: http://www.zazzle.co.uk/sami_tshirt-235891891863758143 (last accessed: 09.10.2015)

[45] Source: https://www.pinterest.com/pin/31384528627200289/ (last accessed: 09.10.2015)

Figure 18. A T-shirt with Sami colours and a reindeer.

Figure 19. A tattoo of a reindeer motif used on shaman drums.

The efforts at homogenization, whether arriving from the outside through the use of force or created by necessity and practicality by the inner dynamic, determined the use of Sami visual representation for a long time. Their entrance into an even wider context and connection to the Northern way of life as well as to the "global picture" of indigenous life all contributed to a unifying

effect. The "*real, accurate*" Sami wears folk dress, herds reindeer, and probably relates to the supernatural in their own archaic way. Museum displays from the 19th to the turn of the 20th century were based on this concept as well (Mahtisen 2010: 53–72), to which the perspective of modern Scandinavian museology—which also documents contemporary cultures in detail—stands in sharp contrast. It is natural, and also unavoidably archaic that the most characteristic symbols in the self-definition of the Samis are also the most historical. The branches of the tourism industry and often the legal decisions also reinforce this (ex. in Norway and Sweden, the Sami have exclusive rights to keep reindeer, which is of special importance to Sami identity). These symbols have to prove to be effective not only inwards, but outwards, which also demonstrates the "majority culture's desire for exoticism" (Nagy 2014: 241[46]) (Figure 20, 21[47], 22[48].).

Figure 20. The rock art of Alta (northern Norway).

[46] This quote was taken from Zoltán Nagy's study on small Siberian groups, and it also applies perfectly to the Samis' situation.
[47] Source: http://old.no/samidrum/ (last accessed: 09.10.2015)
[48] Source: https://www.pinterest.com/pin/310889180496404076/

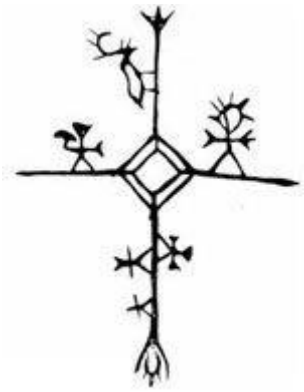


Figure 21. Shaman drum motifs.

Figure 22. Sami jewelry. (Juhl's Silvergallery, Kautokeino.)

This occasionally causes internal tension, which has been expressed in literature several times: "I do not live like that / I do not have such a house / I do not hunt. / Am I Sami? // Nevertheless / my will is Sami / my thoughts are Sami / my soul is Sami / my tongue is Sami" (Ravna Eira).[49] An average, modern town in the

[49] Based on the Hungarian translation by Johanna Domokos (Domokos 2003: 23).

North does not attract visitors. Those who travel to Lapland want to see the arctic region's old face, and this naturally overlaps with the Sami desire to preserve their traditions, which are the most fundamental pillars of nation-building. These pillars also support the opinion that place the Sami outside the boundaries of modern society. The shift away from showing the relics of the past only began in the early 2010's. Museum exhibitions, films, music videos, etc. try to show the Sami as equal members of modern society. This goes beyond showing people travelling beside the reindeer herds on snowmobiles instead of skiing and depicting the most modern technology in Northern homes. The symbols themselves that represent the Sami are taking on new meanings. For example, listening to joiks has become "trendy." One can win national talent competitions by joiking. The works of Sami artists and designers can be found in Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and more distant homes (for example, a sofa patterned around a Sami drinking cup or "four winds cap"-inspired decorative bottles and glasses) (Figure 23[50], 24, 25.).

Figure 23. Ikea chair designed by Maria Vinka, a Sami.

[50] Source: http://www.ikea.com/hu/hu/catalog/products/50039552/ (last accessed: 09.10.2015)

Figure 24. A medallion inspired by a Sami motif. (Juhl's Silvergallery, Kautokeino, 2014.)

Thus the use of the Sami imagery in wider circles is connected to another "pan-indigenous discourse," the ownership rights of traditions and the protection of their materials, which actually revolves around the question of brand protection.[51] Obviously postcolonial reactions are also observable in Sami circles in connection to this: they consider the study and analysis of their own culture, language, and history to be their own right and responsibility, and they view the "naturalization" of certain Sami symbols by other Scandinavian groups with official disapproval (such as in the mentioned case of Miss Universe in Finland). On the issues raised about access and rights to scientific research,[52] Elina Helander, an employee of the Arctic Centre in Rovaniemi, wrote

[51] The literature about the protection of the cultural goods of indigenous people is ever-growing (ex. see Brown 2003, Collins 1993, Graves 1994, Hirvonen 2008, Mills 1996, Solbakk 2007).

[52] Discussion of the problematic nature of the relationship of "indigenous" and "outsider" researchers to each other and their researched topic appears virtually everywhere. In the case of the Siberian small minority groups, "sharp questions appear about who the culture belongs to, who can benefit from it, who can thematize the discourse, and whose is the deciding opinion. From this approach, it appears obvious that those who know the culture the best are the ones who belong to it, so their opinion must be treated as incontrovertible" (Kristóf 2007: 160).

the following: “What has Sámi research meant for the Sámi? First, in the earlier research tradition the Sámi were an object of study for outsiders, non-Sámi researches [...] historians, pastors, linguists and many others described the Sámi culture from their point of view. [...] The existence of the Nordic Council and the Sámi Council made it possible to open a Sámi research institute in the early 1970s: the Nordic Sámi Institute [...] Through this institute, the Sámi have been able to influence the image of the Sámi and the way their history and culture is depicted and their language and society studied.” (Helander 2003: 41). In the continuation of the article, Helander stresses that the Sami can only be studied with their consent and supervision, and only such issues that are politically, economically, or culturally beneficial for the Sami. Because the frequently anticolonialist “minority nationalism-discourse” is organized primarily around the notion of cultural nationalism, they see the inaccurate and unlicensed use of images as a continuation of earlier negative discrimination. The latent symbols of the second third of the 20th century had become of primary importance by the turn of the millennium, and by the 2010’s their popularity had spread beyond the borders of the Sami communities. While the Norwegians, Swedes, and Finns were integrating Sami symbols into their own usage, the Sami worked all the more to stress their closely-guarded cultural uniqueness. The fear of assimilation remains alive today, so the hyphen between the categories of **integration-appropriation** and **rehabilitation-(cultural) imperialism** becomes washed away, and symbols become seemingly more fragile and vulnerable to the interpretations. In this context, the old slogan “*Samiland for Sami*” today can be expressed as “*Sami culture for Sami*”. The feeling of danger to societal identity from the globalization of culture leads to increasing counter reactions. In Eriksen’s words: “At the start of the new millennium—regardless of perspective—we must all face the serious challenges of both homogenization and isolation” (Eriksen 2006: 385).

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Ildikó Tamás: Virmaliisi värmiq (Sümboliq saami hindäpidämise kujonõmisõ man)

Autor kaes kirotusõn keeroliidsi rahvusliidsi vaihõkõrdo läbi saami rahvusliidsi sümbolidõ. Tä näütäs aoluuliidsi sündmüisi kontekstin ideoloogiliidsi trende. Autor näütäs, kuis aoluuliidsi sündmüisi ja ideoloogiliidsi tendentse kontekstin tekkü pansamismi idee. Kuis saami rahvusküsümüs ilmu poliitikahe ja kultuuriello ja määntsit tähtsit sümboliid om pruuknuq saami intelligents, et saiaq tukõ vahtsõ hindäpidämise diskursusõlõ. Nelän riigin eläväq saamiq tundvaq kimmäst üttekuulumistunnõt. Poliitikidõ ja avaligu elo tegeläisi etteastmiisil kandvaq nä saami rahvarõivit, miä näütäs vällä näide hindäpidämist. Nättäväq sümboliq näütäseq saami ütisüst, kaitsvaq tagasi õdagumaist ideoloogiat ja näütäseq vällä solidaarsust tõisi maiõ põliseläniкkõga.

Saami sümboliq, miä ommaq Skandinaavian ammõtligult kinnütedüq ja saanuq vahtsõ tähendüse, ommaq vasta võeduq 20. aastagasaa tõõsõl poolõl ja näide pruukminõ om naanuq küündümä saami kogokunna piirest kavvõmbahe.

Vahtsõl aastagatuhandõl ommaq saami sümboliq sulandunuq norra, roodsi ja soomõ kultuuri ni või nätäq nii meediän ku turismi alal naidõ katõpalgõlist pruukmist. Taa om kultuurilinõ oht, miä ähvärdäs ja sund assimiliirümä. Hirm ja assimilatsiuun ommaq täämbätsel päävä̈l suurõq, nii et piir integratsiooni ja imperialismi rehabilitiirmise vaihõl om hägonõ.

Tähüssõnaq: saamiq, hindäpidämine, rahvusõ kujonõminõ, rahvusliguq sümboliq

Märksõnad: saamid, identiteet, rahvuse kujunemine, rahvuslikud sümbolid